

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE  
DEVELOPING  
WORLD

Volume 1

A–E  
INDEX

THOMAS M. LEONARD

E D I T O R

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE  
DEVELOPING  
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A-E  
INDEX

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EDITOR

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Sudan	Asian Monetary Fund
Suriname	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)
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Syria	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
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# INTRODUCTION

Historically identified by various terms, the “Developing World” has always existed, but it came into vogue as a concept immediately after the close of World War II in 1945. For the next generation, the “Third World” was the most commonly used term, followed for the next two decades by the “Underdeveloped World.” Influenced by trade liberalization, globalization, and the policy agenda known as the Washington Consensus, the term “Developing World” came into prominence in the 1980s. In response, at least one professional organization, the Association of Third World Studies, briefly considered changing its name.

The most commonly asked questions about the “Developing World” focus upon the countries and residents that comprise it, the status of its economy, its political and social characteristics, and its cultural components. At the end of World War II, analysts identified Africa, Asia, and Latin America as the most underdeveloped global regions. Within each were numerous sub-regions, such as South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America’s Southern Cone. Over time, the Middle East was added to the mix and the regions were further subdivided. Although the Soviet Union and its East European Bloc often demonstrated advances in scientific achievement, industrial output, or military hardware, it remained an underdeveloped area in terms of the low quality of life for its inhabitants and the lack of civil and human rights, factors that became glaringly apparent with the end of the Cold War in 1991.

Today’s conventional wisdom suggests that all but the Group of Seven, or G-7, nations and their periphery fall into the so-called “Developing World.” The G-7 is comprised of the world’s seven largest industrial nations: United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Canada, though the industrialized world also includes the other Western European nations, Australia, and New Zealand. By the 1990s Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan became prosperous nations. The inclusion of the latter three countries suggests that an economic definition of the “Developing World” remains too simplified.

Beyond economic development, analysts came to consider the extent of public participation in the political process. How democratic and representative of its people is any given government? Are human and

civil rights secured and protected? What is the availability of basic human services such as education and health care? Are there environmental protections? The assumption is that developed nations are representative democracies where the rights of people are guaranteed, basic human needs are satisfied, and the environment secured from various forms of pollution. Although several of the developed nations fall short in some of these categories, the absence of most is a characteristic of the “Developing World.”

The logo map used in the publications of the Association of Third World Studies substantiates the given economic, political, and social definitions of the “Developing World.” The G-7 nations and their periphery are absent from that map.

The assistance programs sponsored by the developed world since 1945 reflect the changing definition of the “Developing World.” Immediately after World War II, assistance focused upon improvement in infrastructure—roads, ports, electricity, water supplies, and the like—to provide for increased opportunities to export primary products, including raw materials. By the late 1950s and into the early 1960s, assistance programs shifted direction. The end of colonialism, the independence of India and Indonesia, the emergence of new and independent nations in Africa, and Fidel Castro’s Revolution in Cuba brought an awareness of the need to focus upon economic opportunities for the general population, improvement in quality of life, and the right of a nation’s people to political participation and civil and human rights. These goals remained the objectives of programs sponsored by government and non-government organizations that continued into the 1980s when world politics again shifted. Identified best by the Washington Consensus, a set of suggested reforms set forth for Latin America by the economist John Williamson in 1989, this change in policy by developed nations cut back on their international assistance programs and, instead, called upon the nations of the “Developing World” to remove their protective barriers against foreign investment, provide for the privatization of state owned industries and for increased exports, particularly of so-called niche products. As they invited developing nations to enter the global arena, developed nations increased their pressure on developing nations to

## INTRODUCTION

democratize the political process, protect civil and human rights, and encourage environmentalism. International agreements since the 1980s often contain provisions for the implementation of plans to address these human needs.

Despite the good intentions, the “Developing World” persists. Poverty, with its concomitant shortcomings in education, health care, housing, and other basic human needs, remains a reality for a disproportionate number of the world’s inhabitants. Political democracy and civil and human rights are not universally guaranteed. Environmental pollution continues to go unchecked, taking its most devastating toll upon the “Developing World.”

As the twenty-first century dawned, many analysts queried the advisability of imposing the developed world’s criteria for modernization upon the “Developing World.” The histories of the world’s regions varied with their own political experiences, their own ethnic and religious conflicts, and their political, religious, and social traditions that resist and in some cases, outright defy modernization as envisioned by the developed world.

The *Encyclopedia of the Developing World* provides a ready reference work for understanding the issues that affect approximately three quarters of the globe’s residents. The *Encyclopedia* is unique because of its focus upon the post 1945 period when the old colonial structures in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East crumbled and elsewhere, as in China, Japan, and Latin America the traditional elite structure has been replaced by something new. During the same time period, the “Developing World” began to demand a greater share of the world’s economy and an improvement in quality of life, along with social justice, political participation, and individual liberties.

### How to Use This Book

The *Encyclopedia of the Developing World* is composed of almost 800 free-standing entries of 500 to 5000 words in length. They range from factual narratives, such as country descriptions and biographies, to thematic interpretations and analytical discussions of timely topics like global trading patterns, and a combination of all three, such as overview articles on the history and economic development of a particular region. As much as possible, the encyclopedia covers the history, economic development, and politics of the developing world from 1945 to the present, providing the reader with a reliable, up-to-date view of the current state of scholarship on the developing world.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the encyclopedia is the easily accessible **A to Z format**. Cross-referencing in the form of **See Alsos** at the end of most entries refers the reader to other related entries. Each article contains a list of **References and Further Reading**, including sources used by the writer and editor as well as additional items that may be of interest to the reader. Most books or articles cited are easily available through interlibrary loan services in libraries. **Blind Entries** direct readers to essays listed under another title. For example, the blind entry “World Bank” refers the reader to the article entitled with that institution’s official name, “International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.” A thorough, analytical **index** complements the accessibility of the entries, easing the reader’s entry into the wealth of information provided. A **thematic list of entries** is also included to assist readers with research in particular subjects.

Each country has a stand-alone entry, but also is included in larger regional studies. For example, discussion of Chile can be found under the country’s entry, but its place in regional matters can be found in “Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development”; “Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations”; and “Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Cone (Latin America).” There are stand-alone entries for important individuals, like Jomo Kenyatta, but for context readers should also refer to the country entry on Kenya and the topical entries, such as “Colonialism: History” and “Colonialism: Legacies,” to more fully understand Kenyatta’s philosophy and objectives. The discussion of “Development History and Theory” is augmented by the entry “Development, Measures of.” Both are enhanced by the discussions of the various economic models: capitalist, communist, socialist, and so on. The cross-references will lead readers from stop to stop on such paths throughout the encyclopedia, and the index is another good starting place to find the connected discussions.

A total of 251 authors have contributed the entries to this encyclopedia. They are based around the world, in both developing and developed nations, including Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Israel, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Zimbabwe. In keeping with the global and interdisciplinary nature of this encyclopedia, contributors represent a variety of fields, among them finance, religion, anthropology, geography, environmental science, and law, with

subspecialties such as global business, human rights, ethics, and refugee studies. The expertise of a wide-ranging and diverse group of contributors will provide the reader with a broad-based overview of issues, events, and theories of the developing world.

### **Acknowledgments**

Several people helped to bring this work to its completion. A special thanks goes to Lorraine Murray of Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, who kindly provided me the opportunity to undertake this project and to Mark L. Georgiev at the Taylor and Francis imprint of Routledge, for directing its completion following

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Thomas M. Leonard



# A

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## **ACID PRECIPITATION**

Acid precipitation is caused by rain, sleet, snow, or water vapor in clouds or fog that contain excessively high acid levels. Acid precipitation can be corrosive, damaging both living and nonliving material, and has the potential to destroy ecological systems that have little ability to buffer—or limit—changes in acid levels.

### **Chemical Background**

An acid is typically defined as a substance that increases the concentration of hydrogen ions in an aqueous, or water, solution. Acid levels are measured by pH, which is the negative logarithm of the hydrogen ion concentration in a solution. The pH scale ranges from 0–14. Paradoxically, solutions with a low pH have a greater hydrogen ion concentration than solutions with a high pH. A pH of seven is regarded as neutral. Acidic solutions have a pH lower than seven, whereas alkaline solutions have a pH higher than seven.

Anyone who has taken a chemistry lab course knows that strong acids can be a health hazard. The corrosive effect of strong acids can cause severe, burn-like wounds to the skin and other bodily membranes—the fumes of certain substances, such as nitric acid, can destroy the lungs, and stomach acid can dissolve iron nails swallowed by circus performers (donot try this at home). Acid solutions can affect

chemical reactions in water and soil, thus speeding the loss of nutrients or the buildup of toxic substances in forest soils, for example.

Surprisingly, precipitation is naturally acidic, even when falling from pristine skies. Carbon dioxide in the atmosphere dissolves into water vapor to produce carbonic acid—the same bubbly stuff that, in higher concentrations, makes up seltzer or soda water. Pure rainwater has a pH of about 5.6—the hydrogen ion concentration is about twenty-five times higher than that of water at neutral pH.

Acid precipitation forms when acid-forming substances (other than carbon dioxide) dissolve into atmospheric water vapor. The major types of compounds that form acidic precipitation are nitrogen oxides (the same type of compounds that can form ozone pollution, otherwise known as smog), sulfur dioxide, which forms sulfuric acid, and even hydrochloric acid (the same acid produced by the human stomach).

### **Natural Sources**

Acid precipitation has been falling on the Earth's surface ever since the planet's surface cooled enough to allow liquid water to rain from the sky. Gaseous emissions from volcanoes, for example, have been a major source of acid precipitation for billions of years. Nitrogen oxides are formed by lightning.

A small but significant portion of the sulfuric dioxides that contribute to acid precipitation originates



## ACID PRECIPITATION

from volcanic activity, but the regions affected by volcanic sources are generally limited to those immediately downwind of volcanic sources. Major eruptions, such as the 1991 eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in the Philippines, may have global effects. Volcanoes also are a major source of hydrochloric acid emissions. Nitric acid formed by lightning is a minor component of acid precipitation today, but it may have been much more important as a source in Earth's early history.

### Human-Made Sources

Current acid precipitation problems stem from the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, when coal fueled the development of factories, and environmental regulations were unheard of. Environmental damage from acid precipitation was noticed as early as the seventeenth century, but the term "acid rain" was first used by Robert Angus Smith in his book, *Air and Rain: The Beginnings of a Chemical Climatology*, published in London in 1872. In Smith's time, coal combustion produced significant emissions of nitrogen oxides and sulfur dioxide. Hydrochloric acid pollution from alkali plants was a problem serious enough to warrant legislation by the British Parliament to limit emissions (the Alkali Works Act of 1863).

Coal—used in industry as well as in power generation—is still the major source of sulfur dioxide emissions that lead to acid precipitation. With the rise of the internal combustion engine and the spread of the car culture throughout the world, petroleum has joined coal as a major cause of acid precipitation. Automobile exhaust is the leading source of nitrogen oxide emissions.

### Environmental Effects

Acid precipitation has been measured with pH as low as 2.3. At that level, the hydrogen ion concentration is nearly two thousand times that found in unpolluted precipitation and fifty thousand times greater than that of water at neutral pH. Acid precipitation can harm, even destroy, natural environments, particularly those with limited buffering capacity—or limited capacity to limit changes in pH.

The acid harms living systems in a variety of ways. The corrosive effect of the acid physically damages plant and animal tissue. For example, in forests that are frequently exposed to acidic clouds or fog, the acid damages leaf tissue and makes it more

difficult for the plant to make nutrients for itself through photosynthesis. Acid precipitation may render soils infertile by mobilizing nutrients that are normally held tightly to soil particles, thus speeding the removal of the nutrients by leaching.

Aquatic animals, especially those that reproduce in water, are particularly sensitive to acid fluctuations. Developing eggs may be damaged. Larval stages may be deformed and fail to develop properly to the adult stage. Sensitive organs in adult animals, such as gills in fish, may be damaged to the point that they cannot function properly and the organism dies. The worst time for many aquatic environments is spring thaw, when lakes, streams, and rivers receive concentrated acidic runoff from the melting snowpack. The thaw often occurs at the time when many aquatic animals are in their egg or larval stages and thus most vulnerable to acid damage.

Human-made structures also are threatened by acid precipitation, because the acids corrode building materials such as limestone, concrete, and iron. Many of the world's greatest archaeological treasures, such as the ruined temples of ancient Greece, are being damaged by acidic precipitation.

### Affected Areas

Acid precipitation has evolved from a local problem in the early days of the Industrial Revolution to a global problem today as larger smokestacks, which were intended to ensure that pollutants disperse from the source more efficiently, also ensure that they disperse over wider and wider regions.

Lands downwind of the industrial areas of North America and Europe have been most intensively studied with respect to acid precipitation. But the problem is widespread throughout former Soviet bloc countries where environmental regulation is lax. The problem is spreading throughout the developing world as acceptance of the value of pollution prevention lags behind the drive for increasing industrial development and the diffusion of automobile culture throughout societies where car ownership was once regarded a luxury.

DAVID M. LAWRENCE

**See also Deforestation; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Modernization; Pollution, Agricultural; Urbanization: Impact on Environment; Water Resources and Distribution; World Health Organization (WHO); World Meteorological Organization (WMO)**

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## AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan is a landlocked country in Central Asia of over 652,000 square miles in area and a population of about 28 million, including several million refugees in neighboring countries. It is one of the world's most ancient inhabited areas, the site of Stone Age cultures and some of the planet's first civilizations. In the sixth century BC, Afghanistan fell under the influence of the Persian Empire, and Alexander the Great included it in his conquests, but several independent kingdoms managed to emerge in the following centuries. The Afghans adopted Islam in the seventh century AD. The height of medieval Afghanistan came with the Ghaznavid dynasty: the kingdom stretched from Central Asia to India and was a hub for Islamic culture. Afterward, Afghanistan fell prey to Mongolian and Turkish rulers, such as Tehudjin (the renowned Genghis Khan) and Tamerlane. Afghanistan is a country of highlands and mountains with a semiarid climate. The country's meager economy, which in the 1990s was supplemented by poppy growing and an illegal drug trade, suffered under the influence of Soviet central planning schemes and collapsed in the years of Moscow's invasion, civil war, the Taliban rule, and the subsequent American invasion.

In 1714, the Afghani leader Ahmad Shah Abdali established the country's modern independence, creating the largest Moslem empire of the eighteenth century. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Afghans had to deal with constant internal revolts and wars with their neighbors—the Persians and the Sikhs of Kashmir. In the nineteenth century,

Russia and England seized parts of the country. Meanwhile, slow steps toward modernization began under King Habibullah (1901–1919) and his son Amanullah (1919– ), called the reform king. In 1918, Afghanistan's first newspaper was started by one of the country's greatest modern intellectuals, Mahmud Tarzi, the leading proponent for modernization and opponent of religious obscurism.

After World War I, Amanullah changed his title to king (Padashah) and continued his program of modernization. In 1929, Habibullah Kalakani overthrew Amanullah, but the tribal leader Nadir Khan replaced and executed him and his supporters, as well as the supporters of ex-king Amanullah. Nadir Khan, in power, seized the property of the wealthy Afghans and reversed Amanullah's reforms. Mahmud Tarzi fled the country for Kemal Ataturk's Turkey, where he died four years later. A rebellious student assassinated King Nadir in 1933, and his son Zahir assumed the throne, which he held for the next forty years. The young king's uncles served as his prime ministers and advisors. Small-scale industry began and, in 1938, the State Bank of Afghanistan was founded. During World War II, Zahir kept Afghanistan neutral. Amanullah Khan lived in exile until his death in 1960, inspiring a number of revolts in his name.

After the British withdrew from India in 1948, Kabul denounced the 1893 Durand Treaty, which fixed the border with the British colony. Afghani Pashtuns in Pakistan tried, but failed, to declare an independent Pashtunistan, and the Pashtun question remained an inflammatory issue throughout the following years, almost bringing war between Afghanistan and Pakistan. In 1953, Prince Mohammed Daoud, a rival to the king's uncles, became prime minister and asked the United States for arms. On Washington's refusal, Kabul turned to Moscow, cementing close relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet bloc.

Daoud resumed modern reforms, especially those pertaining to the emancipation of women. The *burka* (traditional Moslem female covering) became optional. The University of Kabul became coeducational, and women entered the workforce and government.

In 1964, King Zahir reasserted his power, replaced Daoud with Mohhammad Yusof, and issued a new constitution. The Afghani Communist Party (PDPA) was formed, and one of its leaders, Barbrak Karmal, was elected to parliament. In 1973, while King Zahir was abroad, Daoud, with the aid of the PDPA, overthrew the government and established the Republic of Afghanistan with himself as president. He issued a new constitution that included

rights for women. After cracking down on opponents, a communist coup led by Karmal and Noor Mohammad Taraki overthrew his government. Daoud was killed in the coup. A new government took over, with Taraki as president and Karmal as deputy. Taraki carried out bloody reprisals and restored relations with Moscow. The Mujahideen resistance movement was born and the Afghan civil war began.

In the chaos, both the US Ambassador to Afghanistan, Adolph Dubs, and Taraki were killed. The Communist leader Hafizullah Amin became president, but his party rival, Karmal, removed and executed him. On December 31, 1979, the Soviet Union invaded the country and began a long war that debilitated the USSR. As many as fifty thousand Soviet soldiers were killed in the war, which helped bring about the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. Moscow replaced Karmal with a more loyal communist, Najibullah. In 1989, Moscow signed a peace treaty and withdrew from the country. The Mujahideen continued to fight against Najibullah, whom they forced out of power. They had selected Sibhatullah Mojadidi as the head of an Afghani government in exile, but in power they established an Islamic state, and the people elected Prof. Burhannudin Rabbani president in 1993. The next year, the Islamic fundamentalists formed the Taliban and continued to fight the government. The opposition general, Abdul Rashid Dostum, and the leader of Hezb-e-Islam party, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a former Communist, also continued the fight. Furthermore, the country's neighbors, Iran and Pakistan, meddled in its politics. Hekmatyar signed a truce with Rabbani and became prime minister, but the Taliban gradually gained control and began a repressive fundamentalist Islamic government. They executed their enemies, including Najibullah. Women's rights were curtailed as they were forced to resume wearing the *burka* and were forbidden to attend schools or to work outside the home. Men were required to wear beards. The Taliban carried out massive violations of human rights and executions. Furthermore, in these years, Afghanistan suffered several massive earthquakes.

International pressure on the Taliban increased as they planned to destroy historic Buddhist monuments, arrested and executed foreigners, and gave asylum to the Saudi leader of Al-Qaida, Osama bin Laden. After Al-Qaida carried out the bombing of New York's World Trade Center and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, on September 11, 2001, a coalition of forces led by the United States invaded the country and overthrew the Taliban. The attacks against Al-Qaida and the Taliban continued for several years, but a democratic government was restored to Afghanistan under a transitional

government led by Hamid Karzai and backed by Washington.

FREDERICK B. CHARY

**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; Mujahedin; Taliban**

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#### AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (ADB)

Established in 1964, the African Development Bank (ADB) is a regional multilateral development bank headquartered in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, with field offices in Cairo, Libreville, Abuja, and Addis Ababa. ADB's shareholders now include fifty-three African countries, or regional member countries (RMCs), and twenty-four non-African countries from Europe, the Americas, and Asia. The African Development Bank (ADB); the African Development Fund (ADF), created in 1972; and the Nigerian Trust Fund (NTF), established in 1976, constitute the ADB group. The ADB's main objectives, as contained in its charter, are to finance investment projects and programs that promote the socioeconomic development of its regional members; to mobilize resources in Africa and outside Africa for this purpose; to provide technical assistance for the preparation, financing, and execution of development projects and programs in Africa; and to cooperate with national, subregional, and regional development institutions in Africa in the fulfillment of these objectives. The ADB itself operates on a nonconcessional basis; the concessional needs of its regional members are addressed through the ADF and the NTF.

The ADB usually commits between \$2 billion and \$3 billion annually to its development activities, with part of this sum going into joint projects with other donor countries and bilateral and multilateral institutions, including the Bretton Woods Institutions, the Development Bank of South Africa, and the European Union. On a cumulative basis, the ADB had committed no less than \$30 billion to various development projects and programs in Africa by 2001. The ADB, whose authorized capital amounts to about \$28 billion, derives much of its financial resources from subscribed capital, reserves, funds raised through borrowing, and accumulated net income.

## Institutions

The main statutory organs of the ADB, identified in its founding agreement, are the Board of Governors, the Board of Directors, and the Presidency. The Board of Governors, which is the highest policy-making body of the ADB, is made up of one governor for each member country and is charged with the responsibilities of issuing general directives, electing the president, admitting new members, and making amendments to existing agreements. Under Article 32 of the ADB's charter, the Board of Directors is responsible for the conduct of the general operations of the Bank; it approves all loans, guarantees, equity investments, and borrowing, and sets policy guidelines for the ADB. The Board of Directors consists of eighteen Executive Directors, elected for a three-year term, twelve of whom represent regional members, with the rest representing nonregional members. The President, who is the Chief Executive and the legal representative of the Bank, is elected by the Board of Governors for a five-year term, renewable only once. The President is responsible for the management of the Bank in accordance with regulations adopted by the Boards. The President is assisted by five Vice Presidents (as of 2004) for Planning, Policy, and Research; Finance; Corporate Management; Operations in Central and West Africa; and Operations in North, East, and South Africa.

## Contribution to Africa's Development

As with most development institutions in Africa, several of the ADB's activities are geared toward poverty reduction through employment creation; infrastructure development; and investments in agriculture, rural development, human resources development, environmental sustainability, and good governance. Given the preeminence of agriculture in African economies, it is hardly surprising that the ADB considers its agricultural and rural development projects as top priorities, complemented with support for agro-based industries, small and medium-sized enterprises, and for micro and rural finance schemes. The bulk of the ADB's projects over the years are for the benefit of local communities, regions, and areas of a particular country. Samples of ADB-financed projects include the Tunisian Railway Infrastructure Modernization Project (2004); the 77.15-million-euro Electricity Distribution Networks Rehabilitation Project in Tunisia (2003); the \$10 million Bulk Terminal Project in Djibouti (2003); the 215-million-euro

Water Sector Adjustment Program in Morocco (2003); the \$500,000 Humanitarian Emergency Grant for Liberia (2003); the \$2.35 million grant for the Lakes Edward and Albert Fisheries (LEAF) Pilot Project in the Republic of Congo and Uganda (2003); and the \$500,000 grant to help control the spread of Ebola fever in the Republic of Congo (2003).

With due cognizance of the significant role of good governance—broadly defined to include accountability, transparency, and respect for the rule of law and human rights—in development, the ADB has given considerable attention to legal and regulatory reforms, anticorruption mechanisms, and institutional capacity building in member states. In this regard, the ADB encourages its regional members to decentralize their development decision-making process and to give local stakeholders and targeted beneficiaries the means to participate in project planning and implantation.

The ADB, in line with its mandate, has been working closely with various subregional and continental organization and initiatives, such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Southern African Development Community (SADC), African Union (AU), and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), to pursue programs whose impacts extend beyond the borders of individual member countries; such programs include the harmonization of monetary and trade policies, regional integration initiatives, and the fight against HIV/AIDS. Through a Memorandum of Understanding signed on March 14, 2000, the ADB and the World Bank now collaborate on a number of subregional and continental development projects and programs to minimize duplication and to benefit from each other's experience.

Notwithstanding its accomplishment and positive outlook for Africa's future, the ADB is still plagued with problems relating to limited capacity at the national and subregional level for project preparation, implementation, and evaluation; inadequate coordination between the ADB's efforts and those of the numerous regional economic bloc in Africa; and the pervasive poverty, indebtedness, and low savings and investment rates across the continent. These and many other problems—especially those relating to corruption and inefficiency—would have to be addressed, if the bank is to attract concessional financial resources on a sustainable basis from donor countries and multinational financial institutions outside the continent.

JOSEPH MENSAH

**See also African Monetary Fund (AfMf); Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Southern African Development Community (SADC)**

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### AFRICAN DIASPORA

The African Diaspora refers to the dispersion of peoples of African descent beyond their homelands on the continent of Africa to other parts of the world. Since human life began in Africa, in one sense the population of the world represents an ancient diaspora. But the term usually refers to the movement of peoples from the fifteenth century up to the present due to the European slave trade. However, the diaspora also includes those Africans who found their way to the East as the result of slavery, indenture, or voluntary migration. Thus, the African Diaspora encompasses a long history with multiple causes and many populations.

The term “diaspora” was first used in Jewish history to describe the exile of Jews from Judea in 586 BC and Jerusalem in 135 AD and gained frequency after World War II as Jews fought for a homeland in Palestine. The term can be found in the Bible in Deuteronomy 28:25. The term as it was originally used implied an element of force behind the removal of peoples from their homelands. However, in its contemporary usage, it has come to describe any distinct population dispersed from its homeland into the world for any reason. Parallels with Jews as people enslaved and driven into exile has led to many groups referring to their own similar scattered geographical presence as a diaspora.

The term “Black Diaspora” came into use widely beginning in the 1960s, mostly in response to the

rising interest in black history in the West and its African roots. When the focus shifted from a racial to an ethnic emphasis, the term “African Diaspora” came into usage. Formal comparative studies of the dispersion of Africans in the West as a result of the slave trade go back well into the nineteenth century and preceded the use of the term. For the most part, studies of the African Diaspora have focused particularly on slavery, emancipation, and its aftermath.

More recently, the African Diaspora refers to people displaced as refugees because of war, political oppression, and economic depression. It also refers to those people who voluntarily left Africa to take advantage of economic opportunities, to join their families abroad, or as victims of human trafficking. Scholars also have begun to include within the concept of the African Diaspora, the movement of peoples within the continent of Africa from one homeland to another for a variety of reasons. Indeed, many scholars have come to speak of African Diasporas in the plural to capture the variation in locales, causes, and characteristics of these diasporic migrations.

Members of a diaspora have beliefs about their origins in common. Cohen (1996:515) has further characterized diasporas by the tendencies of their members to share “a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, and achievements” and to engage in “an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation.”

The creation of the African Diaspora laid the foundation for many of the problems of the developing world during and following slavery, emancipation, and postcolonial independence. Many of these problems persist into the twenty-first century.

### Indenture, Slavery, and the African Diaspora

Most scholars agree that one of the main causes of the modern dispersion of Africans is due to both Arab and European slave trades, but most of the scholarship on the African Diaspora has focused on slavery and the forced removal of African peoples from their homelands to Europe and to colonies in the Americas. Slavery was a common institution in both the Near East and Africa. European contact began in 1444 with the Portuguese, who eventually established commerce with African kingdoms, including the slave trade, which increased over time and came to involve many European states, such as Spain, Holland, England, and France. The spread of slavery to the Americas between the fifteenth and

eighteenth centuries resulted in the forcible removal of as many as 4 million people from the continent of Africa. Not only did this result in a change of the Americas with the incursion of so many people from abroad, but it also had a devastating effect on African development itself.

Loss of population affected the long-term development of African societies, many of which had had flourishing industries but afterwards found themselves stagnating, economically bereft of a labor population. Some scholars speculate that slavery caused an imbalance between the sexes, because mostly men were enslaved, and may have exacerbated a polygynous way of life and changed the sexual division of labor. Other scholars believe that slavery led to the development of territorial states that confused traditional boundaries, and indigenous religious often succumbed to Christianity.

In the Americas—North, South, Central, and the Caribbean—slavery led to differential conditions due to the variety of environments involved and eventually to formation of many new cultures. For example, besides the variety of forms of agriculture that arose because of the slave trade, rebellions often led to the formation of maroon societies of escaped slaves, many of whom were able to adapt their African customs to the new environments. New languages arose (Creole); new religions (syncretic religions) and racial distinction became a common way of differentiating among people, leading to race-based ideologies and the development of color hierarchies. However, common cultural backgrounds and sheer numbers often allowed for the maintenance or adaptation of African customs. In any case, the common experience of slavery and longing for the homeland created the basic substance of the African Diaspora.

Eventually the slave trade itself fell into disrepute in Europe. Rebellions, moral considerations, and the growth of free trade sentiments eventually undermined slavery and led over a long period to the abolition of the slave trade, and eventually to the abolition of the institution of slavery itself. The Danes were the first modern nation to abolish the slave trade in 1803, although not slavery itself until 1848. Many of the original British colonies in North America eliminated slavery relatively quickly, beginning in 1780 in Pennsylvania. New York began abolishing slavery in 1799 and finished in 1827. However, slavery in the United States as a whole was not abolished until 1865 with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Slavery ended in Central America in 1824 and in Mexico in 1829, long before it ended in North America.

The first slaves entered the Caribbean in 1502. Haiti eliminated slavery during its revolution and

declared its independence from France in 1804, becoming the second republic independent of colonial rule in the Americas (the United States being the first). Slavery ended in British colonies between 1833 and 1838, in French and Danish colonies by 1848, in Dutch colonies by 1863, in Puerto Rico in 1873, and in all Spanish colonies by 1886.

In South America, slavery ended much earlier: in Chile in 1823, in Colombia in 1851, in Ecuador in 1852, in Argentina and Uruguay in 1853, in Peru and Venezuela in 1854, in Bolivia in 1861, and in Paraguay in 1869. Slavery began in the 1580s in Brazil; 1850 brought the end of the slave trade, and slavery ended in 1888.

But even with emancipation, patterns set down in slavery were to have a long-term effect during the long periods of post-emancipation colonialism, and new patterns affecting members of the African Diaspora would develop. Emancipation brought about further migrations of people of African descent, shifting and expanding the nature of the diaspora.

### **From Colonial Rule to Independence in the African Diaspora**

If the nineteenth century can be seen as the century of emancipation from slavery, the twentieth century can be seen as one of colonialism and imperialism that further reshaped the face of Africa, the Middle East, and much of the rest of the world, as well as the century of independence from colonial rule, which affected the many peoples of the diaspora.

After emancipation, black populations of the Africa Diaspora found themselves facing new problems, such as the entrenched power of those who had previously owned them and both formal and informal racial discrimination that reconstituted the boundaries initialized in slavery. Former slave owners/planters, for the most part, retained power over the emancipated populations, who now shifted from slavery into peasantry. Some became farmers in their own right, continuing with and building upon their experience in agriculture and using land made available to them. But others became tenant farmers, engaging in sharecropping. Still others hired out for wage labor, entering into systems in which employers kept them indebted through the payment that could only be used in company stores and by constantly advancing wages.

Throughout much of the African Diaspora, people suffered from economic depressions due to the lack of solid markets. However, with the spread of various industries, the labor force began to shift from a rural,

agricultural base with some guarantee of self-sufficiency to an urban, industrialized base with a growing wage labor force. This shift in the early twentieth century led to large pockets of subsistence agriculturalists and large pockets of urban poverty, illiteracy, political patronage systems, political disenfranchisement, and precarious economic conditions culminating in the Great Depression of 1929, which had a worldwide effect.

Once again, huge population shifts caused changes in the distribution of peoples within the diaspora. The Great Migration in the United States took place between 1910 and 1940, when blacks moved in the millions from the South to northern cities such as Chicago. There also was a good deal of movement from the Caribbean to the United States and South and Central America as labor opportunities presented themselves to desperate workers. The crowding of people into cities and its attendant problems created a new consciousness within the African Diaspora itself, emphasizing the common thread of economic and political oppression. Consequently, throughout the early twentieth century, a series of Pan-African congresses were held, and many revitalization movements, such as the formation of new religions, new communities, and even repatriation to Africa movements, arose.

The large, industrialized societies arising in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had been built largely on the labor of members of the African Diaspora, who did not necessarily share in the emerging wealth and benefits. The rising consciousness of this injustice led to fights for individual rights, human rights, enfranchisement, and political independence across the African Diaspora—struggles that would characterize the second half of the twentieth century.

The end of World War II found a rise in expectations. In the United States, which experienced an unprecedented affluence following the war, this led to the integration of labor unions and the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, which eventually ended legal segregation in the American South and spread to the rest of the country, making people aware of other problems faced by blacks, such as unemployment, lack of housing, denial of access to education, and poverty. In the Caribbean, the collapse of plantation agriculture, the development of agribusiness, and continuing industrialization led to the rise of black nationalism. The 1960s and 1970s saw the independence of many former colonies, such as Jamaica in 1962 and the Bahamas in 1973. In most cases in the Caribbean, black majorities gained political control. However, they still had to contend with the problems left behind when

colonial rule ended. In South America, many of these struggles are ongoing.

### **Transnational Identities and Globalization in the African Diaspora**

The continuing migrations of members of the African Diaspora eventually resulted in the what scholars refer to as transnational identities; that is, identities not tied to feelings about membership in a nation-state, but identities tied to others with a common history, who are geographically dispersed. Transnational identities are generated by networks of association that cross political boundaries. These transnational identities often have become the basis for resistance movements, extensive trade networks, the spreading of cultural forms, and further migrations within the diaspora.

The existence of the African Diaspora poses a number of interesting problems for scholars. The meaning of the African Diaspora has changed over time as scholars evaluate its importance in the light of changing sociopolitical conditions around the globe. For one thing, scholars have begun to focus more on the African Diaspora in the East (for example, in those societies located around the Indian Ocean) and the connection of these diasporic populations with populations in Africa.

More recently, some scholars have connected the fate of Africa and its many developmental problems with the similar problems experienced by members of the African Diaspora across the globe. There also is the question of the relationship of diasporic peoples to the original homeland, especially after new generations have passed and experiences have changed. Also, some scholars have begun to look at the connection between African Diaspora studies and African Studies, broadening their concerns not only with the academic connections but with problems on the policy level that seem to affect both Africans in Africa and members of the African Diaspora.

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**See also Pan-Africanism; Third World**

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## AFRICAN MONETARY FUND (AfMF)

Section 19 of the Charter of the African Union that deals with financial institutions provided for the establishment of the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund (AfMF), and the African Investment Bank. The "Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community" (the Abuja Treaty) predates this. It called for the establishment of an African monetary union through the harmonization of regional monetary zones. However, not much progress has been made in this direction. The regular meetings of the governors of central banks in Africa under the aegis of the Committee of Central Bank Governors (CCBG) is the closest move in this direction and may be a pointer to the formation of the African Central Bank rather than the African Monetary Fund.

For many years, African countries have advocated for the formation of a regional body similar in function

to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) but focused on the growth objectives of Africa. The main complaint against the Bretton Woods Institutions is that, although they had committed to help solve the debt crisis that hit African countries in the late 1970s following the combination of internal and external shocks (sharp fluctuations in commodity prices and high interest rates), many people believe that their stabilization and structural adjustment policies did not work. Additionally, trade liberalization has not been successful in all African countries: many people have suffered fiscal losses because they had hitherto depended on import taxation as their main source of fiscal revenue. Some domestic industries have collapsed due to their inability to withstand competition from subsidized competitors from the industrial countries. These instabilities have resulted in massive capital flight and the creation of weak financial institutions. Privatization has often led to higher prices of goods, especially utilities such as water, telephones, and electricity.

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is the only region in the world where poverty has continued to rise since the early 1980s. The number of people living on less than \$1 per day has almost doubled between 1981 and 2001—from 160 million to about 314 million.

Strict conditionalities have been imposed on African countries in exchange for loans and credits. In some cases, this has precluded the ownership of development projects and programs by recipient countries. Many African countries have been neither able nor willing to get financing from the IMF due to their inability to meet conditions set by the institution.

Another argument for an institution like the AfMF could be found in the need to restructure the global financial system to achieve a network of strong regional institutions and their effective linkage to existing international institutions. With the commitment to regional integration, there has been a blossoming of regional trade and regional capital market integration. Also, globalization has enhanced the growth of regional macroeconomic interaction. Other support for the primacy of regional institutions includes the risk-pooling argument, competition in the supply of services to smaller and medium-sized economies, and the sense of ownership that creates a special relationship between financial institutions and member countries. The federalist argument also becomes relevant in this case. Many small countries feel that they stand a chance of being heard only when part of a regional bloc. These arguments have been demonstrated in the effectiveness of such regional arrangements as the European Payments Union, the Arab Monetary Fund, the (ASEAN) Association of Southeast Asian Nations Surveillance Process, and in recent times, the Andean Development Corp.



It is against this background that the idea of creating the AfMF came up with the aim of providing a source of funding for economic development in the continent. The AfMF will be located in the continent and will focus on the continent only, as opposed to the World Bank and IMF, whose resources are available to almost all the countries in the world. In terms of funding, it is envisaged that all African countries will become members through acquisition of shares by making contributions. In addition, countries in the continent with excess reserves can place their reserves as deposits with the Fund. Non-African countries that are sympathetic to Africa's development with excess reserves also could provide funding. The fund also will issue bonds denominated in foreign currency in the Euro or Dollar markets and in the international capital markets.

The AfMF will be the continent's lender of last resort before a country approaches either the World Bank or IMF. The Fund also will provide services to smaller and medium-sized African countries in terms of technical support and advice in development of the banking and financial systems. The main challenge that will be facing the AfMF is that many African countries do not have sufficient resources, and thus countries may not be able to contribute their quota going by the experience with many of the existing regional arrangements.

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**See also African Development Bank (ADB); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

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## AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)

The African National Congress (ANC) was founded by the Zulu lawyer Pixley Ka Izaka Seme. Born in Natal, Seme was raised a Christian, studied at an American missionary school, and attended Columbia University and Oxford University. In 1910, the year Great Britain formed the Union of South Africa, he returned to South Africa to lead the struggle for the emancipation of his people and was admitted to the bar. Here he joined other African lawyers—Alfred Mangena D. Montsioa and R. W. Msimang—working in the interest of the native African population.

Seme originally wanted to uplift the condition of his Zulu nation, but recognizing the humiliation and deprivation of all black Africans, he changed his focus to work on behalf of the entire indigenous population.

Seme with his colleagues called for a meeting of the tribal chiefs and educated Africans in Bloemfontain on January 8, 1912 for "the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges." The meeting established the South African Native National Congress to organize the tribes of Africa along national lines. Seme then approached the publishers of the two native Johannesburg newspapers to publish an organ of the Congress. D. S. Letanka, publisher of *Murumiao*, agreed and joined Seme and the queen of Swaziland, Labotsibeni Gwamile Ndluli, to begin the publication of *Abantu-Botho* printed in English, Zulu, and Sotho.

Seme also formed the African Farmer's Association for the purchasing of land in the Transvaal. However, the white farmers reacted, passing the Natives Land Act of 1913 restricting native ownership of farms. Africans then sought work in the mines and elsewhere, often traveling many miles to their jobs. The government then enacted pass laws requiring passports for Africans to move around the country. Initially, in 1919 the ANC supported a demonstration against these laws and a strike of African mine workers in 1920. Nevertheless, in the 1920s the ANC leaders disagreed with the strikes and demonstration and tried to argue with London about the restrictive laws, tactics which brought no results. Other organizations, for example, the newly formed Communist Party, adopted more active policies. The government continued to put in more racist legislation dividing black and white workers. ANC leader J. T. Gunmede, elected in 1927, urged cooperation between the ANC and the Communist Party; but the conservative leadership voted him out of office, leading to the Congress's inactivity in the 1930s.

In the 1940s, under new young leadership exemplified by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Oliver Tambo, the ANC adopted a more activist stance. White South Africa in the meantime hardened its stand through its policy of apartheid (segregation) and a more militant Afrikaner (Dutch descendants) nationalism. In 1944 the ANC formed its Youth League. Black Africans began to form their own community and labor organizations. In 1947 the ANC signed agreements with the Indian Congresses, as the apartheid laws segregated not only the native Africans but other races as well. After the Afrikaner Party came to power in 1949, the ANC adopted the Youth League's program of action, starting the Defiance Campaign which included strikes and boycotts.

The Defiance Campaign turned the ANC into a mass organization and spurred the birth of other organizations such as the South African Coloured People's Organization (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD) which in turn created the Congress Alliance including the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTO). The government reacted by arresting or "banning" (a form of limited civil liberties and house arrest) the leaders and prominent supporters—black and white. The Alliance Congress' 1955 Freedom Charter called for equality of rights and opportunity for all races. It also included social welfare demands such as jobs and houses. The government declared the Congress to be a Communist organization planning the violent overthrow of the government, and arrested its leaders.

In the meantime, the women organized protests against the Pass Law as well as boycotts against the government beer halls after they passed a law against traditional beer brewing. The 1950s witnessed many mass demonstrations which were brutally suppressed. The Bantu Authorities Act gave the government the right to replace chiefs, and a number of chiefs cooperated in order to keep their positions. This was a major cause of the great rural Pondoland Revolt of 1960–1961.

There was dissension within the ANC as some, called the Africanists, objected to cooperation with the non-African groups or the Communist Party. In 1959, the Africanists broke off from SNBC and formed the Pan African Congress (PAC). Because of massacres of peaceful demonstrators, the ANC adopted a policy of violence through its underground organization Umkhonto we Sizwe or MK (The Spear of the Nation), but the government cracked down with harsher penalties and in 1963 raided the MK's secret headquarters. The government prosecuted the ANC's leaders, including Nelson Mandela, and sentenced them to long terms at Robben Island. Some leaders like Joe Slovo, a white supporter, and Tambo left the countries to continue the struggle abroad. At Mongoro, Tanzania, in 1969 the ANC decided to continue the struggle through armed revolt and mass political action while opening ANC membership to all races. In the 1970s a new wave of action by workers and students erupted in the country, beginning with the Durban strike of 1973, and culminating in the student demonstration of 1976 against the mandatory use of Afrikaans in the schools instead of English. The massacre of young students by the government led to widespread demonstrations and the death of a thousand at Soweto. Students formed the South African Student Movement (SASM), which the ANC supported. In the 1980s the government offered reforms but continued to bear down on

the ANC. The Congress movement was revived with the formation of the United Democratic Front. There were other new mass organizations, for example, the Congress of South African Students and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. A state of virtual civil war developed as the activists attacked black leaders loyal to the government, and the government security forces (often acting on their own initiative) attacked the activists. In 1990, the ANC was unbanned. A new constitution permitted blacks to vote, and in subsequent elections the ANC won and South Africa elected Nelson Mandela president.

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**See also Apartheid; Mandela, Nelson; South Africa**

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## AGRICULTURE: IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is having a vast extent of effects on agriculture from the perspective of developing countries. Due to the impact of globalization, crop selection and agricultural production processes and technologies have changed. Moreover, globalization's impact on agriculture has had a range of social, economic, political, and ecological consequences. The direction and extent of the effects of globalization on agriculture and societies in developing countries differ among and within those countries. Heterogeneity continues to exist at the local level, and local and national cultures and histories retain some importance. However, some general trends have been identified. The majority of scholars argue that developments associated with globalization, such as the liberalization of trade, and capital mobility and concentration, are affecting rich and poor countries in the world very differently. Some claim that we are witnessing a triadization based on the economic, technological, and social integration of North America, (Western) Europe, and, to some extent, Southeast Asia and the increasing exclusion of poorer countries and regions. In developing countries, recent trends in industrialized agriculture and food systems go hand in hand with 840 million people still suffering from chronic hunger and key losses to environments, societies, and people's health arising during and from

the “modernization” of agriculture. Scholars perceive a high risk of disruption to agricultural systems and environmental deterioration, social disruption, and dislocation in poorer countries of the world.

In terms of changes in agriculture itself, globalization has affected products as well as production processes and technologies. We witness an increasing specialization of countries on exotic export crops and animal foodstuffs, a shift away from the production of staple foods to new activities demanded by the rich consumers in the North, as well as the agroprocessing industries. New exports such as horticultural products, that is, fresh fruits and vegetables, flowers, poultry, and meat products, are replacing previous export commodities like jute, sugar, or cotton. Within developing countries, furthermore, an increasing specialization of farms, in particular crop and livestock enterprises, and changes in their production structures can be noticed. With rising human population, increasing per capita incomes and the associated rising demand for livestock products in the North, and new technologies becoming available, livestock industries are increasing in number and size, for example.

In general, agricultural production methods are shifting in two directions. On large farms with access to capital and technological inputs, the trend is toward intensive agriculture. Here, the globalization of agriculture is based on high energy inputs and monoculture production systems based on genetically engineered uniformity in organisms manipulated to maximize output. In this area, globalization fosters a homogenization of world agriculture based on a Western monocultural form. At the same time, among the marginalized sectors of society, subsistence agriculture under difficult socioeconomic and ecological conditions prevails. Concurrently, traditional knowledge and more sustainable farming technologies such as complex agroecosystems are facing the threat of extinction.

### **Social and Environmental Consequences**

The social consequences of the impact of globalization on agriculture in developing countries are expected to be particularly severe. Some scholars suggest that globalization will increase income inequalities in the world and progressively exclude poorer societies. Even within developing countries, social gaps are likely to increase. While some sectors of society can be expected to benefit from globalization, the larger share of the population of developing countries is likely to lose, thus leading to larger social cleavages

and conflicts. Groups with market experience and access to information and capital, regional, and global networks and contracts are likely to benefit from increasing globalization. Even some examples of linkages between expanded agricultural product markets and the improved sustainability of small farmer welfare exist.

Yet, the majority of the rural population in developing countries is involved in low-input subsistence agricultural production under social and ecological circumstances made increasingly difficult by globalization. The overall trend is toward a decline in social capital of rural areas, destruction of horizontal networks within communities that are replaced by vertical linkages to distant organization, decreasing opportunities for informal and formal horizontal exchanges, and the erosion of norms and cohesiveness of rural societies. In farming areas unable to compete in global markets, dramatic social changes and land transfer to other uses or abandonment are likely to occur. The new financial power relations along the food chain further induce changes in land ownership in the South, often with negative social implications. Downward pressures on income due to declining real agricultural prices—real agricultural prices had fallen to levels not seen since the 1930s—are likely to lead to further social disruption and dislocation. Scholars have pointed out that the declining commodity prices due to agro-exporting debt-servicing strategies advocated by international organizations have led to prosperity for food traders but falling incomes in the South. In addition, fewer people are likely to be able to derive a stable income from farming, even in successful farming areas. Women in particular are being marginalized with their role becoming that of a laborer rather than a cultivator, a development that is particularly tragic as agriculture employs more than 80% of all economically active women. In general, a distancing of agriculture from the needs and lives of the population in developing countries can be expected.

Changes in agricultural production in developing countries due to globalization also may have extremely negative environmental effects, mainly due to the pollution problems arising from intensive agriculture, ecological vulnerability of monoculture production, and the destruction of habitat. According to some observers, the tendency of globalization to undervalue natural and social capital has fostered the spread of non-sustainable agricultural systems. Such environmental effects interact with the social effects of the globalization of agriculture to the detriment of both. The focus on increasing output with greater use of nonrenewable inputs has the potential to cause losses in natural habitats and wildlife; nutrient

losses; soil erosion and site desertification; water pollution with pesticides and fertilizers; contamination of the atmospheric environment with methane, nitrous oxide, and ammonia deriving from livestock, manure, and fertilizers; and associated threats to human health. Innovation in biotechnologies affects crop varieties and characteristics. Crop specialization creates losses in biodiversity, especially in indigenous plants and animals formerly used for food production. In addition, biodiversity-rich forests are destroyed for the creation of large farms.

From a global environmental perspective, however, the globalization of production can allow the relocation of production to environmentally more efficient places, away from greenhouse production, for instance. Furthermore, the expectation that economic globalization and especially trade specialization on the basis of comparative advantage will lead to improved economic conditions leads some scholars to suggest that demand for better environmental quality will increase with increasing incomes in developing countries. Mainstream economists thus tend to view the impact of globalization on international agriculture and the environment very positively and argue that we face a win-win situation. Other scholars, however, point out that there is little evidence for the proposition that globalization will generate positive consequences for global agriculture and environment. Furthermore, one should not forget that globalization also can allow the relocation of production to places with lower environmental standards, which apply less stringent regulations on pesticide use, for example. The overall consequences of globalization and trade liberalization for the conservation of natural environments and the sustainability of different forms of agriculture are likely to be mixed.

Environmental questions may play an even larger role in the future of agriculture. Global climate change regulation creates opportunities for farmers in developing countries while placing some constraints on them at the same time. The agricultural sector is a significant emitter of greenhouse gases. Therefore, climate change policies could affect both agricultural production and trade. Some scholars suggest that future climate change agreements could be tied to international trade agreements. Furthermore, the general need for carbon sequestration is likely to increase in the future. This may present an opportunity for the rural poor to combine food production and carbon sequestration in large-scale agroforestry. At the same time, farmers may face growing incentives to cultivate energy crops rather than food. The consequences of such actions in the form of rising food prices would likely be quite dramatic for the landless poor.

## **Globalization**

A systematic assessment of the impact of globalization on agriculture from the perspective of developing countries depends on a sound conceptualization of the phenomenon of globalization. Unfortunately, definitions of globalization used in academia and in political practice are numerous and range from increasing economic integration and cultural homogenization to the increasing deterritoriality of economic, political, and social relationships and phenomena. The only existing agreement concerns a handful of visible elements associated with globalization: trade liberalization, capital concentration and mobility, shifts in political decision-making authority, and the acceleration of technological innovation and diffusion. In the following, the implications of developments in these four aspects for agriculture in developing countries will be discussed.

## **Trade Liberalization**

Trade liberalization is a pivotal element of globalization. The Uruguay Round Agreement of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), signed in April 1994 in Marrakesh, included a comprehensive agreement on trade in agricultural products for the first time. This agreement reversed the trend toward protectionism in the area and established a framework for the reduction of trade barriers for agricultural products. At the same time, the Uruguay Round created the World Trade Organization (WTO) as the institution to “house” the GATT, to coordinate and foster international efforts at trade liberalization.

Today, trade liberalization in agricultural products is by no means complete, however. Subsidization and protection and conflicts about them remain, particularly in and between developed countries. Government transfers to the sector remain at very high levels in Japan, the European Union, and the United States. Even the Uruguay Round’s conversion of non-tariff barriers to equivalent tariffs fostered little additional market access. Furthermore, we can notice the continuing impact of regional trade blocs on agricultural trade. While these blocs may help to improve resource allocation within a region, they discriminate among members and nonmembers and can have detrimental effects for global resource allocation. Given that the majority of developing countries are not part of the economically powerful trade blocs, they tend to bear the costs of such regional agreements. Some scholars even question whether some

actors such as the European Union will ever sufficiently reform its common agricultural policy to comply with the current WTO obligations.

Conflicts do not focus on government subsidies on tariffs only, however. Issues such as food security and the need to protect the environment, which the agreement identifies as non-trade concerns, are highly contentious as well. Such issues are regulated by sanitary and phytosanitary measures, which have been created to protect public health and the environment from pests, diseases, and contaminants in the context of the movement of agricultural products across borders. New definitions of these “non-trade” concerns include rural development, labeling, and consumer concerns over food quality. While most of the contentious issues of the Uruguay Round thus remain, new ones have arisen. In consequence, agriculture was again at the top of the agenda at the WTO meeting in Seattle and a new round of talks on the Agreement on Agriculture began in 2000 despite the Seattle meeting’s failure to initiate new comprehensive negotiations. Further trade liberalization in agricultural products is to be expected with new labor entering the market, capital obtaining access to more parts of the globe, production becoming more and more specialized in and among countries, and output being sold in increasingly global markets.

The consequences of the liberalization of agricultural trade for developing countries are controversial. Some scholars adhere to the orthodox economic view that trade liberalization fosters specialization of production based on comparative advantage and thereby provides benefits for all. The majority of experts are skeptical about the distribution of benefits from free trade, however. They argue that agricultural trade liberalization changes the international distribution of income to the benefit of Northern investors and adversely affects income levels and the sustainability of agriculture in the less developed regions of the world. These critical observers agree that trade liberalization provides an incentive for specialization in certain forms of crop production in developing countries. The relatively cheap land with initially high productivity attracts the production of large-scale monocultural crops. Low land prices and the lack of income support structures combined with sometimes favorable growing conditions create an environment in which the production of large quantities of cheap food for mass markets becomes possible. Thus, farming is becoming more concentrated on exports, as developing countries have an incentive to produce and sell more high-value crops and purchase staples in the world market. However, observers fear that the majority of the population in the developing countries does not incur the benefits from these

exports, because land ownership by large shares of the population is decreasing, and these people lack access to capital for competitive inputs and to global markets. Furthermore, large-scale, intensive crop production fosters radical changes in existing community structures and institutions—in particular, the growth of “private property” holdings. Besides the often dire social consequences of these changes, they tend to be associated with dislocation and disruption, inequity, unfair and unjust methods of change, and a loss in community environmental stewardship. In particular, the spread of industrialized farms under the ownership of corporations or economic elites has the potential to foster the loss of traditional knowledge and the marginalization of women in developing countries.

### **Capital Concentration and Mobility**

The question of a trade liberalization is closely related to the second emphasis in the globalization perspective: the phenomena of capital concentration and capital mobility. The two factors together are the source of the rise in influence of corporations. In the agricultural sector, accelerated capital mobility and global financial integration have fostered the geographic extension of production-consumption networks with increasingly complex, flexible, and geographically spread sourcing strategies of transnational corporations. They have furthered the concentration of market power in upstream sectors supplying agriculture with technical inputs, as well as in downstream sectors that process, distribute, and sell food. Capital concentration appears to have taken place in most sectors of the food industry, including both farming and non-farming sectors of the agro-food system, with the number of farm businesses steadily diminishing, while the share of total output produced by the largest farm businesses continually increases. Large, multinational corporations have come to dominate the farm sector, the food processing industry, exports, the retail industry, the fast food industry, and marketing and advertising. In particular, food and input traders, manufacturers, and sellers are growing in size in order to be able to compete in a global market. Likewise, food processors have become fewer in number and larger in size. These large companies have benefited from the globalization of capital via credit, finance, aid, and investment. Pursuing the globalization of production, they are looking for ways to decrease production costs and capture greater market shares. This will further strengthen the concentration of trade, which can already be witnessed. Approximately 60–90% of

all wheat, maize, and rice, for instance, is now marketed by just six transnational companies. Moreover, even the relationships among the agriculture industry, wholesaling and retailing are increasingly monopolized and have a powerful influence on conditions of supply and demand. The mobility of this capital, the ability to move quickly from one country to another depending on highest returns offered, poses a particular potential threat to the economic and social sustainability in developing countries and can be used by multinational corporations (MNCs) as a bargaining tool with governments.

The consequences of processes of capital concentration in the food sector are multiple. Given the divergence in access to capital and resources between large agri-businesses and small farms, the latter have little opportunity to compete with these large and financially powerful actors. In addition, the dominance of multinational corporations in the food-processing industry leads demand for highly standardized inputs in order to allow the turning out of homogenous food products throughout the world—in particular, new products for affluent markets and the spread of processed food. Furthermore, capital concentration is blamed for declining farm employment, squeezed farm incomes, and increasing capital requirements of farm-based production, as well as the restructuring of economic sectors, labor forces, and nation states in the interest of global investors.

Other important consequences of capital concentration in the food sector apply to the power relationships between the different actors. It appears that the concentration has led to a displacement of production for use by production for the market. With increasing vertically and horizontally integrated production, processing, and distribution, large agro-food companies have gained control over a greater proportion of the food chain. Through the development of credit links and the provision of combined packages of technologies and specialist advisory, input suppliers have obtained more influence over farm businesses as well as over the direction of technological change, especially the promotion of biotechnologies. Here, the role of generic inputs for mass-marketable foodstuffs is particularly noticeable. As pointed out previously, changes in the financial power relations along the food chain also have given rise to changes in land ownership in the South, often with negative social implications.

Capital concentration also is associated with changes in sustainability characteristics of agricultural production. It has been linked to the increasing intensity of cultivation due to heavier uses of fertilizers, pesticides, and heavy machinery, and to a

decrease in the organic content of food. MNCs tend to focus on the use of saleable private goods such as tractors, chemical fertilizers, and pesticides rather than less commodified factors such as integrated pest management. Likewise, they bias the economics of agriculture in favor of intensive man-made capital methods. Social and environmental externalities are less important. In the eyes of many observers, therefore, MNCs tend to foster trends inimical to agricultural sustainability.

Some scholars emphasize the need to differentiate between the extent and form of capital concentration in different sectors of the agro-food industry, however. They argue that independent, stand-alone production locations still exist and compete internationally, in contrast to the image of a global, intrafirm division of labor and globally integrated competitive strategies in other economic sectors. At the end of the 1980s, food manufacturers were still much less “globalized” than non-food manufacturers and maintained far weaker trade links with their affiliates.

### **Shifts in Political Capacity**

One of the central foci in the globalization perspective is a shift in political power. Many scholars perceive the power of nation states to be declining vis-à-vis MNCs and International Governmental Organizations (IGOs). In the food industry, global private and public authorities have been gaining leverage over policy and institution building, thereby forcing policy adjustments by governments and threatening state sovereignty. Evaluations of these changes in political decision-making capacity range from the view that the decline of the state is a desirable consequence of international economic integration to the assertion that the rising power of corporations poses a general threat to political authority and legitimacy.

The rise in power of IGOs is associated with the shift towards more international and global forms of regulation. In the context of agriculture, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and WTO are the most relevant actors, although the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) play important roles as well. These international organizations have an increasing influence over the types and characteristics of food exports and imports, and consequently food production. The IMF and World Bank, for instance, have long advocated monocrop agriculture for export in developing countries, although they now may be modifying their position due to persistent criticism of such practices. In

addition, structural adjustment programs, with their focus on the elimination of budget deficits and the dismantling of social welfarism, have forced an end to income protection and subsidies for the agricultural sector. In combination with the privatization of common institutions for marketing and distribution of agricultural produce, these attempts to foster international competitiveness often have led to a dramatic deterioration in the social circumstances of small farmers in developing countries. Likewise, GATT negotiations—in particular, the Agreement on Agriculture but also the Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreement, for instance—and the role of the WTO in reviewing trade policies and overseeing dispute resolution exemplify the strengthening of global regulatory mechanisms in the agricultural sector.

The second important beneficiary, if not cause, of changes in political decision-making capacity associated with globalization are MNCs. Public and private international law are becoming blurred as international economic actors increasingly dominate agenda setting, policy design, and implementation. In fact, some observers perceive a rapid privatization and marketization of all aspects of economic and social life and of the organizing and governing of the world economy. MNCs have gained in political power due to the need of states to compete for investment to create the right environment for ensuring profitability. Governments in developing countries, therefore, increasingly shy away from minimum wage requirements for agricultural labor, policies of small farm support, or the protection of land ownership by the local population. As the “providers” of employment and income, MNCs have entered into a pact with the state, which, in the eyes of observers, effectively confers social and political legitimacy on the enterprises. International law and negotiations are frequently influenced by MNCs as well. International law increasingly relies on nonbonding instruments created and implemented by non-state actors. Likewise, by providing multinational corporations with a prominent role in trade law negotiations and disputes, the GATT/WTO have increased the power of these corporations vis-à-vis nation states.

The changes in the roles of the state, in general, due to globalization are quite controversial among scholars. Some argue that the state is neither being led nor a leader nowadays, acknowledging that the decline of national agricultural markets as strategic economic space relative to the global economic space threatens one of the previous foundations of the nation state. Others, however, point out that the decline of the state is not a uniform development. Although the power of national governments may

have been reduced in some areas, it may have increased in others. Liberalization, in particular, often requires complex “reregulation” under a strong state. Unfortunately, the conditions for states retaining power in these areas are frequently not met in developing countries. If states do not have the financial, human, and political resources to create the solid regulatory framework for liberalization, globalization and the associated ascendancy to power of IGOs and MNCs may lead to a systematic dilution of national sovereignty.

The earlier role of the state in the promotion of agriculture and rural development should not be seen uncritically, of course. Former attempts to improve the situation of small farmers and the landless poor with government intervention frequently did not work. Subsidies led to high land values and capitalization into other fixed assets. This in turn fostered increased farm debt and lower farm incomes. At the same time, price and income supports had led to technological innovations and increased productivity, which in turn meant food surpluses and lower prices.

Finally, the shifts in political power associated with globalization concern the role of the public. Some scholars argue that the public as a critical observer and check on political and economic actors may be losing ground due to the increasing complexity and extension of the global economic and political systems. Others, however, highlight the growing role of civil society and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in monitoring economic and political developments with respect to agriculture and implementing agricultural programs. In general, evaluations of the potential role of the public depend on assumptions about the availability and transfer of information. For the individual, scholars see a decline in information availability. Based on the “distancing” argument, scholars point out that the spatial and structural separation of food production and consumption decisions leads to a decline in the individual’s political, economic, and social decision-making capacity. At the same time, the *relatively* cheap opportunity for information access and diffusion via the Internet may provide individuals with new access to information and global markets. Continuing globalization dynamics may further change the role of the public. To some extent, recent developments appear to restore the initiative to local communities. In fact, current opposition to the global agro-food industry is both locally based and globally coordinated and informed. Thus, what is true with respect to globalization in general also applies to the shifts in political capacity induced by globalization: Globalization is an ongoing process, the final results of which are not yet recognizable.

## Technological Innovation and Diffusion

A final but important impact of globalization on agriculture is via technology. Globalization is associated with an acceleration in the speed of technological innovation and diffusion. In principle, this may foster the development of more environmentally friendly technologies, but also that of environmentally problematic ones. In the agricultural sector, technological innovation in the form of biotechnologies predominates. Furthermore, agricultural production is influenced by technological developments in food processing, storage, and transport.

In general, globalization has been fostering the conversion and replacement of natural capital into and by man-made capital. Technological innovation in agriculture currently is focused on the fine-tuning of high-energy input systems for increasing the productivity of a selected few crop species. Innovation focuses on biotechnology to the neglect of knowledge contained in traditional farming methods. Large chemical and pharmaceutical companies control the direction of technological change. The introduction of biotechnology and technological change have transformed what used to be discrete elements of agricultural production processes into an industrial production chain. The industrial production of inputs and processing of farm produce have allowed the increasing appropriation of the value-added proportion of food production by agro-business. In addition, the globalization of agricultural production in combination with the development of new technologies of space and time compression has led to an enormous rise in transport, with food items now on average traveling 50% farther than they did at the end of the 1970s. At the same time, this transport is becoming ever faster, with fresh fruits and vegetables taking less and less time from the field to supermarket shelves.

The benefits of these technological developments accrue to rich farmers or corporations who can afford the costly inputs required and have access to global markets. Thus, the green biotechnology based revolution, and agri-business as its extension, is confined to small sections of the rural population in developing countries. As the majority of small farmers lack access to the necessary inputs, they face marginalization. The differentiated introduction of technological innovations and the changes in land ownership associated with it are causing wide disparities in access to resources and income. Furthermore, these developments lead to a displacement of crop varieties due to more similar global task structures. The encouragement of monocultural production, standardization of produce, and uniformity of agricultural production

methods reduces diversity of genetic material. Thus, technological innovation in agriculture associated with globalization runs the risk of eliminating mixed or environmentally balanced types of agricultural systems.

As innovations in biotechnology and high-input agricultural systems are not available for large parts of the population of developing countries, there is renewed interest in traditional systems of agriculture at the local level. Complex agro-ecosystems use crop and associated biodiversity to strengthen the system's stability and resilience. They are based on an understanding of the combined use value of selected crop plants and livestock animals in agricultural production and exist in a great diversity and a various levels of input intensity. These traditional systems tend to be associated with higher levels of sustainability, ecological efficiency, and social justice.

Globalization also has an impact on agricultural research in general. Some scholars suggest that the globalization of agricultural research leads to a privatization of research in developed countries and a few developing countries. In such a scenario, poorer developing countries and their particular agricultural context would be on the losing end both in terms of knowledge creation and in knowledge acquisition. In contrast, explicit regional and local focused research is exactly what would benefit agriculture in developing countries most. Currently, research on agriculture in the context of globalization is coordinated at the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) by the International Service for National Agricultural Research (ISNAR).

## The Future

As pointed out before, globalization is a process that is by no means complete. Thus, final results of the impact of globalization on agriculture in developing countries cannot be determined at this point. It is unclear, currently, to what extent counter-pressures against globalization and capital concentration in the agricultural and food sectors are likely to develop. Furthermore, substantial heterogeneity remains, for instance, in the characteristics of agriculture, such as farm production practices and production-consumption linkages. Different opinions also exist on fundamental questions of the sustainability of agricultural production in the context of globalization. Some scholars argue that "the limits to growth" have been reached or even passed. Others argue that we will only be able to feed the world if the industrialized countries increase their production as well. Another group of scholars



postulates that modernist technologies and increased use of fertilizers and pesticides will help developing countries to sufficiently increase their production. The next group claims that sustainable agriculture is a (if not the only) viable alternative and has the potential to greatly increase productivity on existing lands. The fundamental questions that remain are whether we need new lands, new technologies, or new social solutions.

DORIS FUCHS

**See also Agriculture: Impact of Privatization; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank) Pollution, Agricultural; Sustainable Development; Technology: Impact on Development; Trade Policies and Development**

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## AGRICULTURE: IMPACT OF PRIVATIZATION

The political and economic transition of communist countries in the 1990s and the similar processes in other developing countries have imposed agricultural privatization as part of the national economic policy. The main arguments for privatization consider it a reliable method for sustained economic growth, prosperity, political stability, and democracy. It is hoped that privatization will increase efficiency, profitability,

outputs, and export revenues in agriculture, leading to food self-sufficiency and higher standards of living. Centrally planned economies could not solve the incentive problem for higher yields, due to missing or weak markets, constraining market forces, and lack of wage incentives.

According to the classical Marxist dogma, the industrial proletariat is the driving force of social change. Therefore, the development of agriculture was neglected for the sake of industrialization. At the beginning of the nationalisation/collectivisation of the agriculture, most farmers were peasants performing subsistence farming. They were considered dangerous for the totalitarian regimes, because of their relative independence from state production. As a consequence, after land reforms, their holdings were mainly nationalized, and agriculture was forced into large, state-run farms. Soviet-type large-scale farming was not efficiently run and also placed a heavy burden on the already depleted natural environment, leading to chronic food shortages. Some countries, including Hungary, made numerous and compelled attempts to restructure the agrarian sector, but without much success.

The most important goal of farm restructuring was the creation of efficient and competitive agriculture. Restoring private ownership for land was necessary to make agricultural investment profitable, enabling the sector to function on market principles. Smallholders were considered more profitable and competitive in terms of flexibility and market mobility. They require a lower level of capital investment, and labor costs are low (as it is almost entirely provided by the family who owns the farm). On the other hand, smallholders created by privatization may have lower productivity than do large agricultural enterprises.

The transition of state-directed economies into market economies proved to be a social and economic disaster in the short run for many of them. In Russia, the majority of the ex-Soviet states, and Romania, the privatization process was not transparent, enabling the sale of assets, including land and agricultural infrastructure, at prices well below market. Privatization was seldom carried out under fair competition. Agriculture was again especially hard hit due to early product price liberalization. Import liberalization put smallholders under further price pressures from established large producers. Their export opportunities were reduced drastically, heavily due to the collapse of the intersocialist markets. On the world markets, they faced stiff competition from heavily subsidized western producers.

The attempts of precise restoration and of equitable allocation resulted in *land fragmentation*. Families generally own several small parcels, scattered over a

wide area, which inhibits efficient land use. Land reforms aimed at consolidating holdings often ended up in holdings below the minimum subsistence-level size, causing famine in some countries (Ethiopia). The communist land reforms after 1945 expropriated large land holdings, distributing them among landless rural laborers. But in the following decade, the peasantry was forced to establish collective farms, losing their individual ownership rights.

Among the positive effects of privatization, one can mention the lifting of the system of mandatory deliveries to the state reserves and the fact that producers could take entrepreneurial initiatives. The emerging agricultural credit system started to impose financial discipline, but the process was interrupted by the world economic crisis of 1998. Some farms are still relying on subsidies.

The privatization process of land, equipment, and built infrastructure, as well as the restructuring of collective and state farms, was carried out according to the unique sectoral policy mix of each transition country.

The main scheme of privatization was the reinstatement of property rights concerning farmland, most of the built infrastructure, livestock, and machinery—to their former owners or the allocation of such rights to cooperative and state farm members, as well to village residents. Former owners' property rights were restored on the former plot locations, or on equivalent ones. In other cases, the owners were offered ownership coupons or allocation shares in state companies.

The most widespread method of land restitution to the former owners was mainly used in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet republics of the Baltic region. Whereas Romania focused on the restoration of land to its former owners, Hungary offered land compensation tickets, too—marketable on the national stock exchange and convertible into other real estate or financial assets.

In Russia, this alternative was rejected due to political reasons and practical impossibility, as most ownership titles had been lost. Restitution was in-kind or in principle and almost free of charge. In-kind restitution was used in Romania, on the original location, if possible, targeting collective farmland. The restoration in Romania, Albania, and Hungary concerned all former owners irrespective of whether they lived in the village or were cooperative members at the time of restoration. In most cases, including Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, limited ownership rights were granted also to other categories such as rural intelligentsia, war veterans, or young farmer families. Most restoration was in-kind and free of charge, on the original location

or another of equal value. Some countries, such as Lithuania, were granting urban land parcels free of charge if restoration in-kind was impossible.

At the beginning, in the absence of reliable real estate records, the restoring of the plots was a painful and disputed process. The process was complicated also by the fact that at the beginning of forced collectivization, many farmers prosperous enough to be above the subsistence level but not wealthy enough to become large-scale landowners had donated, sold, or simply passed formally their property to poorer neighbors or relatives to avoid being stamped as *kulaks*, the derogatory term for a landlord. Because of this confusion, restoration was difficult due to conflicting claims for the same plot. Even if the identity of the owner(s) was established, the exact location of the land strips could not have been easily determined.

Another problem was that state farms had been established on the best lands. In these cases, ownership was restored in a painstaking manner, conferring at the beginning land-use rights only. In many countries of Central Europe, formal owners were not happy about becoming shareholders of privatized but still state-run farms, perceiving it as a limitation of their ownership rights.

A distinct problem was the successive waves of conflicting legislations that entitled persons without any prior holdings and put them in possession on plots that were later claimed by others. Restoration of common or community ownership, such as communal grazing plots and forests, proved to be even more difficult and led to the forming of managerial associations. In many cases, the majority of the forested areas and arable land are withheld from privatization. Most water resources also remain state property, especially in Russia.

Another privatization scheme was the distribution of compensation securities, or coupons, like those used in Hungary. The coupon's face value was based on the value of the farmland, building, or other asset. This coupon allowed the exchange of land or property into money.

One of the main consequences of the privatization was the dismantling of the *kolhozes* (cooperative farms). Former communist party members were reaping huge profits from the privatization of cooperative and state farms (*kolhozes* and *sovhozes*) by misappropriating, stealing, or buying their assets at undervalued prices. Looting also has accompanied the dissolution of these farms. Though livestock were distributed to the former members, many people had become city dwellers. Thus, cattle stocks plummeted, leading to meat and milk shortages later. Pig stocks also fell, triggering massive imports and subsequent protectionist measures. Huge retail price shocks

have accompanied the process, fueling inflation despite a series of IMF-sponsored structural adjustment programs.

The new-old individual owners now had the rightful possession of land, although it sometimes took 10 years for property documents to be issued. The new peasants now had the land but not the proper tools, horsepower, and expertise that their ancestors once had.

The lack of capital, machinery, and technology also took a heavy toll on production outputs. All countries undergoing privatization experienced a serious fall in their gross domestic product during the 1990s, especially Georgia, with an average annual contraction of -16.3%, Moldavia (-14.1%), and Azerbaijan (-10.7%). Although the decrease of industrial production was much greater, compared with agricultural production decline (especially in Lithuania, Romania, and Moldavia), the majority of the countries had not reached their pre-reform level of agricultural production a decade later.

Privatization has led generally to the decline of the overall technological level. At least in the short run, tractors were replaced by oxen and carts; manpower was used intensively due to high unemployment and the low cost of labor, a process similar from Romania to Zimbabwe. In more sophisticated privatization schemes, *kolhoz* machinery and equipment was handed over to groups of farmers, under a property-share arrangement.

Due to the lack of funding, the small farms were performing high-cost, small-scale production. The lack of capital made more advanced techniques inaccessible. The use of pesticides and chemicals was virtually aborted, and this nonvoluntary “organic farming” had some positive effects on the environment, including cleaner groundwater and the return of wildlife. Since World War II, agriculture in developed nations has become increasingly intensive, using more capital and fertilizer. This system has spread to developing countries and resulted in producing more abundant, less expensive food—but often with ecological costs as well.

Privatization in the forestry sector led to increased demand on resources, as a source of income, leading to massive deforestation. The developed world has to take initiative with debt for nature swaps. Environmental organizations from developed countries buy portions of the debt much below face value and forgive it in return for environmental preservation efforts in the developing country.

Privatization made the new-old owners more concerned with current survival rather than sustainable development. Lack of alternative energy supplies in rural areas led to using timber as a fuel. Often, when ownership of forest areas was restored, barren

land awaited the owner, because the law did not specify the state of the forest, only the possession of the land. However, in the cases when forest had survived, a second wave of lumbering has swept across. The deforestation process led to a 10%–30% decrease in the forested area in a decade in certain regions. Brazilian laws have limited lumbering, but enforcement is difficult due its high costs and poorly defined property rights.

Thirteen million hectares of forest are lost to agriculture each year in the developing world, encouraged by development policies like that of Brazil, which offered subsidies in the form of tax breaks for development of forested land for cattle ranching purposes. Other countries, such as Malaysia, encouraged the transformation of jungle areas into oil-palm and rubber tree plantations, in order to develop an export oriented competitive agriculture.

The relative abundance of natural resources and developing countries’ dependency on them, has led to low domestic price levels, which discourage conservation. The transition of the developing countries from agrarian societies to industrialized societies results in increased urbanization and subsequently more pollution.

In some developing nations, 90% of the sewage is discharged without treatment. Part of the problem is that water is usually provided below cost, or is subsidized, whereas the costs of the necessary transport infrastructure are high. In Sri Lanka, taxation of the extra use for irrigation purposes was proposed, and governments are pressed by foreign aid donors to stop generous subsidizing for irrigation. Privatization did not solve, rather made access to clean water more difficult and less affordable, also because water utilities enjoying their natural monopoly status cannot be forced into market competition as prescribed. On the other hand, especially in Africa’s arid regions, a growing popular discontent opposes privatization, considering access to clean healthy water a basic human right rather than a commodity.

In some areas and product sectors, however, privatization has led to higher efficiency, but this is still not enough in Russia to have a positive food trade balance, except for sunflower seeds and wheat. The costs of increased productivity are soil degradation, followed by water and wind erosion in the most intensively cultivated southwestern region of European Russia. Soviet practices of using obsolete heavy machinery are causing soil compacting. The soil also is depleted of minerals due to overplanting and overgrazing, insufficient fertilizing. The opposite also happens when overmanuring or runoffs from livestock farms cause pollution. Pesticides such as DDT are still used in developing countries. From the seven

thousand crop species available worldwide, 90% of the global food production comes from only thirty of them.

Assessing the overall impact of privatization on the environment is difficult, although sectoral impacts are clearly visible. One problem is that regulations often are lax, and low enforcement limits compliance with them. Lack of reliable information and weaker awareness of ecological problems are paralleled by lack of technology that is capital intensive. However, lack of property rights leads to overexploitation of resources, thus privatization eases this pressure.

In many cases, the free market prevailed after privatization. Most of the farmers were unable to produce for the market because of the small extent of their farm property or lack of any information, experience, or education in this respect. Such people remained at practicing subsistence farming only, which assured survival but no capital accumulation for investment and productivity increase. The more eager ones, mostly former *kolhoz* directors, took on sufficient land to have efficient production. The fluctuation of demand and offer caught the farmers in a countercyclical behavior with respect to market demand: when some products were scarce, everybody rushed to cultivate that crop, which led to a huge increase of the offer in the next few years, causing prices to plummet, and farmers were running in losses or into bankruptcy. The process was fostered by the decreasing purchasing power of the local population, aggravated by inadequate imports of agricultural products.

Many markets of the developed world remained closed, in spite of the trade liberalization. Many developing countries remain totally noncompetitive on world markets and also food dependent in certain respects.

On the positive side, privatization led to an increase of production in many crop sectors where production capacities could have been increased easily, whereas other sectors that needed larger, long-term investment such as horticulture and livestock breeding, experienced limited development. Therefore, there was an increased output from certain products, easy to grow on a large scale, whereas the more labor-intensive products were in shortage, causing huge price fluctuations. Inadequate government response to these market realities had aggravated the situation by imposing protectionism for the sake of a few bigger producers, leaving prices increasing manifold in the short run. State monopoly over fuel and energy prices also led to cost-pushed inflation hitting the consumers, whereas import arrangements and corrupt practices led to market dumping, which destroyed certain producer strata, causing shortage and price surge afterwards in the respective product markets.

Livestock investments are expected to be increasingly economically attractive, more if they are diversified and target not only meat and milk but also other outputs such as traction and manure. As state-owned cattle farms had disappeared, the high demand for milk products involved smallholders in milk production chains. These producers are mainly in remote areas and at the mercy of the milk processor who pays with undervalued prices, but smallholders cannot do anything because they rely almost solely on this regular income. The creation of smallholders associations for the organization of marketing, processing, and distribution is hampered by the lack of mutual trust, due to the experience of forced collectivization, the vanishing social capital, and the lack of both capital and adequate management.

Inadequate monetary policies of the governments lead to overvalued local currencies for the sake of stopping inflation. This, in turn, results in the loss of export potential, also due to the conversion of export earnings at unfavorable official exchange rates that can be equivalent of up to a 100–300% tax on livestock exports, thus this policy favors smuggling.

The second variant of privatization was the distribution of land between families, living in rural areas at the moment of the reform. This variant was employed in Albania, Armenia, Iran, China, and Vietnam.

During the 1990–1998 period, Albania's economic performance was especially good in agriculture; its sectoral share has risen to 63% of the gross domestic product, whereas its sectoral employment is the highest in Europe at 59%, which shows a clearly positive impact of privatization. Albania turned from nonexistent private ownership to more than 1.8 million new land properties. Land was firstly assigned free of charge for village residents of that time, whereas local intelligentsia was entitled to land-use rights only. Land was distributed proportionally, based on a per capita allotment, according to the available land in the village and the most recent local census. Privatization produced clearly a land fragmentation, with each family holding an average of four parcels, on average 0.3 hectares, and usually not in a contiguous plot. Some villages, especially in the north of the country, refused to obey the laws, opting instead to the restoration of property to its former owners or their heirs. On former cooperative lands, thus 353,718 families have control over 439,139 hectares, divided into 1.5 million parcels. Former owners are also entitled to compensation of up to fifteen hectares if restoration in-kind is impossible. "Self-help" compensation is also under way, especially in the coastal and tourist areas, where eligible individuals build vacation homes, hindering future tourism development

and causing environmental hazard. Many Albanians invested their certificates of property/vouchers with their other savings in privatized former state enterprises that had promised a high rate of return but did not deliver. This had collapsed in 1996, followed by violent civil unrest, and since the state had no available cash to compensate the ex-owners and vouchers became worthless, the only available option was the acceptance of alternative land. Initially, the workers of the state farm enterprises were offered only use rights for the sake of preserving this finest land for foreign investment. This position was abandoned later because of fears of massive layoffs due to accompanying mechanization; thus, this category of persons has received full ownership rights in the end.

The forests are owned by the state, and use rights of between 0.4 and 1.0 hectares per family are given to the permanent residents of the village in order to fulfill their needs for wood and other forest products. Village land associations can hold larger areas of forests and pastures for common use, thus 240,000 hectares of state-owned pastures have been left for common use. These common use rights are not marketable. Similar co-ownership or communal ownership exists also in Romania regarding a lot of pasturelands and forests. The use of such shares can be sold, but nothing can be carved out from the common property.

This variant of privatization also was rejected in Russia, because it inevitably entailed the dismantling of collective and state farms and, subsequently, the destruction of the accompanying agricultural and social service infrastructure (workshops, garages, fuel stations, livestock premises, canteens, schools, medical centers, etc.) created during communism.

Agricultural land privatization, which began in Georgia in 1992, was/is severely limited in size, entitling domestic citizens initially to receive 0.75 hectares of land in ownership, increased to maximum of 1.25 hectares in the lowlands and up to 5 hectares in the highlands, resulting in more than 3 million parcels, and to more than 1 million owners. Although a significant part of agricultural land has been privatized, the majority of it is still owned by the state and is on lease, whereas most of the pastures are not privatized yet.

The third variant was granting land property shares to the peasants. Land was divided into unspecified, conditional landshares distributed for free to the members of collective and state farms. This variant was chosen in Russia, although there was no consensus in the society regarding the concept of agrarian reforms, some arguing for further, deeper impact privatization; others for the socialization of land under strict use control. Similar variants were employed in

Moldavia and many ex-Soviet states. The final solution proved to be the free distribution of land and non-land asset shares among employees and pensioners of large-scale farms. It enabled anyone to exchange his land share for a land parcel or to rent its share to an agricultural enterprise, individual farmer, or household. A land plot belonging to lessors of one farm may remain in the joint share ownership of the entity, not subject to the division in kind. These shares are unspecified (conditional), given that a corresponding plot cannot be demarcated on the ground. They also are transferable and can be allotted in case the owner wants to leave the large-scale farm. The reform produced 40 million landowners, including private legal entities, owning 7.6% of the territory, which is still as large as one-third of the actual EU, but the modest results show that main producers are still non-market-oriented units and that the rural population is not capable to adjust to the challenges of the market economy.

The Russian program of land and property privatization was obviously based on the principle of social equity rather than economic efficiency. Thus, pensioners and workers of social infrastructure entities, located on the territories of agricultural enterprises, also received land and property shares, although they were apparently unable to cultivate the land. The size of a property share of each worker or pensioner depended on the length of his tenure and the amount of his salary.

The ideology of farm restructuring was based on the supposition that rural residents would use their rights, rushing to establish private individual farms by the millions and would quit collective and state farms immediately. But unfortunately, this has not happened; only 5% of workers embarked on private initiative, whereas the majority of rural population preferred to stay in the large-scale farms. Many of them (15.2%) preferred to transfer their land and property shares to the agricultural enterprises in order to form their social capital, but most (42.5%) have leased them to large farms.

But the process of privatization of agricultural land in Russia is still far from being complete and can be regarded as failed, as the main producers remain on the large-scale farms. However, with a falling contribution to gross output 30.4%, preserved by the inertia of farm workers wishing to keep their narrow-skill occupation, it was a failed attempt to create a civic society in the countryside. In 1993, experimenting with the introduction of a Western-type farmer creating the "Nizhny Novgorod" model did not give the expected results, because of the shortage of local peasant leaders who could take initiative. The reorganization of most collective and state farms into

commercial societies was virtually nominal; people avoided participating in it due to the threat of getting passed shares of their enormous debt burden. Restructuring became imminent as former *kolkhozes* and *sovkhoses* were diminishing in size because of the withdrawal of individual farmers from large-scale farms with their plots, or due to their division. Large-scale private farms are being established, transforming former collective and state farms, but their corporate governance remains weak, causing poor economic performance.

In these managerial-controlled large farms, up to 30% of the marketed output is distributed to the workers, who are also members of the cooperatives, in the form of wages in kind, sales at reduced prices, and collective subsidized consumption. This is obviously advantageous because the bulk of products distributed in such a way are later marketed by households, saving marketing costs for the firm. By shifting these costs to the employees, the overall costs for the cooperative have, in fact, increased due to the low efficiency of such marketing activity. However, many farms also fail, their workforce decreasing drastically as well as their cultivated land area and output. The remaining employees would not be even willing to guard the farm building, as soon as all livestock is gone.

Family farms in Russia are represented by individual private farms and household farms. At the turn of the century, there were more than a quarter of a million individual private farms in Russia; the medium size of such a farm is fifty-one hectares, with three persons working on average. They concentrate on cash crops, offering better lease conditions for the pensioner shareholders and owning their machinery in 95%, but the late starters suffer from the lack of subsidies and cheap loans. Conflicting trends exist in such farm development: while new farms are established, some of the existing farms get liquidated, followed by the transfer of their lands to other farmers and collective enterprises, or the plots are simply returned to the state. A recent trend was a decrease in number from 280,000 to 270,000 and the subsequent increase of their land areas from forty-three to fifty-two hectares.

A part of the liquidated individual private farms is transformed into household farms for tax-avoidance purposes. Small households, although they possess on average five hectares, provide an increasing part of the general gross agricultural output, already exceeding 50%. This process was favored by the households' intent to run their own farms, as many had withdrawn their plots from large-scale farms. However, they often use allotted lands by the agricultural enterprises, as most of the small producers are also the

employees of the firms. They use forages produced by agricultural enterprises received as payment for labor or rent, for livestock breeding, living in a symbiosis with the large-scale farms. The economic instability and the growing unemployment make subsidiary food production attractive to the urban population as well. These households produce mainly for closed-circle consumption as in the Soviet times and supply food for family and relatives in urban areas. Due to the low share of marketed output, their income from this subsidiary production is not significant.

The fourth variant provided for the transfer of agricultural land in the ownership of legal entities (agricultural enterprises), rather than to individuals. This variant of privatization also was used in Moldavia, Ukraine, and other CIS countries except Armenia. The long-lasting debates on whether the land should be transferred free of charge or upon the payment of a fee ended in a compromise: a part of the land was transferred for free, while the rest was sold, mainly through auctions.

Moldavia similarly did not use restitution but distributed state property free of charge in exchange for privatization bonds. Among those entitled to equal, unspecified land shares were former employees, local teachers, medical staff, and professional soldiers. By the end of 2000, 96.53% of the total amount of agricultural land of this highly agricultural county became privately owned—77% by agricultural enterprises (*kolkhozes*, *sovhozes*, and consumer unions) and 23% by farmers.

Since privatization began in 1996, in Azerbaijan 24.4% of the land was privatized, resulting in 3.3 million landowners, while the number of collective farms dropped from 2,005 to forty-one. The owners could be only home citizens as in all of the transition countries; their structure included present or former employees and other persons in a similar scheme as those used in Moldavia and Russia.

In Iran, following privatization, almost all of the land is owner-operated, but uncertainties concerning ownership and tenure matters make own-investment uncertain. The country's agricultural policy is based on self-sufficiency; the liberalization of the agricultural markets is not welcomed by either the producers or the consumers. During the first land reform between 1962 and 1972, Iran granted property rights to 1.8 million peasants, working previously in tenure and sharecropping systems on the rather feudal farms, often organized in community-based producer groupings (*bonehs*). Thus, smallholders became the dominant stratum in the agricultural society, 83% the farms having less than ten hectares. Capitalist-type farming units also have developed, but 2 million

landless laborers without cultivation rights started to migrate to urban areas. To counteract this, in 1980 the Islamic revolution confiscated the wide latifundia and redistributed them to some 230,000 such farmer families. These farmers were allocated cultivation rather than genuine property rights on holdings varying between one and fifteen hectares. The Islamic principles of social justice, however, counteracted the excessive expropriation of the “*koulak*”-type holdings. The government embarked also on massive collectivization of around one hundred thousand peasant holdings, in order to promote economies of scale and efficient subsidizing channels, creating some thirteen thousand medium-sized cooperatives (*mushaas*), consisting of five to fifteen families each, with an area ranging from twenty to sixty hectares. These farms, however, do not function as their Soviet-type counterparts—in about 80% of them, an effective but informal division of land has actually taken place.

Although privatization in the 1990s in the former Soviet bloc was a widespread policy option, heavily agricultural African countries were reluctant to step into a privatization “roller coaster,” fearing widespread famine and chaos. In the former Soviet Union and communist Europe, social justice principles prevailed that inhibited the reestablishment of the old great land possessions, at least for the time being, while in Latin America, privatization favored concentration of land ownership.

When assessing the impact of agricultural privatization on employment, we should bear in mind that most of the developing countries have embarked on forced industrialization, but this has sucked off most of the labor force from the agricultural sector of Central and Eastern Europe. The transition to market economies and subsequent privatization leads to layoffs and unemployment, as state-owned companies tended to overstaff workers (especially in nontechnical areas), pay higher wages, and provide generous benefits. The effect of privatization on employment was very significant in the industrial sector; agriculture was less affected as the change in ownership structures preserved most of the original workforce of the cooperatives and state farms, attracting also many more redundant industrial laborers as they became landholders. In Russia, large-scale farm employment has shrunk by 45%, while the number of people involved in household production has doubled. Thus, a new type of agricultural employment has emerged: self-employed, individual farmers and their hired workers.

Thus, the impact of privatization was the opposite of the earlier communist nationalization, causing a reflux of workers from urban areas to rural areas, but at a much lower rate than the urban influx by

the starting of industrialization. Thus, privatization mostly increased the level of employment in agriculture, as former communist transition countries lost many industrial jobs, and the former town dwellers returned to their native villages and subsistence farming to compensate for low state pensions. In Kenya, privatization in the 1990s led to an unprecedented concentration of land, which became the most demanded commodity. Prices skyrocketed, and most of the poor were forced to migrate into the shantytowns, in parallel with losing their (self) employment in the countryside. The establishment of state land allocation programs in Malaysia’s jungle areas, by creating a network of young settler villages, has increased employment opportunities in the state-subsidized perennial crop farming. As the economy evolved and offered alternative employment in the services sector, this rural workforce declined, leading to the immigration of cheap foreign labor, whose availability presents no incentives for mechanization and capital-intensive development.

Privatization reduces overstaffing, making companies more efficient, profitable, and attractive by reducing the size of the labor force, replacing political and social objectives with profit maximization, resulting in massive layoffs worldwide. Between 1990 and 2003, up to 80% of the Romanian workforce was laid off in the industrial sector. Most of these workers sought refuge in self-subsistence agriculture, because the services sector could not absorb them fully. Thus, agricultural self-employment rose to 47–53% of the total workforce. Agricultural privatization throughout Central and Eastern Europe has made important shifts in the sectoral employment structure, leading to higher unemployment mainly among professionals as veterinary staff and engineers. Hiring such staff becomes affordable over a certain farm size and revenue only, while the average new holder was a small farmer only. Privatization also has led to some subsectoral shifts; for instance, from grain production to livestock breeding and vice versa to increased competition on the almost perfect domestic markets. However, most of the small producers cannot fight the great trading forces on the liberalized global markets.

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**See also Agriculture: Impact of Globalization; Capitalist Economic Model; Communist Economic Model; Free Market Economy; Private Property Rights; Privatization; Socialism; Socialist Economic Model; State-Directed Economy**

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## AHIDJO, AHMADOU

Born in the Northern Cameroon city of Garoua on August, 24, 1924, Ahmadou Babatoura Ahidjo worked as a radio operator with the Post and Telegraph Services until embarking on a political career in 1946, when he was elected a delegate to the first Cameroon Representative Assembly (ARCAM). In May 1957, he was appointed minister of interior and vice prime minister in Cameroon's first pre-independence government, led by André-Marie Mbida. When Mbida was forced to resign as prime minister in February 1958, he was succeeded by Ahidjo. On October 1, 1961, Ahmadou Ahidjo became Cameroon's

first president after reunification between the former French trust territory of Cameroon and the British Southern Cameroons. From the beginning of his administration, the new president faced the twin problem of severe domestic opposition from the radical *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) and how to maintain national unity and political stability, especially in light of Cameroon's dual colonial heritage. Although Ahidjo had effectively eradicated the UPC threat by the mid-1960s—thanks to French military and diplomatic support—he would spend the rest of his presidency, obsessed with maintaining national unity and political stability, with himself as the ultimate authority in the country. In order to attain both objectives, he pursued a three-pronged approach. First, through the use of an elaborate patronage system, he was able to co-opt many of his political enemies into his administration. Second, he pursued a course that would effectively eliminate all potential challenges to his authority. For instance, on September 1, 1966, Cameroon became a *de facto* one-party state with the creation of the Cameroon National Union (CNU) as the only party in the country. Ahidjo became head of state and chairman of the only party in the country. Later in 1972, in a well-orchestrated move by Ahidjo, the 1961 federal constitution that had created the union between the British Southern Cameroons, and the former French trusteeship in 1961 was abolished in favor of a unitary constitution. That political decision effectively killed the federation and eliminated any chances of secession by the minority English-speaking Cameroon. According to Jean-Francois Bayart, the 1972 unitary constitution was the logical crowning of the twin process of harmonizing the administration of the two federal states and the maximizing of presidential power. Finally, in order to maintain the system that he had created, Ahidjo instituted a vast network of security apparatus that created an atmosphere of constant fear and intimidation among Cameroonians.

Although Ahidjo's greatest legacy was his ability to maintain political stability in Cameroon during a period when many African states were plagued by civil wars and military coup d'états, he also is credited with the careful and prudent management of Cameroon's economy, which culminated in a low rate of inflation and an annual growth rate of 4%. In the area of foreign policy, Ahidjo pursued a policy that ensured peaceful coexistence with Cameroon's neighbors and was in accordance with the objectives of several international and regional organizations of which Cameroon was a member. On November 6, 1982, after more than two decades in office, Ahidjo voluntarily resigned from power and handed over the presidency to Paul Biya, his prime minister and



constitutional successor. Shortly thereafter, a rift occurred between the former president and his successor. On July 19, 1983, Ahidjo went on a self-imposed exile to France. He eventually moved to Senegal, where he died on November 30, 1989.

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**See also Central Africa: History and Economic Development**

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## ALBANIA

Albania is located in the southeastern region of Europe, known as the Balkan peninsula. A country of 28,748 square kilometers (11,100 square miles), it borders Greece to the southeast, Macedonia to the northeast, and Serbia and Montenegro to the north. To the west and southwest, it borders the Adriatic and Ionian seas, respectively. Albania is predominantly a rugged mountainous country, except for a narrow strip of coastal lowlands. Its average altitude of 708 meters (2,323 feet) is twice the average altitude of Europe. The climate of the country is Mediterranean overall but varies considerably from one region to another. The western lowlands tend to have hot and dry summers and mild winters, while the northern regions, under the influence of alpine air currents, have greater amounts of rainfall and much colder winters.

Historically, Albania has been the poorest country in Europe over the past century. Prior to World War II, it was overwhelmingly rural (85%), with only a handful of rudimentary industries. The country's pronounced backwardness resulted mostly from five centuries of domination by the Ottoman Turks, plus a legacy of semi-feudal social and cultural conditions. At present, Albania's economy, like those of former East European communist countries, is experiencing a difficult transition. Albania's leaders, profiting from heavy infusions of monetary aid from the international community, are struggling to develop the

economy to the point where Albania will no longer be classified as a "third world country."

## A New Economic Policy

At the end of World War II, Albania came under the rule of a communist government, headed by Enver Hoxha. The economic policy of the new rulers was straightforward: To transform Albania from a backward agrarian society to an industrial-agrarian one. Industrialization became the end goal, while central planning and state management of the economy were to be the means to that end. The new policy was designed, among other things, to break the economic hold on the country of the former "ruling classes"—in effect, to destroy the landed estate proprietors, the clan chieftains, and the big merchants. The "class struggle" thus became a tangible and permanent component of the blueprint for development.

The government's program for modernization of Albania's economy and society, called for a thoroughgoing transition from private enterprise and a free market system to collectivism and a state-directed economy and social order. Accordingly, the new leadership proceeded to nationalize the wealth and resources of the country, including industry and commerce, natural and mineral resources. In a major step taken in 1945, a year after seizing power, the new regime carried out an extensive agrarian reform, which expropriated the estates of wealthy land owners and distributed them among the peasants. Subsequent steps to mechanize agriculture and make it more productive led finally to its complete collectivization in 1967. As a result, peasant farmers lost control and title to the lands that were given to them earlier. Agricultural holdings now became, in effect, the property of "the state." The peasants resisted in vain the government's program of collectivization.

Nonetheless, the agricultural economy in post-war Albania made progress in some respects. Land reclamation projects converted thousands of acres of malaria-infested swamps into arable land, and mechanization of agriculture led to higher productivity.

## Drive for Industrialization

While proceeding with Agrarian Reform measures, socialist Albania took steps to develop the country's meager industry. Beginning in 1951, development was carried out in accordance with Five-Year Plans, a scheme adopted from the Soviet Union. In the course

of several decades (1945–1990), Albania managed to change significantly the nature and scope of its industry. With the vast amounts of aid it received, first from the Soviet Union (1948–1960) and later from Communist China (1961–1978), Albania was able to build a fledging industry. Postwar Albania traded political loyalty to the communist giants in return for aid and credits with which to build a viable, self-sufficient economy. Utilizing these external sources of aid, the Stalinist regime of Albania built factories, housing, power plants, and a railroad network; expanded road and communication systems; and achieved a more balanced export–import trade.

Nevertheless, the country did not become economically self-sufficient, primarily on account of the rigidity of its centrally directed economic system. The Hoxha regime was plagued by a bloated bureaucracy, worker absenteeism, and numerous acts of sabotage by disaffected workers and other citizens.

### Social and Cultural Initiatives

Despite these problems, the regime made headway in developing various aspects of Albanian society. The drive for the “emancipation of women” made Albanian women equal to men before the law, brought them out of the confines of their homes, and enabled them to participate in all areas of society.

In the realm of social services, the government provided free medical care to the population, as well as free education. Diseases that were widespread before the war, such as malaria, trachoma, and tuberculosis, were eradicated. Likewise, illiteracy, which before the war afflicted 80% of the population, was abolished, except among the older generation.

Socialist Albania succeeded also in transforming the cultural image of the nation. It founded the first university (University of Tirana) in the country and built a substantial network of cultural institutions, including libraries, an Academy of Sciences, museums, a film studio, an opera and ballet theater, and symphonic orchestras.

In sum, the regime laid the foundations of a modern state, but at the price of suppressing the political and human rights of the Albanian people. The endemic weaknesses of the regime led finally to its collapse in 1990.

In the 1990s, Albania moved haltingly toward development under a democratic form of government. A modest number of foreign entrepreneurs began to invest in the country’s industry, communication facilities, and the service sector. The introduction of high-tech equipment and products signaled that

Albania had entered the era of advanced technology. But the picture of the economy as a whole remained bleak, prompting tens of thousands of people to migrate. On the threshold of the twenty-first century, Albania continued to struggle, as it sought to adapt the free market system to its particular conditions.

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**See also Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Industrialization; Socialism; Socialist Economic Model**

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### ALGERIA

The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria is the second largest country in Africa (919,600 square miles), but 90% of its land is barren desert. Most Algerians live in the well-watered northern coastal plains and foothills (the “Tell”) where a Mediterranean climate with mild winters prevails. This region includes productive orchards and vineyards, but its cities are subject to violent earthquakes. Two ranges of the Atlas Mountains and an intermountain plateau separate the Tell from the Saharan south, where vast dune fields are broken by mountain massifs. Except for a few oasis towns, the south is populated only by desert nomads. There are rich oil and natural gas fields here, however.

The Algerian population stood at 32.3 million in 2004. The rate of natural increase is low for a Muslim country, reflecting some success for the government’s family planning program. An estimated 99% of Algerians are Sunni Muslim, but in the villages, an undercurrent of pre-Islamic mysticism endures. Arabic, the national language, is understood everywhere, but Berber speakers of the Kabylie region struggle for linguistic equality.

## ALGERIA

Algeria's indigenous Berber tribes absorbed cultural influences from a long list of invaders including Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, and Byzantine emperors. A more sweeping transformation was brought by Arab invaders who implanted their language and religion. The Berbers became partially Arabized and created their own brilliant dynasties. In the 16th century, when Spain focused its superior maritime power on the North African coast, local Muslims appealed to the Turkish sultan for protection, and Algeria became a self-governing outpost of the Ottoman Empire.

Piracy along the Barbary coast was a constant irritation to western powers. France landed thirty-seven thousand troops in June 1830. French land confiscations sparked resistance—a *jihad* led by Abd al-Qadir was suppressed by 1847, but insurgency in the Kabylie Mountains continued into the 1870s. Algeria was opened to European settlers who were invited to occupy the best farmland, including 1.5 million acres in Kabylia. In time, the settlers came to dominate politics in Algiers.

Some Muslims learned French and worked within the new system, but they could not become French citizens unless they renounced Islamic law. This and other humiliations fed a growing discontent, yet twenty-five thousand Muslims died defending France in World War I. A cautious nationalist movement made little headway between the wars, but British and American troops, who landed in Algeria in 1942, brought with them new opportunities.

Communal violence erupted in Algeria in May 1945. About one hundred Europeans were killed, and perhaps twenty times as many Muslims. Nationalist guerrillas led by Ahmed Ben Bella launched their revolution in November 1954 under the name of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). The Algerian war for independence (1954–1962) was extraordinarily brutal. A French army of five hundred thousand men fought the FLN's Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN) in the countryside. Many villages were destroyed under the doctrine of collective punishment, generating a flood of refugees into the cities. Among them were terrorists who knew how to provoke the French into indiscriminate retaliation, which generated more recruits for the revolutionaries.

The European settler community, over a million strong, feared a "sellout" by French President Charles de Gaulle and formed the Organisation Armée Secrète (OAS), which answered terror with terror. De Gaulle concluded that the old order could not be reinstated and negotiated the best settlement he could: the Evian Accords of March 1962 provided independence for Algeria, protection for French settlers, and continued operation of French oil and

natural gas concessions in the Sahara. Approximately seventeen thousand French troops had lost their lives in the war. Estimates of the Algerian death toll range from 150,000 to one million. Almost all remaining French citizens soon left Algeria.

Ahmed Ben Bella was elected the first premier of independent Algeria in September 1962. Ben Bella's vocal support for movements of national liberation everywhere created distrust among the conservative powers, while his pursuit of socialism in Algeria angered elements in his own army who believed socialism to be un-Islamic. Soviet economic advisors recommended that Algeria concentrate on developing heavy industry. However, the results were disappointing, and unemployment grew.

Algeria was founded as a one-party state in which the FLN dominated the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, but suspicion of Ben Bella simmered within the army. On June 19, 1965, Col. Houari Boumédiène overthrew Ben Bella and kept him under house arrest for the next fifteen years. Boumédiène nationalized the French oil industry and reformed landholding patterns. Boumédiène died in office in 1978 and was replaced by Col. Chadli Benjedid, who pardoned Ben Bella. During the 1980s, Algeria's underperforming domestic economy was supplemented by foreign exchange earned by natural gas exports through a new trans-Mediterranean pipeline. As the Soviet Union and China modified their socialist economies, Algeria did so, too.

In 1989, Algeria held multiparty elections for the first time. A new party, the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut, or FIS), swept local elections in 1990 and legislative elections in 1991. The Algerian army declared a state of siege, canceled elections, and replaced President Benjedid with Mohammed Boudiaf. FIS supporters formed an Islamic Salvation Army (Armée Islamique du Salut, or AIS) and launched a war of merciless nighttime violence. The government jailed more than fifty thousand FIS supporters. Often it was unclear whether the AIS or the army were responsible for cutting the throats of the entire populations of rural villages. An even more radical band, the Group Islamique Armée (GIA), was composed of former Algerian *mujahideen* who had fought in Afghanistan.

In 1999, Abdelaziz Bouteflika was elected president by the usual overwhelming margin. Bouteflika pursued a policy of "Civil Concord" under which FIS fighters lay down their arms in return for amnesty. The GIA fought on, as did the Salafist Group for Call and Combat, which is thought to cooperate with al-Qaeda, but both groups are marginalized.

President Bouteflika was elected to a second term in April 2004 with 85% of the vote. Certain basic

political questions remain unanswered, including the balance between civilian and military control and the question of what concessions to make to Berber sub-nationalism. Algeria benefits from high prices for oil and natural gas, which account for more than 90% of Algeria's export earnings, but the agricultural sector lags behind and there is a desperate housing shortage in Algerian cities. Environmental challenges include deforestation, soil erosion, and water pollution from petroleum refining.

In its foreign policy, Algeria pursues a long-running dispute with Morocco over the status of the former Spanish Sahara, but it gives first priority to cooperating with the West in the war against Islamic extremists, who would like someday to overthrow the secular government in Algiers.

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**See also Ben Bella, Ahmed; North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations**

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## ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE (AAPC)

On December 5–13, 1958, representatives of nationalist movements in twenty-eight African territories met in Accra, Ghana, at the call of Kwame Nkrumah. The All-African People's Conference (AAPC) celebrated past achievements and anticipated future success in wrenching control of Africa from the hands of European imperialists. The urge that sustained the Pan-African movement in the mid-twentieth century had begun with resistance to European conquests in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It evolved from an international struggle led by African Diaspora leaders Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois in the late nineteenth century. A 1915 rebellion in Nyasaland, led by John Chilembwe, indicated Africa aspirations.

Those attending the AAPC came from Ghana, Liberia, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan, Morocco, and Ethiopia. Conveners omitted South Africa, and no other representatives of Southern African colonies

attended. Nkrumah saw only African-ruled nations as independent, but some nationalist leaders in colonial territories were present. The AAPC viewed Africa as a whole, without a Saharan division. Immediately after the meeting, many British, French, and Belgian colonies began to gain independence. Was this due to African leaders, such as the Congo's Patrice Lumumba, meeting to discuss strategy? By 1960, when the AAPC met in Addis Ababa, there were five new members: Algeria, Cameroon, Guinea, Nigeria, and Somalia. Togo and Congo (Leopoldville) were invited but did not come. The AAPC met again in Tunis (1960) and Cairo (1961). After that, the Pan-African idea began to dissipate as new African nations found it difficult to form federations and disagreed with Nkrumah and Senegal's Sékou Touré on whether to become independent of the West and associate as neutrals with communist states. They also disagreed on social reform and centralized economic planning.

In the 1890s, African political associations had begun to form. In 1918, a West African National Congress convened. In the 1930s, French Africans formed political associations, but not until 1947 did four communes in Senegal acquire French citizenship. Nationalist leaders in French colonies included Leopold Senghor and Fodebo Keita. J. B. Danquah led nationalists in the British Gold Coast colony for which he chose the name Ghana. African intellectuals had contact with European and American universities that turned their thinking toward socialism in post-World War I years. An American Negro self-consciousness ideology was growing in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, led by W. E. B. DuBois, who called a series of Pan-African conferences. A Manchester Conference in 1945 that included George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, and Jomo Kenyatta, began to forge new concepts of the African personality. After World War II, a new day dawned in Africa. The emphasis on freedom in the Atlantic Charter, United Nations, and independence struggles in Asia brought hope to African nationalists. In the late 1940s, Asian nations gained independence from Japanese and then European control. India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, and Indo-China showed Africans how to remove the British, Dutch, and French and form alliances with American or communist nations to support their economic and political aspirations.

The first African move toward independence occurred in the British Gold Coast colony. Africans had fought with British forces in World War II and were profiting from increased trade for tropical goods. But when they failed to produce a better life by 1948, they boycotted European goods and rioted in major towns. In 1947, Danquah and fellow nationalists

had come home from England with a radical nationalist, Kwame Nkrumah, and a British commission reported African frustration and proposed a new constitution to replace one they had negotiated in 1946, when Britain granted Africans a majority in the legislative council. The commission recommended rapid moves toward "responsible government." In 1949, the governor appointed an all-African committee to devise a new constitution. Nkrumah would accept nothing less than "self-government now" and was jailed for sedition. Nonetheless, his Convention People's Party overwhelmingly won the first election under the 1951 constitution. Governor Sir Charles Arden-Clarke released him from jail, and his party took major posts in the new government. In 1957, Ghana became the first African state and Britain's first African colony to gain independence. Other West African colonies followed: Nigeria (1960), Sierra Leone (1961), and Gambia (1965).

In French West Africa, under a 1958 initiative by the new Charles DeGaulle regime, all colonies except Senegal voted for autonomy as republics within a "French Community" that would deal with foreign policy, defense, and several other matters. Guinea, under Sékou Touré's Bloc Populaire Senegalais, voted for complete independence and joined in a federation with Mali in 1959. That year, Senegal, Mali, and French Sudan requested independence *within* the French community. In 1960, French colonies in West and Equatorial Africa (Ivory Coast, Niger, Dahomey, and Haute Volta), in spite of their small size and dependency on France, became independent *outside* the French Community. France withdrew administrators from Guinea, as well as economic assistance. The communist bloc in Eastern Europe and Asia became French Africa's new philanthropist.

At the AAPC in 1958, Nkrumah's goal was to form a Pan-African union in the form of a permanent organization to assist nationalists in all colonized territories. Britain and France moved in this direction, but British colonies of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa were ruled by white settler minority regimes. Julius Nyerere led Tanganyika; Britain's first East African colony to gain independence (1961) through interracial cooperation was a new model for a negotiated settlement. Uganda (1962) and Kenya (1963) followed, with hope to form a three-nation federation that might include Malawi and Zambia. But like West Africa, desire to federate went unfulfilled, apart from Zanzibar joining Tanganyika to form Tanzania after the overthrow of the sultan. But independence of Britain's East African colonies provided a base from which Southern African guerilla armies of Robert Mugabe's and Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic Front in Rhodesia could operate in the 1970s, and Nelson

Mandela's South African National Party could use in the 1980s to win majority rule in 1994.

Much of this success was due to ties formed between African leaders at the AAPC in 1958. But Nkrumah's yearning for an African federation failed. But not all was lost. Mugabe had spent time in Nkrumah's Ghana as a teacher and had married a Ghanaian political activist. Zimbabwe and South Africa independence fighters depended on African nations in the United Nations, on East Africa's front-line nations, and on black civil rights allies in the United States. They also appealed to North and South American and to European sympathizers, the World Council of Churches, and Eastern European communist nations to support their cause. The All-African People's Conference was not so important for decisions it made as for the fact that it brought African leaders together to discuss their dreams of how they would accomplish them.

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**See also Nkrumah, Kwame; Touré, Sékou**

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### ALLENDE GOSSENS, SALVADOR

Born June 26, 1908. Before entering a political career, Allende was trained as a medical doctor. He entered the Escuela de Medicina de la Universidad de Chile in 1926, became a leader among the Student Federation, or *Federacion Estudiantes de Chile* (FECH), and experienced first-hand the repression of the Ibañez del Campo dictatorship (1929–1931). Together with Eugenio Matte, Oscar Schnake, and the enigmatic Col. Marmaduke Grove (leader of the thirteen-day Socialist Republic of June 1932), Allende went on to organize a new political party that became one of Chile's most influential and powerful—the Socialist Party of Chile.

Running for the Socialist Party, Allende was elected Representative and entered Congress for the first time in 1937 at the age of twenty-nine. Active as campaign director in what was then the province of Valparaíso, Allende solidified his reputation as a talented and skillful politician, and it is generally considered that

his campaign efforts on behalf of the Popular Front—a coalition of the Socialist, Communist, Democratic, and Radical parties, plus the new Confederation of Chilean workers—were crucial in getting Pedro Aguirre Cerda (Radical Party) elected president in 1938. This was a landmark election because it marked the beginning of the Left's ability to participate in, as well as successfully compete in, the political struggle for power. Allende was rewarded the Ministry of Health in the Aguirre Cerda government.

In 1945, Allende was elected senator. During this tenure, Allende became vice president of the Senate, a position he held until 1950. In 1953, Allende was re-elected, representing Antofagasta, a northern province with a strong working-class electorate. In 1969, Allende began his fourth and final term. As senator, Allende authored, or co-authored, a number of laws that led to the creation of important institutions, as well as major welfare benefits, including the Medical College, Family and Pregnancy Assistance, and social security benefits for workers, peasants, widows, and orphans.

In part as result of the Socialist Party's decision to support the 1952 presidential candidate Ibañez del Campo, Allende and others left the party in protest and created the Frente del Pueblo. That year, Allende became the party's presidential candidate. This was the first time Allende ran for president, and he repeated his bid in all subsequent presidential elections (1958 and 1964) until finally, in 1970, he won, representing a united Socialist Party and the Popular Unity coalition, the latter composed primarily of the Socialist and Communist Party. In 1957, Allende was nominated presidential candidate for a second time, supported by the newly created Popular Action Front (FRAP). He lost to Conservative and Liberal Party candidate Jorge Alessandri, son of Arturo Alessandri (president from 1920 to 1924). The candidate of the newly formed Christian Democratic Party was Eduardo Frei. Alessandri's victory was narrow, obtaining only 31.6%, compared with Allende's 28.9% and Frei's 20.7%. In 1964, Allende lost a third time, though he was able to increase his vote to 39%. The Christian Democrat Frei won the election with an absolute majority (56%). The 1970 election was one of the closest ever, and Allende barely won, receiving 36.3%, against Alessandri's 34.9% and the Christian Democrat's candidate Tomic, who received 27.8%. The narrow victory necessitated Congressional confirmation. Allende's (and the Popular Unity's) inability to obtain a solid majority, best exemplified by the strong Center and Right majority opposition in Congress, made it impossible from the beginning to install Socialism via democratic means and continued to be a major stumbling bloc for Allende's "Chilean Road to Socialism."

Allende's dreams of a Socialist Chile were already present in the 1952 presidential race, in which he proposed an agrarian reform, as well as the nationalization of Chile's copper. It is an irony of history that it was not the Socialist Allende but the Christian Democrat Frei who not only started an agrarian reform but also began to give the Chilean state part ownership in the copper companies. This approach to nationalization became known as the "Chileanization." The Left, and particularly Allende and his Socialist Party, were opposed to Frei's "Revolution in Liberty."

Once in power, Allende and the Popular Unity were determined to bring socialism to Chile quickly. Most importantly, copper companies were nationalized, with unanimous Congressional support. In addition, coal and steel companies and many banks were nationalized. Frei's land reform was expanded, and Allende promised land to more peasants. The Allende government froze prices and raised wages. By 1972, it became increasingly obvious that the government's economic policies had run into a crisis. Inflation reached 150%, low copper prices depressed export earnings, foreign exchange reserves ran out by early 1973, and United States-led efforts to block Chile from obtaining international credit added to the economic crisis.

Opposition to the Allende government was fierce, coming from both opposition parties as well as important social sectors such as domestic entrepreneurs whose companies were expropriated. Led by the Christian Democratic Party, Congress often attempted to impeach cabinet ministers or moved to declare Allende's attempts at further socializing the economy unconstitutional. Allende also faced opposition from within the Popular Unity coalition. Particularly the more radical wing of the Socialist Party (for example, Altamirano) or extreme left-wing groups such as the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, of *Movimiento de Itqueierda Revolucionario* (MIR) increasingly pushed Allende to move more quickly towards Socialism. The Communist Party often supported Allende's moderate position, favoring the more difficult Congressional road. Therefore, internal divisions over the pace and scope of Socialism proved to be just as harmful to Allende's Popular Unity government as unyielding congressional opposition. Moreover, workers and unions of the recently nationalized State Ownership Area (APS) were increasingly difficult to control (for example, illegal strikes), and illegal seizures of private property by peasants and workers put Allende on the defensive. The truck owners' strikes in October 1972 and July 1973, and copper workers' strike in April of the same year contributed to the ongoing economic and political crisis. The March 1973 congressional elections added to the confusion, as neither Allende's

Popular Unity nor the opposition landed any clear victory. The Left vote increased slightly—enough to prevent the opposition from obtaining the two-thirds majority required for presidential impeachment, but not enough to give the government a majority in Congress. Through all this, Allende attempted to keep control and maintain governability. He changed his cabinet fifty-six times, and toward the end he brought in military officers. His attempt at amending the Constitution was blocked by Congress in 1972, and the military coup of September 11, 1973, came just days before his call for a national plebiscite over the future course of the country.

Although opinions over Allende's legacy remain deeply divided, the fact remains that his was the first democratically elected Socialist government anywhere in the world. It is not clear whether he committed suicide or whether he was killed by Pinochet's soldiers, who attacked the presidential palace La Moneda on September 11, 1973.

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**See also Chile; Pinochet Ugarte, Augusto; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development**

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## ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

### Historical Context

Following World War II, the United States offered many European governments aid to rebuild their economies and to modernize their industrial sectors.

This program, known as the Marshall Plan, helped states to ease the social and economic dislocations of the war's devastation and sweeping post-war change. Washington reasoned that ensuring minimum standards of living would keep domestic Communist parties out of government in Europe and ensure that pro-US regimes held on to power. Many Latin American leaders protested that they too deserved such attention from the United States, given their many military and economic contributions to the Allied war effort. However, Europe and Asia monopolized US attentions because of the incipient communist threat that Washington saw there. The Western hemisphere's seeming political stability gave it lower priority than regions that the United States considered threatened by communism (although the United States did open the School of the Americas in Panama, in 1946, to train Latin American military and civilian officers).

Compounding Latin Americans' unhappiness with a lack of economic support, when the United States did act, many saw its tactics as unwarranted interference in the affairs of sovereign states. As well, Latin Americans frequently characterized the United States as indifferent to their interests and solely focused on US political and business concerns. For example, following land appropriations in Guatemala that affected holdings of the US-based United Fruit Company, through the Central Intelligence Agency, Washington encouraged the 1954 ouster of President Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán, that state's democratically elected leader. One demonstration of deteriorating hemispheric relations came in 1958, when an angry mob in Caracas, Venezuela, attacked the car in which Vice President Richard M. Nixon traveled during a goodwill tour of Latin America. Violent anti-US demonstrations in Venezuela, Panama, and elsewhere showed increasing ill will toward the "colossus from the North." Thus, the issue of "what to do about Latin America" became a campaign issue in the 1960 presidential contest between Nixon and his challenger, John F. Kennedy.

Upsetting Washington's assumption that strongman regimes in Latin America would keep it free from communism, in 1959, Fidel Castro and his followers overthrew the dictatorship of Sergeant Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar in Cuba. After a brief period of support for the new regime, relations between the United States and Castro's government soured. Weeks before President Kennedy took office, the United States broke off diplomatic relations. These events, together with growing violence associated with efforts to return exiled leftist leader Juan Domingo Perón of Argentina to power, forced Washington to turn its attention and resources to the Western hemisphere.

With the Alliance for Progress Kennedy offered a fresh vision, with positive incentives for Latin American states to grow while allocating the benefits widely, through improved literacy, health, education, and productivity, as well as broad redistribution of agricultural holdings. Walt Rostow, head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and other modernization theorists greatly influenced the new president's thinking. Rostow promoted fighting the Cold War by encouraging state-directed economic progress in "underdeveloped" states. Modernization theorists, who dominated the development debate, advanced the notion that building the proper toolkit—certain values and institutional structures—"fixed" states and allowed them to develop. Thus, Kennedy offered help for states to advance and to develop the "correct tools" to encourage progress and to prevent communism from gaining a foothold. He offered a peaceful revolution of economic, social, and political development as an antidote to Castro-style revolution.

The President noted in his introduction of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, which restructured the country's foreign aid administration, that current programs were not suited to meeting the needs of the United States or the recipient states. Kennedy underlined the serious—"disastrous"—consequences that economic collapse of affected states would have for US security, and remarked that industrialized states now had a significant opportunity to help less developed states. His Alliance for Progress proposal also served to counterbalance the debacle of the invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, which, given US planning and funding, severely strained relations in the hemisphere. By making such a visible offer of help to Latin America, Kennedy hoped to reestablish good relations between the United States and its neighbors, while the program also built a middle class sector strong enough to thwart any revolutionary movement.

In August 1961, the Organization of American States' (OAS) Inter-American Economic and Social Council met in Punta del Este (Uruguay). The group drafted a charter for the Alliance for Progress (*Alianza para el Progreso*). The result, the Charter of Punta del Este, brought together President Kennedy's ideas with those articulated by Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek in his "Operation Pan America." It sought a plan to bring faster and more evenly distributed economic growth to the states of the Western Hemisphere.

## The Program

The United States, together with nineteen Latin American states, signed the original treaty, which

made a ten-year commitment. In 1965, they agreed to indefinite extension. By its signature, the United States promised aid and loan guarantees to help to generate additional investment capital for Latin American projects. Other signatory states promised to make reforms, particularly to their tax codes and land-holding regulations, in exchange for an infusion of new funding.

Among the challenges Kennedy sought to meet through the Alliance were moving Latin American states to long-term economic planning and more balanced economic production. Further, through the program, he hoped to encourage greater economic integration in Latin America and to find a solution to the price swings that plagued the commodity markets, especially that of coffee, one of the region's largest exports. Fiscal goals included price stability and prevention of sharp exchange rate fluctuations, to remove the uncertainty that discouraged exports and reduced foreign investment in Latin America.

Quoting the Charter, these factors should translate into "substantial and sustained growth of per capita income" of no less than 2.5 % per year. This, together with "a more equitable distribution of national income" and "comprehensive agrarian reform" to enact an "equitable system of land tenure," would allow states to increase education to allow "as a minimum, access to six years of primary education" for all children. Further, it would allow states to increase availability of low cost housing, and to deliver more services in urban, as well as rural, areas. All of these improvements, then, could help the achievement of another goal: "[t]o increase life expectancy at birth by a minimum of five years." At the urging of public and private officials in the United States, the US administering agency, in 1965, also named population control a "priority area."

Kennedy promised scientific and technical cooperation, emergency food aid, and to help to "rationalize" and reduce military spending by Latin American states (which he considered wasteful, as their forces could not stop any Soviet military challenge.) He also sought greater cultural cooperation; this was the Latin American states' opportunity to send "aid" in the other direction, teaching those in the United States about the rich and varied cultures to the south.

Kennedy pledged \$20 billion in assistance, in the form of grants and loans. To initiate the Alliance, he asked Congress for an initial grant of \$500 million in May 1961. In addition, he placed responsibility for the program with the newly formed Agency for International Development (USAID). To match the US monetary commitment, Kennedy called on other participants to provide an additional \$80 billion investment (for a total of \$100 billion in new capital for



development.) At the same time, he noted that few Latin American citizens enjoyed full political freedom and thus, that political reforms must advance. As well, Kennedy urged Latin American governments to enact social reforms to set aside outdated tax structures and to put in place new land tenure arrangements. Both reforms would distribute the benefits of economic growth more broadly.

Two years after its announcement, however, the Alliance had not achieved what Kennedy had hoped. Further, it remained a US-led project, rather than a broadly cooperative one. Kennedy considered creating a high-ranking Undersecretary of State for InterAmerican Affairs to signal the program's importance, but his 1963 assassination mooted that change.

Following Kennedy's death, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson assumed the presidency. Many characterize the Alliance as moving from a more "idealist" to a more "realist" phase with Johnson's inauguration, although others note that Kennedy's failure to react against right-wing coups in the region already had signaled the death (or absence) of his stated ideals. In either case, the reformers Kennedy initially put in power took a backseat to others who focused on growing Communist insurgencies. Thus, they privileged military aid to regimes supportive of US goals of preventing Communism and stopping anti-US activities, over development funding. Further, US backing of regimes that suppressed internal political opposition, often using Alliance resources for training police and military officers, tainted the Alliance for Progress in the eyes of many.

### Assessment

From the start, Alliance goals were ambitious and, ultimately, incompatible: moving from monocultural agriculture to diversification of production, land reform that spread ownership, education of populations, particularly in the hard sciences so that all could take advantage of the advances that technology promised, and the spread of democracy and citizen participation. However, the Alliance relied on the same elites who governed, owned land and other means of production, to redistribute wealth and power. Further, while pressing for economic diversification, the United States also wanted protection of its citizens' investments in Latin America. US firms not only owned disproportionate swathes of land but often, they also practiced monocultural cultivation for export. US interests operating in Alliance states, together with Latin American

political and economic elites, often found common cause in thwarting implementation of Alliance reforms. Land redistribution and political opening meant sharing wealth and power, and these resources had to come from those already in control. Thus, the program failed.

The Alliance never reached the lofty goals outlined by Kennedy and others. According to the US State Department web site, only 2% of total Latin America economic growth in the 1960s is attributable to the Alliance. Perhaps more chillingly, the Alliance did not prevent, some argued that it encouraged, the series of military coups that overtook many states of the region. These regimes delayed democratization and brutally suppressed political dissent for the next decade. Finally, the program did little to better relations between the United States and its neighbors in the region.

Clearly, the optimistic plans of modernization theorists—simple application of the proper tools would "fix" underdeveloped states—overreached. Even where the policies worked (for example, greater commodity price stability in the 1960s) increasing population size and continued skewed distribution of gains meant little or no reduction in poverty. Further, as the Cuban "threat" faded, as the US citizenry divided over military involvement in Indochina, and as the US executives became embroiled in scandal, the US government's interest in trying to effect political and economic changes in Latin America waned. Equally, these experiences shook the confidence and optimism of those who thought the country United States could make a difference. Not until President Jimmy Carter's election in 1976 did the United States again commit to effecting positive change in Latin America, rather than simply seek suppression of anti-US groups. By the 1970s, as well, modernization theorists had lost ground to such dependency theorists as Andre Gunder Frank. Many of these theorists were Latin Americanists who argued that international capitalist relations, rather than leading to development, stripped states of resources, leaving them less rather than more developed. Thus, belief that aid for the purposes outlined in the Alliance's charter could help declined in many circles.

In 1973, acknowledging the program's failure, the OAS disbanded the committee that administered it. One part of the Alliance, however, transferred to the private sector, continues today. Partners of the Americas grew out of "people-to-people" exchanges and joint development programs that allowed participation by private actors in Latin America and the United States. In 1970, the USAID moved these hemispheric "partnerships" to the private realm, although USAID, along with other government agencies,

continues to fund development projects performed by Partners of the Americas teams.

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**See also Development History and Theory; Modernization; United States Agency for International Development (USAID)**

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### ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE (AIML)

The All-India Muslim League (AIML) was founded on December 30, 1906, at Dacca, Bengal, India (now Dhaka, Bangladesh), in response to the creation of the All-India National Congress (INC) in 1885, the efforts of Nawab Viqar ul-Mulk (1841–1917), who had been attempting since 1901 to set up a political organization for Muslims, and to the urging of the British Viceroy, Lord Minto (1845–1914), who wanted a moderate Muslim party to counterbalance the increasingly radical Congress. Above all, Muslims wanted to make sure that their views were heard when the British introduced new constitutional reforms. A branch of the League was established in London in 1908.

During the first three decades of its existence, the AIML was mostly a moribund organization, with its members assembling annually at the end of the year wherever the Khilafat Movement or the INC was meeting to debate the issues of the day. Few of its followers bothered to pay annual dues, and most of its members and officials also were members of other political parties. From 1906 until 1910, the party's central office remained at Aligarh. It then moved to Lucknow, and the party was maintained through an annual donation of three thousand rupees by the Raja of Mahmudabad (1879–1931). From 1936 until 1947, the headquarters was in Delhi. The party membership

in 1927 was around 1,300 members, and in 1930, fewer than seventy-five people attended the famous session at Allahabad when Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938) called for the creation of a state for the Muslims of South Asia in the northwest part of India. To encourage membership, the party subscription was reduced from six rupees to one rupee a year, and the admission fee of five rupees was abolished.

With the introduction of a new constitution, the Government of India Act of 1935, the election of candidates for provincial assemblies became crucial as Indians would govern the provinces directly. As a result, the AIML began to be organized as a viable political party. On March 4, 1934, Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948) became the president of the party, and this heralded a new chapter in its history. Jinnah nominated the Parliamentary Board, which chose party candidates for the general elections in 1936. While party funds mostly came from contributions from three rich supporters, and it was opposed both by the INC and regional Muslim parties, the party began its slow ascent to national importance. This was due to the leadership of Jinnah, and the organizational work of the independently wealthy General Secretary Liaquat Ali Khan (1895–1951), who devoted almost all of his time over the next ten years to the party. The president of the AIML was elected annually, the general secretary for three years. Under the president was the Working Committee of a dozen or so members and then the party members. This organizational structure was also followed in the provinces.

The League was able to establish branch offices in each of the provinces of India in preparation for the general elections of 1936 and contested half of the seats reserved for Muslims. While it obtained some 60% of those seats, it won practically none of the seats in the Muslim majority provinces except for Bengal, where it gained thirty-nine out of 117 seats. These electoral defeats, ironically, were to lead to a complete change in party fortunes as Congress ministries governed in most of the provinces of India in a manner that was viewed as favoring the Hindu community and an attack on Muslim institutions and the Muslim way of life. As a result, there were widespread defections from the INC. In 1939, the League published two widely discussed reports that detailed Congress misgovernment, and this further inflamed Muslim feeling toward the Congress.

In the 1937 annual session held in Lucknow, the League became increasingly militant, with Jinnah declaring that there were three entities in India: the Congress, the British, and the League. The All-India Muslim Students Federation was organized, and the League chalked out a Five-Year Plan for the Muslim

community. In the 1940 annual meeting held at Lahore, the League, on March 23, 1940, moved the “Pakistan Resolution,” whereby the party called for the creation of a separate state for the Muslims of India in the northwest and northeast of India. An estimated one hundred thousand people attended this meeting. Membership of the party had risen to nearly ninety thousand, and it would continue to rise. A party newspaper was created in 1941, the weekly *Dawn*, and it became a daily the following year. In 1943, the League created a planning committee that would plan economic development in the Pakistan areas—a Committee of Action to enforce party discipline among the provincial League parties, and a Committee of Writers to create party pamphlets. The League also actively recruited student workers, especially from Aligarh Muslim University.

All of the organization work of the previous decade led to a tremendous League victory in the 1946 general elections, when it won one-third of the seats in the Punjab, 115 of 250 seats in Bengal, and almost all of the Muslim seats it contested in other parts of India. It buttressed Jinnah’s claim that he spoke for the Muslims of India, and the British treated him as such, even in the face of Congress claims, especially those of Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), that the INC spoke for all of India. As a result of this electoral victory, an increasing number of Muslim politicians joined the League, whereas those who did not were steamrolled into political oblivion. The League had demonstrated that it was the party of the Muslims of South Asia. When the Interim Government was formed in 1946, Liaquat Ali Khan took one of the most important positions in the government, that of Finance Member.

By early 1947, both the INC and the British agreed that on independence India should be partitioned into the sovereign states of India and Pakistan. With the creation of Pakistan on August 15, 1947, Jinnah became Governor-General, and Liaquat Ali Khan became Prime Minister. The AIML split into two parties, the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Muslim League.

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**See also** India; Islam; Muslim League

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### AMIN, IDI

Idi Amin (1923–2003), former leader of Uganda, was one of the most brutal despots ever to rule a country. Born into the Kakwa tribe in the northwest corner of Uganda, sometime between 1923 and 1928 (the exact date remains unknown, as no birth records exist), he attained only a second-grade education.

With minimal education and basic aptitude in five languages, Amin attained the highest rank an African soldier could aspire to in the British colonial army (*effendi*), due primarily to his physical prowess. In 1971, when Milton Obote, Uganda’s first prime minister, was attending a Commonwealth Conference in Singapore, Amin staged a coup and became the country’s president and liquidated most of the military leaders who opposed his regime. Some estimated that between two hundred thousand and five hundred thousand people were dead from Amin’s atrocities by the time he was ousted in 1979.

### Socioeconomic Anarchy in Amin’s Uganda

Amin started his reign with the promise of a brief military rule to rectify the economic mismanagement and other “sins” of the Obote government, after which multiparty politics were to be reinstated. Accordingly, Amin quickly released many political prisoners, established an ethnically diverse cabinet, broke the monopoly of state-owned enterprises, and shifted the nation’s political ideology toward the West. However, he was not able to engage in thoughtful planning or disciplined spending, relying mostly on his whims, with occasional “guidance” from soothsayers, dreams, and “divine inspiration.” Frustrated by the intricacies of ministerial debates, Amin avoided cabinet meetings and once ordered his cabinet to take a nine month vacation.

In 1972, following an alleged dream in which he purportedly received instructions from God, Amin ordered the forty thousand to eighty thousand Asians living in Uganda to leave the country within ninety

days. In the same year, he severed diplomatic relations with Israel and, in 1977, with Britain, and turned to the likes of Libya and the Soviet Union for support. With the exodus of the Asians, most of whom were established traders and professionals, Uganda's economy collapsed. Many of the formerly Asian-owned shops that were given to Ugandans were plundered; consumer goods became scarce; unemployment, inflation, and cost of living soared; education, health care, and other social services collapsed; and internal population dislocation, cross-border refugee movements, and commodity smuggling became prevalent.

As Uganda's economy deteriorated and opposition mounted, so did Amin's bloodthirstiness and controversies in international relations: He openly praised the murder of Israeli athletes by Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) operatives during the 1972 Munich Olympics; he supported the Palestinians who hijacked the Air France flight to Kampala in 1976—which culminated in the famous Entebbe raid by Israel; he nationalized many British enterprises in 1973; and, in 1975, offered himself to be appointed the Head of the Commonwealth. After surviving numerous attempts on his life, Amin invaded Tanzania in 1978, and President Julius Nyerere, who never hid his abhorrence for Amin, mounted a counterattack, forcing Amin into exile in Libya in 1979. Later that year, he settled in the port city of Jeddah in Saudi Arabia. In 1989, he attempted a clandestine return to Uganda to reclaim power but was uncovered at Kinshasa and forced back to Saudi Arabia, where he died in 2003.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Nyerere, Julius; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Uganda**

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### AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Amnesty International (AI) describes itself as “a worldwide movement of people who campaign for

internationally recognized human rights.” AI emerged in the 1960s as a reaction against Cold War ideological polarization. It was felt by the founders of AI that a movement of people independent from states and political parties was the most credible way to pursue the defense of human rights as universal ethical norms. The defense of basic freedoms was broadened by AI beyond the defense of political prisoners to include all “prisoners of conscience,” a term invented by the organization to describe the situation of being imprisoned for one's ideas or beliefs. Political impartiality and independence, as well as principled action based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and other key human rights instruments, are the founding norms guiding AI's work from its inception until today. AI's founder, Peter Benenson, inspired by his past involvement in Britain's Labour party and by Catholic ideals, was AI's first president from 1964 to 1966. Martin Ennals was appointed secretary general in 1968 and remained in place until 1980. Irene Khan, first woman to become AI's secretary general, was appointed in May 2001.

Originally, Amnesty was conceived as a fixed-term project, a campaign to convince world leaders to adopt a general amnesty for political prisoners. At the beginning, it held the name of the “Appeal for Amnesty 1961” and was publicized by the British newspaper *The Observer*. The campaign coincided with the anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs in Russia and the outbreak of the American Civil War (both in 1861).

The project soon institutionalized itself to pursue and strengthen its activities. In 1963, at Amnesty's second international conference, its Constitution was discussed, and the name “Amnesty International” was born. This conference also produced an International Code of Conduct for political prisoners and calls for greater rights to asylum, a World Human Rights Fund, and an International Human Rights Day on December 10. AI's International Secretariat was established in London. It also was decided that the organization would not accept any funds from governmental sources or political parties to guarantee its independence.

In 1964, AI received consultative status at the United Nations' Economic and Social Council (UN-ECOSOC). From 1963 to 1974, Sean MacBride, an Irish diplomat and jurist, was a member of AI's international executive committee, while he was secretary general of the International Commission of Jurists from 1963 to 1970. MacBride played an important role in AI's advocacy activities at the UN, leading the formation of a coalition of human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for the UN 1968 International Conference on Human Rights in Tehran.

In the 1970s, AI's work started to intensify at the level of the UN. Although the original intent in AI's work was not to lobby the UN as such since the UN was not used to listening to NGOs at that time, it rapidly became clear that an important part of the work of AI would be to advocate for more sophisticated human rights instruments and enforcement bodies within the UN. In 1977, AI's International Secretariat hired its first professional liaison officer dedicated exclusively to this task.

Rapidly, AI developed as a membership-based international NGO through the creation of local committees first in Britain, then Europe, North America, and elsewhere. The organization's own figures today claim more than 1.8 million members. Local Amnesty International committees can be found in more than 150 countries and territories around the world. AI's national sections offices and structures can be found in fifty countries.

One of the central activities characterizing the originality of AI's work is the creation of letter-writing networks to ask authorities for the improvement of the living conditions and the release of prisoners of conscience. Individual cases are "adopted" by local committees that write to state authorities at various levels to bring the cases to their attention. Public attention from abroad on specific prisoners' cases is seen as an effective means through which state authorities can be influenced. One of the principles that was established in AI's first years and remains to this day is the prohibition for local and national AI committees to adopt cases of prisoners from their own countries. This is meant to protect AI activists, and the prisoners they defend, as well as the impartiality of AI's work.

AI's work also has rapidly moved into the field of lobbying and advocating for new international legal norms on human rights protection. Either directly within the UN's official and unofficial negotiations with state officials to draft new treaties and enforcement mechanisms or through mass public campaigns seeking to shape public opinion and create pressure on state officials, AI has developed many new tactics now used extensively by a variety of NGOs throughout the world to influence transnational and international politics.

Another practice of AI that was unheard of in international politics when the organization first started is public criticism of governments for their human rights abuses. The release of detailed reports on human rights violations based on fact-finding missions and other sources has become one of the central activities of the organization. As a result, AI is a key if not the most important information resource on the situation of human rights throughout the world.

Even though AI's work applies to industrialized as well as developing countries, its relevance to the politics of the latter is particularly important. AI has always defended the rights of individuals living under any kind of political regime. At the beginning of AI's work during the Cold War, local committees were asked to adopt a prisoner from each of the three regions of world politics: the East, the West, and the Third World. When the activities of local committees broadened beyond the defense of prisoners of conscience's rights, this rule was relaxed, but AI maintained its impartiality through responding to human rights abuses throughout the world.

In the 1960s, AI's work was predominantly focused on political prisoners, emphasizing political and religious persecution and inhumane prison conditions. In the 1970s, it started to work on torture and disappearances. In the 1980s, its work broadened to include reports on extrajudicial killings. Also in the 1980s, AI started a new campaign for the abolition of the death penalty. In the 1990s, it campaigned for the recognition of "women's rights as human rights" and for the creation of a Permanent International Criminal Court. AI was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977 for "having contributed to securing the ground for freedom, for justice, and thereby also for peace in the world."

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**See also Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

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### ANDEAN COMMUNITY

The Andean Community, as the Andean Group has been known since 1997, was initially formed in 1966 within the framework for economic integration laid out in the Latin American Free Trade Association. Under the terms of the Cartagena Accord in 1969,

Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru formally created the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) and the Andean Pact, which had four objectives:

1. To create a common market,
2. To promote industrialization through specialization in new industries,
3. To gain leverage over transnational corporations and direct foreign investment, and
4. To grant trade and other preferences to less developed members (Ecuador and Bolivia).

The innovative Statute on Foreign Capital imposed restrictions on foreign investment, limiting foreign ownership to 49%. After the military coup in 1973, Chile at first resisted implementation of the statute and then withdrew from the Andean Group in 1976. Venezuela, meanwhile, joined in 1973. In 1979, the Andean Council of Foreign Ministers was created, along with the Andean Parliament and Court of Justice, adding a political dimension to the group.

A renewed effort to strengthen the group came after 1991, although a lingering border dispute between Peru and Ecuador and the Alberto Fujimori coup in 1992 created internal strains. Peru suspended its membership temporarily in 1992, but at the same time, Colombia and Venezuela signed a trade agreement that led, in 1993, to the creation of a Free Trade Zone encompassing Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. The four established a common external tariff in 1995, making the Andean Group a customs union. In 1997, the name was changed to the Andean Community, and its headquarters was established in Lima, Peru, in keeping with an agreement to reincorporate Peru gradually into the free trade zone. In 1998, a framework was signed in Buenos Aires for the eventual establishment of a free trade accord between the Andean Community and the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR). The current goal is to eliminate internal barriers to services and labor so as to establish a common market by 2005.

As of 2002, the Andean Community encompasses some 115 million people, more than double the figure at its inception. Its collective gross domestic product is \$283 billion, and its per capita income is \$2,464. Average inflation stands at 11%. Intracommunity trade totals some \$5.6 billion, a fifty-fold increase over the level in 1970.

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**See also Andean South America: History and Economic Development; Andean South America: International Relations**

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## ANDEAN SOUTH AMERICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The nations comprising Andean South America, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru—share a common cultural heritage as well as a lingering colonial legacy that has contributed to their political, social, and economic development since 1945. During the twentieth century, the twin forces of reformism and revolution challenged the neocolonial order that emerged after independence.

Geographically, these nations are located on the Pacific coast, although Bolivia lacks a coast as a consequence of the War of the Pacific (1879–1883). The Andes cut across these nations and separate the coast from the tropical rain forests to the east. Socially, these nations are deeply divided by racial and ethnic cleavages that relegated the Indians to a subservient position within the political, social, and economic structure. Their population can be divided into three general ethnic/racial groups: whites, *mestizos* or *cholos* (racially or culturally mixed peoples), and Indians. In all three nations, the European whites are a numerically small group possessing the wealth and monopolizing political power, a situation challenged by twentieth-century mass political movements.

The export economy contributed to underdevelopment since their primary exports were subject to the fluctuations of world market demand. The Great Depression caused great havoc to the political and economic life of these countries, with new social forces emerging and challenging the traditional elite. The elite responded to this threat through dictatorship and populism. This turbulent period created the political leaders, social forces, and alliances that influenced subsequent events after 1945.

In Bolivia, the early 1940s saw the rise of new reformist and revolutionary political parties, such as the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) under the leadership of Victor Paz Estenssoro, which represented a moderate left and middle-class alternative to the traditional parties. In 1946, a brutal

populist government that came to power in 1943 was overthrown and a left-right coalition ruled the nation until 1952. With demands for social change increasing, the MNR became important politically in the 1951 presidential elections. The traditional right-wing elites realized that only the military could assure their hold on power. When the exiled Paz Estenssoro won these elections, the military annulled the elections and outlawed the MNR, setting the stage for Bolivia's National Bourgeois Revolution of 1952. On April 9, 1952, the MNR organized a popular armed uprising that led to the fall of the military and the MNR's rise to political power. The MNR implemented a radical social and economic program that transformed Bolivia's socioeconomic structures by nationalizing the tin mines and instituting a major agrarian reform program that formalized the Indian takeover of hacienda lands. Under the revolutionary agitation from 1952 to 1956, the government included labor through its organization, the Bolivian Workers Central (COB). Before the 1956 presidential elections, the MNR had split into a center-right middle-class wing headed by Hernán Siles Zuazo and a left-wing led by the COB. Siles Zuazo's election shifted the direction of the revolution by adopting a state-capitalist model.

In Peru, after 1945, the American Revolutionary Populist Party (APRA), led by Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, represented the populist challenge against the traditional political and economic system. During the 1945 elections, APRA demonstrated its appeal to the Peruvian masses with the election of José Luis Bustamante y Rivero. In 1946, APRA members sitting in the cabinet, the senate, and the chamber of deputies initiated populist policies that caused a backlash from the economic elite and the military. The military overthrew Bustamante in 1948 and replaced him with General Manuel Odría, who banned APRA and exiled Haya de la Torre.

During Bustamante's administration, the role of the state had increased, and the economy was redirected towards agricultural diversification and industrialization. Under Odría, the status quo ante was restored with the reintroduction of economic policies that favored the traditional exporting elites. In 1950, Odría legitimated his rule by holding elections, which he readily won. From 1950 to 1953, with increasing export demand resulting from the Korean War, Odría actively sought the support of the working masses. Export earnings declined with the end of the war and worker militancy increased. The 1956 elections brought a former president, Manuel Prado Ugarteche, to power. Supported by APRA, Prado defeated Fernando Belaúnde Terry, a politician who later would dominate Peruvian politics. Although Prado continued an export oriented economic policy during

his administration (1956–1962), he also passed legislation favorable to the working masses and legalized APRA and the Peruvian Communist Party.

When an APRA victory proved imminent in the contentious 1962 elections, the military launched a coup and annulled the elections. Under US pressure, new elections were held in 1963, and the military accepted the election results when Belaúnde won. Belaúnde implemented an ambitious developmental program that saw an increased state role favoring the working class, the peasants and the poor. His plans, especially those regarding agrarian reform, were opposed by APRA, Odría's followers, and the traditional landowning elite. The highland peasantry invaded hacienda lands and a guerilla movement emerged. Belaúnde reacted by sending in a reluctant military, which crushed the incipient guerrilla movement and the peasant uprising by 1966. Another major problem that engulfed his government concerned the International Petroleum Corporation (IPC) and negotiations concerning partial nationalization. Under pressure from the United States, the government reached an agreement with the IPC that Peruvian nationalists condemned as a sellout to foreign interests. On October 3, 1968, the military overthrew Belaúnde's government and ushered in a period of major restructuring of Peru's traditional social and economic structures.

In Ecuador, the period of political instability that began in 1931 came to an end with the overthrow of José María Velasco Ibarra in 1947, and the 1948 elections brought a period of presidential stability. During his administration (1948–1952), Galo Plaza, a member of the landowning elite, introduced political, social, and economic reforms. He opened up the political sphere to all contending political parties by incorporating all major political groupings into his cabinet and allowing freedom of the press. He engaged in a vigorous public works project that benefited the banana export sector and provided government credits to this sector, largely financed through loans from the United States and the World Bank. A banana boom contributed to political stability as the Korean War increased demand for other exports. The 1952 elections saw Velasco Ibarra as president for the third time. The uniqueness of this political transition was that for the first time in twenty-eight years power had passed peacefully to the presidential successor. During this presidential administration (1952–1956) government largesse continued with public work project spending and rewards for civilian and military supporters. Velasco Ibarra, who ran as a populist with the support of the Guayaquil-based Concentration of Popular Forces (CFP), had that group's leader exiled once in office

and shifted his base of support to the nation's conservative forces. In 1955, problems surfaced with the United States over tuna fishing within the two hundred-mile limit that Ecuador claimed. During the 1956 elections, three political factions ran and another smooth transition followed as Camilo Ponce Enríquez, a rightist candidate supported by Velasco Ibarra, became president and ruled with relative stability from 1956 to 1960. Near the end of his term, the banana boom went bust, resulting in increased unemployment, strikes, and rioting in 1959. The consummate populist politician, Velasco Ibarra, took full advantage of this turmoil by running on a decidedly populist platform, promising far-reaching social and economic reforms. He handily won the 1960 elections and took political power for the fourth time.

The National Bolivian Revolution, under US pressure, shifted right by taking increasingly conservative economic policies. Although the United States did not actively oppose the revolution, it utilized economic pressure to get the government to adopt policies favoring economic stabilization. After 1956, the government compensated the expropriated mine owners, allowed foreign investment, reduced labor participation in the government, and reduced social programs. The military benefited through US training and aid to counter the peasant and worker militias that had emerged during the radical phase of the revolution from 1952 to 1956. The United States lavished aid that financed a developmental program benefiting the Santa Cruz region of eastern Bolivia by promoting agroindustrial enterprises. The Paz Estenssoro Administration (1960–1964) continued these policies but, in 1964, decided to break with the COB and the mineworkers by allying with the military by selecting General René Barrientos as vice president. The United States supported this move as it prevented Juan Lechín, a Trotskyist labor leader, from taking power. Although Paz Estenssoro won the election, his vice president overthrew him in November 1964, and the military dominated the government for the next eighteen years.

The Peruvian military's seizure of power in October 1968 portended a new type of military revolution as General Juan Velasco Alvarado proclaimed a "Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces," which sought to impose a new economic order that would benefit all Peruvians. The revolutionary government nationalized the IPC, a broadly supported action, implemented a far-reaching agrarian reform program, and nationalized key foreign-owned export industries and enterprises. The 1973–1974 world oil crisis had its ramifications in Peru as prices rose for oil and technological imports, while the price of exports fell, creating a major balance of payment problem. Ill

during this critical period, Velasco saw the end of the revolutionary experiment in 1975 as a struggle within the military emerged. Military conservatives won the struggle and replaced Velasco with General Francisco Morales Bermúdez, who retreated from Velasco's policies and purged the radical leftist elements from government, as well as reformist officers. He instituted an austerity program that deeply affected the working class, ended the agrarian reform, and courted foreign investment. The military experiment with revolution came full circle with the gradual transition to civilian rule, culminating with the 1980 presidential election and the return of Belaúnde Terry.

Velasco Ibarra's 1960 victory in Ecuador did not signify a radical alteration of the living conditions of the urban poor as promised during his campaign. Ever the populist, he denounced the 1942 treaty with Peru and instigated a "Tuna War" with the United States. His campaign rhetoric unleashed unrealistic hopes in the masses that went unfulfilled because the government lacked the necessary revenues as a result of falling exports, increasing unemployment and capital flight. Amid growing protests, the military overthrew him in 1961 and installed Vice-President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy. Amid the Cold War atmosphere of the 1960s and the success of the Cuban Revolution, the United States and the military feared that Arosemena was too leftist. In 1963, the military overthrew Arosemena and installed a *junta* that repressed all left-wing opposition while instituting a reformist program influenced by the Alliance for Progress and subsidized by US aid. The *junta* also instituted an agrarian reform program that abolished the feudalistic land tenure system of the *huasipungo* but did little else. With the decline of banana export revenues in 1965, the *junta* increased import duties, which set off a series of strikes. Amid this declining economy, the *junta* stepped down in 1966, and a constituent assembly drafted a new constitution. In 1968, presidential elections were held and Velasco Ibarra, returning from exile, won the elections for the fifth time. Not having a clear political mandate, his political problems were exacerbated by a balance of payment crisis. The Congress and Supreme Court opposed the emergency fiscal measures that he instituted to raise government revenues. In 1970, Velasco Ibarra, with military support, assumed full dictatorial powers and decreed a number of unpopular economic measures that contributed to some fiscal health. Fearing a win by Assad Bucaram in the 1972 presidential elections and the mismanagement of Ecuador's new oil wealth, the military overthrew him. Velasco Ibarra went into his final exile as a military *junta* led by General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara ruled the country from 1972 to 1976.



Rodríguez Lara, declaring that his government was “nationalist and revolutionary,” embarked on a state-led developmental program whose goal was the transformation of Ecuador’s society and economy by nationalizing industries and creating public enterprises. Oil policy became very important as control of this resource not only provided the necessary revenues for the reforms proposed but also symbolized the regime’s nationalist orientation. The *junta* also proposed an agrarian reform, but its effect was limited as a result of landowner opposition. Another balance-of-payments crisis developed as oil earning declined and public expenditures increased. Austerity measures increased protests from the private sector and labor, leading to the overthrow of Rodríguez Lara. A military triumvirate assumed power from 1976 to 1979, which prepared a return to civilian rule, a goal achieved in 1979 with the inauguration of Jaime Roldós.

Although the Bolivian military ruled the country from 1964 to 1982, it did not do so as a unified corporate entity with one definable policy. Implementing policies that ranged from leftist to rightist, it had one overwriting thrust, controlling and repressing the popular social forces that emerged from the revolution. The appearance of Ernesto “Che” Guevara’s guerrillas appeared to give credence to the government’s repressive aims. The military governments were not able to transcend and unify society’s various divisions. These contradictions, along with heavy foreign borrowing and a declining economy, contributed to the slow, torturous transition towards civilian rule, achieved in 1982 with the election of Hernán Siles Zuazo as president.

By the 1980s, all three nations were under civilian rule. They would inherit the problems created by the military governments, as well as a transformed international economic situation that circumscribed their options in terms of economic policies adopted, creating the conditions for new social eruptions. In Peru, Belaúnde’s government shifted from the state-led capitalist model of development to neoliberal economic policies, attracting foreign capital and leading to debt renegotiation. For Latin America, the 1980s are known as the “Lost Decade” as a result of declining social and economic indicators. Many Latin American nations were indebted as a result of generous foreign lending based on “petrodollars.” From 1981 to 1983, an international debt crisis and a world recession created a severe social and economic crisis for Belaúnde’s government, contributing to the rise of the Shining Path (SL) in the highlands. In Lima, a rival revolutionary group, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), appeared. Belaúnde allowed the military to launch a counterinsurgency

campaign in the highlands, contributing to human rights violations. International border problems re-emerged with Ecuador as the two nations skirmished for five days. Drug trafficking also increased, fueled by the demand for cocaine in the industrialized world, especially the United States. Peru, along with Bolivia, became the largest coca leaf producers as this export replaced the demand for traditional legal exports. Although Belaúnde served out his second presidency (1980–1985), his administration appeared to be a political, social, and economic fiasco.

In 1985, APRA’s Alan García Pérez became president, signaling a return to populism and a retreat from neoliberal economic policies. García instituted policies to help the destitute masses that had suffered during the aggressive international economic climate of the 1980s. He shocked world financial markets by defaulting on the foreign debt and limiting interest payments on this debt to 10% of the nation’s export earning. The first two years of his administration proved beneficial to the overall health of the economy, but by 1987, his policies were proving detrimental as the trade deficit increased, foreign exchange reserves declined, and private national capital refused to invest. The nation experienced a period of hyperinflation and increased public sector debt as SL and MRTA activity surged and criminal violence increased. Corruption scandals also enveloped García’s government. While the private sector and the right organized against the APRA, Alberto Fujimori, a virtual unknown, emerged as an unlikely candidate during the 1990 presidential campaign. Igniting popular passions, his grassroots movement, Cambio 1990, won a majority of the popular vote.

As a result of the oil boom, the Roldós government in Ecuador inherited a relatively healthy economy from the military. Quito benefited the most from economic expansion as government employment increased, contributing to a burgeoning middle class and rising income inequality. Political tempers flared between Roldós and Bucaram, the CFP’s populist leader, who challenged the president from Congress. This conflict continued until May 24, 1981, when the president was killed in a plane crash. Vice President Osvaldo Hurtado found the nation in an economic crisis with the end of the oil boom and mounting foreign debt. The right and business community organized against Hurtado’s drastic austerity policies. During the 1984 elections, the right and business interests supported León Febres Cordero, a Guayaquil businessman. With a narrow victory, Febres Cordero and his technocrats instituted a neoliberal program that severely affected Ecuador’s lower classes. His increasing unpopularity led to the defeat of the right in the 1988 presidential elections as

Rodrigo Borja of the Democratic Left party (ID) won. Saddled with Ecuador's gravest economic crisis in its history, Borja's options were limited, so he continued the austerity policies and accepted International Monetary Fund (IMF) demands. Opposition from the left and the right coupled with rising Indian militancy made governing impossible. The Indians became a new social force in the country's political equation as they demanded agrarian reform and recognition of Ecuador as a multiethnic nation. Borja's party was defeated in 1992 with the election of Sixto Durán-Ballén as president. His government quickly implemented a structural adjustment package that exacerbated the conflict between the government and the labor unions. The Huaorani Indians in the Amazon rain forest also protested government policies favorable to the oil industry, which had devastated their traditional way of life through unregulated pollution and environmental destruction. In 1995, international problems also flared up as the Peruvian boundary dispute over the 1942 Rio Protocol reemerged as a means to deflect the internal political, social, and economic crisis.

Durán-Ballén's vice president, Alberto Dahik, instrumental in fashioning the administration's neoliberal economic policies that were so widely rejected, fled the country in disgrace as a result of a corruption scandal in 1995, which contributed to the rise of a new populist candidate, Abdala Bucaram. Although Bucaram won the presidency in 1996, after six months his administration was brought down amidst charges of corruption and mental incapacity. The Congress deposed him and selected Fabian Alarcón, the congressional president, as the interim president in 1997. A succession crisis ensued as Bucaram's vice president, Rosalía Arteaga, declared herself the legitimate successor. She abruptly resigned after her recognition as president, and Alarcón resumed the presidency until the 1998 elections. Jamil Mahuad Witt, who narrowly won the election, confronted an economic crisis brought on by declining oil prices and high inflation, which was further exacerbated by costly destruction from El Niño. In 2000, large indigenous mobilizations, supported by the military and police forces, forced him from office. Vice President Gustavo Noboa became president and steered the country away from economic chaos by instituting a dollarization policy to stabilize the economy. The next elections brought Lucio Gutiérrez, a former army colonel and a military leader of the 2000 mobilizations, to power in 2003. Promising to increase social spending during his campaign, once he took office, he realized that he had to negotiate with the IMF and institute privatization policies. The indigenous peoples who brought him to power felt betrayed. In 2004, higher

oil prices allowed Gutiérrez's government to survive the political winds that had befallen his predecessors.

Fujimori in Peru continued the neoliberal experiment that had swept throughout Latin America by instituting a particularly virulent economic shock program, popularly known as the "Fujishock." These measures brought down hyperinflation, but at a huge social cost. The unpopularity of these measures and the continuing guerilla war led Fujimori, with military support, to launch an "autocoup" against his own government by dissolving Congress in 1992, which had wide popular support. In September 1992, the capture of the SL leader led to the decline of the guerilla group. In the war against SL, the military and police had committed numerous human rights violations, especially against the highland Indians. The end of the guerrilla war and Fujimori's neoliberal economic policies brought foreign investment back, which increased his popularity, evident by his overwhelming reelection in 1995. In 1996, Congress passed a law so that Fujimori could run for a third term in 2000. He won the elections against his opponent Alejandro Toledo, an Indian with a Ph.D. in Economics from Stanford University. A corruption scandal soon broke out as Fujimori's intelligence chief was accused of bribing congressmen, participating in the drug trade, and illegal arms shipments to Colombian guerrillas. In November 2000, Fujimori went into exile. In 2001, the nation elected its first Indian president, Toledo, who sought to restore democracy and heal the wounds that had cut deeply through the society during the years from 1980 to 2000. The hopes that Toledo had inspired were soon dashed by the continuing economic crisis. With massive protests against the government's privatization efforts, Toledo declared a state of emergency in 2003. Toledo also came under attack for his private life as his popularity took a steep decline, becoming Latin America's most unpopular president.

Similar problems as those faced by Ecuador and Peru have plagued Bolivia since the election of the leftist candidate Siles Zuazo. Having a popular mandate to implement populist policies, the nation's political and economic crisis circumscribed the options open to the president. Unable to pay the foreign debt and with a huge fiscal deficit, the worsening economic crisis was not only exacerbated by the political, social, and economic demands of the masses but also by the heated debates between the executive and legislative branches over which policies to implement to confront the economic crisis. The political crisis not only reflected the contending social and class forces that had divided the nation after the revolution but also a struggle between two different developmental models. The inability of the government to enact its policies without provoking

labor or business led to an impasse that created the most drastic economic crisis in the nation's history. Giving up in frustration after a general strike and an attempted coup, the government decided to hold early elections in 1985. In the hotly contested election, no clear winner emerged, so Congress elected Paz Estenssoro as president for the fourth time.

In 1985, Paz Estenssoro enacted one of the most severe economic stabilization programs in all of Latin America, becoming a test case for a study of neoliberalism. The MNR government shifted its policies away from redistribution to courting private enterprise through reducing state intervention in the economy through its Decree 21060, known as the New Economic Plan, which moved away from the economic nationalist and state-led developmental policies of earlier MNR governments. These policies created a backlash from the popular social forces represented by the COB, which were quickly suffocated by declaring a state of emergency and exiling for the movements' leaders. In order to implement his program, Paz Estenssoro reached an agreement with Banzer and the *Acción Democrática Nacionalista* (ADN). In the 1989 elections, the MNR, ADN, and the *Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR) fielded candidates, but Banzer formed an alliance between the ADN and the MIR, which allowed for the MIR candidate Jaime Paz Zamora's election by Congress. This coalition denied the presidency to Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, the MNR candidate who won the popular vote. All three candidates had agreed to continue the neoliberal experiment.

Although representing the left, Paz Zamora continued the patronage system by including many conservative ADN members in his cabinet. In the 1993 elections, Sánchez de Lozada, a US-educated businessman and a major stockholder in the nation's largest private mining company, and the MNR made a comeback with the support of the *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Katari*, an Aymara Indian political organization. To reward this support, Sánchez de Lozada selected Víctor Hugo Cardenas, an Aymara Indian leader, as his vice president, demonstrating the new political role of the Indian and *cholo* masses. Reflecting this broadening indigenous political participation, the 1967 Constitution was reformed in 1994 by declaring that Bolivia was a "multiethnic and pluricultural" nation. His continuation of the neoliberal experiment led to major violent protests against his government. An area of major conflict was in the coca-producing regions of La Paz and the Chapare as coca producers fought against the government's US-supported eradication programs. The Congress decided the 1997 elections by declaring the ADN candidate Banzer the victor, who continued the

neoliberal program. Social protests continued and the situation in the Chapare region grew drastic as special police units were sent to eradicate coca production. In Cochabamba, there also were "water wars," popular protests against the attempt to privatize the city's water system. Banzer, diagnosed with cancer, resigned in 2001, and Vice President Jorge Quiroga served out the rest of Banzer's term. In the 2002 elections, the two leading contenders were the MNR candidate Sánchez de Lozada and Evo Morales, a representative of the coca producers and leader of the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS). The Congress once more decided the election by naming Sánchez de Lozada the winner. The social cleavages of Bolivian society created by the neoliberal experiment were made manifest in February 2003, when a major revolt, the *impuestazo*, against the implementation of a personal income tax and spending cuts broke out in La Paz, leading to the death of twenty-seven people and hundreds of injuries. The protests against Sánchez de Lozada's unpopular government continued and in September and October 2003, there were mass mobilizations against a plan to build a pipeline to export natural gas through Chile, leading to numerous deaths and injuries, as well as his resignation. As the Vice President Carlos Mesa, a journalist and historian, assumed power, the opposition gave him ninety days to respond to the political, social, and economic demands of the masses. In July 2004, there was a referendum on the natural gas export plan, which received support from voters but with the understanding that there would be more state participation in the industry and not privatization. President Mesa confronted a stagnant economy, the socioeconomic dislocations caused by neoliberal economic policies, the demands of the coca producers, as well as the political, social, and economic demands of the Indians, working classes, and the poor.

The shift to the left in the leadership of these nations created by the socioeconomic devastation caused by the neoliberal experiment that began in the 1980s portends a pattern that can be discerned in other Latin American nations that have also had disastrous experiences with neoliberalism and globalization, such as Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The Andean nations' indigenous masses have rejected outright neoliberalism and globalization as evidenced by their popular mobilizations against governments antithetical to their political, social, and economic interests. This mass participation in the political process by the Indian masses is another important trend at the dawning of the twenty-first century. Since the colonial period, these nations' Indian peoples have been shunted from full participation in the society. After independence, they were never fully

recognized as citizens of the new nations with full political rights. The emergence of indigenous political parties in the three nations signifies that conflict with the traditional conservative *criollo* interests is inevitable in the future. Also, the US “war on drugs,” as well as its promotion of neoliberal economic policies through the IMF and the World Bank, promises to exacerbate these conflicts, especially in the heavily Indian rural areas and Amazon region. It will be up to the leadership of these nations to balance the socioeconomic demands of the masses with economic growth based on an equitable distribution of wealth and political power in these multiethnic and multicultural societies.

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**See also Andean Community; Andean South America: International Relations; Bolivia; Ecuador; Peru**

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## ANDEAN SOUTH AMERICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### Introduction

The nations discussed in this essay will be those of the Central Andes to include Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. They share a common territorial and political heritage as encompassed in the Viceroyalty of Peru until independence in 1824. Thereafter, until the end of World War II, these nations sought through multilateral foreign policies to overcome economic underdevelopment and political instability. Peru and Bolivia's overwhelming defeat by Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879–1883) and a protracted border dispute between Peru and Ecuador that erupted into military conflicts in 1940, 1980, and 1995, continued to shape the conduct of the foreign relations of these Andean nations until the end of the twentieth century. Aside from the narcotics trade, Peru and Ecuador also enforced a two hundred-mile offshore resource zone that primarily applied to fishing rights that led to numerous confrontations with US fishing vessels in the three decades after 1950. On the economic front, the Andean nations continued to work for a viable regional Andean free trade zone, which would give them some economic leverage as the other Latin American nations and the United States continued to integrate their economies. Peru especially sought new economic leverage that would free it from economic trade dominance of the United States. Especially during the government of Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000), Peru aimed to enhance its trade ties with the Pacific Rim nations, especially Japan.

Until 1990, all the aforementioned problems were important to inter-Andean and US-Andean relations, but they remained secondary to the primary concern of Cold War-related issues. Developments particularly influenced by Cold War rivalries were Washington's support for authoritarian military regimes and related arms sales agreements. After 1990, the US-Andean agenda was taken up almost exclusively with counternarcotics and Andean economic integration. Closely related to the drug issue in Peru were the terrorist activities of the revolutionary group *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path). Largely funded by narcotics revenues, *Sendero Luminoso* destroyed a sizeable amount of the nation's infrastructure and provoked mass economic disorder in a reign of terror between 1980 and 1992. During these the last two troubled decades of the twentieth century, perhaps as many as fifty thousand Peruvians died and 2 million

left the country as a result of the domestic violence and economic turmoil.

### The Cold War and the Andean Nations

As a small nation Ecuador has tried to maintain a multilateral approach to foreign affairs since its inception. But in reality, since the end of World War II, Ecuador has remained one of Washington's firmest allies in the region. Ecuador was a signatory of the 1947 regional security treaty that laid the groundwork for the Organization of American States and regional cooperation during the first years of the Cold War. US private investment, the presence of US-dominated multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, as well as a strong Peace Corps contingent since the early 1960s, have maintained a constant US presence in Ecuador in the post-World War II era. Over the years, there has been a growing emigrant stream from Ecuador to the United States that has strengthened the bonds between the two nations. Today, as many as two hundred thousand Ecuadorians live in the United States and fifteen thousand US citizens permanently reside in Ecuador. Additionally, significant US tourism since the 1970s has had a positive impact on the Ecuadorian economy.

Vast reserves of petroleum were discovered in Sucumbios province in Ecuador's Oriente or eastern jungle region in the late 1960s. Ecuador soon joined OPEC, and its economy has been heavily dependent on petroleum revenues ever since. This has resulted in significant fluctuations in revenues as the world price of oil stayed above \$25 through the mid-1980s. This price represented a tenfold increase in the cost of oil at the beginning of the oil boom in 1972. Still, prices leveled off in the late 1980s and early 1990s, placing great strain on the heavily subsidized Ecuadorian economy. In 2001, Ecuador drew on oil revenues to finance 46% of its national budget. Ecuador and OPEC's pricing policies often have been at odds with the priorities of the United States. Still the most controversial issue straining relations between the United States and Ecuador were conflicting interpretations of the limits of territorial waters. As with Chile and Peru, Ecuador claimed a two hundred-mile resource zone and began enforcing this claim during the late 1960s. What resulted were the so-called Tuna Wars. At its height in 1971, this controversy saw Ecuador seize fifty-one US fishing boats. Eventually, by the mid-1980s, the US State Department recognized the inevitable and modified its own resource zone limits to conform to those of the world's leading fishing nations.

Bolivia's 1952 social revolution was one of the first potential challenges to US policies of anticommunism in the hemisphere. Although the dominant ideology of the Revolution was not initially clear, the Eisenhower Administration sought to avoid a potential Marxist revolution in Bolivia by channeling very large amounts of financial aid to the Andean nation. Recognizing that turbulent Bolivia was one of Latin America's poorest nations, in mid-1953, Washington doubled its financial aid and soon after sent five million dollars in food assistance to Bolivia. At the conclusion of the 1950s, Bolivia was the recipient of \$100 million in direct aid from the United States. Bolivia ranked first among all Latin American nations in US aid revenues and the leader per capita in world. Without US direct assistance, the Bolivian governments during the 1950s and early 1960s would have suffered significant financial difficulties as the result of the nationalization of the tin industry. Still, when tin revenues declined sharply in the 1970s, Bolivia's economic troubles became quite severe.

Directly related to the Cold War were US bilateral efforts to upgrade and train the Bolivia armed forces in counter-subversion. In significant measure, the substantial military assistance given to Bolivia by the United States in the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 paved the way for the establishment of a series of military governments from 1964 to 1982. Much like their counterparts all over South America, with the notable exception of the government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975) in Peru, military dictatorships, operating with the Washington's support effectively quelled leftist urban and rural movements, sometimes at the cost of great suffering. The most "spectacular" success of the Bolivian army ranger units, who were trained in part by the Central Intelligence Agency, was the capture and execution of Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Santa Cruz province in October 1967. Guevara's death effectively spelled the demise of the *foco* theory of rural guerrilla warfare modeled after the Cuba revolution. In Bolivia, the Indian peasantry, which was a central element in the 1952 revolution, was largely marginalized in national affairs during the period of military rule. Bolivia's tin miners met the same fate as declining world prices for tin led to the closure of the nation's biggest mines by the early 1980s. Thereafter, substantial elements of Bolivia's rural population turned to coca production for their livelihoods. The peasantry would not again effectively organize until the 1990s under a markedly different ideology of indigenous mobilization.

Peru and the United States experienced a troubled relationship through most of the Cold War era that seems to be explained only by what could be called "Peruvian exceptionalism" on the part of Washington.

Peru was a very cooperative ally of the United States during World War II. During the early years of the Cold War, the military dictator General Manuel A. Odría (1948–1956) waged a concerted anti-communist campaign jailing hundreds of leftists and exiling hundreds more. During the late 1940s, the US Air Force did provide valuable assistance to Peru with the arduous aerial mapping of its long disputed border with Ecuador. Still, one of the last areas to remain uncharted, the rugged Cordillera del Condor, would become the focal point of hostilities a half century later.

Like Ecuador, Peru confronted US-owned fishing vessels in the tuna-laden Humboldt current in the 1960s, seizing a significant number and imposing heavy fines. Along with Chile, Peru declared a two hundred-mile “resource” zone as early as 1947. This was only one component of an increasingly nationalistic policy that emphasized state ownership of the nation’s resource base.

The symbolic focus of this policy was the International Petroleum Company (IPC) and its holdings at Talara, in northern Peru. IPC, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, dominated Peruvian Petroleum production since the 1920s. Efforts to nationalize the company with compensation during the administration of President Fernando Belaunde Terry (1963–1968) failed. The Peruvian armed forces, under the leadership of a leftist populist General Juan Velasco Alvarado, used the IPC issue as an excuse to overthrow Belaunde Terry and establish a nationalist and reformist government in October 1968.

The Velasco regime, after seizing IPC properties, made it clear that it wanted little to do with Washington’s policy goals in the region. It quickly reestablished diplomatic ties with Cuba. The Velasco government quickly expropriated IPC holdings and, over the course of the next five years, nationalized almost all of the nation’s major industries including US-owned holdings in telecommunications, mining, tourism, and agriculture.

Peru’s army leadership was primarily reformist; its Navy was not. This led to serious dispute within the military over policy. Still, the Velasco leadership clique prevailed and from the outset made an emphatic statement of independence from the United States by expelling its military assistance team from Peru in 1969. Anti-US feelings had grown in the Peruvian army and air force when, in 1967, Congress blocked the sale of Northrup F5A Freedom Fighter airplanes to Peru on the grounds that it conflicted with Alliance for Progress goals emphasizing economic development over military spending. This Congressional action came on the heels of the US sale of Skyhawk attack bombers to Argentina and, more importantly,

Hunter attack fighters to Chile in 1967. Congress went even further and blocked the sale of six British Canberra bombers by using a clause in an Anglo-American leasing agreement dating back to the Marshall Plan. The Belaunde regime was thus forced by military pressure to purchase twelve far more expensive Mirage V fighters. This type of episode would be repeated during the government of Alberto Fujimori regarding the purchase of MIG 29 fighters from Belarus after a major border clash with Ecuador. Clearly, the case of Peruvian “exceptionalism” regarding arms sales remained a consistently troubling issue in US-Peruvian relations.

As a result of the enmity created by the F5A cancellation, the Velasco government was not inclined to buy US arms when it set out to rebuild the army’s armored division and augment the air forces’ fight-bomber capability in the early 1970s. Although influential army leaders such as General Jorge Fernandez Maldonado later insisted that arms sales talks were conducted with the United States, France, and Israel in good faith, Peru’s military government also solicited offers from the Soviet Union and quickly agreed to a package of arms purchases from Moscow that were by far the largest by any nation besides Cuba in all of Latin America. In a series of purchases between 1973 and 1976, Peru purchased Sukhoi SU 22 fighter bombers, AN-26F Antonov aircraft, T-54 and T-55 medium tanks, 122 and 133 armored personnel carriers, Mi-6 and Mi-8 helicopters, and SA-3 and SA-7 surface to air missiles. They soon led to the stationing of as many as one hundred Soviet military advisors in Peru over the course of the 1970s and 1980s. Additionally, significant numbers of Peruvian army and air force personnel were trained in the Soviet Union. Tensions between Peru and Chile rose significantly as many military observers in the United States and Latin America predicted that major military conflict between Chile and Peru would take place as the one hundredth anniversary of the War of the Pacific drew closer in 1979. Washington’s policy of Peruvian “exceptionalism” had clearly backfired with regard to broad Cold War objectives. But the ouster of General Velasco in August 1975 and the more moderate policies of his successor General Francisco Morales Bermudez (1976–1980) soon reduced diplomatic tensions except with the lingering problems with Ecuador.

### **Border Conflict Between Ecuador and Peru**

At the end of World War II, Peru had a single border issue: the international frontier demarcation of its border with Ecuador according to the Rio de Janeiro

Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Limits, signed on January 29, 1942, at Rio de Janeiro, and agreed to by both governments following the retreat of the Peruvian troops from Ecuadorian territories occupied during the war both countries fought in the previous year. The governments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States acted as guarantors of that protocol.

Many Peruvians were disappointed with the outcome of the Rio de Janeiro negotiations, considering it unacceptable that after winning a war their country should return those territories they believed were granted by a Spanish Royal Decree of 1802. On the other side of the border, many Ecuadorians considered that the Rio Protocol sanctioned a significant loss of territories that at some stage had belonged to the Audiencia of Quito, and thus they considered them to be part of Ecuador's patrimony. In reality, the borderline corresponded to human occupation of the zone instead of the legal arguments raised by both countries for more than a century of border disputes. The Rio Protocol validated the effective presence of Ecuadorians in the upper jungle, with agricultural soils, and with large oil fields which will be discovered years later, and of Peruvians in the larger area covered by the lower jungle, with very poor soils.

The process of demarcation had to overcome fifteen differences, and the Brazilian arbiter accepted by both governments resolved ten of them in favor of Ecuador and five in favor of Peru. But eventually, a conflict arose over the true course of the Cenepa River.

In 1951, President Galo Plaza of Ecuador announced that his country could "never accept" a final boundary that did not recognize its rights to a sovereign outlet to the Amazon through the Marañón river. The situation became even more complicated in August 1960, when Ecuadorian President Velasco Ibarra declared the Rio Protocol null and void. The first major conflict since 1941 was fought in January 1981, when Ecuadorian military posts were discovered in the Peruvian part of the Cordillera del Condor. Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry ordered the Peruvian Armed Forces to evict the invaders, and the fighting lasted almost a month, with a number of casualties on both sides. The issue remained unresolved as another similar border incident flared in 1991.

Again, this incident was quieted without resolving the demarcation problem. The Ecuadorian government then proposed the Pope's mediation on the matter in 1992, but the Peruvian government responded instead with the first official visit of a Peruvian President to Ecuador. During his visit, President Fujimori announced that Peru was willing to go ahead with the final solution to the border

problem, framed by the Protocol of Rio, intending not only to complete the demarcation process, but also to establish the roads and port facilities necessary for ready access by Ecuadorians to the Amazon River. Fujimori also called for the creation of a Border Integration Zone and the establishment of a public and private plan of investments in that area to compensate for its low level of development. Fujimori's proposal, reinforced by a second visit to Ecuador in August 1992, received no answer, and the situation remained static until January 1995 when a new military conflict erupted in the Alto Cenepa.

This conflict involved almost five thousand men, and both sides suffered significant casualties. Although the fighting was limited to the Alto Cenepa zone, there was a constant danger that it could become a general war all along the Peru-Ecuador border. On February 17, both governments signed a peace declaration at Brasilia, agreeing to initiate conversations in order to find solutions to their differences, whereas the Guarantor countries formed a Military Observation Mission Ecuador/Peru (MOMEP) to avoid further incidents.

After several meetings, in October 1996 the governments of Peru and Ecuador agreed to seek a final solution to their border problems, framed by the Rio Protocol. Accordingly, a new stage of negotiations began, which lasted until January 1998 when four commissions were established to prepare proposals on a Treaty of Trade and Navigation, a Broad Agreement of Border Integration, to define the final border line and to establish some mechanism for mutual trust and security. During the following months, the four commissions met several times in the capitals of the Guarantor countries, being able to conclude their proposals by mid-1998. The most sensitive was the disposition of the final borderline. This was adjudicated with the help of two juridical-technical groups formed by experts of the Guarantor countries. The opinion of these two teams was very difficult to accept by the Ecuadorian public, leading to new border tensions and to a point that in August 1998 it was feared that a general conflict would again erupt between both countries. The situation was finally solved when the Guarantors proposed that the Peruvian government should offer to Ecuador a square kilometer as private property in Tiwinza, an area at the Cenepa valley where the Ecuadorian resistance lasted to the very end of the 1995 conflict. That offer was finally accepted by Ecuador, and on October 26, 1998, a set of treaties were signed at Brasilia that put and end to that centuries-old border dispute. Those agreements opened a new era on Peru-Ecuador relations, and established new hopes for those Peruvians and Ecuadorians living in the border region.

## Peru, Chile, and Bolivia

Peruvian relations with Chile and Bolivia were strongly influenced by the outcome of the War of the Pacific (1879–1883). According to the treaty of 1929, between Peru and Chile, the province of Tacna was returned to Peru, whereas the province of Arica remained definitively in Chilean hands. That treaty established the new frontier between both countries and the Chilean obligation to provide a number of facilities for Peruvian use of the port of Arica. Although some attempts were made to fulfill this obligation, with port and rail lines being constructed, the Tacna-Arica, this issue was only finally solved in the year 2000, when both governments agreed that the Chilean obligations acquired seventy years before had already been met.

A protocol signed as a new clause to the 1929 treaty obligated Peru and Chile to refrain from transferring to a third country the territories of Tacna and Arica, without previous consent of the other nation involved. In practical terms, it meant that any Bolivian aspiration to obtain a sovereign seaport through those territories would require Peruvian and Chilean agreement. Due to that, when in 1950, the governments of Bolivia and Chile initiated negotiations about a possible seaport for the former, the Peruvian government showed its opposition to any cession of territories that were previously part of Peru. As part of these negotiations there were some discussions about Bolivian compensation to Chile with water from Lake Titicaca, a possibility that was also rejected by the Peruvian government as co-owner of that lake. To ratify this position, on July 30, 1955, Peru and Bolivia signed a joint declaration that included several topics of integration, as well as a mutual recognition of their sovereignty on the waters of Lake Titicaca, “which only could be used with mutual consent of both states.” Two years later, on February 9, 1957, both countries signed an additional convention to develop a plan for the common use of the waters of this lake, agreeing also to build a road between the seaport of Ilo and La Paz. For a number of reasons, these international agreements were only ratified in 1987. With Brazilian funding, the road began to be constructed in 2004.

In 1975, the Bolivian government began new negotiations with Chile aiming to obtain a sovereign littoral, receiving as response an offer of a thin portion of land north of Arica, along the Peruvian border. This territorial cession would be in exchange of territorial compensation elsewhere in Bolivia. Having been consulted, in 1976, the Peruvian government expressed its intention to accept that transaction only

if a special zone was created between the city of Arica and the Peruvian border, under the sovereignty of the three nations. Chile rejected the Peruvian proposal, arguing that such arrangement would change in a substantial way the 1929 treaty. These consultations were conducted at a time when Peru was in a clear process of strengthening and modernizing its military power, mainly with soviet armament, creating a growing concern in Chile on the possibility that Peru could use that power to recover, by force, those territories lost in the War of the Pacific, whose centennial was about to be commemorate in 1979. Even when the presidents of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile met informally in Washington to talk about the Bolivian aspirations, relations between Peru and Chile remained tense and reached a crisis in late 1978, when a Chilean espionage network was discovered in Peru. This led to the expulsion of some Chilean diplomats and the withdrawal of both ambassadors.

This situation lasted until the end of the Military Regime, and in 1980, when both countries appointed new ambassadors, the situation normalized. The administration of presidents Fernando Belaunde Terry and Alan Garcia (1985–1990) sustained the previous position regarding a possible solution for the Bolivian seacoast problem, and Garcia opened negotiations with Chile aiming to reduce tensions along the border by withdrawing military forces from the area and fulfilling the pending issues of the 1929 treaty. Although these negotiations did not achieve their goals, a mutual negotiating process was established by regular meetings of the military representatives of both countries. The Chilean government also built a new rail station at Arica for use of the Peruvian line connecting that port with Tacna. Other details were worked out to ensure the autonomy of the operation of a Peruvian pier constructed in that area. Also ratified was the viability of some Peruvian properties in Arica.

In this context, in February 1987, when Peru and Bolivia finally appointed a binational Authority for Lake Titicaca, according the agreements of 1955 and 1957, President Garcia’s government declared that Peru would be ready to accept a Chilean cession to Bolivia a thin strip of land in its former territories, provided Peruvian interests in that zone were not affected.

In the 1990s, under President Fujimori, the Peruvian economy was opened to foreign investment, the majority of which came from Chile. This created unprecedented strong economic links between the two nations. However, bilateral relations were still overshadowed by the pending issues of the 1929 treaty. In May 1993, both governments signed the Lima



Conventions. Both governments agreed to put aside these conventions in 1995 and continue negotiations to reach a final solution to those long-term pending issues. Meanwhile, the Peruvian government signed two other agreements with Bolivia, in 1996 and 1997, aiming to avoid its interference in its negotiations with Chile. Finally, Peru–Chile negotiations ended in November 1999, and early the following year, Peru received the facilities built by Chile in Arica for its use.

Besides the emotional value of the Peruvian presence in Arica, the operation of a pier at that port is part of a larger issue, the long-standing dispute of Peruvian and Chilean ports to control the Bolivian market. In this context, in 1992 Peru and Bolivia signed the agreements of Ilo, which provide the latter with a portion of tax-free land for industrial purpose and another one for a beach for leisure use. In return, the Bolivian government gave similar facilities to Peru at Puerto Suarez on the Paraguay River. The only pending issue with Chile now is the maritime international limit with arbitration recently requested by the International Court of Law at The Hague.

## Regional Issues

By the late 1940s, General Odria's regime was attempting to attract foreign investment to help the country with industrialization. Most of the response came from the United States, which reinforced the already strong Peruvian dependence on the North American economy. When Manuel Prado (1956–1962) took office in 1956, he tried to diminish such dependency by fostering economic trade with Europe and other Latin American nations. In this context, Peru took part in efforts to create a free Latin American trade zone, signing an agreement in February 1960, with other six countries, creating the Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio (ALALC, Latin American Free Trade Association). Despite the free trade of this institution, the process was ineffective. Thus Andean countries began conversations leading to create another mechanism to help their development efforts. As a result of that, in August 1966, the Presidents of Chile, Colombia and Venezuela, as well as the President of Ecuador and the Peruvian Foreign Minister, met and agreed at Bogota, Colombia that they would make their best effort to promote the Latin American economic integration process and to undertake joint steps to accelerate the progress of those countries that were less developed. Three years later, on May 26, 1969, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, followed by Venezuela in 1973,

signed the Cartagena Agreement, establishing the Mercado Común Andino (Andean Common Market), with headquarters at Lima. The main goal of this new institution was to promote a well-balanced and harmonious development of the country members. In contrast with the European integration process, Andean countries sustained a relatively small commercial exchange and significant political issues, as we have seen, impeded the process of integration.

Although some important measures were taken in the first years of the Grupo Andino, the process has slowed since 1975, mainly because differences about the treatment to foreign investment. Following its “Chicago School” of economic development Chile left the group in 1976. Some other problems arose with the regard to inter-regional trade. This issue was particularly sensitive to Peru because it depended heavily on regional markets to sustain its industry.

That situation lasted until the beginning of the Fujimori government, which made some efforts to reinforce the Peruvian commitment to the Grupo Andino, Fujimori supported the political integration process more than an economic one. According to this new approach to the integration process, in 1991 Peru signed the Caracas Declaration, agreeing with the other Andean countries to establish a free trade zone by January 1992 and a common market by 1995. However, Peruvian relations with other Andean countries suffered a major setback when on April 5, 1992, President Fujimori closed the Congress, thus abrogating the Constitution. This situation, and the Peruvian process to repair its shattered economy as the result of the war with *Sendero Luminoso*, led to the announcement in August 1992 that Peru was temporarily withdrawing from the Grupo Andino in those aspects related to a common import tax, which in fact was crucial to the commercial integration effort. In 1997, after special negotiations, Peru agreed to gradually apply that common import tax.

Another topic of regional cooperation was the defense of the two hundred maritime miles thesis, proposed initially as we have seen, by Chile and Peru (1947), and afterward by Ecuador (1950). The three countries met at Santiago, Chile, in 1952 and agreed to proclaim their sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction on a minimal distance of two hundred nautical miles from their coast, in order to preserve resources in that maritime zone and its continental platform. Such a proclamation was strongly opposed by several developed countries, especially the United States and Japan. As part of the effort to defend their maritime resources, in 1952, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru created the Comisión Permanente del Pacífico Sur (Permanent Commission of the Southern Pacific), being joined in 1979 by Colombia. The headquarters

of this commission has rotated since then until the year 2000, when it finally permanently established at Guayaquil, Ecuador.

## Conclusion

Even with active movements toward globalization in the Andean region, progress against nearly universal problems of poverty, poor health standards, and the establishment of stable ethnic and cultural identities is progressing very slowly. Still, long-standing and potentially volatile issues such as the Peru–Ecuador border dispute and differences among Chile, Bolivia, and Peru are now resolved, allowing these nations to cooperate at an international level never before possible. US–Andean relations are at the moment far too one-dimensional. Focused as they are primarily on the drug trade, funds that could be earmarked for other development issues are generally not available. As long as US interests remain primarily focused upon the Middle East, this situation will remain the same. Meanwhile, the internal politics of the Andean region is rapidly changing. The trend toward greater participatory democracy is continuing, especially among indigenous groups. But indications are that this trend will hardly be synonymous with US policies in the region.

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**See also Andean South America: History and Economic Development; Bolivia; Ecuador; Peru; Shining Path/Sendero Luminoso; Territorial Disputes**

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## ANGLICAN COMMUNION

The Anglican Communion is the name of the association of Christian churches and leadership that follow the traditions of the Church of England, as contrasted with those of the Roman Catholic Church or other Anglican or Christian sects. While the Anglican and Roman churches both have their roots in the western Christian tradition, the churches of the Anglican Communion follow certain different traditions. The churches of the Anglican Communion are very active in the developing world, due in part to the British colonial roots in many regions. As of early 2005, more than forty separate organizations were members of the Anglican Communion. However, the churches of the Anglican Communion are not limited to former British colonies; the Anglican Communion is active throughout Africa, South America, and parts of Asia that were never under British control. Since the 1950s, this organization has worked to develop independent “provinces” (regional church organizations) that are united by their common beliefs and traditions.

The Anglican Communion differs from the Roman Catholic church in that the Anglican church is based on four “instruments of unity,” which are the acceptance of the Archbishop of Canterbury as primate (leader of the church); the Lambeth Conference (which takes place once every ten years); its Primates (archbishops and presiding bishops of the regional churches); and the Anglican Consultative Council, a lower-level association of ordained and nonordained church members. The Primates and the Anglican Consultative Council have meetings of their organizations every two to three years. An ongoing effort of The Anglican Communion is the reconciliation of the various branches of Christianity.

This effort to unify the various branches of Christianity is based on the Anglican Communion's use of the policy of *adiaphora*, the belief that while many practices of different churches may vary from one another, these practices should not divide people from their fundamental beliefs that are derived from scripture. *Adiaphora*, when applied to the many practices that divide Christian (or other religious) denominations, would in theory help to preclude the schisms that fragment the followers of essentially similar beliefs. As of the year 2005, the Anglican Communion faced a crisis of this basis, which resulted from the ordination of a US bishop who was involved in a same-sex union. The more traditional provinces of the Anglican Communion objected to the ordination, feeling that the US diocese had rejected the Anglican Communion's ban on sexual relationships outside of marriage.

The Anglican Communion should not be confused with the Traditional Anglican Communion, a much smaller group that split off from the Episcopal Church in 1977 over doctrinal issues such as the role of women as clergy. Groups such as the Traditional Anglican Communion do not recognize the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury and are held to be "not in communion" with the Anglican Communion. The confusion between these groups arises over the common use of the word "Anglican."

Many of the groups that have split from the established Episcopal or Anglican churches maintain that they are following the correct doctrinal path, believing that the older organizations have deviated from correct beliefs and procedures. This is very similar to the justification used by King Henry VIII to justify his establishment of the Church of England in the 1530s, that the Roman Catholic Church had strayed from traditions and that Henry's church followed the correct path.

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## ANGLO-IRANIAN OIL COMPANY (AIOC)

On May 28, 1901, Mozaffaredin Shah Qajar, the shah of Iran, granted William Knox D'Arcy, a British

capitalist and speculator, a concession for sixty years to explore for oil in Iran. In return the shah was to receive twenty thousand pounds cash, a similar amount in shares, and 16% of the annual profits. With the help of the British Admiralty, a deal was struck with Burmah Oil, which provided additional capital. On May 26, 1908, a gusher of oil rose about fifty feet above the drilling rig in Masjed Soleiman. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed in 1909.

In August 1914, the British government acquired a 51% interest in the company. In the meantime, the company reached an agreement with the Admiralty to supply it with oil at a discount price.

From the start the Iranian government and the company could not see eye to eye on some issues. Extensive negotiations over royalty payments were conducted between the two sides. These negotiations did not bear fruit, and the British government took the matter to the League of Nations. The outcome was that the two sides were advised to go back to negotiations. Iran, however, did not have many options: Britain was the dominant superpower and Iran needed the oil revenues. Soon a new concession was agreed upon that increased Iran's share of the company's profits, extended the concession period to 1993, and reduced the area under concession by 80%. In 1935, the company was renamed the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co.

During World War II, Iranian oil fields were deemed crucial for the war efforts. One reason for the invasion of Iran by the British and Russian forces in August 1941 was to safeguard the oil fields.

During its years of operation in Iran, the company grew tremendously. The company built a modern refinery, which was the largest in the world, in Abadan on the Persian Gulf. It had subsidiaries around the world.

After the war, nationalism was on the rise, Britain had lost its status as a world power, and US companies had offered fifty-fifty profit sharing deals to Middle Eastern countries. In early 1951, Dr. Mohammad Mosaddeq, the champion of oil nationalization, became the prime minister. He ordered the takeover of oil installations, and British employees of the company left Iran. Over the next two years, a tug of war continued between Iran on one side and the company and the British government on the other. The British government imposed economic sanctions and threatened military action against Iran.

August 19, 1953, witnessed a growing street protest against the government, which was later joined by some military and police units and personnel. By the end of the day, the government was overthrown, and General Fazlollah Zahedi became the prime minister.

After Mosaddeq's downfall, extensive negotiations were held among the United States, Britain, and Iran to find a new arrangement to restart the Iranian oil industry. In October 1954, the Iranian parliament ratified an agreement with a consortium of oil companies to operate the Iranian oil industry. The company had a 40% share in this consortium. The rest of the shares were divided between five US majors (40%), Shell (14%) and Compagnie Française des Pétroles (6%). The company changed its name to British Petroleum (BP) in the same year.

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See also **Iran; Mossaddeq, Muhammed**

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## ANGOLA

Located along the southwestern coastal region of Africa, Angola roughly approximates the size and shape of Egypt. The country stretches south of the lower Congo River except for a small enclave, Cabinda, lying north. The population of 11 million is divided into an intricate web of varying ethnic groups. As almost all peoples of Southern Africa, most Angolans speak various dialects or languages of the Bantu family. More than three-fourths of the population resides in the northwest quadrant of the country, concentrating the country's three major ethnic and linguistic groupings.

In the southern third of this quadrant is the largest group, the Ovimbundu, who comprise almost 40% of Angolans. They speak Umbundu, and their territory stretches up from the Atlantic Ocean into the Benguela Plateau, west and south of the Benguela River.

To the north of the Ovimbundu, between the Cuanza and Longa rivers in the south and the Dande River in the north, are the Mbundu, who speak Kimbundu. Representing about one-fourth of Angolans, they are settled from the coast into the Malanje Plateau, below the Benguela. The national capital, Luanda, is located in this region, lying on the coast midway between the Cuanza and Dande rivers. Its population of more than a million contains

a mosaic of all the ethnic and linguistic groupings of Angola.

Above the Dande River and descending to the Congo River are the Bakongo. They speak Kikongo and amount to one-sixth of Angolans. To the south and east of these three groups lies the remaining fourth of the population. Varying from portions of 2%–10% of the population, these Bantu-speaking inhabitants are settled in an arc from south to east-northeast that comprises the Herero, Nyaneke-Humbe, Ovambo, Xindonga, Nganguela, and Lunda-Chokwe, respectively.

Two non-Bantu speaking groups inhabit the dry far south. The Click-speaking Khoisan representing 2% of the population, are bush people pushed into this region centuries ago by the advancing Bantu.

Another 2% of the population is *mestiço*, of mixed African and Portuguese colonial breeding. Speaking primarily Portuguese, they are interspersed through the western half of the country and especially in the capital.

Since the end of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese have been a crucial factor in the development, or lack thereof, of Angola. As they made their voyages of discovery during the fifteen century along the coasts of western and eastern Africa, and on to Asia and Brazil, Angola became important as a source of slaves, who were shipped across the Atlantic to the Americas. This trade reached its peak in the eighteenth century and lasted into the middle of the nineteenth century. During the period and with the connivance of local chiefdoms, several million Angolans were shipped across the ocean.

Angola, which holds significant resources of diamonds, iron ore, and petroleum, was one of the last major colonies that Portugal held into the twentieth century. Through the 1930s to the early 1970s, a fascist regime controlled Portugal. After World War II, with independence movements sweeping Africa, the Portuguese authoritarian regime increasingly had to use military force to keep Angola. During the 1960s, three Angolan independence movements arose, concentrated among the Bakongo, Mbundu, and Ovimbundu.

In 1974, the Portuguese overthrew their fascist regime and the following year granted Angola independence. The three independence movements, however, rather than uniting, began a protracted civil war that has devastated the country ever since. These factions comprise the following: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA, a Portuguese acronym), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Until the early 1990s, each faction received outside aid from countries reflecting the ideologies and strategic

interests of the Cold War. Although that war has ended, the Angolan strife has continued into the present century, maintained by the momentum of rivalries and resources of the three factions.

The head of the MPLA, José Eduardo dos Santos, has been president of the country since 1979. With power concentrated around Luanda and among the Mbundu, he received international backing from the Soviet Union and Cuba. He consistently blocked UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi from occupying the presidency. Savimbi's power lay with the Ovimbundu, and his foreign support included the United States and South Africa. The FNLA, with varying leadership, received support from the People's Republic of China, the Chinese thereby countering their Soviet rival.

Decades of warfare have created an economy and society in shambles. The purchasing power of the gross domestic product is little more than eleven billion dollars, no more than a thousand dollars per capita. Life expectancy is just under forty years, and the infant mortality rate is almost two hundred per one thousand live births. More than two-fifths of the population is below age fourteen and over half are between fifteen and sixty-four years of age. Only 3% of the population has survived to age sixty-five or older. Just two-fifths of the population over age fifteen is literate, and the rate of literacy among males is twice that among females. Many people, especially young males, have lost legs and arms due to landmines. More than two-fifths of the population adheres to animist religions; more than one-third is Catholic; and about one-sixth is Protestant.

Angola is a society almost totally fractured along ethnic, linguistic, economic, political, military, and religious fault lines. No conjunction of interests has emerged to form a sustaining national majority. The country has wealth that could serve as a great benefit to its inhabitants. These resources have in practice, however, been a lure resulting in debilitating competition and conflict. An estimated 1.5 million people have died from the combat and violence that have continued since independence.

The death of Jonas Savimbi in 2002 prompted UNITA to initiate a truce with the government, which has so far endured. Most enduring, however, is the wreckage of Angola after decades of warfare.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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## ANGUILLA

Anguilla, the northernmost of the Leeward Islands, is an overseas territory of the United Kingdom. The colony, which lies 240 kilometers east of Puerto Rico and eight kilometers north of St. Martin/St. Marteen, is twenty-six kilometers long and six kilometers wide. There is virtually no arable land on the ninety-one-square-kilometer flat coral island. Two small islands lying off the coast of Anguilla—Scrub Island and Dog Island—account for the remainder of the colony's 102 square kilometers of land. The beautiful beaches along the colony's sixty-one-kilometer coastline, in addition to the virtual lack of crime on the island, make Anguilla an ideal tourist destination. The majority of Anguilla's thirteen thousand inhabitants are descendants of African slaves. About 10% of Anguilla's people live in The Valley, the capital. Most people are devout Anglicans and Methodists. Anguilla is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and an associate member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States.

Anguilla was first colonized by English settlers from St. Kitts in 1650. In the early nineteenth century, much to the chagrin of the people living on the island, Anguilla was incorporated into a single administrative unit with St. Kitts and Nevis. In 1967, in an island-wide referendum, virtually the entire population voted for secession from St. Kitts and Nevis. Following a secession revolt led by Ronald Webster in 1969, the British military intervened to restore order and stability. In 1980, the British government, in preparation for the independence of St. Kitts and Nevis in 1983, officially made Anguilla a separate British dependency. Most of Anguilla's people do not support total independence. Anguilla is seeking to consolidate its dependence on the colonial power and integrate itself into the global economy.

Although British officials are responsible for defense and foreign relations, local elected officials are

responsible for all internal affairs, except security. Anguilla is administered under a constitution that took effect on April 1, 1982. Queen Elizabeth II is represented locally by a governor—Peter Johnstone since 2000—who oversees the Executive Council and the House of Assembly. The governor is appointed by the British government. The House of Assembly consists of 11 members—seven elected members, who are elected by the people of Anguilla every five years; two *ex officio* members, the attorney general and the permanent secretary for finance; and two other members, nominated by the governor after consultation with the chief minister. Although appointed by the governor, the chief minister—Osborne Fleming since 2000—is normally the leader of the majority political party in the House of Assembly. The Executive Council consists of a chief minister and not more than three other ministers appointed by the governor from the elected members of the House of Assembly and the two *ex officio* members.

During the 1980s, the House of Assembly emphasized a policy of revitalizing the island's economy through tourism and foreign investment. Anguilla's economic growth has been a direct result of its improved standing as a tourist attraction, which provided revenue for the private sector through tourist-related services and for the public sector through increased duties. The Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) funded the construction of a new airport terminal to facilitate the flow of tourists. In 1978, fewer than five thousand tourists visited Anguilla. In 1990, the number of tourists approached one hundred thousand. Although tourism has provided lucrative income for the island, the annual threat of hurricanes limits the expansion of the tourism industry. Salt exports to Trinidad and Tobago, offshore banking, and workers' remittances from abroad have contributed to the growth of the economy.

Economic development, however, has led to political and social controversy in Anguilla. The uncontrolled growth of foreign-owned villas on the coast caused real estate prices to soar and threatened to damage the vulnerable ecosystem on the island. In response, the House of Assembly responded with legislation that regulated the height and size of beachfront homes. In addition, restrictions were placed on land sales to foreigners. The attempt by hotel owners to open casinos caused a fiery debate among Anguilla's deeply religious population. Although maintaining their moral and ethical integrity, the people of Anguilla are losing valuable tourist dollars. The expansion of offshore banking, once seen by Anguilla's politicians as the panacea for economic development, has not provided the economic windfall previously envisioned. Rather, the island's banking industry has

come under the scrutiny of the US Internal Revenue Service, which suspected money laundering from drug trafficking in the offshore banking facilities.

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**See also Caribbean Development Bank; Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS); St. Christopher and Nevis**

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## ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

The country of Antigua and Barbuda is situated in the Leeward Islands of the eastern Caribbean. Antigua is approximately 108 square miles, whereas its sister isle, Barbuda, is about sixty-two square miles. The nation also encompasses another smaller uninhabited island, Redonda, which is little more than half a square mile and houses a nature preserve. Both Antigua and Barbuda are flat islands bounded on the west by the Caribbean Sea and on the east by the Atlantic Ocean. These islands enjoy a tropical climate but are susceptible to droughts, with annual rainfall averaging about forty-five inches, and hurricanes, with the annual hurricane season lasting from July to October. Coral limestone, swamplands, and mudflats compose Barbuda's topography; it also contains the largest saltwater lagoon in the Caribbean. Antigua has a mix of volcanic hills and plains in the south and west and calcareous limestone soil in the north and east. Antigua's shoreline contains many natural harbors and beaches. Barbuda also has beaches and a large western harbor. Population estimates vary, but generally figures total about seventy thousand people, with 98% of this number residing in Antigua. The population growth rate is approximately 0.6%. The nation's capital is St. John's, located in the northwest section of Antigua.

After a period of Amerindian settlement by Arawaks and Caribs dating back to 3100 BC, Antigua and Barbuda's period of European occupation began with the arrival of Columbus in 1493. After Spanish and French attempts at settlement, the British assumed control of Antigua in 1632 and Barbuda in 1678. The British began production of tobacco in Antigua, but by the 1650s, this crop was abandoned for the more successful sugar cane, which was manufactured regularly for commercial export for more than three centuries afterward. Barbuda's topsoil could not support commercial plantation systems of this kind, and its inhabitants engaged in skilled trades, small-scale farming, livestock raising, or lumber production. The Codringtons, a prominent British sugar-planting family, held Barbuda under a two hundred-year private lease starting in 1685 and used the island's natural resources to supply their Antiguan sugar estates. Antigua was populated by the constant influx of enslaved persons from West Africa that continued until the British government outlawed slavery in 1834. Slave importation into Barbuda generally ended in the mid-1700s, and the population there grew naturally thereafter.

After emancipation, sugar continued to dominate Antigua's economy for more than a century, despite the lag in British West Indian sugar in the world markets from the mid-1800s onward. Like elsewhere in the Caribbean, by the early twentieth century, a trade union movement was borne from workers' dissatisfaction with unpredictable wages and unsavory working conditions in Antigua. Trade unionists also began political organizing from the 1930s onward, commencing the process toward self-government. Mainly through the island's foremost union, the Antigua Trades and Labour Union (ATLU), local leaders spearheaded massive strikes and advocated constitutional reform in the 1940s. The ATLU president, Vere Cornwall Bird, also successfully pushed for full adult suffrage in 1951. By 1967, the constitution was rewritten to grant Antigua full internal self-government, officially becoming an Associated State of Great Britain. Bird was elected as Antigua's first Premier. At the same time, the Antiguan government took control of the collapsing sugar industry and introduced other industries to the island, particularly tourism.

Bird and the Antigua Labour Party (ALP), the political arm of the ATLU, dominated local elections and tolerated little opposition from the 1950s through the 1990s. The Bird government displayed severely authoritarian tendencies, and repeated instances of corruption and scandal overshadowed their contributions to political and economic progress. But in addition to a 1971–1976 term as Premier by George Walter, a former ATLU leader who seceded to form an opposition

union and political party, the Progressive Liberation Movement, Antigua remained firmly under ALP control. Bird served as Premier from 1976 onward and became Prime Minister when Britain granted full independence in 1981. He retired in 1994, and his son, Lester Bird, was elected to office. The Bird stronghold ended in 2004, when the current opposition political party, United Progressive Party, won elections and the party leader, Baldwin Spencer, became Prime Minister.

Antigua and Barbuda's economy, formerly dominated by commercial agriculture, became largely dependent on tourism during the late twentieth century. Presently, tourism remains the major focus of the government, but especially after recent global economic downturns and lags in international travel, the government has attempted to diversify the economy by introducing offshore financial services, information technology, and telecommunications services. Smaller industries include construction, manufacturing, and agriculture. Per capita gross domestic product in 2004 was an estimated \$11,000, and unemployment is 11%, while poverty is 12%. The country suffers from fiscal imbalances and high levels of external debt, and the government has attempted to address these issues through such measures as taxation restructuring and a reduction in the nation's overpopulated civil service.

Since the early twentieth century, Barbuda has remained grossly underdeveloped relative to Antigua, with various schemes for commercial agriculture having failed and little resources put toward infrastructure, education, or services. Generally, residents must go to Antigua to obtain major goods and services. Barbuda has a small tourism industry, which, along with a limited retail sector and fisheries, produces revenue among its population. Barbudans elect a representative to the Antiguan government, but generally Barbudans consider their political and economic interests to be disregarded by Antiguan. Murmurings about secession from Antigua began in 1968; however, those eventually subsided with the introduction in 1976 of a local governing body, the Barbuda Council, which still exists. A tense but stable association between Antigua and Barbuda continues at present.

Antigua has sufficient infrastructure, with paved roads, a public bus system, and a deep-water harbor in St. John's. St. John's also is home to an airport where major regional and international airlines conduct regular service. Barbuda has a small airstrip that allows for travel to and from Antigua only. Adult literacy in Antigua and Barbuda is estimated at 85%, and the government provides free and compulsory education for primary and secondary schooling. Tertiary educational institutions include the Antigua State College and the University Centre, a continuing education branch of the University of the West Indies.

Infant mortality is seventeen per one thousand live births, and life expectancy is sixty-nine years for men and seventy-three years for women. Health care is available through a Medical Benefits Scheme for all workers and their dependents; the physician-to-population ratio is eleven per ten thousand, and the government provides full immunization coverage for children up to age five. At present, the majority of the population of Antigua and Barbuda is of African descent, with small numbers of other ethnic groups in residence, particularly Portuguese, Lebanese, Syrians, East Indians, and Chinese. Regarding religious beliefs, the country is largely Anglican (about 75%), with Catholicism, other Christian Protestant denominations, Islam, and Rastafarianism also present as well.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations**

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## APARTHEID

Apartheid, or racial segregation, emerged in South Africa within a unique context of social, political, economic, and cultural conditions. These conditions led South Africa on a dichotomous course of development in which two realities existed simultaneously. During the official years of apartheid, 1948–1990, the reality of the white South African, either Afrikaner or British, might generally be described as First World, developed, economically secure, educated, and politically powerful. Conversely, the reality of the native African population was a Third World existence, undeveloped,

impoverished, undereducated, disenfranchised, and oppressed. Invariably, these two realities between the minority white population and the majority black population could not coexist peacefully. No amount of ideology and religious conviction, gold wealth and economic development, or military and police power could sustain the white minority apartheid regime. The disorder, chaos, and economic decline created by the anti-apartheid liberation struggle, international sanctions, and multinational divestment, and the unabashed iniquity of the racist regime led ultimately to the collapse of apartheid and the creation of a government of national unity with universal and equal rights for all of South Africa's citizens.

## Prelude to Apartheid

The Europeans, specifically the Dutch, first settled South Africa in 1652 when the Dutch East India Company arrived in Cape Town to establish a refreshment station for its passing ships headed to the Far East. The British officially arrived in the early 1800s in an effort to colonize and exploit the area's rich resources. For years, the Dutch, British, and Africans coexisted in relative peace, until as the populations and economy grew, as land became scarce, and as the government and individuals became more involved in politics, peaceful coexistence gave way to greater conflicts and bloodshed. In 1835, the deeply religious, Calvinist Afrikaner/Dutch population set out east on a "Great Trek" to find new land away and separate from the ever-present British and African, as well as to establish a community entirely of their own making. The trials and tribulations of the Great Trek, and the subsequent years of conflicts with the native African people and the British, formed a unique Afrikaner identity and civil society that was believed to be ordained by God. This belief eventually provided justification for separate social, political, and economic development between the races.

The century between 1806 (with British occupation of the Cape) and 1909 (the establishment of the Union as part of the British Commonwealth) was considered a "Period of Revelation" in which God made known His will to the Afrikaner people. They were to establish a Christian nation among the heathen natives of Southern Africa.

After the Union of South Africa was established and the equality of the two white races was assured by a constitution, the status of the African population was degraded to the point of being deemed "the colour problem." The Africans and colored who had previously possessed voting rights in the Cape Province were disenfranchised. Nevertheless, the Afrikaner felt



inferior to the British during this period of imperialism. English was the language spoken by most (including Afrikaners). Afrikaans was merely a folk language not having yet become fully developed and accepted as an official language. Governmental power, as well as economic power, was in the hands of the British South Africans. The Afrikaners were either traditional farmers or poor urban dwellers. They were, in actuality, second-class citizens.

During the first years of the twentieth century, the Afrikaner *volk* began to reestablish the identity that had been decimated during the Anglo-Boer War years (1899–1902). Their sense of national pride, which was at its height during the years of the Great Trek, began to blossom once again. A renewed pride in their history, language, culture, and religion resulted in an eruption of civic and political organizations in the early part of the century, such as the *Broederbond* (a secret whites-only organization whose aim was to solidify Afrikaner power) and the National Party (NP), which emphasized Afrikanerdom and Christian Nationalism. During this period, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), which initially accommodated all sorts of believers—slaves, French Huguenots, German soldiers, and officials—developed into a church identifying itself with one specific population, namely the white Afrikaners. It is at this point that the DRC began to provide legitimacy for the divisive, exclusionary policies of racial and ethnic separation, responding to the political reality of British domination and the pervasiveness of the African.

The early 1900s saw the development of an Afrikaner civil religion based on a belief of their history being ordained by God. This belief permeated every aspect of Afrikaner life. “In the Afrikaner civil religion, God imbues all history with ultimate meaning. He rules sovereign over the world and works His will in the affairs of nations—most visible in Afrikanerdom (Moodie 1975).” This civil religion ultimately developed into the civic, cultural, and political movement of Christian Nationalism.

In response to British domination and the threat posed by the multitude of Africans, a Christian National ideology grounded in the theologies of the Dutch Reformed Church emerged to fulfill the need for a political organization. The Afrikaner National Party was founded in 1914 by the Minister of Justice James Barry Hertzog. In 1934, a faction of the party led by Dr. Malan, broke away and formed the “purified” National Party, which was dedicated to the promotion of Afrikanerdom and unsympathetic to the British. In 1939, after South Africa joined the Second World War on the side of England, the two national parties reunited in an attempt to gain power from the United Party, which supported the British

Empire (the national parties favored Germany). The reconciliation, however, did not last because Hertzog continued to believe in the unity between English and Afrikaner white South Africans and insisted on the principle of equality between them. After Hertzog resigned from politics in 1940, Dr. Malan took over the leadership of this version of the National Party. It was this party, with strong Christian National ideals, that came to power in 1948 and brought with it the policies of apartheid.

## The Apartheid System

Almost immediately, after the National Party assumed power in 1948, a multitude of laws were passed further separating the Africans from the whites. These apartheid laws included: the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act regulating miscegenation; the Population Registration Act, which classified the entire population into various racial and ethnic groups; the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, which ensured the separation of the races in the “common areas”; and the Groups Areas Act, which classified whole areas of land as suitable for whites or blacks only. *De jure* apartheid was fully entrenched by 1961 when South Africa removed itself from the British Commonwealth and became the Republic of South Africa.

The explosion of apartheid laws in the 1950s created two realities of development within South Africa. One reality was that of the white population—developed, educated, politically and economically powerful, ethnically and culturally “superior,” yet besieged by the perceived threat of Communism and the numerically superior African on whose labor they were dependent. The second reality was that of the African population—undeveloped, uneducated, disenfranchised, impoverished, and dependent on and held hostage by the economic and political power of the Afrikaner government.

While all of the apartheid laws were designed to isolate, protect, and keep “pure” the white race (especially the Afrikaner, who distinguished themselves from the British), there were some laws that were especially pernicious and assured that the African could be identified and thus kept out of sight. The Population Registration Act of 1950 designed a system in which every individual was classified according to his or her race. The categories included white, Indian, coloured (people of mixed race), and African. These categories were further subdivided, often depending on nuances of physical characteristics and according to tribal affiliations. Once every individual was classified, the apartheid government passed the Group Areas Act under which each racial group

could own land, occupy buildings, and conduct business only in the areas that were designated for that race. This gave an appearance of independent and free development for each of the races. However, in reality, if the whites wanted a piece of property that was occupied by any of the other races, they would declare it a white area and take it. This began years of forced removals and violent relocations of entire African urban communities to lands that were unsuitable and far removed from areas of commerce and employment. In essence, the Group Areas Act instituted geographic apartheid that was furthered by the establishment of the Bantu areas. These Bantu areas or “independent homelands” were designed to allow each of the native African tribal groups to develop according to their free will. In reality, they maintained the status quo where the minority white population owned 87% of the land in South Africa (land that was the most fertile and rich in mineral wealth). The “homelands” were noncontiguous pieces of land, typically the most unproductive and infertile, and geographically remote from the white productive areas. These areas were so underdeveloped and removed from the commerce of the nation that entire populations were forced to leave their homes and families in search of work in the white areas. These apartheid laws assured a huge reservoir of cheap labor to work in the factories, the fields, and the mines.

In an effort to maintain the apartheid system, the government also enacted a number of preservation measures. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 established the process by which individuals and organizations could be banned, making them politically impotent. Many prominent anti-apartheid leaders and political parties were subjected to this including Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC). In addition, the Sabotage Act of 1962 and the Terrorism Act of 1967 gave the government the power to indefinitely detain people without a trial and conduct ambitious investigations and surveillance activities in an effort to root out would-be saboteurs and terrorists. These and other measures created a state that was increasingly militarized and security conscious. Indeed, a paradoxical tension was created between the repressive self-preservation activities of the white government and the growing anti-apartheid liberation struggle. As the liberation movement gained momentum and support, the state inevitably became more repressive.

## **The Liberation Struggle**

During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the liberation movement grew despite the fact that most of the

opposition, anti-apartheid political parties, had been banned. The movement found outlets through churches, labor unions, funeral processions, and other manifestations of civil society. The ANC, before it was banned in 1960, provided a solid foundation in which the liberation movement would function. The Defiance Campaign of 1952 called for the use of boycotts, work stoppages and strikes, and other various forms of civil disobedience to demand changes from the state. More than eight thousand people were arrested and detained during the six-month campaign, and the membership of the ANC grew substantially. The adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1956, endorsing the democratic ideals of equality, universal suffrage and basic individual freedoms resulted in the arrest and trial of more than one hundred of the nation’s prominent anti-apartheid leaders. The so-called Treason Trial endured for more than four years and ended with a not guilty verdict for all involved.

The year 1960 saw a turning point in the liberation movement’s willingness to employ only peaceful, non-violent means of protest. In Sharpeville, an African township south of Johannesburg, a large crowd gathered peacefully around the police station to protest the Pass Laws (every African was required to carry a pass identifying which ethnic group they belonged to and what tribal area they lived in). The police got nervous and opened fire on the crowd, killing sixty-nine people, including women and children, many shot in the back as they attempted to flee. With this incident, the ANC decided it was time to form a military wing in an effort to engage the repressive state on its own terms.

With Nelson Mandela as the commander in chief, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was formed in 1961. Mandela defended the actions of the ANC at the Rivonia Trial that found him guilty of sabotage and sentenced him to life in prison. He said, “It was only when all else failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle... The Government had left us no other choice.”

In the mid-1960s, after Mandela and other ANC leaders were sentenced to life in prison, the momentum of the ANC slowed as it was forced to function underground and in neighboring countries where they trained guerilla fighters. The liberation movement continued, however, primarily through labor union activities and strikes and through the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). In 1969, the South African Students Association (SASO), an all-black student organization, was founded on the principle of black theology and black consciousness. The beginnings of SASO can be traced to the black caucus that emerged at the national conference of the

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University Christian Movement, held the previous year. Many of the leaders of SASO and the BCM were theological students or ordained ministers of the English-speaking churches. The BCM worked within civil society for the economic progress of blacks through cooperative “Buy Black” campaigns and trade union activity. It adopted slogans such as “Black is Beautiful,” and “Black man, you are on your own.”

The BCM posed a new kind of threat to the apartheid government—the realization that despite all the various methods employed to keep the races separate and distinct, the government could not separate and divide the African’s consciousness and desire for freedom from themselves.

In 1976, the students of Soweto, empowered by the ideals of black consciousness, embarked on a protest against the requirement that they learn the Afrikaans language in school (considered to be the language of the oppressor), as opposed to any of the native African languages. The ensuing crackdown of the police and subsequent riots resulted in the deaths of more than five hundred (possibly as many as one thousand) students. The Soweto uprising radicalized the young urban Africans and gave new energy to the anti-apartheid liberation movement. Many young people left the country to be trained as guerillas, while the upcoming generation of youth would refuse to attend school until freedom was won.

### The World Community and Apartheid

Meanwhile, during these years of intense anti-apartheid liberation efforts, there was a growing debate within the Afrikaner community regarding the ultimate sustainability of apartheid. A *verligte*, or enlightened, attitude began to emerge among some Afrikaners (as contrasted with the traditional *verkrampte*, or closed attitude), which thought that the Afrikaner should begin to take a more generous and open stance with those who were different at home and abroad. It encompassed the ideas that Afrikaners must adapt to the changing realities in the world, or cease to exist. Even though the *verligte* philosophy was met with staunch resistance, it eventually did lead to changes in the apartheid policies, such as the adoption of a new constitution in 1983 that allowed for new, but separate, parliaments for both the Indians and the coloured. The new constitution, however, was merely window dressing, creating the illusion that freedoms were increasing. The Afrikaners continued to have no rights or representation within the government.

Amid the domestic dynamics of apartheid legislation, increased militarization and repression of the state and the constant struggle for liberation, the South African state was becoming an international pariah. For all intents and purposes, the world politically, culturally, professionally, and athletically shunned and boycotted South Africa because of its apartheid system. Economically, however, South Africa was quite literally a gold mine (producing half the world’s supply) and attracted international investment. Despite the continued efforts of the liberation movement to strike, boycott, and conduct work stoppages, the South African economy expanded at one of the fastest rates in the world during the 1960s and 1970s as a result of its gold. When the United States went off the gold standard in 1971, South Africa’s earning from gold tripled. When the price of gold plunged in the mid-1970s, the country suffered a recession. Nevertheless, the country continued to be economically viable and developed during the apartheid years, at least for the minority white population.

Because of the exploitable resources in South Africa, multinational corporations were not as quick to shun the country, unlike the world’s political, cultural, and athletic communities. Foreign investment into South Africa steadily increased during the 1960s, taking advantage of the economic boom. This investment gave the apartheid regime a degree of legitimacy, at least in their own perception, and served to sustain the system and increase the gap between rich and poor, at least for a time. Because of so many cultural similarities between South Africa and the United States with regards to race relations, US corporations were especially sensitive to follow equal and fair employment practices such as equal pay, desegregation of facilities, and training programs for the African employees. However, this “sensitivity” was not enough to prevent the strikes and boycotts that continued throughout 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and adversely affected the economy. The downturn in the economy in the 1980s, the continuing pressure from the liberation movement, and international attention and boycotting of multi-national corporations operating in South Africa, led to a mass divestment from the region.

South Africa held a dominant position within the region, economically and politically. Regardless of the fact that most of the so-called “frontline” states (Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Angola, Swaziland, and Lesotho) have been economically dependent on the South African economy, the South African state engaged in a number of destabilization maneuvers to maintain apartheid and its dominance in the region. The government security forces consistently launched raids into neighboring states

during the 1970s and 1980s in an effort to destroy suspected ANC training camps. South Africa became embroiled in the civil war in Angola in an attempt to thwart the rise of communism there. Other countries such as Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland were coerced into signing nonaggression pacts with South Africa to stave off the threats of economic strangleholds that South Africa could easily employ to further their political and economic agenda. Indeed, “the regional objective [was] to create and maintain a dependence that will be economically lucrative and politically submissive—and will serve as a bulwark against the imposition of international sanctions (Johnson and Martin 1988).” The role of the South African military grew enormously during the 1970s, in which the defense budget increased nearly 1000%. While the Africans struggled for liberation on the home front, an entire generation of young white men was conscripted into the military and security forces to fight the battle in the frontline states.

## Collapse of Apartheid

Apartheid began to implode in the mid-1980s for a number of political and economic reasons. Labor strikes and unrest began to increase. Violence would erupt when the security police would step in, often spreading the clashes between competing African tribal groups. The governments usually did nothing to squelch these intertribal conflicts, and even covertly fostered them, citing as proof that different racial groups could not peacefully coexist. With the violence, the death toll rose. Funerals continued to be one means of political demonstration, often bringing out thousands of people. The government banned this form of expression, which only fueled the growing rage and cycle of violence. The new constitution that was adopted in 1983, granting parliamentary representation to the Indians and coloured, did not alleviate the pressure. This simply highlighted the fact that the apartheid regime continued its oppression and disenfranchisement of the African population. A state of emergency was declared in 1985 in a futile effort to maintain control, but the strikes, boycotts, funeral processions, bombings, and violence continued. The security state responded with arrests, detentions, and torture. Between late 1984 and mid-1986, there were more than 1,600 confirmed deaths and thousands of detentions at the hands of the police.

As anarchy reigned and resistance increased, the government began to place greater restrictions on the media. Indeed, many whites were oblivious to

the unrest that was occurring throughout the country. Foreign corporations began to get nervous, some divesting their assets from the country (in part because of the growing international movement against the apartheid regime). The South African economy faced a disastrous downturn as a result of the internal unrest, the need to maintain and increase the security apparatus, and the international community’s political and economic sanctions. By the 1980s, the ANC had regained some of its lost status as an anti-apartheid leader. It had declared the 1980s as the Decade of Liberation. The National Party apartheid government began to talk with Nelson Mandela (who had taken on heroic and symbolic dimensions as the martyred leader of the liberation struggle) in 1988.

The final blow to the apartheid system came in 1989 when President Pieter Willem Botha suffered a stroke and resigned first as the head of the National Party and then as president of South Africa. Frederik Willem de Klerk, who back in the 1960s had been the first to coin the descriptive distinction between the *verligte* and *verkrampte* philosophies, succeeded Botha. De Klerk, despite being a National Party loyalist, recognized the need for change and lived up to his inaugural promises to work towards peace. He immediately eased restrictions on protest rallies and marches, and in October 1989 he released a number of political prisoners who were Nelson Mandela’s contemporaries and who had been in prison for the past twenty-five years. He also began to systematically dismantle the apartheid structures that had been in place since 1948. He opened South African beaches to all people, irrespective of race, and declared that the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act would soon be repealed. South Africans of all colours would now be free to mingle and socialize at parks, theaters, restaurants, libraries, and on buses for the first time in generations. In addition, he announced that the secret National Security Management System, designed to combat anti-apartheid forces, would be dissolved.

These and other actions were profound changes to occur within the first six months of de Klerk’s tenure. The culmination came on February 2, 1990, when he lifted the ban on the ANC and more than thirty other illegal organizations, freed non-violent political prisoners, suspended capital punishment, and lifted restrictions imposed by a state of emergency. Then again, on February 10, 1990, more dramatic events astounded the nation and the world. Nelson Mandela was unconditionally released from prison after serving twenty-seven years of a life sentence. The political reality of apartheid in South Africa changed virtually overnight and without the nation succumbing to an all-out civil war. The hard work of creating a government of national unity was to begin.

## Rebuilding a Nation

The process of forming a new government would not be easy. In December 1991, after a year and a half of negotiations and setting of ground rules, the talks on the formation of a new government began. The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) continued, intermittently for over two years with the participation of the National Party, the ANC, and sixteen other delegations representing the gamut of South African political stakeholders. In March 1992, a short time into the first round of CODESA talks, de Klerk announced there would be an all-white referendum on the current political rally. Even though an all-white vote was a vestige of the apartheid system and was opposed on principle by the ANC and other nonwhite groups, it ultimately provided support for the continuation of negotiations. The question was simple: "Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the state president began on February 2, 1990, which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?" Sixty-nine percent of the voters supported continuing the unity process. Eventually, the CODESA talks produced an agreement for a government of national unity in which power would be proportionally shared. The first-ever, nationwide, universal, democratic election was scheduled for April 27, 1994. The ANC was elected as the party to head the new transitional government, with Nelson Mandela as South Africa's new president.

On that day, millions of South Africa's citizens, regardless of racial, ethnic, or class background, put an end to the tyranny of apartheid rule. The insidious nature of apartheid affected every aspect of life in South Africa, and consequently, its development process. The entire population, irrespective of race, was manipulated by the system in its effort to sustain itself. The reeducation of the citizenry would be an enormous undertaking. Before the election was held, it was understood by leaders of every ilk—political, economic, and religious—that it would be necessary to begin instilling democratic values into the millions of citizens who had effectively been denied these rights for hundreds of years. These lessons on democracy began with the basics of voting procedures. On a deeper level, it was understood that the adverse consequences of apartheid must be dealt with on numerous levels, not only practically on economic and political levels, but on spiritual and psychological levels as well. The rebuilding and unifying of a broken and divided nation had begun.

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**See also Botha, P.W.; De Klerk, Frederick W.; Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Ethnicity: Impact on**

**Politics and Society; Mandela, Nelson; Minorities/Discrimination; South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Verwoerd, Hendrik**

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## APRISMO

The Aprista movement, which started in the early 1920s under the leadership of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, initially sought to create bonds between students and workers in Lima, Peru's capital. A "Popular University, created in 1921, it provided a place for students to teach classes to workers. The movement expanded and transformed itself through the formation in 1924 of *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* (APRA), also called the "Aprista party," a political party that became a key actor in modern Peruvian political life. Haya de la Torre, originally from Trujillo, a northern coastal city of Peru, returned in 1931 from political exile in Mexico, prompted by his involvement in the opposition to the dictatorship of Augusto Leguía.

*Aprismo*, a Spanish term, is both the ideology and philosophy of the APRA, as well as the activities and role of the APRA in Peruvian society and polity.

*Aprista*, in turn, is the noun or adjective given to a member or supporter of the APRA.

At the beginning, Haya de la Torre's political program emphasized two levels: one applied to the Latin American continent and calling for the unity of its peoples against US imperialism; the other concerning Peru and seeking to end the oligarchic state in order to foster national integration and more inclusive patterns of development. The transversal theme was the need for indigenous populations to struggle against the historical domination of the elites since the colonial period. While Haya de la Torre was initially close to a key Peruvian leader of Marxist thinking at the time, José Carlos Mariátegui, who contributed to forming the Peruvian Communist party in 1929, APRA's ideology can best be described as reformist, populist, and pragmatic, rather than revolutionary.

### The APRA's Role in Politics

The party's creation has been associated with the profound changes or "dislocation" occurring in Peru's coastal economy at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century (Klaren 1973). From a society structured around small farming, the coastal area was transformed by the massive entry of foreign capital and the resulting concentration of land in the hands of a few owners. The farmers then became workers for the most part, while the rate of urbanization was increasing throughout the country with some modest industrialization occurring mostly in Lima. The anti-imperialist discourse of Haya de la Torre found its main constituency within this new proletariat. The support base of the APRA remained predominantly in the urban coastal area throughout the twentieth century, even though the party also reached a national audience early on. Not only workers but also middle classes and some sectors of the peasantry ended up joining in the ranks of the party. This corresponded to Haya de la Torre's vision of reformist political change based on a multiclass alliance led by the middle classes. The party's program was geared towards creating a national state that would carry out redistributive policies and stimulate national development for the benefit of all sectors of society.

In the early part of its history, the APRA condoned or incited its supporters to carry out violent uprisings against the state, which led to confrontations with the military. An example that served as a foundational mythology is the uprising of Trujillo in 1932 when Apristas executed thirty-four army officers, and which ended in the death of around one

thousand Apristas. Not surprisingly, the relationship between the military and the APRA was one of sheer distrust, and the tendency of the APRA to be involved in or associated with acts of civil disorder served to justify various forms of repression on the part of security forces until the mid-1950s.

Haya de la Torre lost the presidential elections of 1931 and declared them to be fraudulent. In 1932, after the revolt in Trujillo, the strength of military repression forced APRA's leaders to go in exile again. The party was banned from 1933 to 1945. From 1945 to 1948, and then from 1963 to 1968, the APRA was a key player of democratic politics as an elected party within political institutions, but the social disorder generated by increasing political mobilization of workers and peasants, plus the lack of capacity of the government to undertake genuine reforms, led to military coups at the end of both periods. Between 1948 and 1956, during the dictatorship of Manuel Odría, the APRA was banned yet another time, and its were militants persecuted. The *Confederación de Trabajadores Peruanos*, the first national labor organization created in 1944 by the APRA, was only recognized by the state in 1964. The new left-wing parties created in the 1960s, which grew in strength under the military regime of 1968–1980 partly as a reaction to repression in the late 1970s, displaced the APRA in its ability to act as the voice of the lower classes. The *Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos*, a Communist labor organization, was recognized by the state in 1968, ending APRA's predominance in labor representation.

This shift in the political affiliation of the working class was the result of the APRA's move away from a radical discourse toward an inconsistent alliance with the elite, *caudillo*-type regime of Manuel Prado in 1956–1963. All analysts concur in describing that period, which began with the legalization of the party in 1945 and ended with the installation of a reformist military regime in 1968, as one of cooptation of *aprismo*, when compromises were achieved by the party for the purpose of acceding to legal status and political power. The APRA's strategy, in the complex political scenario of that period, was to collaborate with the regime just enough to maintain its political freedom and in the hope that it could benefit from the democratic electoral framework in the future to gain genuine state power.

In programmatic terms, this meant a toned-down, anti-imperialist stance and development proposals relying not on the confiscation of foreign assets but rather in creating new productive conditions for the whole population. It also meant that the APRA was no longer an unconditional ally of the labor movement's demands as it had been before. The

legalization of the party launched a new phase of burgeoning mobilization among lower and middle classes, who made increasing demands upon the oligarchic state. The APRA's decision to accept Prado's *Convivencia* pact in 1956 caused a number of defections from the younger ranks of the APRA towards more radical left-wing organizations. The latter were reinforced in their move by the hopes generated by the Cuban revolution shortly after.

After a decade of military rule from 1968 to 1978, during which a number of the reforms advocated by the APRA for years were finally adopted such as the nationalization of petroleum and mining, the APRA found itself without a clear identity. On the one hand, its reformist role had been taken over by the military in the first years of the military regime, and on the other hand, new parties had emerged that were proposing more radical, revolutionary change. Nevertheless, the transition to democracy starting in 1978 and ending with the first universal suffrage elections ever held in Peru in 1980, saw the APRA as a key civilian political force collaborating and negotiating with the military. Partly for this and as a clear rejection of the military, however, Peruvians voted for Fernando Belaúnde Terry, leader of the center-right *Acción Popular* party, as first president of the new democratic regime.

It was only in 1985 that the APRA's dream of governing Peru's destiny materialized. Alan García, a young and charismatic politician, was the first *Aprista* president ever to assume state power. His government, marked by a failed attempt at implementing heterodox adjustment reforms, ended in a period of unprecedented economic crisis and heightened political violence caused by the war between state forces and subversive groups inspired by Maoist (Shining Path—*Sendero Luminoso*) or Guevarist (*Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru*) ideology. After attempting to nationalize the banking and financial sectors, the García's government alienated the economic elite and lost the 1990 elections at the hands of a new, previously unknown populist leader, Alberto Fujimori. Alan García went in exile for a decade during which the APRA fared poorly in electoral terms. The return of García for the 2001 presidential elections gave a renewed impetus to the party, which is still the most institutionalized of the Peruvian party system.

### ***Aprismo* as Populist Politics and Its Influence in Latin America**

*Aprismo* is the incarnation of populism, a dominant pattern of political rule in the Latin American

twentieth century. A mass reform party created in reaction to the lack of integration of popular and middle classes in the political process, *aprismo* was based on an organic, corporatist vision of society where the sources of social ills were to be found primarily in foreign economic domination and the submission of the national bourgeoisie—or oligarchy—to foreign-imposed development priorities. Haya de la Torre was a source of inspiration for many other Latin American leaders of nationalistic social change, such as Figueres in Costa Rica, Betancourt in Venezuela, and Perón in Argentina. In Peru, *aprismo* was not the only manifestation of populism. The first populist politician of Peru, Luis Sánchez Cerro, who ran against Haya de la Torre in the 1931 elections, differed from the latter in that he did not attempt to appeal to specific class actors such as unions or professional associations. APRA's support base represented a more diversified class alliance, with membership specifically drawn from organized working classes or middle classes, whereas Sanchez Cerro's mixed ethnic origins made his appeal greater to indigenous peasants, recent migrants, and lower stratum working class.

The structure of the APRA was also typically populist. The charismatic leader Haya de la Torre, who remained in place until his death in 1979, headed the organization through a direct, paternalistic, and personalistic appeal to the masses; the party was vertically organized to mobilize the masses in support of the leader, with the cadres of the party mostly from middle-class background and the majority of the working class militants confined to the party rank-and-file. The figure of the high leader—called *jefe máximo*, meaning highest chief—inspired unconditional loyalty from his followers, with *Apristas* reknowned for the intensity of their emotional attachment to the chief and the party seen as a great family. The charisma of the leader, an essential characteristic of populist politics, derived in part from his constantly referring to his suffering and that of his followers experienced through repression and exile.

### ***Aprismo* as a Reformist Program**

*Aprismo* historically emphasized the central role of the state in reforming the economic structure through the redistribution of resources and revenues and breaking with the domination of foreign capital. Its economic policy options favored the Latin American development model of import-substitution industrialization that dominated from the 1940s to the 1970s,

but which was only adopted in Peru at the end of the 1950s. The main causes of the underdevelopment affecting Peru were, according to *Aprismo*, the lack of national integration and the divorce of the state from the rest of society.

Because of its multiclass constituency, the APRA was characterized by its willingness to avoid alienating any class sector. While in broad terms it called for the nationalization of land and industry, in light of the diversity of interests of the peasantry, for example, the APRA never committed to a radical land reform. Moreover, it even supported military repression against peasant land invasions in the 1960s. Haya de la Torre and later, Alan García, adapted the party's discourse to the needs of the day, which inevitably generated different ideological groupings within the Aprista "family." Although the leader was usually capable of mediating these internal differences, the diversity of interests represented within the APRA led to numerous contradictions. One extreme example occurred in the late 1980s when some sectors of the APRA were known for their links with a right-wing paramilitary commando who assassinated suspected members of left-wing subversive groups, while one of these groups, the *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru*, had been founded by former APRA militants.

The failure of the first *Aprista* government after more than sixty years of APRA's existence consisted in its weak policy reform capacity and its demise after one term in power. This could be explained by the extremely difficult circumstances in which García took power in the mid-1980s—dominated by economic crisis and political violence. Yet at a more fundamental level, the failure of *Aprismo* is reminiscent of the dilemmas faced by many reformist projects in Latin America. It is connected to the incapacity of the party to create a long-lasting multiclass alliance capable of reconciling a diversity of interests around a reformist project and winning over the entrenched military and oligarchic powers. *Aprismo's* role in the Peruvian and Latin American politics of the twentieth century, however, was fundamental in the transition from closed oligarchic regimes to more inclusionary democratic regimes based on universal suffrage and the recognition of the state's role in fostering national development.

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See also Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl; Peru; Populism

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### AQUINO, BENIGNO, AND CORAZÓN

Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr., (1932–1983) was born in Tarlac Province, Philippines. At the University of the Philippines, Aquino was a fraternity brother of his future nemesis Ferdinand E. Marcos. Benigno Aquino worked as a journalist in Korea, Vietnam, and Malaya. In May 1954, he played a role in the capture of Luis Taruc (1913– ), a top leader of the left-wing rural *Hukbong Magpapalaya ng Bayan* ("National Liberation Army"). Immediately after the interview with Aquino, Taruc was arrested.

Aquino's future spouse, Maria Corazón Sumulong Cojuangco (1933– ), was born into a Chinese Filipino landowning family at Hacienda Luisita, Tarlac Province. She majored in French and minored in mathematics at Mount Saint Vincent College in New York City. In 1954, she interrupted legal studies at Far Eastern University to marry "Ninoy" Aquino. They had five children. "Cory" Aquino also was treasurer of Jose Cojuangco and Sons, Inc.

Entering electoral politics, Benigno Aquino was elected a local mayor and then governor of Tarlac Province. In 1967, he became the youngest person elected to the at-large senate of the Philippines. That year, he also was the opposition Liberal Party's only successful senatorial candidate. As a "fiscalizer" (critic), he attracted national attention. In 1968, Senator Aquino exposed plans by President Marcos to infiltrate and subvert the government of Sabah (North Borneo), Malaysia. Benigno Aquino initially was a typical politician in many respects. Marcos was reelected to a second term in 1969. In the same year, the Communist Party of the Philippines formed its New People's Army. And as poverty and protests by workers and students increased, Aquino grew increasingly popular as a prospective contender in the 1973 presidential elections. When Marcos imposed martial



law on September 21, 1972, Senator Aquino was arrested and imprisoned.

Tried in a military court, Benigno Aquino was condemned to death. After more than seven years of imprisonment, “Ninoy” Aquino was allowed to leave the Philippines for heart surgery in Boston. Recovering from his hospitalization, the Aquinos lived together in self-exile in the United States during 1980–1983. And they met with anti-Marcos activists of all political persuasions. Believing that Marcos’s illnesses were life-threatening, Benigno Aquino feared that chaos might develop if Marcos died in the absence of a credible opposition figure. A warning from co-dictator Imelda Marcos did not deter him from returning. With Manila International Airport under military control, on August 21, 1983, Aquino was shot to death in broad daylight just after getting off his plane.

Corazón Aquino returned for her assassinated spouse’s funeral. His assassination elicited a massive outpouring of sympathy. Drenched by pouring rains, a million or more marched in a somber funeral procession. No one was convicted of masterminding Aquino’s murder. As the Filipino elite realized that they were not immune to victimization by Marcos, opposition spread beyond the ranks of radical workers, farmers, and students to bankers and former supporters of the dictatorship. In her new role as widow of a prominent anti-Marcos politician, Corazón Aquino became a symbol of the aggrieved anti-Marcos opposition. And despite the friendship of US President Ronald W. Reagan (1981–1989) for Marcos, a growing faction in the White House began seeing “Cory” Aquino as better prepared to defeat the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Under US pressure, President Marcos announced a “snap” election for February 7, 1986. Ignoring massive fraud and uncounted votes, the *Batasang Pambansa* (“National Assembly”) declared Marcos the winner. In reaction to a failed election, boycotts and demonstrations erupted for three weeks. Thus, Corazón Cojuangco Aquino became president in the “People Power Revolution.” Terminating the Marcos presidency, a four-day mutiny was led by Deputy Chief of Staff Fidel V. Ramos and Minister of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile. Their desertion was endorsed by Cardinal Jaime Sin, leader of the Roman Catholic church. The rebellious military contingent was protectively surrounded by a massive demonstration by residents of the National Capital Region. And whether freely or under duress, Marcos left the Philippines for the United States.

On February 28, 1986, Corazón Aquino spurned the 1973 Constitution, having herself sworn in under “the power of the people.” Seventeen months of rule by decree followed. President Aquino dismissed the

*Batasang Pambansa* before it could meet, proclaimed a temporary constitution, and appointed a Constitutional Commission to write a permanent document to be submitted to the voters. Reflecting the politically diverse forces that put Aquino in power, her highly factionalized first cabinet lasted less than a year. But on February 2, 1987, an 80% “Yes” vote on the constitution temporarily quieted most challenges to her legitimacy. In May, elections were held for Congress. The winners were seated at the end of July 1987.

With mixed results, President Aquino engaged in separate peace negotiations with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in Mindanao and with the National Democratic Front (NDF), which was led by a weakened Communist Party of the Philippines. Human rights violations by police, military, and vigilantes increased during her first two years in office, and she failed to win the Nobel Peace Prize. For editorial writers, “Kamag-anak, Inc.” (“Family, Inc.”) symbolized political corruption by Aquino’s relatives, although she personally did not take public funds for private gain.

Aquino chose not to use her powers of decree to effect sweeping land reform in the highly agricultural Philippines, and no major redistribution of land to farmer laborers occurred. Despite deeper familiarity with US culture and society than any previous President of the Philippines, she could not persuade the Senate to renew the US–Philippines Military Bases Agreement in 1991. Aquino’s task was complicated by the unwillingness of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to endorse the treaty. On the other hand, she laid the basis for dismantling “crony” megacorporations from the Marcos dictatorship. And having survived two major military coup attempts and several smaller military revolts, she facilitated a peaceful electoral transfer of power to Fidel V. Ramos, minority winner of the 1992 presidential election.

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### See also Philippines

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### ARAB ECONOMIC UNITY COUNCIL

The first step toward the Arab Economic Unity Council was the establishment of the League of Arab States (LAS) in 1945, as many Arab countries gained their independence. The League of Arab States consists of three main organs: League Council, Permanent Committees (Arab Specialized Organizations), and General Secretary.

However, because of the extensive duties of these committees they have been replaced by the Arab Specialized Organizations, which cover a wide variety of specialties and support the objectives of the LAS. Eighteen Arab specialized organizations were established. The Arab Economic Unity Council is one of them.

According to the charter of the LAS, political issues were more dominant than economic ones. Only articles two and four deal with the economic issues. Article two defined the aims of establishing the LAS in supporting the economic cooperation between the member states; article four established a number of committees for taking care of this cooperation.

In 1957, the governments of the thirteen member states (membership has since risen to twenty-two states) signed the treaty of the Economic Unity between the Arab League's member states, which was then ratified by the national legislatures of all the member states. Article number three of the treaty established the Arab Economic Unity Council.

The Arab Economic Unity Council has a number of objectives. Primarily, it works to promote and expand cooperation among its members in economics and trade. In 1964, seven years after its founding, the council established the Arab Common Market.

The main purpose for establishing the Arab Economic Unity Council was to determine the best ways to raise the standard of living, upgrade the economics of the member states, and to open the Arab markets for moving industrial and agricultural goods with each other freely. The steps toward these goals include the elimination of all tariffs between member states, to remove all internal tariffs, and to end all restrictions on trade within the member states. Unfortunately, however, the Arab Economic Unity Council's ability to achieve its goals has been limited

by disagreements among member states, such as external, political, and economic problems.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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### ARAB MAGHREB UNION (AMU)

In February 1989, in Marrakech, Morocco, the leaders of Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, and Tunisia signed a treaty setting up the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU).

The AMU was modeled on the European Community (EC) and was formed principally to enable its members to negotiate with the EC, Arab, and African countries from a position of greater strength. In 1995, the free movement of people within the AMU, encouragement for joint investment projects and the creation of a foreign trade bank were proposed, but there was no follow-up. In 1999, a program to reactivate the AMU was put forward, but in 2000, no progress had been made.

The AMU accounts for 40% of the Arab world's area and, in 1998, had a population of about seventy four million. More than million AMU citizens were expatriate workers in Europe. AMU members have not yet established a free trade area, although there are some bilateral projects in operation and under discussion. A number of these involve the European Union, such as a gas pipeline from Algeria to Italy, which passes through Tunisian territory, and gas pipelines from Algeria to Spain and Portugal, which pass through Morocco.

In 1997, about 3% of total AMU external trade was with other members of the AMU. This compared with trade between members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) that equaled 22% of its total external trade (in 1998) and intra-EU trade that equaled 61% of total EU external trade.

The barriers to closer economic integration in the AMU are numerous. There are political barriers:

Libya has been subject to a range of international sanctions since 1991; Algeria has been in a state of near civil war for years. There also are structural barriers: the countries in the region have a preference for European goods, and given this cultural bias, it often is hard to sell and/or export locally made goods. Much of the production in the region is competitive rather than complementary, which limits trade at the stage of development prevailing in the region. There are, however, differences in emphasis. Algeria and Libya are energy rich. Morocco is relatively more developed in agriculture, manufacturing, and tourism. Morocco and Mauritania have mining sectors.

Despite the fact that the overall level of development is much lower than in Europe, there are considerable variations in income levels within the region. Gross domestic product per capita in Mauritania is about 10% of that in Libya. The level of integration into the international economy is varied. Morocco and Tunisia are members of the World Trade Organization; they have completed International Monetary Fund-backed structural adjustment programs and have partly convertible currencies, relatively dynamic private sectors, and growing nonpetroleum exports. In contrast, Algeria and Libya are less open to international trade and have smaller and low levels of nonpetroleum exports.

There is significant informal trade in the region based on bartering, smuggling, and other unregistered transactions. Morocco and Tunisia have liberalized their import regions, and registered trade between from them has increased steadily since the mid-1980s.

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**See also North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations**

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## ARAB NATIONALISM

The basis of Arab nationalism is the common culture, history, and language of the Arab peoples. The Arab peoples' geographical realm ranges from the Persian Gulf in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the West. Arab nationalism, in general, does not entail Islamic ideas. Interestingly enough, many of the early Arab nationalist thinkers were Arab Christians from Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine such as George Antonius

and Michel Aflaq. However, Islam is not completely disregarded, even by the Christian thinkers.

On the other hand, the idea of state and regional nationalism has challenged Arab nationalism, especially in the minds of many Lebanese Maronites. Ironically, this challenge has occurred in the Arab states established at the fall of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I. Leaders ranging from Gamal Abdel Nasser to Muammar Qaddafi to Saddam Hussein have promoted some type of Arab nationalism at times in their careers. Arab nationalism has been represented in many different ways with many different ideologies, which have occasionally come into conflict with one another.

## Early Roots of Arab Nationalism

Arab nationalism gained attention during the First World War with the support of the Allied Powers fighting the Ottoman Turks, but Arab nationalism's roots date from the previous century, the ideas of European nationalism, and even earlier. Previously, much of the Arab world existed under the umbrella of a Muslim community, the Ottoman Empire, rather than ethnic-based self-governance. Over time, European interests began to erode the Ottoman Empire through the establishment of European, mostly French and British, protectorates in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. When the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in World War I, it would lose not only the war, but also most of its territory.

Arab nationalism is widely viewed as a European-influenced development dating either from immediately before or during World War I. While there is some truth in this belief, Arab nationalism has native roots from much earlier than the twentieth century and prior to the influence of European ideas, although all early efforts met failure. Several stages exist in the coming of nationalism in the Arab world, as well as in the existence of modern Arab nationalism itself. It may be argued that the earliest idea of Arab nationalism, or at least unity, can be found in the Constitution of Medina in 622 CE. This was perhaps the Prophet Muhammad's way of uniting the Muslim faithful, the *Ummah*, which all happened to be Arabs at this time. Since Islam is a universal religion, accepting regardless of ethnicity, the *Ummah* would later include other groups such as the Persians and Turks. However, internal differences among Arab tribes and within Islam itself kept an enduring unity from developing. Eventually, Arab domination in terms of Islamic rule was lost to the Persians and the Turks.

## Arab Nationalism in the 20th Century

The genesis of Arab nationalism in the twentieth century lies with anti-Turkish sentiment. The Young Turk movement, started by a group of young Turkish intellectuals promoting Pan-Turkism and European ideas of secularism in government and society, alienated most Arabs who believed in the unity of the *Ummah*. While the Young Turks did not succeed in deposing the Sultan, they did succeed in removing Arabs from key government positions, including those dealing with religion and administration of Arab provinces, which had been traditionally reserved for Arabs to fill. The Young Turks took these steps fearing the loss of Ottoman territories, which eventually did occur following the Ottoman Empire's collapse and division in its defeat in World War I, thanks in part to the Arab revolts encouraged by the Allies.

The character of Arab nationalism underwent a drastic change leading up to the declaration of Israel as an independent Jewish state in 1948. The Palestinian question united many Arab countries, especially the immediately surrounding ones, in a common cause. A resolution to the Palestinian question, whether violent or peaceful, has been and continues to be a top issue in many official attitudes within, but not limited to, Arab governments. However, the issue of Israel has also been a convenient excuse for many governmental shortfalls within the region. In many instances, a general anti-Israel sentiment has prevailed upon generations of Arab and Muslim youth since the country's independence.

The 1950s and 1960s saw the North African Arab countries gain independence from European imperial powers. The movement against the French in Algeria was particularly bloody, but eventually forced the French hand to relinquish its control and allow that county to seek its own future. This was also part of an overall trend of anti-imperialism spreading throughout Africa. Arab nationalist ideas did not end with independence in North Africa, but the ideology has been as pronounced as in the Arab states farther east. Muammar Qaddafi was a figure to eventually emerge as the leader of Libya and has promoted Arab nationalism, among other ideas, at certain times during his career.

## Pan-Arabism

An idea to originate within Arab nationalism is that of Pan-Arabism, which advocates the ideal of a single Arab state. Not all Arab nationalists believe in this

ideal. The idea of Pan-Arabism was first espoused by Hashemite Sharif Hussein of Mecca. Hussein was a fervent Arab nationalist who sought to secede from the Ottoman Empire to create an independent Arab state. Through the Hussein–McMahon Correspondence, an agreement was reached between the British and Sharif Hussein for the Arab tribes to rise against the Turks in revolt and to support the Allied effort against the Central Powers in the desert.

However, in 1916, the British and the French reached an agreement of their own about what should happen to the Arab lands after the defeat of the Ottomans. Instead of Arab independence, the Sykes–Picot Agreement outlined the division of the Ottoman lands between Britain and France. The agreement from the Hussein–McMahon Correspondence was negated with France and Britain establishing their mandates. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, which stated that the British looked with favor on the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, caused more problems for Arab nationalist efforts. The Balfour Declaration would eventually lead to the establishment of Israel on former Palestinian land in 1948. Further damage to Hussein's idea was brought by the conquests of Ibn Saud in the Arabian Peninsula, including the Hijaz, home to Mecca and Medina. In the years after World War I, the Arabs, as a whole, were still not free to choose their own destiny.

The only attempt at a Pan-Arab state is the United Arab Republic (UAR), which combined Egypt and Syria. The idea was the brainchild of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Egypt was the driving force behind the UAR, with the capital in Cairo. This union lasted from 1958 to 1961, when Syria underwent a coup, led by Hafez Assad and the Ba'ath Party, which severed its relationship with Egypt. Near the end of the union, the UAR sought to include Yemen in its governance. The title UAR was used by Egypt until 1970, when President Nasser passed away. Nasser, himself, was a veteran of the 1948 war against Israeli independence. In 1952, Nasser began his bid to lead Egypt by ousting King Farouk I in a military coup. The Muslim Brotherhood made an attempt on Nasser's life during a speech he gave in 1954, and when all the bullets missed, Nasser continued his speech without flinching. This attitude toward his adversity was characteristic of his career. Nasser eventually became president in 1956. That same year, Nasser launched the nationalization of the Suez Canal, much to the chagrin of the British and French. With Israel's support, Britain and France sought to take the canal by force. However, the United States and the Soviet Union, in a rare display of agreement and cooperation, cut this campaign

short. The uncompromising nature of Nasser in this situation won him the respect of other Arab countries as a staunch opponent of the European powers and their continued colonial attitudes toward the Arabs. Yet, when Egypt suffered another defeat and the loss of the Sinai Peninsula at the hands of Israel in the Six-Day War in 1967, Nasser publicly pursued resignation of his position, whether for effect or in reality, but was given the endorsement of the Egyptian people to continue his post. In an effort to intimidate Israel, a war of attrition followed with much activity on the Egyptian-held side of the canal. A compromise was reached to end the standoff in 1970, but Nasser was not to continue at helm. He died from a heart attack shortly after the agreement was reached.

Nasser's successor, Anwar Sadat, led Egypt into the Yom Kippur War, in which Egypt suffered yet another defeat. This was an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer the Sinai Peninsula. Egypt, under Sadat, would eventually make peace with Israel, with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, through the Camp David Accords of 1978. This led to Sadat's assassination by the Muslim Brotherhood in 1981. A vast contrast to Nasser, Sadat was seen as a traitor to the Arab and Palestinian cause.

### The Question of Palestine

The events leading up to the declaration of Israel as an independent Jewish state were tumultuous for the Palestinians. At the onset of the Jewish migration, Jewish immigrants bought land in a legitimate bid for a place in the ancestral Jewish homeland in the Levant. Before long, land seizures and acts of intimidation, such as the Jewish riots of 1929, were used against the Arabs to acquire more land and for the Jews to become the dominant ethnic group of the area. The Palestinians engaged in a general strike to protest the deteriorating situation in 1936, but to little avail. The British began formal restriction of Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1939. This measure led some within the growing Jewish community to carry out subversive acts against the British. The end of World War II and the emptying of the Nazi death camps brought an unstoppable influx of Jews from Europe to Palestine. These events led to the movement of Palestinian refugees into neighboring Arab countries.

The surrounding Arab countries prepared for a war in support of the Palestinians in the event the Jews declared an independent state. Indeed, when the British mandate in Palestine was ended on May 14, 1948, an independent Israel was proclaimed. On

the following day began Israel's war for independence when the neighboring Arab states of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan invaded. Much to the surprise of the invaders and the rest of the world, Israel emerged victorious. The 1967 Six-Day War led to further land acquisition by Israel and embarrassment on the part of the attacking Arab states. The Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula were captured from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. Only the Sinai Peninsula was later returned.

One of the most influential and widely known figures identified with the Palestinian situation is Yasser Arafat. Born in 1929, the young Arafat was inquisitive about the Jewish people that had been arriving in his homeland of Palestine, which was then under the British mandate. At King Fuad University in Cairo, Arafat read Zionist literature and engaged in intellectual discussion with Jews in hopes of better understanding his new neighbors. In short order, Arafat had become a Palestinian nationalist. Though Arafat was never entirely committed to Arab nationalism, he remains a symbol of Arab resistance.

Yasser Arafat attempted to join the fight against the newly declared state of Israel in 1948, but the Egyptians turned him away as being untrained and hastily armed. This was the turning point in which Arafat lost faith in other Arab governments. He felt the Palestinians would triumph only through their own course of action and by winning popular support. Arafat spent much of his time moving throughout the Palestinian diaspora in other Arab countries in attempt to gain support and finances for the Palestinian cause. In Kuwait, he began the groundwork for the *al-Fatah*, or "victory," organization. Initially, monetary support came from wealthy oil industry employees. After some unsuccessful operations against Israel, Arafat became regarded by many Palestinians as a hero for his narrow escapes and resolve to continue, but was branded as a terrorist by Israel. *Fatah* positions became targets for the Israelis during the Six-Day War. Arafat quickly rose to the top of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The 1960s were a strenuous time for Arafat and the PLO. By 1970, the large Palestinian presence in neighboring Jordan had become too much for King Hussein to bear, and when three hijacked airliners were exploded at the airfield in Zarqa, King Hussein declared martial law and ordered Palestinian expulsion. This brought Jordan into conflict with Syria, but Jordan was successful in its intentions. It was during this time Arafat had risen to power. Arafat and the PLO relocated to Lebanon, where they established a

virtual Palestinian state in the south of the country. Southern Lebanon became a staging ground for Palestinian attacks against Israel.

Though Arafat publicly ordered attacks against Israel to be stopped and denied any role in such attacks, Israel believed him responsible. Another organization known as Black September, rumored to be the terrorist arm of the PLO, emerged and stormed into the world spotlight at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, Germany. The games were marred by the kidnapping and murder of eleven Israeli athletes by Black September. Arafat distanced himself from the group but was rumored to have been briefed on the operation.

Lebanon's precarious balance was tipped when the country entered a civil war in 1975. The war would last until 1990, and the PLO is said to have played a major role throughout the war. While based in Lebanon in 1976, the PLO was admitted as a full member to the Arab League. Eventually, Israel intervened in its northern neighbor's chaos by establishing a security zone in the south. Israel went on the offensive shortly thereafter by occupying much of southern Lebanon. September 1982 saw a cease fire brokered and an expulsion of Arafat and the PLO to exile in Tunisia, where he and the organization would remain until 1993. The PLO received financial assistance from Iraq and Saudi Arabia to reconstruct itself.

The first *Intifada* uprising began independently of the PLO in 1987, but Arafat soon took the reins and encouraged continued resistance from his quarters in Tunis. The 1993 Oslo Accords promoted Palestinian autonomy in the form of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank and Gaza and enabled Arafat and the PLO to return to those territories. Arafat was elected president of the PA in 1996. Despite negotiations such as the Wye River Memorandum of 1998 and the Camp David Summit in 2000, Palestinian statehood remains an elusive dream for the Palestinians. Some within the Palestinian community and otherwise feel Arafat demanded too much from the Israelis, and missed an opportunity for an independent Palestine. A second *Intifada* broke out in 2000 in response to the failed negotiations for Palestinian independence.

Arafat's death in late 2004 signaled a new beginning for the process as a power vacuum has been left open for the time being. With both negative and positive contributions to the Palestinian cause, the figure of Arafat in the grand scheme will likely remain an enduring one. The Palestinian cause is an important one for much of the Arab and Islamic world, although Arab governments may only lend superficial and symbolic support.

## The Ba'ath Party

The 1940s saw a new wave in Arab nationalism and Pan-Arab thought. Noted nationalist thinker Michel Aflaq, a Syrian Christian, and a circle of other like-minded thinkers founded the Ba'ath Party, which promoted Arab nationalism and Pan-Arabism with an emphasis on socialism incorporating ideas from Italian fascism. Ba'ath ideology accepted all Arabs regardless of religious faith. In this respect, the Ba'ath Party sought to bring secularism to the Arab lands. Pan-Arabism suffered a major blow with the defeat of those Arab states that fought Israel in the Six-Day War. By the 1980s, the idea of Pan-Arabism had been eroded by more Islamic ideas of unity and governance.

Although the Ba'ath Party has promoted Arab unity, there have been problems with the party regarding non-Arab minorities. For example, both Iraq and Syria have infringed upon the rights and freedoms of the Kurdish populations within their territories. Although the Kurds of Iraq under the administration of Saddam Hussein and his Ba'ath Party enjoyed more freedoms than any of the surrounding states with Kurdish minorities, it also provided the most glaring example of violations against its Kurdish population with the *al-Anfal* campaigns of 1988, in which thousands of Kurds suffered and perished in various acts of ethnic cleansing including the use of chemical weapons.

The sole remaining country with active Ba'ath leadership is Syria, under Bashar Assad. Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party were removed from power in Iraq by a US-led coalition in 2003. Although many former Ba'ath Party members are participating in Iraq's new government, they no longer espouse the Ba'ath ideology.

## Forums for Arab Expression

Despite the difficulties in Arab unity, several organizations have provided forums for Arab viewpoints to be brought forth, discussed, and acted upon. One organization specifically devoted to Arab unity and discussion is the League of Arab States (Arab League). The Arab League was formed in 1945 by the Arab states of Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan (renamed Jordan in 1946), Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. According to the Arab League's charter, member countries are prohibited from attacking one another. The stated purpose of the Arab League is to "serve the common good of all Arab countries, ensure

## ARAB NATIONALISM

better conditions for all Arab countries, guarantee the future of all Arab countries and fulfill the hopes and expectations of all Arab countries.”

Although the Arab League is the only organization devoted to Arab views, two other organizations have a large proportion of Arab state members, and their ideas and agendas have been promoted. The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has been a forum for action by Arab states. Excluding Iran, Nigeria, Indonesia, and Venezuela, OPEC is composed of an Arab majority. This body has manipulated international oil production and prices over the years. The 1973 Yom Kippur War led the OPEC member states to cause an energy crisis by raising oil prices significantly in protest of US support for Israel. OPEC has held substantial leverage in the realm of energy and economics.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) has many non-Arab members but has often supported causes of its Arab state members. The organization itself was established in response to vandalism against the *al-Aqsa* Mosque in Jerusalem in 1969. One of the aims of the OIC is to support the Palestinians and their struggle for political recognition and the right to return to their former lands.

### The Future of Arab Nationalism

Arab nationalism is by no means a finalized phenomenon. The concept is still in process with many challenges waiting. Arab nationalism has gone through many phases over the course of the last century, and perhaps a new phase of nationalism may arise in the post-Yasser Arafat/post-Saddam Hussein Arab world. Given the current standing of the various Arab states and their relationships, the Pan-Arab idea of a single Arab state seems far off, if not impossible. The best representation of this idea is found in the Arab League. Many obstacles must be overcome for Arab nationalism to realize its goals.

WHITNEY D. DURHAM

**See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Ethnic Conflicts: North Africa; Palestine; Palestinian Diaspora**

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## ARABIAN AMERICAN OIL COMPANY (ARAMCO)

The Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) was originally created in 1936 in Saudi Arabia. It was not officially named ARAMCO until 1944. It was jointly owned by four US oil companies until the 1970s, when the Saudi government began to buy out the company, acquiring a 25% stake in 1973. By 1980, ARAMCO was completely Saudi-owned. However, the name was not changed to the Saudi Arabian Oil Company (Saudi ARAMCO) until 1988.

The company was originally formed out of the partnership between two US oil companies, Standard Oil Company of California (SoCal) and Texaco. SoCal signed a Concession Agreement with the Saudi king in 1933 and obtained concession rights to Saudi oil.

This Agreement formed the mainstay of the partnership between the country and the oil company. According to its terms, the Saudi king, Abdul Aziz bin Saud, received an advance cash payment of fifty thousand British pounds, an annual rental fee of five thousand pounds until oil was discovered in commercial quantities and he was assured of future royalties. In return, the company received exclusive exploration rights for crude petroleum in the eastern province of Saudi Arabia for the next sixty years.

The agreement was amended in 1939 and late 1950, increasing the revenues to the Saudi government and extending concession rights to ARAMCO. Oil revenues provided the foundation of Saudi Arabia’s subsequent economic development, allowing the country to embark on an intensive path of industrialization and modernization in the next two decades.

Given the underdeveloped state of the country in the 1940s, ARAMCO had to build much of the infrastructure it needed to transport oil and to provide suitable living conditions for its employees. ARAMCO slowly built residential complexes for its foreign employees and their families in the cities of Dhahran, Abqaiq, and Ras Tanura, in the eastern province. The company constructed highways, roads, ports, airports, railroads, housing, schools, and hospitals. ARAMCO also provided technical, financial, and material assistance to the government, when requested. For example, ARAMCO teams helped find water and develop agricultural projects.

The company has contributed to the country's development in terms of human capital as well. It trained Saudis as doctors, supply experts, machinists, ship pilots, truck drivers, oil drillers, and cooks to meet the needs of the communities it was building. Some of these Saudis later left ARAMCO and started their own businesses, contributing to the local economy. The company also offered scholarships, training programs, loans, subsidies, and other social service benefits to all its employees.

Dependence on foreign labor and expertise has been both a positive and negative factor in Saudi Arabia's development. ARAMCO brought its trained US workers to Saudi Arabia in its initial oil exploration and production phases. Management positions were dominated by US workers until the 1970s and 1980s, when the government put greater pressure on the company to place more Saudis in supervisory positions. In 1984, Ali Naimi became the first Saudi president of ARAMCO. In addition, the company also hired and trained foreign workers, creating a large semi-permanent class of expatriate workers in the country.

UZMA JAMIL

**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC); Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Saudi Arabia**

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## ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973)

### The Arab-Israeli War of 1948–1949

On April 25, 1920, the San Remo Conference gave Britain the mandate over Palestine; two years later, the Council of the League of Nations confirmed it. On February 18, 1947, as a result of enormous violence and terrorism among Arabs and Jews in Palestine, British Foreign Secretary Bevin announced the decision of his government to submit the Palestine problem to the United Nations. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), composed of representative from eleven nations, was created to examine the issues and to submit proposals for the solution to the problem.

UNSCOP was not able to present a unanimous report. The minority recommended that Palestine become a single federal state, with Jerusalem the capital, and with Jews and Arabs enjoying autonomy in their respective areas. The majority report proposed partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. The Zionists favored partition, while the Arabs rejected it. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to recommend the partition of Palestine by a vote of thirty-three to thirteen, with ten abstentions. Zionists were determined to obtain a decision favoring the majority plan. Prior to the vote, and particularly during the immediately preceding three days, the US Zionists exerted unprecedented pressure on the administration, and both delegations to the United Nations and their governments, to secure the necessary majority. Some correspondence suggests that Truman himself might have intervened at the last minute to ensure success for partition. The State Department acknowledged that the votes of Haiti and the Philippines, at least, had been secured by the unauthorized intervention of US citizens. Soon after, Britain announced that it would terminate the mandate on May 15, 1948, and would evacuate Palestine before August 1.

Almost immediately after the United Nations vote, the armed detachments of Arabs began entering Palestine and attacking Jewish settlements. By February 1, these clashes had resulted in more than 2,500 casualties, and the toll mounted as the days went by. The British troops did not intervene—they were interested mainly in their own orderly withdrawal and in the progressive abandonment of strongholds. The Palestinians were armed by the neighboring Arab states and the Zionists by the United States and



Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, *Hagana*, *Irgun*, and *Stern* groups (Jewish paramilitary organizations) continued raiding British depots for more arms. It is estimated that the Palestinians had about five thousand men with little experience, under the distant direction of the ex-mufti of Jerusalem, who was in exile in Cairo. The Zionists, on the other hand, were better armed and better trained. A large number of their officers and men were veterans of World War II.

On May 14, 1948, the British officially terminated their mandate over Palestine, withdrawing their last forces from the country. On the same day, the new provisional government proclaimed Israel's independence, repealed the British mandatory restrictions on immigration and the sale of land, and converted *Hagana* into the Israel Defense Forces. A few hours later, President Truman extended de facto recognition to this new state on behalf of the United States.

On the morning of May 15, six Arab armies from Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan (now Jordan), Iraq, and Egypt entered Palestine. When one considers that a nation with a population of 650,000 defeated the combined Arab states with a population of forty million, the result seems nothing short of a miracle.

But when actual fighting forces are taken into consideration, a different picture emerges. The combined fighting forces of the six Arab states did not exceed seventy thousand. Of these, only about ten thousand had adequate training. Facing the Arab armies were sixty thousand fighting men of the *Haganah*. In this army, there were three hundred British-trained officers, some twenty thousand veterans of World War II, and three thousand specially trained commandos (*Palmach*). Their morale was high, and the *Haganah* soldiers believed that they were fighting for a common cause. The Arabs, on the other hand, had neither the singleness of purpose nor a unified command. Most of their soldiers did not know what they were fighting for, and their leaders were not without their national and personal vested interests (Armajani and Ricks 1986).

Both armies were ill equipped at the start, but the Israelis were supplied with necessary arms by Zionists in America and Europe, and with airplanes piloted by volunteers from England, the United States, and South Africa. The war lasted from May 15, 1948, until February 24, 1949. Between January and July 1949, a series of armistices were concluded by Israel on the one hand and Egypt, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Syria, on the other hand. By the term of armistice agreements, the contending armies were to hold their positions and were not supposed to be reinforced with additional men or arms. Both sides ignored the second part of the agreement. The Arabs, however, were not able to circumvent the arms embargo on the whole area. However, the Israelis were able to

purchase great quantities of first-class armaments from Czechoslovakia. A large quantity of ammunition also was smuggled from the United States and Britain into Israel.

On May 20, 1948, the Security Council appointed Count Folke Bernadotte, president of the Swedish Red Cross, as UN mediator for Palestine. He arranged a four-week truce starting on June 11. During these weeks, he made proposals of his own for an armistice based on an economic union of both Palestine and Jordan and autonomy for the Jewish state. Bernadotte emphasized that the Arab refugees should have the right to return home. The following day, Bernadotte was murdered in Jerusalem by Jewish terrorists.

By October 31, the Israeli armies with air superiority had pushed the Egyptians out of the Negev and the "Arab Liberation Force" out of northern Galilee. In the meantime, the United Nations debated the Palestine question. Dr. Ralph Bunche, a US citizen, succeeded Bernadotte as mediator. At his headquarters on Rhodes, he gathered Arab and Israeli representatives in separate rooms (the Arabs refused to sit with the Israeli representatives in the same room), working and communicating with both groups until he obtained the first armistice between Israel and Egypt on February 24, 1949. Further agreements were soon signed with Lebanon and Jordan, and finally with Syria. Ralph Bunche received a well-deserved Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.

Three important problems were left unresolved. The first was the question of boundaries. In all the armistice agreements, the final position of the opposing troops was used to designate temporary boundaries that would presumably be changed at the time of ultimate settlement. The original partition plan of the United Nations was forgotten by everyone except the Palestinians. Israel gained 21% more land than it had under the 1947 partition plan; indeed, it covered almost 80% of the area of the Palestine mandate. Jordan annexed the West Bank of the Jordan River, including Old Jerusalem, which its armies occupied at the time of armistice. Egypt assumed the governance of Gaza Strip.

The second unsettled problem was the question of Jerusalem, Old and New. The city, together with nearby Bethlehem, was envisaged by the United Nations to be under international control. The war changed the status of the city from an international one to a divided one with barbed wires. The Jordanians had control of Old Jerusalem and Bethlehem, where most of the shrines holy to Christianity, Islam, and Judaism are located. The Israelis occupied the greater part of New Jerusalem. Although the United Nations had not abandoned the idea of an

international Jerusalem, it allowed the demarcation formula that had been followed in armistice agreements to apply to Jerusalem also. Consequently, the area occupied by Israel and Jordan became separate territories and Jerusalem remained a divided city.

The internationalization of Jerusalem remained on the agenda of the United Nations; every year during the first twenty years of Israel's existence, the delegates passed resolutions concerning the status of Jerusalem, but neither Israel nor Jordan paid any attention to them. As early as 1949, Israel proclaimed Jerusalem as its capital and moved the *Knesset* (parliament) and many of its ministries there. Diplomats assigned to Israel, however, did not recognize this fact and kept their embassies at Tel Aviv.

The third and most vexing problem following the cease-fire agreements between Israel and Arab states was the fate of the Palestinian refugees. In 1949, the legally certified number of Palestinian Arab refugees was almost one million. They mainly went to Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and a smaller number to Iraq and Egypt. There have been conflicting reasons advanced as to why there were so many refugees. It seems that the bulk of the Palestinians, like so many people in countless wars, were in fear for their lives and sought refuge from the war, hoping to return when the shooting was over. At the end of the war, however, the Israeli forces did not allow them to return. Their homes were occupied by tens of thousands of Zionists who poured in from Europe, and their farms and orchards were appropriated by the conquerors without any compensation. Most of the refugees lived in camps and were supported by the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA), Friends Service Committee, World Church Service, and other charitable organizations. Egypt confined most of the refugees to the Gaza Strip and discouraged them from swelling their already overpopulated country. In Syria and Lebanon, the refugees were technically aliens, but the educated among them managed to get jobs and gain citizenship. Only Jordan, which had occupied what was left of Palestine, gave the refugees full citizenship. Nevertheless, those who were in camps carried with them an aimless existence; and in the course of years became a saddening aspect of the general mosaic of the Fertile Crescent.

### **The Suez War of 1956**

In an attempt to bring stability to the Middle East and reassure both Israel and Arab States, the West attempted to stabilize the situation in the Middle East with the Tripartite Declaration made by Britain, the

United States, and France on May 25, 1950. The three powers pledged to limit arms shipments to the region and to oppose any attempts to alter the existing armistice lines by force. The United States intended to have friendly relations with both Arab States and Israel on a strictly impartial basis. It was in the interest of the United States that the Middle East be strengthened for defense against communist aggression, and that the countries in question obtain their arms from friendly sources.

Meanwhile, the humiliating defeat at the hands of Israel led to the emergence of Arab nationalism and major changes in several Arab governments. Perhaps the most significant change occurred in Egypt. The conduct of the war against Israel convinced the younger officers that their rulers should be replaced. On June 18, 1953, Egypt was proclaimed a republic, and in October 1954, Gamal Abdul Nasser became the president. Egypt under Nasser purchased a sizable amount of modern arms from the Soviet bloc, adding considerably to Israeli and US concern. In an attempt to counter Soviet influence, the Eisenhower administration, in February 1955, promoted the formation of a mutual defense treaty among Britain, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey. US officials participated in the defense and anti-subversion committees of what became known as the Baghdad Pact, and the US military and economic aid was granted to members of the group. However, because of several political considerations, the United States decided against becoming a member of the Baghdad Pact.

President Nasser denounced Iraq, the only Arab member of the Pact, for allying itself with the Western powers and asked the Soviets for military equipment. Moscow, angered over the Baghdad Pact, quickly became Egypt's major arms supplier and built a reputation among Arabs as their principal ally in the struggle against Israel. Israel was convinced that the balance of armaments, stipulated by the Tripartite Agreement among the United States, Britain, and France in May 1950, was gravely upset by the Egyptian-Soviet deals. Israel also was disturbed by Nasser's growing ascendancy in the Arab world and his leadership in the Arab unity movement. These developments convinced Israel that it must prepare for a preventive war against Egypt before the military balance shifted in Cairo's favor. After being rejected by the United States, Israel turned to France, which was willing to sell some up-to-date military equipment.

On February 28, 1955, Israel made use of its newly purchased weapons from France to launch a successful raid against an Egyptian position in the Gaza Strip. Ostensibly, the raid was undertaken to demonstrate Israel's military strength and to persuade Arab countries to recognize its permanence. Instead of

pressuring Egypt into recognizing Israel, however, the Gaza raid, along with other similar Israeli retaliatory raids into Arab territory, provoked tensions that led to renewed war between Israel and Egypt in November 1956.

Egypt's acceptance of arms from the Soviet Union, its refusal to lift a blockade against Israeli shipping through the Strait of Tiran and Suez Canal, and its recognition of communist China led the United States to withdraw promised financing for the proposed Aswan High dam, the principal symbol of Nasser's ambitious plans for Egypt's agricultural and economic development. Nasser reacted on July 1956 by nationalizing the Suez Canal and refused to guarantee the safety of Israeli shipping, actions directly threatening Israel, Britain, and France. The British government held 44% of all shares in the Suez Canal Company; private French investors held 78% of the remainder. Apart from these direct interests, both nations were frequent users of the canal, which provided the shortest waterway to their oil supplies in the Persian Gulf. The two governments froze Egyptian assets and began planning for joint military action, secretly enlisting Israel's participation in the plan.

In accordance with prearranged secret plans between Israel, Britain, and France, Israel attacked Egyptian positions in the Sinai on October 29. The attack included an Israeli paratroop drop near the Mitla Pass to give the appearance of a threat to the Suez Canal. On the following day, British and French forces attacked Egypt on the pretext of separating the belligerents and to ensure freedom of shipping through the canal. By November 7, British and French forces had secured control of the canal. However, responding to intense international pressure from the United States and the Soviet Union, Britain and France withdrew their forces from Egypt in December 1956. Israel was the last one to withdraw unconditionally from all territories it had occupied during the conflict. The last Israeli troops left Gaza on March 9, 1957. At the conclusion of the war, Israel failed to achieve its main goal of securing Arab recognition of its legitimacy as an existing state, and it remained technically at war with Egypt as with the rest of the Arab world.

## **The Six-Day War of 1967**

The settlement that ended the Suez-Sinai War of 1956 provided the pretext for the Six-Day War of 1967. Israel agreed to withdraw its forces from the conquered territories largely because of an understanding with Washington that the United Nations Emergency

Force (UNEF) would ensure freedom of passage through the Straits of Tiran. Egyptian forces did not reenter the Gaza Strip, and Israel was free from Arab guerilla attacks from that area between March 1957 and May 1967.

During the early months of 1967, there were a series of clashes along the border between Israel and Syria. On April 7, small exchanges escalated into a tank battle and clashes between Israel and the Syrian Air Force. Six Syrian planes were shot down, and victorious Israeli jets swept over the suburbs of Damascus. General Itzhak Rabin stated that the Syrian government needed to be overthrown before Israeli security could be guaranteed. Damascus joined Amman in denouncing Nasser for doing nothing against Israel. During the Independence Day parade in Jerusalem on May 15, Israel gave Nasser the impression that an attack on Syria was imminent. That day, Nasser declared a state of alert in Egypt and sent Egyptian troops into Sinai. On May 16, the UNEF commander was asked to withdraw a limited number of forces so that Egypt could occupy certain positions on the border between Sinai and Israel. Nasser did not ask for the withdrawal of UNEF forces from the Gaza Strip or Sharm el Sheikh. Late on May 16, U Thant, the secretary general of the United Nations, told the Egyptian ambassador that a partial withdrawal of UNEF forces was not possible. Nasser, under pressure from other Arab states, asked for the total withdrawal of UNEF forces on May 18. Nasser sent advanced units to the Sinai border to replace UNEF, but not to Sharm el Sheikh. This hesitation met with scorn from Jordan and some Egyptian officers. Nasser gave in, and on May 21, Egyptian troops occupied Sharm el Sheikh. On May 22, Cairo closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli ships and others sailing to Eilat with strategic cargoes. For Israel, the interference with shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran constituted a violation of international law and an act of aggression. Suddenly, Nasser was hailed by the Arabs as their savior.

On May 27, Israel's cabinet was discussing the possibility of preemptive military action. On June 2, the new defense minister, Moshe Dayan, argued for an attack without delay. Israeli military strategy, grounded in a perception of the country's geographic vulnerability, placed an emphasis on capturing the initiative by launching a preemptive first strike. There is no evidence to indicate that Nasser ever had a serious intention of waging war on Israel, notwithstanding his concentration of troops in the Sinai Peninsula. Lenczowski argues:

In fact, despite the impressive accumulation of arms of Soviet provenance in Egypt, Nasser with his military

instinct and experience would have hesitated to launch an offensive attack and thus risk his own survival. By the same token, there always existed in Israel a school of thought, which might be called territorial-military, that viewed the existing Israeli boundaries as highly inconvenient, insecure, and inviting disaster in case of all-out war with the Arabs. This school was in favor of an enlarged territory for Israel so as to ensure the necessary margin of strategic safety. For this school, therefore assuming that Israel was militarily prepared, a clumsy provocation such as Nasser had conveniently provided by ordering the UNEF out supplied a welcome opportunity for waging a preventive war. (Lenczowski 1980)

Israel launched a well-prepared war on June 5, 1967. In three hours of precise wave attacks, Israeli aircraft struck Egyptian airfields, destroying three hundred of the 431 aircraft in the Egyptian inventory. Then, during the noon hours and early afternoon, similar attacks destroyed the air forces of Jordan and Syria, and Iraqi aircraft deployed at a major airfield in western Iraq. The achievement of immediate Israeli air superiority enabled the outnumbered Israeli ground forces to have the decisive advantage in the land battles that followed. By June 8, Israel controlled the area from Gaza to the Suez Canal and south to Sharm el Sheikh. By June 7, Jordan ceded Arab Jerusalem, Nablus, Jericho, and the rest of the West Bank. Israel pressed into Syria and secured the Golan Heights on June 10. Israel lost around one thousand men; the Arabs around eighteen thousand.

Israel's smashing victory during the Six-Day War stunned the Arabs and left Israel in a position of strength. Arabs, charging the United States for helping Israel, severed their diplomatic relations with the United States. The USSR used this opportunity to increase its role as arms supplier and chief benefactor of the Arabs. The United States moved to replace France as the main supplier of arms to Israel.

On November 22, 1967, the UN Security Council unanimously approved a resolution (Security Council Resolution 242) calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab areas. This resolution remained the basis for all subsequent peace initiatives.

### **The October (Yom Kippur) War of 1973**

Anwar al-Sadat succeeded Nasser after his death in September 1970. Sadat had been among the Free Officers cadre that had overthrown King Farouk in 1952 and had been part of Nasser's leadership council from the beginning. Sadat was painfully aware that diplomacy would not move Israel out of Sinai and other occupied Arab lands. He also doubted that

Russians could effectively help Egypt to get back their lost territories.

In 1972, therefore, Sadat expelled the twenty thousand Russian military advisors and operations personnel serving in Egypt. He hoped that in return the United States would persuade Israel to reach a negotiated settlement. The United States made no attempt to force Israel to compromise; indeed, the United States looked the other way as Israelis began building permanent settlements in occupied territories. The expulsion seemed to diminish the possibilities that Egypt would soon launch a war against Israel. Sadat, meanwhile, knew that with every passing day, the Israeli occupation of Arab lands would come to seem more acceptable, even normal. Soon the world would accept it as a fact. Repeatedly, Sadat warned that war would come if the Israelis did not withdraw. Repeatedly he was ignored.

As early as 1971, he began to prepare for war. Sadat approached Hafez al Asad, the new president of Syria, who eagerly supported the concept of a two-front war. For both Sadat and Asad, receiving sufficient arms from the Soviet Union was the key to their war effort. Because the United States did not take Sadat seriously, he swallowed his pride and turned to Russia for arms.

On October 6, 1973, during the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur, Egypt and Syria jointly launched an attack against Israel. The Israeli high command, despite sufficient intelligence, was caught by surprise, having misinterpreted the evidence of an impending attack until just hours before it occurred. In accordance with a meticulously planned and methodically executed operation, nearly ninety thousand Egyptian troops, supported by intense artillery barrages and aerial bombardments, crossed the Suez canal, destroyed the much vaunted Bar-Lev defensive line, which Israelis had thought impregnable, then drove several miles deep inside the Sinai. An elaborate air defense system behind the canal effectively neutralized Israeli air strike capabilities against the Egyptian positions. On the Syrian front, Israelis were driven off the Golan Heights.

These stunning victories came as a surprise to everyone except possibly Sadat. "Israel may not have been quite on the verge of extinction, but her national existence was threatened as it had never been before, and her leaders knew that without outside assistance she was doomed. Only the United States could provide the necessary help in the form of new planes, tanks, and missiles (Ambrose and Brinkley 1997). In all, it was estimated that Israel lost five hundred tanks and 120 aircraft and suffered 2,400 killed and as many wounded; the Arabs lost 1,500 tanks and 450 airplanes, while their numbers killed and wounded

exceeded Israeli's. Many of these destroyed tanks lie throughout the Sinai still today. The cost to all the combatants was staggering; it has been estimated that Israel spent \$7.2 billion.

The Israelis began making frantic demands on Henry Kissinger for supplies, especially after October 10, when the Russians launched a large-scale airlift of supplies to Syria and Egypt, replacing their arms lost in battle. The Russian objective was to support a cease fire after the Arabs had won the maximum advantage from their surprise attack and before Israel had time to mount an effective counteroffensive. On October 13, President Richard Nixon ordered an all-out airlift by US military aircraft direct to Israel. In the end, US deliveries substantially exceeded those of Moscow to the Arabs, proving that America's military capacity in time of crisis was superior to that of the Russians. On October 15, with the US equipment, the Israelis began their counterattack, crossed the Suez at two points, and encircled the Egyptian Third Army while driving the Syrians back from the Golan Heights.

After it became clear that the tide was turning against the Arabs, the United States and the Soviet Union reached an understanding permitting the adoption of UN Resolution 338 which called for a cease-fire on October 22. UN Resolution 338 reiterated that the consenting parties implement Resolution 242 in all its parts. The cease fire did not hold, and on October 24, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev proposed to Nixon that they both take action to enforce it. When the United States rejected this, the Soviets seemed as if they would intervene unilaterally, whereupon president Nixon ordered a partial alert of US forces. "The specter of a world war loomed until the passage of UN Resolutions 339 and 340, calling for a cease fire and providing for a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), which began to arrive on the lines between the Egyptian and Israeli armies on October 27." (Fisher and Ochsenwald 1990)

Despite the joint US-Soviet role in bringing an end to the 1973 war, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger emerged as the central mediator in postwar negotiations. Flying from Israel to Arab capitals in his specially equipped jet airliner, Kissinger engaged in what came to be known as shuttle diplomacy. Kissinger's efforts gradually produced a series of disengagement agreements. The first agreement, on October 28, 1973, secured Israel's assent for relief of Egypt's encircled Third Army. A subsequent agreement, on November 11, committed both Egypt and Israel to implement Resolution 242 and 338 and to stabilize a cease fire.

In January 1974, Egypt and Israel signed a disengagement agreement. Israel agreed to pull back her

troops twenty kilometers east of the canal and allowed limited numbers of Egyptian soldiers to be stationed on the east bank, separated from Israeli forces by UNEF detachments. This agreement significantly reduced the chances of a future surprise attack by either side. Kissinger's assurances that the United States would work for implementation of Resolution 242 and 338 enabled him to secure Asad's acceptance of a Syrian-Israeli Separation of Forces agreement on May 31, 1974. Finally, in 1975, Egypt and Israel signed a Sinai disengagement pact in Geneva.

NASSER MOMAYEZI

**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Israel; Middle East: International Relations**

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### ARAFAT, YASSER

Yasser Arafat's very name evokes contrasting emotional responses: To some, he was the personification

of legitimate Palestinian nationalism. To others, he was a duplicitous scoundrel who told the West he had renounced terrorism while slyly encouraging his “Martyr’s Brigades.”

Arafat claimed to have been born in Jerusalem, but convincing evidence shows that he was born on August 24, 1929, in Cairo. His father was a merchant, comfortable but not rich. His mother died when he was five years old, and he was sent to live with his maternal uncle in Jerusalem. Estrangement between father and son is indicated by the fact that Yasser did not attend his father’s funeral.

Yasser Arafat’s life was interwoven with political events in the Middle East. In 1947, Arab states rejected a United Nations plan to partition the Holy Land into Jewish and Palestinian states. Arafat was ready for guerrilla war, but Arab armies invaded the new state of Israel. The cease-fire lines of 1948 created the Israeli borders that most of the world now accepts as legitimate. Arafat returned to Cairo to study civil engineering but immersed himself in Palestinian exile politics and led the Union of Palestinian Students from 1952 to 1956. Arafat was in Cairo to witness the tumultuous events that brought Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser to power, but he always championed Palestinian nationalism over Nasser’s wider ideal of Pan-Arabism.

After earning his degree in 1956, Arafat joined the Egyptian Army and fought in the Suez campaign. He moved the next year to Kuwait, where he established a contracting firm while devoting all his spare time to the Palestinian cause. In 1958, Arafat and other Palestinian exiles founded *al-Fatah*, an underground group dedicated to waging guerrilla war against Israel. In May 1964, the Arab League formed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in East Jerusalem. Arafat opposed the PLO until Fatah could gain control of it. Always in need of a patron but unwilling to cede control of his movement, Arafat allied himself with Syria in 1966 only to find himself imprisoned and threatened with execution by the Syrian Baathist dictator Hafez Assad.

In June 1967, Israeli forces inflicted a swift, humiliating defeat on the combined armies of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. Now the territories from which Arafat had hoped to liberate his homeland—Sinai, Gaza, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights—all fell under Israeli military occupation. This new catastrophe triggered a power struggle within the Palestinian movement. Arafat lacked any coherent ideology but proved a master of media symbolism. His unshaven face, *kaffiyeh*, sunglasses, pistol, and ever-present military uniform were instantly recognizable worldwide.

In 1968, Arafat relocated to Jordan, home to thousands of Palestinian refugees. There, he recruited so many young fighters that he threatened the power of Jordan’s King Hussein. The king struck with devastating force in September 1970, killing thousands of Palestinians and driving Arafat into Lebanon. The tenacious guerrilla leader now turned to terrorism yet retained enough legitimacy to be invited to address the UN in 1974. He did so with a pistol strapped to his side.

Civil war erupted in Lebanon in 1975. The next year, Syria sent troops into that country, at least in part to control Arafat. The Palestinian leader’s sense of betrayal by other Arab leaders was sharpened when Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979. The Israeli Army invaded Lebanon in 1982 and drove northward all the way to Beirut. It seemed that Arafat’s forced removal to Tunis, so far from his occupied homeland, might signify the end of the PLO. Power struggles erupted inside the organization. However, with funding from sympathetic individuals and governments Yasser Arafat rebuilt the PLO infrastructure to include schools and welfare agencies. He was fully back in control by 1987 when he moved his headquarters to Baghdad. The first *intifada* (spontaneous Palestinian uprising) began in that year. Arafat now found himself struggling to stay ahead of frustrated young militants.

In 1988, Arafat embarked on the pragmatic phase of his long campaign for Palestinian statehood. He boldly declared his recognition of Israel and renounced terrorism (without flatly condemning it when practiced by others). In 1989, the Palestinian National Council elected him president of the hoped-for future Palestinian state. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Arafat voiced support. This was a strategic blunder, because the Saudis and other Gulf monarchs cut off their subsidies to the PLO, distribution of which had been one of the ways that Arafat maintained control of the movement. Ordinary Palestinians working in the Gulf states paid a price for Arafat’s endorsement of the Iraqi invasion, too, as nearly all were summarily fired.

Arafat survived this political debacle and, no less miraculously, walked away from a plane crash in the Sahara Desert in April 1992. In 1993, he signed the Oslo Agreement, which was supposed to usher in Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip over a five-year period. For this achievement, which ultimately came to naught, Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin, and Shimon Peres were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994. Arafat now was able to enter the Gaza Strip for the first time in twenty-seven years and to begin governing there under the auspices of the Palestinian Authority (PA). In 1996, Palestinians held

their first election. Arafat was confirmed as PA leader and his allies gained control of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

From the year 2000 onward, Yasser Arafat's position weakened. He rejected a peace plan urged on him by President Bill Clinton and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak. A second intifada erupted after Ariel Sharon's deliberately provocative visit to the Temple Mount in East Jerusalem. In 2001, Sharon became the Israeli prime minister and George W. Bush entered the White House; both men regarded Arafat as untrustworthy. The US president urged Palestinians to find a better leader and the Israelis laid siege to Arafat's headquarters in Ramallah. In the last years of Arafat's life, the Israeli government relentlessly narrowed his power. He could not even leave his compound in Ramallah until he was on the verge of death, when he was flown to a hospital in Paris. He died there on November 11, 2004, at the age of 75. He was buried in Ramallah, but if the Palestinians achieve a state whose capital is East Jerusalem, he will be reburied there.

ROSS MARLAY

**See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Intifada; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Palestine; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Palestinian Diaspora**

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#### ÁRBENZ GUZMÁN, JACOBO

Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán (1913–1971) was born to a Swiss immigrant and a Guatemalan mother in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala on September 14, 1913. In 1932, he began attending the Polytechnic Academy, where he majored in social science and military courses. He graduated at the top of his class as a sublieutenant in 1935 and returned two years later to teach social science and military courses. Shortly after meeting María Cristina Villanova, the rebellious daughter of a wealthy Salvadoran family, they were married in 1939.

Disillusioned with the Ubico and Ponce dictatorships, Árbenz was a protagonist in Guatemala's Revolution of October 20, 1944. Major Francisco Javier Arana, Jorge Torriello Garrido, and Árbenz comprised the revolutionary junta that governed Guatemala after they deposed Federico Ponce Vaides. Shortly afterward, when Juan José Arévalo became president, he appointed Árbenz Defense Minister.

Quetzaltenango's National Integration Party, along with the National Renovation and Revolutionary Action Parties, nominated Árbenz for president during Guatemala's next electoral campaign. On March 15, 1951, after easily winning the presidency, Jacobo Árbenz succeeded Juan Jose Arévalo. His government followed the social, economic, and political reforms brought forth by the 1944 Revolution. His administration proved to be populist and nationalistic, with a political program that included agrarian reform, industrialization, defense of democratic institutions, and Guatemala's sovereignty. Among several major projects, he started the road that connected Guatemala City to the Atlantic Coast—weakening the monopoly that the US-owned International Railways of Central America had on transportation to Guatemala's Atlantic ports. Árbenz's most controversial project was his agrarian reform program after the 1952 passage of "Decree 900."

Unfortunately for the landless and predominantly indigenous majority of Guatemala's inhabitants, Árbenz's confiscation of unused lands from large landholders like the United Fruit Co. generated open hostility to Guatemala's President on the part of the US government. Kinship and collaboration between one of United Fruit Co.'s largest stockholders and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) also contributed to increasing tensions with the Eisenhower administration under the guise of the "Red Scare" and McCarthyism. Árbenz's fight against US Imperialism—represented in Guatemala by companies such as Bond and Share and United Fruit Co.—branded him a "communist" and led to CIA plans for his overthrow.

The CIA's plans to assassinate Árbenz, which were active up until the day he was ousted from office, were not carried out. However, on June 18, 1954, a small army led by Lt. Colonel Castillo Armas—with logistical support from the United States—entered Guatemala from Honduras and took control of the eastern department of Chiquimula. The US-sponsored overthrow of Árbenz's democratically elected government became official on June 27, 1954, when he announced his resignation, after which he and his family took asylum in Guatemala's Mexican embassy. He and his family started their life in exile in Mexico but were forced to move to Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Moscow, Paris, Uruguay, and Cuba within six

years. In 1970, they were finally granted permanent asylum in Mexico, where a demoralized fifty-eight-year-old Árbenz drowned in a bathtub in 1971.

GUSTAVO ADOLFO GUERRA VÁSQUEZ

**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations; Guatemala**

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## ARGENTINA

Encompassing an area of 1,057,518 square miles, Argentina, in terms of territorial size, is the largest Spanish-speaking nation in the world and the second largest country in Latin America. Argentina, with its 250,000-square-mile Pampas region, has the most fertile soil in Latin America and is one of the world's leading beef and grain exporters. Additionally, Argentina is rich in minerals and is an oil-producing nation, with an estimated three million barrels in reserves.

Argentina's population of 39.1 million inhabitants is not evenly distributed. The Pampas, with 22% of the national territory, is home to 85% of the population. Located in the Pampas, Argentina's capital—Buenos Aires—contains more than one-third of the national population. Largely as a result of a massive European migration during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Argentina has the highest white population in Latin America. Approximately 97% of the population is white—mostly descendants of Spanish and Italian immigrants.

With an impressive educational system, Argentina's population has one of the highest literacy rates in Latin America, and its life expectancy rate of seventy-six years is considerably higher than that of the rest of Latin America. Although Argentina's unemployment rate stands at 16.3%, its gross domestic product purchasing power per capita is among the highest in Latin America at \$11,200.

Argentina—land of silver—owes its name to the Spanish *conquistadores*. Argentina, however, was a

misnomer, for there was neither gold nor silver. As a result, the Spanish Crowns treated Argentina with benign neglect. In 1776, due to Spanish concerns over possible foreign encroachments on its southern colonies, the Viceroyalty of La Plata was established with its seat in Buenos Aires.

Argentina became no exception as Spanish colonies sought independence in 1810. The Argentines' quest to exercise hegemony over the territories in the Viceroyalty of La Plata led to the creation of the United Provinces of South America. However, provincial animosity and mistrust of Buenos Aires led to the federation's breakup. Argentine independence hero José de San Martín's victory over the Spaniards in Chile in 1818 consolidated independence in the Southern Cone. Independence, on the other hand, opened the way for anarchy as provincial *caudillos* became the real rulers of Argentina. In 1829, Argentina experienced a new era with the rise of Juan Manuel de Rosas. This Argentine *caudillo*, who ruled Argentina until 1852, gave the nation much needed stability at the expense of violating human rights.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Argentina experienced further expansion of its frontier, the rise of an effective educational system, and a massive increase in population. European immigration contributed to the rise of the middle class, as well as the creation of the *Unión Cívica Radical*, an anti-oligarchical party. From 1916 until 1930, the *Radicales* were able to curtail the power of the land-owning *estancieros*, the Buenos Aires merchants, and industrialists. However, Radical President Hipólito Irigoyen's ineptitude to deal with the Great Depression led to military intervention in 1930.

After the 1930 coup, Argentina was governed by an ineffective coalition of Socialists, Radicals, and Conservatives known as the *Concordancia*. Besides its corruption, the *Concordancia* is best remembered for the infamous Roca–Runciman Agreement by which Argentina agreed to reduce tariffs on British goods and guaranteed the profits of British-owned public transportation enterprises in exchange for increased British purchases of Argentine beef.

Dissatisfaction with the *Concordancia* administration and the perceived British control of the Argentine economy prompted a group of nationalist Army officers to stage a coup in 1943. Among these officers was Colonel Juan Domingo Perón, who would become the most salient figure in twentieth century Argentine politics.

Entrusted with the post of Minister of Labor, Perón saw Argentine labor as an untapped source of support for his ambitions. Perón organized the workers into the state-sponsored General Confederation



of Labor (CGT). Perón granted workers a series of benefits unprecedented in Argentine history.

In 1946, in the fairest presidential election ever conducted in Argentine history, Perón became president. Perón's socioeconomic program during his first presidency from 1946 until 1951 was important for practically every sector of Argentine society. Workers not only obtained benefits, but also received a cumulative 30% higher wages. The military also gained prestige, for 30% of the national budget was earmarked for defense spending. His industrialization program, combined with import-substitution measures, pleased Argentine industrialists who saw in them an opportunity to increase their profits. Perón's nationalization of British railroads and public utilities satisfied nationalists, because it symbolized economic redemption. Civil servants were extremely supportive, as their ranks grew by geometric proportions. Lastly, Perón enjoyed the unequivocal support of the Catholic Church. Not only did the Church view Perón as a bulwark against Communism, but its role in Argentine education was expanded.

The Argentine oligarchy was the one sector of Argentine society opposed to Perón. His populist measures represented a perceived threat to their stability. Perón's antioligarchical rhetoric, however, did very little in changing the power of the *estancieros*. Cognizant of the fact that his socioeconomic program depended on export of Argentine beef and cereals, he did not undertake an agrarian reform program. To do so would have meant a decline in agricultural production and, consequently, a drastic reduction in export revenues.

Although Perón was reelected in 1951, his second term suffered a major blow with the death of his charismatic wife, Evita, in 1952. In addition, the Argentine beef industry with its outdated technology began to face stiff competition from beef-producing nations. Economic woes were exacerbated when Argentine oil production was unable to meet Perón's industrialization program demand. European economic recovery, also contributed to the downward spiral, as European demand for Argentine beef and grain lessened. As a result, the peso declined in value and inflation was rampant.

With the exception of his loyal workers, Perón began to lose the support of all sectors that previously backed him. Finally, in 1955, Perón's quarrel with the Catholic Church over the government's legalization of divorce and prostitution resulted in his excommunication. The Church's action was the *coup de grace* for the Perón regime. On September 16, 1955, the dissatisfied armed forces overthrew him and sent him into exile.

The military regimes of Generals Lonardi and Aramburu (1955–1958) embarked on a de-Peronization campaign, which ultimately failed. From 1958 until 1973, Argentina was beset by political instability. The non-Peronist civilian administrations of Arturo Frondizi, José María Guido, and Arturo Illia (1958–1966) were inept at best, while the military governments that ruled Argentina from 1976 until 1983 never succeeded in de-Peronizing Argentina. Perón, although in exile, was a political genius who knew how to bring out the best in his supporters and the worst out of his enemies, and in 1973, the military had no other choice than to allow Perón's return. After eighteen years in exile, Perón returned to the political arena. With his wife "Isabelita" as running mate, he swept into office with 62% of the vote. A feeble figure, he lasted only ten months in office. On July 1, 1974, Perón died of a heart attack.

Unable to contain a wave of violence between left-wing terrorist groups such as the *Montoneros* and the *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* (ERP) and the right-wing *Alianza Anticomunista Argentina* (The Triple A), Isabel Perón's regime also was beset by inflation, rising oil prices, fallen export revenues, cost of living increases, and a rift between her supporters in the CGT. Finally, on March 24, 1976, the armed forces staged a coup, ending the inept regime.

Military rule in Argentina from 1976 until 1983 was known as the *proceso*. Led by *junta* leader, General Jorge Rafael Videla (1976–1981), the military successfully crushed the *Montoneros*, the ERP, and other terrorist organizations in less than three years. In carrying out this campaign, known as the "Dirty War," close to twenty thousand Argentines suspected of being terrorists were secretly executed. They became known as the *desaparecidos* (the disappeared ones).

Although crushing suspected terrorists was important to the *junta*, economic recovery was just as important. The *junta* appointed a civilian technocrat, José Martínez de Hoz, as Finance Minister. His recipe for economic development, consisting of gradually dismantling the number of state-owned enterprises, bureaucratic reduction, freezing wages, canceling government subsidies, and attracting foreign investments through favorable tax laws and tariff reduction, was well-received by the Argentine elites. It also met no labor opposition, because the *junta* had outlawed the CGT.

Martínez de Hoz's plan yielded positive results. By 1979, Argentina enjoyed a favorable balance of payments and there was a considerable increase in export revenues. The gross domestic product had increased by 7%, and inflation had been reduced from almost 450% to 150%. The Argentine middle

class began to enjoy the fruits of Martínez de Hoz's plan, as they went on a shopping spree in Miami and New York City.

In 1981, however, Martínez de Hoz's economic miracle turned into a nightmare. Although his proposed goal of reducing state-owned enterprises was a commendable one, it simply was untenable. Heavy borrowing abroad in order to keep state-owned enterprises afloat, combined with rampant speculation and an overvalued *peso*, were directly responsible for this economic collapse.

In an effort to divert attention from the financial catastrophe, recently appointed *junta* leader, General Leopoldo Galtieri, on April 2, 1982, undertook the recovery of the Falkland/Malvinas Islands, which had been under British occupation since 1823. Although the Argentine Air Force fought bravely, Argentine conscripts were no match for British forces, who successfully expelled the Argentines in June 1981. The Argentine military debacle incurred the people's wrath and the *junta* had no other choice than to return power to the civilians.

In 1983, Raúl Alfonsín of the UCR took office as president. Although he succeeded in restoring civil liberties and constitutional order, his administration was beset by triple-digit inflation, the "Dirty War's" aftermath, and the CGT's bitter opposition to his economic development plan, centering on bureaucratic reduction, and wage controls. Numerous CGT-sponsored labor strikes seriously impacted the Argentine economy. Alfonsín's inability to cope with the economic situation, coupled with his party's fragmentation, resulted in the *Partido Justicialista* (Peronist Party) candidate Carlos Menem's triumph in the 1989 elections.

Upon assuming office, Menem radically departed from Peronist state-controlled economic policies in favor of a development program based on a free-market economy and privatization of government-owned enterprises. Menem's policies, although denounced by the CGT, brought positive results. Inflation was reduced to minimal levels, and the gross domestic product experienced a 10% annual increase. Additionally, Menem's measures were extremely popular with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which continued to issue favorable interest loans to Argentina. On the negative side, his program was detrimental to the Argentine poor, as unemployment arose among the poor and less educated.

Riding a wave of popularity, Menem gained the necessary support to change the Constitution to allow immediate presidential reelection, which he won in 1995. Although Menem's second term witnessed continued economic improvement through privatization, it was marred by widespread graft and rampant

corruption. In spite of these maladies, *Partido Justicialista* candidate Fernando de la Rúa was elected president in 2001.

De La Rúa's administration experienced recurring economic problems of inflation and an immense foreign debt. Concerns over the country's inability to refinance its debt led to capital flight and a halt by foreign investors. As a result of the financial panic and widespread discontent, De la Ruá left his unfinished term in disgrace.

After a two-year provisional interlude, a presidential primary was held on April 27, 2003. Menem, attempting a comeback, led all candidates, while Néstor Kirchner, another *Justicialista* candidate, finished second. A run-off election was scheduled for May 25, 2003. On the eve of the election, Menem, faced with countless charges of fraud and corruption, withdrew, and Kirchner was declared the winner by default. Although Kirchner's administration faces the difficult task of economic recovery and restoring public confidence, it appears that Argentine democracy has consolidated itself, and Argentines look for a better future.

JOSÉ FERNANDEZ

**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Cone (Latin America); Menem, Carlos; Perón, Juan Domingo; Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations**

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## ARIAS SANCHEZ, OSCAR

Oscar Arias Sanchez (1941– ) was born in Heredia, Costa Rica, on September 13, 1941, into a progressive and activist coffee planter's family that believed deeply in Costa Rican independence, democracy and, later, the abolition of the military. Arias did his undergraduate studies at the Colegio Saint Francis and Boston University. He then studied law and economics at the University of Costa Rica, San Jose, before matriculating to the University of Essex in Great Britain. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Essex. His dissertation, later published in 1974, was entitled, "Who Rules Costa Rica." The first of many books and articles published by Arias on history and politics, it has won awards and is a well-regarded narrative account of Costa Rican political history.

Throughout his time in school, he was an active member of the social democratic National Liberation Party (NLP). In 1970, he embarked on his political career, becoming a leading supporter of, and loyal assistant to, reformist former President Jose Figueres, who was seeking office again. In 1972, Figueres was elected President, and Arias was appointed Minister of National Planning and Political Economy.

In 1975, the NLP elected Arias their international secretary and, four years later, general secretary. During the late 1980s, he represented the NLP at many International Socialist Congresses. In 1978, he won a seat in the Legislative Assembly even though the Christian Social Unity Party (CSUP) won the Presidency and a legislative majority.

In 1981, he resigned his seat to work for his party's presidential candidate, Luis Alberto Monge, who won the 1982 election. In 1986, Arias ran for the presidency, outpolling his CSUP rival 52.3% to 45.8%. Even before he became president, he had been a leading voice for peace in Central America. As president, he acted to end the bloodshed in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Although he opposed the communist government in Nicaragua, instead of supporting the US-backed Contras, he engaged the Sandinistas in a peace dialog.

In May 1986, he met with the leaders of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua to discuss a peaceful solution to the region's conflicts.

Although no concrete plan was approved, Arias was able to get the Central American nations to meet again in early 1987. This time, Arias presented his own peace proposal, one he had originally written on a napkin. This plan became known as the "Arias Plan." It called for the five states to work toward democracy, freedom of the press, and free and open elections for all Central American states. It also pledged these nations to drastically limit the size of their militaries. To this end, Costa Rica reaffirmed the abolition of its military in 1948. The plan, officially known as the "Esquipulas II Accords" or "Procedure to Establish a Firm and Lasting Peace in Central America," was signed by all five leaders on August 7, 1987, in Guatemala. For his efforts, Arias won the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize.

Arias believed in minimal government economic intervention. During his tenure, Costa Rica experienced a 4% annual growth in its gross national product and the lowest unemployment rate in the hemisphere at 5.6%. Costa Rica has, over the past fifteen years, had the most stable economy in Central America and is a model for its neighbors.

Arias was a very visible president. He spent much of his time, without a bodyguard, driving himself through the towns and villages of his country mingling with the citizenry, often over a cup of coffee or a meal in a local restaurant. This pattern has continued since he left office in 1990. Moreover, Arias has become arguably the most famous and respected advocate for peace and disarmament in the world. In 1988, he used the Nobel Prize monetary award to establish the Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress. Over the past decade, the Foundation has formed: the Center for Human Progress to promote equal opportunities for women, the Center for Organized Participation to "strengthen the participation and action of civil society in Central America," and the Center for Peace and Reconciliation to work for demilitarization and conflict resolution in the developing world.

From these headquarters, Arias has literally traveled the globe to speak with compelling candor and sincerity about the need for the world to reduce arms and military expenditures, especially in the developing world. He has spoken in dozens of universities and colleges in the United States and Canada, where he is received by enthusiastic and supportive crowds of thousands. He speaks to press associations, business conventions, and academic organizations, such as the Association of Third World Studies' annual international conference held in Costa Rica in November 1999.

One writer dubbed him "Democracy's Guerrilla," another named him the "Warrior for Peace."

However apt, Arias does not just speak of peace in abstract terms. He and his foundations' work force have concrete plans to redirect money away from military organizations in the developing world and toward economic growth, human development, and education. Arias has long argued that the military in Latin America has seldom, if ever, been used to defend national borders. Instead, it has been a tool to support totalitarian governments and for the repression of human rights within their own countries.

Indeed, Costa Rica has been an example to all having nurtured a longstanding belief in demilitarization, firmly established by its abolition of its military following its ruinous civil war of 1948. Arias's reconfirmation of this policy and Costa Rica's relative prosperity have become visible evidence to many developing nations of the validity of Don Oscar's words and deeds. In many ways, Oscar Arias Sanchez has been a product of his nation's democratic and pacifist traditions. However, no one in Costa Rican history and few in world history have spoken so eloquently of the need to work for peace in order to preserve and share the world's dwindling resources, thus, guaranteeing the survival of the planet. Once when chided for his idealism, Arias replied, "politicians have an obligation to be dreamers. . .to want to change things. No one in Central America can be satisfied with the status quo. There is too much poverty, violence, hunger, and misery."

WILLIAM P. HEAD

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### ARISTIDE, JEAN-BERTRAND

Twice-elected president of Haiti, Jean Bertrand Aristide (b. July 15, 1953) is, and likely will remain, a figure of controversy among Haitians, those who characterize US actions in the Caribbean as

imperialist, and those engaged in the neoliberal economic policy debate. A leftist and former Roman Catholic priest, Aristide advocated liberation theology, which presses believers to work for political and economic change now in order to help the poor and the disenfranchised. His avocation put him at odds first, with the terror-drenched Duvalier regime, and then, in 1987, with the violent and repressive military rulers who seized power when Jean-Claude Duvalier fled the country. When, in 1990, the Haitians held what many characterize as their first democratic elections ever, Aristide won the presidency with about two-thirds of the vote.

Upon taking office on February 7, 1991, he immediately implemented policies to restore and strengthen the economy, to encourage national economic development that would benefit all Haitians, and to respect human rights. On September 30, 1991, after little more than six months, a military coup d'état unseated him. In exile in the United States, Aristide pressured that government, as well as other Organization of American States and United Nations members, to help to restore Haitian democracy. An economic embargo, followed by a threatened US invasion, led the Haitian military to step down, allowing Aristide to resume his presidency.

Returning to office on October 15, 1994, Aristide brought a contingent of about 20,000, mainly US soldiers. Many characterize his post-coup policies as reflective of the neoliberal economic preferences of Washington, DC, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, including opening Haiti's markets to imported rice, which eventually displaced many domestic farmers. However, Aristide resisted pressures for other neoliberal policies. He also sought to neutralize the military by disbanding it and implementing a civilian police force.

Under the Haitian constitution, Aristide could not succeed himself. Instead, his close associate, Prime Minister René Préval, won the office in 1995. In 2000, Aristide ran and won the presidency with 91.8% of the vote in an election that the major opposition parties boycotted. In response to allegations of irregularities, the United States acted to withhold international loans and aid to the state. Aristide was without vital resources for Haitian development and poverty alleviation. Growing violence, which intensified in January 2004, calls for his ouster, and increasing antigovernment activity marked his last months in office. Soon, significant parts of Haiti were under rebel control. On February 29, 2004, Aristide boarded a plane with his wife and close associates and left Haiti for the Central African Republic.

This remains one of the most contested parts of the Aristide story. Aristide claims that he wrote a

conditional letter of resignation, which the United States altered to make effective immediately. Further, he alleges that US forces kidnapped him, threatening bloodshed, and forced him to board the plane leaving Haiti. Aristide contends that he remains the constitutional leader of Haiti and has returned to the region, perhaps with an eye to regaining power. The United States offers a very different story about the Haitian president's exile, arguing that it facilitated his voluntary departure. Haitians remain extremely divided over Aristide and his legacy. The state's grinding poverty, rampant violence, and serious underdevelopment continue, however.

JANET ADAMSKI

**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Duvalier, François; Haiti; Liberation Theology; Neoliberalism**

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### ARMED FORCES OF THE PEOPLE

The Armed Forces of the People, or *Forces Armées Populaires* (FAP), was the title given to the national military of Madagascar after the establishment of the regime of Didier Ratsiraka in June 1975. The former National Army of the First Malagasy Republic was rapidly restructured in order to maintain stability and to create an instrument that would facilitate the transition to state socialism. The Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution propagated that same year declared a new role for the military that emphasized indoctrination with the ideological program of the leadership and dedicated subservience to the ruling party. In order to reduce historic interethnic frictions and limit the potential for internal disputes that might threaten the regime, the armed services were separated into several departments: the Air Force and Navy were merged, and the *gendarmérie* (state police) and Intervention Forces were limited in size and as signed with the maintenance of domestic and

presidential security, while the largest number of officers and conscripts were channeled into the Military Development Committee (CMD) and its subordinate People's Army for Development. These forces were occupied with the management of rural agriculture, assistance to the state cooperative farms in the transportation and distribution of foodstuffs, road construction, and ideological work in the countryside. In addition, elements of the army bureaucracy were channeled into the national education system, while officers were assigned to state corporations in charge of agriculture and mining. While the employment of the armed forces in the execution of "revolutionary tasks" was not unique among the Third World socialist states, the extent to which the Malagasy military were relegated to civil and economic functions is significant in its inherent purpose. Despite the stated goals of official doctrine, the involvement of the FAP in development-related activities was intended as a strategy to both curtail popular dissent and contain political ambitions within the officer corps that might foster attempted *coups d'état*.

As Ratsiraka reoriented Madagascar's foreign relations from the West to the socialist world, the traditional dependence on French training and military aid was replaced with Soviet, Eastern European, and North Korean arms transfers and advisors. Over the next decade, the Ratsiraka government vastly increased recruitment and defense spending, which totaled nearly thirty thousand personnel and one-third of the national budget by the mid-1980s. Despite the expansion of its arsenal due to the influx of foreign assistance, the FAP's role in internal policing and economic activity was reinforced by the overall absence of any significant external threats to Madagascar's national security.

As the leadership's dedication to radical nationalism gradually declined and state-led development models failed to produce economic prosperity, the military reverted to more traditional orientations and sources of aid. When general unrest and nascent democratic opposition movements began to increase by the end of the 1980s, the Ratsiraka regime became increasingly dependent on its elite Presidential Guard units to suppress dissident activity. With the replacement of Ratsiraka in the elections of 1993, the FAP retained its compartmentalized force structure.

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**See also Madagascar**

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## ARMENIA

The Republic of Armenia is the smallest state of the former Soviet Union, encompassing some 11,500 square miles of territory. This constitutes only 10% of the ancient territory of the “Greater Armenia.” Armenia also is the most ethnically homogeneous state of the former union republics of the USSR. Nearly 93% of the total population of 3.5 million people is Armenian. The rest of the population consists of Russians and Azeris. The proportion of the non-Armenian population of the country has declined since 1991 as a result of the intensification of political and military conflicts in the Caucasus. This is especially true in the case of the Azeri population, whose numbers in Armenia have been decimated because of the ongoing Azeri–Armenian territorial dispute and the out-migration of the Azeris to the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan.

Significant Armenian enclaves exist in several Soviet successor states. According to the 1979 Soviet census, some 560,000 Armenians resided in Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), 550,000 in the Georgian SSR, 330,000 in the Russian Republic (RSFSR), and 60,000 others were scattered throughout different parts of the Soviet Union. Although accurate statistics of the number of Armenians in these areas since the disintegration of the Soviet Union are not available, it is safe to assume that sizable numbers have migrated to the Republic of Armenia since the late 1980s and early 1990s. The 1979 Soviet census placed the number of the Armenians residing in the Armenian SSR at 2 million. Since the birth rate in Armenia has declined since 1960, much of the increase in the Armenian population to the current level of 3.5 million is attributed to the emigration of Armenians from other former Soviet Republics, particularly Azerbaijan.

The Armenian plateau is a landlocked mountainous region with an average elevation of 5,500 feet above sea level. Historic or Greater Armenia includes not only the Republic of Armenia but also a small area in northeastern Iran, most of the eastern part of Turkey, and sections of the present republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia. Modern Armenia borders Iran and the

Azerbaijan enclave of Nakhichevan to the south, the Republic of Georgia to the north, the Azerbaijan Republic to the east, and Turkey to the west. Although the Armenian region of Turkey was historically referred to as “Turkish Armenia,” all references to this term have been removed from modern maps in Turkey, and the names of several Armenian towns and villages have been replaced with Turkish equivalents.

Armenia has a long history dating to the kingdom of Urartu, which was founded in the ninth century BC. Since the Armenian alphabet was not invented until the fifth century AD, sources of early Armenian history are found in documents written in Aramaic, Syriac, Greek, and Middle Persian. Later sources of Armenian history were rendered not only in Armenian but also in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Latin, Russian, French, and Italian. This has made it difficult to reconstruct an objective and cohesive history of Armenia from ancient times to the present.

During the long centuries of Ottoman control, Armenians prospered. For some four hundred years, the Armenians generally eschewed politics and concentrated on commercial and financial endeavors. Turkish–Armenian relations deteriorated rapidly with the publication of the Armenian National Constitution of 1863, which called for enhanced autonomy for the Armenians under Ottoman rule. The promulgation of this document coincided with the rise of overt nationalistic manifestations among the Armenians. The Ottoman Empire already had been shaken by the increasing nationalistic demands of its subject peoples in the Balkans and elsewhere, and it viewed the rise of Armenian nationalism as a direct challenge to its authority. This resulted in a number of violent episodes between the Ottoman rulers and their Armenian subjects. During World War I, the Armenians’ enthusiastic support of the Allied Powers and their welcoming of the invading Russian army infuriated the Young Turks, which impelled them to solve their “Armenian problem” through mass expulsions and massacres. The massacre of 1915 is estimated to have caused the death of more than 1 million Armenians. Turkey’s refusal to accept responsibility for this massacre remains a major source of tense relations between Armenia and modern Turkey.

During the period of Soviet control of Armenia, Armenians remained highly nationalistic and resisted Russification attempts. Ethnic secessionism, which became a powerful force in the Baltic region in the winter and spring of 1988, appeared in the Caucasus in January 1988 with the intensification of the Armenian–Azerbaijani conflict over the control of Nagorno-Karabakh, a largely Armenian inhabited area in Azerbaijan. In mid-January 1988, the Armenians in that region, strongly supported by

their co-nationalists in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, staged a major revolt in Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh's capital, and demanded that their region be allowed to join Armenia. Azerbaijan refused to accede to this demand. Ethnic tensions between the Azeris and the Armenians reached a dangerously high level by February 1988, where the two sides launched wanton attacks against each others' lives and properties. Many Azeris, forced to leave Stepanakert, moved to other cities in Azerbaijan. With the specter of Azeri and Armenian pogroms looming over the horizon, Moscow suspended Nagorno-Karabakh's local government and imposed direct rule over the area in January 1989. Members of the elite Soviet Interior Ministry troops then occupied the area to maintain order and prevent further inter-ethnic bloodshed in the Caucasus. This measure did not satisfy either side, especially the Azeris, who accused Moscow of aiding the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. Although the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has now been contained and the area is stabilized, this conflict has had a disastrous impact on Armenia's economy. For example, when the Republic of Azerbaijan accused the Armenian government of providing military support, including troops, to the Nagorno-Karabakh insurgents, it imposed a punishing blockade on Armenia. The blockade of raw materials by Azerbaijan has severely hampered the economic recovery of Armenia as it had denied the country easy access to the energy resources of the region, especially access to Russia's gas and oil supplies. This also has contributed to political turmoil and uncertainty that have hampered Armenia's democratization.

NADER ENTESSAR

**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Commonwealth of Independent States; Soviet Bloc**

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## ARMS AND ARMAMENTS, INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER OF

The term "arms transfer" describes the transfer from one country to another of weapon systems, ammunition, and tactical support equipment. Such transfers

are typically conducted on a commercial basis, entailing the sale of arms for cash credit, but are sometimes provided gratis through military assistance channels. In addition to these overt, state-sanctioned transfers of arms, there is also a significant black-market trade in weapons to insurgents, separatist groups, and other paramilitary formations. The international arms trade increased about threefold between the beginning of the 1970s and the mid-1980s. By the 1980s, as much as \$74 billion worth of defense goods were being transferred internationally each year. In the past two decades, countries in the Middle East, which together contain about 3% of the world's population, have imported more than 30% of all weapons transferred among exporters and importers. After booming in the 1970s and early 1980s, the Middle East arms race slowed in the late 1980s as the Iran-Iraq war drew to a close and the global economic recession cut into the military budgets of regional powers. However, it appears that the arms trade is on the verge of a new expansionary cycle, similar to those of the mid-1970s and the early 1980s. Adding credence to this assessment are a number of disturbing trends: (1) the reinvigoration of the Middle East arms race; (2) the emergence of a major new arms race in the Pacific Rim areas; (3) and the growing intensity of ethnic, tribal, and national conflicts (Klare 1994).

Although the industrialized nations account for a significant portion of global arms imports, the largest share is consumed by the less-developed countries (LDCs). According to the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), the LDCs were the recipients of approximately 75% of all arms traded on the international market in the 1980s. During the period from 1995 through 1998, the developing Global South countries accounted for 77% of all arms deliveries worldwide, which in 1998 alone were valued at \$23.2 billion. There are, however, significant regional variations in arms imports by the LDCs. Not surprisingly, the primary market for arms is to be found in the Middle East, where a potent combination of vast oil wealth and intense regional antagonisms has generated an insatiable demand for modern weaponry. According to the ACDA, Middle Eastern countries jointly imported \$203 billion worth of arms in the 1980s, or nearly half of all arms acquired by the developing countries in those years. Large arms markets have also emerged in other conflict-prone areas, including South Asia, East Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

For most of the post-World War II era, arms sales were considered a legitimate form of international trade, or, in the case of the superpowers, as a necessary adjunct to East-West competition in the Third

World. Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, however, the international community became much more concerned about conventional arms trafficking. The fact that Saddam Hussein had been able to accumulate such a massive military arsenal—5,500 tanks, 3,700 heavy artillery pieces, 7,500 armored personnel carriers, seven hundred combat planes, and so on—led many world leaders to regret their earlier failure to control the arms trade. Thus, when the Gulf conflict was over, these leaders pledged to improve constraints on the global arms traffic. Iraq's arsenal, which was made up of weapons and technologies provided mainly by the industrial countries, prompted the Bush administration to reevaluate the wisdom of its past practices. For a time, an international consensus for more effective controls over the diffusion of conventional military technologies appeared to be growing. Nevertheless, even under the succeeding presidents, US nonproliferation policy remained predominantly focused on controlling the diffusion of nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile technologies—not conventional arms.

The international transfer of arms is a composite of a vast number of individual transactions between particular suppliers and recipients. Each of the individual transactions that constitute the weapons trade entails a bilateral arms transfer relationship, involving some manners of exchange in which the supplier provides military equipment to the recipient in return for cash, credit, barter goods, or political/military services (such as participation in military alliances or support for the supplier's positions at the United Nations). Depending on the strength of the motives involved and the extent of the recipient's resources, these relationships can be relatively brief and shallow or can develop into long-lasting associations, involving multiple transfers of major weapons systems.

### **International System and Arms Transfer**

Like all other international relationships, the bilateral linkages that make up the arms trade are to some degree shaped and influenced by developments in the international system as a whole. Developments in the international system affect the directions and magnitudes of the arms transfer. In periods of high international polarization, such as that which prevailed during much of the Cold War era, recipients tend to align with one polar supplier or the other, depending on their geopolitical situation and their ideological preferences. Both superpowers had large numbers of client states that received all or most

of their weapons from them or from other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or Warsaw Pact suppliers. These patterns were quite predictable. There were few surprises, and much of the arms trade could easily have been correlated with the UN General Assembly votes. Hence, the Eastern European countries procured most of their arms from the Soviet Union during this period, while the Latin American countries procured most of their arms from the United States. Similarly, in times of diminished polarization, such as that which prevails today, recipients tend to be more eclectic in their buying patterns; they seek arms from several major suppliers. The status of global economy also has an impact on the dynamics of the arms flow: periods of prolonged recession tend to produce a decline in arms imports, while periods of growth are usually accompanied by an increase in military orders.

The collapse of the former Soviet Union, and the resulting disappearance of the bipolar system, has produced a significant rearrangement in North-South arms transfer relationships, with many former clients of the USSR turning to suppliers in the West. The political change has removed the competitive ideological dimension from Superpower-Third World relations. It has also reduced the willingness of either the United States or Russia to offer military assistance in the form of grants to arms clients. The resulting difficulty of financing imports of arms is likely to become an increasingly significant restraint in the global arms trade. The end of the Cold War has greatly altered these patterns, presumably in the direction of a more random pattern dictated by the dominance of commercial over the previous mixed ideological and geopolitical considerations. One recent analysis of global arms transfers concluded that "the political factors that dominated the arms trade in the recent past are yielding to market forces. . . . The arms trade is returning to its patterns prior to World War II, when the trade in military equipment was not dramatically different from the trade in many other industrial products" (SIPRI Yearbook, 1988). That would, indeed, represent a return to those policies evidenced earlier, in the 1920s and prior to World War I.

The Persian Gulf War of 1991 has also had a significant impact on the global arms flow, with the United States emerging as the supplier of choice for countries that seek high-tech weapons of the sort used with such devastating effect in Operation Desert Storm. In 1995, the United States accounted for 42% of the total deliveries of major conventional weapons, compared with 28% in 1989. Members of the European Community (EC) accounted for roughly 25% of the deliveries of major conventional



weapons recorded in 1995—an increase from the roughly 20% recorded five years earlier. Within the EC, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom accounted for almost 85% of total EC exports of major conventional weapons. In 1995, Russia accounted for 18% of total deliveries, compared with 39% for the former Soviet Union in 1989. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) estimated the global value of the trade in major conventional weapons in 1995 at almost \$23 billion in 1990. The Middle East accounted for 23% of imports in 1995 and Asia and Europe accounted for 44% and 20%, respectively, in the same year. In regional terms, Asia and Europe replaced the Middle East as the primary market for major conventional weapons in 1988. The primary reason was the end of the Iran–Iraq war and subsequent reductions in imports, particularly by Iraq. Regional governments in the Middle East continue to regard the preparedness of their own armed forces as the most important component of their national security. While this consideration is likely to lead to new orders for military equipment being placed with foreign suppliers, it is unlikely that Middle East sales will return quickly to the levels of the 1970s and 1980s. Much attention is now focusing on Saudi Arabian arms imports. While Saudi Arabia has long been a major arms-importing country, demography places a limit on how much equipment its armed forces can absorb.

The extent of US dominance may be greater than the statistics suggest. Major weapons systems per se are not the central factor in military balance among states. Rather, it is the systems in combination with the required training, logistics, and support. While there are several suppliers of advanced military hardware, by 1992, only the United States was able to deliver the full package, and only that package could give one side a decisive military advantage in an interstate war. Although European countries could achieve such a capability through collaboration, it would take time for the requisite degree of policy coordination to develop, if it did so at all. However, West European companies are not competing successfully with the United States in many markets. The most severe competition for US companies is usually that of other US companies. In recent years, for example, McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics have contested several fighter aircraft contracts. General Dynamic's F-16 was successful in Japan and South Korea, as was the F/A-18 in Kuwait. This concentration of market share with one supplier reversed the trend of the previous fifteen years, when a growing number of countries became active suppliers.

## Recent Trends in Arms Transfers to Developing Nations

The amount of new arms transfer agreements with developing nations has generally declined since 1993. In 1998, developing nations purchased \$13.2 billion worth of arms, which was a substantial decline from the value of 1997 deliveries. The decline is partially due to the end of the Cold War. Prior to the Cold War, both the United States and Soviet Union were prepared to subsidize exports of arms transfers and to overlook their political differences with recipients, as those differences were considered to be subordinate to the Cold war competition. The Soviet Union supplied arms to extend its ideology and influences as it competed against the United States for leadership. During the Cold War, both the United States and Soviet Union used arms transfers to promote diplomatic and military ties with emerging powers in the developing world. Between 1975 and 1990 alone, the two superpowers together supplied an estimated \$325 billion worth of arms and ammunition to Third World countries.

International arms embargoes are another reason for the decrease in arms transfers to developing nations. Arms embargoes were seldom used during the Cold War, however, such embargoes have been declared in the 1990s against a number of states because of aggression (Iraq), internal wars (Somalia, Liberia, the former Yugoslavia), human rights violations (Haiti, Sudan), and support of terrorism (Libya). It also seems that informal arms export bans, encouraged by the United States but without legal or internationally agreed upon political basis—for instance, on Iran and some other countries—had a restrictive influence on export policies of countries in Western Europe.

Throughout the 1990s, most arms transfers to developing nations were made by two or three major suppliers in any given year. The United States has ranked either first or second among these suppliers every year from 1991 to 1998, with the sole exception of 1997. France has been the most consistent competitor for the lead in arms transfer agreements with developing nations, ranking first in 1992, 1994, and 1997. As competition over shrinking international arms market intensifies, France seems more likely to rank higher in arms deals with developing nations than Russia, a supply nation with seemingly more significant limitations in its prospective arms client base than other major Western suppliers. Major arms suppliers like the United Kingdom and Germany may, from time to time, conclude significant orders with developing countries. Yet it seems that, presently the United States is best positioned to lead in new arms agreement with developing nations. At

the same time, it seems likely that very large weapons orders from individual developing nations will be less frequent in the near term.

There are a few reasons for optimism concerning the prospects of initiatives and diplomacy from the more active developed countries on behalf of international restraint in conventional arms transfers. It is conceivable that countries engaged in joint defense programs could be induced to accept a code of conduct restricting a particular type of exports to volatile regions of the world, in return for access to high technology and assured outlets for exports in the developed world. A selective system of restraints on the supply of certain key technologies may prove feasible at this point. Attempting a more comprehensive arms control regiment at this stage could possibly prove elusive and perhaps self-defeating. Any new initiative to regulate international arms trade will increasingly require coordination of both developed and developing states. Those designing new policies will have to confront the primacy of the commercial pressures that are currently driving the quest for arms exports, domestically and internationally. A major impediment to progress internationally continues to be reluctance or inability of the advanced countries to renounce their own dependence on military exports and to move forward with economic restructuring. Even relatively modest control policies will face intense opposition from US industries and European suppliers.

### **Arms Transfer and Development**

According to critics of military spending, arms transfer and procurement is a burden on a nation's economy. Government spending on defense and social programs compete for the same limited government budget and thus must constrain each other. The main argument claims that the opportunity costs associated with arms procurement in general, and arms imports in particular, are too high. Resources used for military purposes compete for resources that otherwise could have been available for socioeconomic development. As military analysts, Saadet Deger and Somnath Sen contended, "the first casualty of enhanced military burden is the reduction of state spending on health, education, and so on, as a share of gross domestic product" (Deger and Sen 1987). In other words, the escalating demand for increasingly sophisticated weapons and the rising price of these imported weapons places pressure on central budgetary expenditures, leaving fewer resources for other purposes. Not only do weapons purchases adversely affect the balance-of-payments position of most Third

World countries and increase their debt burden, but they also crowd out public and private investment, depriving the economy of vital growth opportunities. Generally, these purchases are thought to preclude productive investments in human capital that can greatly assist development.

On the other hand, some scholars point out that it is not procurement that burdens most less industrialized countries, but arms imports, whether paid for fully or by foreign aid, which carry with them hidden costs, such as servicing, training of mechanics, and building infrastructure. Allowing for such factors as maintenance and training personnel, and other support, the actual resources commitment for the import of weaponry could easily double the cost of the equipment's purchase price.

In addition to the potential allocation effect, it is also possible that greater military burdens may have an impact upon human development as a consequence of an increased militarization of society. For instance, the acquisition of arms may increase the influence of the military at the expense of individual liberties. As former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara said in 1992:

One of the most important effects of military spending, and one that has serious implications for political and economic development, is the degree to which it strengthens the political influence of the armed forces at the expense of civilian groups within society.

For those concerned with the role of the military in society, arms transfers can hinder attempts to serve basic public good and assist in maintaining other nondemocratic elites in power. From this perspective, arms transfers to developing countries are not conducive to social and economic welfare.

However, consensus is lacking as to the harmful effect of militarization on human and economic development of LDCs. The predominant tendency in defense economics regards military spending as the purchase of "defense" or "national security" as public good and, therefore, similar to other public programs. One analyst contends that militarization may instead lead to greater domestic and external stability, providing an environment in which socioeconomic change and pursuit of a better quality of life can take place. The import of arms typically strengthens the military, and in developing countries, the military is often the strongest and most cohesive institution—often more powerful than the government itself. Not only do arms enhance the ability of military to maintain order, but stimulated by arms acquisitions, the organizational development of the military furthers its ability to play a modernizing role in society. It is argued that the military fosters

the kind of attitudes necessary for development, both economically and socially (Blanton 1999).

Reginald Bartholomew, former US undersecretary of state for international security affairs, notes that:

Arms transfer promotes stability in a number of ways, by deterring aggression, by promoting regional cooperation and credible deterrence, by reducing the likelihood that US forces will have to be employed . . . and by enhancing, indeed our influence among key regional decision makers. (Morrison 1993)

These analysts have been joined in recent years by a growing number of Third World leaders whose policy decisions reflect their tacit agreement with this position. Government officials maintain that arms purchases by developing countries is a way of luring developmental investment, creating competitive trade opportunities, promoting industrialization, improving the country's technological capabilities, creating employment, and promoting technology transfer. For example, only a fraction of the price of weapons purchased is being paid for with cash. The remainder is paid with consumer goods produced in recipient countries.

There is no widespread consensus among those concerned with the possible impact of arms imports on developing countries. For example, Natalie J. Goldring, former deputy director of the Washington- and London-based British American Council, acknowledged that:

Unfortunately, most arms transfers have immediate benefits, and most arguments against them involve longer-term costs. One of those costs is that arms sales do not always deter aggression. Sometimes they stoke the fires of war. (Morrison 1993)

Obviously, the characterization of arms transfer as unproductive and socially wasteful is subject to some qualifications. Many experts believe that the acquisition of arms has been followed by the outbreak of many civil and interstate wars in those same countries that have followed the realists' dictum that to obtain peace it is necessary to prepare for war. This has renewed concerns about whether the continued dispersion of weapons will increase the probability of future wars.

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**See also Arms Industry; Middle East: International Relations; War and Development**

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## ARMS INDUSTRY

The study of the role of arms industries in the developing world concerns a phenomenon that appeared on the international scene in the 1960s. Several developing countries began to pursue domestic arms production, some with notable success. By the middle of the 1980s, several of these new producers had managed to increase greatly the share of world arms sales by developing countries. However, by the end of the decade, and continuing through the 1990s, the success of some of these producers declined. The claims for what indigenous arms industries could do for their countries' defense, development, political autonomy, or prestige seemed no longer enticing or persuasive.

### Arms Industrialization: Motivations and Goals

The motivations for leaders of developing countries to actively pursue arms industrialization fall roughly

into four categories. The first occurs in states in a hostile security environment, where reliability of supply of arms of any type is seen as a pressing security need. Second, there are political considerations, such as the desire to lessen dependence on outside suppliers, or the potential use of arms sales as a political tool, or to enhance national prestige. Third, many proponents of arms industrialization touted the promise that such programs could serve as the motor to drive general industrialization, technology acquisition, and economic development. Finally, there often were straightforward economic goals, as the profits from the lucrative world arms markets were expected to be substantial. In practice, the various arguments in favor of establishing arms industries overlapped, and in the experience of the countries under discussion, every imaginable combination of these reasons may have played a role in policy formulation.

### **International Political Conditions for Arms Industrialization**

The great powers, which were also the great arms producers, essentially had control over the provision of those arms to their former colonies. Newly independent states scrambled for whatever supplies and training they could get for their fledgling militaries, whether it was by inviting European officers to help train their officer corps, or by acquiring the latest weapons that the Europeans or Americans deigned to sell them. This situation applied first to Latin American states that had gained their formal independence in the early nineteenth century. The process continued in the same general form as states in the Middle East, then Asia, and then Africa began to gain independence.

In the twentieth century, the major powers controlled the amount and level of sophistication of the arms that the developing countries could receive. In this way, these powers hoped to prevent regional arms races from creating regional crises. With the emergence of the Soviet Union as a major rival to the Western powers, the United States and the USSR began a strategy of using arms to bolster friendly regimes in strategically important regions. This did not always prevent the leaders of developing countries from searching for ways to break away from this particular form of dependency. In fact, the Cold War itself created some of the first opportunities for certain countries to take the first steps in establishing independent domestic arms industries.

For example, the United States had always considered Latin America as its natural sphere of influence, and there was relatively little penetration of Soviet bloc arms exports into the region (except for Cuba and, briefly, Peru). Nevertheless, the rapid professionalization of the Latin American officer corps after World War II, especially in the Southern Cone of South America, created a more sophisticated officer corps that chafed at the arms acquisition restrictions imposed upon them by the United States. When US involvement in the Vietnam War intensified, more and more of US arms production was absorbed by the war effort, so that fewer arms were available to be shipped to Latin American client states. At the same time, the defense industries of Western Europe were coming into their own and technologically advanced weaponry was available in unprecedented quantities on the market. But in order to maintain their production levels, it was necessary for European producers to penetrate the markets that had been controlled by the United States.

### **The Politics of Arms Acquisition**

The Southern Cone countries, especially Brazil, took advantage of this situation. In the mid-1960s, Brazil was ruled by a military regime intent on pursuing an aggressive industrialization policy. The Brazilians wished to bring arms production over from Europe to Brazil, and to eventually own the factories that produced the weapons concerned. The United States could not prevent the Latin Americans from acquiring arms elsewhere, and the Europeans had to sell their weapons or risk serious financial losses that could place their industries at risk. The Brazilians were able to exploit this situation. Any number of advantageous licensing agreements were entered into with European manufacturers of light aircraft, armored vehicles, missiles, ships, and computer systems. The agreements allowed for production runs to be shifted over time from their European base to Latin America, and for Latin American engineers and managers to be involved in all phases of production. The end result was that technological and managerial know-how were transferred from Europe to Latin America. This furnished the foundation for the development of domestic arms industries. The Brazilians arms producing complex grew to include wholly owned state enterprises, mixed public-private ventures, and private corporations.

It should be noted that the Brazilians were not located in a hostile security environment. The last conventional war in which Brazil was engaged on its

own borders ended in 1870. Though the Brazilian military regime was concerned with guerrilla insurgencies and internal subversion, pressing security concerns cannot be numbered among the primary motivations for pursuing an arms industrialization policy. In Brazil, the main motivating factors were lessening arms dependence on the United States, and using arms industrialization to induce rapid economic and technological development.

In contrast to Brazil, the cases of Israel, South Korea, and India, among the other successful Third World arms producers, were much more clearly related to their direct security needs. Along with Brazil and China, they became the leading arms manufacturers and exporters outside of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or Warsaw Pact alliances.

As for Israel and South Korea, these were relatively small countries with high security needs. The primary motivating factor for promoting domestic arms industries was defense, followed by a desire to decrease dependence on the United States and gain more political maneuverability. These two countries had military institutions of limited size, and therefore had a limited capacity to absorb the number of weapons that would have to be produced in order to make the industries economically viable. Economies of scale dictated that weapons would have to be produced in large quantities, and therefore an aggressive sales policy also would have to be pursued.

Israel, having arguably the most pressing need, started out manufacturing small arms and refurbishing antiquated arms from World War II stocks. After 1967, as Cold War pressures fueled an arms race between Israel and its Arab neighbors, Israel began to move into higher tech production, relying on its domestic pool of European-educated engineers and scientists. In addition, its frequent military engagements, and its unique situation as fielding a "citizen army" where many of the technicians involved in arms production were also those who used the weapons systems in the field, gave the Israeli industry an unusual advantage for innovative design and testing. The Israelis excelled at small arms and tank manufacture and refurbishing, later moving into aircraft, and finally into areas such as remote-piloted vehicles (RPVs) and electronic surveillance.

South Korea was also in a worrisome security arena, but in terms of defense, the thousands of US troops based in the country functioned as a deterrent force, allowing the Koreans, after the seizure of the government by Park Chung-Hee, to concentrate on rapid civilian industrialization. However, in the late 1960s, as a result of increased hostile activity on the part of North Korea, and the declaration of the "Nixon Doctrine" in 1969, with its subsequent

reduction of US troop strength on the peninsula, South Korean leaders sought to enhance their military capabilities. The country already was geared toward rapid industrialization. Government policies shifted more emphasis into arms production, with packages of investment credits, tax incentives, and guaranteed purchases with generous advances. Major industrial conglomerates (known as Chaebol), which had already adjusted themselves to take advantage of the government's industrialization drive, shifted easily over to defense production, building on advances already made in steel, shipbuilding, and automotive industries.

India also found itself in a unique defensive situation. On the one hand, it had fought several wars with Pakistan, and the threat of more warfare was a constant, especially with the Kashmir dispute. India had also fought a war with the People's Republic of China. Pakistan's role in two military alliances sponsored by the West (CENTO and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, or SEATO) made it the recipient of coveted US weapons, especially aircraft. Responding to infusions of these arms into hostile Pakistan, India responded by turning to other arms manufacturers, regardless of bloc. When it appeared that a contract for French Mirage fighter jets would take several years to be completed, the Indians turned to the Soviet Union and entered into licensed production agreements to build MiGs under Soviet supervision in India. While the initial motivation for this move came in response to US weaponry in Pakistan, the agreement also was pursued in the hopes that this would bolster India's efforts to establish a technologically sophisticated weapons industry, and help it to achieve some self-sufficiency.

### **Market Niches and Restrictions**

It was quite clear to those producers who were achieving some success that they would not be able to compete with the arms manufacturers in the NATO and Soviet blocs. Only Israel had a modicum of success in selling to NATO buyers. Most producers made a virtue of necessity, and aimed their products toward those countries and military establishments that could not afford or maintain the extraordinarily high-tech (or so-called baroque) weapons systems available from the advanced industrialized suppliers. Brazil pursued this course most aggressively, with heady success in the 1980s. The material produced by Brazil, tested in its own jungle or desert terrains, was designed to meet the needs of many African and Middle Eastern militaries. Brazil often was able to

barter its arms in elaborate deals for petroleum from the Middle East and African countries. Its relative neutrality allowed it, for example, to be a major supplier of Iran and Iraq during their prolonged war in the 1980s. (Israel, for obvious reasons, was not able to sell its arms in the Middle East market, the most lucrative region in the world for arms sales.)

Nevertheless, there were disadvantages for arms exporters in developing countries that were impossible to overcome. To illustrate, in one widely reported incident, Brazil was preparing to close a very lucrative contract to sell a large number of its Osorio tanks to Saudi Arabia in the late 1980s. In tests under desert conditions, the Osorio outperformed other tanks from US and European suppliers. However, in large part because of its political and economic weight, the United States was able to pressure the Saudis to forgo the Osorio and purchase US-made M-1A1 Abrams tanks instead.

This points to one of the frustrating hazards that many of these Third World arms producers faced. Part of the rationale for cultivating domestic arms industries was to make the country less dependent upon the arms suppliers. For many, the relative independence that indigenous arms production promised was traded for either a new form of technological dependence or a new version of political dependence. There also were limits on potential arms sales for these new competitors, because while they may in many cases have been able to provide competitive products, they did not have the political or economic clout to “sweeten” the deal with other offers.

The Israelis and the Koreans often found themselves at a loss when marketing their arms abroad, as the United States had veto power over the arms transfer in so-called Third Country Sales if sensitive technology supplied by the United States or significant parts of US manufacture were used in the production of the weapons system for sale. If the arms manufacturer were negotiating a sale to any country that the United States deemed to be supporting terrorism, engaging in hostile actions, to be involved in a regional arms race, or to be too closely aligned with the Soviets or their clients, such a veto was very likely to be used, often with very dire economic consequences for the producer.

### **Arms Industrialization and Development**

The arguments proffered in favor of arms militarization often included predictions that successful industries, which were always at the cutting edge of technological innovation, could bring much needed

technology from the advanced countries to the developing countries. Once local engineers, scientists, and technicians were involved in the research and development and production processes, they, too, would become involved in the dynamic of technological innovation. As the pool of experienced nationals increased, domestic industry would profit from the vaunted “spin-off” effect, bringing new technologies and techniques to other sectors of the economy.

Domestic political controversies raged over whether the vast resources expended on the new industries and related efforts might have been better spent on social programs, education, or indeed, different sorts of economic investment. It also was not always clear that professional officers always favored domestic arms industrialization. For some officers, there was a fear that investment in the domestic production of weapons might take years before coming out with a usable product. Even then those products were all too likely to lag far behind the technological sophistication of weapons available of the market. Some officers would prefer to acquire the best arms on offer, made by experienced manufacturers, in order to be sure that they would not fall behind their rivals in combat readiness.

At the peak years of arms industrialization and exportation for the developing countries, for two countries only did arms exports account for more than 5% of the value of total exports (Israel, 11.2% in 1987; China: 6.3% in 1988). In these peak years, arms accounted for 1.5% of the total value of exports for all developing countries, with a few averaging somewhat more. (Some countries show very high export ratios for arms exports in these years, when in fact those countries, such as Egypt, were serving as conduits for arms destined for the Persian Gulf.) By the 1990s, very few of these countries, again with China and Israel as exceptions, were registering significant levels of arms exports.

Overall, the “spin-off” dividend does not seem to have materialized. In some cases, the organization and technological know-how that allowed for success in the arms industry was already in place, to be exploited by the new arms industries, as in South Korea. In others, local critics alleged that the reverse might have actually taken place, where engineers, managers, and resources were pulled out of other domestic industries and concentrated in arms industries and related research institutions, as in Brazil. In short, very few of the developing countries that were heavily involved in the arms-exporting boom of the 1970s and 1980s have much to show for it in terms of contributions to long-term industrial growth.

## The Decline of the World Arms Market

Total world arms exports from all sources peaked in the late 1980s. Not surprisingly, arms from all developed countries together still accounted for the lion's share of exports. But developing countries accounted for more than 10% of all arms exports in their peak year of 1988.

After 1988, however, the formal world arms market declined dramatically. In 1987, world arms exports from all sources were at their highest point, valued at more than \$84 trillion. Since then, the value of total arms exports from all sources had fallen to \$39.5 trillion by 1994. The value of arms exports from the developing world decreased from \$8.5 trillion in 1988 to \$1.5 trillion in 1996. The developing world's share of total arms exports decreased from 10.5% in 1988 to 3.4% in 1996. This trend seems to be replicated by almost all of the countries that had actively promoted a vigorous national arms industry in the 1970s and 1980s. The drop in arms exporting activity is remarkably similar in such countries as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Egypt, South Korea, and to a lesser extent, Israel. Though the value of total world arms exports began to rise again in 1998, the participation of arms producers from the developing world is not increasing. The role of the arms industry as such in developing countries seems to be no longer prized.

Exceptions such as North Korea do exist, but that country's *Juche* policy of extreme autarchy makes its arms exporting policy truly exceptional. Such a country can clearly fuel regional arms races, for example, by its sales of missiles to Iran and Pakistan. As for special governmental efforts in developing nuclear technology or chemical and biological weapons by marginalized states such as Iran, North Korea, or possibly Iraq under Saddam Hussein, these fall outside of the experience of those states developing conventionally organized industries. Their "success" also is in doubt.

The confluence of the end of the Iran–Iraq War and the disintegration of the Soviet bloc initiated this rapid decline. The fall of the Soviet Union meant that the Cold War practice whereby the rival powers supported their client states through the sale, leasing, or grant of weapons systems to pursue global strategies essentially ended. While arms still flowed from Russia, much was now being sold to raise hard cash rather than to achieve political ends. Russian arms of all types also began to flood the black market. Many sophisticated arms that flowed into Central Asia during the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan now flowed out onto the

black market as well, adding to the worldwide glut of arms.

Another fall-out from the end of the Cold War was the more aggressive pursuit of neoliberal policies by the advanced industrialized democracies, which translated into pressure on developing countries to reduce government expenditure and government involvement in economic enterprises. This pressure to privatize government-owned enterprises extended to many firms involved in defense production. New initiatives in establishing production lines for armaments would be discouraged, and under the new fiscal pressures, would become more difficult than ever before. The idea that military industry led industrialization and technology acquisition was a plausible means for getting developing countries on the high road to successful development was losing ground. In addition, the advances in weaponry in the advanced industrialized countries pushed the technology gap to grow ever more rapidly (as indeed had always been the case). The combination of reduced financial resources and an ever expanding technology gap brought many developing countries back to relying on arms made in the United States and Western Europe, rather than on domestic arms production.

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**See also Arms and Armaments, International Transfer of; Technology: Impact on Development**

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## ASEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION

### Introduction

The member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN, include Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar (Burma), the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. The association promotes trade, generates investment and industrial development, resolves disputes among ASEAN-based and external entities, and fosters regional stability and security. Trade promotion is central to the association's aims and objectives. The ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) is the module through which trade is promoted via tariff reduction and eventual elimination on a broad array of products exchanged among member nations. Three concepts explain the impact of reduced or eliminated tariffs: trade creation, diversion in the short run, and long-run trade expansion.

In the short run, lower intraregional tariff rates create trade among member countries when lower cost items produced within member nations gain access to markets of the other ASEAN countries that lower or eliminate their tariff rates on these items. Trade is thereby created within Southeast Asia, replacing a situation where previously only intracountry exchange took place. Trade diversion occurs when lower intraregional tariff rates permit producers within the region to gain access to markets once served by "outside" sources. Since only ASEAN producers receive reduced tariff rates, ASEAN produced items become less expensive than the items produced beyond the region.

In the long run, intraregional trade is expanded due to investment and industrial development that occurs because of the growth in the exports that are triggered by trade creation and trade diversion. ASEAN-based producers take advantage of potential longer run economies of scale by investing in industrial projects that lead to increased levels of production at lower costs. This phenomenon further expands exports.

### The Initial ASEAN Effort to Expand Trade

Creating, diverting, and expanding trade requires broad and deep tariff rate cuts. Initially, this failed to occur when the association first took steps aimed at promoting trade among member countries. Its 1977 Preferential Trading Arrangement (PTA) had no more than a minimal impact on export levels, as the

rate cuts to which it led were neither broad nor deep. The PTA aimed at lowering tariffs through a mechanism referred to as the "margin of preference (MOP)." The MOP had only limited success for three reasons. First, the "product by product" approach was on a voluntary basis, and countries chose products that were insignificantly traded. Second, a number of voluntarily chosen products faced either minimal or zero tariff rates and therefore the MOP mechanism had little or no effect. Third, the PTA permitted countries to place products on an "exclusion list." Countries often chose to place potentially trade-sensitive products on the list of items that were excluded from MOP treatment.

The member governments that were more enthusiastic about trade expansion were discouraged by the PTA's minimal impact. They tried but failed to introduce measures to add breadth and depth to the scheme, and finally gave up on the PTA idea. In 1992, key member governments persuaded all ASEAN members to create the ASEAN Free Trade Area within which a Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) mechanism would provide deeper and broader tariff rate cuts.

### How AFTA and the CEPT Function

The CEPT scheme functions in ways that add greater depth to tariff rate reductions, as the 1992 agreement put products with existing tariff rates of 20% or less on a fast track toward tariff elimination. The goal was to eliminate tariffs over the period of a decade, or by the year 2003. Tariff rates in 1992 exceeding 20% on protected products were to be reduced in three stages over a fifteen-year period and eliminated by 2008. However, when ASEAN economic ministers met in 1994, they successfully proposed speeding up the timetables for tariff elimination. Both the fast- and normal-track timetables were shortened in order to meet the progress toward free trade that was made during the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Tariff rates on items placed on the fast track were to reach zero by 2000 rather than 2003, and those placed on the normal track were to be free of tariffs by 2003 rather than 2008. AFTA has met most of its goals and is on schedule to meet the remaining tariff elimination timetable.

Unlike the PTA, CEPT encompasses all manufactures, processed agricultural products, and capital goods. Discussions continue on issues such as the inclusion of primary agricultural items and services and the elimination of some nontariff barriers to trade. However, there are limits to how quickly the



CEPT can eliminate tariffs: as ASEAN (and therefore AFTA) has gained more members, the association's composition has become progressively more asymmetrical in terms of national per capita income, state of national development, and competitiveness. Brunei and Singapore are higher-income economies, Malaysia and Thailand are strong middle-income economies, the Philippines and Indonesia remain in the lower range of middle-income countries, and the newer members (Laos, Cambodia Myanmar, and Vietnam) continue to be less developed, lower-income, and less competitive economies.

Producers mainly located in the less competitive, lower-income member countries are given more time to meet the amended 1994 timetables in two ways. First, they are given more time to adjust to the occasional negative impact that trade has on domestic employment. Affected products can be put on a temporary exclusion list, but only if a member country proves its case to AFTA. Second, other products are put on a sensitivity list that gives less competitive producers opportunities to expand their productive capacities, particularly in "infant industries" wherein long-run competitiveness can be enhanced. These are industries that require heavy investment and involve long periods before bringing about the industrial expansion that is key to improved competitiveness particularly in situations that have profound effects on countries' macroeconomic performance. However, while affected producers are given longer periods to conform to the principle of tariff elimination, they must eventually conform to AFTA's goal of free trade within Southeast Asia.

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**See also ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (Mekong Group); Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); Asian Development Bank; Asian "Economic Miracle"; Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Trade Policies and Development**

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## ASEAN MEKONG BASIN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION (MEKONG GROUP)

In 1957, the Mekong Committee was formed by the United Nations, but on a limited scope, focusing only on the Mekong River and the Yunnan Region of the People's Republic of China.

In order to attain high rate growth among the developing countries in Asia and to promote regional economic cooperation, the Asian Development Bank (Manila, Philippines) started some workshops on growth triangles in the early 1990s. The goals of growth triangles are to maintain competitiveness in trade. Among these cross-boundary experiments, the southern China area is considered as an opening for the liberalization of economic policy in the region. In order to reduce transaction and transport costs, geographic proximity was a necessity; infrastructures were an absolute necessity to attain proper functioning of cross-boundary experiments.

In 1992, the Asian Development Bank launched an ambitious program for the ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation, named the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS), with a cost of \$10 billion. This region comprises regions like the Yunnan Province of the People's Republic of China, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, and Myanmar. These participants belong to ASEAN, except Yunnan Province of the People's Republic of China (Than Mya 1996). The GMS region comprises 2.3 million square kilometers and includes more than 260 million inhabitants.

The GMS system prefigures future global region projects. For that purpose, feasibility studies have been undertaken in order to develop vast business opportunities representing this innovative regional cooperation program. The GMS system aims to develop an interrelationship between domestic sectors and regional economic integration and to pump development aid into the region (Abonyi and Pante 1998).

The financial commitments: \$2 billion was invested from 1998 to 2003; and for the next ten years, \$8 billion will be allocated to infrastructures. The primary objective was to set up regional integration and cooperation, and the second objective was to increase trade and foreign direct investments in the subregion (Asian Development Bank 1997).

The main lines of development undertaken in the framework of GMS are as follows: interregional investment and trade, infrastructure in view of improving regional competitiveness through the transboundary experiment, and capacity building, which means training a supply of labor and managing human resources.

The significant elements were to facilitate transfer of technology and production links and to increase the complementarities between the economies of the subregion, thereby sustaining domestic economic development and leading toward regional integration. In order to achieve these ends, governments have played an active part in coordinating and implementing policies. The dynamism of the governments of the subregion has encouraged the private sector to deregulate foreign direct investment and trade (Abonyi 1997). And to involve the private sector in infrastructure projects, a financing mechanism, called build-operate-transfer (BOT) mechanism, has been developed. With this mechanism, a private company is given the concession to build and operate a project, such as a power plant or a road network. In this way, the government transfers its prerogative to the private sector.

### **The Global Vision of the Project and Priority Sectors**

Because of its greater economic weight in the region, Thailand attracts most of the foreign direct investments. As for public development aid, starting in 2000, the other five countries/provinces have received the greatest share. Thailand, unlike the five other countries/provinces, espoused development and an open economy in the early 1980s. The others have more recently started this double transition, which means changing from a subsistence economy to a diversified economy and from a centralized economy to an economy that is moving toward a market economy (Asian Development Bank 1997).

The rhythm of setting up new projects has been accelerated and the GMS program has initiated study contracts to be used as the basis for these new projects. Eleven priority sectors have been defined as follows: telecommunications; transport; Greater Mekong subregion transport projects and Greater

Mekong subregion cross-border transport agreement; energy (interconnections and energy exchanges); environment; natural resource management; tourism; agriculture; trade facilitation and pilot testing of single-stop customs inspection; investment; and the Greater Mekong subregion business forum.

The estimated cost for the ten-year strategic framework program (January 2003–December 2012) is \$12.1 million; this figure does not include all of the projects (Asian Development Bank 2003). This flagship program includes East–West and North–South economic corridors; telecommunications backbone and information and communication technology; regional energy power; human resources and skills; private sector and tourist development competitiveness; environment framework; and cross-border trade and investment (Asian Development Bank 2003).

The telecommunication and information technology backbone comprises five projects, some of which have already been implemented: reform of policies and capacity building in the telecommunications sectors of phase one (Cambodia, Lao PDR, and Vietnam) and phase two (People’s Republic of China, Yunnan Province of PRC, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam). The installation of the telecommunications network that started in 2004 comprises several extensions using fiber-optic technology, which concerned in the first instance Lao PDR and Cambodia and cost \$46 million. This is the first phase of the project linking Vientiane to Phnom Penh with the extension toward Vietnam and Thailand. As a part of this technical assistance, the road link Kunming-Haiphong program is under construction and is called the Northern Economic Corridor.

For the production of electric power, Cambodia received a loan of \$66 million for the GMS transmission project, which will be used to establish the link between northwest Cambodia and southwest Thailand. The energy independence rate of the Greater Mekong region is 80%, which means it is more than sufficient for its own consumption. Nevertheless, the sale of energy has not yet developed, with the exception of Thailand. Therefore, the GMS will increase the sale of energy, and it is a priority sector for all the GMS countries. With more than eighteen hydraulic power sites, these countries will earn a great deal through the exportation of electric power. Great hydraulic resources have been identified in Yunnan, Myanmar, and Lao PDR. The most industrialized country in the GMS is Thailand, which has an advanced electric power system. For some years now, Thailand has been producing and selling electric power, especially to Cambodia; but after the setup of the regional electric market, Yunnan, Myanmar, and Lao PDR also will become electric power export

countries. Nevertheless, rate barriers are preventing the export of electric power. In 2002 in Cambodia, the Inter-Governmental Agreement (IGA) on regional power trade in GMS was signed. This agreement established the Regional Power Trade Coordination Committee.

In the flagship initiative of the GMS, the tourist sector also is considered. The launching of the Mekong Tourism Development Project, which concerns Vietnam, Lao PDR, and Cambodia, represents a total cost of \$48 million. For this tourism sector, infrastructures are needed, such as road networks, ports, and airports. These infrastructures are included in the program of northern and southern economic corridors.

The ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation will change the face of the region, but without the decision of the local people. In the six countries/provinces affected by the program, groups of civilians gather together to protest against the project.

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**See also Asian Development Bank; Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development**

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### ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (ADB)

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) was established in 1966 with the aim of improving economic development in the Asia-Pacific region. It was one of several regional banks instituted during this period as a response to discontent with the lending policies of existing institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); a perception of an inadequate supply of funds; and a recognition of the special needs of the regions, in particular the need for more flexibility and local control in the determination of lending policies and the use of resources.

Since its inception, the ADB's membership has grown from thirty-one to sixty-three countries, all of whom are members of the United Nations (UN) or members and associates of the UN's Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). While most of the Asian Development Bank's member states are from the region, stretching the definition to include Central Asia, eighteen members are external, including one of the bank's largest shareholders, the United States. West European countries also are strongly represented.

The ADB's major focus since 1999 has been the elimination of poverty in the region through the promotion of economic growth, social infrastructure, and good governance. The bank meets these objectives by primarily providing loans and investments to developing country members and assistance in planning and managing development projects. It also can provide analyses and recommendations to countries or regional forums. Loans are granted on ordinary or concessional terms to governments and public and private enterprises in diverse sectors including agriculture, infrastructure, transport, communications, energy, natural resources, and finance. In 2003, the bank approved more than \$6 billion in loans for sixty-six projects mostly in the public sector. Indonesia, India, China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka were some of the largest recipients. The ADB also provides grants and technical assistance, worth some \$660 million in 2003. Almost 70% of the bank's lending is from its Ordinary Capital Resources (OCR, [www.adb.org/About/fnncemgt.asp](http://www.adb.org/About/fnncemgt.asp)), which are sourced from issuing bonds, loan repayments, and contributions from donor countries. The bank's Asian Development Fund (ADF) provides concessional loans that are mostly sourced from donor contributions, with some loan repayments and a portion of resources from the OCR.

The ADB's highest policymaking body is the Board of Governors. Meeting annually, the board comprises one representative from each member country. The president, elected for a five-year period,

heads the day-to-day running of operations and policies, assisted by a managing director general, four vice presidents (appointed by the Board of Directors on the president’s recommendation and generally representing nonregional countries), and the heads of departments and offices. The president must be from the Asia-Pacific region and has traditionally been a Japanese national. Japan has historically been influential in the establishment and operation of the bank. The Governors elect a twelve-member Board of Directors every two years, eight of whom are elected by Asia-Pacific states and four who are elected by nonregional members.

Despite its original objectives of overcoming the limitations of international funding bodies, the ADB has been subject to many of the same criticisms, including that it is dominated by a few countries (the United States and Japan in particular), and that it favors spending on a particular model of development. While confined by its charter to focus on project lending, the ADB has at times suggested associated policy changes or tied project management and consultancy with loans (Wihtol 1988). Japan and the United States were the largest shareholders in 2004, with almost 16% each of total subscribed capital, and therefore voting power of almost 13%. These two countries have more than a quarter of the total voting power between them. Voting power can fluctuate over time depending on the level of contributions and membership. However, in 2004, twenty-four donor countries were responsible for almost 62% of subscribed capital and had a combined voting power of just more than 57%. This position of strength has led at times to various donor countries delaying or decreasing subscriptions to capital funds to express dissatisfaction with the bank. Therefore, the goal of regional control and flexibility depends to some degree on the cooperation of donor countries.

The most contentious issue has been that of voting rights. ADB voting is weighted toward financial contribution, or shareholdings, and this has generated a fundamental conflict between donors and developing countries. Voting power is determined by the equal distribution of 20% of basic votes plus a proportional vote based on the number of shares of the capital stock in the OCR held by that member. This voting formula was subject to a process of intense negotiation that reflects the inherent tensions between donor and borrowing countries. Initially, Japan had wanted the basic vote to be only 10% but agreed to 20% on the pro visa that the Board of Directors have ten seats only, not the twelve that had been proposed. Developing member countries countered with a claim for greater representation on the board (seven seats as opposed to the six that donor countries suggested).

The final proposal was a board of ten for two years, then an increase in board members to twelve and a ratio of eight developing to four donor country representatives. This meant an actual decrease in developing countries’ representation (Wihtol 1988).

The ADB did undergo a reorganization in 2002, moving away from project and sector applications toward a stronger, more holistic countrywide and subregional focus as the key planning strategy. Five regional departments covering East and Central Asia, the Mekong, the Pacific, South Asia, and Southeast Asia have been established, each with a regional management team. This may assist in targeting key areas of need and ties in with a more community-oriented approach to development; however, the larger issues of control of funds and donor country interests still remain to be resolved. Donor and borrowing governments’ policies and interests, organizational constraints, and the socioeconomic conditions in the borrowing country will all impact the outcome of any ADB-funded project.

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**See also International Monetary Fund**

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### ASIAN “ECONOMIC MIRACLE”

East Asia emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as a particularly dynamic region of the wider world economy. By the early 1990s, Japan, along with the newly industrialized countries (NICs) or newly industrialized economies (NIEs) of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore, and the growing economic dynamism of Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia, were widely celebrated collectively as the Asian “Economic Miracle.” They also were known as the “East Asian Miracle” or the High-Performing Asian Economies (HPAEs) in this period. For some observers, the rise

of East Asia also was seen as a serious challenge (or threat) to North America and Western Europe. Both the celebration and the concern dissipated rapidly with the onset of the Asian financial crisis (1997–1998) and the era of the Asian “Economic Miracle” can now be seen as a relatively discrete period in the twentieth century history of the region and the world. The debate over the causes and lessons of the Asian “Economic Miracle” was a highly politicized affair. Some of the most influential explanations for the origin and dynamics of the Asian “Economic Miracle” viewed it as evidence of the efficacy and general applicability of a “free trade” and “free enterprise” model of economic development. A less influential, but still very significant, set of approaches argued that the key to the Asian “Economic Miracle” was the intervention and guidance of the developmental states of the region. At the same time, a growing number of observers inside and outside of East Asia attributed the region’s economic success to Confucianism or other cultural/racial characteristics. This approach was encapsulated by the notion of “Asian values” that was held up as both a key to the region’s success and a panacea for North America and Western Europe.

Viewing the Asian “Economic Miracle” more broadly, the economic dynamism of a growing number of nation-states in the region can be seen to have been grounded in important ways in the history of the Cold War (particularly the period from the late 1940s to the 1970s), during which the United States led a push to contain communism and secure a capitalist economic order in Asia, combined with the resurgence of Japanese corporate activity in the region to provide the overall framework for the Asian “Economic Miracle.” By the time the Marshall Plan (1947) for Western Europe had been promulgated, the United States also had embarked on a major effort to facilitate the industrial rebirth of Japan. This was part of what would become a wider effort to turn as much of East Asia (and then Southeast Asia) as possible into a bulwark against the USSR and then, increasingly, China. With the Chinese Communist Party’s victory in October 1949 and the onset of the Korean War (1950–1953), the governmental and military institutions and structures of the US national security state were consolidated as instruments of regional and global power. Meanwhile, the arrangements set down at Bretton Woods in 1944 that had produced the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) contributed to the wider framework for economic recovery and development between the late 1940s and the early 1970s.

At the beginning of the 1950s, the Korean War provided a crucial stimulus to industrial production in Japan as a result of the dramatic increase in the purchase of military equipment and war-related products by the United States. After the Korean War, the sustained US economic and military aid (and capital) that went to South Korea and Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s played a major role in strengthening the capabilities of these emergent developmental states. Between 1945 and 1979, US military aid to South Korea was \$7 billion, while US economic aid from 1945 to 1973 was \$5.5 billion. This was more than all the US economic aid to Africa and half the figure for all of Latin America over the same period. In the 1950s, more than 80% of South Korean imports were financed by US economic assistance. The growing power of these states also was linked to the relative weakness of business elites in South Korea and Taiwan and to the weakening of the power of large landowners, as a result of the implementation of land reforms under US auspices. In the 1950s and increasingly in the 1960s, manufacturers based in South Korea and Taiwan (and Japan) also gained privileged access to the North American market, for US geostrategic reasons, at the same time as the United States tolerated protected markets and tight controls on foreign investment in East Asia. Furthermore, the East Asian NICs (South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong), along with Singapore, all entered the world export markets in the 1960s when a consumer boom was under way. Meanwhile, in the 1960s and 1970s, Japanese companies increasingly avoided the rising cost of labor in Japan by relocating operations to the emerging NICs. In this period, Japanese corporations also provided a substantial portion of the machinery and the other components needed for industrialization in Taiwan and South Korea, and they also were an important source of technology licenses.

South Korea emerged as the greatest success story of the wider Asian “Economic Miracle.” At the beginning of the 1960s, the country’s gross domestic product per capita was comparable to the newly independent former Belgian colony of the Congo Democratic Republic, and many South Koreans viewed the idea of South Korea catching up economically to the Philippines as impossible. By 1996, however, the South Korean economy was the twelfth biggest in the world and the country had become a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). General Park Chung Hee, who ruled South Korea from 1961 until 1979, had been an officer in the Japanese Kwantung Army during the Pacific War, and his approach to economic

development was clearly influenced by the Japanese colonial industrial pattern, most importantly the state's close links with the *zaibatsu* (the Japanese conglomerates at the center of Japan's pre-1945 industrialization process). Between the 1960s and the 1980s, state-guided national development in South Korea rested on a close relationship between the South Korean national security state and the country's burgeoning conglomerates (*chaebol*) at the same time as workers and trade unions were controlled via repression and top-down corporatist arrangements. The rapid economic growth and the dramatic social changes of these decades paved the way for the relative decline of the authoritarian developmental state in South Korea during the regime of General Chun Doo Hwan (1980–1988). Although the US reinvigorated the security alliance with Seoul in the Reagan era, Washington also increasingly began to question South Korea's financial and trading practices. These external shifts meshed with domestic pressures for political and economic liberalization and resulted in a transition to democracy by the end of the 1980s. The liberalization of the political system was closely connected to the liberalization of the economy, and Kim Young Sam, the first civilian president of South Korea (1993–1998) in more than three decades, made globalization (*seggyehwa*) the centerpiece of his administration.

With the Asian crisis in 1997–1998, the pressure for liberal economic reform in East Asia increased. The IMF loan to South Korea, an unprecedented \$58 billion, as well as smaller but still substantial loans to Thailand and Indonesia that came in the wake of the crisis, were conditional on the implementation of a range of austerity measures and economic reforms. IMF officials required the setting up of new regulatory procedures, the shutting down of a range of banks and financial institutions, and the liberalization of capital markets. The IMF also requested that public enterprises be privatized, that cartels be broken up, and that more flexible labor market arrangements be introduced. In South Korea, the IMF found an ally in the government of President Kim Dae Jung (1998–), whose own political and economic goals were strengthened by the early IMF demands. Kim Dae Jung was as committed as his predecessor to globalization, while the combination of the crisis and his assumption of the presidency in early 1998 was seen as an opportunity to undermine key aspects of the collusion between the *chaebol* and the political elite that were central to the developmental state. However, while the crisis has further weakened key elements of the developmental state in South Korea and its variations elsewhere in the region, many of the

arrangements and practices associated with the earlier era of the Asian “Economic Miracle” remain in place. At this juncture, the economic future of East Asia is uncertain. It is clear, however, that China is now emerging as increasingly central to wider economic developments in the region, while the era of the Asian “Economic Miracle” centered on Japan and the NICs of East Asia has clearly passed into history.

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**See also ASEAN Free Trade Association; ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (Mekong Group); Asian Development Bank; Asian Tigers; Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Export-Oriented Economies; Globalization: Impact on Development; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations; Trade Policies and Development**

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## ASIAN MONETARY FUND

### Proposal for the Creation of the Asian Monetary Fund

During the Asian financial crisis that started in July 1997, Japan tried to organize a new financial plan in spite of US opposition. In September 1997, Japan proposed creating the Asian Monetary Fund. This proposal was rejected because it was feared that the AMF would become a rival of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the region. So, a few months later, Japan launched a new plan called the Miyazawa New Plan, different from the AMF in style and scope. These changes gained the approval of Western countries. Japanese monetary policy, greatly influenced by the United States up until the Asian crisis, began to break free of US influence, especially concerning East Asian countries, which in turn are changing their attitude toward the Japanese government (Kwan 1998).

The globalization of financial markets can increase in East Asia. Emerging market countries are not yet counting so much in global capital markets but are vulnerable and, in the instance of a financial crisis, need to be supported (Freeman 2003). The IMF has explained that during market turbulence, emerging market countries should be protected. In the event of international capital market failure, domestic markets with their central banks should be equipped with safety nets in order to avoid bankruptcy, and after the 1997 Asian financial crisis, a new international financial architecture was formed (Goldstein 1998).

For the prevention of financial crisis, three actions are needed: (1) strengthen the supervision of creditors and debtors at an international level; (2) increase the liquidity provision of banks; and (3) create an Asian Monetary Fund.

In Asia, a monetary fund could be useful in encouraging the central banks of Asian countries to have sound macroeconomic policies and greater financial market transparency. Such a fund was proposed by the Japanese government in September 1997 at a finance minister meeting in Bangkok to provide financial assistance to countries in crisis (Bergsten 2000). This Asian Monetary Fund proposal was immediately torpedoed by the US government and the IMF. The main reasons advanced were that, on one hand, IMF activities would decrease, and on the other hand, the Chinese government was suspicious of Japanese intentions in the region.

### An Arrangement: The Chang Mai Initiative

In 1997 in Manila, a framework group formed by the APEC finance ministers made a proposal to create a common basket peg for exchange rates, as a step toward a single Asian currency (Eichengreen 2002). Three different subjects were considered: (1) the role of currency pegs in Asian countries; (2) the role of the yen/dollar fluctuation; and (3) the tendency for one currency to depreciate and cause the others to do the same (McKinnon 2001).

In March 2000, an ASEAN swap arrangement was proposed at the ASEAN finance ministers meeting. And in May 2000, this arrangement was transformed into Chang Mai Initiative (CMI) (Henning 2002). This initiative encompassed the ten ASEAN countries and also Japan, People's Republic of China, and Republic of Korea. The CMI could include the central bank swap arrangements and IMF arrangements that are subject to conditionality. The IMF would include the same CMI system. This initiative was well-received by Asian policymakers in order to link their regional financial markets to the global market.

Observations were made for the proposal of a system of collective currency pegs the US dollar, to the yen or a basket of Asian and major currencies (Kwan 2001). These three bases were proposed by French and Japanese officials at the Asia-Europe finance minister meeting in 2002 in Japan.

### An Option: The Asian Financial Institute

B. Eichengreen (2004) argues in his book, *Financial Options*, that the creation of a zone of financial stability in the region can upgrade the prudential supervision and promote initiatives, done directly by Asian governments and policymakers. One of these initiatives is called the Asian Financial Institute (AFI) and could be established, as the CMI, by the ASEAN ten countries (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam), plus Japan, People's Republic of China, and Republic of Korea, which could have the task to set up standards for the Asian financial markets. The creation of the AFI would permit subscriptions and swap lines mentioned in the CMI and define other goals such as financial stability in the region.

However, the question remains concerning the setup of a financial institution for Asian countries and the way to strengthen cooperation among the economies (Yamazawa 1999). The Asian way for financial cooperation is still under consideration.

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See also **ASEAN Free Trade Association**; **ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (Mekong Group)**; **Asian “Economic Miracle”**; **Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)**

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## ASIAN TIGERS

### Introduction

*Asian Tigers* is a term used to refer to those developing economies in Asia that have been most successful since the 1970s. Of this group, those referred to as the *East Asian Tigers* comprise the most developed countries in the region, including Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. These economies are the most advanced, compared with others in the region. In contrast is the group of countries referred to as the *Southeast Asian Tigers* comprised of countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. Asian tiger economies (also referred to as newly industrializing countries [NICs]) that grew by promoting exports while often stifling domestic competition. As well, the export-oriented industries were built with large infusions of foreign investment capital. The dramatic growth of the Asian tiger economies was based on the export of manufactured goods. As an example in the late 1980s, the four East Asian tigers

produced 77% of total manufacturing exports from developing countries. But, as shown by developments in the 1990s, such tactics were unsustainable and other growth engines were being sought. One of these was to deregulate domestic markets in order to stimulate growth.

According to a World Bank Report (1993), the East Asian miracle—achieving high growth with equity—is due to a combination of fundamentally sound development policies, tailored interventions, and an unusually rapid accumulation of physical and human capital. The tiger economies are part of this success and have been referred to as high-performing East Asian economies. Such economies have a record of high and sustained economic growth. In addition, these economies displayed high per capita incomes, along with a much-improved income distribution, compared with most other developing economies. Private domestic investment and rapidly growing human capital were the principal engines of growth. Educational policies were focused on increasing labor skills, and agricultural policies stressed productivity.

### Export-Oriented and Import-Substitution Strategies

Outward-oriented export-promotion strategies, as well as import-substitution strategies, in theory, do not discriminate between production for the domestic market and for exports, or between purchase of domestic goods and foreign goods. International development agencies like the World Bank are strongly committed to encouraging developing countries to adopt outward—rather than inward—oriented strategies.

A World Bank study in 1987 of forty-one developing countries covering 1963–1985 has shown that if countries are placed along a continuum of strongly outwardly oriented strategies at one end and strongly inwardly oriented strategies at the other, economic performance, including gross national product growth, tends to decline from outward to inward orientation. The study suggests that strongly inwardly oriented economies fared badly. While the results of the study are highly persuasive, they fail to take into account the relative poverty of the inwardly oriented group of countries, compared with the other group of outwardly oriented countries, a characteristic that is even more important than the lack of economic performance. It may be that poorer countries have greater difficulty than relatively richer countries to progress up the ladder of development.



On another analysis, trade orientation is positively related to levels of per capita income, and outward orientation is more closely associated with a balanced export structure. Where the export structure is dependent on a narrow range of primary products, such economies urgently need to diversify their external trade to remove the threats emanating from the vagaries of international trade.

Export-promotion strategies encourage efficient production where there is no discrimination between the domestic or the export market. The East Asian tigers have successfully generated exceptional growth rates in their economies by using import-substituting and export-oriented strategies.

An indicator of economic development is that, as the country's per capita income and stock of human capital rises, there is a shift from being a net importer of technology and skills to being a net exporter. In this transformation, a transitional stage may occur wherein the economy exports a narrow range of highly specialized technological products while remaining a net importer of technology in aggregate terms. The suggestion is that in the 1990s, some successful developing countries may have reached this phase in their development.

Any one of the East Asian tigers would make an ideal case study for examining issues associated with early stages of technological exports. Such exports comprise the international flow of basic technical know-how management services and other skills. The technology includes the technological components of foreign investment and overseas construction, licensing and technical agreements, consulting services, and other commercial agreements.

### The Korean Path

Korea is the classic Asian tiger economy. It had blazed a path to industrial strength based principally on domestic savings. Foreign capital also played an important part in tandem with local financial resources obtained from a rigorous system of taxation and profits derived from the sale of goods to a protected domestic market and to foreign markets. In addition, an institutional framework provided the infrastructure to build a close working relationship between government and private sectors. In the early 1980s, the state-*chaebol* (conglomerate) appeared omnipresent. The deep pockets of the commercial banks together with government wishes provided the entrée for Hyundai, Samsung, LG, and others to carve out market shares in Europe, Asia, and North America.

One pressing issue that impinges on the intermediate economies concerns their spectacular growth and continued impressive performance, compared with other developed economies. The East Asian tigers, for example, have been able to sustain high growth rates, compared with the richer industrial countries over the past 20–25 years. Their per capita incomes have nearly quadrupled, poverty rates have shrunk, and if such growth is sustained, the East Asian region may overtake North America as the world's dominant economic region. How and why this has come about is the subject of contentious debate and divided views.

### Sustaining the Growth

Walden Bello (1990) outlined in his book *Dragons in Distress: Asia's Miracle Economies in Crisis* some very telling reasons why tiger economies were in crisis. In 1990, Taiwan recorded its lowest annual rise in gross national product since 1982, and South Korea suffered a \$21 billion deficit on its current account after five years of surplus. The crisis of the tiger economy strategy of export-oriented trade and high-speed growth is said to stem from the intersection of three trends:

- The deterioration of the external trade environment because of rising protectionism;
- The loss of export competitiveness as tiger economies continued to depend on labor-intensive production even when labor was no longer cheap; and
- The eruption of long-suppressed environmental, agricultural, and political costs exacted by previous rapid growth.

Many of the tiger economies still remain structured as of the previous pattern of export-led growth at a time when many markets, especially in the United States, Europe, and Japan, were becoming increasingly protected. The markets in Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States are hardly significant in either the short or medium terms given their depressed purchasing power and developing economies. Even without trade barriers or appreciation in value of their currencies, tiger economies have lost their competitive edge. Multinational corporations (MNCs) have moved elsewhere in search of cheaper labor, and the product cycle has reached maturity so that goods that were previously profitable and exclusive are now less profitable and are being produced for the mass market. Higher wages have pushed up the cost of living, rural labor reserves

have dried up, and as labor has organized itself, it has meant, for example, that many South Korean and Taiwanese manufacturers have relocated their operations elsewhere in Southeast Asia and China.

Free-market economists have long recognized that the close relationships between industry, finance, and politics carried with it the seeds of eventual calamity. In South Korea, the government directed bank loans to favoured *chaebols* in an effort to achieve growth through exports. Interest rates in Korea also were capped, and tough labor rules were imposed on companies, making it illegal, for instance, to fire anyone without union permission.

Thus, it can be observed that the rapid growth rates in the tiger economies have been won at great cost. Notwithstanding the authoritarianism in South Korea and Taiwan and the subsequent eruption in 1987 in South Korea, after two decades of tight control, of new democratic policies that have forced responsibility and accountability, environmental degradation itself is threatening productive capacity.

Previously, Korea with its protected home market allowed the biggest *chaebols* to build huge manufacturing operations without having to develop world-class design and marketing skills. But this has all changed after the economic crisis of the mid-1990s. The government has since passed legislation to encourage competition at home and to give consumers more choice. It has allowed greater foreign ownership of companies, liberalized foreign-exchange transactions, and removed import restrictions.

In Taiwan, the pollution of rivers by upstream industries has devastated the shrimp, oyster, and fish aquaculture industry downstream. Environmental activists in Taiwan have succeeded in delaying the construction of more petrochemical and nuclear power plants—seen as necessities by technocrats to sustain export-oriented growth. Such developments have forced a reevaluation of benefits of past growth in comparison with the value of personal freedom and quality-of-life issues.

Hong Kong, on the other hand, has so far weathered the storm with much less damage than its neighbors. Analysts credit its free-market policies for creating a resilient economy. Companies that made bad investment decisions were simply allowed to go bankrupt without any hint of a government rescue.

## Future Prospects

After the economic crisis of 1997, tiger economies are showing tentative signs of recovery, and market-shaping trends that had begun earlier in the decade

have begun to accelerate. Fast-moving technology is cutting product cycle time, while oversupply is pushing prices and profits everywhere. These are challenges to tiger economies that previously had prospered by coupling imported technology with cheap labor. The biggest challenge, of course, will be the new and vigorous competition from other emerging markets from around the world. Asian tiger economies now have to grapple with all the implications of market liberalization and try to build growth from the start of the new century of around 8–10%, compared with the former halcyon days of 18–20% of the 1980s.

It may well be that the East Asian tigers are paying a high price for their industrial maturity. The super-competitive economies seem not to be able to avoid the kind of labor confrontations that beset supposedly industrial giants as Britain and countries in the European Union. The main issue seems to be that many of the tiger economies believed that their “Asian values” would help them pull through their travails. But that may be one side of the problem, because there may yet be a close correlation between economic change and political change as well. The economic wonders worked by cheap labor, weak exchange rates, and closed domestic markets may not be sustainable forever. It is ironic that what the Asian Tigers are facing now is the challenge of success. While the Asian Tiger economies have transferred labor from agriculture to industry, invested heavily, and benefited from investment and transfer of technology from abroad, these same economies have to demonstrate their ability to deliver “quality-based growth” rather than growth based on adding ever-increasing quantities of capital and labor.

GEORGE CHO

**See also ASEAN Free Trade Association; ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (Mekong Group); Asian Development Bank; Asian “Economic Miracle”; Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Export-Oriented Economies; Globalization: Impact on Development; Import Substitution Industrialization; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations; Trade Policies and Development**

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## ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION (APEC)

The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum serves as the primary vehicle for regional economic integration through promoting open trade and competitive market economy in the region. In order to realize long-term goals of free trade, APEC members are committed to completely eliminating regional trade barriers within two decades. Mutual ties are designed to improve access to the region's growing export markets. Increased exports, in turn, are expected to boost the economy and decrease unemployment.

In parallel with the emergence of other regional trading blocs in Europe and North America, APEC has been aiming to stimulate regional economic growth through relaxation of trade barriers and investment liberalization. APEC drew attention with the involvement of all the major economies of the region, some of which are the most dynamic, fastest growing in the world. APEC currently remains a huge trading group accounting for about half of the world's exports and imports.

### Origin and Evolution

APEC began as an informal dialogue group with limited membership, in 1989, following the initiatives of the United States, Japan, Canada, South Korea, and the Southeast Asian countries, which wanted to form a regional free-trade pact. Its original aim was to harness economic growth with intertwining economies on both sides of the Pacific Rim. APEC was expanded and more formally institutionalized with the recognition of the significance in economic cooperation among regional political leaders. It was later joined by China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in 1991, by

Russia in 1998, followed by Mexico in 1993, and such Latin American countries as Peru and Chile in 1994.

The region includes the most wealthy and populous countries in the world. In particular, APEC members constitute the world's biggest exporters in Asia, such as Japan and China, as well as the world's biggest importer, the United States. APEC memberships are further divided into groups of countries reflecting the diverse nature of the region's economic development: advanced economies (United States, Canada, Japan, and Australia), developing countries (Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines), rapidly growing but state-dominated economies (China), and transition economies following privatization (Russia).

APEC, reflecting the views of economically advanced countries, in particular, the United States, holds a view that in response to recent economic slowdown, free trade helps build confidence in the markets and guards against protectionism. In particular, APEC gained strength with the support of former US President Bill Clinton, who considered the economic health of the APEC region vital to the continued prosperity of the United States. The US government continues to see a vital economic interest in the development of free trade in the Pacific region given its exports to the region reached a total of \$500 billion in 2000.

In developing a road map for the envisioned Free Trade Zone, it was agreed at the 1994 Indonesian meeting that full trade and investment liberalization in the Pacific would be implemented among developed countries by 2010, with extension to developing countries by 2020. As stepping measures, APEC member states elaborated, in 1997, a plan to liberalize trade in chemicals, fish, forest products, and twelve other major sectors with a reduction in import tariffs on \$1.5 trillion in goods. Trade and investment flows to be freed across this vast region, which account for more than 50% of the world gross domestic product, will have an impact on the global economy.

The formation of regional trading agreements may well accelerate the process of global economic expansion. Unlike the World Trade Organization, APEC depends on voluntary cooperation rather than the binding agreements for promoting expanded economic relationships. By serving as an alternative path to trade liberalization, however, APEC can be seen as a galvanizing force for global talks such as the Uruguay Round Table negotiation. In fact, APEC traditionally has pushed for a move to launch a new global trade agreement to build a basis for future economic growth. In the past, its summits strongly endorsed launching new rounds of free trade negotiations.

## Annual Meetings and Institutionalization

A series of yearly meetings, culminating in a heads-of-state summit, held each autumn since 1993 have brought top-level attention to regional free trade and investment. These annual forums have reiterated the member countries' commitment to build the world's largest free trade area around the Pacific Rim. As the single most important institution in the Asia-Pacific region, these gatherings serve as ideal venues for the head of states not only to meet regularly as a group but also to discuss current issues on a bilateral basis. Along with top-level meetings designed for both formal and informal discussions about major issues in the region, APEC also provides consultation and negotiation forums among trade and economic ministers.

The exchange of information and views among member economies has been institutionalized through such forums as the Economic Committee transformed from the Ad Hoc Group on Economic Trends and Issues at the Sixth APEC Ministerial Meeting in Jakarta in November 1994. The formal policy committee has been addressing central economic issues that concern member governments and providing the analytical basis useful for advancing agendas.

## Agendas

APEC emphasizes economic deregulation and increased competition with reduction in trade barriers. Along with this emphasis, APEC meetings promote increased transparency, openness, and predictability based on the rule of law for the accelerated pace of financial and other market-oriented reforms. Other agendas include higher productivity and innovation with the application of new technology for cost reduction and improved efficiency. Reform of outdated telecommunications regulatory practices is critical for promoting e-commerce. Entrepreneurship development and support for increased competitiveness of small businesses and human capacity building also have been serious agendas for ministerial meetings.

In response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in September 2001, terrorism has also emerged on APEC's new agenda, as it is seen as a major challenge to free, open economies. In a pledge for full cooperation to prevent international terrorism from disrupting market activities, the 2001 APEC summit emphasized close communication and cooperation among financial and economic

policy-making authorities. Capacity building and technical cooperation also have been discussed in terms of putting counterterrorism measures into place.

Investment for financial infrastructure and institutions is designed to foster safe and efficient capital markets. As part of enhancing counterterrorism cooperation, APEC members also began to discuss financial measures that can prohibit the flow of funds to terrorists. APEC's Finance Ministers' Working Group on Fighting Financial Crime is looking for strategies to adopt internationally standardized measures such as the use of common accounting rules.

Whereas strengthening financial markets and developing more efficient investment procedures remain key concerns, APEC has been addressing other issues related to trade facilitation through working groups. Modernization of customs procedures and reduction in tariffs are linked to bringing down the ultimate cost to businesses. One of their priorities is to strengthen customs communication networks and enhance a global integrated electronic customs network, by which customs authorities can have a better ability to enforce laws without interrupting the flow of trade. Development of electronic movement records systems focuses on protection of border security, as well as ensuring the smooth movements of goods and investment.

Other areas of economic cooperation include energy security in the region through the mechanism of the APEC Energy Security Initiative. The mechanism looks for various policy tools to respond to challenges for the region's energy supply, as well as short-term supply disruptions. In addition, there has been discussion about the involvement of the public sector in developing electronic commerce and region-wide information technology programs.

APEC also promotes social infrastructure building to take advantage of trade and investment opportunities. Basic education and social services are not adequately provided in underdeveloped parts of the region. In redressing unequal labor productivity, attention also has been directed to improving educational standards and training of skills that are essential for production and trade.

## Economic Reform

Because many Asian countries are vulnerable with currency devaluation, financial stability is essential for trade and investment liberalization. Since the structural weaknesses of dynamic economies of Southeast Asia and East Asia were revealed through the Asian financial crisis of 1997–1998, the Pacific Rim leaders

consider fiscal and monetary policies to mitigate the adverse effects of a synchronized slowdown of the world economy.

Major Asian economies are called upon to embark on reform of their banking and corporate sectors in order to reverse the slowdown and restore confidence. In alignment with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international financial institutions, APEC supports economic policies that stimulate domestic consumption, promote corporate and corporate restructuring, and attract investment. However, the heavy-handed nature of the IMF rescue packages has not gained economic confidence in the region.

The regional economy has been hit badly by the falling global demand for many of the Asian members' exports (such as electronics). In particular, the recession in the United States is expected to have an impact on the growth in the region due to its heavy dependence on the US market. The prospects for economic growth—especially for China, Mexico, Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia, South Korea, and Singapore—are negatively affected by reduction in their exports to the United States. Instability of member economies (the slowdown in dynamic economic growth in many parts of the region) weakened the impetus for fulfilling a trade liberalization agreement.

### Challenges

In spite of the promise of an integrated Pacific trade zone, unity seems to be illusive due to continuing economic and political divide, as Malaysia and other developing countries are opposed to adverse effects of globalization. In addition to the discord between developed and developing countries, the rapid rise in Chinese economic power also is seen as an uncertain factor. Through its expanded role, China wants to challenge Japan as a regional economic leader by offering trade and financial deals to other countries. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), making up a subregional trade bloc, is wary of the emerging economic power of China while seeking to avoid dependence on Japan. Some countries, such as Mexico, are concerned about the flood of cheap Chinese products in their markets. The tensions over military and political matters between the United States and China, along with US skepticism about China's commitment to free market economy, also can divide APEC in the future.

Gross economic imbalance and wide differences in economic policies provide challenges for further economic expansion of the region. The goal of bringing

prosperity to the region through free trade has been hampered by unequal benefit of economic growth and ensuing disparities. As APEC markets are more open today than they were a decade ago, big trading countries with fast-expanding exports can benefit more from participating in regional trade liberalization. Imbalance in trade competitiveness (ascribed to a gap in technology and infrastructures such as transportation and communication) serves as an obstacle to progress towards the regional economic integration.

Despite an emphasis on economic growth, there has been comparatively little focus on social progress. Despite commitments to clean manufacturing and clean energy, there have been few advancements in environmental standards. Economic inequity also remains a problem.

### Future Prospects

The free trade pact was forged in the entire region of the Pacific to prevent the imposition of protectionist trade measures. Whereas the main emphasis in APEC still remains the establishment of an open trading and investment system, economic issues are difficult to disentangle from politics. In particular, the incidents of September 11, 2001, put various agendas for economic cooperation in the context of national security and the fight against terrorism.

Strengthening a stable political and social environment for trade, investment, and travel is essential for regional economic growth. As demonstrated by the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the trend toward further integration and expansion of trade blocs seem to be an irreversible process in an ongoing process toward economic globalization.

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**See also ASEAN Free Trade Association; ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (Mekong Group); Asian Development Bank; Asian "Economic Miracle"; Asian Tigers; Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Export-Oriented Economies; Globalization: Impact on Development; Import Substitution Industrialization; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations; Trade Policies and Development**

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## ASSOCIATION OF CARIBBEAN STATES (ACS)

The Association of Caribbean States (ACS) was established in Cartagena, Colombia, in 1994 to promote social, political, and economic cooperation among the nations in the Caribbean region. The groundwork for the formation of the ACS had been laid at the Conference of the Heads of Government of the Caribbean Community in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago in October 1992. The creation of the ACS was seen largely as a reaction to the North American Free Trade Agreement between the United States of America, Canada, and Mexico, which went into effect on January 1, 1994. As such, the ACS was a response to the challenges and opportunities presented by the globalization of the international economy and the liberalization of trade relations in the Western Hemisphere. The 25 ACS member states are Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela. Three associate member states—Aruba, France (on behalf of French Guiana, Guadeloupe, and Martinique), and the Netherlands Antilles—also are part of the association. The main administrative organs of the association are the ministerial council and the secretariat. Dominican intellectual Rubén Arturo Silié Valdez, the former director of the Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences (FLASCO), has been the secretary general of the association since 2004. The headquarters of the ACS is located in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago.

The ACS is dedicated to strengthening regional cooperation in cultural, economic, political, scientific, social, and technological relations among the member states. As such, the member states hope to build upon their geographic proximity and common historical experiences to create future cultural, economic, and social development for the 250 million people they

represent. The ACS strives to facilitate economic development in the region, with the ultimate goal of making member-state economies more competitive in the international market. In addition to economic development, the ACS also strives for the promotion of social development, which includes the fortification of democratic government and respect for human rights. The association also supports the environmental protection of the Caribbean Sea, a body of water that is regarded as the common patrimony of the peoples of the region. The association's four main areas of activity are trade, transportation, tourism, and natural disasters.

The Special Committee on Trade Development and External Economic Relations encourages economic cooperation to expand economic activities, especially trade and investment, in the Greater Caribbean. Special attention has been paid to the efforts of small economies to penetrate the markets of larger trading partners, such as the European Union and the United States. Efforts also have been made by the association to present a common agenda when dealing with agencies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO). The ACS has collected data and statistics about economic performance in the Greater Caribbean. This information, which is available on the Internet, is provided with the goal of increasing and facilitating trade within the Greater Caribbean. In an attempt to increase economic production, foreign loans and grants have been obtained to strengthen the infrastructure of the member nations.

The Special Committee on Transport is charged with increasing the number of flights between the member states, while simultaneously providing greater access to the airlines of member states to the airports of other member states. One advantage of increased air traffic between the member states is the possibility for an increase in regional tourism. The committee also has created a Port and Maritime Information database that includes information on shipping costs. This information should facilitate the expansion of exports and imports in the Greater Caribbean region. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 events, the committee has focused on increasing security for air and sea travelers. The committee also cooperates with other organizations in an attempt to limit illegal drug trafficking.

The Special Committee on Sustainable Tourism seeks to promote the expansion of tourism in the Greater Caribbean while simultaneously attempting to ensure the protection of the physical environment. Ecologically and environmentally sound sustainable development policies regarding tourism, one of the largest foreign exchange revenue generators in the

## ASSOCIATION OF CARIBBEAN STATES (ACS)

region, is essential for the economic development of the Greater Caribbean. Given the importance of the Caribbean Sea to the future growth of tourism in the region, the member states have a vested interest in limiting pollution and monitoring waste disposal. The committee has worked to increase multiple-destination tourism in the region by encouraging more direct air linkages between the member states, organizing language training classes to provide local workers with the skills necessary to handle the increased number of foreign tourists, and developing and expanding local health care programs to deal with such problems as AIDS. The committee also has evaluated the negative impact of the September 11 events on the tourist industry.

The Special Committee on Natural Disasters has encouraged the cooperation of disaster planning and relief agencies in the Greater Caribbean, an area that has been subjected to hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions. The committee is especially concerned with the development of early warning systems that could limit the loss of life during natural disasters.

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**See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Caribbean Development Bank; Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA); Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

### Historical Background

The formal creation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) took place at the First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting held in August 1967 in

Bangkok, Thailand. Five Southeast Asian nations (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore) signed the ASEAN Declaration. The declaration sought to accomplish three primary objectives. First, the declaration's intent was to accelerate economic growth, social progress, and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors, conducted in the spirit of equality and partnership, in order to strengthen the foundation for the pursuit of a prosperous and peaceful community. Second, it sought to promote regional peace and stability through an abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region, and to promote adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Third, the declaration committed members to promoting active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the areas of economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific, and administrative affairs.

The declaration made it clear that association membership was open to all Southeast Asian nations provided that they agreed to adhere to the three primary objectives of ASEAN. Upon admission to the association, members must be willing to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation. According to the declaration's provisions, members must commit themselves to joint efforts aimed at securing for the people of Southeast Asia the blessings of peace, freedom, and prosperity. Prior to being admitted to the association, each member must have signed an Amity Agreement that expresses a willingness to abide by the provisions of the declaration.

Brunei joined the original five in 1985 and during the late 1990s Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar (Burma), and Cambodia became ASEAN members. Throughout its history, the association's primary objectives have been to accelerate economic growth and development among the region's countries and to bring about regional security and stability. The overriding principle underlying the agreement was that all endeavors would be undertaken in a spirit of equality and partnership wherein decisions would be based upon consensus. Peace and prosperity within the community of nations would be built on the cornerstone of nonintervention and respect for national sovereignty. Via signing Amity Agreements and eventually becoming full Association members, the four newcomers brought the association's membership to ten nations.

### The Structure of ASEAN

ASEAN's institutional structure evolved into a set of operational modules targeted toward intraregional

trade expansion, investment generation and industrial development, dispute settlement, and regional security. Trade expansion is promoted through the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) system via which tariffs are lowered among member countries. Investment and industrial expansion are promoted through three initiatives: the ASEAN Industrial Project (AIP), the ASEAN Industrial Complementation (AIC), or the ASEAN Industrial Joint Venture (AIJV). The ASEAN Dialogue Partnership System (ADPS) and Post Ministerial Conferences (PMC) are in charge of settling disputes involving an ASEAN member (or members). Regional security is sought through a relatively new module called the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

Six policy arenas are used in order to design, coordinate, and implement the modules that the association uses. The first is the ASEAN summit among the heads of government that meets every three years and in a member country chosen on the basis of rotation. The summit is the highest-level instrument, and it involves the determination of the overall direction of the association. Second is the ASEAN ministerial meeting, the next highest decision-making forum. Held annually, it covers various economic, diplomatic, social, and cultural matters. The third is the PMC that follow the ministerial meeting in which ASEAN foreign ministers meet with their dialogue partner counterparts. The primary function of the PMC is to make certain that both ASEAN members and their global partners avoid serious and unnecessary conflicts. Fourth, a senior officials meeting consisting of officials representing ASEAN foreign affairs ministries is held three or four times a year. Its purpose is to provide consistency in diplomatic, political, and strategic matters among the association's membership. The fifth instrument is an annual meeting of ASEAN economic ministers, wherein an array of economic matters is discussed. Sixth and lastly, senior economic officials meetings are held every three months. This is a working-level group that oversees all aspects of economic cooperation among the association's membership in the fields of trade, tourism, industrial development, mineral and energy, finance and banking, transportation and communications, and agriculture and marine resources.

### **Intra-ASEAN Trade Promotion**

The institutional structure outlined above provides both ASEAN's broad policy aspect and the direct operational framework within which the association

undertakes its various activities. Those activities are highlighted by trade promotion. Initially, ASEAN's effort to promote intraregional trade expansion was via a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) that proved to be a failure. It provided neither sufficiently deep tariff rate reductions nor sufficiently broad product coverage to yield more than minimal increases in trade among association members. In response to the PTA's unsatisfactory performance, governments of trade-oriented member states called for a full-scale free trade area within the region. The result of their effort was the AFTA/CEPT mechanism that was introduced at the Fourth ASEAN Summit, held in Singapore in 1992.

The aim of free trade proponents was to reduce and ultimately to eliminate tariffs among ASEAN members through the implementation of a two-track, tariff reduction process that added substantially deeper tariff rate cuts and covered a much broader range of products. According to the 1992 agreement, products with an existing tariff rate of 20% or less were put on a fast track toward tariff elimination. The goal of the fast track was to do away with tariffs on affected products in a decade, or by the year 2003. On a normal track, 1992 tariff rates exceeding 20% were to be reduced in three stages over a fifteen-year period culminating in zero tariff rates by the year 2008. The 1992 agreement was modified in 1994 in order to match and conform to the deeper and broader tariff reductions that were negotiated during the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The GATT tariff reductions were deeper than those called for in ASEAN's 1992 accord. Both the fast- and normal-track timetables were shortened so that items placed on the fast track were to reach zero tariffs by 2000 rather than 2003, and so that those assigned to normal track status were to be eliminated by 2003 rather than 2008.

The 1992 CEPT mechanism provided greater breadth of coverage than the PTA. It encompassed all manufactured items, processed agricultural products, and capital goods. ASEAN officials continue to explore the possibility of extending CEPT coverage to agriculture and services and eliminating nontariff barriers.

As ASEAN grew, it was faced with serious problems that were brought about because of substantial economic and political asymmetry within its membership. In order to deal with the gap in national income levels and market competitiveness, the association provides two exceptions to generalized CEPT coverage. First, the products of noncompetitive industries are put on a temporary exclusion list if such industries need more time to adjust to the microeconomic dislocation that trade can bring about. Second, a member



nation can request that certain industries be placed on a sensitivity list in cases where a negative economic impact would be difficult to sustain. The exceptions are important variances to the fast- and normal-track mandates, but they are needed because ASEAN's membership includes higher-income economies such as Brunei and Singapore and middle-income countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Membership also included low-income countries including Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar (or Burma), and Vietnam. While lower-income, less competitive, and more sensitive economies need more time to adjust to the micro and macro impact of trade liberalization and openness, ultimately, they must adhere to the general principle of tariff elimination.

### **Investment Generation and Industrial Development**

The generation of investment from both internal and external sources and the industrial development that accompanies it provides the platform from which exports, import substitutes, and nontraded goods are produced throughout Southeast Asia. ASEAN promotes investment and industrialization through three modules: ASEAN Industrial Project (AIP), ASEAN Industrial Complementation (AIC), and ASEAN Industrial Joint Venture.

AIP projects are large-scale enterprises, are located within a single country, are without forward or backward linkages to other project, and have extensive government involvement. There was initial enthusiasm about the AIP module, but it soon waned when it became clear that there were serious implementation problems. One problem had to do with conflicts among member states regarding the location of single-country projects. Additionally, the bureaucratic approval process was cumbersome, and there were conflicts among members over whether certain projects were financially feasible, as many would be large-scale enterprises requiring levels of investment so substantial that they exceeded funding capacities. Consequently, few ventures reached fruition after the 1980 Basic Agreement that created the AIP module. However, during the process of evaluating potential AIP projects, the process identified a number of enterprises that were successfully pursued outside the parameters of the AIP module.

The AIC module was a direct result of the limited success of the AIP approach, where large-scale, government-dominated ventures left little scope for private industry expertise in both project planning and implementation. The Basic Agreement that created

the AIC in 1981 corrected this oversight by involving private-sector personnel who were familiar with market conditions. They collaborated with their public-sector counterparts and became a primary source of ideas. Private-sector leaders helped to put together a system that involved forward and backward linkages among ASEAN producers wherein the stages of production leading to final products were located in different countries. However, the module did not suit all proposed projects because of complications inherent in approval processes and conflicts about where linked projects would be located. More importantly, the AIC did not contain an effort to draw investment capital from outside ASEAN.

ASEAN Industrial Joint Ventures are private sector projects. They operate in more than one country, are neither forward- nor backward-linked to other products, and involve external investment partners. Investors in AIJV projects can locate production facilities anywhere within ASEAN provided that at least two participating member countries are involved. Non-ASEAN financial partners can participate in AIJV projects provided that ASEAN equity participation is 51%.

An ASEAN Industrial Cooperation (AICO) scheme accompanies the three modules, but it differs from them in that firms operating under the scheme are not legal business entities but rather operate under umbrella associations. The AICO requires a minimum of two companies that are domiciled in at least two ASEAN member countries, and there must be at least 30% national equity participation in the business enterprises that operate under the scheme. The AICO provides participant companies opportunities to cooperate and coordinate their business activities, particularly in export promotion.

These modules and schemes are used by ASEAN to generate investments, develop industrial capacities, and expand exports directly. They enable the association to create a regional investment climate that draws other, nonparticipating investors from outside the region, as well encourage capital formation from sources within ASEAN. However, as more trade and investment involving ASEAN-based enterprises and outside entities take place, more opportunities for conflicts arise. Avoiding conflicts and settling disruptive disputes that threaten to deteriorate economic climates have become an important aspect of ASEAN's activities.

### **Dispute Settlement and Regional Security**

The integration of ASEAN into global goods, services, and financial markets brings about an

environment within which disputes and conflicts occasionally arise. In response to the threat that unresolved disputes pose to Southeast Asian interests, the association created the ASEAN Dialogue Partnership System (ADPS). The system links the association's membership to key global partners via an ongoing forum that seeks to settle disputes between ASEAN and external entities and, when possible, to prevent disputes from arising. ASEAN launched its dialogue program at its second summit in 1977. Its first linkage was with the United States. The association currently has partnerships with the European Union, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and other countries important to the region, as well as with international institutions such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

Subministerial dialogue meetings take place every year and a half, with a preparatory meeting prior to the higher-level gathering. The agenda includes both ASEAN's and its partner countries' views on key issues. In addition, some partner countries and ASEAN members have bilateral dispute settlement procedures in the form of joint management committees that oversee the operational details of the procedures. In some cases (such as in the United States and Singapore), bilateral free trade agreements have been negotiated as a direct result of broader ADPS relations.

In 1979, ASEAN initiated a companion feature to the ADPS in the form of a series of post-ministerial conferences (PMCs) that, at the conclusion of ASEAN's annual ministerial conference, bring together high-ranking officials with their ministerial counterparts in partner countries. In this way, at the very highest levels of government, the work of standing committees is supported at a high-level intergovernmental superstructure. The concept of high-level contact was extended to noneconomic issues when the association created the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) involving its membership, the countries with which it has ADPS agreements, and other important states, particularly China. The ARF is a nonformal process whereby political, strategic, and security disputes and issues are discussed among the forum's members. It complements the ADPS and PMC arrangements by extending the scope of high-level discussions beyond economic and financial matters.

## **Evolving Issues**

ASEAN's evolution into a ten-nation country group challenges the association's capacity to secure the three primary objectives contained in the Declaration.

The largest challenge is molding an organization that meets both the founding Declaration's objectives and the specific needs of member countries whose economies range from high income, competitive, and highly developed to very low income, noncompetitive, and persistently underdeveloped. In an effort to alleviate economic asymmetry, the association is working to eradicate poverty. The membership has agreed on principles contained in a recently signed Hanoi Declaration that moves ASEAN in new anti-poverty directions, most importantly via concerted efforts to improve human resource bases within the region. In 1999, ASEAN labor ministers acknowledged the importance of improving human resource bases and agreed to exchange information about meeting human needs, providing appropriate intraregional training, offering work-study and on-the-job training opportunities, and discussing individual country experiences. Their aim was to close the development and competitiveness gaps found in Southeast Asia.

ASEAN pursues regional development in a number of other ways, including an attempt to involve the private sector in growth-enhancing economic activities, particularly in lower-income member countries. The association has also created fourteen ASEAN centers throughout the region. Since the Association's membership includes low-income countries, the centers focus on integrating official development assistance with other sources of capital and transfers of technology in order to enhance productivity in agriculture, energy, culture and tourism, and social and institutional development. The association seeks to involve itself in the internal economic development processes of member countries, but it is careful not to intrude into the internal political affairs of member states due to ASEAN's commitment to nonintervention and the protection of national sovereignty.

The growth in the number of member nations taxes the ASEAN commitment to nonintervention. The egregious domestic actions of sovereign states such as Myanmar (Burma) clash profoundly with ideals shared by almost all of the association's other member states and expressed in the Declaration. At present, the association is absolutely committed not to intervene into the internal affairs of any member state even when it conducts oppressive practices. But since a country such as contemporary Myanmar operates outside the framework of the acceptable standards governing human rights, as well as the concept of the civil state, at some time in the future, ASEAN might be compelled to take punitive action against a "rogue" member state. If this happens, ASEAN's actions will challenge the association's avowed commitment to nonintervention.

Other challenging issues face ASEAN. One has to do with finding ways to cope with the cross-border haze pollution stemming from agricultural burning; this may force ASEAN to intervene in members' domestic environmental policies. Another matter is the association's approach to subregional economic integration; currently, two subregions are evolving into "natural economic territories." One is a mature economic growth triangle that involves private sector enterprises in southern Malaysia, Singapore, and several offshore islands of Indonesia. The second is an emerging arrangement in the Mekong Basin subregion where the Mekong Basic Development initiative is attempting to bring about a functional subregion that includes parts of Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. While governments assist the private sector by financing infrastructure improvements, ASEAN provides technical assistance.

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**See also ASEAN Free Trade Association; ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (Mekong Group); Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); Asian Development Bank; Asian "Economic Miracle"; Asian Tigers; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Trade Policies and Development**

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## ASWAN HIGH DAM AND DEVELOPMENT IN EGYPT

The Aswan High Dam on the southern Nile River in Egypt is one of the largest engineering projects of the modern era, and it also is a symbol of modernization in a country that was undergoing tremendous social changes in the mid-twentieth century. Construction of the dam involved balancing of complex international politics, as well as nationalist concerns for Egypt and preservation of archaeological sites, and has brought about some degree of control over the seasonal floods brought by the Nile and has made hydroelectric power available to a region that has benefitted from this. However, the damming of the Nile on the scale made possible by the Aswan High Dam has had unforeseen ecological ramifications as well.

### Background

The Nile River is one of the longest rivers in the world, originating in Lake Victoria and flowing more than 6,600 km to the Mediterranean Sea. It has long been recognized as the source that allows life to flourish in the Egyptian desert, and the silt that it brought down to Egypt enriched the soil to permit the harvests necessary to support the population there. However, the flooding that brought the silt also ravaged the low-lying areas along the river. In the late nineteenth century, the first attempt was made to control the waters of the Nile with a dam at Aswan, in southern Egypt north of the border with Sudan. This was the first Aswan Dam, for which construction began in 1899 and was completed in 1902 by a British engineering firm. This first dam rose fifty-four meters above the level of the river and was 1,900 meters wide. The dam was originally built for flood control and was increased in size in 1907–1912 and 1929–1934. In 1960, it was upgraded to generate hydroelectric power.

The increasing population of Egypt in the mid-twentieth century, plus a desire to modernize the

country after the embarrassment of defeat by the new state of Israel in its 1948 war of independence and a subsequent military coup in Egypt, led the new government to make grand plans that would enable the development of more land and provide electrical power for the growing population. However, the engineering expertise and financial resources for projects of the scale necessary were not available in Egypt, so cooperation with the developed nations would be required. This cooperation was jeopardized when military officers staged a coup and replaced the Egyptian government in the summer of 1952.

### **Planning for the Aswan High Dam**

The Aswan High Dam was just one part of a massive effort to stimulate the Egyptian economy. Plans were made to industrialize the country, to replace the goods that Egypt had needed to import, and to continue producing the things Egypt could export. In addition, the growing population would require more food; instead of importing this, the dam would permit use of more land for farming. Only 3% of Egypt's land was cultivated before construction of the High Dam. For this reason, the dam was considered to be primarily an agricultural investment, not an industrial one, and land reclamation projects constituted a major part of economic planning. However, land reclamation (use of formerly desert areas made useful by irrigation) has proved to be a failure.

### **Financing of Major Economic Development Projects**

In the early years of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union both courted the nonaligned nations, of which Egypt was one. The Soviets had a particular interest in Egypt since it had seaports that could be used by the ships of the Soviet Black Sea fleet, which otherwise would have to return to their bases in the Black Sea and thereby could be kept away from the Mediterranean Sea by a simple blockade.

America's interest in Egypt was in part due to wanting to keep the Soviets from exercising too much influence there, but also to ensure that the Suez Canal stayed open and available for US use. The billions of dollars in aid that the United States had provided to western European nations had kept Soviet influence there at a minimum, and concerns over the nations that were developing made the idea of helping Egypt attractive as well.

To President Nasser of Egypt, the financial assistance proposed by the West brought about concerns of economic exploitation. While the United States and Great Britain had offered to provide a portion of the funding for the dam as a grant, a larger part of the financing was to be in the form of a loan from the World Bank. This would obligate Egypt to pay back the loan, with interest, to an institution that Nasser considered to be a part of the Western world. Additionally, Nasser was concerned that accepting US aid would encourage the US to push for Egyptian acceptance of Israel's existence.

The United States was at first eager to provide financing for the Aswan High Dam project, but when the military government of Egypt made a major purchase of weaponry from Czechoslovakia in 1955, violating a Western arms embargo on that Soviet ally, the United States withdrew its offer of support in July 1956, ostensibly because it did not believe that the Egyptian economy could support payment of the loan. In response, Egypt took control of the Suez Canal Company, a British-French corporation that operated the Suez Canal. Great Britain and France, along with Israel, made plans to attack Egypt to regain control of the canal and destroy the Egyptian military, thereby undermining the Egyptian government. The "Suez Crisis" of October 1956 resulted in the United States criticizing the British-French action, and the event drew attention away from another major military event, the Soviet invasion of Hungary, which occurred at the same time.

The involvement of Great Britain and Israel, two U.S. allies, in the attack on Egypt further alienated Egypt's President Nasser, and he turned to the Soviet Union, which had provided other funds for development in Egypt. Eventually, the Soviets obtained financing for the Aswan High Dam. Other projects financed by the USSR were a major expansion of the port of Alexandria and the construction of the Helwan Iron and Steel Complex near Aswan.

### **Construction of the Aswan High Dam**

The location of the original dam at Aswan was chosen because the channel of the Nile in southern Egypt can be used as a reservoir. Further north, the terrain is flatter and less suitable for placement of a dam. The Aswan High Dam was located further south (but up-river) from the original dam, but its location meant that a portion of the reservoir would actually flood across the border in Sudan. While this did not interfere with the planning of the dam, an agreement was made with Sudan before the dam was actually built.

The placement of large modern dams is dictated by geography, and dams are usually located in areas where natural constrictions of a river can be blocked, thus creating a reservoir behind the dam. Modern dams are usually made of concrete anchored to the natural bedrock. However, the location chosen for the Aswan High Dam does not have solid bedrock, so another technique, the building of a “gravity dam,” was used instead.

A gravity dam develops its holding power from the physical mass of the dam instead of through its material. Because bedrock did not exist in the location chosen for the dam, huge amounts of rock rubble were brought to the dam site and deposited on the river bottom. This construction technique is the reason that the dam is so thick (more than 1 km). However, a concrete dam, which could be made thinner, could not have been anchored properly.

The relatively porous nature of the construction material is the reason that approximately one-eighth of the water in the dam is lost to leakage.

### Benefits from the Dam

The Aswan High Dam, even during its planning stages, was a symbol of the future of Egypt. Egypt now generates a surplus of electricity, which has permitted greater industrialization. But although electrical generation capability has been tremendously expanded by the dam, the electrical transmission infrastructure was unable to make full use of the power. In addition, seasonal variations in the height of Lake Nasser limit electrical production in the winter.

Cultivation of rice in Egypt has tripled, and annual production is stable because it does not depend directly on the natural flow of the Nile. Irrigation made possible by the steady supply of water has expanded the arable land in Egypt and has permitted farmers to use higher-yield crops such as different strains of corn and to grow rice in the Nile delta, where previously only wheat could be grown.

### Negative Aspects of the Aswan High Dam

The planning of the Aswan High Dam generated early criticism over a concern that archaeological sites in the planned reservoir site would be flooded. This had happened with the first Aswan Dam, and in particular, the temples at Abu Simbel were at risk. These temples had been built by actually sculpting them (and their interiors) into the sandstone of

the river channel. Between 1964 and 1968, an international effort to move the temples to higher ground disassembled the temples and actually cut away the rock from which they had been sculpted and moved both temples above the level that would be flooded. Other smaller sites were moved as well.

Although the dam was built in part to control the flooding of the northern, lower areas, this flooding provided silt to replenish the cultivated areas there. Once the dam began controlling this flooding, the quality of the soil began to be depleted, and now agriculture requires chemical fertilizer, adding to the cost and chemically polluting the runoff water. This pollution has endangered some aquatic species in the waters where the Nile flows into the Mediterranean Sea.

The silt that would have been carried to the lower reaches of the Nile is instead trapped behind the dam, reducing the capacity of the reservoir.

### Economic Development in Egypt

The grand plans for economic development in Egypt that were made by the Nasser government did not lead to the success that had been predicted. Although the Soviet Union did provide financing and expertise for projects such as the improvements to the port at Alexandria, construction of the Aswan High Dam, and for land reclamation projects and land reclamation efforts, were seen as a failure by 1975. Continuing strife in the Middle East over Israel, including the 1967 and 1973 wars, has set back progress in development.

Ironically, the greatest progress for Egypt resulted from a political action, not industrial efforts. President Anwar Sadat’s willingness to publicly accept the existence of Israel through the Camp David Accords in 1978 brought Egypt back into comfortable relations with the United States, although it would lead to Sadat’s assassination by members of his own military in 1981.

In this century, Egypt’s economy has shown little growth, largely because more than half the work force is in the government or service sector and not engaged in manufacturing or agriculture.

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**See also Egypt; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; North Africa: History and Economic Development**

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## AUNG SAN SUU KYI

One of the important political leaders of Myanmar/Burma in the modern period, Aung San Suu Kyi (1945– ) is a champion of democracy and human rights in a country where the military has held sway for most of its postindependence history.

Aung San Suu Kyi is the daughter of Aung San, the national hero of Burma, who led the struggle for independence from British colonial rule and Japanese occupation and organized the Burmese national army into a fighting force. Suu Kyi was just two years old when Aung San was assassinated on July 19, 1947. Her mother, Daw Khin Kyi, served as Burma's ambassador to India in the 1960s.

Suu Kyi studied at Oxford and married an Englishman, Michael Aris, without ever giving up her Burmese citizenship. After many years in England, she returned to Burma in 1988 to look after her critically ill mother. This coincided with a turbulent period in Burmese politics with the resignation of Gen. Ne Win (in power since 1962 after staging a coup) in 1988. In September 1988, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) came into being (rechristened State Peace and Development Council or SPDC in 1997).

Suu Kyi quickly became the center of a wide-based democratic movement, which included students and the general population. She addressed rallies and exhorted the people to unite for a future without a military government. She believed that the army should keep away from politics and that free and fair elections were the only way of deciding Burma's future.

Having cofounded the National League for Democracy, Suu Kyi and her followers pressed the government for early elections. When the elections were held on May 27, 1990, her party won a landslide victory, but SLORC annulled the election results. It claimed that these elections were meant to select some representative to a constitution-drafting body and not for a national assembly.

Suu Kyi was awarded the 1991 Nobel Prize for Peace. Suu Kyi has continued to ask her followers to be nonviolent, although thousands of Burmese have been arrested and many reportedly tortured

and killed. The NLD participated in the National Convention, which was convened in 1993 to draft a new constitution. It walked out when it became clear that the military would continue to play a dominant role in the new government.

The military rulers placed Suu Kyi under house arrest repeatedly (1989–1995, 2000–May 2002, and May 2003– ). In late 2004, although many political prisoners were released, Suu Kyi continued to be incarcerated.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southeast Asia; Military and Development; Myanmar; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## AUTHORITARIANISM

### The Term *Authoritarianism* and Its Historical Roots

The origin of the word *authoritarianism* comes from the Latin word *auctoritas*, meaning influence. In the past, the term was mainly used in a positive sense and was related to individuals with high authority and power. Later, the term was used for labeling the negative aspects of a given individual or the functioning of a given State. Terms like *tyrant* and *despot* were used primarily in ancient Greece. For European regimes, the application of the term *despotism* began during the second half of the eighteenth century and became a focal point of political theory. The application of the terms *Asian despotism* and *Oriental despotism* began later on, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The term *absolutism* also represents the authority of the State, but it is used in a

## AUTHORITARIANISM

narrower sense and is related primarily to the monarchies. For the first time, the term was used in ancient Rome, but then it was not charged with negative connotation. During the Renaissance, it was used to characterize the untouchable, supreme power. The term absolute is used later on during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when discussing the meaning of absolute monarchy.

In the twentieth century, more modern terms like fascism, communism, and totalitarianism are used for indicating authoritative countries. Fascist, communist, or totalitarian are those countries in which authoritarianism is present in all spheres of political, economic, social, and cultural life. The government in such countries imposed total control. The term *dictatorship* originated in ancient Rome but was used in a different meaning. During the twentieth century, the term was actively used to indicate all forms of authoritarian administration lacking democratic values. Even if all the authoritarian and nondemocratic societies can be characterized as dictatorships, not every dictatorship is communist or fascist. There are four aspects of the authoritarianism:

1. Authoritarianism as a quality of the personality (for example, authoritarian personality);
2. Authoritarianism as a type of a leadership of a given group or organization (for example, authoritarian style of leadership);
3. Authoritarianism as a way of governmental administration (for example, authoritarian state); and
4. Authoritarianism as a theoretical concept (for example, the theory of authoritarianism).

### **Authoritarianism as a Way of Governmental Administration—The Authoritarian State**

One of the most important aspects of the term authoritarianism is related to the way of administrating society as a whole—the ruling of a given state. When the way of administrating a given state is authoritarian, it is labeled as authoritarian, and those ruling it are called tyrants, despots, autocrats, dictators, and so on.

It is a well-established fact that from a political, historical, sociological, and philosophical point of view, there are numerous theoretical concepts trying to explain the origin, essence, and peculiarities of an authoritarian state. For example, the entire doctrine of Karl Marx can be presented as a theoretical outlook on how to establish an authoritarian state and how it should function. All authors who describe the

authoritarian leaders and the authoritarian countries, from sixteenth-century Italian political theoretician N. Machiavelli (*The Prince*) to the present critic of the authoritarian Communist State, K. Wittfogel (*Oriental Despotism*), can be regarded as theoreticians of authoritarianism. In literature and in everyday language, people often confuse the terms authoritarian state, totalitarian state, communist state, fascist state, and so on. In order to clear this confusion of terms, it might be useful to apply the thesis that every totalitarian (fascist, communist) state is authoritarian, but not every authoritarian state is totalitarian. For example, Pinochet's military dictatorship in Chile can be classified as authoritarian but not in any case as totalitarian, communist, or fascist. The totalitarian state spreads the authoritarian principle of administration in all spheres in society, that is, everything is under total governmental control—the economy, the financial system, the state administration, the social groups, the individuals, and so on. In authoritarian states, such control is enforced only on some spheres of social life, and in some cases, there might be a combination of both authoritarian and democratic principles of administration. The authoritarian state often is viewed as a state in transition. That means authoritarianism is considered to be a temporary mode of a state's administration. Thus, when we talk about a particular state that we have identified as authoritarian, we keep in mind that its form of administration is transitional. If, in the past, that state was of a fascist or a communist type, considering it at the present moment and defining it as authoritarian, it can sometimes be viewed in a positive light. On the contrary, if in the past a given state was democratic and at the present moment authoritarian tendencies prevail, such a state should be looked at in a negative light.

### **Varieties of Authoritarianism**

Authoritarianism is extremely differentiated and is characterized by many varieties. Some authors view the borders of authoritarianism as diffusive with many varieties to it, so it is very difficult to define where, for example, authoritarianism ends and democracy begins. In literature, there is not a universally accepted classification of the authoritarian way of governmental administration, but there are varying criteria for differentiating types of authoritarianism. For example, depending on the level of control over the masses, authoritarianism can be differentiated as: *hard*, when there is a high level of control, and *soft*, when there is a slight liberalization of the social and

political life. If a given state is in transition from authoritarian to democratic form of administration, we talk about *transforming* authoritarianism. Transforming authoritarianism is typical of the situation in Eastern European countries at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Its opposite is *stable* authoritarianism, evident when authoritarian rule cannot be completely transformed into democracy, and the result is a relatively stable combination between authoritarian and democratic type of government. This type of authoritarianism is typical of some countries in Central America and Africa. In terms of the method of establishment of authoritarianism in a given state, it can be *inherited* or *acquired*. The former variety exists when the rule is inherited, that is, passed from father to son, from one dynasty to another, and so forth. The latter is established under the influence of external or internal factors. Authoritarianism is generally associated with centralized economy, lack of private enterprise, and with a closed economy that in this case can be treated as authoritarianism of a *closed* type. However, there are authoritarian regimes, with established market economy, private initiative, capitalist means of production, and unlike the preceding type, they can be classified as *market* and *open*. Such were the authoritarian regimes in Spain, Chile, and to a certain extent in Greece, Uruguay, Brazil, and others.

Many criteria can be used for distinguishing between the different types of authoritarianism: *with respect to the form of state rule* (monarchy, communist, religious-fundamentalist); *with respect to economic prosperity* (Spain under Franco, Chile under Pinochet); *with respect to the local cultural model*, and so forth.

### **Authoritarianism, Totalitarianism, and Democracy**

When analyzing authoritarianism as a method of state rule, we normally use the classical triad: totalitarianism, authoritarianism, and democracy. J.J. Linz makes the clearest differentiation between the components of this triad on the basis of pluralism, and his thesis has been dominant since 1975. There are three major differences among totalitarianism, authoritarianism, and democracy, namely:

A. *There is always a lack of pluralism in a totalitarian state*, that is, one political party with its own ideology *totally* controls the entire social, political, economic, and cultural life and allows no competition in any sphere. The absence of

pluralism is essential for a totalitarian state, not the presence of just one individual (Stalin, Hitler), or a group of individuals (after Hruschov the USSR was temporarily ruled by a party triumvirate), who hold the authority. In a totalitarian state, the absence of pluralism is the foundation for the development of the totalitarian party, which, in turn, creates the “dictator” (an authoritarian individual) who then runs the state. It is the personal qualities of the dictator, however, that determine the stability and solidity of a totalitarian regime (USSR under Stalin), its longevity (China under Mao), its temporary successes (Germany under Hitler), or its collapse (USSR under Gorbachov). When the dictator’s power is terminated (death, removal, and so forth), the totalitarian state does not cease to exist, because the totalitarian political party creates a new dictator. The totalitarian state ceases to exist only with the destruction of the single-party political system, that is, with the initiation of pluralism.

- B. *There is always an authoritarian personality in the authoritarian regime*, (dictator, despot, tyrant) or a group of personalities with a distinct leader (junta), who takes over the power through elections or military coup. In this case, the dominance of a single party or its ideology is not decisive—in many events, there is political pluralism, free elections, and so on. The personal quality of the authoritarian individual, his/her charisma, and the attractiveness of the party’s own ruling doctrine should comply with the basic needs and interests of the social elite and/or of the broad masses.
- C. *The presence of pluralism in democracy is obligatory*. The contest between two or more political parties during free elections is the foundation of democracy; owing to this political model, democracy exists. Of course, we are not only discussing political pluralism (the presence of many parties in the political process) but also a pluralism of opinions, ideas, associations, and ownership. In democracy, the presence of a leader with a strong personality or a political party with attractive ideology is not so significant, although a democracy with a distinguished political leader may enjoy greater prosperity. Pre-term elections or the permanent change of parties in power do not show lack of democracy or social regression. If pluralism in a given state is eliminated in some way, it turns from a democratic state into an authoritarian or totalitarian one.



## The Transition from Totalitarianism to Democracy

The transformation of authoritarianism into democracy is a complicated and controversial process. In scientific literature, there is no uniform opinion on how long such a process should take, whether the democratic tendencies can be slowed down, whether there will be a reversal of the very process into “hard” authoritarianism, and so forth. Some authors who analyze the transition from authoritarianism to democracy (J.J. Linz, Guillermo O’Donnell, Terry Karl) use different terms such as “immediate death,” “hybrid system,” “progression to democracy,” “delegative democracy,” and so on. Based on their beliefs, we can distinguish the following possibilities for the transformation of authoritarianism into democracy:

- A. The new democracies may disillusion the people *and may rejuvenate the old authoritarian stereotypes*: In this case, the dream of the “strong hand” may lead an authoritarian person or a group of people to power; that may be followed by the so-called sudden death of democracy. The “sudden death” may occur in a peaceful manner or through a coup.
- B. If “sudden death” (of democracy) does not occur, the undergoing democratic changes may be accompanied by *permanent disappointment* where democratic changes are only formal and do not comply with the demands of the public. Such a state, in which only a spark is needed to return to the authoritarian status quo, is referred to as a “postponed death.”
- C. *Uncertain transformation from authoritarianism to democracy*: There actually is a permanent tendency of uncertainty in the movement toward democracy that can be described as a permanent swinging of society from its pronounced strive for democracy to a situation of apathy and the will to return to authoritarianism. In such cases, the transformation swings between two extremes: “return to authoritarianism” and “progress toward democracy” (like in Thailand, Haiti, Nigeria, Haiti, and Belarus).
- D. *Stable functioning of a hybrid system*: In the hybrid regime resulting from the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, there is a combination of elements of both authoritarianism and democracy. The democratic elements dominate in the economic sphere, while the authoritarian elements prevail in the

political one in most cases. Very often the democratic elements are only used to fool the external world and to stabilize authoritarianism. In this event, the democratic tendencies are kept only due to external influence or internal resistance. As an example for semidemocratic, semiauthoritarian hybrid regimes, we can give some states from Central America and Africa.

- E. *The establishment of a stable tendency of irreversibility of the democratic processes*: This form of transition from authoritarianism to democracy is characterized by the will and determination of the masses and the ruling elite, be they leftist or rightist, for democratic changes. The pace and cost of reforms do not matter, the direction toward democracy does. As an example, we can give most of the East European countries (Poland, Czech Rep., Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, among others.)

## The Nature of Authoritarianism in Developing Countries

Authoritarian regimes are unique in every country insofar as authoritarian leaders are unique, as are the conditions under which they rule. Regardless of sizable differences, authoritarian regimes in developing countries in the same region share common characteristics and it is for this reason precisely that we speak of Asian authoritarianism, African-type authoritarian rule or Latin American authoritarian rule. By the very nature of power, authoritarian political systems in developing countries can be defined as monarchies, pluralistic, dictatorships, military juntas, to name but a few. The common traits relate to individual aspects of governance. So, for instance, some may employ genocide and political violence to attain power, but others may gain power leverage by legitimate means; some retain their grip on power by sheer eloquence and charisma; others rely on efforts to ensure economic prosperity. Thus, in order to claim domestic legitimacy an unpopular regime may draw overwhelmingly on nationalist ideology. The majority of authoritarian regimes in Asia, Africa, and Latin America justify their existence before the nation by the need for national liberation and revival. At the same time, internationally they explain their unpopular policy actions with the desire to preserve ethnic peace and to prevent civil strife. A number of authoritarian regimes such as those in South Korea, Chile, China, Vietnam, and elsewhere use the economic

prosperity of their countries as a tool to legitimize their undemocratic rule.

Authoritarian rule in South America emerged in the complex post-World War II era exemplified by economic surges and declines, political coups, and transitory democratic outbursts. In the 1950s and 1960s, the wave of popular movements contributed to the fall of military dictatorships, including those of Batista in Cuba, Perón in Argentina, Rojas Pinilla in Colombia, Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. Consequently, authoritarian regimes surfaced in a number of Latin American countries and served as a barrier to the entry of leftist radicals. Later, the 1980s ushered in a period of economic and political stability, and these regimes receded to be replaced by pluralist political systems. This happened in Brazil at the elections in 1982, in Uruguay in 1980 and 1982, and in Chile after 1987, among others. Compared with Asia and Africa, Latin American authoritarianism is very vivid and emotionally colored. It is no coincidence that authoritarianism found its most dramatic personification in Juan Perón, Augusto Pinochet, and Fidel Castro. Perón solidified his authoritarian regime in 1946 and proved himself as a politician of note by creating an ideological faction, institutionalized in a political party and in women's, youth, and professional organizations. The military coup engineered by Pinochet in September 1973 came in response to the threat of his country following in the footsteps of Cuba. The tough military dictatorship he initially established transformed into an authoritarian regime that found legitimacy on the domestic front in significant economic successes. Castro built his mythical image by virtue of his charisma, eloquence, and populist slogans, whereas his authoritarian regime prospered into the early 1990s, thanks to the economic and political propping of the former Soviet Union.

In the early twenty-first century, most of the Latin American countries, such as Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and others became prosperous economies, which is a robust guarantee that authoritarian rule has become a thing of the past.

Authoritarian rule flourished in Africa after the collapse of colonialism that began in the early 1950s. In the course of some forty-five years, the African continent was dominated by political chaos exemplified by civil war, clan warfare, military coups, genocide, and ethnic cleansing. In the aftermath of all this, some eighty unconstitutional changes of government were effected. In the 1960s alone, a total of twenty-five presidents and prime ministers fell victim to political violence. The mechanisms employed to impose an authoritarian regime usually fit the same model: a group of military men or armed mercenaries oust the incumbent government in the name of freedom

and establish a military regime, after which they found their own political party and establish a partisan dictatorship. African authoritarianism is manifest in a variety of forms: from extreme left extremism to rightist dictatorships. Such, for instance, was the authoritarian regime in Ghana in the early 1960s and Ethiopia in the 1970s and 1980s, all a variety of leftist totalitarianism. Akin to these are the regimes in Mali and Togo, surviving from the late 1960s well into the 1990s, the Cameroon regime that existed in the 1970s and 1980s. African authoritarian leaders usually worship their own person and grant precedence to the party or junta they represent, a case in point being the long-time President of Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko. Their rule is rooted in administrative centralism and authoritarian power permeated by traditionalism and ethnicity that determine the singular objective pursued by the potentate—personal gain and the enrichment of cronies. In an environment defined by political instability, corruption, absence of popular discontent, and ethnic strife, there were thirty-eight authoritarian political regimes in Tropical Africa in the late 1980s. In the early 1990s, Africa witnessed the beginnings of democratic change, and by the turn of the century, a wealth of multiparty elections had been held in forty-five countries. The end of the Cold War gave a significant boost to this development—it became possible for foreign investors to pressure African governments to liberalize the economy. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Africa can be most fittingly described by the word “change” associated with two basic notions: abolition of authoritarian single-party systems (including the horrible apartheid system in South Africa) and getting on course to a free market economy.

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**See also Dictatorships; Elections; Totalitarianism**

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## AWAMI LEAGUE

The Awami League played a leading role in the creation of Bangladesh (formerly East Bengal). It is one of the oldest and most significant political parties in Bangladesh. The origins of the Awami League can be traced to Maulana Adbul Hamid Khan Bhashani, who founded the Awami Muslim League at a convention of workers in Narayanganj, East Bengal, on June 23, 1949. The word "Muslim" was dropped in 1955 to make the party sound more secular. Throughout its long history, the Awami League drew its base of support from the working class of East Bengal—workers, peasants and students.

The rise of the Awami Muslim League is owed to the decline of the Muslim League in East Bengal as frustrated and disenfranchised younger members of the Muslim League sought to break away and establish a democratic state. The Awami Muslim League outmaneuvered the larger Muslim League to become the main opposition party in East Bengal. Building its platform on opposition to Pakistan's intensive policy of cultural assimilation in East Bengal, the Awami Muslim League adopted a wide-ranging platform emphasizing provincial autonomy, recognition of Bangla as a state language of Pakistan, democracy, a parliamentary system of government, and a welfare-oriented economy. The Awami League became the first opposition party in Pakistan in 1954 when it formed a coalition with other opposition parties to unseat the ruling Muslim League.

Starting in the late 1950s, the Awami League was at the forefront of the Bengali autonomy movement. During the rule of General Ayub (1958–1969), the Awami League established its credentials of Bengali interests through its introduction of the Six-Point

Program of the Awami League in 1966. *The Six-Point Program* called for a federal parliamentary system with universal adult franchise, all powers in the federating units except foreign relations and defense, separate currencies for East and West Pakistan, the right of federating units to levy taxes and duties, the right of federating units to negotiate trade and commerce with foreign countries, and the establishment of militia forces for self-defense.

In 1970, the Awami League won 160 out of the 162 allotted territorial seats in East Pakistan's central legislature. They then won 288 out of 300 seats in East Pakistan's Provincial Assembly. As a consequence of their overwhelming victories, the Awami League emerged as the majority party in the Pakistan National Assembly. Instead of allowing the Awami League to form a government, the military intervened—shooting unarmed Bengali protesters in Dhaka and other cities in East Pakistan. The Awami League responded by calling for a noncooperation movement in East Pakistan from March 2, 1971, onward. This led to a short war of liberation. A government-in-exile was formed by leaders of the Awami League until December 16, 1971, when Pakistan ceded Bangladesh's independence.

Following Bangladesh's independence, the Awami League helped frame the Bangladesh constitution in 1992 and then hold Bangladesh's first-ever general elections. Even though the Awami League won a comprehensive victory in the 1973 elections, this did not prevent the abolition of the Awami League in January 1975 through the declaration of a state of emergency and the formation of the Krishak Shamik Awami League (BAKSAL).

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**See also** Bangladesh

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## AYUB KHAN, MUHAMMAD

Muhammad Ayub Khan (1907–1969), military leader and president (1958–1969) of Pakistan, was born on May 14, 1907, in the Hazara Division village of

Rehana, near Hripur. His father, Mir Dad Khan, was a Risaldar Major in Hodson's Horse. Ayub Khan first joined a school in Sarai Saleh, which was four miles away from Rehana, and later he was transferred to a school in Haripur. In 1922, Ayub passed the matriculation examination and was sent to Aligarh University for higher education. In 1926, before taking the B.A. examination, he was selected for the Royal Military College in Sandhurst and sailed for England. Ayub's performance in Sandhurst was excellent, earning him several awards and scholarships. He was commissioned in the British Indian army in 1928 and saw active service as a battalion commander, first as a major and then as colonel during World War II.

After the creation of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, Ayub Khan was brigadier, the most senior Muslim officer in British India, and assigned to assist General Pete Rees in the Punjab Boundary Force. In January 1948, Ayub was posted as general commanding officer of the 14th Division in East Bengal (East Pakistan, now called Bangladesh). In 1950, he was posted as adjutant-general in the GHQ at Rawalpindi. In 1951, he was appointed as the first commander in chief of the Pakistan Army, and within a short time, he had created and organized an effective army on professional lines. He was inducted into the federal cabinet led by Muhammad Ali Bogra and served as Defense Minister between 1954 and 1956. As commander-in-chief and defense minister, Ayub Khan played a vital role in joining the United States-sponsored military alliances SEATO and CENTO in 1954–1955. On October 7, 1958, President Iskander Mirza, with the help of Ayub Khan, enforced the first Martial Law in Pakistan and designated Ayub Khan as the chief martial law administrator. However, Ayub Khan snatched away all the powers of Iskander Mirza, imposed martial law on October 27, 1958, and assumed charge as the president of Pakistan, in addition to his role as chief martial law administrator. In 1959, Ayub government signed a bilateral defense agreement of cooperation with the United States, and in this way, Pakistan was regarded as the United States' most allied ally in Asia. Ayub's military coup abrogated the constitution, dismissed the cabinet, banned the political parties, canceled the election scheduled, and usurped the office of president. However, his military takeover was welcomed by most of the people in Pakistan because they were sick and tired of the political instability in the country. He crushed corruption and took steps to overcome several social problems of the country, and all these steps enhanced his popularity among the masses.

In 1961, Ayub Khan appointed a constitutional commission headed by Justice Shahabuddin. The commission presented a report on May 6, 1961.

After examination, it was given the shape of a constitution. On June 8, 1962, the new constitution was introduced. It declared Pakistan as an Islamic republic but with a presidential form of government and basic democratic principles. The president's powers, however, were great and included the ability to override decisions made by parliament. Bengali and Urdu were declared official languages, and the country was divided into two provinces: East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (now the entirety of Pakistan).

Ayub Khan remained president under the new setup, and martial law was lifted from Pakistan. Presidential elections were held in 1965, and a combined opposition party nominated Fatima Jinnah (sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan) as their candidate in the election, but Ayub Khan managed to sweep the polls. After the election, he inaugurated a system of "basic democracies," tiers of local government councils that also served as electoral colleges.

In 1963, Ayub Khan's government signed the historic Boundary Agreement with China that demarcated the northern border between Pakistan and China. This period was known as the Green Revolution, marked by industrialization and modernization. Pakistan enjoyed about three decades of unprecedented growth, at around 5.6%. Ayub Khan's policies encouraged the private sector, leading to medium- and small-scale industries being established in Pakistan. In his time, Pakistan was a model of development for the emerging nation-states for its rapid economic growth. He launched vigorous reforms such as education, administrative communication, labor, banking, and agricultural and energy reforms. He was the first Pakistani ruler who attempted to bring in land reforms, but the idea was not implemented properly. Ayub Khan also initiated family laws and changed the capital from Karachi to Islamabad in 1962. In 1965, Ayub led the nation in a war with India, and the conflict was ended by the Tashkent Declaration in 1966. The war ended in the rapid decline of the country's economy. All opposition parties criticized Ayub Khan's role during the Tashkent Declaration in 1966 and considered that he had converted a victory on the battlefield to a defeat at the negotiation table.

Ayub's right-hand man, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, turned against him and inaugurated a party, the Pakistan People's Party, with the aim of removing him from power. The Awami League under Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman started challenging his rule as pro-West Pakistan and claimed that his policies had snatched away the rights of Bengalis. The political parties formed an alliance, the Democratic Action

Committee, for removal of Ayub Khan's government. Thus, continuing economic and social inequalities, concentration of power, restriction on press, imposition of a state of emergency, corruption, and ban on civil liberties resulted in chronic political instability in Pakistan, alienated the representative elites, denuded the government institutions of legitimacy, and led to periodic outbreaks of violence to overthrow the government. By the end of 1968, the public resentment against Ayub's regime was at its peak when all classes turned against him, including students, teachers, lawyers, doctors, labor, and engineers. Law and order broke down, and Ayub was left with no other option but to step down. Early in 1969, Ayub Khan announced that he would not seek reelection in 1970, but unrest continued, and on March 25, 1969, he resigned and handed over power to the commander in chief of the Pakistan Army, General Muhammad Yahya Khan, instead of speaker of national assembly.

HUSAIN KASSIM

**See also Indian–Pakistani Wars; Pakistan**

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## AZERBAIJAN

Azerbaijan is a part of the geographic region situated on the southern side of the Caucasus Mountains, which stretch from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea, marking the divide between Europe and Asia. Throughout its history, the country has been the arena of the clashing influences of neighboring empires, Iran and Turkey, and later of Russia, which conquered the South Caucasus in the early nineteenth century. Of the three South Caucasian states of the present day, Azerbaijan is larger than Georgia and Armenia, in population and territory.

The country occupies an area of 86,600 sq. km, roughly equal to the size of Portugal. On the north, Azerbaijan is bordered by the Russian Federation,

while on its northwestern and western borders sit Georgia and Armenia. To the south, Azerbaijan shares a border with Iran. The small autonomous unit of Nakhichevan (approximately 5,500 sq. km) is geographically separated from the rest of Azerbaijan by a strip of Armenian territory, Zangezur. Another autonomous area is Nagorno (Mountainous) Karabagh, covering 4,403 sq. km and populated predominantly by Armenians.

Nearly half of Azerbaijan's territory is covered by mountains. About a fifth of the land is cultivated, and agriculture has always been the largest source of employment. A special feature of Azerbaijan's geographic setting, not shared by either Georgia or Armenia, is the Caspian Sea, the world's largest inland body of water and approximately the size of California. Serving for centuries as the main transportation link between the regions of southern Russia, Iran, and Central Asia, the Caspian Sea stimulated trade along its coastlines. The greatest of the mediaeval trading routes, the Silk Road, linking China with Europe, passed along the southern Caspian coast. This sea provides the habitat to most of the world's sturgeon and is the supplier of black caviar. Above all, the Caspian, off the shores of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, is a source of hydrocarbons. The population of Azerbaijan consists, overwhelmingly, of Turkic-speaking Azeris, some 90% of the total of 7.7 million. By religious background, they are predominantly Shi'ite Muslims, with a Sunni minority.

As in many non-European regions of the former USSR, Azerbaijan's population is young, with one-third younger than fourteen years of age. The growth rate has been slowing in the post-Soviet period, falling from 20.2 to 10.1 per 1,000 in 1996. The latter figure reflects not only a declining birth rate but also emigration from the republic. Likewise, life expectancy is down from 70.9 years in 1960 to 63.08 in 1999, a combined effect of the Karabagh conflict and of deteriorating health services. The urban population amounts to 54%. Apart from Baku, with its nearly 2 million inhabitants, other large cities are Ganja (300,000), Sumgait (270,000), Mingachaur (97,000), and Ali Bayramli (70,000).

Of all the changes that came to Azerbaijan under the two centuries of rule by Russia, the most imposing has been the rise of Baku, the largest city of the country, situated on the Apsheron Peninsula. Almost a quarter of Azerbaijan's inhabitants and about half of its urban population live in this metropolitan area. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Baku turned into a quintessential boom city with the highest rate of population growth in the Russian Empire. In 1918, Baku became the capital of the independent republic of Azerbaijan, which lasted until April 28,

1920, when the city was seized by the Red Army. During the Soviet period, the Caspian oil fueled the Soviet Union's five-year plan of the 1930s, as well as the defense effort in World War II. In the postwar years, despite the decline of Azerbaijan's oil industry, Baku maintained the momentum of its urban growth. In the closing years of the Soviet regime, the city was the birthplace of the Peoples Front of Azerbaijan, the focal point of the general strike (September 1989), and the scene of bloody riots against the Armenian residents, the January Days of 1990. The issue of Nagorno-Karabagh became the axis of the political life for Azerbaijan. The reverses suffered by the Azeri forces led to the downfall of the ex-Communist regime of Ayaz Mutalibov in 1992, and his replacement by the first democratically elected president of the republic, Abulfaz Elchibey, who was overthrown the next year by a military coup. The power returned to the former Communist leader Haidar Aliyev. His rule, which lasted until 2003, was marked by a hard-handed internal policy, although it was tolerant of the opposition parties. They could participate in elections that were invariably described as fraudulent. In the economic sphere, the Aliyev regime confirmed the onset of the second oil boom by the conclusion in 1994 of the "Contract of the Century" for exports to Western markets. The crucial problem of transportation would be solved by constructing the pipeline from Baku to Turkey's Mediterranean port of Ceyhan. Baku, the major Caspian region's trade center also is becoming the main hub for the transportation corridor known as the New Silk Road between the Far East and Europe.

The Karabagh fighting was stopped with the ceasefire agreement of 1994, although a peace treaty was never reached. The most painful effect of the conflict, the refugee problem, has remained unsolved. Approximately one in ten of the inhabitants of Azerbaijan is a refugee or a displaced person. They are the poorest group in the country, suffering from an unemployment rate of nearly 80%. Their presence in various areas has created a range of local difficulties, especially with regard to the employment condition, education systems, and health services. The government provides only limited assistance to the refugees, who rely on donations from foreign countries and aid from international organizations. The volume of this assistance has been diminishing, due to what is termed "donor fatigue." Although there is no vision of how to deal with the problem of the refugees, it is generally assumed that their number is too large to be absorbed by the Azerbaijani society. Most of them express the wish to return home as soon as peace is achieved. Typically, for the oil-producing countries, this natural wealth does not create jobs

when the abundance of cash leads to the decline of native industries, which are unable to compete with foreign products.

With the new oil boom, Azerbaijan has experienced massive labor migration, consisting largely of refugees and peasants. Most of these migrants moved to Russia, mainly to Moscow, others to Turkey and Iran. The estimates of Azeri immigrants, many of them temporary residents in Russia, reach more than one million, and their remittances exceed the oil income. Thus, despite the pro-Western foreign policy orientation, the links with Russia have grown stronger.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Commonwealth of Independent States**

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### AZIKIWE, BENJAMIN NNAMDI

First President of the independent Nigeria, proclaimed "Nigerian of the Century" and often compared with such African leaders as his disciple Kwame Nkrumah and Nelson Mandela, Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904–1996) was a master politician, unparalleled orator, poet, statesman, and politician.

Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe was born on November 16, 1904, in Zunguru, Northern Nigeria, to Onitsha

Ibo parents but later lived with his grandparents in Onitsha. Azikiwe Jr. denied using his anglicized first name after his father was fired by the British administration.

After finishing studies at the Wesleyan Boys High School in Lagos, he attended the Hope Waddell Training Institute in Calabar, where he was captivated by the writings of Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois, which shaped his vision. In 1925, at the age of twenty-one, Azikiwe enrolled at Storer College, Harpers Ferry, W. Va., where he acquired the largely known nickname "Zik." Struggling with poverty and racial prejudices of earlier twentieth-century America and homesick for Africa, Azikiwe completed his B.A. degree in political science at Lincoln University (1927), later completed his M.A., obtained a certificate in journalism from Columbia University, and finally, in 1934, he earned a M.Sc. with honors in anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania. Invited by Professor Bronislaw Malinowski to start doctoral studies at the University of London, he declined and returned to Africa.

Initially, with a journalistic job in Accra, he ultimately returned back to Nigeria in 1937. In his early thirties, he contributed to the nationalist movement while working in journalism, commerce, and politics. In 1945, he led a general strike and soon after was elected president of the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons, a political party reuniting pro-independence groups that emerged during World War II.

After a long period in opposition in the Western House of Assembly, in 1954–1959, Azikiwe became the first prime minister of Eastern Nigeria, one of the

then colony's three regions. During his term, adult suffrage, a wide program of economic and social development, and administrative reorganization were introduced. His coalition won the 1959 elections, and, in 1960, he was appointed to the honorary office of governor-general. In 1963, he became the first president of the Republic of Nigeria, serving until deposed by a military coup in 1966. He worked abroad for Biafran secession but advocated reunification when the revolt faded. After returning to Nigeria in 1972, he became chancellor of Lagos University. He ran unsuccessfully for president in 1979 and 1983.

Zik retired back to his home at Nsukka, where he founded the University of Nigeria and lived in peace until his death on May 11, 1996. He was survived by his second wife, Dr. Uche Azikiwe, an esteemed educator.

STEPHAN E. NIKOLOV

**See also Biafra: Ethnic Conflicts; West Africa; Nigeria; Pan-Africanism; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## **BA'ATH PARTY**

Originally founded in 1942 as the Arab Revival Movement (*Harakat al-Ihyatu al-Arabi*) by two Syrian teachers, Michel Aflaq and Salah Bitar, in 1953, it joined with Akram Hawrani's (Syrian) Socialist Party and became known as the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party (*Hizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabi al-Ishtiraki*). The Constitution of the party, first articulated in 1947, outlined its ideological foundations: a commitment to a unified Arab nation; a socialist economic system to allow for the state to distribute the national wealth as equitably as possible; sovereignty of the people; and a revolutionary, rather than evolutionary, means of achieving these ends. The party is very much a secular Arab nationalist movement, given the Constitutional references to the sovereignty of the people and the respect for freedom of belief, as well as the fact that Aflaq was himself an Orthodox Christian. The main tenets of the Ba'athist philosophy are summed up in its slogan of "unity, freedom, and socialism" (*wahda, hurriya, wa ishtirakiyya*). Freedom in the Ba'athist context means political and economic freedom from Western colonialism.

The Ba'ath Party's pan-Arab outlook was matched by action in its early years and, by the mid-1950s, the party was established with branches in most Arab states. The basic element of the party structure within each country was the cell (*khalwah*), which contributed members to the regional (*qutri*) congress in each country, which then sent representatives to the pan-Arab (*qawmi*) congress, which, in turn, elected the party's pan-Arab leadership executive. The party

emerged in Jordan under the leadership of Abdullah al-Rimawi, and was a strong element of the parliamentary opposition following the 1956 elections. Its influence waned following al-Rimawi's 1959 expulsion from the party and the 1967 Arab defeat. In Lebanon the party was established in 1949. Although it operated openly without government approval until 1958, the pro-Syrian branch of the party has enjoyed a degree of political success since the emergence of Syrian hegemony in Lebanon. North and South Yemeni branches of the party were active from the mid-1950s until their abolition or absorption in the mid-1970s.

It was in both Syria and Iraq, however, that the party was strongest and could entertain notions of governing. In Iraq the party first took power in February 1963, following a crisis brought about after a general students' strike that resulted in the demise of the Qasim government. The Ba'ath-dominated government only lasted nine months, however, before the non-Ba'athist president, 'Abd as-Salam 'Arif, ousted the party in a coup. The Ba'athists regained control by another coup in June 1968. In Syria, the party came to power following the coup of March 1963, in which it participated in a National Council of the Revolutionary Command prior to its members dominating the government. In October 1970, Hafiz Assad overthrew President Salah Jadid in a bloodless coup and was subsequently elected president in a national plebiscite.

The Ba'ath Party's attempts at fulfilling both the pan-Arab and revolutionary socialist elements of its Constitution have been marked by the triumph of



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rhetoric over any coherent political program to institute its ideology. For much of the party's early existence, Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who viewed himself as the leader of Arab nationalism, and Egypt as the vanguard of the Arab nationalist movement, overshadowed the Ba'ath's pan-Arab stance. This was illustrated during the 1958 union between Syria and Egypt that created the United Arab Republic (UAR), which saw the dissolution of all Syrian political parties (including the Ba'ath), although this was reversed upon the dissolution of the UAR in 1961. The high point of Ba'athist pan-Arabism occurred in 1963 when there were talks held regarding the unification of Syria and Iraq, following the Ba'ath's accession to power in Syria in 1963. This was the last time that the Ba'ath Party made any type of move toward formal Arab unification. Indeed, the Ba'ath Party itself has not been able to maintain its own unity, and it has split on a number of occasions, largely over ideological issues. The most significant break came in 1966 when Michel Aflaq took a splinter group of Ba'athists to Lebanon, before moving to Iraq following the Ba'athist coup there in 1968. This split in the party was reflected in relations between the Iraqi and Syrian Ba'athists, each of whom saw themselves as the leaders of the Arab nationalist movement that the Ba'ath Party claimed to represent.

Revolutionary socialism in the economic sphere has also been mixed under Ba'athist rule. There were some attempts at land reform in both Iraq and Syria, although much of the land that was appropriated from the large landowners or belonged to the state has been given to clients of the two regimes. There has been no real move toward the collectivisation of agriculture that the party's 1963 Congress had called for. In Syria, most major industries such as oil, electricity, and banking were controlled by the state, although the retail sector was privately run, and private banks are now allowed to operate. Iraq had for years followed an economic model in line with its Ba'athist socialist ideology, and its oil revenues allowed the government to merely redistribute wealth through subsidisation and government economic activity. Iraq nationalised the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1972. The cost of the Iran–Iraq war, however, forced it to economically modernise, and this began a move toward privatising some industries from the 1980s. Although some land reform was carried out, by the mid-1970s, three percent of the landowners owned a third of the agricultural land, showing the degree to which patronage still influenced landownership. Although the state was still active in the agriculture sector, it was forced to privatise state-owned farms in 1990 because of inefficiencies leading to food shortages.

In both Syria and Iraq, the party's secular outlook and cellular structure encouraged the advancement of people based on political connection or ethnic loyalty. In Syria, for instance, this allowed for the political advancement of the 'Alawi, an offshoot of Shi'a Islam concentrated around the port of Latakia, to dominate the upper echelons of the Syrian military, as well as the Syrian Ba'ath party. In Iraq it was the Sunni Muslims who dominated the Ba'ath and, under the rule of Saddam Hussein, his clan based around Tikrit came to dominate the government. In both countries, membership of the Ba'ath Party came to represent little more than a prerequisite for political advancement and economic gain, rather than a commitment to an Arab socialist ideology.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Socialism**

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## BAGHDAD PACT

Following World War II, British and American policy makers sought to maintain Western power and diminish Soviet influence in the Middle East, as well as to keep oil reserves from Soviet control. Anglo-American efforts centered on strengthening diplomatic and economic ties to friendly regimes such as Turkey, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, and using regional resources to support a military presence against the Soviets. At the same time, governments of the Middle East looked to the West for investment, markets, technology, and expertise to develop their own economies, strengthen their militaries, and increase their own regional influence.

In May 1953, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made an extended visit to the Middle East to assess the possibilities for a "Northern Tier" regional military pact composed of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Iraq. On February 24, 1955, the Prime Ministers of Turkey and Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact, and Iran

and Pakistan, along with Britain, joined the Pact in the same year.

In 1958, a revolution in Iraq overthrew the monarchy of Faisal II, and the pro-British Nuri al-Said, and Iraq withdrew from the Pact. The remaining members changed the name to the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), which then served as the link between NATO and the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), to connect twenty-one states in military alliances against the Soviet Union. In 1964, Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan established an economic wing of CENTO, called the Regional Cooperation for Development, with the purpose of expanding efforts to support industrialization, trade, and investment by expanding economic ties between the three countries. However, while trade with the UK and US expanded about ten-fold for Pakistan and more than twice that for Iran and Turkey, trade between the countries remained limited due largely to the fact that all three were exporters of agricultural commodities, textiles, and raw materials.

From the beginning, American planners conceived of the Baghdad Pact/CENTO as a means to defend against Soviet and communist encroachment, which led to a two-part strategy of military buildup against external threats and domestic economic development against internal threats. Through integrated command structures, coordinated military maneuvers, and training of officers, CENTO worked to update, upgrade, and coordinate the militaries of Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan. Economic aid and cultural programs spread American influence in the Middle East and South Asia. Another function of CENTO, in terms of development, was a series of conferences, held throughout the 1960s and 1970s, which brought together experts from the various member states to present technical findings on topics ranging from management problems in marketing, distribution, and use of fertilizers; to public health and drug addiction; to central banking, monetary policy, and economic development. Through these conferences, scholars, businessmen, state regulators, union officials, engineers, scientists, and others were exposed to American and British managerial and scientific approaches, and had the opportunity to compare experiences with implementing new techniques in their own countries. The conferences lasted through the 1970s.

Following the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the government of the Islamic Republic denounced CENTO as an instrument of Western imperialism. Faced with the withdrawal of Iran, the remaining members decided to dissolve the organization on September 26, 1979.

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## BAHAMAS

The Commonwealth of the Bahamas is located to the east and southeast of Florida in the Caribbean Sea. It is an archipelago consisting of hundreds of islands, of which about thirty are inhabited. Originally inhabited by the Arawak Indians who controlled many of the islands in the Caribbean, the Bahamas was the first land found by Christopher Columbus on his 1492 voyage. This “discovery” led to more than 130 years of Spanish rule in the Bahamas and the enslavement and export of the native population, before the islands were formally annexed by Great Britain in 1629.

British rule in the Bahamas during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was undermined by the presence of pirates in the region; however, by the 1720s, the islands were relatively secure. The population by that time was primarily of English and African origin, the latter of whom were slaves. The American Revolution brought about political change in the islands, and they became a Crown Colony in 1783; the revolution had brought about the migration of many Royalists from the US states to the Bahamas. Between 1783 and 1788, the population of the islands tripled as King George III granted settlers free land if they would move there.

The economy of the Bahamas was based primarily on growing and exporting cotton, but the increase in population to islands that could not produce enough food to support the population led to shortages and other problems. These were compounded by crop failures in 1788 and 1789, and cotton production remained low well into the 1800s.

Slavery continued to be practiced in the Bahamas even after Great Britain ended its own slave trade in 1807. Efforts had been made by some abolitionists to either eliminate the practice or moderate slavery; this was of concern to the white minority, which controlled the islands, since they made up only about

## BAHAMAS

one-fourth of the population there. By the 1820s it became illegal to separate the members of slave families. The British government worked to emancipate the slaves in its colonies by compensating the owners for their release, and by 1838, all slaves in the Bahamas had been freed.

The Bahamas were used as a base for blockade-running to the southern states in the US Civil War (1860–1865), but the end of that war left the islands with little industry or trade. The thin soil could not support extensive agriculture, and while the climate of the Bahamas is nearly ideal for many crops, the relatively small amount of arable land (and competition from the larger colonies like Jamaica) led to the neglect of the islands. One crop that was profitable in the late 1800s was the hemplike plant called sisal; with the disruption of hemp exports brought about by the Spanish–American War, Bahamian sisal exports were in high demand.

The next phase of economic development in the Bahamas began with World War I in 1914, as the Bahamas were once again seen as a source of the manpower needed to fight the war. More significant was the US decision, in 1919, to prohibit the sale or importation of liquor; Prohibition again made the Bahamas a major source for smuggling into the United States. The revenue collected on liquor destined for the States, plus the profits on that smuggling, brought prosperity to the Bahamas once more. The repeal of Prohibition, combined with the Depression that had already begun in the United States, put the islands back into economic difficulties.

Attempts at developing the tourist trade were interrupted by World War II, but the war brought some economic relief to the islands because Great Britain had agreed to permit the US Navy the use of a portion of Exuma Island under the Lend-Lease Act. While this effectively took land away from Bahamians, the construction of the base there did employ many islanders.

The end of World War II did not bring the economic slump that had happened after the previous war, and instead the tourist industry began to prosper. Particularly since the 1960s, the islands have seen a steady increase in visitors, and port improvements in Nassau and Freeport have facilitated this.

Also in the 1960s, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas started to become more integrated into regional economic issues. In 1968, the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) was established, and although the Bahamas was not a member at that time, it did pursue membership and eventually joined the group, which was renamed the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) in 1983. The Bahamas had gained their independence from Great

Britain in 1973 and were therefore able to fully control their political and economic policies.

In the early twenty-first century, economic endeavors in the Bahamas are centered around offshore banking and commerce; industrial production is largely intended for domestic use. Some export of seafood products and rum also takes place, but the Bahamas are predominantly a net importer of food and beverages.

The economy of the Bahamas is tied to that of the United States both by geography and by policy. The geographic proximity of the Bahamas to Florida, less than one hundred kilometers away, makes travel by boat, ocean liner, or airplane convenient. The Bahamian dollar is exchanged equally with the US dollar, which means that the Bahamas benefit from policies the United States established to encourage trade. The Bahamas are a center for international banking, and since the government has no personal or corporate tax, many corporations establish their headquarters there. Concerns over illegal money-laundering activities have led to more regulation on financial activities, and this has reduced the amount of investment there.

As has been the case since the days of the American Revolution, the Bahamas continue to be a base for smuggling in the modern world. However, rather than the weapons and supplies brought into the United States in those days or during the US Civil War, or the liquor brought in during the US period of Prohibition, the new commodities are marijuana and cocaine.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Caribbean**

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## BAHRAIN

Bahrain, meaning “two seas,” is one of the smallest countries in the Middle East, with a total land area of

620 square kilometers. Bahrain is an archipelago of about thirty-five islands, six of which are inhabited. Al-Bahrain—the main island and the location of the capital, Manama—is also the country's namesake. Situated in the Persian Gulf, the emirate is fifteen miles between the Saudi Arabian coast and Qatari peninsula. Its total land mass is one-fifth the size of Rhode Island. The main island has a coastline of 161 kilometers and is connected by a twenty-five-kilometer causeway with Saudi Arabia.

Despite its small territory, Bahrain has a great strategic importance. It is eight minutes' flying time from Iran and thirty minutes' flying time from Iraq. Its location near Iran and Iraq, and the main shipping channels to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, make Bahrain an important player in the collective security efforts in the Persian Gulf. Bahrain's proximity to Iran and Iraq and its vulnerability to air attack and naval infiltration require it to maintain a delicate balancing act in foreign affairs among its larger neighbors. Bahrain and the United States cooperated closely as allies during the first Gulf War, and reached a ten-year bilateral security agreement after the war ended. Today, more than two thousand US military personnel are stationed in Bahrain, and it is the headquarters for the new US 5th Fleet.

Bahrain's climate is hot and humid most of the year, with daytime temperatures regularly topping 100°F. Oil and gas are the country's only natural resources, and they are expected to last only fifteen and fifty years, respectively. Facing declining oil reserves, Bahrain has turned to petroleum processing and refining and has transformed itself into an international banking center. Pearling, which had been a traditional industry, has all but ceased to operate.

All of the approximately 678,000 Bahrainis are Muslims. Bahrain is the only Gulf state where the native population—descendants from the Arabian Peninsula and Iran—outnumbers immigrant residents. The resident aliens, nearly one-third of the people, are mostly non-Arab Asians from India, Iran, and Pakistan. Shi'ite Muslims are thought to slightly outnumber Sunnis in Bahrain, causing much concern for the ruling al-Khalif family who are Sunnis. Although Arabic is the official language, Persian is often spoken among the Iranian-descended Bahrainis. By Gulf standards, Bahrain has a sophisticated population, noted for its intellectual tradition and articulate labor force.

Bahrain's history dates back as far as 2400 BCE, but its modern history begins in the early 1500s with a series of Persian, Portuguese, and Turkish struggles to control the main island that helped make Bahrain a major military and trading center. Between 1507 and 1602, Bahrain was under Portuguese occupation. In

1602, the Portuguese were expelled and Bahrain found itself under the rule of Iran, which lasted until 1783. In that year Arab tribes from the mainland conquered the island, and since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalif family of the Utub tribe. The Utub tribe had migrated into the region from southern Arabia during the seventeenth century. Before long, however, these Arab rulers fell in the path of Britain, which from 1820 onward established hegemony over the Persian Gulf area. The British extended their domination of Bahrain through a series of treaties. These treaties represented a bilateral arrangement between the British and the sheikhs of Bahrain. Britain acted, however, to keep Bahrain from Turkish and Iranian control, and to secure the approaches to India. New administrative arrangements made Bahrain part of the British Trucial states in 1868, and al-Khalif signed treaties with Britain in 1880 and 1892 that further strengthened this relationship and established a British political resident and agent.

Beginning with World War I, Bahrain began to play an increasingly strategic role in the British hegemony over the Persian Gulf. It served as an assembly point for the British expeditionary force (mostly from India), which was to wage a campaign in Mesopotamia. In 1966, Britain moved to Bahrain the military base that had been headquartered in Aden. On August 14, 1970, Bahrain achieved independence by putting an end to the previous treaty arrangements with Great Britain. On the same day a new treaty of friendship between the two countries was concluded. This date marked the end of a long era of dependent status.

Achievement of independence by Bahrain was preceded by diplomatic moves that involved international complications. The most important of these was the claim of Iran to sovereignty over the island. Iran's claim was based on an historical connection with Bahrain that dated back to Achaemenian times. Moreover, Iran maintained that in reality most of the Bahraini population was of Iranian stock, even if they were linguistically Arabized. In 1970, to resolve what promised to develop into a major international complication, the United Nations undertook a mission to ascertain the wishes of the Bahraini population in regard to their future. Upon completion of its mission, the United Nations declared, in the spring of 1970, that the board consensus in Bahrain was to become independent rather than to be joined with Iran. In May 1970, the Iranian government accepted these findings and abandoned its claim to Bahrain on the condition that an independent Bahrain government would not enter into any alliances, unions, or federation.

Bahrain is officially a constitutional monarchy under the dynastic rule of the al-Khalif family. As of

the early 2000s, the al-Khalif family continues to dominate the government, holding all key cabinet positions. The Prime Minister nominates all forty members of the Majlis Al-Shura (Consultative Council), which comments on bills but has no legislative authority. However, in 1999, Crown Prince Sheikh Salman Bin Hamad Bin Isa Al-khalif, who succeeded his father, pushed through economic and political reforms and has worked to improve relations with the Shi'a community. He announced a new national charter, which will see the Majlis Al-Shura replaced by a national assembly elected by universal suffrage. In October 2002, Bahrainis elected members of the lower house of Bahrain's reconstituted bicameral legislature, the National Assembly. Local elections were held for the first time in 2004.

The major challenge for the government of Bahrain is to create employment opportunities for its young population—38.9% of Bahrainis are under fifteen years old. Unemployment has been exacerbated by the rise in the number of expatriates who now make up more than 40% of the population.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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### BALFOUR DECLARATION

During World War I the Allies proposed that the post-war world be organized on the basis of nation-states. "Self-determination of nations" was a cardinal notion in US President Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points for the post-war world. Since the great European powers were all either multinational countries or holders of multinational empires, the idea of using the minority nations of one's enemies

was adopted as a tool in the conflict. The British and French backed the formation of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The British stirred up an Arab revolt against the Turks. Germany backed the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Ireland. One aspect of this policy was the British project to support a Jewish homeland in Palestine in order to win over the sympathy of the Jews of the Central Powers for the Allied cause.

The idea of the return of the Jews to Palestine was not new. Napoleon had envisioned the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land, as had the Russian Decembrist Pavel Pestel. Among the English who advocated the return of Jews to Palestine were Sir Henry Finch in 1621, Lord Lindsay, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Palmerston, Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Manchester, George Eliot in her novel *Daniel Deronda*, Holman Hunt, Sir Charles Warren, Hall Caine, and others. Lord Shaftesbury, one of the most active spokespersons for a Jewish homeland, called Palestine "a land without a people for a people without a land." Later this became the slogan of Zionism. Moreover, the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land has been a longstanding concept in British Protestant theology. Some theologians believed that the reestablishment of ancient Israel with the modern Jews was a necessary prerequisite for the Second Coming of Christ.

The idea of a Jewish nation-state in their Biblical homeland was the basic goal of the Zionist movement. However, the plan stirred controversy. Were the Jews a nation or a religion? Since the basis of modern European nationalism was linked primarily to language and religion, most nationalists viewed Jews as aliens in their states. Furthermore, despite the Diaspora of the Jews in Roman times, Palestine had retained a sizeable Jewish population, and the Jewish Passover prayer, "Next year in Jerusalem!" had been passed down from generation to generation through the ages. On the other hand, Palestine had a significant non-Jewish Arab population, both Moslem and Christian, and, furthermore, represented religious values for all three faiths.

The modern Zionist movement crystallized in 1896, when the Viennese Jewish journalist Theodore Herzl, witnessing the anti-Semitism surrounding the Dreyfus affair in France, launched the project to establish a Jewish homeland. Working with wealthy European Jews, Herzl began to purchase land there from the Ottoman government and promote the emigration of Jews from Europe.

The Russian-born Zionist Chaim Weizmann (later the first president of Israel) settled in London in 1904 and began to work for British support of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In 1906, he met Lord Balfour, who was sympathetic to the idea but urged Weizmann

to consider Africa rather than the Middle East (an idea the Zionists had considered earlier but rejected). Weizmann also gained the sympathy of others, including Charles P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*; and Mark Sykes, who later signed the Sykes–Picot agreement with France (see further below). The chemist Weizmann’s influence increased during World War I because of the aid he gave to the war effort. Weizmann drafted a plan for a Jewish homeland. There was also a rumor that Germany was considering a similar plan.

During the war the British leaders discussed the idea with prominent English Jews. Julian Amery, an assistant secretary to the British War Cabinet whose mother was a Jew, promoted the plan and also helped create the Jewish legion, Palestinian Jews, who fought with the British in World War I. Lord Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, wrote a letter to Lord Rothschild, which stated:

His Majesty’s Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This statement is the Balfour declaration made public on November 2, 1917. At the same time, London and Paris had secretly agreed to divide the Ottoman territories between themselves after the war—the Sykes–Picot agreement. Consequently, the Jewish homeland envisioned was not to be an independent state but rather part of the British Empire. In a 1936 commentary by the Peel Commission investigating Arab–Jewish riots in Palestine, the Commission stated that not only Palestine but also Trans-Jordan was to be part of the Jewish homeland.

After the war, public opinion viewed imperialism and colonization as contrary to the democratic principles that the Allies had said they were fighting for. So the lands designated in the Sykes–Picot agreement were, in fact, given to Britain and France as League of Nations mandates rather than outright possessions as was the case with Alsace-Lorraine, for example. The British mandate also specifically referred to Palestine as the site of a Jewish homeland.

During the peace conference in Paris, Emir Faisal, representing the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, agreed to a Jewish homeland, along with an Arab independent state existing side by side. However, since no independent Arab state had been created, the Faisal agreement was not valid. Although the United States government did not sign the Paris Peace Treaties, the US Congress,

in 1922, unanimously approved the Balfour declaration with the Lodge–Fish resolution.

Some have argued that the declaration was intended not so much for the Jews of Central Europe but rather for the Jews of Russia and the United States—Britain’s allies—so as to gain support for London’s policies and war aims. Others believed that the proclamation gave Britain an excuse to renege on promises made to France and the Arabs. The project also bolstered the argument for a British protectorate over the area.

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**See also** Israel; Palestine; Palestinian Diaspora; Zionism

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## BALKAN WARS OF THE 1990s

After the First World War the victorious Allies created Yugoslavia by adding lands from the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire to the Kingdom of Serbia. The country suffered through its eighty-year existence amid national tensions derived from an essentially artificial construction. In World War II, the occupying Axis powers divided some of its territory among themselves and created the two puppet states of Croatia and Serbia. After the war Yugoslavia was reassembled under the rule of the Communist leader Josef Broz Tito. In 1949, Tito broke with the Soviet bloc and was able to remain in power as a neutral Communist leader. The force of his leadership and the use of dictatorial powers kept the fractious nationalities together. It was said that Yugoslavia had six republics, five nations, four languages, three religions, two alphabets, but only one Yugoslav—Tito.

In fact, Tito did reorganize the country into a federation of six republics—Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Macedonia. However, the question of nationalities is problematic. Clearly the Croatians, Serbs, Slovenians, and Macedonians are separate nations, as are the Bosniaks (Muslim Bosnians), and the Albanians of Kosovo. However, in addition to the autonomous Albanian region of Kosovo in Serbia, there was also an autonomous Hungarian region in the Banat. Whether the Montenegrins are Serbs or a separate nation is a matter of dispute.

Languages are also disputed. Slovenian and Macedonian are recognized as distinct languages, although for much of the post-war period, Bulgaria refused to recognize Macedonian as anything but a dialect of Bulgarian. Whether Serbo-Croatian is a single language or two languages is another question, and of course there is Albanian and Hungarian for those autonomous regions.

The three major religions are Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Islam, but there are both Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox patriarchs and both Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims. There are also Protestants and Jews who, although few in number, have had significant political influence.

Throughout the post-war period, tensions among the republics continued to exist, with the wealthier northern republics such as Croatia and Slovenia complaining that they were taxed to support the poorer southern republics of Macedonia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. Less expressed but present in the background there was still national discontent. Most virulent was the conflict between Orthodox Serbs and Roman Catholic Croatians that was based on religious and historical animosity. Croatians have always protested what they perceived as a second-class citizenship in the state since its foundation. Serbs remembered that the fascist Croatian state of World War II committed unbelievable atrocities against the Serb minority in its region. The hostility was exacerbated by the activity of Croatian exile groups abroad.

With the death of Tito in 1979, the national and republican tensions increased and finally erupted. The government tried to solve these problems by establishing a shared executive responsibility balanced by the various republics, including a rotating presidency. Furthermore, since its break with the Soviet bloc in 1948, Yugoslavia had enjoyed more freedoms than other Communist countries. Now political dissent became more open as well. In addition to the Serbian-Croatian conflict, a serious problem developed among the chiefly Muslim Albanians of Kosovo, who began to demand independent instead of autonomous status. Furthermore, fanned by the Muslim fundamentalist and revolutionary movement in the Middle East, Albanian radicals began attacking Serbs living in Kosovo.

The Croatian and Albanian conflicts led to the rise of the Serbian nationalist Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia. Moreover, Yugoslavia was the first of the Communist countries to change its system, and as nationalists won Republican elections in the 1980s, they moved to break away from the Yugoslav federation. In 1990, Croatia elected the nationalist Franjo Tudjman president, and when the federal council rejected the Croatian candidate for president,

Slovenia and Croatia withdrew from the federation on June 25, 1991. Slovenia put up border posts with Yugoslavia, and the federal government in Belgrade sent in the army, but after a few skirmishes they gave up and allowed Slovenia to go its own way.

The more serious break occurred with Croatia. Alija Izbegovic, the president of Bosnia, and Kiro Gligorov, the president of Macedonia, tried to find a way to keep the federation together, as they, along with Montenegro, derived the most benefit from sharing Slovenia's and Croatia's wealth. However, both were prepared to withdraw from the federation if the northern republics could not be persuaded to remain. In the Kraina region of Croatia, the Serbian minority resisted and declared the creation of the Republic of Kraina; the federal government moved in to protect them and add the region to Serbia. In August the Serbs occupied Vukovar.

At the end of May 1991, the European Community had offered Yugoslavia membership if it could resolve its problems peacefully, but fighting between the Serbs and Croatians continued until 1994 despite three cease-fires arranged by the United Nations and the presence of UN peace-keeping forces. As the Serbs got bogged down in Bosnia during the early 1990s, the Croatians drove the Serbs completely out of their republic. The United States, Great Britain, and France hoped that Yugoslavia would remain a single national entity, initially refusing to recognize the new governments. Germany, on the other hand, pressed for recognition of the independence of the republics.

Early in the fighting, Milosevic and Tudjman apparently agreed to divide up parts of Bosnia between them to handle population issues. This prompted the Muslim Izetbegovic to move toward independence for his republic. However, Bosnia had, in addition to its Muslim majority, significant Serbs and Croatians. In March 1992, Izetbegovic arranged for a plebiscite in which the Croatians and Bosniaks voted for independence while the Serbs boycotted the vote. On April 6, war in Bosnia erupted.

The Bosnian Serbs under Dr. Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, with the help of Serbs of the federal army, carried out a brutal war of resistance. Atrocities were committed on both sides, but the Serbs proved to be more efficient. Karadzic and Mladic adopted a policy of rape and murder to drive the Bosniaks out of Bosnia. Serbian soldiers herded men and teenage boys into concentration camps and gunned them down. They repeatedly violated Muslim women. The Serbs publicized all this to frighten the Muslims into fleeing the country—a policy called “ethnic cleansing.” World opinion made a comparison to the Jewish Holocaust of World War II, and Elie Wiesel, the noted Holocaust survivor, came to

Bosnia to witness and comment on the atrocities. However, while the Nazis murdered the Jews secretly, in an attempt to erase a population, the Serbs committed their atrocities in the open, in an attempt to drive the population away.

Bosniaks retaliated, shelling Serbian villages and neighborhoods. The capital, Sarajevo, was almost completely destroyed by the internecine warfare. Spurred on by Croatian propaganda, most of the world press blamed the Serbs, both those of Bosnia and the remnant Yugoslavia where Macedonia joined the republics that defected. However, the Croats had a Bosnian area they wished to claim as well, and warfare erupted between them and the Bosniaks in January 1993. Furthermore, Catholics from around the world began pilgrimages to Bosnia during the crisis to visit the shrine of the reputed appearance of the virgin at Medjugorje in 1981.

In April 1994, NATO planes began to enforce a no-fly zone ordered by the United Nations to keep Belgrade's air force from bombing Bosnian sights. Then, in January 1995, Washington, which had earlier negotiated peace between the Bosniaks and the Croats, arranged a cease-fire between the Bosniaks and the Serbs. However, by spring fighting erupted again in both Bosnia and Croatia. The Bosnian Serbs took more than three hundred UN soldier prisoners, but Belgrade helped bring about their release.

In July 1994, the Bosnian Serbs overran Srebrenica and Zepa—supposedly safe enclaves guaranteed by Washington. In August they bombarded a Sarajevo market, killing thirty-seven and wounding eighty-five. The United Nations imposed an arms embargo on the area and economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, both of which had little effect in stopping the war. They also sent humanitarian aid, and Red Cross officials came to Bosnia to arrange for the release of prisoners and monitor the refugee camps. In 1995, NATO and the United Nations intervened further and attacked the Serb positions. By that time 3.5 million refugees had been forced out of Bosnia. A Muslim-Croat force began to take some territories back, and US President Bill Clinton arranged for a cease-fire. Peace talks began in October at the Wright-Patterson air force base near Dayton, Ohio.

While keeping peace on the ground was difficult, diplomacy was able to make some progress. The diplomats worked out a solution based on religion, dividing Bosnia into a bi-state confederation with the Serbs on one hand and a federation of Croats and Bosniaks on the other. None of the areas were contiguous. In November the parties agreed to the peace plan. Tudjman signed for the Croats and Milosevic for the Serbs as Karadzic and Mladic agreed. Izbegovic signed for the Bosniaks. Many of

the refugees returned, but others remained abroad. The International Court of Justice at The Hague declared Karadovic and Mladic war criminals and hunted them down, but they eluded capture. The situation remained unstable and foreign troops mostly from the United States remained on hand to keep the peace. They were still there in 2005.

Without Bosnia as an option Milosevic planned to resettle the Serbs from Kraina in Kosovo. Although Kosovo was now overwhelmingly an Albanian province, it has significant historical meaning for the Serbs. It was here that the Ottoman Empire defeated the Serbs in 1389. Although the battle's significance has been enlarged over the centuries in Serbian historical mythology, it represents a turning point in the nation's history. The traditional date of June 28 was further emblazoned in the country's legends when on that date in 1914 the Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Austrian heir to the throne, Grand Duke Franz Ferdinand, in Sarajevo and started the events leading to World War I—the war that eventually led to the formation of Yugoslavia.

In September 1986, Belgrade revealed the conclusions of a year-long study by the Serbian Academy of Sciences (SANU) describing the problems of the Republic of Serbia. Much of the SANU report claimed the Kosovo Albanians were waging a “genocidal” war against the Serbs in the region. It described the events as the worst disaster for Serbia since the 1804 war of liberation against the Ottoman Empire, including the World Wars and Nazi occupation. The document recommended “genuine security and unambiguous equality for all peoples living in Kosovo” and said “Serbia must not be passive and wait and see what the others will say, as it has done so often in the past.”

The reaction was fierce. Croats and Slovenians saw the SANU report as a manifesto for Serbian supremacy in Yugoslavia. The Albanians saw the report as a threat against them. Serbs were divided. Some welcomed it. Others, especially hard-line Communists, denounced the report as anti-Marxist. One Communist who denounced it was Slobodan Milosevic. In 1987 Milosevic, however, made a stirring speech on the anniversary of the 1389 Battle of Kosovo Field that was interpreted as a message of Serbian nationalism—just like the SANU report document. In Kosovo the Communist party head Asem Vlasi opposed Milosevic's pro-Serbian plans. The 1974 constitution, which gave each republic and the two autonomous regions equal authority, put Serbia in the minority. Milosevic continued to press for Serbian nationalism directed against the Albanians of Kosovo and the Croats and Slovenes in their respective republics, and then he moved to incorporate the autonomous regions into



the Serbian republic. In November 1988, he arrested Vlassi and dismissed the entire Kosovo Communist leadership. In March 1989 he unilaterally ended the autonomy of the regions, provoking deadly riots. In 1990, he officially incorporated the provinces into Serbia but kept their votes on the executive council, giving Serbia, along with Montenegro, closely associated with it, increased power on the council equal to the other republics.

The change for Kosovo ended its governmental institutions. Belgrade also required employees of state industries, a large percentage of Kosovo enterprises, to take loyalty oaths to Belgrade. Most Albanians refused and the government replaced them with Serbs. More than one hundred thousand Kosovo Albanians lost their jobs. Belgrade also closed the Albanian newspapers and radio and television stations and purged Pristina University. Forty thousand Serbian troops and police moved in to replace the Albanian police force. The province suffered extreme economic hardship and a third of the fathers left the area to work as guest laborers in Germany and elsewhere to support their families. With the Communists gone, the author Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic League of Kosovo, now became the most important Albanian political leader. Rugova ordered a policy of passive resistance. Albanians did not vote in elections, report for the draft, or pay taxes. Rugova also established alternative institutions to the government—schools and hospitals. He organized an illegal Albanian assembly of Kosovo, which in 1991 ordered a referendum on the demand for republic status. The security forces attempted to prevent the Albanians from voting, but almost the whole population turned out and all but unanimously approved the referendum. In 1992, another referendum elected Rugova president, but Belgrade declared both referenda illegal.

During the war in Bosnia, Kosovo disappeared from the headlines, and its population grew restless. The Dayton Accords did not include the province. Rugova asked for United Nations protection for the province, but received no response. In opposition to Rugova's policy of peaceful resistance, a new organization, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) based in Western Kosovo near Albania (Drenica), appeared and in the spring of 1996 began coordinated attacks on Serbs, both security forces and civilians. The KLA absorbed the Armed Forces of Kosovo, a body directed by an Albanian exile organization in Switzerland under Bujar Bukoshi. The KLA hoped to create a full-scale war and bring about NATO intervention, but NATO and the UN did not wish to get involved in Kosovo after the difficulty of solving the Bosnia problem. Washington denounced the KLA as terrorists, and at one point Rugova even claimed that it was set

up by Serbia as an excuse to invade. A multinational commission, the "contact group" (the United States, Russia, England, France, Germany, and Italy), met to monitor Kosovo but could not agree on policy.

In 1997, the situation grew worse. The KLA receiving arms illegally from Albania grew as a guerilla force, while the Yugoslav army aided by a secret militia led by the notorious Zeljko Raznatovic, also known as Arkan, carried out a war of terror against the Kosovo Albanians similar to what had happened in Bosnia. By mid-1998, hundreds had died and hundreds of thousands had fled into neighboring countries—Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, whose government, although still part of Yugoslavia, did not approve of the Kosovo campaign. The war threatened the whole Balkan peninsula. NATO, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation of Europe (OSCE) now became involved. NATO persuaded the KLA to drop its call for independence, and a group of OSCE peace-keepers moved into Kosovo, but they were not armed and therefore were ineffective. A brokered armistice lasted only two months. In January 1999, Serbian police and militia killed forty-five Kosovars in the village of Racak. Although the Serbs claimed that Racak was the site of a battle between the forces, the international community condemned the incident as a massacre, and began intervention on the side of the Albanians. Initially, most of the Allied intervention employed air forces rather than ground troops. NATO, principally American bombers, began bombarding Kosovo and Belgrade, targeting both Serbian ground troops and installations in Serbia proper. During the air raids on Belgrade, an international scandal occurred when US bombers hit the Chinese embassy. At the same time on the diplomatic front the contact group set forward a non-negotiable program calling for the "status quo plus," which called for the restoration of the autonomous region status of Kosovo and the introduction of an internationally supervised democracy. It also required peace talks to be held near Paris at Chateau Rambouillet. The talks began in February 1999 and lasted five weeks without results, as the Albanians did not want to be part of Serbia, and the Serbs did not want to give Kosovo autonomous status.

Eventually, under the pressure Belgrade stopped its campaign and the Albanians came back, retaliating against the Serbs. The United Nations sent in troops to keep the communities apart. A number of troops from NATO countries also were deployed in Macedonia where the conflict of Albanians and Macedonians also erupted, although it was short of full-scale war.

On April 1, 2001, Slobodan Milosevic was arrested by local authorities in Belgrade and subsequently

tried for war crimes at The Hague. He is representing himself in his ongoing case.

In 2002, Yugoslavia officially came to an end as the remaining two republics reorganized themselves as the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

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### BANDUNG CONFERENCE (1955)

The Bandung Conference, formally known as the Asian-African Conference, was held in the town of Bandung, Indonesia, from April 17 to April 24, 1955. The conference was attended by delegations from twenty-nine, primarily new, nation-states or nationalist movements in Asia and Africa. The meeting in Bandung also included members of the African National Congress, as well as observers from Greek Cypriot and African American organizations. The key figures at the conference included Sukarno, President of Indonesia (1945–1965); Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India (1947–1964); Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt (1954–1970); Kwame Nkrumah, the future Prime Minister of Ghana (1957–1966); Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia (1953–1980); and Zhou Enlai, the Prime Minister (1949–1976) and Foreign Minister (1949–1958) of the People's Republic of China. The conference was sponsored by Indonesia, along with the governments of Burma (present Myanmar), Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka), India, and Pakistan, and reflected their dissatisfaction with the assertion on the part of US President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1960) that the countries of Asia should not try and remain neutral in the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The assembled delegates also emphasized their opposition to colonialism, singling out French colonialism in North Africa for particular criticism. Furthermore,

there was a major debate as to whether Soviet domination of Eastern Europe was equivalent to Western European colonialism in Asia and Africa. The final communiqué of the conference condemned all “manifestations” of colonialism and was viewed as an attack on the formal colonialism by the Western European powers, the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe, and the informal colonialism by the United States. The proceedings ended with a call for increased technical and cultural cooperation between the governments in attendance; the establishment of an economic development fund to be operated by the United Nations; increased support for human rights and the “self-determination of peoples and nations,” singling out South Africa and Israel for their failure in this regard; and negotiations to reduce the building and stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

The Bandung Conference was particularly important for its symbolism. It was the first major international conference that sought to bring together the governments of the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa. What was often called the “Bandung Spirit” captured the imagination of an entire generation during the so-called Bandung Era from the 1950s to the 1970s. For example, the Bandung Conference represented a precursor to the formation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In September 1960, the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. However, rivalry between India and China, culminating in full-scale war in 1962, weakened efforts to unite third-world governments around the anti-colonial and non-aligned agenda symbolized by Bandung. The complicated and conflicting interests of the governments of the new nations in Asia and Africa increasingly worked to undermine the establishment of a coalition of non-aligned governments. For example, the second Asian-African Conference, which had been scheduled to meet in Algeria in June 1965, was cancelled when the machinations of the Sino-Soviet split undermined the planning of the event. Meanwhile, Nehru (a key leader of the Bandung era) died in May 1964. The government of Ahmed Ben Bella (1963–1965) in Algeria was overthrown by the military on June 19, 1965. Then, Sukarno, the host of the 1955 conference, was ousted in September 1965 by a US-backed military dictatorship under General Suharto. Between 1961 and the end of the 1990s, there were a total of twelve non-aligned conferences. As an international organization, it has never played a role of any great significance. By the 1990s, when the Indonesian government under President Suharto took over as chairman, the Non-Aligned Movement was effectively moribund. Another initiative inspired by Bandung was the

formation of the Group of 77 (G-77), established at the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964. The G-77 (which had 133 member governments by the end of the 1990s) focused on economic issues operating as a caucus on development questions within the wider umbrella of the United Nations.

A particularly radical effort to build on the Bandung agenda emerged in the wake of the Tricontinental Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, that was held in Havana in January 1966. While the Bandung Conference had brought together a relatively small number of leaders from mainly recently independent nation-states in Africa and Asia in order to stake out a non-aligned position in the Cold War, the 1966 Tricontinental Conference involved delegates from throughout Latin America, Asia, and Africa and articulated a radical anti-imperialist agenda that located the participants firmly in the socialist camp at the same time as they formally emphasized their independence from the USSR and Maoist China. Regimes that were directly or indirectly linked to the tricontinentalism of the late 1960s and 1970s all attempted to pursue national development in the name of socialism, anti-imperialism, and national liberation. However, by the 1970s, the problems associated with uniting a wide array of governments in a third-world alliance became increasingly apparent. In retrospect, the Bandung Spirit reached its zenith in the 1970s. In this decade, third-world governments increased their numerical influence at the UN as the organization's overall membership rose from fifty-one in 1945 to 156 in 1980, the vast majority of the new member-governments coming from Asia and Africa. In April 1974, the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations passed the Declaration and Program of Action for the Establishment of a New Economic Order. This formal call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) sought the restructuring of the world economy in a way that would improve the terms under which the economies of the third world participated in international trade and development. At the end of the 1970s, the UN set up the Independent Commission on International Development (the Brandt Commission), chaired by former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, to address the North-South conflict. However, with the rise of neoliberalism and the revitalization of the Cold War, under the leadership of US President Ronald Reagan (1981-1988) and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990), the various initiatives associated with the Bandung era were increasingly constrained or reversed.

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**See also Colonialism: Legacies; Nonaligned Movement; Soviet Bloc**

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## BANGLADESH

### Geography and Population

The People's Republic of Bangladesh, situated in Southern Asia at the Bay of Bengal, comprises 144,000 square kilometres of land. Of its 4,246 kilometres of land boundaries it shares 4,053 kilometres with India and 193 kilometres with Burma. Most of the country's terrain is a flat alluvial plain shaped by three large rivers, the Ganges, Brahmaputra, and Meghna. Flowing down from the Himalayas these rivers join in Bangladesh and—in a vast delta—empty into the Bay of Bengal. Much of the coastline is covered with marshy jungle known as the Sundarbans—the home of the Bengal Tiger. Only the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the southeastern part of the country (with Keokradong as the highest peak at 1,230 metres) and the Sylhet division in the Northeast are hilly. The climate is tropical and features a mild winter (November–February), a hot and humid summer (March–June), and a monsoon rainy season from July to October. The country receives about eighty inches of average annual rainfall with the wettest part in the extreme Northeast with about two hundred inches average annual rainfall. Around 80% of annual rainfall occurs during the monsoon period. Bangladesh is seriously affected by natural calamities such as floods and tropical cyclones almost every year. Due to excessive rainfall and the

riverine topography up to a third of the country's landmass gets flooded during the annual monsoon season. The cyclones of 1970 and 1991 and the monsoon flood of 1998 were particularly devastating.

With an estimated population of 141.3 million (July 2004) and a resulting population density of 982 persons per square kilometre, Bangladesh remains one of the most densely populated states in the world. The annual population growth rate is estimated at 2.08%, the birth rate at 30.03 per 1,000 inhabitants, and the death rate at 8.52 per 1,000. The ethnic composition of the population is comparatively homogenous with 98% of the population being Bengalis speaking Bangla (Bengali) in 1998. About 83% of the population are Muslims. Hindus constitute a sizeable minority of 16% (data from 1998).

## History

Modern Bangladesh is the eastern part of a greater region formerly known as Bengal. Archaeological evidence suggests that the region has supported a socially and culturally diversified civilisation since at least 700 BC. From the thirteenth century onward, Bengal came under Islamic influence, becoming a part of the Muslim Mughal Empire during the sixteenth century. Most of the population converted to the Islamic faith during the time of Mughal control. With its victory in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British East India Company assumed control over Bengal. After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the British Crown took over the company's possession in India, including Bengal. Late nineteenth century British India saw the gradual emergence of a nationalist movement carried out by local Hindu and Muslim elites. The British government pursued a communalist policy to undermine Hindu-Muslim cooperation, leading to the division of Bengal into two provinces along religious lines during 1905–1912. When the decolonization of British India led to the emergence of two independent states—a Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan—Bengal was divided again and East Bengal became part of Pakistan in 1947. Although comprising 56% of the total population, East Pakistanis felt underrepresented by the Pakistani government centred in the western part of the country—separated by one thousand miles of Indian territory. Nationalist movements aimed at the adoption of Bangla (Bengali) as a state language (and succeeded in 1952) and advocated greater autonomy. In 1971, tensions peaked when the Pakistani president Yahiya Khan refused to acknowledge the landslide election victory of the Awami League that had won all the East Pakistani seats in the National

Assembly. Strikes and tax boycotts finally led to open civil war on March 25, 1971. The Awami League proclaimed the independence of Bangladesh on the following day. Nine months later, on December 16, 1971, the Pakistani army was forced to surrender with Indian military help and Bangladesh became independent. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, became Prime Minister and tried to stabilise the country's devastated economy. But after a governmental crisis due to heavy inflation and famine, he was assassinated in 1975. After two more coups, Maj. Gen. Zia ur-Rahman assumed power and began a period of military rule. Zia was assassinated in 1981 and his successor was ousted from power by Lt. Gen. Hussain Mohammad Ershad the same year. Ershad was forced to resign in 1990 due to corruption allegations. The general elections of 1991 brought the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) under Zia's widow Khaleda Zia to power. With strikes and boycotts, the opposition parties drove Khaleda Zia out of office in 1996 and the Awami League under Sheik Mujibur Rahman's daughter Hasina Wazed returned to power. Once again, strikes organised by the opposition paralysed the country's weak economy and ousted Hasina Wazed. Khaleda Zia's BNP re-assumed power from a caretaker government after a landslide election victory in 2001.

## Economy

Although stabilisation of its economy has been the chief concern of each of its governments since independence, Bangladesh remains one of the poorest countries in the world. Severe overpopulation, the frequent occurrence of natural disasters, and widespread corruption have hitherto delayed economic development. About two-thirds of the population make a living from agriculture—mostly from rice and jute cultivation—producing only 22% of the Gross Domestic Product (est. GDP 2003: US\$258.8 billion; est. GDP 2003 per capita: US\$1,900). Tea is grown in the Northeast and the cultivation of sugarcane, tobacco, and wheat is widespread. Fertile soils and ample water supply make Bangladesh the third-largest rice producer in the world. Nevertheless, overpopulation and natural calamities still make the country prone to malnutrition and famine. Bangladesh is the world's largest producer of jute, which remains the most important export commodity of the country. Apart from natural gas, some oil in the Bay of Bengal, and modest coal and uranium deposits, Bangladesh has almost no natural resources. The capital, Dhaka, and the chief port city of Chittagong

are the only significant industrial centres. With only 11% and 26% of the labour force working in the industrial and service sectors, the agricultural sector cannot absorb the constantly growing population. Bangladesh is thus a major exporter of labour to the Arabian countries and to Malaysia. Remittances from emigrant labourers remain an important source of foreign income.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations**

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## BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS (BIS)

The Bank for International Settlements (BIS) has reinvented itself and recreated its mission, sometimes significantly, since its inception. This flexibility allowed the world's oldest international financial institution to survive the uncertain times that marked its initial decades and to transform itself as needed, to maintain and increase its role in the evolving global economy.

The Bank was born amidst the economic troubles marked by the crash of the US stock market in 1929, and the widespread Great Depression. Through the 1930 Hague Agreements, a multinational group of states created the BIS. Founders included Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, although as part of its post-World War II treaty, Japan renounced all rights as a founder. These governments anticipated United States' membership; however, it refused (discussed below).

As its name reflects, the Hague signatories created the BIS to facilitate multiple settlements from World War I, as defeated Austrians and Germans, as well as

Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Czechs, made reparations and other war-related payments. These went to other states, which had borrowed internationally to fund their war efforts. The Bank served as an agent for reparations and as a trustee for the multilateral Dawes and Young Plan loans that facilitated repayment of these obligations. This original mission helps to explain the BIS's location, in Switzerland—at the heart of Europe, in an historically neutral state.

While the Bank's reparations function ended in 1932, it continued hosting central bankers and national monetary authorities who wished to work cooperatively. The international financial and trade systems had begun failing, strained by the Depression and World War I's aftermath. Many blame the resultant economic downturns suffered by numerous states for contributing to World War II.

During and after this war, Allied planners determined to prevent recurrence of this economic turbulence. Thus, they created the Bretton Woods system to manage international trade and finance. While the Bank predated this system, much of its post-war work supported the Bretton Woods institutions, especially the fixed exchange rate arrangement. The BIS helped to ensure monetary and financial stability as a means of promoting international trade and investment. One way it promoted international financial operations was by acting as a "bank for central banks."

Additionally, as international transactions grew dramatically in the late 1900s, the Bank functioned as a forum for members to discuss and promote rules and standards for international commercial banking and other capital operations. The BIS also served as an educator, offering research, data, and conferences for public and private members of the financial community. Finally, when sovereign debt overwhelmed some states in the 1990s, the BIS played an important role as a coordinator of bridging loans and loan packages.

While BIS founders invited the United States, the world's most powerful economy, to join, and they set aside shares for Washington to purchase, the United States did not become a member, officially, until 1994. US distrust of the BIS, because of suspicions that it assisted the Nazi war effort, overlaid earlier isolationist sentiments, keeping Washington from direct association. BIS activities even led some in the US government to push for liquidating the Bank after the war. While bowing to pressure from the United Kingdom and Bretton Woods institutions, which argued for maintaining the Bank, the United States refused membership. It considered the BIS a potential challenger to the Federal Reserve Bank and Bretton Woods institutions. Further, given the BIS's location, membership, and activities, Washington considered it

a regional organization. While Federal Reserve bankers did take part, unofficially, in many BIS meetings, the United States waited more than sixty years to join.

## Decision Making

Although the BIS actually is a limited company, owned by shareholders, it enjoys the privileges and immunities granted international organizations under international and national laws. Its members (owners) are sovereign entities; the Bank has no power to force any state to adopt its approved policies, or to punish those that choose not to implement them. Instead, it proposes and promulgates standards, protocols, and best practices that members may then decide to incorporate into national law. Even given this weakness, many BIS policies have been adopted widely, even by non-member states.

Three decision-making bodies run the Bank: the Board of Directors, the Annual General Meeting, and the Management Committee. Five hundred staff, from more than forty countries, support these entities, at the Basel headquarters or Representative Offices in Hong Kong and Mexico City.

A seventeen-person Board of Directors oversees Bank operations. The top central bank or monetary authority official, often the “governor,” for Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom (all founding members), and the United States, serve as ex officio members. Each appoints another national to the Board, for renewable three-year terms. Under BIS statutes, a maximum of nine (currently there are five) additional central bankers from member states may join the Board, by a two-thirds vote of current directors. They also serve three-year renewable terms.

The Board elects a chair from among its members, and appoints a president to head the BIS for a three-year term. Since its second decade, these have been a joint appointment, so the Chair of the Board also serves as President of the Bank. Members meet at least six times annually to direct Bank activities and to receive and address reports from its committees. Board members serve on specialized bodies including the Consultative Committee, the Audit Committee, and the Asian Consultative Committee, which was created after the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s.

Representing the membership more broadly, the Annual General Meeting (AGM) is the second decision-making entity. The AGM brings together the top officials from all member states’ central banks or monetary authorities, more than fifty, plus the head of the European Central Bank. The AGM takes place within four months of the end of the Bank’s fiscal

year, generally in late June. Perennial agenda topics include dividend and profit distribution, approval of the Bank’s annual report and the state of its accounts, and selection of an external auditor. The membership also may meet in extra sessions (called “Extraordinary Meetings”), to amend BIS statutes, to modify its equity capital (number of shares), or to liquidate the Bank. National monetary authorities frequently meet at the Bank to discuss various topics of interest. In general meetings, each member’s vote is weighted according to how many BIS shares it owns.

The final decision-making body is the Management Committee, headed by a General Manager. Reporting to the Board, its focus is daily operations and implementation of Board decisions. This committee also oversees the Bank’s exposure to risk from capital market transactions. These activities are under the leadership of the Deputy General Manager, who directs a separate risk control unit.

The Bank also hosts the secretariats of a number of separate, but linked organizations. The most prominent of these is the Group of Ten (G10) states, which organized to support International Monetary Fund (IMF) operations in 1962. The BIS hosts the G10 secretariat, providing a physical residence and technical support, as well as funding for staff. The G10 membership—Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States—exactly mirrors the nationalities of the Bank’s directors. Accordingly, ties between the two are quite close.

The G10’s divisions include the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (founded in 1974) and the Committee on Payments and Settlement Services (1990). While these committees are responsible to the G10, they include members from non-G10 states, and often consult with World Bank (WB) and IMF representatives. Many states, including non-G10 and even non-Bank members, have adopted regulations and standards developed by these committees, demonstrating significant international influence. The BIS also provides a home, and some financial support, for secretariats of the Financial Stability Forum, which focuses on increasing exchange rate information and cooperation related to financial supervision and surveillance, and the International Associations of Insurance Supervisors and of Deposit Insurers.

## Operations

BIS resources come from sales of shares and its capital transactions. Its members authorized six hundred

thousand shares; more than five hundred thousand are outstanding. While its resources are relatively modest among international financial institutions, about six billion dollars, the BIS serves as a depository for national reserves and funds from more than 120 central banks and international organizations. Through this, it controls assets of more than \$150 billion, or about seven percent of total international reserves.

In an Extraordinary General Meeting in 2003, the Bank moved from denominating transactions in gold francs, used since 1930, to the IMF-created international unit of account, the Special Drawing Right (SDR). When created, the gold franc exactly reflected the gold exchange rate for Swiss francs (.29 grams of fine gold). By moving to SDRs, the Bank came into line with the IMF, the WB, and a host of other international institutions.

The BIS provides various banking services to depositors. These help national authorities manage and invest capital reserves, both gold and foreign currencies. The Bank provides storage facilities for gold, bilateral account settlement, liquidity advances to central banks, and sale/purchase of gold and foreign exchange. Moreover, it offers customers investment opportunities through a number of highly liquid instruments. With these, banks and organizations can earn returns above those offered on most national bonds and notes, with almost no risk.

### Evolution

Over time, the Bank has played a number of different roles within the international system. When its reparations duties ended, the BIS quickly found new missions. These included working with countries and regional groupings, international commercial banking regulation, and research and dissemination of data on topics of interest to the international financial community.

Its operations with states and multinational groups have included coordination of sovereign loans and serving as a central bank or agent to different organizations. These involved lending to support the Austrian and German central banks in the 1930s, as well as lending to Italy, France, and Britain in the 1960s, and helping to coordinate bridge loans to Mexico and Brazil in the 1990s. After World War II, the BIS functioned as a central banker to the states of Western Europe. It acted as the agent for US Marshall Plan funds (1947–1951), facilitated the European Payments Union (1950–1958), and served as the banker for the European Monetary System

(1979–1994). When the fixed exchange rate system collapsed in the early 1970s, in part because of the difficulty in national management of the increasingly international economy, the BIS saw its role in international stabilization grow.

International banking involves additional risks. Banks lend for operations in areas where they may have limited knowledge of markets or actors. Foreign loans may carry risks from currency devaluation, and, occasionally, such political risks as war or expropriation. Yet, in the 1970s, many Western banks expanded into this realm because of its high profit potential. In 1974, two major banks failed—Germany's Bankhaus Herstatt and the United States' Franklin National Bank—because of foreign operations. While officers or associates of both were prosecuted for these failures, the issue of who was liable to creditors remained. The Basel Committee on Banking Supervision was created to consider where responsibility for foreign branch and subsidiary banks lay. The Committee developed the Basel Concordat of 1975, which argued that home and host countries each bore some responsibility for banking operations within their borders.

This was not enough to prevent further problems. The 1982 failure of the Banco Ambrosiano's Luxembourg-based affiliate prompted 1983's Second Basel Concordat. While the Italian central bank took responsibility for Banco Ambrosiano's domestic activities, with no central bank of its own, the Luxembourg bank's creditors had no similar recourse. The Second Basel Concordat promoted supervision of bank assets and liabilities on a consolidated, worldwide basis, giving a bank's home country authority to close inadequately supervised or insolvent foreign subsidiaries and branches. It also clearly placed responsibility for foreign operations with parent banks.

A debt crisis in the 1980s gripped many less developed states and their lenders, and led the US Federal Reserve Bank to push for minimum international standards of capital adequacy and risk measurement for banks making foreign loans. The 1988 Basel Accord on Capital Adequacy raised reserve requirements for banks doing riskier lending. Most states with international banks have implemented it. Following simultaneous closures of Bank for Credit and Commerce International operations in more than sixty countries and the failure of the Continental Illinois Bank, the Committee amended the Basel Accord in 1995 and 1997. This led to the Basel Core Principles for Effective Banking Supervision, which addressed such risks as those stemming from foreign exchange transactions and debt securities. In 2004,

the Committee agreed on Basel II, or the New Capital Framework, which further refines supervision of international banking.

## Assessment

The Bank has come under scrutiny and criticism for two main reasons (there has long been an undercurrent of suspicion that it conducts nefarious activities, related to the secrecy surrounding its operations). The first issue relates to Bank conduct during World War II, especially the suspicion that it aided Nazi activities by laundering money, facilitating purchase of goods from neutral states, and accepting deposits stolen from the Nazis' victims. Clearly, the Germans used resources held in the BIS to make purchases from third parties, including Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and Romania. Bank officials argued, however, that they were dealing with Germany's anti-Nazi Reichsbank in these transactions. As to stolen and looted gold, the BIS claimed that it could not have known its true origins, as what it accepted was marked with the pre-1939 German stamp. Of course, the Nazis had re-melted and re-stamped the stolen metal. Immediately after the war, a multilateral agreement approved by the United States and others settled many of these claims.

The second issue relates to the BIS's role in IMF- and WB-organized debt-restructuring packages. Here, the same criticisms that those institutions garner, related to their neoliberal policies, redound to the Bank. In serving as a linchpin of a system that supports the spread of such policies, the BIS, at least indirectly, clashes with those who believe that neoliberalism and current practices hurt the poor. Anti-globalization and other activists have begun to target it, although its relative anonymity prevents the same intense spotlight shone on other international institutions.

The Bank also wins praise from economic and banking experts for facilitating trade and monetary relations. It has developed standards for international banking and risk management. The BIS also worked diligently to minimize Y2K-related banking problems. Further, it is actively promoting greater transparency to prevent money laundering and to encourage banks to act responsibly. It has taken the lead in research and data collection tied to such new financial instruments as derivatives. Its publications, such as its annual report and various quarterly reports, provide research and statistics, free of charge through the Bank's Web site. Overall, the

BIS provides highly specialized services to a group of experts. The needs of these actors likely will determine what the Bank's future missions will be.

JANET ADAMSKI

**See also Currency Regimes; Debt: Impact on Development; Debt: Relief Efforts; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)(World Bank); International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

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## BANKING

Devoid of all its modern complexities, banking is simply a process that enables individuals with surplus funds or assets (savers) to transfer their surpluses to individuals with shortfalls (borrowers). The intermediary that enables the savers to transfer the funds to the borrowers is the bank. Banking is therefore first and foremost financial intermediation. Since at a very early age in the history of most societies, there was present in one form or the other something called money, which was generally accepted as a medium of exchange and a store of value, the lending and borrowing of surpluses took the form of the transfer of money. Hence, money and banking became inextricably linked. The intermediary, the bank or depository institution, accepted the savings in the form of money from the savers and transferred them to borrowers in the same form.

In theory and practice, if an individual has a surplus, he or she can benefit by lending it to another individual who needs funds to start or complete a project instead of holding the surplus idle. The individual can give the surplus funds directly to a borrower in what is referred to as *direct finance*. Direct finance is fraught with difficulties, especially as



societies grow and relationships become impersonal with each person knowing less and less about the other. If a saver seeks to lend directly to a borrower, the lender must be reasonably confident that the borrower is credit worthy, has a viable project, and will not engage in activities that will endanger his or her ability to repay the interest or the principal. The lender will therefore have to collect enough information about the borrower to make a judgment about the probability of repayment based on past behavior. The lender must also possess the expertise to evaluate the worthiness of the project or hire somebody to do so. Finally, the lender must be able to monitor the behavior of the borrower to ensure that no activity is being undertaken that entails a higher level of risk than that contained in the original loan agreement and therefore increases the likelihood of the loan not being repaid according to the original terms. For a one-time direct lending of a small amount, the cost of collecting such information, known as the transactions costs, and the risk for non-payment may be so high as to make the whole venture unprofitable for both the lender and the borrower. The lender will have to charge a very high interest to compensate for the risk he or she is taking and the additional cost associated with collecting information about the borrower. This high cost will discourage borrowers with good projects who now find the project unprofitable as a result of the high cost of borrowing. At the same time, borrowers who had bad projects to begin with and had no intention of repaying, will not be discouraged from borrowing. This is referred to as *adverse selection*. Given the possibility of this risk, lenders might even refuse to lend: good projects and bad projects alike will not be funded and the whole economy will suffer. If there were an entity, with the reputation of always making payments on time, and if such an entity had the expertise to identify credit-worthy borrowers and also had the means to monitor their behavior to ensure compliance with the terms of the loan, then savers could simply lend their funds to this entity and the entity would in turn lend the same funds to borrowers. This entity, the intermediary, comes between the saver and the borrower and facilitates the transfer of funds.

This circuitous way of lending, known as *indirect finance*, is what banks do. Banks, as financial intermediaries, reduce transactions cost because of the high volume of transactions they undertake and the resulting economies of scale. They also minimize risk because of the pooling and diversification from lending to a lot of borrowers. Since transactions costs and risk are reduced for both borrowers and lenders alike, more savers are willing to lend (to the intermediary) and more borrowers are able to borrow (from the

intermediary). Banking can therefore be described as the process of channeling funds from savers to borrowers through an intermediary.

## Banks as Depository Institutions

Banks are not just financial intermediaries as described previously. They are also depository institutions, a characteristic that makes banking unique among financial institutions and intermediaries. When savers leave their funds with a bank for safe-keeping or lend their savings to banks for a return (*interest income*), the bank has acquired a financial asset in the form of cash. At the same time, however, a liability is generated, called deposits. The deposits are liabilities because at any point in time, certain or uncertain, the owner may show up to collect his or her deposits or cause the deposits to be transferred to somebody else. The deposits generally fall into one of three major categories:

1. *Demand or checking account deposits*, which can be redeemed or transferred to another person or entity with no notice using a written order called a *check*. In general, demand deposits do not attract interest income as such, but they do provide convenience of being generally acceptable for payments of goods and services and thus serving as a medium of exchange or money.
2. *Savings deposits*, which unlike demand deposits, cannot be transferred by a written order but may be redeemed with little or no notice. Banks pay owners interest income.
3. *Time deposits*, which have specific maturity dates and specified rates of return and cannot be redeemed before the maturity date, or can be redeemed with a penalty. The interest is higher than that paid on saving deposits because banks can depend on the availability of the deposits for a defined time period.

Since demand/checking account deposits can be transferred from one party to another with a simple instruction to the bank (a check), demand deposits provide a convenient way of making payments in modern societies. In making a payment for a good or service, one may use cash or currency (coins and paper money), or one may transfer his or her demand or checking deposits in the bank. If people do accept currency and checks in payment for goods and services, then the money supply comprises at least the currency and demand deposits in the banks.

## Bank Regulation and Central Banking

Whether banks should be free and subject only to the discipline of the marketplace or should be regulated by policy makers is a debate that is ongoing in the economics profession. Some economists use the experience of the US during the “free banking” era of 1837 to 1863 as a good reason to regulate banks. Others look at the same era and see a relatively stable period and argue for no regulation, concluding that the marketplace does a very good job of keeping banks well behaved. Regardless of which side one takes, the mere fact that even prudent banks cannot withstand a *run on the bank*, suggests that if there is a shock, which provokes a crisis of confidence, the most well-run bank will collapse. A run on the bank occurs when, as a result of loss of confidence in the banks ability to repay deposits, customers come in droves to demand repayment. As has already been discussed, banks do not keep a hundred percent reserves to back up deposits. The banks will therefore not survive such runs. Further, banking crises tend to affect the economy in ways that are more pernicious than crises in other sectors of the economy. The collapse of a bank shrinks the stock of money in the economy and with it, the volume of economic activity. A bank may be very well run but may face a sudden excess demand for cash beyond what it may immediately have available. For these and other reasons, modern-day banks are regulated. The agency that has the primary role in regulating banks is the central bank, or the central bank and the treasury, or the finance ministry.

Central banks are described as the bankers’ bank and the government’s bank, but for the most part the major duty of central banks is to ensure that a country’s monetary system operates soundly. As such, over the years, the major responsibility of central banks has been in the conduct of monetary policy. In that role, the central bank seeks to make certain that the stock of money in the economy is just the right amount to ensure that the economy grows at its potential. If the amount of money is too little, it will stifle growth, and if it is too much, it will create inflation. The central bank therefore must walk a tightrope. Whereas commercial banks tend to be private institutions (except in several developing countries where some of the major banks are owned by governments), central banks tend to be government institutions or government and private combined. Whereas commercial banks seek to make a profit for their owners, central banks are by nature non-profit-making institutions. This does not mean that they do not make profits; indeed, central banks do quite well. It simply means that their objective is not to maximize profit.

In the previous discussions, it was indicated that whenever banks make loans, they add to deposits and therefore increase the money supply. It is this money supply that central banks seek to control. To make loans, the banks need cash reserves. The more cash reserves the banks have, the more loans they can make. In one example, FAB had found by experience that it needed 20% of deposits as cash reserves and so it had to keep cash reserves equal to 20% of deposits. Two factors emerge as being responsible for the amount of loans banks can make: (a) the cash reserves available to them and (b) the required cash reserves-to-deposits ratio or reserve deposit ratio, for short. To control the ability to make loans and therefore increase the money supply, these two factors must be controlled. The central bank’s power to control the reserves available to depository institutions and set the reserve deposit ratio gives it the ability to control, within some margin, the money supply.

The effects of a change in reserve deposit ratio can be immediate and very powerful. For example, if the central bank changes the reserve deposit ratio from 10% to 20%, it means that for each \$100 in deposits that banks have, they must now double the cash reserves they hold. The effect is to force banks to call in loans or refuse to make new ones. The upshot is that deposits will decline and with it the money supply. As the money supply decreases, the cost of borrowing—the interest rate—increases. Conversely, if the central bank seeks to stimulate economic activity, it could do so by reducing the reserve deposit ratio, thus enabling the banks to make more loans with the same cash reserves. Most modern central banks shy away from using the reserve deposit ratio because of its sudden and traumatic effect on the banking system. Indeed, calls for reform of reserve requirements have included demands for its total elimination.

If commercial banks were caught in a situation where they did not have adequate cash to meet withdrawals, they could borrow from the central bank. This facility, referred to as borrowing from the *discount window*, also provides commercial banks with another means to obtain reserves. The commercial banks borrow from the central bank at a rate known as the *discount rate*. In theory, banks borrow from the central bank only when they face a liquidity crunch. Since only a small portion of the banks’ assets are in the form of cash, it is possible for a well-run bank to face this liquidity constraint. The central bank as the bankers’ bank would then discount some of the notes that the commercial banks have and provide the needed liquidity. This facility ensures that the system as a whole would not cave in as a result of

some unforeseen liquidity crisis. Most central banks see the discount window facility as a last resort. Indeed, central banks are often described as the *lenders of last resort* for this very reason. In practice, if the central bank finds a bank utilizing the discount window too often, the central bank could interpret that as a sign that the bank is not being run very well, which might lead to frequent visits by examiners from the central bank—another function the central bank performs. In spite of this, the presence of this facility provides a measure of security to the banking system.

A preferred method of controlling the stock of money in the economy is to indirectly affect the level of reserves available to the banks. In discussing how banks create money, it was mentioned that when customers deposit their cash with banks, it becomes cash reserves, which are then leveraged to create more money. For ease of understanding how the process works, let us define money as currency in circulation (C) plus demand or checking deposits (DD) with banks. Let us assume that the initial total stock of money (the medium of exchange) in the economy is \$100. If individuals decide to hold all of the \$100 in their pockets, in the form of currency, then the money supply remains at \$100. Let us assume that individuals decide to hold only \$10 in the form of currency and the remainder, \$90, as bank deposits. Let us now define a concept called *monetary base (MB)*, consisting of the currency in circulation (C) and the reserves in the banks (R). As can be readily appreciated, the monetary base is equal to \$100, all which could be held as currency or as bank deposits. In our example, we have assumed that \$10 is held as currency and \$90 as bank deposits (cash reserves for the banks). If the reserve deposit ratio is 10%, then with cash reserves of \$90, the banks can create total deposits of \$900. In this economy, therefore, the money supply could be as much as \$990. This potential amount depends on, among other factors, the monetary base. As the monetary base increases, all else remaining the same, the money supply increases; and as the monetary base decreases, all else remaining the same, the money supply decreases.

The factors that determine the stock of money are the following:

1. The reserve deposit ratio
2. The monetary base
3. Individuals preference for currency versus checking deposits
4. Willingness of banks to lend and individuals to borrow

The first two factors are controlled by the central bank, the third and fourth are self-explanatory. We have seen that central banks can alter the reserve

deposit ratio and thus alter the banks' ability to create deposits. The central bank controls the monetary base through a process referred to as *open market operations*.

## The Central Bank and Open Market Operations

It has already been stated that as the monetary base increases, so does the money supply; the converse is also true. The balance sheet of central banks has as principal assets the securities issued by the government. In the main, these are the assets that back the notes (liabilities) issued by the central bank and that circulate as currency. The banks and the non-bank public also hold some of the same government securities as part of their portfolio. In short, the central bank, the banks, and the non-bank public all hold government securities. If the central bank seeks to increase the money supply, it may choose to do so by buying some of the government securities held by the banks and the non-bank public. If the securities are bought from a bank, the bank gets a credit in the forms of reserves with the central bank. The central bank acquires securities on its assets side, and on its liabilities side, deposits of the bank increase. The increase in the bank's deposits at the central bank is tantamount to an increase in reserves for the bank. With the infusion of these new reserves, the bank can now make loans and create additional deposits, which will increase the money supply. Similarly, if the central bank seeks to decrease the money supply, it can do so by selling some of its stock of government securities to the public. If a member of the public buys some of the securities, he or she pays for it by drawing a check on his or her bank, transferring deposits to the central bank. The effect is to reduce the reserves available to the bank and thus its ability to make loans. The process of buying and selling government securities to increase or decrease the monetary base is what is referred to as open market operations. Table 1 shows the consolidated balance sheet of the Federal Reserve Bank, the central bank of the United States.

As can be seen from the table, more than ninety percent of the assets of the central bank are securities, the bulk of them being government securities or securities of government agencies. On the liabilities side, about an equal percentage is in the form of the notes issued by the central bank. A much smaller percentage—four percent—represents deposits of the depository institutions (the banks), for which the

Table 1

(a) Consolidated Balance Sheet of All Federal Reserve Banks (U.S)			
(b) September 29, 2004 (millions of U.S. dollars)			
	Assets	Amount	Percentage
(c)	Gold certificate account	11,039	1
	Special drawing rights	2,200	–
	Coin	777	–
	Securities	728,368	92
	Cash items in process of collection	5,602	1
	Other assets	39,618	5
(i)	<i>Total Assets</i>	<i>787,605</i>	
(d)	Liabilities		
	Federal Reserve notes	703,451	89
	Reverse purchase agreements	24,337	3
	Deposits	30,704	3
	Deferred availability cash items	5,938	1
	Other cash liabilities/accrued dividends	2,759	–
	Capital accounts	20,416	3
(i)	<i>Total Liabilities</i>	<i>787,605</i>	

central bank acts as a banker, and the government or government agencies. With only slight variations, the balance sheets of all central banks have the same structure. It is this structure that enables the central bank to perform the crucial task of controlling the money supply using open market operations.

The balance sheet also shows the other functions the central bank performs. A very small portion (less than 3% in the case of the United States) of the securities consists of loans to the depository institutions under what was discussed as the discount window borrowings. The central bank also acts as a clearing agent for the depository institutions.

### Banking Practices in Developing Countries

In many developing countries, by virtue of colonization by Europe, banks and modern banking practices owe their origins to what pertained in Europe or elsewhere in the developed world. For example, in the former British colonies of Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean countries, one runs into such typical British banks as Barclays and Standard Banks. In South America, one sees the presence of the United States in such banks as Goldman Sachs and Citibank. Over the years, local banks have sprung up in several of the developing countries; some of these have become quite large and have mobilized large amounts of capital and deposits from both domestic and foreign sources. In many of the poorer developing countries, however, banks continue to be state owned, and are

plagued by problems that hinder their effectiveness to intermediate. Banking services and their impact on economic development vary widely from one developing country to another. Also, because of the dualistic nature of most of these economies, there are wide variations within countries.

In general, the more advanced the developing countries are, the more sophisticated the banking systems tend to be. Banks in countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, and South Korea have by and large done very well in raising capital for economic development and providing very good banking services with positive impacts on their domestic economies. The same can be said of banks in countries such as Brazil and Argentina in South America. At the other end are the poorer developing countries, mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, where banking facilities and services are rare and available to only a very small percentage of the population. It must also be mentioned that even in the more advanced developing economies, access to banking services are not evenly distributed throughout the country; dualism still persists. Some sectors of the same country may have access to banking services and banking facilities while others may be completely without. More often than not, people in the rural areas may not have access to banking services and may depend on moneylenders to raise capital.

A bank's ability to perform the crucial task of financial intermediation depends almost entirely on the amount of deposits and capital it can mobilize. The amount of deposits depends on factors such as inflation, the interest paid to depositors, access to and confidence in the banking system, and the

availability of financial instruments such as certificates of deposits. Bank capital, on the other hand, depends on the laws, rules, and regulations in place that determine whether individual citizens and foreigners may own banks; the willingness of domestic residents to keep capital at home or send it abroad; and the ease with which bank stocks can be bought and sold.

In general, sound macroeconomic policies, which lead to low inflation, and positive real interest rates, would encourage bank deposits. Countries such as China, South Korea, and Thailand, which have succeeded in keeping inflation low or have reduced inflation, have seen rapid increases in deposits. In several of the developing countries, however, because of high inflation and sometimes negative real interest rates, deposits are very low. Past incidences of deposit seizures have also contributed to low confidence in the banking system and to low deposits. Laws forbidding foreign participation in certain sectors of the economy have also been used to prevent foreign capital from being utilized in domestic banking sectors. These factors partly account for why banks in developing countries tend to be small and are unable to effectively extend credit.

The aforementioned also explains why, in the 1970s and into the 1980s, some central banks in the developing countries saw themselves as active participants in providing credit for economic development. Credit guarantee schemes, CGS (insurance protection), were introduced to encourage the commercial banks to lend to certain sectors, such as agriculture and housing—sectors that were considered keys to economic growth. The huge losses that resulted led to the suspension of these insurance programs. Essentially, the banks did not undertake the due diligence that would normally accompany credit extensions since they could count on losses being covered by the central bank or the government. When the central banks turned away from direct participation, some of them encouraged access to banking services by setting up rural banks (unit banks). This is a variation on micro-financing, where loans of small amounts are made to individuals or to groups of individuals. Sometimes group members are all collectively responsible for repayment of loans. The idea behind rural banking is that by limiting the range of activities, confining their localities, and fostering a more intimate relationship between banks and customers, bank performance will get better and the rural sector will benefit from the availability of credit, which should promote economic development. For a variety of reasons, chiefly poor supervision of banking activities and corrupt practices, the reality has not been quite what was expected.

A serious, persistent problem in the banking systems in developing countries is the number of bank crises and distresses. Although bank crises can occur in developed countries, such as the savings and loan crises in the United States in the 1980s, in the developing countries they tend to be more frequent, systemic, and more pernicious. Between 1980 and the early 2000s, for example, the developing countries of Latin America and the Caribbean suffered a total of thirty-one *banking crises*—defined as situations where banks have nearly exhausted capital and/or have experienced a run on deposits. In addition, there were fifteen episodes of system distresses and averted crises, where banks had low or negative net worth without a run on deposits. The countries that had these episodes included Argentina and Brazil, which may be considered more advanced developing countries; and Jamaica, Guyana, and Haiti, which are less advanced. Banking crises have not been limited to one continent, however. Episodes have occurred in Southeast Asia, notably Korea and Thailand in the 1990s. Several African countries have also had similar episodes. Since the banks tend to be owned by the state, governments have had to restructure and re-capitalize their banking systems.

The reasons for the crises and distresses are many. The 1980s saw the liberalization of many economies without the necessary institutional constraints on the behavior of the banking system. The result was that credit was extended without proper safeguards. In some cases, especially in state-controlled institutions, lending sometimes did not even follow guidelines established by the banks themselves, let alone international standards. Directives from politicians and state officials sufficed to extend credit to favored sectors of the economy or projects. Also, in some cases, large amounts of credit were extended to state institutions and to the governments. When the state institutions failed, governments were then saddled with the debts or they had to be written off. Compounding the problem is the matter of inadequate and ineffective supervision of the banks. Sometimes, what could have been a minor problem festers as it is concealed or not discovered by bank examiners; when it finally becomes apparent, the results are crises, which then affect the whole economy. These effects linger long after they have occurred, tending to undermine the confidence that citizens have in the banking systems and leading to searches for alternative ways of storing value such as dollarization (the holding of stronger more stable foreign currencies such as the dollar and the euro). In recent times in almost all the developing countries, citizens have resorted to dumping the domestic money in favor of more stable foreign money. Money as such has ceased

to perform some of its crucial functions in these countries. From Azerbaijan to Zimbabwe, one sees goods and contracts being priced in dollars instead of in the domestic currencies. Those who are able to do so sometimes hold their deposits abroad, rather than in the domestic banking system, effectively leading to the contraction of domestic credit and economic activity.

The most important lesson that developing countries have to learn, especially from the recent experiences of the countries in Latin America and Asia, is that supervision of banks must be done efficiently and frequently to ensure that problems are dealt with quickly, before they get out of control. This will minimize the crises and their severity when they do occur.

### Regional and International Banks

No matter how large banks in the developing countries are, they tend to be small in terms of capital compared with their counterparts in the developed countries. Deposits tend to be from only domestic residents. Further, the concept of syndicated loans, where several banks come together to extend credit to a single borrower, is still not in use in many of the developing countries. Even if it were possible to syndicate loans, very few of the local banks could come up with the large capital required to fund projects that amount, in some cases, to millions of dollars. In response, different developing countries have come together to form regional banks. There are several of these regional banks, and they include Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), founded in 1959, covering the Caribbean and South American regions; the Asian Development Bank (ADB), established in 1966; the African Development Bank Group (The ADB Group); the Islamic Development Bank (IBD), established in 1975; and the West African Development Bank or Banque Ouest Africaine De Developpement (BOAD), established in 1994. Although these banks operate mostly in the regions their names describe, their capital comes from members as well as nonmembers in the developed countries. For example, the United States and Japan have the highest capital subscription to the Asian Development Bank. Japan is a member but the United States is not.

In addition to the regional banks, which help finance large projects, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), or the World Bank, has also been an active player in the banking scene of the developing countries. It has over the years become one of the most important sources of capital for development.

### Traditional Banking Institutions

An essay on banking would not be complete without reference to traditional banking in some of the developing countries. We have defined banking as a process, part of which involves transferring funds from savers to borrowers. In several African and Caribbean countries (and probably in Asian as well), there is a practice known as *susu*, which helps individuals to accumulate funds. Essentially, five or more people (sometimes fewer) decide to contribute to a pool of funds at regular intervals and give it to one person in the group. The group decides the order in which each participant will draw. Each participant stays in the pool until every member has drawn a lot, at which point the process begins all over again or is dissolved. Sometimes there can be several people in the pool and it might take the last person several months to get his or her turn. As inefficient as this might sound, it fulfills its primary purpose of making large sums available to individuals for projects, which cannot be financed with one's own resources. The members of the *susu* depend on each other's integrity to make the system work.

Another form of banking revolves around an individual who goes around collecting small amounts from mostly market women. The individual acts more or less as a collection agent and then saves the collected sums on behalf of the group. He or she makes entries noting each person's contribution. It is not certain whether the collection agent, who must be a trusted person, can then use the contributions to make out loans or not. The scenario, however, is not very far removed from the mythical goldsmith, who acted as a safe haven for individuals to deposit their gold and who then proceeded to lend the deposits, thus becoming the forebearer of modern banking.

### Trends in Modern Banking and Implications for the Developing Countries

The trend in modern banking is toward mergers and acquisitions internally and across national boundaries. As of 2002, the five largest banks in the world in terms of total assets were, in order:

Of the fifty biggest banks in the world, eleven are in the United States, nine in Germany, and six each are in Japan and the United Kingdom. China and France each has four of them. The Netherlands has three; Spain and Switzerland each has two. Italy, Canada, and Belgium round it up with one each. Four countries, the United States, Germany, Japan, and

## BANKING

Table 2

Bank (country of inc.)	Assets (in trillions of U.S. dollars)
Mizuho Financial Group (Japan)	1.3 as of 3/2002
Citigroup (United States)	1.1 as of 12/2001
Deutsche Bank (Germany)	.81 as of 3/2002
Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Group (Japan)	.78 as of 3/2002
UBS (Switzerland)	.75 as of 3/2002

the United Kingdom, have more than 64% of the biggest banks. The four countries also control about 65% of the total assets of the biggest banks; accounting for US\$14.9 trillion of the \$23 trillion. As big as these banks are, the trend is toward more of the same.

As the big bank mergers and branching extend to the developing countries, there are some who argue that it will make the domestic banks stronger and provide more efficient and robust services. There are others who fear that without special provisions, the bigger foreign banks that may have interests at variance with those of the host developing countries will redirect funds away from sectors considered keys to economic development. Regardless of which view one holds, as the world economy gets more and more open, the trend is toward more consolidation through mergers and acquisitions. An appropriate response may be to help local banks to operate more efficiently through proper supervision and training of personnel.

### Last Word

The big banks listed above combine what is described as retail banking with investment banking. Retail banking is primarily what has been discussed previously. Investment bankers undertake the task of designing, marketing, and guaranteeing (sometimes not) new securities in what is referred to as the primary market. The primary market is where new securities are bought and sold. An investment banker will therefore work with a customer who needs funds to find savers who are willing to lend to the customer.

In conclusion, banking is about channeling surplus funds to those who need it through an intermediary (retail banking) or by matching savers and borrowers (investment banking). The banks, by reducing costs and minimizing risks, make the terms of borrowing

and lending less onerous and thus encourage borrowing and lending and promote economic activity.

SAMUEL K. ANDOH

**See also African Development Bank (ADB); Asian Development Bank; Bank for International Settlements (BIS); Caribbean Development Bank; European Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Inter-American Development Bank (IDB); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank)**

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- Asian Development Bank: [www.adb.org](http://www.adb.org)
- "Bank of Ghana Statistics." *Bank of Ghana*. [www.bog.gov.gh/stats.htm](http://www.bog.gov.gh/stats.htm), Tables 4 and 5
- Banque Ouest Africaine de Développement (BOAD): [www.boad.org](http://www.boad.org)
- Inter-American Development Bank: [www.iadb.org](http://www.iadb.org)
- Islamic Development Bank (IDB) Group: [www.isdb.org](http://www.isdb.org)
- Data on global banking can be obtained from the following address on the Internet: [www.aadir.com/world.jsp](http://www.aadir.com/world.jsp)

## BANTUSTANS

### Historical Background

The creation of Bantustans, or homelands for Africans, by the nationalist government of South Africa with the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act was nothing but an attempt to carry the existing policy of Native

Reserves, based on the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, to its logical conclusion. While the Land Acts forbade blacks from owning property outside of specified Native Reserves, the Bantu Authorities Act erected an edifice of separate African ethnic identities, or “Homelands,” cloistered within their own boundaries. The South African Government (SAG) evicted thousands of Africans from the industrial and urban centers and barricaded them in one or other of the ten tribal Homelands according to their ethnic/linguistic origin. It planned to prepare these Homelands for “independence” so that all Africans, becoming citizens of one or another of the Bantustans, would cease to be South African citizens. This was expected to counteract the growing African demand for political rights and break the resistance of the African National Congress (ANC) to the apartheid regime.

By the mid-1970s, the SAG had created ten African Homelands (listed with primary ethnic groups and 1976 population): Bophuthatswana (Tswana, 1.1 million), Ciskei and Transkei (Xhosa, 475,000 and 2.4 million, respectively), Gazankulu (Tsonga/Shangaan, 333,000), KaNgwane (Swazi, 209,000), KwaNdebele (Southern Ndebele, 150,000), KwaZulu (Zulu, 2.9 million), Lebowa (Northern Sotho, Northern Ndebele, and Pedi, 1.3 million), QwaQwa (Southern Sotho, 91,000), and Venda (Venda, 339,000). The overwhelming majority of their able-bodied adults were away working in South Africa. The Bantustans constituted 13% of the South African land and more than 75% of its people.

The Bantustan scheme was designed to strengthen African tribal identities, to prevent unity between the tribes, and slow the mounting African demand for political rights. But only four Homelands eventually accepted independence. These were Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979), and Ciskei (1981). “Independence” was forced upon Ciskei despite 90% of its people having opposed it. Other Bantustans resolutely opposed this nominal independence, as it meant loss of their South African citizenship and complete dependence upon the apartheid regime. Six Homelands acquired self-government. No other country, except South Africa, ever recognized their independence.

## Main Features

The Bantustans were only nominally independent as they did not fulfill any criterion of independence. Only two were geographically contiguous, KwaNdebele and QwaQwa. The others included three or more scattered pieces: Ciskei comprised eighteen separate

pieces of land and KwaZulu, forty-four. The Homelands were also carved out in such a manner as to cause constant skirmishes between them. Thus, Transkei, the larger Xhosa Homeland, claimed the much smaller Xhosa Homeland, Ciskei, as part of itself and refused to recognize Ciskei’s “independence.” Border disputes made relations between Lebowa and Gazankulu equally hostile.

Secondly, despite variations in area and population between the larger Bantustans such as Transkei (4.1 million hectare) and the smaller such as QwaQwa (58,000 hectare), all Bantustans were arid, overcrowded, and overworked rural settlements lacking any potential for self-sustenance. KwaNdebele, for example, having little water of its own, relied on tanker-supplied water from South Africa. Ciskei, with a population density of more than four hundred per square kilometer in the 1980s, was constantly in need of more land. With little employment opportunities on their own territory, being economically unimportant, and having poor-quality land that made agriculture nearly impossible, the Bantustans acted as reservoirs of cheap labor for the South African economy. Some of them were simply oversized dormitories for migrant African laborers whose stay in South African industrial centers was dependent upon their remaining in employment.

Consequently, the Bantustans saw little development during their existence of nearly thirty years. Wages of migrant laborers constituted 70% to 75% of the Gross National Product of Lebowa, Transkei, and Venda, and even more for KaNgwane and KwaNdebele. The sole exception was Bophuthatswana, 50% of whose GNP came from its mines, quarries, and the casino complex at Sun City. Unfair competition with white trading houses, such as Frasers, Checkers, and so forth, who had highjacked even the apartheid regime’s development schemes for the Bantustans, left African entrepreneurs with bottle store licenses only. These development schemes were meant to foster a class of collaborating petty capitalists in the Homelands, a class that could be used to stem the tide of growing militant nationalism. Later, the failure of these schemes ended up alienating the aspiring Homeland petty bourgeoisie from their rulers.

In addition, the apartheid regime appointed reactionary chiefs who collaborated with the SAG in ruling the Bantustans. These chiefs often brutally repressed the increasing African restiveness and militancy following the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement and the Soweto uprising of 1976. Secure in their power due to the large number (from 50% in Bophuthatswana to 100% in KwaNdebele and KaNgwane) of legislative assembly



## BANTUSTANS

seats reserved for them or their nominees, most rulers felt no need to create support for themselves within their constituencies. They openly rigged elections; failing that, they organized coups and countercoups to wrest power from their opponents. The atrocities of the Sebe brothers and Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei, and of the Matanzima brothers in Transkei, created a disjuncture between them and the petty bourgeoisie, and led to their implosion in the early 1990s (Peires 1992).

The apartheid regime itself did not respect the Homelands' independence. It kept them running by making annual administrative grants, aid packages, and "loans" and controlled the Bantustans, including the "independent" ones, by appointing its own men in key ministries of finance, defense, internal security, and so on, primarily to check the growing influence of the ANC. In 1981, the regime unilaterally decided to cede the whole of KaNgwane and a part of KwaZulu to Swaziland and dissolved the protesting KaNgwane legislative assembly.

Shortly before the 1994 democratic elections, Bantustan rulers such as Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana, Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei, and the Matanzima brothers in Transkei conspired with the white reactionary parties to preserve their privileged positions. The most ambitious and wily ruler of KwaZulu, Mangosothu Gatsha Buthelezi, conniving with the apartheid regime, unleashed his Inkatha "impies" among the followers of the ANC in Natal and Johannesburg, causing much bloodshed. Buthelezi held out until the last moment before agreeing to be part of a democratic South Africa. It was the impoverished and terrorized peoples of the Bantustans whose support enabled the ANC and other African parties to successfully integrate the Bantustans into a new South Africa in 1994.

KUSUM DATTA

**See also Southern Africa: History and Economic Development**

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Two fairly independent South African newspapers, the *Daily Dispatch* and *Weekly Mail*, extensively covered the events in the Homelands between 1990 and 1994. They are useful since very little has been written on the smaller and self-governing Homelands.

## BARBADOS

As a developing country, Barbados presents an intriguingly contradictory profile. On the one hand, it possesses characteristics of a well-developed country in terms of an almost universal rate of literacy among the population and ample access to quality public education. On the other hand, it presents characteristics of underdevelopment due to chronic rates of unemployment, varying from 10%–20% at the end of the twentieth century, and underemployment. Much of the population, referred to as "Bajan," emigrates to the United States or other regions for jobs. With a per capita distribution of Gross Domestic Product at about \$15,000 per year, Barbados can be classified as a country of middling development.

An examination of Barbadian history provides considerable explanation of the country's development and dilemmas. Although culturally part of the Caribbean, Barbados lies geographically in the Atlantic Ocean, northeast of Venezuela. Midway off the Windward Isles of the Lesser Antilles, it is an outpost in the Atlantic, the farthest east of a Caribbean island. Settled by Arawak, then Carib Indians, the island first received European notice in the early sixteenth century. The Portuguese touched on the island, possibly naming it after the "bearded" appearance of certain trees strung with hanging vegetation.

The English definitively settled the island in the early seventeenth century. They established an initial settlement pattern on the island that consisted of small farms producing subsistence and export crops. Later in the century this pattern was replaced. Sugar, grown on

large plantations, became the almost exclusive crop on the island. It was cultivated for export and produced by the labor of slaves. Tens of thousands of Africans were brought to the island, thereby replacing the small, original white population with an African and mixed-race one. The English language and a combination of English with African dialects, Creole, became the languages of the country. The main religion became Anglican (Church of England).

As a result, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Bajan population of slightly more than a quarter million people was more than three-fourths of African descent and nearly two-thirds Protestant, primarily Anglican but also Methodist, Pentecostal, and Evangelical. Due to high rates of emigration, native population growth has become virtually stagnant. The area of Barbados is only 430 square kilometers (166 square miles), somewhat larger than the island of Malta in the Mediterranean. Population density is high. More than a third of the land is arable and intensively cultivated. The surface is flat or gently rolling, rising to central highlands. Barbados is not often directly hit by hurricanes.

During the mid-seventeenth century, the free, property-owning minority of the population established a general assembly, organizing one of the first colonial legislatures in the British empire. Moreover, the Anglican Church, the established religion in the empire, assumed a missionary responsibility for basic education, organizing schools. Anglican and other religions concentrated on educational development during the centuries that followed.

However, by the middle of the twentieth century, education was in public hands and available for all at both the primary and secondary levels through government-sponsored technical and vocational training programs. Reducing class and gender biases is a stated objective of educational policy in Barbados so that the full social strength of the country supports national development. Barbados has minorities of Middle Eastern and Asian descent who belong to small Moslem and Hindu communities.

Slavery was abolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, only in the mid-twentieth century did sufficient economic and political reforms occur that would form the basis for independence in 1966. These reforms included increased civil and voting rights for the descendants of slaves, moving toward consolidation of the majority of Bajans into the country's parliamentary democracy.

Spearheading the political and social changes that swept over the country was the Barbados Labour Party (BLP), founded in 1937 by Grantley Adams. A splinter from this party was organized in 1951 as the Democratic Labour Party (DLP), under the leadership

of Errol Barrow. These two parties and political figures and others related to them have been the sustaining forces in modern Bajan politics and government. After independence, Barbados became a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and therefore has the British monarch, as represented in a governor-general, as the head of state.

With independence, not only the political nature of Barbados changed but also its economy. From an agricultural economy based on the export of sugar, it changed in the last decades of the twentieth century to one based on services, primarily tourism. In addition to tourist services, it has developed offshore financial and banking operations. Accompanying services has been development of a light manufacturing sector, especially for construction materials. Manufacturing and agriculture comprise less than a fourth of Bajan economy, which is now overwhelmingly based on services. Barbados has participated in a number of regional Caribbean development organizations, including the West Indies Federation (1958), the Caribbean Free Trade Association (1968), and the Caribbean Community (1973). It hosts a branch of the University of the West Indies.

The cultural development of Barbados reflects its mixed English and African roots. The tiny island has produced some famous players of the British game of cricket (similar to American baseball), most notably Garfield Sobers and Frank Worrell. In addition, it has a music industry based on Calypso or Afro-Caribbean rhythms, a noted Bajan musician being the Mighty Gabby. As an English-speaking country with a presence in popular culture, Barbados reflects the globally integrated tendencies and development of all modern societies.

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**See also Caribbean Basin Initiative; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA); Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**

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### BASIC HUMAN NEEDS

During the 1970s, development scholars and practitioners were disenchanted with orthodox thinking about third-world development. The lack of sufficient growth and development was leaving behind vast numbers of people, particularly in the world's lower income countries. The disenchantment of the 1970s was not irrationally placed, as much of the third-world was in the midst of a two-decade economic slump. From 1965 through 1986 the average annual real per capita income growth among the world's thirty-nine least-developed countries was only .5%. The group's annual food production per capita fell by 1.5% from 1965 to 1986, a rate barely matching the growth in population. Because of slow growth in production, cereal food aid jumped from 2.6 to 5.8 metric tons annually and overall official development assistance expanded from US\$4.8 billion to US\$12.9 billion in 1986.

Proponents of a new aid strategy worked to generate an alternative approach that would provide a more successful foundation upon which to construct a more useful approach to development policies aimed at poverty eradication. Their efforts gave rise to the Basic Human Needs (BHN) strategy that resulted from the work of individuals who were associated with the World Bank and the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Sussex. Most prominent among them were Paul Streeten, Shahid Burki, J.C.C. Voorhoeve, and Frances Stewart.

The philosophical commitment of BHN was to raise the sustainable level of living of the masses of poor people as rapidly as feasible and to provide human beings with the opportunities to develop their full human potentials. This commitment focused on (1) meeting the basic needs of the poorest people in the world and (2) establishing a national and international framework for sustainable and self-reliant material progress, particularly among the poorest of the poor. The basic human needs approach provided a comprehensive way to bring global and national resources to bear on overcoming poverty, disease, ignorance, and malnutrition.

The theoretical essence of BHN was threefold: first, to concentrate development efforts on assisting the poorer people in the world's poorest countries to meet their needs on sustainable bases. Second, after identifying the main target group, it was to improve

the capacity of the poor to gain access to basic-needs items based upon their productive involvement in producing and distributing basic needs and other items. Third, it aimed at assuring that the income earned by the poor would provide the basis for acquiring (1) adequate levels of nutritious food and (2) sufficient access to potable water and sanitation facilities. It would also permit them to improve (3) opportunities to secure shelter in the form of housing and clothing, (4) gain access to preventive and curative medical services, and (5) participate in formal and informal education and training in order to enhance the workplace attributes of the poor.

BHN's focus on enhancing workplace attributes led to a significant convergence between basic needs and human resource development (HRD), another emerging concept in development theory. Professor Paul Streeten was instrumental in forging the connection by making five key points. First, he pointed out that HRD is both a means and an end because when human development occurs, it leads to increased productivity. Second, he noted that in the longer term, when human development tends to lead to increased productivity it tends to result in declining population growth due to more information and less pressing felt needs for children. Third, he went on to point out that development can improve environmental protection due to increased understandings and appreciation for the importance of sustainable physical environments. Fourth, he noted that human development, when connected to the basic needs concept, would lead to a development program that would facilitate social and political stability, particularly when it is coupled with some form of participatory democracy. And fifth, Streeten concluded that when an approach to development puts people first, as do both the BHN and HRD, human beings are able to enjoy increased productivity, income, and employment opportunities. This leads to a social and economic environments free of artificial barriers (based on ethnicity and gender) that limit opportunities and free market choices.

Implementing BHN meant assuming a daunting task: the poor would have to be located, most likely in rural, agricultural settings in more remote geographical regions of poorer countries. Basic need shortfalls among target populations would have to be determined and the resources needed to eliminate the shortfall would have to be estimated. The prices of the required resources would need to be identified and the total cost of meeting basic needs among the targeted poor would need to be established. Methods of improving worker attributes and generating employment opportunities had to be designed. In addition, methods of providing the basic need items would

have to be established, keeping in mind that (a) participation by the poor in the process is critical and (b) effectively integrating the roles of governments and donor agencies is essential.

Skeptics recognized that implementing BHN posed enormous problems. They asserted that the approach was paternalistic because BHN-oriented official development assistance programs would decide what was best for people in poor countries. They contended that the approach was welfare-based and anti-growth and would require an impossible wholesale restructuring of the global economy, and that there would be disproportionate benefits accruing to middle-class entrepreneurs and local officials because the poor would be insufficiently involved in planning processes. Another concern was that modern, capital-intensive production methods in both urban and rural areas would raise expectations but fail to generate income and employment opportunities for the poor, thereby frustrating their pursuit of material improvements to their lives. Proponents countered skeptics' assertions and contentions by arguing that if BHN were implemented properly, all of the concerns expressed by critics would be mitigated.

Critics raised another significant and valid concern that could not be easily dismissed: They observed that many BHN projects that supply potable water, sanitation facilities, health centers, and schools would likely generate insufficient revenues to cover both capital and recurrent costs. The poor, it was argued, needed to be subsidized for a long period until their productive capacities and opportunities permitted them to make cost-covering financial contributions by paying both taxes and the market prices of items needed to meet basic needs. Critics contended that during these long periods, two problems would arise. First, tax efforts by recipient governments in poorer countries could not adequately cover recurrent expenditures associated with maintaining and operating development projects. Second, recurrent expenditures were denominated in local currencies and neither bilateral nor multilateral foreign assistance donors would cover such costs. Their contributions were only denominated in the foreign currencies that would be required to purchase imports to construct capital (investment) projects. The result would be a mosaic of underutilized and undermaintained projects that wasted foreign exchange, imports, and local revenues and that frustrated the hopes and ambitions of target populations.

Proponents argued that recurrent costs could be reduced via taking advantage of economies of scale by linking potable water, sewage, sanitation, and housing projects. Health, nutrition, and education offered further opportunities for cost-effective linkages. BHN

proponents acknowledged that the cost of implementing the strategy on a global scale would be extensive because an estimated 0.8 to 2 billion human beings were not able to meet all their basic needs on sustainable bases. Assisting them to do so would give rise to an incremental US\$20 billion in capital costs for each of the next twenty years, and since the capital-to-recurrent-cost ratio was an estimated one to two, an additional \$40 billion would need to be added to the cost side.

BHN proponents appreciated that a \$60 billion increment in official development assistance could create serious "donor fatigue." One strategy to lessen the likelihood of fatigue setting in would be to phase recipient countries into—and donors out of—recurrent cost finance over a reasonable time period. Another alternative would limit the number of projects to ones carefully selected to reach target populations in ways that would speed up income and employment generation and, where possible, to place time limits on donor funding commitments.

Translating basic needs from theory into practice required institutional structures and political support systems, but the early enthusiasm that engulfed BHN ideas eventually dissipated. The initial support system began to take shape within the US Congress where a political effort to bring about a BHN-guided bilateral official assistance program took place. During the late 1970s the support system took the form of a Congressional mandate that would direct Congress to design and implement a bilateral assistance program based upon BHN-oriented concepts. The mandate's stated goal was to increase the income of the poor and to improve their access to public services, thereby enabling people to satisfy their basic needs and to lead decent, dignified, and hope-filled lives. It's goal was also to increase agricultural productivity through small farms and labor-intensive agriculture, lessening illiteracy, reducing infant mortality, improving access to education, lessening population growth rates, and promoting greater equality.

The mandate was not proposed in the form of a legislative bill and putting its contents into practice required formal legislation. This led the late Senator Hubert Humphrey to put forth legislation referred to as the Humphrey Bill that eventually became law. The bill contained two fundamental provisions: (1) it reorganized the government agencies that were collectively responsible for the US aid program; and (2) it directed the agencies responsible for the new governmental structure to pursue basic-needs objectives. Congress and the administration failed to put the law into practice and BHN was largely discarded.

BHN was replaced by significantly different ideas about what the US development assistance program

should pursue. Security and military interests became paramount during the Cold War era and the US foreign assistance program became dominated by the Economic Support Fund (ESF). The Fund provided generalized balance of payments and budget support to target recipient countries that were strategically important, regardless of whether or not assistance was directly aimed at poverty eradication. ESF has been most often used to attain political and strategic interests and objectives for the United States and recipient countries, and it has been closely linked to military assistance to recipient countries. Security assistance rose to dominance in the US foreign assistance program, and by 1979, overall aid appropriations were \$1.13 billion for development while \$1.91 billion was allocated to security supporting assistance via the Fund. The amount designated for development covered both BHN projects and those directed toward infrastructure improvements in air, ground, and water transportation; information and communication networks; energy generation and distribution systems; as well as water and sanitation capital projects.

Over a twenty-five-year period beginning in 1979, BHN has played a progressively less significant role in national planning in recipient countries, as well as in bilateral and multilateral assistance programs. For example, annual US foreign assistance became dominated by security assistance often tied to military aid sent to strategically important but not necessarily poor countries. While basic human needs as a coherent concept slipped into memory, its legacy continued in the form of its link to HRD as an approach to development. Its essence was contained in special programs such as "Women in Development." This program recognized the need to assist women who were attempting to meet the basic needs of children, particularly within the world's thirty-nine poorest countries.

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**See also Children and Development; Development, Measures of; Poverty: Impact on Development; Women: Role in Development**

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### BATISTA Y ZALDÍVAR, FULGENCIO

With the exception of Fidel Castro, no other political figure exercised as much control over twentieth-century Cuba as Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar. Known as the "arbiter of Cuban politics," he influenced the various sectors of Cuban society from 1933 until 1959.

Born in 1901, the son of a poor sugar worker, Batista joined the Cuban army at age twenty. Following his leadership of the famous "sergeants' revolt" of 1933, he began to rule Cuba through a series of puppet presidents. To his credit, he gave his approval for the promulgation of the Cuban Constitution of 1940. Because of its progressive articles, the document became a model for Latin American democracy.

In 1940, he was democratically elected president. His four-year mandate was characterized by the enactment of populist measures such as collective bargaining, minimum wage, and worker's compensation. In addition, he quickly joined the Allied cause in World War II, which brought prosperity to Cuba.

Once his presidential term was completed, he settled in Daytona Beach, Florida, but returned to Cuba in 1948. A clever opportunist, he took advantage of popular discontent with the administration of President Carlos Prío Socarrás's inability to eradicate racketeering, and he staged a successful military coup on March 10, 1952.

Batista's coup brought about the demise of Cuban democracy. He allowed political parties to continue their activities; however, he himself ran unopposed in the 1954 presidential elections. Even though corruption and graft became the order of the day during his seven-year rule (1952–1959), the Cuban economy made considerable progress. In terms of socioeconomic indicators, Cuba was ranked among the top five Latin American nations, and 59% of the Cuban population had achieved middle-class status. Moreover, there were modest gains in educational and health standards, and Havana experienced a building boom.

In spite of this apparent progress, the Cuban economy was a model of classical subservience as it was

critically dependent on sugar exports and intrinsically connected to the United States. Cuba was at the mercy of the United States, which not only granted preferential treatment to Cuban sugar but also fixed its price. Furthermore, approximately three-fourths of Cuban imports were from the United States, and Cuba was the leading importer of US agricultural food products in Latin America. Calls for economic diversification and economic transformation, however, fell on Batista's deaf ears.

Opposition to Batista's rule began to crystallize following the arrival of Fidel Castro in Cuba in 1956. Castro, who had led an ill-fated attack on the Moncada garrison in 1953, began to conduct guerrilla operations in Oriente Province. Unable to neutralize Castro's guerrillas, Batista's corrupt army resorted to repressive tactics. Scores of students, politicians, workers, and peasants were murdered and there were numerous violations of human rights.

As Batista's regime began to collapse, the United States imposed an arms embargo in March 1958. Following the embargo, his days as a leader were numbered, and he fled Cuba on December 31, 1958. After his downfall, he lived in the Dominican Republic, Portugal, and Spain, where he died in 1973.

JOSÉ FERNÁNDEZ

**See also** Castro, Fidel; Cuban Revolution

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## BEDOUIN

The term *Bedouin* is the Anglicization of the Arabic term *bedu*. The term is used to differentiate between those peoples whose livelihood is based upon the raising of livestock by mainly natural graze and browse and those who have an agricultural or urban base (*hadar*). Since the opposition of *bedu* to *hadar* is a specifically Arab cultural tradition it is arguable whether non-Arabic-speaking pastoralists in the region should be termed Bedouin. Their origins date back to 6000 BCE on the southern edge of the arid Syrian steppe. By 850 BCE, a complex of oasis settlements and pastoral camps was established by a people

known as *a'raab*. These people were the cultural fore-runners of the modern-day Arabs. These Semitic speakers were distinguished from their Assyrian neighbours by their Arabic language and their use of domesticated camels for trade and warfare. They carried out a caravan trade by camel between southern Arabia and the large city-states of Syria. By the first century BCE they had moved westward into Jordan and the Sinai peninsula and southwestward along the coast of the Red Sea. The creation of a powerful Islamic state in western Arabia in the middle of the seventh century CE gave a dramatic impetus to Arab expansion. As a result the *bedu/hadar* distinction was reproduced in those Arabized territories where such a regional division of labour was ecologically and geographically practicable.

Today, Bedouin societies are found in the arid steppe regions of Arabia and North Africa and along the margins of rain-fed cultivation. Bedouin living in such areas tend to move camp as dictated by the availability of pasture and sometimes seasonal heavy morning dew (occult precipitation). Often they have access to date gardens or plant grain along their migration routes, which they harvest on their return to winter camping areas. In areas where winter rain falls predictably on mountain plateaux (Morocco), the Bedouin practice transhumance, planting their crops near their permanent homes in the valleys at the onset of rains and then moving their livestock to the highland pastures.

Bedouin societies are always linked to other non-pastoral societies by economic, social, and political relations. In the local context, a Bedouin is a regional specialist in livestock breeding whose closest social and political ties are with his or her pastoral kin. Change and adaptation are key aspects of Bedouin livelihood strategies, and in the current global economy, many Bedouin have sought out multi-resource strategies, seeking wage labour in related activities such as transport and commerce, entering into the unskilled daily wage labour market in construction and agriculture. Some have commercialized aspects of their culture in order to buy into the growing demand for native trinkets in the expanding ecotourism market in the Middle East and North Africa. Others have settled and become less mobile. However, regardless of their multiple occupations and residence patterns, they remain Bedouin culturally as long as they maintain close social ties with pastoral kin and retain the local linguistic and cultural markers that identify them as Bedouin.

The primary economic activity of the Bedouin and the culturally significant marker for self identification is animal husbandry of sheep, goat, and camel. This way of life, sometimes called nomadic pastoralism, is

recognized as a specialized off-shoot of agriculture in the evolution of human society. At its core is migration determined by the seasonal variability of pasture and water. Because water and grass can be in short supply in a particular area at the same time that it is abundant elsewhere, survival of herds and herders makes movement from deficit to surplus areas both logical and necessary. Over the past thirty years, trucks and other motor vehicles have come to replace camels as beasts of burden. Today, the truck is often used to bring feed and water to the herds in the desert. Furthermore, the truck has allowed the Bedouin to be more mobile than in the past, permitting some to settle for much of the year in permanent villages (especially for young and the old), while still maintaining access to water, pastures, herds, and places of employment beyond the arid steppe land that is their home.

As with most pastoral societies, the division of labour among Bedouin is determined by the types of animal that are herded. When both large and small domestic animals are kept, the larger animals—camels, and in a few cases cattle—are the responsibility of men. Women are often barred from close contact with these animals. The smaller animals—the goats and sheep—are generally the responsibility of women and older girls. In such communities, women have a very active, independent, and complementary role to play in the society. When only sheep and goats are kept, men tend to be the herders and women help with the feeding and milking of the flock. When such groups settle and come to rely on a multiplicity of income-generating work, women's work tends to become circumscribed and reduced to very narrow domestic activity.

Each Bedouin group seeks to manage a land area that contains sufficient resources to sustain communal life. It seeks to establish a definite zone of control with well-understood, though often variable, limits and certain rights of use denied to other Bedouin groups. Among Bedouin groups these various zones of use-rights or "ownership" are recognized. However, most governments throughout the Middle East and North Africa ceased to recognize Bedouin collective territory and largely consider these arid steppe areas "state-owned" land. In the past, most conflicts were among and between Bedouin tribal groups and generally revolved around the right to use scarce pastures and water resources. Numerous campaigns were once fought to acquire or defend pastures and watering holes. However, since the middle of the twentieth century, modern state governments in the region have largely pacified the Bedouin, and today such conflicts are often settled in government courts relying on the expert advice of respected Bedouin tribal elders.

Most contemporary conflicts between the state and Bedouin society focus on two related areas of concern: degradation of the arid steppe land, and global interests in preserving the world's biodiversity. For decades, governments in the region have encouraged the Bedouin to move off of the arid steppe land and settle. At times this policy is couched in terms of the "damage" that Bedouin do to their environment and derives from theories of land use (equilibrium systems) that are inappropriate to the arid lands of the Middle East and North Africa. Though little, if any, empirical evidence exists to confirm this position, Bedouin tend to be pressured by modern governments to give up a way of life that is regarded as backward, primitive, and out of step with modern, settled society. Conservation or the protection of the world's biodiversity also impinges on Bedouin society as, in many parts of the region, important grazing areas or Bedouin reserves are being taken over by the state to set up nature reserves or to reintroduce endangered mammalian species (for example, oryx and gazelle). The loss of these lands and the failure of many conservation organizations to recognize the traditional knowledge and sustainable practices of the Bedouin are a further blow to their current livelihood strategies.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; North Africa: History and Economic Development**

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### BEGIN, MENACHEM

Menachem Begin, who was Israel's sixth prime minister, was born in Brisk (now Brest-Litovsk), then part

of the Russian empire, on August 16, 1913. He was the youngest of three children born to Zeev Dov and Hassia Begin. The Begin family was uprooted from Brisk by World War I and fled into Russia. When the war ended, the Begin family returned to Brisk and to an independent Poland. Menachem Begin completed his education at a local public high school, and enrolled at Warsaw University in 1931 at the law school, where he finished in 1935.

He was considered a very popular orator among Jewish students in Warsaw, and was full-time active in the Betar Zionist youth movement in Poland after his graduation. He became the head of the Polish branch of Betar in 1939, one of the most influential positions of Jewish leadership in the pre-Holocaust Jewish Europe. When World War II started, Begin encouraged thousands of Polish Jews to emigrate to the Land of Israel, just as the country's gates were being shut by the British mandatory government.

Menachem Begin was arrested in 1940 by the Soviet occupation authorities. He was held in Gulag prison camps, mostly in Siberia, until 1941, when he was freed with other Polish prisoners. He joined the Polish army-in-exile and was assigned to a unit that was dispatched to the Middle East. His parents and older brother remained in Poland and perished in the Holocaust.

He arrived in the Land of Israel in 1942 and was asked soon after to assume command of the Irgun Zva'I Le'umi (known as ETZEL, the Hebrew acronym for National Military Organization). In this capacity he directed ETZEL's operations against British rule. In 1946, under his leadership, ETZEL blew up a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, where the British Headquarters was located. Some ninety people—Jews, Arabs, as well as British—were killed, despite warnings that there would be a bombing. He wrote about his days as the leader of ETZEL in *The Revolt*. He also wrote another book about his time in a Soviet labor camp, *White Nights: The Story of a Prisoner in Russia*.

When the State of Israel was established in 1948, Menachem Begin, with a few other associates, founded the Herut (Freedom in Hebrew) Party. He headed the party's list in all Knesset elections from the first, in 1949, to the tenth, in 1981, by which time Herut had joined with several other political factions to form the Likud, a party that still exists as of 2005 and that has the highest number of representatives in the current Knesset.

On the eve of the Six-Day War, in May 1967, Menachem Begin was influential in initiating the formation of Israel's first national unity government. He served as a minister without portfolio for all its

duration, from June 1, 1967, to August 1, 1970. He was elected prime minister as a result of the elections of the ninth Knesset on May 17, 1977.

Menachem Begin was the first prime minister to refer to the West Bank as Judea and Samaria, considering them an integral part of the Land of Israel. Soon after being elected he went to visit an Israeli settlement in the West Bank, Elon Moreh, and declared it to be part of "liberated Israel." It was under his tenure that Jews embarked on the wholesale settlement of the territories.

In 1981, Begin ordered the Israeli Air Force to bomb the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. Though at the time Israel was condemned by the international community, it became apparent during the 1991 Gulf War that Israel's action had succeeded in halting Baghdad's drive to acquire nuclear weapons.

Following several visits to the United States and Romania, which was playing as the mediator at the time, Menachem Begin decided to extend an invitation to Egypt's President Anwar Sadat to come to Jerusalem. The Egyptian president accepted the invitation and made his historic visit in November 1977, the first and only Arab leader to do so publicly.

Menachem Begin, as well as many members in the Labor Party, resisted Egypt's initial demands for the return of the entire Sinai and the promise of autonomy to the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. After twelve days of negotiations at Camp David, Begin presented the peace treaty to the Knesset, and only twenty-nine out of forty-three Likud representatives in the Knesset were among the majority that approved the accords.

Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat jointly received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978. When Anwar Sadat was assassinated by Muslim fundamentalists in October 1981, Menachem Begin went to Cairo and walked to the funeral, which was held on a Saturday.

Begin also initiated Project Renewal, in which the Israeli government, in coordination with the Jewish Agency and world Jewry, addressed the problems of Israel's urban neighborhoods and development towns. Numerous improvements in infrastructure, education, social services, and housing were introduced. He also initiated the movement to save Ethiopian Jewry, an effort that led to Operation Moses in 1984 and culminated in Operation Solomon in 1991.

Menachem Begin's name also became synonymous with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, beginning a war that would cause a sharp political divide in the country. The invasion was staged to uproot Palestinian terrorists in southern Lebanon who had been shelling Israel's north. But it soon escalated to an invasion of Beirut itself, Israel's first incursion into an Arab capital.



In 1983, as the Israeli public was experiencing a deep division over the war, Begin called on Israelis to “show tolerance, rid themselves of hatred and show understanding of each other.” He added that “differences of opinion were legitimate and should not lead to physical confrontation.” These statements were the closest he came to denouncing violence that led to the killing, by right-wing Jewish demonstrators, of Emil Grinzwieg, a Peace Now protester of the Lebanon War.

Begin was deeply troubled by the high death toll of the Lebanon War. He suffered a further devastating blow when his wife, Aliza, died in November 1982.

In September 1983, Menachem Begin stepped down as prime minister, saying he could go on no longer. He spent the final decade of his life living with his daughter in almost total reclusion, and was visited only by a small circle of friends. In those years, the few times that Begin appeared in public, he looked pale and frail. It was in sharp contrast to the image of the great Likud leader who called out at the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt, “No more war. No more bloodshed. No more tears. Peace unto you. Shalom.” He died in March 1992 and was buried on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem.

CARMELA LUTMAR

**See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Israel; Zionism**

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## BELARUS

The Republic of Belarus (by convention called “Belarusia” until 1991) is located in Eastern Europe, bordering with the Russian Federation (Russia) in the east, with Latvia in the north, Lithuania in the north-west, and the Ukraine in the south. The country has a total area of 207,595 square kilometres (80,153 square miles). Its major languages are Belarussian and Russian.

The population of Belarus was estimated at 10,235,000 in July 2000. It is one of the most urbanised countries among the western republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) with around seventy percent of the population living in the cities and towns. The country’s capital, Minsk, is home for 1,695,700 people (1999), or 16% of the population. Belarus has a population growth rate close to zero due to a low birth rate (9.57 births per 1,000 population [2001, CIA est.]) and sizeable permanent and temporary emigration. It is estimated that its population could slightly decline by 2010.

Belarus is situated on the crossroads from Russia to Western Europe and therefore has experienced turbulent history. Its economy traditionally was based on agricultural production, forestry, and trade. By the eighteenth century most of Belarus’s territory had been acquired by the Russian Tsardom. The rise of capitalism in the nineteenth century brought steep social polarisation and poverty, and many Belarusians supported various anti-Tsarist movements or emigrated to the United States and Canada. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Belarus nationalists declared independence from Russia, but in 1918 the nationalist government was defeated and the Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic was established, although Poland took a significant part of what had been Belarussian territory. In December 1922, Belarus became a founding member of the USSR; however, it was not until 1939, with recapture of what was known as Western Belarus, that the republic established its present borders. The Belarussian Communist Party (BPT) came to power in the 1920s, to remain the single ruling party for the next seventy years.

The Belarussian development for the next sixty years was largely shaped by the Soviet concept of development. The government nationalised all industries and lands that had previously belonged to nobility and established control over all types of economic activities and central state planning. In the 1930s and 1940s, the government conducted a collectivization campaign, forcing all farmers to join state-controlled cooperatives (*kolkhozy*) and collective farms (*sovkhozy*). The Second World War caused incredible damage to the Belarussian economy, as almost 50% of its industry was destroyed and almost 30% of its population perished during the Nazi occupation of 1941–1944. After the war, Belarus rebuilt its economy with the help of huge investments from the Soviet government, mainly to heavy industry, defence production, consumer good manufacturing (Belarus was among the USSR’s top five producers of television sets and radios), nuclear power stations, and others. The government directed huge resources into the social sector, supporting extended free education,

medical services to all groups of the population, funding a generous pension system, and installing a comprehensive welfare network. At the same time the government severely limited basic political and religious freedoms, and free entrepreneurship, and thousands of Belarusians, especially former nobility, ended up in labour camps in Russian Siberia or Central Asia.

According to official statistics, the Belarusian industrial production grew thirty-fold between 1940 and 1984. By the end of the 1980s, Belarus had become one of the most industrialised republics in the USSR. The state-led industrialization, however, disregarded environmental issues, and the explosion in the Chernobyl nuclear power station in neighbouring Ukraine polluted almost 20% of the Belarus territory, affecting approximately two million people.

Mikhail Gorbachev initiated the policy of perestroika (glasnost and perestroika), which met strong support, as there was mass anger and dissatisfaction over the political, economic, and environmental situation in the republic fuelled by the effect of the Chernobyl disaster. By 1991, the nationalist movement gained strength in the political arena; this contributed to defeat of the BCP and election of Stanislav Shushkevich, the liberal-minded politician, as the head of the state.

## Recent Development

Belarus declared its independence from the USSR on August 25, 1991. President Shushkevich launched the International Monetary Fund, and inspired radical economic reform policy and political liberalisation. However, the radical reforms, also known as the “shock therapy,” combined with the sudden withdrawal of the state support of all enterprises, the breakdown of law and order, and collapse of the trade with the former USSR, brought economic chaos and recession. This led to political turbulence and change of leadership in 1994, as Alexander Lukashenko won the presidential election. The new president radically reversed economic policy, returning to the state control of major economic activities and the Soviet-style centralization. President Lukashenko established his iron rule and new policies, which combine extreme forms of authoritarianism with populism and the Soviet-style suppression of opposition. This led to political isolation of Belarus in Eastern Europe. Yet, on September 9, 2001, Mr. Lukashenko won another term in a hotly contested presidential election.

In 1994, the Lukashenko-led government rejected a program of radical economic changes and attempted to reverse the recession and halt the high inflation through re-instituting the state control. The government believed that stimulation of the trade with Russia and the CIS partners would bring economic revival, and it supported greater economic integration with Russia through various integration schemes. It approved a small-scale privatization, limited price liberalization, allowed private entrepreneurship, and opened some sectors of its economy for foreign investments. Belarus introduced its national currency, the ruble, in August 1994, one of the last countries in the former USSR to do so. However, the government was never able to stop the ruble’s steep decline, as it plunged from 15,500 rubles per US dollar in 1996 to 730,000 rubles in 1999.

The new currency and attempts at privatization, liberalization, and private entrepreneurship did not have the desired effects. Belarus could not achieve macroeconomic stabilisation and sustainable economic growth, although it avoided economic recession at the level seen in neighbouring Ukraine or Lithuania. According to the World Bank, the Belarus economy declined at an average annual rate of 1.6% between 1990 and 2000. Foreign investors are reluctant to invest in the economy due to red tape among national bureaucracy, and an unfriendly and unreformed business environment.

During the post-Soviet era the Belarus economy experienced considerable structural changes, and agriculture, industries, and services contributed 15.3%, 37.4%, and 47.3%, respectively, to the GDP (World Bank est. 2001). The Belarus exports are based on sales of machinery, domestic appliances, chemicals, and processed foodstuffs in international markets, mainly to Russia (66% of the exports) and to other CIS markets.

The post-Soviet economic changes led to social polarisation in the country and a considerable decline in living standards among some groups of the population, especially in rural areas and small towns, but the state was able to preserve some social benefits in education, the health system, and pensions. Of its population, 23% live below the poverty line (World Bank est. 2001) and average life expectancy is 68 years. In 2001, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)’s Human Development Index (HDI) put Belarus in 53rd place out of 162, ahead of all the CIS countries.

RAFIS ABAZOV

**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth**

**of Independent States: International Relations; Soviet Bloc; State-Directed Economy**

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**BELIZE**

Belize, formerly British Honduras, is the newest nation in the Western Hemisphere. Belizean independence from the United Kingdom (UK) occurred in 1981, having been delayed for decades because of a territorial dispute between Guatemala and the UK. Guatemala officially recognized Belize only in 1992, but the border between the nations remains a "line of adjacency" specified in an agreement reached in 2000. However, Guatemala does not recognize the line as the legal border. Belize's northern border is Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula, and the Caribbean Sea lies to the east. Its climate is tropical, and the nation boasts significant terrain diversity, from coastal lowlands to low mountainous regions.

Although geographically situated in Central America, Belize differs from its neighbors in two major respects. First, its legacy as a British colony includes English as an official language, as well as a sound governmental infrastructure. Thus, Belize has allied itself economically with other former British colonies in the Caribbean rather than with its continental neighbors. For example, it has chosen membership in the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) rather than affiliation with the Central American Common Market (CACM). Second, Belize remained a haven of peacefulness and stability in Central America during both pre- and post-independence. This reality has led to dramatic ethnographic changes as refugees fled from the serious conflicts in neighboring nations during recent decades, and poses significant challenges for Belizean economic development.

**Historical Economic Development**

Following the typical pattern of colonies, Belizean economic history derives chiefly from its function as a source of raw materials, particularly raw forest products and agricultural commodities, which were exported to its sovereign. Therefore, from its initial settlement in 1640, Belizean economic activity focused on the exploitation of primary forest products—first logwood, followed by mahogany and chicle. Economic diversification from forestry began only in the 1880s, when the British introduced plantation agriculture (bananas and sugar). However, outbreaks of plant diseases decimated commercial banana production in the 1920s and 1930s. Until that time, Belize's virtually complete specialization in primary products left few opportunities for alternative economic development, except for those establishments that provided the freight-forwarding services, short-term credit, and import/retail functions in direct support of the primary sector. Following the banana crises, Belize began to develop an agro-industry during the 1930s, allowing it to add value to the primary products it produced. These new activities included transforming logs into lumber, sugar cane into sugar and molasses, and citrus products into concentrate.

**Economic Development Since 1945**

After 1945, sugar, which still accounts for half of Belizean export revenues, and citrus concentrates emerged as Belize's new export staples. Today, agriculture and agro-industry remain the largest sectors of the economy, with the banana industry remaining the nation's largest employer. However, the discriminatory trade policies of developed nations limited export quantities and their prices for these goods, leading some Belizeans to turn to illicit trade. Initially, this meant growing and trafficking in marijuana. In later decades, Belize gained importance as a transshipper of South American cocaine. Among its efforts to combat the development of this illicit sector, the government began in the 1960s to promote diversification into the world's largest and fastest-growing industry—tourism.

Tourism seems perfectly appropriate for Belize, due to its geographic diversity, its stability, its proximity to North America, and its facility with English. In addition, Belize offers the international tourist a wide range of options, including cayes on the world's second-largest barrier reef, tropical jaguar habitats,

and a rich cultural heritage that features historical Mayan sites and current Mayan villages. Although traditional tourism in Belize was marine-based, more recent efforts have concentrated on ecotourism and archaeotourism. The government prefers these modes of tourism because they foster long-term viability of the sector, as ecotourists and archaeotourists enjoy the environment without altering it. International tourism in Belize grew rapidly in the 1980s, resulting in a four-fold increase in tourists during that decade. Following the global trend, Belizean tourist revenues have grown more than twice as fast as the gross domestic product (GDP), and more than five times as fast as merchandise trade. Tourism now accounts for ten percent of the Belizean economic activity, up from just four percent in 1984. However, there is significant debate regarding the usefulness of tourism in fostering economic development. However, Belize has clearly staked a significant share of its economic growth potential on tourism.

### Changing Ethnic Distribution

Perhaps the most challenging problems in the economic development of Belize derive from its longstanding willingness to accept refugees from its neighbors. Historically, the vast majority of Belize's 250,000 people have been of African descent. Moreover, the Creole population was concentrated in Belize City, which had enjoyed political and economic primacy before independence. At that time Belize's main ethnic groups were Creole (40%), Mestizo (23%), Garinagu (8%), and Maya (10%) (Bolland 1986 Everitt 1986 and Shoman 1994). Recent immigrants have typically been mestizos who had dwelt in rural regions in their former countries, resulting in a dramatic switch in the population distribution by the turn of the twenty-first century to Creole (30%), Mestizo (44%), Garinagu (6%), and Maya (10%).

The Latinization and ruralization of Belize will pose significant problems for Belizean economic development in the twenty-first century. First, the increasing importance of Spanish as the primary language of half the country's population will require significant new resources for primary schooling, either for teaching English or for offering bilingual education. The paucity of resources available for education exacerbates this problem. Moreover, as the global economy becomes increasingly reliant on knowledge, education becomes even more critical. Second, although Belize has had four distinct ethnic populations for decades, they have been geographically separate.

The Hispanic population has tended to concentrate on the Belizean borders with its Spanish-speaking neighbors. In past decades, immigrants have moved into the center of the nation as well, but maintained a separate economic identity through subsistence farming. Recently, however, they have been entering urban areas, generating both more interaction and more competition for resources with the other ethnic groups. The new democracy will be tested severely in its ability to come to grips with the fast-changing nature of its people in the already rapid-paced world of globalization.

JEFFREY W. STEAGALL

**See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA); Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Ecotourism**

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### BEN BELLA, AHMED

Ahmed Ben Bella, the father of modern Algeria (b. December 25, 1919), was an indefatigable revolutionary leader. He attended school in Tlemcen and emerged more fluent in French than in Arabic. In

World War II, Ben Bella served with distinction in the Free French Army, but when the war ended he returned to Algeria and joined the nationalist Parti Populaire Algérien. In the course of the next three years Ben Bella evolved from an advocate of gradual decolonization into a confirmed revolutionary. He led the Organisation Spéciale, an underground insurrectionist band. In 1950, he robbed the post office in Oran and was captured and imprisoned by French authorities. He escaped in 1952, fled to Cairo, and (with eight others) founded the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action to organize the Algerian struggle for independence. Ben Bella received moral and financial support from his hero, Egyptian President Nasser and from Habib Bourguiba, the Tunisian leader.

On November 1, 1954, the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), led by Ben Bella, began the Algerian revolution. French army troops unintentionally aided the rebels by applying collective punishment to entire villages. This only generated new recruits for the FLN. French agents captured “the Invisible One” (as Ben Bella was called) on October 22, 1956, by hijacking an airplane on which he was a passenger. He spent the next six years in jail, but from captivity he was elected vice-premier of the revolutionary provisional government. By 1960, the French were ready to negotiate and by 1962, they were beaten. The Evian Accords ended the war and confirmed Algerian independence, and the French freed Ben Bella.

After a short period of internal struggle between different branches of the FLN, a socialist faction led by Ben Bella, allied with the revolutionary armed forces (Armée Nationale Populaire) commanded by Col. Houari Boumédiène, seized control of Algiers. Ben Bella was elected prime minister on September 20, 1962, in the first of Algeria’s many one-sided elections. One year later, under a new constitution, Ben Bella was elected president for a five-year term. He immediately launched an ambitious program of land reform and education. Post-revolutionary Algeria was in dire straits. At least 250,000 Algerians, and probably many more, had died in the war, and another three million internal refugees crowded the cities. One million French Algerians, including most of the skilled managerial class, left the country. Soviet economic advisors were unable to solve the basic problem of high unemployment.

Ben Bella believed in a neutralist foreign policy that in practice amounted to well-publicized state visits to Egypt, Cuba, and other “emerging nations.” He proclaimed support for all wars of national liberation but suppressed a Berber revolt in Kabylia. Ben Bella enjoyed international diplomacy so much that he neglected domestic problems. His administrative

style was likewise erratic—the only consistent theme appeared to be elimination of potential rivals. One such, Col. Boumédiène, overthrew Ben Bella on June 19, 1965. Ben Bella spent the next fifteen years in prison, where he was allowed to marry and start a family. The incarcerated socialist now turned to the Koran.

President Boumédiène died in 1978. Ben Bella remained under house arrest until 1980, when he was released and pardoned by the new president, Chadli Benjedid. Ben Bella moved to Switzerland and futilely plotted a return to power. In 1990, Ben Bella returned to Algeria, but his charisma seemed to have faded and his call for Algerian volunteers to defend Saddam Hussein from US aggression seemed irrelevant to most Algerians. In retirement Ben Bella styled himself a progressive Islamist, but his countrymen preferred to remember him as he had been fifty years previously—a passionate patriot.

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**See also Algeria; North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations**

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#### BEN-GURION, DAVID

David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973), Israel’s first prime minister and local architect of Israeli statehood, was born David Gruen (Green) on October 16, 1886, in Plonsk, in Russian-occupied Poland. He served as prime minister and defense minister from 1948–1953 and from 1955–1963, presiding over Israel’s 1948 War of Independence and the 1956 Sinai Campaign and the accompanying Suez Crisis.

Ben-Gurion came to Zionist thinking from an early age; his father, Victor Gruen, was active in the Hovavei Zion (Lovers of Zion) group in Poland. In 1906, a young Ben-Gurion arrived in Palestine, finding agricultural work in the towns of Petah Tikvah and Rishon LeZion. He soon became active in Zionist circles, writing for the Poalei Zion newspaper *Achdut*, where, in 1910, he Hebracized his name to Ben-Gurion.

In 1912, he left to study Turkish law and government in Istanbul but returned to Palestine at the outbreak of World War I. Because he initially sided

with the Ottomans, he was exiled to Egypt in 1915, from where he journeyed to New York. It was there that he met and married Russian-born Paula Munweis, in 1917. These were heady days for political Zionism, and the issuing of the Balfour Declaration by Great Britain in that year, whereby the government declared support for the “establishment of a Jewish national home” in Palestine, led Ben-Gurion to help organize the Jewish Legion for Britain. But by the time he returned to Palestine in 1918, the war had ended.

The war’s conclusion enabled Zionist immigrants to focus on establishing a nascent Jewish polity while attempting to secure independence from the British, who then held the Palestine Mandate. Becoming evermore active in political circles, in 1921 Ben-Gurion assumed the position of General Secretary of the Histadrut (the national labor federation). In 1930, he formed the Mapai Party (precursor to the Labor Party), becoming party leader in 1933. Two years later, he became chairman of the executive committee of the Jewish Agency, effectively becoming head of the Yishuv, the pre-state Jewish community in Palestine.

During World War II, Ben-Gurion attempted to bring European Jewish refugees to Israel; he was also active in the Haganah (the pre-state military) at this time. On May 14, 1948, following the 1947 UN Partition Resolution and the withdrawal of the British Mandate, Ben-Gurion declared independence for the State of Israel. Subsequent parliamentary elections, in January 1949, saw him elected as prime minister.

Ben-Gurion’s political reign in Israel was characterized by a policy of *mamlachtiut*, which entailed consolidating independent institutions under overarching governmental authority. A striking example was the *Altalena* Affair in which, in June 1948, Ben-Gurion ordered the shelling of a ship carrying arms and 900 immigrants and belonging to the rival proto-military *Irgun* faction; the ship sank and sixteen aboard were killed.

Revered by Israelis and known affectionately as the Old Man, Ben-Gurion died December 1, 1973 at Kibbutz Sde Boker in the Negev, where he had retired from politics three years earlier, committed to the pioneering of the Israeli desert region.

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**See also Balfour Declaration; Israel; Palestine**

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## BENIN

The Republic of Benin is situated in West Africa and is bounded to the east by Nigeria, to the north by Niger and Burkina Faso, and to the west by Togo. The total territory is 112,620 square kilometers (110,620 square kilometers land area). Benin stretches 700 kilometers (435 miles) from the Gulf of Guinea to the Niger River. Benin’s shoreline of 124 kilometers now includes what used to be known as the Slave Coast, from where captives were shipped across the Atlantic. Next to the coastal area, a plateau zone with wooded savannah extends to the Atakora hills, with elevation ranging from five hundred to eight hundred meters. Atakora is the water reservoir for both Benin and Niger. Climate of Benin is characterized by unusually dry conditions. Rainfall is not as abundant as in the other areas at the same latitude—an anomaly in the tropical conditions known as the Benin variant. The population of Benin is estimated at 6.9 million inhabitants (2004), largely concentrated in the southern coastal region near the major port city of Cotonou (450,000 inhabitants), the chief town of the Atlantic Department seat of government; the capital city of Porto Novo (200,000 inhabitants) in the Ouémé Department; as well as the “Royal City” of Abomey (80,000 inhabitants) in the Central Department of Zou.

Benin and the surrounding area was settled in the thirteenth century by Ewe-speaking people in the south and by Voltaic speakers in the north. Around the fifteenth century, the territory of contemporary Benin was penetrated by the Portuguese, who began the African slave trade. Around 1600, the kingdom of Allada was founded. It broke up into the rival states at Abomey and Porto-Novo in the seventeenth century. Later, Abomey grew into the Kingdom of Dahomey, which dominated the area until the nineteenth century. In 1895, Dahomey became a French territory, included in French West Africa. National liberation uprisings took place in 1915 and 1923. In 1958, Dahomey received autonomy within the frames of the French Community. On August 1, 1960, it achieved independence under the name of the Republic of Dahomey. From 1960 to 1972, Dahomey endured ten cabinet changes and five military coups d’état. Gen. Christophe Soglo deposed the first president, Hubert Maga, in an army coup in 1963. He dismissed

the civilian government in 1965, proclaiming himself chief of state. Then a group of young army officers seized power in December 1967, deposing Soglo. The fifth coup of the decade came in December 1969, with the army again taking power. In May 1970, a three-man presidential commission with a six-year term was created to take over the government. In May 1972, yet another army coup ousted the triumvirate and installed Lt. Col. Mathieu Kérékou as president. Between 1974 and 1989, Dahomey embraced socialism, proclaiming itself a Marxist-Leninist state, and changed its name to the People's Republic of Benin. The name Benin commemorates an African kingdom that flourished from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries in what is now southwest Nigeria. Benin renounced Marxist policies by the end of 1989, and in the following year became a multi-party democracy. Prime Minister Nicéphore Soglo defeated M. Kérékou to become president in the March 1991 election. However, Kérékou was returned to office in the next election in 1996. Benin has embarked on a path of democracy. Presidential elections in both 1991 and 1996 saw a peaceful transfer of power. Increased freedom of the press and strengthening of civil society institutions reinforced the country's democratic inclination. The continuation of market-oriented economic policies after the 1996 election of President Kérékou has strengthened reforms by demonstrating the broad political consensus around such policies. Benin embraced democracy with particular fervor as a model of reform in Africa. M. Kérékou was re-elected in 2001, though some irregularities were alleged. Benin is considered to be the birthplace of voodoo, now a tourist attraction.

Benin's economy remains dependent on subsistence production of maize, yams, cassava, rice, fruits, and beans; cotton production; and regional trade. The country's main exports are cotton, palm oil products, coffee, crude oil, and cocoa beans. Recent years have seen an increase in exports of cotton and services related to transit trade. Growth in real output has averaged a stable 5% in the past six years, and inflation has subsided, but rapid population rise has thwarted most of this increase. Despite the economic growth over the past few years, Benin remains among the world's poorest countries and the GNI per capita is US\$440 (World Bank 2003). The country's productive capacity is further severely compromised by the under-utilization and misuse of existing technical expertise. The BNP, US\$6.6 billion (2000), is shared by agriculture 37.9%, industry 13.5%, and services 48.6%.

The economic infrastructure of Benin is poorly developed. There are about eight thousand kilometers of roads, of which one thousand kilometers are asphalted (including ten kilometers of expressways), and an

international harbor with modern facilities in Cotonou. The 578 kilometers of railroads are a joint venture with the Republic of Niger. The main airport is near Cotonou and is served by many foreign air companies. The adult literacy rate is 40.9% (males 56.2%, females 26.5%, 2000). Benin's school system is under government control and is free and compulsory. The only university is the National University of Benin. Most of the Benin population, especially within the country, have no access to modern medical care. According to the 1995 data of the World Health Organization (WHO), there have been approximately six physicians and twenty-one nurses for every one-hundred thousand people. Life expectancy for males is slightly more than fifty-one years for males and fifty-two for females. The population growth rate (2.89% annually, 2004 est.), as well as the infant mortality rate (85.88 deaths per 1,000 live births), are among the highest in the region. Benin plans to attract more foreign investment, placing more emphasis on tourism, on new food-processing systems and agricultural products, and the introduction of the new information and communication technologies. The 2001 privatization policy will continue in telecommunications, water, electricity, and agriculture despite initial government reluctance.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations; West African Monetary Union (WAMU)**

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### BERBERS

Berbers are an indigenous Caucasoid people of North Africa. They live in the area from the Atlantic coast to

the Oasis of Siwa in Egypt, from the Mediterranean shore to the oases in mid-Sahara. Berbers make up a clear majority of the population of North Africa in terms of race, and in terms of identity—a substantial part. Racially, Berbers represent up to 80% of the population in Morocco and Algeria, and more than 60% in Tunisia and Libya. Thus, they account for more than fifty million people. Another two million of the nomadic Berbers, the Tuaregs, are scattered over Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger. In addition, there are about four million Berbers living in Europe, mainly in France. More than half of the people with Berber background are now claiming to be Arabs.

Many theories relate Berbers to the Canaanites, the Phoenicians, the Celts, the Basques, or the Caucasians. Some anthropologists, in light of the Berbers' blond and red hair, as well as green and blue eyes, believe in their European origin. However, they have been in North Africa for more than four thousand years. On the evidence of Egyptian cenotaph paintings, they derive from as early as 2400 BC. The alphabet of the only partly deciphered ancient Libyan inscriptions is close to the script, the Tifinagh, still used by the Tuaregs. Their first state, the second-century BC Numidia in present Algeria, was located west of Carthage. It was conquered by Rome in the Second Punic War and became a province of the Roman Empire.

Until their conquest in the seventh century by Muslim Arabs, most of the Berbers were Christian, and a sizeable minority had accepted Judaism. Many of the early heresies, particularly Donatism, which held that church leaders who had renounced Christianity during Diocletian's persecutions were no longer valid authorities, emerged essentially as a Berber opposition against the Roman rule. "They belong to a powerful, formidable, brave and numerous people; a true people like so many others the world has seen—like the Arabs, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans. The men who belong to this family of peoples have inhabited the Maghreb since the beginning," wrote the Arab philosopher Ibn Khaldoun in the eighth century. Under the Arabs, the Berbers were Islamized and formed the core of the Arab armies that conquered Spain. In the ninth century they supported the Fatimid dynasty in their conquest of North Africa.

After the Fatimids withdrew to Egypt, they left an anarchy of warring Berber tribes. It ended only with the rise of Berber dynasties, the Almoravids (eleventh–twelfth centuries) and the Almohads (twelfth–thirteenth centuries). Their empire of Mauritania extended over all northwestern Africa and part of Spain. They pushed back Christian kingdoms' advancement south against the fragmented Moors.

When these dynasties faded, the Berbers of the plains were gradually absorbed by the Arabs. Only those inhabiting inaccessible mountain regions, such as the Aurâs, the Kabylia, the Rif, and the Atlas, retained their culture and traditions. When the French and the Spaniards occupied much of North Africa, the Berbers staged the most vehement resistance. At the dawn of colonization, Abd el-Qadir in the Algerian Kabylia halted French occupation until 1847.

The Berber communities are scattered around the North African countries. They often live in independent settlements in remote areas under a loose tribal organization. Of major cities in North Africa, only Marrakech has a population with a Berber identity. Except for the nomadic Tuaregs, who have traditionally been based farther to the southwest (and who have hence become less racially homogenous), the Berbers are small farmers. They have developed local crafts (iron, copper, lead, pottery, weaving, and embroidery). Their conversion to Islam took a long time—up to the sixteenth century. Berbers are Sunni Muslims, but there are numerous traces of former religious practice. The name Berber was derived from "Barbarian" during the Greco-Roman period. The Berbers call themselves Imazighen (Free Men). Their native tongues are of the Hamitic group, but most literate Berbers also speak the language of their religion—Arabic. Berber languages—around three hundred local dialects—are spoken by about twelve million people, not all of whom are considered ethnic Berbers. Berbers use either the Latin or Arabic alphabet to write.

Until very recently, Berbers were considered to be second-class citizens, similar to the Native Americans in the United States, Aborigines in Australia, and the Sámi people (Lapps) in Norway. In such countries as Morocco and Tunisia, Berber is a synonym for being an illiterate peasant dressed in traditional garments. Many of the Berber children drop out of school because they are taught in Arabic. The language barrier often remains a problem throughout adult life, especially when dealing with administration. As with many other indigenous peoples in the world, Berbers are now protesting against the depreciation of their culture and identity, the absence of a written language, and being denied political influence. In the late 1990s in Algeria, confrontation reached dimensions so tense, it invited speculations about the chances of a civil war and a partition of the country. Many Arabs do not support the blossoming of Berber identity in their countries, but so far there has been little aggression between the two groups.

Tuaregs, or Touaregs, are the Berbers of the Sahara, numbering close to two million. They have preserved their ancient alphabet, related to the one



used by ancient Libyans. The Tuaregs traditionally maintained a feudal system consisting of a small number of noble families, a large majority of vassals, and a lower class of black non-Tuareg serfs, engaged in agriculture. Tuaregs themselves convoyed caravans and, until subdued by France, were feared as raiders. Strongly independent, they never accepted European hegemony. Though nominally Muslim, they still retain many pre-Islamic rites and customs. A peculiar feature of the Tuaregs is that men go veiled, while the women do not cover their faces. Moreover, women enjoy respect and freedom, and descent and inheritance goes through the female line. The traditional way of life for the Tuaregs (such as raiding neighboring tribes, leading caravans, and demanding taxes from trans-Sahara travelers) has changed. Since the 1970s, droughts and famines have forced many Tuaregs from their desert homes into urban areas. In the 1990s, political tensions caused further relocation. Groups of Tuaregs have fought for autonomy from Niger and Mali, but cease-fires were signed in the mid-1990s.

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**See also** Algeria; Arab Nationalism; Ethnic Conflicts; North Africa; Islam; Libya, Maghrib Peoples; Mauritania; Minorities/Discrimination; Morocco; North Africa: History and Economic Development; Tunisia

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#### BERLIN WALL (1961–1989)

In Europe, as a result of the wartime diplomacy of World War II and the so-called Cold War that followed, a theoretical line, which Winston Churchill called the "Iron Curtain," was drawn between the Eastern Soviet bloc and the Western-European non-Communist countries. While much of the confrontation, perhaps the most important part, was manifested in a *Realpolitik* geo-political stand-off,

both sides emphasized an ideological component that defined the Cold War.

The Western governments formed a new political and economic alliance to end centuries-old warfare among themselves—the Common Market, eventually becoming the European Union, which Washington helped finance through the Marshall Plan. At the same time most of the Western European states joined the United States and Canada in the military alliance NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). For its part the Soviet Union countered with its own economic and military alliances—COMECON and the Warsaw Pact.

East–West differences appeared the sharpest in Germany. The victors of World War II divided Germany into four sections, each occupied by a different victor: the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France. By 1949, the Western Allies united their sectors into the Federal Republic of Germany (West) and the USSR established the German Democratic Republic (DDR-East). In a bizarre situation, the capital, Berlin, located well inside the Soviet sector, was also divided into four sectors. Thus, when the two Germanys were formed and the Western sectors united, two Berlins were created—a modern thriving West Berlin and a dilapidated East Berlin, which because of international treaties and economics could not be rebuilt. In 1949, the Soviets tried to force West Berlin to collapse by blocking land access to the city from the West, but the famous Berlin Airlift saved the city.

By treaty, citizens of Berlin could travel throughout the city. Many from the Eastern sector went to the West on the subway or other means of ground transportation. Some stayed there and others even flew to West Germany. The Soviet bloc countries made it difficult—and in some cases impossible—for its citizens to travel to West Germany, particularly the skilled workers and professional class whose training and education could give them higher-paying jobs. By the early 1960s, after the tensions between the blocs were relaxed under Nikita Khrushchev, the number of East Germans fleeing to the west, especially professionals, increased astronomically. About 2.5 million have left since 1949.

This migration presented problems for both East and West. For the East the loss of the educated population and their desire to flee was both an economic and a propaganda nightmare. For the West it meant an economic burden as penniless people moved into their sector. Political tensions increased, and the West Germans feared outbreaks of violence. However, Khrushchev and East Germany solved the problem on August 12, 1961, when they erected a barrier

across the city—the Berlin Wall—barring access to the West. Families were divided. Initially composed of barbed wire and cinder blocks, the East German government gradually made the wall more permanent, with facades fifteen feet high and gun towers on top. The wall extended twenty-eight miles inside the city and another seventy miles around it.

More than ten thousand East Germans tried to cross the barrier. Approximately five thousand succeeded, but another five thousand were prevented, and more than 190 were killed in the attempt. Furthermore, the wall became a great propaganda tool for the West Germans as proof of the inferiority of the Communist system; it also aroused a great public outcry. Some wanted NATO forces to tear it down, but the West German authorities saw it as a resolution to many of West Berlin's economic and political issues. Additionally, the propaganda regarding the Wall added to the fear of global war, and the West Germans and their NATO allies did not want to risk a war with the Soviet Bloc.

For the next three decades the Berlin Wall stood as the symbol dividing the two competitors of the Cold War. In the 1970s, Cold War politics became more complicated when relations between China and the Soviet Union worsened and the former's relations with the United States improved. In the late 1980s, a new, more aggressive anti-Communist attitude appeared in Washington and London led by President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Meanwhile in the Soviet Union, stagnation paralyzed the politics and economy led by the aging and unimaginative leadership. Furthermore, Moscow's disastrous and unpopular war in Afghanistan made the need for change even more urgent. In 1985, after the successive deaths of two aged traditional leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev became leader of the Soviets. His initiatives, spurred on by the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl in 1985, led to his policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*—economic restructuring and openness and discussion. Relations with the West improved. Gorbachev told the Eastern European countries they would have to fend for themselves and one by one the Communist parties there lost power. Citizens found routes to leave and go to the West. On November 9, 1989, as East Germany began to unravel, the Germans dismantled the wall piece by piece.

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**See also Soviet Bloc**

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### BETANCOURT, RÓMULO

Rómulo Betancourt (1908–1981) is often called the father of Venezuelan democracy. President of Venezuela from 1945 to 1948, and then again from 1959 to 1964, Betancourt consistently fought to institutionalize representative democracy in Venezuela. A powerful orator, he wrapped his political agenda in democratic and nationalist rhetoric. His efforts were facilitated by the tremendous revenues generated by Venezuela's petroleum industry, which provided the money needed to co-opt the various pillars of Venezuela's corporatist society. His main vehicle for political control was Acción Democrática (AD), a center-left political party established by Betancourt in 1941. Unlike most Venezuelan leaders who have illegally enriched themselves while in office, Betancourt, a short, chunky pipe smoker, left office with virtually the same amount of money that he entered office with.

Betancourt was born in Guatire, Miranda, not far from the capital, Caracas, on February 22, 1908, the same year that Venezuelan dictator Juan Vicente Gómez seized power. Betancourt's father, a Spanish accountant and poet, had married into a rural, middle-class Venezuelan family. His family had enough money to send Betancourt to the Liceo Caracas for his secondary education. Eventually, he entered the Universidad Central de Venezuela and studied law. He founded and led radical student groups, such as Agrupación de Izquierda (ARDI) and Organización Revolucionaria (ORVE), to protest against the Gómez dictatorship (1908–1935). Because of his protests against the Gómez dictatorship in 1928, he was arrested and jailed. He then went into exile from 1929 to 1936.

His contact with other Caribbean dictators convinced him that it was not enough to simply overthrow Gómez. The system of personalistic authoritarian dictatorships also had to be destroyed. Therefore, in 1931, along with other Venezuelan exiles, Betancourt issued the Plan of Barranquilla, which called for a social revolution in Venezuela. As a young man, Betancourt dabbled with Marxism, joined the Third International, and helped organize the Costa Rican Communist Party during the 1930s. He founded the Marxist-oriented Organización Venezolana (OV) in 1935, which was transformed into AD in 1941. Following his disillusionment with communism, in 1937 communist members were expelled

from AD. AD had a strong power base among the labor unions, students, the growing urban middle class, and young military officers. In 1945, AD and a group of young military officers toppled a military government that had succeeded the Gómez dictatorship.

Following the revolution, Betancourt was chosen to lead the civilian/military junta ruling Venezuela until the December 1947 presidential elections that brought AD leader Rómulo Gallegos to power in February 1948. Betancourt initiated universal suffrage, social reforms, and secured half the profits from the foreign oil companies operating in Venezuela. The fifty-fifty petroleum law with the foreign oil companies—Creole (Standard Oil of New Jersey), Gulf, Shell, Texaco, and Mobile—guaranteed the Venezuelan government 50% of all oil company profits in Venezuela. At the same time, Betancourt built a lasting friendship with US industrialist Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller's family controlled the Creole Oil Company, the largest US oil firm operating in Venezuela. Rockefeller, who has been described by historian Darlene Rivas as a "missionary capitalist," wanted to make capitalism more socially responsible in Venezuela and supported Betancourt's efforts at social reform.

Numerous elites, generals, businessmen, and large landowners, however, were frightened by AD's populist rhetoric. Marcos Pérez Jiménez overthrew the AD government in 1948. Betancourt went into exile in New York City. He returned to Venezuela after a group of military officers led by Wolfgang Larrazábal ousted Pérez Jiménez in 1958. On October 31, 1958, members of Betancourt's AD, Jóvito Villalba's Democratic Republican Union (URD), and Christian Democrat Rafael Caldera's Independent Political Organizing Committee (COPEI) met at Caldera's home to sign the Pact of Punto Fijo, a civilian plan to avoid inter-party conflicts, strengthen constitutional democracy, and establish a government of national unity to ensure that all political forces (with the notable exception of the communists) were represented in the political system. As such, it was the groundwork for a two-party, power-sharing representative democracy that divided judiciary appointments and leadership positions in Congress. Critics of Betancourt called the Venezuelan government a "pactocracy"—democracy by the consent of those who govern rather than those who are governed.

Betancourt won the December 7, 1959, presidential elections with 49% of the vote. He promulgated a new constitution in 1961 to institutionalize representative democracy, which lasted until the 1999 constitution unveiled by Hugo Chavez. Two important organizations concerning petroleum were created during his administration by Minister of Energy Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonso in 1960. The Corporación Venezolana

de Petróleos (CVP), which was designed to oversee the Venezuelan petroleum industry, and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), an international oil cartel established with Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and Kuwait. Land reform programs distributed undeveloped private property and state lands to increase agricultural production. Oil wealth allowed for compensation to the landowners who had their property confiscated.

Betancourt was faced with threats from both the left and the right. Fidel Castro's government armed members of the Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN). Betancourt protested Castro's actions before the Organization of American States (OAS) and broke diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1961. Betancourt was also critical of Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo. Trujillo supported plots by Venezuelan exiles to overthrow Betancourt. Betancourt protested Trujillo's actions before the OAS and broke diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic in 1960. Trujillo responded by orchestrating an assassination attempt on Betancourt on June 24, 1960. Although Betancourt survived, he was badly burned. Betancourt's foreign policy, known as the Betancourt Doctrine, was based on the premise that Venezuela would deny recognition to any regime, left or right, that came to power through military force.

US President John F. Kennedy viewed Betancourt's government as the best defense against authoritarianism and communism. Betancourt ensured that the 1963 presidential elections in Venezuela were free and honest. For the first time in Venezuelan history, the executive office passed from one constitutionally elected president to another. Awarded a lifetime seat in the Venezuelan Senate in 1973, he died in Doctor's Hospital in New York City on September 28, 1981.

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**See also Northern South America: History and Economic Development; Northern South America: International Relations; Pérez Jiménez, Marcos; Venezuela**

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## BHUTAN

Bhutan (*Druk Yul*) is located in the eastern Himalayas. It borders on China (Tibet) in the north and on India in the west, east, and south and is approximately 46,500 square kilometers large. Bhutan's southernmost part comprises a narrow strip of land at the fringes of the Ganges-Brahmaputra lowlands and has a subtropical climate. Central Bhutan is characterized by deep valleys cutting through the land in a north-south direction. With an average elevation of approximately 1,650 meters it is of a temperate climate. The northernmost part has a cold climate and an average elevation of four thousand meters. Approximately 70% of the country is forested. Most Bhutanese or *Drukpa* live in the central uplands and the adjacent Himalayan foothills. Total population numbers remain obscure. Estimations range between 600,000 and 2.2 million, hence population numbers, as well as data derived thereof, must be met with great caution. The United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN)—in accordance with official Bhutanese figures—lists a population of 716,000 in 2002. The number of people living in urban areas remains vague as well. The capital, Thimphu, was reported to have fifty thousand inhabitants in 2004. Phuntsholing, close to the southern border, is the only other town with a population over ten thousand.

Although Bhutan is a Buddhist Kingdom and Mahajana-Buddhism enjoys the status of a state religion, approximately twenty-five percent of the population are Hindus who predominantly reside in the south. The official language is Dzongkha, a Sino-Tibetan language. However, since Dzongkha only recently became a written language and is but one of several languages spoken throughout Bhutan, English is extensively used as a lingua franca and for educational purposes. Three major groups comprise the *Drukpa*, thus reflecting Bhutan's immigration history: Ngalops of Tibetan origin, who have been settling in what became central Bhutan since the ninth century CE; Lhotshampas of Nepalese origin, who immigrated in the nineteenth century CE; and Sharchops, who migrated from what is now Burma and Northeast India to what is now eastern Bhutan in the seventh century CE.

As a political unit, Bhutan was established in the early seventeenth century when Ngawang Namgyal, a Tibetan lama, introduced a dual system of religious and secular government and established administrative districts (*Dzongkhaks*). This system came to an end when the governor of the district of Trongsa, Ugyen Wangchuck, was elected the first King of Bhutan (*Druk Gyalpo*) in 1907. Since this date Bhutan has been a hereditary kingdom. Due to geographical and political factors combined with cautious diplomacy, Bhutan never came under colonial rule. However, in 1865, Bhutan ceded some borderland to the British empire in exchange for an annual subsidy. In the early twentieth century the British formally took over the country's external representation. With Indian independence in 1947 this function was carried out by India. In a 1949 agreement the territory formerly held by the British was returned and subsidies for Bhutan were granted by India, while at the same time India's responsibility for Bhutan's foreign affairs and its military defense was formalised.

Since the reign of the third king, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck (1952–1972), the country has experienced substantial political and social reforms. In 1953, the national assembly (*Tshogdu*) was established, consisting of 150 members of whom 105 are elected by the public, 10 by the Buddhist clergy, and 35—including the 20 district governors—are nominated by the king. Elections are held every three years. In 1965, the Royal Advisory Council (*Lodoi Tshogde*) was formed. Consisting of nine members—one government representative appointed by the king, six people's representatives elected for a three-year term by the *Tshogdu*, and two representatives of the clergy—this institution serves as an advisory body to the king and the ministers. During the 1960s a court system with twenty district courts was created, and eventually the High Court was set up in Thimphu in 1968. Ministers were appointed by the king until 1998 when structure was formed consisting of six ministers elected by the *Tshogdu* and the members of the *Lodoi Tshogde*, thus forming the Council of Ministers with full executive powers. At the same time the king stepped down as the head of government, at which point this function was passed over to the prime minister, a position annually rotated among the elected ministers. However, the king remains the head of state and maintains responsibility for the army, but the *Tshogdu* can remove him by a two-thirds vote in favor of the next person in the hereditary line.

Political parties are nonexistent. A number of exile-parties have been founded in relation to the expatriation of Nepalese immigrants in the 1980s. Since then about one hundred thousand persons of

unclear status live in refugee camps in Nepal with little improvement having been reached on this issue. Other cases of political conflicts were an unsuccessful coup in 1964 involving the assassination of Prime Minister Jigme Dorji, and Indian guerilla groups operating from bases in southern Bhutan in joint operations of Bhutanese and Indian forces in 2003–2004.

Prior to 1961, Bhutan lacked any modern infrastructure. In the first Five-Year-Plan (1961–1966) priority was consequently given to the creation of basic infrastructural facilities such as roads and electrification, whereas the second Five-Year-Plan (1966–1971) centered around development in agriculture, education, and healthcare. The first Five-Year-Plans were exclusively financed by India. Since the 1970s, Bhutan has been continually seeking international contacts. In 1971, the country became a member of the UN, and as of 2004 it had six missions abroad and had joined more than 150 international organisations. India remains Bhutan's most important partner in both economic and political respects, but funding of development projects is not exclusively provided by India anymore.

The Human Development Index (HDI) listed Bhutan at a rank of 136 (of 175) in 2003 while as of 2002 the GDP per capita equaled US\$1,969. However, detailed analysis reveals obvious improvements. For example, life expectancy rose from forty-three years in 1970 to sixty-three years in 2002, and infant mortality sunk from 15.6% in 1970 to 7.4% in 2002. With the construction of an airport with a paved runway at Paro and the extension of its hydroelectric capacities, Bhutan has invested in two of its key resources: tourism and hydroelectric power. Besides electricity, major exported goods are calcium-carbide, cement, forestry products, and cardamom; major imports include telecommunications equipment, rice, machinery, and oil. India accounts for approximately 90% of the exports and 75% of the imports. With a literacy rate of 47% in 2002, Bhutan ranks low in worldwide comparison. However, as of 2001, the government was spending 12.9% of its budget on education.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations**

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### BHUTTO, BENAZIR

Benazir Bhutto (1953–1996) was born on June 21, 1953, in Karachi (Pakistan). She was the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was president and later prime minister of Pakistan from 1971–1977. Bhutto was twice prime minister of Pakistan (1988–1990 and 1993–1996), the first woman to be elected to head the government of an Islamic state. She brought new hopes to the people of Pakistan that she would guide her homeland along the path of democracy, freedom, and justice. She was a charismatic politician and symbol of modernity, glory, and independence. Her career took her from the depths of the prisons of dictator Zia ul-Haq to the heights of Pakistan's prime ministership.

Bhutto was tutored by an English governess and enjoyed a pampered, upper-class upbringing. She attended Lady Jennings Nursery School, and the Convent of Jesus and Mary in Karachi. She also studied at Rawalpindi Presentation Convent and was then sent to Jesus and Mary Convent at Murree. She passed O-level examinations from Jesus and Mary Convent, Karachi, at the age of fifteen. In April 1969, she was admitted to Harvard University's Radcliffe College to study politics, philosophy, and economics. In 1973, Bhutto attended Oxford University to study International Law and Diplomacy. She was elected to the standing Committee of the Oxford Union Debating Society and, in 1977, she was elected president of the Oxford Union. Bhutto returned to Pakistan in June 1977 and served as an advisor to her father. In the following decade of political struggle, Bhutto was arrested by the military regime on numerous occasions. In all she spent nearly six years (1977–1983) either in prison or under detention for her dedicated leadership of the then-opposition Pakistan People's Party. Throughout the years in opposition, she pledged to transform Pakistani society by focusing attention on programmes for health, social welfare, and education for the underprivileged. Benazir Bhutto was arrested.

In 1984, she was allowed to leave Pakistan and settled in London.

Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 1986 and married a wealthy businessman, Asif Ali Zardari, on December 17, 1987. Soon after, she led the opposition to military rule. After Zia ul-Haq died in a plane crash in 1988, Bhutto's alliance gained a narrow majority in the parliamentary elections and she became prime minister. As prime minister, Benazir Bhutto emphasised the need to heal past wounds and to put an end to the divisions in Pakistani society—including reducing discrimination between men and women. Bhutto launched a nationwide programme of health and education reform. The Bhutto government, however, was marked by continuous intrigue and able to accomplish little, and was dismissed by President Gulam Ishaq Khan in August 1990. The president accused Bhutto, her husband, and her party of corruption. Zardari was held (1990–1993) on various charges, eventually acquitted, and Bhutto's party lost the late 1990 elections. In 1993, Bhutto again became prime minister and made alliances, including those with the military that enabled her to deal with some of Pakistan's deep-seated problems. In 1996, the Bhutto government was again dismissed by President Farooq Leghari under charges of mismanagement, corruption, and financial embezzlement. Bhutto's husband, Zardari, was the focus of much of the criticism. She had appointed him to the cabinet post of investment minister. Zardari was accused of murdering Bhutto's brother (Mir Murtaza Bhutto), a political rival, as well as of accepting kickbacks and pocketing money from government contracts, and sweeping corruption charges were brought against Bhutto. President Leghari also accused Zardari of "extrajudicial killings" in Karachi, where Bhutto's rivals had been killed by police. In 1999, Bhutto and Zardari were both convicted of corruption; Bhutto appealed the verdict while living in exile with her three children (Bilawal, Bakhtwar, and Aseefa) in the United Arab Emirates and England. In 2001, the Pakistani Supreme Court set aside the corruption charges facing Bhutto and Zardari and ordered a retrial for both of them. On both occasions that Bhutto's government had been dismissed, it was due to the Eighth Amendment that enables the president to remove a prime minister—the amendment had been added to the constitution by a former president, General Zia ul-Haq, to give him leverage to get rid of Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo. Subsequently, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Farooq Leghari used it to dismiss Benazir Bhutto's government.

Benazir Bhutto is the author of *Foreign Policy in Perspective* (1978) and an autobiography, *Daughter of*

*the East* (1989). She received the following awards: the Bruno Kreisky Award for Human Rights (1988); the Phi Beta Kappa Award presented by Radcliffe College (1989); the Highest French Award, the Grand-Croix de la Legion D'Honneur (1989); the Noel Foundation Award (UNIFEM) (1990); the Gakushuin Honorary Award, Tokyo (1996); and a Medal of the University of California at Los Angeles UCLA (1995). She has been awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Law, L.L.D., Harvard University (1989); Honorary Doctorate of Law (Honoris Causa), University of Sindh, Pakistan (1994); Honorary Doctorate from Mendanao State University, Philippines (1995); Honorary Doctorate of Law (Honoris Causa), University of Peshawar, Pakistan (1995); Honorary Doctorate of Economics, Gakushuin University, Tokyo (1996); and an Honorary Fellowship by Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford (1989). She has addressed an historic US Joint Session of Congress (1989), where she called for the establishment of an Association of New Democratic Nations; the World Economic Forum at Davos, Switzerland (1994); French National Assembly (1994); UN Conference on Population Planning, Cairo (1994); Commission for Human Rights, Geneva (1994); Princeton University, US (1995); School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University (1995); and the World Women's Conference in Beijing (1995). She has been called "The world's most popular politician" in the Guinness Book of World Records (1996). The *London Times* (May 4, 1996) included her in its list of the one hundred most powerful women.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Pakistan**

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### BIAFRA

The short-lived Republic of Biafra was a secessionist breakaway state from Nigeria, lasting from its declaration in May 1967 to its surrender to the federal state

of Nigeria in January 1970. Consisting of the former eastern region of Nigeria, Biafra was bounded by the Gulf of Guinea and Bight of Biafra in the south, by the Niger River and Niger Delta on the west, by the northern regional authority of Nigeria to the north, and by the Nigeria-Cameroon border on the east. The state was created as a homeland for the Ibo, one of the three largest tribal ethnic groups in Nigeria, at its inception encompassing a population of about 15 million. The declaration of the state of Biafra led to an extremely desperate and bloody struggle between the Biafran separatists and the federal government of Nigeria, ending only with the complete surrender of the separatists.

Biafra was the culmination of severe internal turmoil in Nigeria following its independence from British colonial rule in 1960. Nigeria was a state strongly divided among various ethnic groups, most prominently the northern Hausa-Fulani, the western Yoruba, and the eastern Ibo. These ethnic groups were further divided by religion and lifestyle. Northerners were by and large Muslims and the northern economy was generally pastoral and agricultural. In the south, the Yoruba were mixed Christian and Muslim and the Ibos were predominantly Christian. The southern population was widely perceived as a merchant and bureaucratic elite, and southerners were the more significant force in the nationalist movement leading up to 1960.

The creation of a Westminster-style parliamentary government in Nigeria following independence gave the numerically superior north the most powerful role in government. What is more, the party system, which tended directly to represent the significant ethnic cleavages, reinforced the inherent tensions among the major tribal groups. The Nigerian governments elected in 1959 and 1964 favoured the Hausa-Fulani-dominated Northern Peoples' Congress, which was increasingly criticized by southerners for attempting to institutionalize northern dominance in Nigerian politics. A national census taken in 1962 was widely held by southerners to overstate the northern population and sparked further polarization of the electorate. The two major southern parties united to boycott the elections of December 1964, complaining of widespread irregularities in the electoral process, violence, and intimidation. This set the stage for a military coup in which the Nigerian prime minister and several northern prefects were assassinated, and it brought to power General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, an ethnic Ibo, in January 1966.

In the wake of the coup, northern animosity toward ethnic Ibos increased as popular sentiment blamed the Ibo for the overthrow of the government. In May 1966, General Ironsi issued Decree 34, suspending the constitution and declaring an end to the

federal system. This sparked widespread riots in the north, in which thousands of Ibos were killed and many thousands more fled as refugees to the south. Instability lasted until the assassination of Ironsi in late July and his replacement by Colonel Yakubu Gowon. Gowon's administration restored the federal system in early September, but the military governor of the eastern region, General Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, refused to accept the legitimacy of the new government. Despite an agreement reached between the two in Aburi, Ghana, in January 1967, the Gowon administration refused to accept a system of devolved power proposed by Ojukwu, and the eastern region proceeded quickly toward breaking ties with the central administration. In response to Gowon's announcement of a new federal administration on May 27, the Consultative Assembly of the eastern region requested Ojukwu to declare independence. On May 30, the independent republic of Biafra was declared in the eastern region.

Nigerian federal forces moved quickly to reverse the secession of Biafra. Beginning in July 1967, the federal army moved on several towns in the northern and coastal portions of Biafra with the expectation that the breakaway republic would submit within two weeks. However, a Biafran counterattack launched against the mid-west region of Nigeria in August and September threatened the capital of Lagos until federal forces pushed the separatists back toward the east. From October 1967, the Biafrans were fighting a defensive battle on their own soil against a far superior federal army. After the fall of Port Harcourt to federal forces on June 9, 1968, Biafra remained landlocked and under siege throughout the remainder of the war, supplied only via humanitarian airlift of health supplies and smuggled goods. The former source of supply was curtailed dramatically after Nigerian forces shot down a Swedish Red Cross flight in June 1969.

Throughout 1968 and 1969, famine afflicted the people of Biafra, leading to the deaths of an estimated six thousand to ten thousand people per day. In January 1969, UNICEF reported that approximately two million people had starved to death in Nigeria and Biafra. International support for the Biafran regime was scant. While the federal government continued to receive arms supplies from the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, Biafra was diplomatically isolated, supplied only by a handful of countries and officially recognized by a small number of African states.

A series of definitive victories on the part of the federal government in late 1969 led to the eventual collapse of Biafran resistance. On January 10, 1970, General Ojukwu fled Biafra, and two days later, Biafran forces surrendered to the federal government. While the government promised to oversee the

non-partisan reconciliation of Biafra, it refused to allow most foreign relief efforts in the region following the war, citing their support of Biafra during the conflict.

Many factors contributed to the intensity of the war over Biafra, including the importance of oil extraction in the Niger River Delta and its significance as a transshipment point for oil production. Added to this was the ethnic and class basis of divisions between the mostly rural northern majority and the comparatively prosperous and commercially developed southern Ibo. Within Biafra, the war was cast as an independence struggle of African solidarity against the neocolonial dominance of the Nigerian government in league with international commercial interests. While the secessionist movement was conclusively defeated, the Biafran War remains emblematic of the significant internal divisions present in Nigerian politics.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; Nigeria; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## BIODIVERSITY CONSERVATION

Biodiversity conservation is one of a handful of environmental issues that highlight the increasingly acrimonious debate about sustainable development in the developing world. The term is of interest globally, but particularly relevant in the Global South as that is where the vast majority of species diversity exists—and that is where development pressures threaten biodiversity most acutely.

In its most basic sense, biodiversity refers to the web of life around us—and, thus, conservation of these resources is tied to the basic human inclination for self-preservation. But as a wealth of literature to date demonstrates, more immediate development interests, perhaps most accurately described as growth pressures, often supercede these environmental issues, which typically require a larger frame of

reference. Such short-term approaches create the very conditions they seek to avoid. Yet this is precisely the obstacle that confronts those engaged in biodiversity conservation today.

Before answering this broader question, though, let us define biodiversity. Biodiversity has come, in fact, to incorporate essentially three different levels of analysis. As Harvard entomologist and Pulitzer Prize-winning author Edward O. Wilson notes in his text *Naturalist*, biodiversity “is the total hereditary variation in life forms, across all levels of biological organization, from genes and chromosomes within individual species to the array of species themselves and finally, at the highest level, the living communities of ecosystems such as forests and lakes.”

While Wilson’s definition is the accepted norm, the most widely distributed analyses focus on the middle level of analysis—the different types of species on our planet. This diversity is found overwhelmingly in the southern hemisphere, in developing states. Even more specifically, this diversity is particularly found in tropical rainforests such as the Amazon. Graphical representations of biodiversity such as those by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like Conservation International (CI) highlight this phenomenon. Indeed, CI is probably most famous for its hotspots map, which portrays its intensified focus on twenty-five high-priority areas around the world. CI uses its hotspots map to argue that the best strategy in protecting biodiversity is to concentrate upon a relatively small number of areas with high species diversity.

CI pinpoints locations that cover a mere 1.4% of the earth’s land surface—but land that is home to more than 60% of the global terrestrial species. Probably the most commonly cited counter-example is the Global 200 program proposed by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). WWF, known as World Wide Fund for Nature internationally, traditionally identifies two hundred global eco-regions, the most biologically distinct terrestrial, marine, and freshwater regions according to their scientists. Distinctiveness is measured according to total number of species, number of species found nowhere else (referred to as endemism), and presence of unusual evolutionary or ecological phenomena.

In any case, whether one concentrates on the twenty-five hotspots of CI or two hundred eco-regions of WWF, virtually all maps of biodiversity do have one characteristic in common—they all show a decided overlap in diversity across national borders. That means any viable conservation program must be addressed among a number of overlapping states. In some cases, where species such as birds or whales migrate for thousands of miles, these states are not even in close proximity to one another. Thus, there is



a need for international, or perhaps more accurately transnational, efforts to truly protect species. Yes local initiatives are necessary, particularly in the developing world where development pressures threaten biodiversity most acutely. Communities and the individuals among them must have a stake in biodiversity conservation. It must be in their interest to protect—to preserve wildlife. Similarly, state-level commitments are necessary. National environmental protection efforts must recognize the ecological base of national economic health. But neither local nor state-level actions are sufficient on their own. Global attention is required as well. This is where the aforementioned NGOs come into the picture. They permeate all three levels. They are uniquely equipped to operate both below and above the state level. They are truly transnational actors.

The last two decades have seen a veritable explosion in the number of environmental NGOs—both large and small, southern and northern hemisphere groups alike. These groups are raising more money than ever before. They are breaking new partnership grounds, both with business and with other NGOs. And they are working both directly with and against states, as well as a select number of international organizations in their conservation protection efforts. This action is most obvious in a handful of international forums. Five international treaties of particular note are the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD); Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES); Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, Especially as Waterfowl Habitat (Ramsar); Convention on Preservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals (CMS); and the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (WH). A sixth agreement of relevance is the 1989 Basel Convention on the Control for the Conservation of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal. Like the CBD, this convention targets assistance of developing countries as a primary objective. Unlike the CBD, though, it fails to address broader issues of diversity protection.

That said, the two most notable here are the CBD and CITES. The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) represents the first and only international treaty protecting total species diversity, although the potential of this treaty continues to be stymied by United States' intransigence. While some 187 states plus the European Union are now full-fledged members given their ratified status, the United States is not. A product of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the Convention entered into force

in December 1993 after being ratified in record time. The Earth Summit, as it is popularly known, represented the largest gathering of world leaders in history, with some ten thousand diplomats present. But its progress in terms of conservation has been halting at best. The record of the 1973 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) is more acclaimed. It comes the closest to the CBD in terms of international impact, yet it is by definition limited to known species that are officially recognized as endangered—and only within the context of trade. Still, this convention is useful more generally in that it publishes lists of species in three basic categories. Appendix I is the most protective, prohibiting all international commercial trade in threatened species. Appendix II also provides a degree of protection as it regulates trade in species not currently threatened with extinction but susceptible to such a threat if trade were to be unregulated. Appendix III is simply a list of species that countries stipulate as already protected within their own borders.

The most widely recognized cataloguing of international biodiversity, though, is The World Conservation Union's Red List of Threatened Species. The list is produced by the hybrid non-governmental-international organization known as The World Conservation Union (IUCN). Known globally as the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), it is a mammoth federation composed of more than one thousand different members. This includes some eighty states, over one hundred government agencies, and approximately 730 NGOs. IUCN Red Lists were printed in traditional book format until the year 2000, when a switch was made to annual updates in an electronic format on the World Wide Web (see References and Further Reading at the end of this entry).

Despite all these efforts, species numbers throughout the world are dropping at a frightening rate. Some fifty thousand species a year become extinct according to a recent estimate by the Rainforest Action Network. Some of this is due to pollution. Some is due to invasive species, sometimes referred to as non-indigenous or alien species. But by far the primary culprit in this massive die-off is habitat loss due to human development. This includes a litany of activities from logging, mining, and oil drilling to agricultural development and suburban sprawl.

It is unknown exactly how many species there are. While there have been approximately 1.8 million known species catalogued to date, many more are unknown. Estimates range from three million to five million species at the low end, to fifty million to one hundred million species at the high end. This larger number is based on research done by the Smithsonian

Museum of Natural History's Terry Erwin beginning in 1982. An entomologist, Erwin fogged insects in the tree canopies of rainforests in Panama, Brazil, and Peru, trapping the dying insects (especially beetles) on a sticky tarp where he could then study them. From the canopy of a single tree species (*L. seemannii*) Erwin found more than 1,100 species of beetles alone—80% of which were previously unknown to science. From numbers such as these he then drew a series of complicated and controversial extrapolations that some thirty million insects inhabited the Amazon alone.

During the last decade biologists and conservationists have converged to a middle figure of between ten million and thirty million species. But again the range remains a disagreement between three million and one hundred million. Worldwide, more than seven hundred extinctions of vertebrates, invertebrates, and vascular plants have been recorded since 1600. But how many unknown species went extinct? This is a particularly relevant question as this seven hundred number focuses on large, easily observed species; some island species that are relatively easily monitored as well; and the well-studied northern temperate latitudes where most biologists live—but most biodiversity does not.

Some extinction is a natural process. Scientists refer to this as the “background extinction rate” and tell us that the vast majority of species that have ever lived have gone extinct. That is, in fact, what makes the current pattern all the more alarming. The normal background rate is one species every ten thousand years. In 1950, that rate had increased to one every ten years. Today estimates vary widely, ranging from one per day to three per hour. No matter which number you choose, though, it is clear that large numbers of species are dying off—so large a number that this is commonly referred to as the sixth great extinction spasm. The last such extinction spasm was sixty-five million years ago when dinosaurs ruled the planet. Many biodiversity conservation efforts acknowledge not only the inherent worth of species but also the human species' own interests in maintaining as heterogeneous a planet as possible.

The most famous example of the dangers presented by lack of genetic diversity in agricultural crops is the Irish potato famine of 1846. Two others are the 1970 corn blight that wiped out \$1 billion in US crops and the 1972 devastation in the Soviet Union wheat industry. The blood of a horseshoe crab helps in the diagnosis of meningitis. Bee venom aids in treating arthritis. More than half the new pharmaceuticals developed today come from species out of the Amazon. Making conservation policy choices only once damage is proven implicitly suggests that either humanity can

adequately compensate for those losses incurred—or that the species that are currently being lost are marginal or unnecessary components in the web of life.

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**See also Deforestation; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Erosion, Land; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); Rain Forest, Destruction of; Sustainable Development; Wildlife Preservation**

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### BISHOP, MAURICE

Maurice Bishop (1944–1983) was the revolutionary prime minister of Grenada from 1979 to 1983. In 1962, he joined with Bernard Coard to form the Grenada Assembly of Youth After Truth. Bishop and Coard led bi-monthly debates in the central market on current events. In 1963, while Coard went to

Brandeis University to study economics, Bishop went to study law at London University's Holborn College. Bishop became chairman of the West Indian Students Society, co-founded a legal aid clinic for the West Indian community in Notting Hill, and was a member of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD).

In March 1970, Bishop returned to Grenada where he became active in politics. He was influenced by the writings of Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, especially *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (1968). He founded a political group known as the Movement for Assemblies of the People (MAP), which, in 1973, merged with another political group, Unison Whitman's Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education, and Liberation (JEWEL), to form the New Jewel Movement (NJM). The NJM was a black-power movement that appealed to many of the island's one hundred thousand inhabitants, most of whom were descendants of African slaves imported during the colonial period. In May 1973, the British government announced that Grenada would receive independence in February 1974. Bishop was concerned that Prime Minister Eric Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) would exclude the NJM from the political system. Nevertheless, in 1976, Bishop won a seat in the House of Representatives and became leader of the opposition. In 1977, Bishop visited Fidel Castro in Cuba and established close ties with the communist dictator.

On March 13, 1979, Bishop led a virtually bloodless revolution while Gairy was in New York City speaking at the United Nations about flying saucers and communication with extraterrestrials. Bishop received aid from Cuba and the Soviet Union, began construction of a large airport, and invited Cuban workers to help construct the airport. The United States and several of Bishop's Caribbean neighbors were concerned about Bishop's Marxist ideas and close friendship with Castro. On October 18, 1983, his long-time associate, Minister of Finance Coard, who wanted to pursue a more pro-Soviet policy, overthrew Bishop's government with the support of the army. Bishop was placed under house arrest in his Mt. Wheldale home. On October 19, Bishop marched on Fort George with a large group of his supporters, and was captured and executed. His body was never recovered. In response to the resulting chaos, US President Ronald Reagan sent a joint US-Caribbean military force to Grenada on October 25, 1983, which was welcomed by most Grenadians. Coard and sixteen of his accomplices, the so-called Grenada 17, were sentenced to life in prison.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Grenada; Group of 77; New Jewel Movement; Nyerere, Julius**

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### BLACK MARKET/SHADOW ECONOMY

The black market or "shadow" economy is also known by numerous other names: "underground" economy, "informal" economy, "second" economy, "hidden" economy, "unofficial" economy, "parallel" economy, "alternative" economy, "barter" or "ghetto" economy, and "subterranean" economy. The existence of such a myriad of synonymous descriptions demonstrates the importance of the black market economy in today's world. The shadow economy can be defined as the economy that comprises all economic activities where goods and services are produced but not reported. It therefore includes illicit and criminal activities, as well as all unreported income from the production of legal goods and services, either from monetary or barter transactions. In other words, the shadow economy refers to all economic activities that take place outside the official economy and that would be taxable if reported to the tax authorities.

The shadow economy can be divided into four broadly comparable components: the criminal, irregular, household, and informal sectors. The criminal sector comprises illegally produced goods and services, such as illicit narcotics. In this sector are included all criminal activities carried out by terror organizations in order to fund themselves; examples are credit card fraud and credit card cloning. In fact, all activities of terror groups belong to the black market economy, with the exception of legal activities such as the generation of charitable donations. These latter activities become illegal, that is, they enter the domain of the criminal economy, only when they fund terrorist attacks. The irregular sector includes legally produced goods and services that evade legal reporting requirements, for example, to avoid taxes. The household sector refers to productive activities

that take place within private abodes. Something as simple as knitting a cardigan or making a dress and selling it to a friend, without reporting the income, would fall within this category. And, finally, the informal sector can be defined as economic activities that circumvent the costs and are excluded from the benefits of law, such as unregulated micro-enterprise. In this latter category, we might find the plumber who works for a large firm but has private customers on the weekends, or the policeman “moonlighting” as a security guard when off-duty, and both getting paid in cash and not reporting it.

Thus, the underground economy may actually include such innocuous occupations as midwifery, child care, or construction, widening the scope of what is often perceived only as a seedy and corrupt sector of the business world. Following this definition, many entrepreneurs and self-employed persons may find themselves connected to the underground economy in some aspect or another, whether through the employment of people “off the books,” or by acting as unlicensed workers themselves, or by exchanging goods without regulation. This aspect of the black market economy should not be undervalued as it represents a considerable section of the shadow economy. In the United States, for example, using this expanded definition, the National Center for Policy Analysis (NCPA) has put at twenty-five million the number of Americans who, in 2000, earned a substantial part of their income underground.

### The Size of the Shadow Economy

As a consequence of its very nature, estimating the size of the shadow economy is quite difficult. For a start, people engaged in underground activities do their best to avoid detection, a phenomenon stressed by one of the overall descriptions of this economy, that is, shadow economy. To correctly estimate how big the informal economy is, policy makers and government administrators need information about how many people are active in the black market economy, how often underground activities occur, and how large is the volume of cash generated by these activities. Thus, economists and government statisticians have made a variety of calculations to estimate the size of the shadow economy.

*The Economist* calculates that the world underground economy is worth \$9 trillion, which is about 20% of the world economy. This figure includes unrecorded income, which ranges from legal income, such as that of builders paid in cash, to the proceeds of illicit activities such as drug-dealing and prostitution.

The IMF and the World Bank estimate that the size of the criminal and illegal economy is about \$1 trillion. Loretta Napoleoni, an economist specializing in terrorism, estimates that the world’s criminal, illegal, and terror economy totals \$1.5 trillion. According to all these estimates, the largest component of the black market economy is represented by the irregular, household, and informal sectors.

Friedrich Schneider, professor of economics at the Johannes Kepler University of Linz in Austria, has done extensive work on the growth of the black market economy. He calculates that, in OECD countries, the shadow economy has been steadily growing for the last thirty years—doubling from an average of 10% of the GDP in the 1970s to around 20% in 2000. Growth has also occurred in countries with smaller shadow economies. In the United States, for example, the black market economy is estimated to have jumped from 4% of GDP in 1970 to 9% in 2000.

The fastest growth in shadow economies was in the 1990s when the black market economy of OECD countries rose from an average 13% (1990–1993) to an average 20% at the end of the decade (1999–2000). The dissolution of the Soviet Union and globalization seem to be the key international factors that have boosted this exceptional growth.

Among OECD countries, from 1999–2001, Greece and Italy had the largest shadow economies, equivalent to 30% and 27% of their GDP, respectively. In the middle group one finds the Scandinavian countries, and at the lower end of the spectrum, the United States and Austria, at 10% of their GDP, and Switzerland, at 9%. From 2000 onwards, the shadow economy has continued to grow strongly in most OECD countries.

From 1988 to 2000, the black market economy in transition economies, that is, former communist countries, averaged 23% of the GDP. In 1998–1999, the Republic of Georgia’s shadow economy was the largest, at 64% of its GDP; Russia’s was 44% of its GDP; and Uzbekistan’s was the smallest, at 9%. Among the transition countries of Central and Eastern Europe during the same period, that is, 1999–2000, Bulgaria had the largest shadow economy, at 34% of its GDP, and Slovakia had the smallest, at 11%.

From 1988 to 2000, the shadow economy in developing countries averaged 40% of GDP. In Africa in 1998–1999, Nigeria and Egypt had the largest black market economies, equivalent to 77% and 69% of their GDP, respectively; South Africa, by contrast, had a shadow economy of only 11% of its GDP. In Asia, during the same period, Thailand ranked number one with a shadow economy of 70% of its GDP; Hong Kong and Singapore had the smallest shadow economies, both at 14% of GDP. In Latin America in

1998–1999, the biggest shadow economy was in Bolivia, at 67% of GDP, and the smallest was in Chile, at 19%.

Different policies and factors are at the root of the rate of growth of the black market economy. In OECD countries, increasing taxation, social security contributions, rising state regulatory activities, and the decline of the tax morale are all driving forces behind this growth. In the case of the transition countries, the dissolution of the Soviet economy has left many of these formerly centrally controlled countries with a weak state apparatus, facilitating the blossoming of the informal economy. Finally, in developing countries, the predatory nature of undemocratic regimes and their mismanagement of fiscal revenues represent a strong incentive for the population to join the shadow economy.

### **The Impact of the Black Market Economy**

Shadow economy activities are fast becoming an international problem. The disadvantages and perils of a prosperous shadow economy are apparent everywhere. Of greatest concern is the fact that the activities of the underground economy are unrecorded. Therefore, in countries with considerable informal economies, the statistics on official national income do not accurately represent the true state of a nation's economy. Given that these statistics are employed to generate economic policies, it follows that inaccurate figures often lead to inappropriate policy responses. This phenomenon in turn creates conditions that further stimulate the growth of the black market economy, creating a vicious cycle that is hard to break.

Therefore, the growth of the shadow economy is able to set off a destructive economic cycle. Transactions in the shadow economy escape taxation, thus they keep tax revenues lower than they otherwise would be. The NCPA has estimated that the US federal government loses \$195 billion per year due to the failure of people to report income and pay taxes on it. Among individual US states, California has by far the largest underground economy. Because of that, the state government loses between \$60 and \$140 billion each year in tax revenues. The black market economy, therefore, erodes the tax base and, at the same time, tax compliance. People employed in the formal economy resent the fact that they pay taxes while those in the informal sector do not. Finally, governments may respond to the lower tax revenues by raising tax rates—penalizing those who pay taxes and encouraging a further flight into the shadow

economy that in turn tightens the budget constraints on the public sector.

On the other hand, at least two-thirds of the income earned in the shadow economy is immediately spent in the official economy, resulting in a considerable positive stimulus effect on the official economy. However, it must be added that the informal economy is predominantly cash-based. Thus, a growing shadow economy may provide strong attractions to entice domestic and foreign workers away from the official economy.

A vibrant and flourishing black market economy can also be a symptom of dysfunctional domestic policies. Frequently, the presence of a prosperous underground economy is a consequence of existing economic policies, such as tax or regulatory regimes, that are overly burdensome or oppressive or that just fail to properly address the economic realities. And so the untaxable income generated by the black market economy further reduces potential state revenue. Finally, while some shadow economic activity, such as illicit trade in narcotics, is clearly undesirable, the vast majority of it is for the most part constructive. It may provide basic needs to consumers in developing countries at a lower cost than “legitimate” substitutes; and to the producers or providers it may generate income when there are no viable alternatives.

The underground economy is clearly far more complex than media stereotypes or common knowledge might suggest. Many people are not even aware of their involvement in it. Activities in this sector can run the gamut from laundering money to underreporting tips, and may involve everyone from drug kingpins to rural farmhands. Its moral terrain is complicated and frequently contradictory. For example, although some government officials have argued against employing illegal immigrants—for the protection of the employee—on the grounds that they can easily be exploited, the government itself may refuse citizenship to these same people, forcing them to seek employment “underground” in the first place. In another example, permitting employees to receive tips in cash, which may go unreported or underreported, may benefit workers in the short term; however, it may also be used by employers to justify the paying of lower wages and not providing other benefits to these same employees. Many of the entrepreneurs and individual workers who participate in this economy may not be proud to do so, but in some cases they feel they have few alternatives—or at least few sanctioned alternatives—to build up their businesses or generate income. Taking all these factors into account, it is likely that, despite its dangers, drawbacks, and risks, the underground economy will continue to thrive and

remain an important—and probably growing—component of the larger economy.

**See also Money Laundering; Terrorism**

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## BLACK SEA ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION (BSEC)

Following the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the foreign ministers of eleven countries—Albania, Adzherbaizhan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine—met in Istanbul in June 1992 on the invitation of Turkey to deal with mutual economic questions regarding the Black Sea nations. The meeting led to the signing of the “Summit Declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation” by the presidents of the states—the Bosphorus declaration. The organization based its formation on previous multinational conferences on European cooperation, such as the Helsinki Final Act (1975), Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (1972), and most of all the Paris Charter for the New Europe (1990). The organizers stated that the goals of the organization were compliant with the United Nations Charter and sought to promote democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms, economic literacy, social justice, and mutual security. They believed that the organization could be a model for future European cooperation. It stressed their belief that they would bring to the Black Sea region peace, prosperity,

stability, and security while promoting neighborly relations among the states. In 2003, Macedonia and the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro were invited to join.

The Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC) was one of several such regional organizations created in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union dealing with economic, political, cultural, and social issues. Both littoral and nearby countries are members. The countries in the BSEC comprise a population of three hundred and fifty million, and represented one-fifth of the world's trade. In addition, there are a number of other countries with observer status. These include Austria, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, Israel, Kazakhstan, Poland, Slovakia, and Tunisia. Representatives from the United States, the United Nations, The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, and the European Commission (EC) have attended meetings as well. The International Black Sea Club, an association of cities on the Black Sea with representation by the mayors, also has observer status. The members also stressed that the new organization would not interfere with the relations the countries had with other nations or international bodies such as the European Union.

The structure of the organization consists of a general secretary and a rotating presidency. The highest forum is the group of the member states' presidents. The regular decision-making body is the council of foreign ministers. The BSEC also has parliamentary (PABSEC) and business groups (BSEC BC). The PABSEC has three committees—the economic, commercial, technological, and environmental affairs; legal and political affairs; and cultural, educational, and social affairs. Other associated bodies are the Black Sea Universities Network (BSUN) and the Union of Road Transport Associations (BSEC-URTA). The organization has committees or working groups dealing with agriculture, crime and terrorism, transport, energy, health and pharmaceuticals, the environment, emergency assistance, tourism, telecommunications, science and technology, statistics and economic information, and trade and economic development. Official languages are English and Russian, but French translations are provided at meetings. The governments are attempting to create a business-friendly environment in the region and promote the training of young specialists in business management and technology. One of the main goals is foreign investment. The organization has arranged visa simplification for entrepreneurs, truck drivers, and others of its member countries and looked into the issue of double taxation of businesspersons. The business sector has established BSBIN, an Internet-based network for promoting interest in the member

states' investment opportunities. The motto of the BSEC is, "More concrete projects, more support and encouragement for enterprises, companies, and firms!"

In September 1998, the Black Sea Studies center (ICBSS) opened in Athens under the auspices of the organization with the goal of sharing research and technology by the scholarly communities of the member states. In January 1999, a BSEC Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (BSTDB) opened in Thessaloniki, Greece, to fund the organization. In 2001, they established an earthquake protection agency stationed in Thessaloniki. The bank is the engine of the organization. The BSEC relies on the private sector to meet its goals.

Some of the member countries were reluctant or unable to support the BSEC project fund. Contributions were based on a scale suitable to the wealth of the countries, but only four members, led by Greece, had contributed. The members have stressed the need for more active participation of the member states and the need to develop practical contacts with other international organizations. Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Absullatif Sener believes funds from other institutions such as the World Bank would be possible if the members supported the projects.

The organization has pushed for further development of cooperation between the BSEC and the European Union. They want a relationship similar to that which other regional organizations such as MERCOSUR and ASEAN have with the EU. They have worked with international associations dealing with railroads and ships, such as the Black Sea International Ship Owners Association (BINSIA) and the Black Sea Region Association Shipbuilders and Ship Repairers (BRASS). The BSEC cooperates with Black Sea organizations such as the TRACECA, the Transport Corridor Europe–Caucasus–Asia organization and the Black Sea Pan-European Transport Area (Black Sea PETra) group. The Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group (Blackseafor) formed in 2001 is a spin-off of BSEC consisting of six littoral states—Turkey Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia.

The United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution for the cooperation of the body and all its agencies with BSEC. The BSEC has worked with the UN's Food and Agricultural organization (FAO).

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## BOLIVIA

Bolivia is a diverse and multiethnic nation in the geographical center of the South American continent. It is one of the poorest developing countries in Latin America, consistently ranking low on the United Nations Human Development Index (a composite of education, GDP per capita, life expectancy, and income distribution). Seventy percent of its territory lies in the Amazon Basin, and more than a third of its 8.5 million people are primarily of European and mixed racial and ethnic origin (mestizos). Indigenous groups, primarily of Aymaran (20%–25%) and Quechuan (35%–40%) ancestry in the highlands and of Guaranian descent in the lowlands, comprise some 62% of the country's population. Especially after constitutional changes in 1994 formalized Bolivia's legal status as a "pluriethnic" nation, grassroots indigenous movements in the highlands and lowlands increased in intensity and political clout. Modern-day governments have been forced to compromise with powerful (and often intransigent) indigenous leaders.

Bolivia has been landlocked since Chile defeated it in the War of the Pacific in 1879, and subsequent Bolivian governments have never given up the goal of the return of some portion of the "lost" coastal territory of the Atacama. Historically, Bolivia's Pacific coast and lowlands have been underpopulated and physically isolated from the main political and commercial centers. These former territories, however, were rich in natural resources: guano, saltpeter, and silver mines along the Pacific coast, and rubber in the Amazonian region bordering Brazil, which was lost in the Acre War at the turn of the twentieth century. More national territory was lost in the Chaco War with Paraguay (1932–1936). Fortunately, Bolivia managed to retain the lands rich in oil and natural gas along its border with Argentina. These resources have helped mitigate some of the country's extreme indebtedness and chronic poverty. Since 2004, a dispute known as the "gas war" has been taking place in Bolivia, where various sides are in disagreement as to whether natural gas should be developed by a multinational consortium and sold to California markets.

The land mass of today's Bolivia traverses three distinct topographical regions: the high Andean plateau or Altiplano; the rich sub-Andean valleys; and the subtropical and tropical forests of the eastern

lowlands. The majority of Bolivia's population settled on the Altiplano and nearby valleys. Bolivia's population has primarily been agricultural. However, less than 40% are rural today. Since the 1970s, Bolivians have migrated in greater numbers to lowland departments and cities. Regional forces have not only greatly influenced the country's history and overall socioeconomic development, but some believe they may also threaten Bolivia's future governability. The cultural divisions between the peoples who claim the Andean identity of the *kolla* and those who identify with the lowlander cultural and ethnic heritage of the *camba* have been exacerbated by the dispute over plans to export natural gas. The Camba nation is increasingly restive and intolerant of the ethnic tensions, political instability, and poverty of highland Bolivia.

Bolivia has had more than two hundred palace revolts and minor revolutions since its independence in 1952. As the second Latin American social revolution of the twentieth century, the Bolivian National Revolution of April 1952, like the earlier Mexican Revolution that served as its model, initiated widespread political and socioeconomic change. Among the Bolivian revolution's major reforms were universal suffrage, land distribution, nationalization of the tin mines, and the expansion of public education. Although not Marxist, the revolution was radical; it overthrew a conservative and repressive oligarchy, and its nationalist economic agenda heightened tensions with the United States, especially during its first decade.

At the head of this revolution was Bolivia's first revolutionary president, Víctor Paz Estenssoro, his presidential successor, Hernán Siles Zuazo, and Juan Lechín Oquendo, the fiery Trotskyite head of the leftist mine workers' union; as well as the political party the three had founded a decade earlier, the National Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*, or MNR). The MNR represented a wide coalition of classes that included intellectuals, students, miners, workers, and peasants. This multi-class alliance proved to be the recipe for revolutionary success. The party itself reflected this class and ideological diversity with the majority of members espousing a vague program of national dignity and economic development and self-determination, and only its labor left wing favoring a revolutionary and socialist agenda.

By 1964, the conflicting tendencies and agendas within the MNR brought Bolivia's "development-oriented revolution," in the words of James M. Malloy, to an abrupt end. The counterrevolution, ironically headed by the "new" military, reorganized after the revolution into a "modernizing" and productive force for national development, initiated eighteen years of

military dictatorship. Ernesto "Che" Guevara attempted, but failed, to provoke his continental revolution against imperialism from Bolivia in 1967.

Several attempts to reestablish constitutional civilian rule were frustrated in the thwarted elections of 1978, 1979, and 1980. That year the so-called "cocaine coup" of General Luis García Meza and his "cocaine mafia" turned Bolivia into a pariah nation internationally. In 1982, the country finally returned to democracy with the election of Hernán Siles Zuazo. The transition to democracy, however, was rocky and did not solve the almost insoluble problems of underdevelopment, poverty, corruption, and instability. Hyperinflation and the global crash of tin prices in 1985 and massive mine closings in 1986 plunged the country into economic recession and further political unrest.

Armies of unemployed miners swarmed into the lowlands to grow coca leaf, the primary input for cocaine production and the drug trade. Subsequent democratic governments confronted a crisis of democratic populism and opposition to the neoliberal or free market economic policies adopted in 1985, and to the militarization of the so-called "drug war" after 1986. Privatization of state enterprises by the technocrats of the first Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada government (1993–1997) and the forcible "zero coca" eradication policy of President Hugo Banzer Suárez (1997–2001) increased armed resistance by unions and coca leaf growers' federations. Many Bolivians felt that the resulting government repression and violations of human rights threatened further democratization. Nevertheless, by 2001 the Bolivian government claimed the complete eradication of illegal coca leaf in the Chapare region of the country.

Bolivia's eradication success—at best only a temporary reduction of 90% of coca production—bought billions of dollars in foreign aid and debt forgiveness by the United States, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. In its wake, however, loomed a more pronounced crisis of governability. Since 1985 every administration has been forced to govern through an unwieldy "mega-coalition" of political parties and to survive the almost constant political protest. In October 2003, demonstrations and peasant roadblocks nationwide precipitously cut short Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada's second term in office.

Constitutional and democratic rule was preserved this time when Vice President Carlos Mesa Gisbert assumed the reigns of government. However, Bolivia's people and leaders continue to face the difficult challenges of development and democratization, as well as the new and still-emerging challenge of globalization. Bolivian leaders hope a foreign policy of multilateralism and regional cooperation and integration



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will help them promote democracy and economic prosperity at home.

WALTRAUD Q. MORALES

**See also Andean South America: History and Economic Development; Andean South America: International Relations**

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## BOSCH, JUAN

Juan Bosch is regarded as the greatest prose writer in Dominican literature and one of the most salient figures in Dominican political history. The Dominican masses' plight was his favorite theme, both as a writer and politician.

In 1937, following his condemnation of dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo's massacre of fifteen thousand Haitian migrants, Bosch sought refuge in Cuba. While in Cuba, Bosch founded the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD), a left-of-center group committed to the elimination of the Trujillo regime and bringing democracy to the Dominican Republic.

After Trujillo's assassination, on May 30, 1961, Bosch returned to the Dominican Republic. Committed to bringing social justice and change through reforms rather than class struggle, Bosch became a presidential candidate in 1962. Campaigning on promises for jobs, better housing conditions, and liberty and justice for all, he built a formidable power base among the poor masses living in the capital's slums and the countryside's landless peasants.

On February 27, 1963, Juan Bosch became the first freely elected president of the Dominican Republic in thirty-eight years. His government's landmark event

was the Constitution of 1963. Proclaimed on April 29, the constitution resembled the Cuban Constitution of 1940 with its provision for civil and political rights, land reform, collective bargaining, and free compulsory education.

Bosch's liberal democratic recipe for development consisting of a mixed economy, an agrarian reform through the distribution of idle Trujillo estates to the peasants, establishment of government-sponsored grassroots organizations, and industrialization through the nationalization of Trujillo enterprises, ran into opposition from different segments of Dominican society. His granting of political rights to communists and his support for peasants' cooperatives angered the Dominican elite who accused him of being surrounded by communist agents. His war on corruption and inefficiency gained him the enmity of a firmly entrenched bureaucracy. His much publicized land reform program, as well as his industrialization efforts, were met by his opponents' legal maneuvers, for the constitution also guaranteed the right to private property. Finally, Bosch's strict interpretation of the constitution's separation of church and state earned him the Catholic Church's visceral enmity.

Caught between his detractors who criticized him for moving too fast, and his supporters who chastised him for being too cautious, Bosch, at times, was vague and indecisive. Citing him as another red menace, the military hierarchy toppled Bosch on September 25, 1963.

In 1965, young army officers, demanding his return from exile, ousted the ruling civilian junta. The uprising, however, was short-lived because US President Johnson, fearing another Cuba, sent US forces to the Dominican Republic.

Bosch returned to the Dominican Republic and ran for president in 1966, losing to Joaquín Balaguer. By the 1970s, Bosch's radical views on development that could only be realized through a populist dictatorship could not coexist with the moderates on the PRD. As a result, he left the party and founded the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD) in 1973. Committed to strengthening the state's role in the nation's life and bringing about radical socioeconomic change, the PLD's Marxist orientation never set well with the Dominican electorate, for Bosch unsuccessfully ran for the presidency in 1978, 1982, 1986, 1990, and 1994. In spite of his losses at the polls, Bosch was still a most respected figure by friends and foes alike. His followers admired his sincerity and honesty, while his detractors recognized his zeal and charismatic appeal. He died at the age of ninety-two on November 1, 2001.

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See also **Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Dominican Republic**

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## BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of the youngest European countries, is a product of the 1990s breakup of the former Yugoslavia. Located in Southeastern Europe (colloquially known as the Balkan Peninsula), this country is almost entirely surrounded by Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro, leaving only a small window on the Adriatic Sea in the southwestern town of Neum. The Dinaric Alps and hilly countryside contribute to a generally rugged landscape. The country's interior has a predominantly continental climate, with hot summers and cold winters. The southwestern region enjoys a pleasant Mediterranean climate. Alluvial plains of the Sava and Bosna rivers form the country's leading region of agricultural production and are among the few lowlands in a complex topography of high elevations and narrow passages carved by rivers. The capital, Sarajevo (population 602,000; 2004), is centrally located in a medieval core area from which the contemporary nation gradually evolved.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's population of just four million is sharply divided by ethnicity and religion, even though 99% of the population is of South Slavic origin. Of the three leading ethnic groups, Bosniaks (43%) practice Islam, Serbs (31%) are Eastern Orthodox Christians, while Croats (15%) are Roman Catholics. Bosniaks, previously known as Muslims, are generally Croats and Serbs who converted to Islam during the time of Ottoman Empire rule in the region. Throughout recent history such differences contributed to frequent open antagonisms in the multinational country and they remain a major obstacle to cooperation and national cohesion.

Initially, the area was home to a small and short-lived medieval kingdom known as Bosnia, which experienced a zenith in the fourteenth century under

King Tvrtko Kotromanić (1338–1391), and its southern province Herzegovina. The region was soon overrun by advancing Ottoman Turks who, in 1463, introduced Islam to the local population. Until 1878, it was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. During this period, the economy was developing slowly and resources were drained by the Turks, rather than being used to develop local infrastructure. By 1878, as a result of the Berlin Congress, the Habsburg Monarchy achieved control over Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the time, this region was one of the least developed in Europe. The Habsburgs implemented a better economic policy that revitalized the region's economy. This was particularly true in terms of infrastructure development in an attempt to better integrate the region into their empire. New roads and railroads were constructed connecting previously isolated areas. Finally, in 1908 the Habsburg Monarchy annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, triggering a serious political standoff with neighboring Serbia. Ultimately, the resulting tensions led to the beginning of World War I (1914–1918), after Serb nationalist Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Habsburg throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in Sarajevo. In the aftermath of World War I, Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself in the kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which in 1929 became known as Yugoslavia. In 1945, Yugoslavia's kingdom was replaced by a communist regime, led by Josip Broz Tito. Under his leadership, the country was organized into six autonomous republics, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, each of which was provided with the Soviet-modeled rights for eventual potential independence.

Even though after World War II the economic production and gross domestic product increased multi-fold, the republic still lacked an industrial infrastructure comparable to that of the more economically developed Yugoslav republics, Slovenia and Croatia. Communism did not allow an entirely free market economy, though compensation trade between republics was encouraged. Bosnia and Herzegovina, rich in various mineral resources, was perceived as being a leading provider of raw materials, resulting in a lack of development in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. Such policies severely limited economic diversification. Additionally, the political leadership rejected economic reforms in fear of undermining the communist ideology, leaving many citizens unemployed and well below the average national scale of living. During the 1960s and 1970s, significant numbers of the republic's residents left in pursuit of better-paying jobs in other Yugoslav republics, or in Western European countries, primarily Germany.

Through the 1970s and 1980s, Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced difficulties common to the developing world in that era. High borrowing from international creditors, trade deficits, and insufficient control over corruption all contributed to a further rise in unemployment, external debt, and inflation. Following the death of President Tito and his iron-fist rule, Yugoslavia was governed by a body of representatives from the six republics and two autonomous provinces. It was unable, however, to prevent various separatist tendencies, which led to the country's breakup in 1991. Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself on a path toward independence. Not long after the independence referendum passed, the political situation worsened dramatically. Serbs feared being disenfranchised and cut off from Serbia, while Croats and Muslims pushed for political independence. These differences ultimately resulted in armed conflict that lasted from 1992 to 1995. The signing of a peace accord in Dayton, Ohio, resulted in the formation of the Republic of Srpska and the Croat-Muslim Federation as two internal political units of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both entities have the benefit of internal autonomies and at the same time provide representatives to a national government to conduct foreign and economic policies.

Atrocities in the 1990s left the country completely ravaged. The result was some 250,000 people dead or missing, more than one million persons displaced, and the economy all but shut down. The country's infrastructure was almost entirely severely damaged or destroyed. After the war, few factories reopened, and many of those that did were obsolete. Most of those that were revitalized underwent privatization. Post-war environmental issues include widespread clear-cutting of forests and millions of landmines scattered throughout the countryside. Although the annual GDP is slowly improving, it will take years if not decades to reduce the existing negative trade balance and lower imports that are running three times higher than exports. Unofficial unemployment rates run close to 40%. The country hopes to gain membership in the European Union during the next decade.

ZORAN PAVLOVIĆ

**See also Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe**

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### **BOTHA, P. W.**

Pieter Willem Botha was born in 1916 at Paul Roux, Free State province, South Africa. An Afrikaner nationalist political activist as a teenager, he moved to the Cape province in 1938 to become a full-time organizer for D. F. Malan's National Party (NP) and spent his entire working life as a party political functionary within the Cape NP. He represented the George constituency in Parliament for thirty-six years (1948–1984). Botha was deputy-minister for the interior from 1958 to 1960. He joined the Cabinet in 1961 when he became the minister for coloured affairs. As minister of defence from 1966 to 1980, Botha was instrumental in building a powerful security infrastructure and military-industrial complex. The latter was instrumental in speeding up South Africa's industrialization/urbanization. Botha, having inherited a small military and security infrastructure, advocated "militarization" so that white South Africans could defend themselves against what he regarded as a "communist onslaught." Military capacity was increased through compulsory military conscription of whites and the recruitment of an enlarged permanent defence force of professional soldiers (which included significant numbers of black South Africans, Namibians, and Angolans). Militarization also involved building a South African armaments industry (to overcome sanctions), an oil-from-coal industry and a nuclear industry. Under Botha, South Africa became an exporter of armaments and (via the Armaments Corporation/Armcor) built assault rifles, aircraft, helicopters, field guns, missiles, missile guidance and communication systems, tanks, and armoured personnel carriers. Botha built a reputation as a highly competent manager while overseeing this militarization process. Militarization created a powerful "securocrat" (security-bureaucrats) support base for Botha as ever-higher percentages of South Africans became involved in the military-industrial complex. This military-industrial complex came to be driven by securocrats (see following paragraph).

Botha became prime minister in 1978, in the wake of the "Information Scandal" (the discovery that taxpayers' money had been used to fund the establishment of a pro-NP newspaper). The scandal unseated the government of John Vorster and precipitated a struggle over who would lead the NP, and in what direction. The NP verkramptes (conservatives)

advocated retaining Verwoerd's apartheid model; the verligtes (progressives) advocated rapid change to end apartheid; the centrists, under P. W. Botha, advocated abandoning Verwoerd's model through a process of reform to end apartheid. P. W. Botha became the first NP prime minister without a northern power base since 1954. This precipitated a sea change within the NP as power shifted from the Transvaal to the Cape NP. The latter leaned toward laissez faire economics, while the Transvaal NP traditionally favoured state interventionism, segregation, and race-based job-reservation (to promote the interests of working and lower middle-class Afrikaners). As prime minister (from 1978 to 1983), Botha advocated ending apartheid by "reform" from a position of (white) strength. He called upon whites to "adapt or die." For Botha the conundrum was how to end white rule and facilitate black political participation without imperilling white interests, and how to remain in control of the state while ending white rule. Botha adopted a dual policy—on the one hand, heightened internal security measures; a tough foreign policy; military destabilization of neighbouring governments who were seen to be supporting "terrorism" against South Africa; and "hot pursuit" actions against ANC and SWAPO guerrilla bases in neighbouring states. On the other hand, he advocated internal reform and a new constitution that would give "coloureds" and Indians representation in Parliament. The latter triggered a verkrampte revolt leading to a split in the NP—in 1982, large sections of the Transvaal NP left to form the Conservative Party (which opposed Botha's reforms and advocated a return to Verwoerd's apartheid model).

Botha's reforms involved trying to build a "consociational" democracy of the sort advocated by Lijphart. *Consociationalism* proposed separate government structures for each ethnic group (because, it was argued, conventional liberal democracy could not be made to function in an ethnically divided society). The elected leaders of each of these ethnic governments would then come together to jointly rule South Africa as a confederation. Consociationalism proposed that the leaders—who would serve within a rotating presidency—would be forced to work together collaboratively by the model. But simultaneously, consociationalism allowed each ethnic government to veto any confederal policy it believed threatened its interests.

As a first step to establishing consociational governance, the Tricameral Parliament was launched in 1984, which created three Parliamentary chambers (for whites, coloureds, and Indians), plus a multi-racial President's Council. Botha became state-president in 1984. He intended to follow this up by

creating a fourth chamber for urban blacks, and then link this four-chamber parliament to the black homelands within a (confederal) Constellation of States. However, the Tricameral reforms were not seen as going far enough, and initiated a period of intense political turmoil (1985–1990) borne of a struggle between Botha's state and the United Democratic Front/UDF. Botha's response was to centralize power in the Office of the State President and the State Security Council (SSC). Executive power grew at the expense of the legislature and judiciary and governance became highly managerialised. The SSC became a parallel Cabinet and virtually "governed" the country through an extensive securocrat managerial system called the National Security Management System (NSMS). Securocrats were military, police, and intelligence officers (functioning within the SSC/NSMS) who supported the notion of reforming "from a position of strength." Growing SSC intrusiveness in governance upset most Cabinet ministers and their (civilian) public service department heads as securocrats usurped state power under Botha's patronage, but fear of Botha (who was called "the big crocodile") kept the securocrats in control. Under Botha, South Africans were told the country faced a "total onslaught" (from "communist terrorists"), which had to be countered by a "total strategy." This legitimised SSC "co-ordination" of politics, society, and economy in the interests of winning the war, and set in motion growing secrecy, self-censorship, state terrorism, and a decline in public accountability. From 1985–1989, Botha's securocrats fought wars in Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as fighting against anti-apartheid forces (ANC and UDF) inside South Africa. The Namibian war was fought against SWAPO (who wanted Namibian independence). The wars in Mozambique and Angola were fought to destabilize governments providing logistical support for ANC and SWAPO insurgents. Botha saw these Mozambiquean and Angolan wars as necessary to counter "communist terrorism." The war in Angola became especially intense once Cuban, Soviet, and East German forces were deployed to save the Angolan government, and by 1988, the Angolan war had escalated into an intense conventional war with the South Africans fighting a force of more than fifty thousand Angolans/Cubans/Soviets. Under foreign pressure, Botha negotiated peace with Mozambique (in terms of the Komati Accord of 1984); negotiated an end to the war against Angolan/Cuban/Soviet forces in Angola in 1988; and negotiated independence for Namibia (which became effective in 1990). But inside South Africa it was apparent he was unable to push the internal reform agenda far enough or fast enough. Botha suffered a mild stroke in 1989. The

anti-securocrat group inside the NP (led by F. W. De Klerk) seized the opportunity to dismantle the SSC (securocrat) network. Botha was forced to resign in 1989 and De Klerk became leader of the NP and state president. After coming to power, the ANC government tried to force Botha to testify to the Truth & Reconciliation Commission and to apologise for apartheid. He refused, saying he had nothing to apologise for. The industrial-military complex created by Botha remains an important feature of South Africa's post-apartheid economic structure.

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**See also Apartheid; Mandela, Nelson; South Africa**

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## BOTSWANA

The Republic of Botswana is located in southern Africa, bordering on South Africa in the south, Zimbabwe in the east, and Namibia in the west and north. In the northeast, divided by the Zambezi River, Botswana also shares a short stretch of border with Zambia. The country covers an area of 600,372 square kilometers at an elevation of approximately one thousand meters. The southwest is dominated by the Kalahari Desert. In the north the inland delta of the Okavango River comprises one of the last large wildlife resorts in Africa. The climate is semiarid with hot summers and warm winters; however, due to the high elevation, temperatures show considerable annual and day–night variation. In the south temperatures below zero are not uncommon. Throughout the country various types of savanna—scattered trees in the north, grass in the south—are the predominant vegetation. As of 2002 about 70% of the approximately 1.6 million *Batswana*—a term customarily used to refer to citizens of Botswana—lived along the eastern

border where natural conditions allow for the best access to water. Towns with fifty thousand or more inhabitants are the capital, Gaborone; Francistown; Molepolole; and Selebi-Phikwe, all located in the eastern part of the country.

Botswana's population is made up of several ethnic groups speaking up to twenty-six different languages of which twelve are spoken by four thousand or fewer speakers. The largest group is the Tswana, speaking a language belonging to the Bantu family, and numbering more than one million speakers. The Tswana, living in what is now Botswana since about 1800 CE, have been the most influential of Botswana's autochthonous groups for more than a century now. Tswana and English are the country's two official languages. The groups living in the area for the longest time are the speakers of various Khoisan languages who are generally and simplistically referred to as *Bushmen*.

Prior to 1885 the area settled by Tswana was not a political entity in a narrow sense. However, the Tswana were politically organized in local kingdoms/chiefdoms. In 1876, Tswana chiefs unsuccessfully requested British protection against the Boers in neighboring Transvaal. Germany's colonization of South-West Africa (Namibia) in 1884, however, initiated a change of mind. Eager now to counter German influence, in 1885 the British established British Bechuanaland, which was incorporated into the Cape Colony and later became part of South Africa in 1910; and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, which became the Republic of Botswana in 1966. In 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa, putting into action the apartheid regime, which ended any plan to incorporate Bechuanaland Protectorate into South Africa. Instead the demand for independence from British rule increased steadily. With the acceptance of a limited democratic self-government in 1964, the British cleared the way for a constitution effective in 1965, which subsequently led to the first general elections. At the same time the seat of the government was moved from South African Mafikeng to newly established Gaborone. The elections were won by the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), led by Seretse Khama, who was elected the first president when independence was formally obtained on September 30, 1966. Since that time Botswana has been a parliamentary republic. The president, being chief of the state, head of the government, and commander in chief of the armed forces in a personal union, is elected by the members of the National Assembly. Elections for the National Assembly are usually held every five years. The House of Chiefs, comprising the heads of the Tswana chiefdoms, serves as an advisory body without legislative or executive powers. The national election in 2004

yielded forty-four seats for the BDP, twelve for the Botswana National Party (BNP), and one for the Botswana Congress Party (BCP). Subsequently Festus Mogae was re-elected president. The BDP has continuously been in power at the national level; however, the BNP has its share of power by governing several town and regions. The armed forces were established in 1977 but appeared to be powerless when South Africa attacked alleged guerrilla camps on Botswana's territory in 1985 and 1986.

Having adopted a laissez-faire attitude toward economic development, the British left a highly underdeveloped country. A large number of Batswana earned an income as migrant laborers in South Africa. Money transfers from these workers comprised a considerable contribution to Botswana's economy. However, with independence the government initiated mining operations, which was soon to become the country's most important industry. As of 2002, Botswana's diamond production amounted to 28,397 million carats, accounting for approximately 50% of the GDP, and making the country the world's third-largest producer of diamonds. In addition, copper, nickel, coal, and other mineral resources are extracted. The other major economic factor besides mining is the raising and processing of cattle. Since independence Botswana has had the fastest growing economy in Africa, and compared to the 1971 census, population numbers had almost tripled in 2002. With a per capita GDP corresponding to \$8,170 PPP in 2002, Botswana qualifies as a middle-income country. Prior to independence no public facilities for post-primary education or technical training were provided. Therefore, the new government placed early priority upon rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary education. Youth literacy has been constantly on the rise with 89.1% of youths between fifteen and twenty-four years of age being literate in 2002. In the school year 2001–2002 the secondary enrollment ratio was 55%. Among the major infrastructure projects were the construction of the road to Zambia (1973–1976); the completion of the railway between South Africa and Rhodesia, running over Botswana's territory, in 1974; and the International Airport in Gaborone, opened in 1984. Economic growth was supported by a series of years with favorable conditions for agriculture and the discovery of diamonds at Orapa in 1967. However, despite these lucky coincidences, the benefits of these developments would have been much less had it not been for the government's careful planning, economic management, and diplomacy.

In spite of remarkable economic success, social inequality is extreme and unemployment rates are high. The greatest challenge is the exorbitant number of citizens with HIV/AIDS. As of 2003, almost 40% of

the population between fifteen and forty-nine years of age are infected. The decrease of life expectancy from 56.1 years in the early 1970s to 39.7 years in 2004–2005 clearly reflects the impact of the disease. The government—in some cases in cooperation with large corporations—takes efforts to control the disease by a combined program of free medical treatment and public education about risks and prevention of infection.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Khama, Sir Seretse; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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### BOUMÉDIËNNE, HOUARI

The longest-serving Algerian head of state remained largely as an enigmatic personality both for the Algerian people and the outside world. Houari Boumédiène (1932–1978) preserved a strictly secluded personal life and avoided public appearances. Very little is known about his personal life.

Born as Muhammad Ibrahim Bukharruba in a rustic family, even the year of his birth is contested. Most sources state 1932 and Heliopolis as the date and place of his birth, but others say he was born in Guelma on August 23, 1927, or Clauzel near Guelma on August 23, 1927, or August 16, 1925. He got his education at the Islamic Institute in Constantine, later in Tunis, and the al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt. There he joined other North African nationalists, entered the Parti Populaire Algerien, and received military training from the Egyptian army. After secretly reentering Algeria (1955), he joined the forces of the Algerian liberation movement, later known as the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). There he accepted his pseudonym under which he is largely known and became guerrilla commander. Following

the internal strife within the Armée de Libération Nationale, Boumédiène opposed the FLN leadership of Ben Youssef Ben Khedda and helped replace him with Ahmed Ben Bella. He was the youngest to be given the rank of colonel, the highest rank in the FLN in 1957. From 1960, he was the chief of staff of the army outside Algeria. Boumédiène supported Ben Bella, the first president of Algeria, and was appointed deputy prime minister, minister of defense, and chief of staff. On June 19, 1965, he led a bloodless coup d'état he called the "Revolutionary Resurgence," aiming to prevent deepening internal divisions and abuses of power. Boumédiène assumed the positions of head of state and the government and chairman of the Revolutionary Council. The authoritarian Revolutionary Council consisted of twenty-six military commanders and key officials closely associated with Boumédiène. Until a new constitution was adopted, this predominantly military body had to foster cooperation among various factions in the army and the party. Ben Bella was put under house arrest, where he spent the next fourteen years in complete isolation from the outside world. Most leaders of the opposition were exiled abroad or deeply within the country. Boumédiène disclosed himself as an ardent nationalist, deeply influenced by Islamic values, and he was noted to be among the few prominent Algerian leaders to speak better Arabic than French. He seized control of the country not to initiate military rule, but to protect the interests of the army, which he felt were threatened by Ben Bella. Because of the lack of a power base outside the military, Boumédiène's position was initially contested. FLN radicals criticized Boumédiène for neglecting the policy of "self-management" and betraying "rigorous socialism." Some military officers were unsettled by what they saw as a drift away from collegial leadership. Coup attempts and at least one failed assassination attempt followed in 1967–1968, after which opponents were exiled or imprisoned and Boumédiène's power consolidated. On January 4, 1967, M. Khidder was murdered in Madrid, and on October 18, 1970, another prominent opponent, Krim Belkacem, was also killed.

Boumédiène was the unchallenged leader of Algeria until his death. Unlike many dictators, Boumédiène never permitted his portraits to be spread around, and disliked delivering speeches at massive political meetings. Firmly led by him, the Revolutionary Council exercised collegial responsibility for overseeing the activities of the government. The largely civilian Council of Ministers, or Cabinet, appointed by Boumédiène, conducted the policies. The Council included an Islamic leader, technical

experts, and FLN regulars, as well as others, providing representation of a broad range of Algerian political and institutional life.

Under Boumédiène, Algeria, rich in oil and gas, entered a period of steady economic growth. Agricultural production failed to meet the country's food needs. The so-called "agricultural revolution" that Boumédiène launched in 1971 called for the seizure of additional property and the redistribution of the newly acquired public lands to cooperative farms. A national charter was adopted in 1976, starting an extensive land reform, with the provision of extended utilities and services to previously underserved Algerians. With the adoption, after much public debate, of a new constitution in 1976, he was elected president without competition by 95% of the votes for a six-year term.

Fervently anti-imperialist, the government under Boumédiène upheld the third-world liberation movements and especially the Polisario warfare of the Western Sahara against Morocco. He was able to avoid ideological confrontations and maintained good relations both with the communist bloc and Western countries, as well as regional international prestige among liberated African nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. From August 5, 1973, until August 16, 1976, Boumédiène chaired the Non-Aligned Movement. In this context he addressed the UN General Assembly in 1974, and avowed "war to the West." Boumédiène succeeded in mediating between Iran and Iraq, which had fought a bloody border war between 1971 and 1974, and obtained a cease-fire. He even persuaded the Shah and Saddam Hussein to meet in Algiers to sign a memorandum of understanding that would open the way of negotiations for a final settlement of the border dispute.

Toward the end of his rule and life, Boumédiène initiated reinvigoration of the FLN as a political party. He intended to transfer power to this party in order to establish a viable political system instead of the departed public institutions, but these arrangements were hindered by a severe rare blood disease that caused his death on December 27, 1978. The day he came to power, June 19, is still an official holiday, Readjustment Day, and the airport of Algiers, Technical University, and other sites are named after him. The appointed president after Boumédiène, his close associate Col. Chadli Benjedid released Ben Bella into voluntary exile, but did not continue his predecessor's policies.

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**See also Algeria; Arab Nationalism; Ben Bella, Ahmed; Berbers; Ethnic Conflicts: North Africa; Maghrib**

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## BOURGUIBA, HABIB

Habib Bourguiba was born on August 3, 1903, in the Tunisian coastal town of Monastir. He had a bilingual education (French and Arabic). From 1924–1927 he studied law and political science in Paris (*licence de droit, diplôme de sciences politiques*). There he had close contacts with members of French socialist parties. Upon his return to Tunis he worked as a lawyer.

Since 1922, he was a member of the Tunisian nationalist party *dustur* (Arabic: Constitution; refers to the liberal constitution promulgated by the Bey of Tunis as early as 1861, twenty years before Tunisia became a French protectorate). Soon he came to oppose the conservative positions of the *dustur* party's leadership. Together with mostly younger intellectuals he founded, in 1934, the Neo-Destour party, which was more socially oriented and openly claimed political rights for Tunisians; they edited a nationalist daily newspaper, *l'action tunisienne*. Subsequently, he was jailed several times and deported by the French colonial authorities. In August 1942 (still in prison), he urged his party to support the Western Allies during World War II while public sympathy in Tunisia was strongly for the German–Italian axis. In 1945 he fled to Cairo where he formed close contacts with British and American diplomats. In 1952, he called for violent resistance against colonialism, including armed attacks against French settlers and police. In

order to calm political unrest and violence, the French colonial authorities eventually granted Tunisia internal autonomy in June 1955; on March 20, 1956, Tunisia became independent. However, French troops continued to be deployed in the country. In April 1956 the Bey, still officially ruling the country, nominated Bourguiba prime minister, who then supported French repression against dissidents of his own party. In July 1957 he deposed the Bey, proclaimed Tunisia a republic, and established an authoritarian one-party system, eventually making himself president of the republic for life.

The most crucial problem for the precariously independent state was the Algerian Liberation War (1954–1962): While French troops were still in the country, the Algerian liberation army used Tunisia as a sanctuary. Striking against them, the French air force bombed the Tunisian town of Sakiet Sidi Yucef in 1958, killing more than one hundred persons, mostly children. Under pressure from the United States and the UN, France stopped military interventions on Tunisian territory and finally withdrew parts of its troops, except for the naval basis of Bizerta. The attempt to "free" this last stronghold of the French army led, in 1961, to a warlike conflict around that city. Fighting stopped because Bourguiba could always count on the support of the UN and the United States in its demand for the respect of the Tunisian sovereignty. After the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel (1978) and the exclusion of Egypt from the Arab League, Tunis became the residence of this organization. When Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, the PLO transferred its headquarters to Tunis.

Bourguiba always stood for pro-Western (that is, pro-US) positions, kept a clear distance from the Soviet Union, but never made any compromise over Tunisian sovereignty. On Nov. 7, 1987, he was deposed by his prime minister and former minister of interior Zine el-Abdin Bin Ali (in a "medical coup d'Etat"), who declared Bourguiba senile. Held under house arrest, he died in his palace in Monastir on April 6, 2000.

WERNER RUF

**See also North Africa: History and Economic Development; Tunisia**

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### BRACERO PROGRAM

As the United States began World War II efforts in 1942, it experienced a labor shortage that drew many women into wage labor. It also pulled in foreign workers. The need for agricultural harvesters was especially acute. Drawing on an earlier program, Washington developed an agreement with Mexico City to bring laborers temporarily to the United States. In exchange, the Mexican government negotiated worker protections. This arrangement, the Bracero or "Helping Arms" Program, covered more than four million people. Braceros received permits allowing US employment for between four weeks and six months, renewable to eighteen months. They worked mainly in US border states, doing agricultural labor—picking cotton; vegetables; fruit, especially citrus; and thinning sugar beet crops; as well as doing railroad maintenance. It began winding down in 1947, but the Korean War, starting in 1950, renewed US labor needs.

The two countries periodically renegotiated the program. For example, 1942's Bracero agreement made the US government, through the War Food Administration, the contractor of Mexican labor, with farmers and others as "sub"-employers. Dropped in the agreement of 1947, 1951's Public Law 78 reinstated this requirement, which Mexico pressed for so the US government would be responsible for workers' treatment.

The US government, as the contractor, paid some or all of the workers' transportation costs to and from recruitment centers, generally on the border, as well as living expenses during their travel. The contracts guaranteed Braceros a minimum wage and required payment of a subsistence wage if workers were idle (and unpaid) more than 25% of working hours. To participate, employers certified they could not find resident labor for their needs. They were required to pay Mexicans at least the local "prevailing wage" to protect domestic workers. Further, subcontractors promised to provide housing at no charge, adequate meals at low cost, and medical care.

At Mexico's insistence, the agreements included anti-discrimination provisions. That is, they prevented hiring of Braceros into communities that discriminated against Mexicans. Mexico City interpreted this as giving it a right to withdraw workers from localities found to discriminate. While many still suffered unfavorable treatment, this provision did have some enforcement. Thus, no Braceros went to Texas for the first five years of the program.

The Braceros' work was difficult and, at times, brutal. Lee Williams, the US Labor Department official in charge of the program, called it "legalized

slavery." Work commonly required using the short handle (generally under two-foot) hoe or *cortito*. Farmers favored it because workers were less likely to inadvertently damage crops. Often, however, users had to stoop or even to crawl along planted rows. If workers complained about conditions, or refused to work for the wages offered, they could be deported. Thus, while in theory Braceros could complain to a Mexican consulate who would notify the US Department of Labor, this rarely happened. Frequently, contracts were English only, violating the Bracero agreements. Thus, some workers signed without knowing to what they had agreed, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation.

The Bracero Program ended in 1964. Edward R. Murrow's documentary, *Harvest of Shame*, contributed to its demise. The film graphically acquainted US citizens with the poor living and working conditions, and even outright abuse, that many Braceros suffered.

The program suffered from two major and related flaws. In addition to the failure of growers and the US government to enforce Braceros' rights fully, the growth of alternative labor flows undercut Braceros' bargaining power. Even working together, the two countries could not prevent non-Bracero workers from entering the United States, offering farmers an alternative, albeit illegal, to more-expensive Braceros. And, the United States and Mexico did not always agree. For example, while cooperating with the Immigration and Naturalization Service's "Operation Wetback," in 1954, the Mexican government refused Washington's request to use police forces to prevent non-Bracero immigration.

The United States, in responding to the problem of non-Braceros, initially excluded from the program any employer caught with unauthorized workers. However, as this almost guaranteed future use of unauthorized workers, the state soon ended this prohibition. Washington also offered an amnesty that regularized workers' status by bringing them into the program. However, this created a disincentive for hiring Braceros to begin with, as employers had to contribute to transportation costs. As well, the US government began flying non-Bracero workers to central Mexico, far from the border, as a means of preventing their return except as Braceros.

Currently, many in the two countries call for expansion of the H2-A visa temporary worker program that allows Mexican agricultural laborers into the United States, or even for a new guest worker program. While Mexican governments have favored this, in the United States, deep divisions remain.

Mexico City opposed ending the Bracero Program and subsequent administrations generally supported

new programs to allow temporary immigration for employment. For example, Mexico currently has such an agreement with Canada. However, most would resist any program extending such prerogatives to non-Mexican workers. Including laborers from Central American and Caribbean states would reduce employment of Mexicans. Further, any new program would have to address the legacy of mistreatment of Braceros and put in place real protections. The costs involved might dissuade some US employers.

Some in the United States who oppose such programs dispute any need, claiming an ample supply of native labor. They argue an increase in the supply of workers would lower wages and benefits for current employees. Others see it as an effort to undercut farm workers' attempts to organize, because temporary laborers have different concerns and less interest in unionization than do permanent workers.

Some against temporary-worker programs point to the growth in Mexican immigration attributed to the Bracero Program. By escalating workers' contacts with employers, and exposing them to opportunities in the north, the program aided immigration of non-legal workers. Some calculate that for each Bracero, one unauthorized worker came. Many workers brought family members, and not all returned to Mexico when permits expired. Thus, some argue that any new program would heighten unauthorized immigration.

Those favoring such programs generally make two, often-related arguments. First, many contend the country *does* need Mexican workers to overcome a labor shortfall. They note that a new arrangement could bring workers already in the country into compliance with US laws. Second, this, in turn, would increase security by giving the government better information about who is in the country and why. Increased control over immigration would thus enhance national defense.

This issue, with its historic legacy, likely will remain on the political agendas of both nations.

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**See also Labor; Mexico: History and Economic Development; Mexico: International Relations; Migration**

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## BRAIN DRAIN

Brain drain is the movement of highly skilled professionals from poor developing countries to work and take up residence in the rich industrialized nations. Historically, the migration of highly skilled labor has always been in existence. Brain drain, however, emerged as significant policy issue in the 1970s due to the migration of a large number of highly skilled research scientists, educators, technologists, and health-related personnel from developed countries to the developed world. The current development challenges faced by third-world countries have drawn further attention to brain drain among economists, scholars, governments, and population experts (Grubel 1994; Pizarro 1993).

The United States followed by Britain are the most popular destinations for professionals from the third world (Taylor 1999). The actual process of estimating the scope of brain drain has been hampered by the absence of uniform statistics on the number and characteristics of international migrants. However, using the 1990 US census data, Carrington and Detragiache (1999) estimate that approximately 1.5 million highly educated professionals settled in the country from Asia and the Pacific. The largest groups came from the Philippines (730,000), then China (400,000), and in the third place were both India and Korea with more than 300,000 immigrants each. Approximately 95,000 of the 128,000 African immigrants were highly educated professionals. Brain drain from Central America and the Caribbean is substantial. For those with college-level education, immigration rates are above 10%. In Guyana more than 70% of individuals with tertiary education have migrated.

## Causes of Brain Drain

Broadly conceived, the causes of brain drain can be analyzed along two contrasting models, the

person-centered and the nation-centered models (Zahlan 1981). In the person-centered model, the concern is with the number of immigrants, their professional qualifications, and the push and pull factors that stimulate the movement. The “preference differential” (Pizarro 1993), as manifested in stronger and more developed economies that lead to higher wages, better conditions for professional advancement, more social recognition, less restrictive living conditions, and greater political stability, act as a potent pull factor for third-world professionals. The absence of these favorable conditions constitutes the push factor in the developing countries. In this model, emphasis is placed on the migrant and the host country, while the country of origin plays a passive role.

The nation-centered model, on the other hand, considers brain drain as a factor of cultural, scientific, and developmental policies. In this model, efficiency in the utilization of highly skilled people is of utmost importance since, in the long run, it contributes to the development of society. Highly skilled individuals migrate to developed countries where they can be efficiently utilized. Thus, the movement of highly skilled professionals from developing countries to developed ones is a process in efficient allocation of human resources. In this model, the individual is of less importance as the totality of societal development is of prime significance.

Causes of brain drain can also be categorized according to three characteristics, each based on a pair of opposing factors: push–pull, objective–subjective and general–special (Vas-Zoltan 1976). Whereas push factors propel people to leave their home country, pull factors attract people to the countries to settle down. The push–pull factors can be delineated further into objective causes if they are beyond the competence of a country, such as the lack of scientific traditions or subjective causes, if they can be influenced by decisions of the state, as in the lack of realistic manpower policies. Push–pull factors, whether subjective or objective, are regarded as general if they are independent of the will or decision of the individual, for instance, the prestige of foreign training or low or high standard of living. The factors are special if they depend on the will of the individual such as desire for direct contact with scientific colleagues abroad.

### **Brain Drain and Underdevelopment**

At a conceptual level, brain drain represents a political, economic, and social problem (Vas-Zoltan 1976). When the best professionals emigrate and settle in

more advanced countries, it is a significant political phenomenon. Brain drain expresses the internal difficulties of the country left behind, as well as the mercilessness of international competition, a struggle waged by unequal forces (Vas-Zoltan 1976). It is also an economic problem in that the more underdeveloped a country, the more it loses from brain drain, whereas only the developed countries profit from it. In social terms, brain drain is a problem since it involves a change of domicile from the underdeveloped countries to the developed ones. The greatest numbers of migrants are from engineering, medicine, science (natural), nursing, and a number of the social sciences.

In what ways has brain drain negatively affected development in third-world countries? The “drain effect,” as the impact is often known, manifests itself in various forms. The most immediate impact is economic adjustment costs. Economic efficiency calls for an optimum mix of human capital with physical capital and unskilled labor. Replacement of the skilled labor cannot be sourced from other sectors but must be done through time-consuming education. The national economy, as a result, may experience a sustained period of inefficiency in production. A corollary outcome is the decline in national economic output. Human capital is an essential ingredient in national economic development, and where its loss due to emigration exceeds the original overall capital per worker, the total output per capital in the country declines. Furthermore, economic productivity is a function of the optimum capital–labor ratio. Brain drain leads to a smaller ratio resulting in lower labor productivity and reduced income per capita.

Brain drain also results in the loss of national economic investment. In most third-world countries, higher education is financed through taxes in anticipation of returns to the society in the form of increased productivity, a greater tax base leading to more revenues for further development, and the advancement of the country in science and technology. Brain drain, therefore, represents a loss in national investment since it is the most gifted and dynamic who are sources of leadership in various fields who usually emigrate.

The decline in economic investment in the source country further exacerbates the inequalities prevailing between developing and first developed countries (Grubel 1994). Citizens from developing countries lower their incomes to finance education, the benefits of which now accrue to emigrants who reside in comfort in their new abode in the rich industrial countries. The emigrants also add to the already healthy tax base and development efforts of the people whose incomes are far greater than those who financed

their education in their countries of origin. Development projects, medical services, and technological innovations suffer in the source country due to the absence of skilled labor, while the same skilled labor supports the expansion of medical and technical projects in the already affluent nations. The overall impact is the inequitable transfer of resources from poor to rich nations.

Brain drain is responsible for the decline in labor income in the source country. The emigration of persons with above-average human capital decreases the capital-labor ratio in the losing country. As a consequence, labor incomes, especially for unskilled labor, fall relative to income from the capital (Grubel 1994). Compounding this problem is the unequal access to higher rewards occasioned by emigration. Brain drain does not permit those in lower income brackets to obtain the unequal and higher rewards opened by emigration. These are received by those with higher education—predominantly those from higher socioeconomic groups (Bhagwati 1976).

Through the emulation effect (Bhagwati 1976), brain drain leads to an increase in professional salary levels in developing countries. Reduction in massive wage differentials between various groups has been one of the key objectives in social and economic planning in these countries. The perpetuation of these salary differentials flies in the face of development efforts geared to maintaining desired salary structures.

Inequalities are prevalent where remittances sent by emigrants begin to play a critical role in the economic life of those left behind. While in some cases remittances may narrow income inequalities, in other instances they tend to accentuate them. Households receiving remittances have suddenly found themselves in a higher socioeconomic level than their counterparts in a region that hitherto had been comparatively homogenous in income. This kind of inequality, according to Taylor (1999), has led to some households feeling “relatively deprived” within their reference group, which in turn creates new incentives for migration. Through this process, brain drain becomes a self-perpetuating process in migrant-sending areas.

Family welfare is a frequent casualty of brain drain. Education of children in most third-world countries is a social investment that yields returns when the educated take care of their parents in old age. Where the state finances education, the taxes derived from employed graduates contribute toward pensions, medical care, and similar programs for the elderly. Thus, emigration entails renegeing on a moral obligation toward the older population, especially where emigrants do not transfer money from abroad for care and maintenance of their parents. Emigration

of the highly skilled population lowers the welfare of those left behind who have to confront a high tax burden to care for the elderly.

## National Development and Brain Drain

Countries with large highly educated labor reap the most immediate benefits of brain drain. Nations such as India have large populations of highly educated scientists, engineers, and doctors, some of whom are unemployed. For such countries, emigration of highly skilled professions has small or zero negative impact but rather generates employment or full employment for individuals who would otherwise have remained jobless or underutilized. In this way brain drain contributes to the nagging problem of unemployment of highly educated professionals.

One of the most beneficial aspects of brain drain relates to the role of remittances—earnings sent back by emigrants. Mexico (\$3.7 billion) and Philippines (\$440 million) are the leading third-world countries in remittance receipt; other significant countries include Egypt, Brazil, and Pakistan (Taylor 1999). Besides contributing to foreign exchange reserves, remittances have a multiplier effect on incomes, employment, and production in migrant-sending areas. Remittances directly contribute to income in such areas and, as long as the remittances exceed the value of production lost due to brain drain, they do reverse lost-labor-and-capital effects of migration (Djajic 1986).

Remittances have played a critical role in providing finance for public projects such as parks, churches, schools, electrification, road construction, and sewers. In the Philippines, Dominican Republic, and Mexico, they have contributed toward the equalization of incomes among various socioeconomic groups. Since they favor poor and middle-income rural and urban families, remittances raise the income of small farmers, and rural-worker, as well as urban-worker households (Aschi 1994). In Mexico, they have been at the core of capitalization of migrant-owned businesses, underscoring the impact of brain drain on enterprise growth where remittances are an important consequence of emigration (Massey *et al.* 1987).

Brain drain provides impetus for skill formation in poor economies with insufficient growth potential. In these economies, returns from human capital tend to be low and thus are limited incentives to acquire higher education—a stimulant to economic growth. The emigration of the highly educated to a higher-wage country raises the returns to education, which leads to an increase in human capital formation (Beine *et al.* 2001; Mountford 1997). Granted that

only a proportion of the educated population migrates, in the long term the average level of the educated population segment in society would increase.

Highly educated people in a poor country have been known, occasionally, to be a political liability. In a number of African countries academics, especially the academic proletariat of underemployed intellectuals, has provided leadership for unrest and revolutions. Such political activities have often proved to be detrimental to the development of the countries. Allowing the emigration of such highly skilled potential revolutionaries has had positive externalities for the home country.

In conclusion, it is germane to note that brain drain continues to impact developing countries in multifarious ways. The nature of its impact, nevertheless, depends on the local socioeconomic conditions, the level of educational and scientific development, as well as the prevailing political climate.

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## BRAZIL

Brazil is the largest country in Latin America. It covers almost half of the South American continent, dominating the Atlantic coast with an area of approximately 3.3 million square miles. Brazil's 2002 population exceeded 175 million. Estimates of the ethnic and racial composition of the population vary. Just over half are of European origin, especially Portuguese, Italians, and Germans. More than 40% are of African or mixed African-European descent. There are also significant communities of Japanese origin, and endangered indigenous Amerindian communities. The official language is Portuguese. The national capital is Brasilia. In 2003, Brazil's GDP was \$1.38 trillion; its GDP per capita was \$7,600.

### Government

Brazil's current constitution was adopted in 1988. The Federal Republic of Brazil consists of twenty-six states and the Federal District. The president is head of government and head of state. The president is elected to a four-year term by direct election. In 1997, the constitution was amended to allow a president to serve two consecutive terms. The Brazilian Congress includes the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Chamber has 513 deputies, who are elected by proportional representation from each state. The least populous states are guaranteed eight seats in the Chamber, while no state may have more than seventy deputies. Three senators are elected from each state (and the Federal District) to the Senate, for a total of eighty-one seats.

In 2002, eighteen parties were represented in the Chamber and eight in the Senate. No party had a majority. The largest party in the Chamber or Senate need not be the president's party. Though enjoying strong independent powers, the president must create coalitions in order to pass the executive's legislation. States are powerful in the federal system. In addition, influential state political machines often control their states' deputies and senators at the federal level.

### From Colony to Independence

The Portuguese explorer Pedro Cabral landed in easternmost South America in 1500. The territory was originally called Santa Cruz, then Vera Cruz. Most traders knew the territory because of its most sought-after export, brazilwood (used to make red dyes), which gave the country its eventual name: Brazil.

Colonists attempted to enslave the indigenous population, but this proved futile, as the land was much too sparsely populated. Many Amerindians who were enslaved died, or else escaped into the hinterlands where European settlers were loath to chase them. As an alternative source of labor, millions of African slaves were imported between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century. There were periodic slave revolts, during which slaves escaped to the hinterland and often established settlements, called *quilombos*.

## The Nineteenth Century

Unlike the Spanish and British colonies of mainland North and South America, Brazil did not achieve independence through warfare. The exile of João VI of Portugal to Brazil during the Napoleonic Wars raised the status of Brazil within the Empire, but ultimately led to its break with Portugal in 1822. João's son Pedro became Emperor of Brazil upon independence, leaving Brazil as the only newly independent state in the Americas that was not a republic.

Pedro proved an incompetent and unpopular leader, and abdicated in 1831, leaving Brazil in the hands of a regency until his son, Pedro II, could be crowned emperor. Pedro II revealed himself to be a more astute ruler than his father. Key events during his reign included the War of the Triple Alliance (1865–1870), pitting Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay against Paraguay. Brazil moved toward the full abolition of slavery, crystallizing divisions among the elites. Those groups ordinarily supportive of the monarchy were increasingly alienated by Pedro II's actions. The Church hierarchy resented Dom Pedro's liberal views toward religion. On the other hand, republican, abolitionist, and positivist values became deeply rooted among the commercial and professional groups, including the military. Slavery was abolished altogether by 1888, making Brazil the last state in the Americas to end this institution. This act also brought tensions between elites to a head; in November 1889, the military forced Pedro II's abdication, and a republic was established. A sign of the depth of positivist influence on Brazil is the republic's flag, which carries the positivist slogan, *Ordem e Progresso* ("Order and Progress").

A pattern of machine politics soon developed in the republic, with the northeast and east, and other remote areas, developing a system known as *coronelismo* (similar to the *caudillismo* of Spanish America). The political machines of the five leading states, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Bahia, and Rio

Grande de Sul, dominated national politics well into the twentieth century.

## The Twentieth Century

In the early twentieth century, various radical movements began to spread among workers, especially European immigrants in the major cities of the southeast. Younger army officers were angry about the slow pace of modernization, and about the indifference and corruption of leading politicians. A number of revolts broke out among lower officers and cadets (referred to popularly as *tenentes*, or lieutenants). In 1924, *tenentes* in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro revolted. The rebellion was put down, but a number of *tenentes* refused to surrender and began a three-year trek through the backlands of Brazil, hounded by army and militias. This group, led by Luis Carlos Prestes (hence the popular name, "The Prestes Column"), experienced firsthand the severe poverty and backwardness of Brazil. They eventually reached Bolivia. They had earned a reputation as Brazilian Robin Hoods, which enabled them to negotiate their way back to Brazil. Some even resumed their army careers. Prestes became the leader of Brazil's Communist Party. Other *tenentes* were more impressed by radical revolutionaries of the right, such as Mussolini.

In 1930, an understanding between state political machines colluding to elect the president broke down. The resulting confusion created a political opening for an anti-machine political grouping called the Liberal Alliance, which ran a politician from the south, Getulio Vargas, as their presidential candidate. Though representing anti-machine voters, Vargas still operated according to the rules of machine politics. He secretly negotiated a congenial post-election settlement with the São Paulo machine. When the São Paulo leadership reneged on this, Vargas cried foul, and public indignation, as well as army impatience, led to a military intervention placing Vargas in the presidency. Vargas called for a constitutional assembly to draw up a new constitution in 1934. Vargas could "legally" be a candidate for the presidency again, and was elected by the Congress. By 1937, Vargas was ensconced in power, enabling him to suspend the 1934 Constitution and establish an authoritarian dictatorship called the *Estado Novo* (New State). The *Estado Novo*, though not fascist, had a highly corporatist structure, but had no official party or coherent ideology. The new regime outlawed the Communist Party. The Brazilian fascists, called *Integralistas*, hoped that Vargas would prove to be one of

## BRAZIL

them. But within a year, Vargas outlawed the *Integralistas* as well.

Brazil was officially neutral at the outbreak of World War II. Though military officers favored the Axis, Vargas felt that Brazil's interests lay with the United States. Striking a deal that gained for Brazil advanced US technology and weaponry, Vargas committed Brazilian troops to fight alongside the Allies in Italy. This had the effect of turning influential military leaders toward a pro-Allied stance, but also toward an anti-dictatorship stance. By the end of the war, the Brazilian officers pressured Vargas to relinquish power. This he did, in 1945, with a fair amount of grace, and cunning. He established two political parties before returning to civilian life, which would back him in his successful campaign for president in 1950. His final term as an elected president was tumultuous, and in a final stand-off with the army in 1954, he committed suicide rather than be removed from power by force.

The next decade saw impressive advances for the economy, including the establishment of Brazil's automobile industry. Brazil's capital moved from Rio de Janeiro to the futuristic-looking new city of Brasilia. But rapid economic expansion also created bottlenecks, and by the 1960s, populist politicians, including Presidents Quadros and Goulart, ran afoul of conservative forces and the military. Tensions ran especially high during Goulart's term, which ended with a military takeover in 1964.

### The Military Regime

The Brazilian military regime was the first of the so-called "bureaucratic authoritarian" regimes in South America. Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay would follow. The regime brought technocrats into the government and established a network of government and public-private industries in what were considered areas vital to the country's security. At first, Brazil met with impressive successes, and the period from 1967 to 1974 was called the "economic miracle." But with the worldwide oil crisis starting in 1974, Brazil's industrial growth slowed, and Brazil fell deeply into debt. By the 1980s, Brazil was the leading debtor nation in the world with an external debt of \$95 billion.

With the economy in serious decline, the regime's legitimacy eroded. Though not nearly as bloody as its sister regimes in Chile and Argentina, the Brazilian regime was nevertheless very repressive, withholding basic civil rights and sponsoring "death-squads" that attacked regime opponents considered "subversive."

By the 1970s, groups that had either supported the regime or had been quiescent began to agitate for a return to democracy. By the early 1980s, fissures were opening up within military ranks as well, and military unity was threatened.

### The New Republic

By 1985, the military returned the government to civilian hands. The election of the first civilian president in twenty-one years took place with Congress acting as an electoral college, despite massive protests for direct elections. A longstanding opponent of the military regime, Tancredo Neves, was elected president. A last-minute switch by the politician José Sarney from the pro-military party to the anti-military coalition allowed Sarney to be chosen as vice president. Neves, already ill when elected, died before the inauguration. Sarney became the first civilian president. Thereafter, presidents have been chosen through popular vote.

Fernando Collor de Mello, who became president in 1989, was the first popularly elected president since 1964. Though elected on an anti-corruption platform, Collor was himself accused of corruption, leading to his impeachment in 1992. Despite many fears, the impeachment crisis did not undermine the new democracy. Following the Constitution, Vice President Itamar Franco assumed the office.

Serious economic instability, accompanied by extremely high inflation, dogged successive governments. President Franco's finance minister, F. H. Cardoso, introduced a new currency (the fifth since 1986) and tighter monetary controls. This finally brought inflation under control. It also propelled Cardoso into the limelight, enabling him to capture the presidency in the 1994 elections. Once in office Cardoso was able to amend the Constitution to allow him to run for a second term. He served as president until 2002.

In 1991, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay signed the Treaty of Asunción, creating the Common Market of the South, or MERCOSUL (*MERSOCUR* in Spanish). This act reflected the trend toward liberalized economic policies in the Southern Cone. It was also part of a worldwide movement to facilitate regional integration and free trade. In this post-Cold War period the influence of international financial and trade organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization (WTO) was increasing. The United States was organizing the North American Free Trade Agreement, and in 1994 called for a hemispheric summit in Miami

to lay the groundwork for a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). The Cardoso administration was committed to economic liberalization and free trade, but there were growing doubts as to whether Brazil or any other Latin American country would be able to deal with the United States on an equal footing when it came to negotiating terms in the FTAA. MERCOSUL began to assume greater political importance as a means of increasing political leverage, as well as reducing Brazil's vulnerability to international economic crises.

In 2002, Lula da Silva of the Workers Party won the presidential election. At first international investors and financial institutions were nervous about the victory of an openly socialist candidate, helped to power by growing public dissatisfaction with liberalization's failures to help large segments of Brazil's electorate. Lula's domestic budgetary discipline surprised observers and reassured investors. However, on the international scene Brazil took an aggressive high-profile stand in negotiations in the WTO and the FTAA. In the former case Brazil formed a bloc with India and South Africa to force Europe and the United States to renegotiate agricultural trade policies. In the latter, Brazil aligned with Argentina to resist what they saw as Washington's vision for the FTAA as an extension of NAFTA.

The economy was still subject to periodic crises under Presidents Cardoso and Lula da Silva. Other issues of continuing importance include the persistence of extreme poverty in the north and northeast of the country. *Favelas*, or shantytowns, surrounding many of Brazil's major cities continue to grow as thousands of poor migrate from the countryside. Periodic tensions between police and drug gangs based in the *favelas* continue to flare up. The 1990s also saw the emergence of groups such as the *Sem Terras*, or Landless Workers Movement (MST), which aggressively presses for land reforms promised in the 1988 Constitution. There are also concerns over human rights violations, especially against street children in major cities, against the indigenous peoples in the Amazon region, and against peasants and labor organizers, especially in remote areas. There is also the problem of profound environmental degradation in the Amazon region and the coastal forests in the north due to extensive prospecting, logging, and increased industrial farming for growing export markets.

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## BRUNEI

Brunei (also known by its official name Negara Brunei Darussalam) is located on the Island of Borneo in Southeast Asia; encircled by the territory of Malaysia in the east, south, and west; and bounded on the north by the South China Sea. The country has a land area of 5,765 square kilometers (2,226 square miles), its territory slightly smaller than the state of Delaware—the second smallest state in the United States.

The population of Brunei was 365,251 in 2004 (CIA est.). The country's capital city, Bandar Seri Begawan, is home to about seventy thousand people (2004 est.) or 20% of the population. Brunei has a population growth rate of 1.9%, and it is estimated that its population could double by 2050. Malay is the official language; English and Chinese are also spoken. Islam is the official religion and also the largest, with 67% of the population; 13% are Buddhist; 10% are Christian; and another 10% practice indigenous or other religions.

The Bruneians, who have close cultural and linguistic links to Malays of Sabah and Sarawak, have been known as sailors, fishermen, farmers, and soldiers. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the



Brunei Sultanate controlled most of northern Borneo and the southern Philippines. During the modern era, relations between Bruneians and their neighbors have often been driven by the British colonial policies. The British authorities undermined the power of the sultanate and gradually it lost most of its territorial possessions to its competitors. In the mid-nineteenth century the territory of what is now the Malaysian state of Sarawak was lost to “White Raja” James Brooke, the former officer of the British East India Company. Brunei became a British protectorate in 1888.

The major economic and social changes were brought to Brunei with the discovery of huge oil reserves in 1929. The economic development in Brunei during the twentieth century relied on state planning and control. Since the 1930s, the country has received large revenues from the oil and later gas explorations and became one of the richest countries in the world. For many decades nearly 50% of the Brunei’s GDP and nearly seventy percent of its revenue derived mainly from its oil and gas sectors. The government invested heavily in development of its transportation and communication infrastructure, industries, agriculture, tourism, and other services. Yet, agricultural and manufacturing sectors remained underdeveloped and the tourism sector attracted many fewer tourists than neighboring Malaysia or Singapore. In the post-World War II era the government also introduced a free education and comprehensive welfare system at all levels to all its citizens, and eradicated mass illiteracy by the 1960s.

The United States, United Kingdom, and East Asian countries remained Brunei’s main trading partners, and the chief markets for its products. According to official statistics, the Brunei’s international trade grew rapidly throughout the post-World War II era. The crude oil, liquefied gas, and garments remained the chief export products, while foodstuff, machinery, and manufactured goods remained the chief import products.

In 1959, the monarch of Brunei introduced the Constitution that gave the country internal self-ruling under the British Protectorate. Yet, the government was slow to introduce political changes. Only in 1984 did Brunei declare its full independence from Britain. The elections to the Legislative Council were held in 1962, but were canceled soon after. The Parti Rakyat Brunei (Brunei’s People Party) that won the elections attempted to seize the political power by force, but was defeated. This party, along with some other political groups, was banned from entering the political arena ever since the uprising. For five decades the absolute power has remained in the hands of a monarch (Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah since 1967), who has

held concurrently the positions of prime minister, minister of defense, minister of finance, and chief of police. He appointed a legislative council in 1970 and regularly consults with five counseling bodies: the Council of Ministers, Privy Council, Council of Religious Authorities, Legislative Council, and the Council of Succession.

Ever since declaring independence from the United Kingdom in 1984, the Sultan of Brunei emphasized the importance of Islamic values and political and economic stability even at the cost of liberalization of the political and economic systems. However, since the 1990s, he showed interest in political and economic changes. In 2003, the consultative councils were introduced at the *kampung* (village) and *mukim* (district) levels and in 2004 the Sultan promised to introduce the Legislative Council at the national level sometime in future.

In the economic area, Brunei experienced some difficulties in the aftermath of the Asian and Russian financial crises of 1997–1998, as there was steep decline in demand and in world prices for commodities. There was also a growth in unemployment in the country. The national currency—Ringgit, the Brunei dollar—also experienced a turbulent time, fluctuating quite considerably due to the instability in the regional financial and currency markets. The government acknowledged existing problems and promised to diversify its economy, to privatize some enterprises, and to invest in the creation of knowledge-intensive sectors of the economy.

There is also the issue of social instability. For many years the dominant Bruneian majority preferred employment in the public sector or well-paid managerial positions in the private and state-owned enterprises. All labor-intensive and lower-paid jobs in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and service sectors were often considered to be non-prestigious, and they were left to the ethnic minorities or expatriates from the Philippines and the Indian subcontinent. However, during the last decade there were very few new jobs in the public sector and consequently there was a rise in unemployment rate and growing social discontent among the people. The government must create many more jobs, as about 29% of its population (CIA est. 2004) are young people under fifteen years old who would enter the job market within the next five to six years.

Brunei’s exports are narrowly based on sales of oil and gas in international markets, accounting for almost 90% of total export earnings (CIA est. 2004). The country depends heavily on imports of machinery, industrial consumer goods, and food products.

Despite some economic difficulties, however, the country’s economy experienced a strong recovery

due to the sharp rise in world prices for oil and gas in 2003–2005. Brunei managed to reverse some decline in living standards among the population and remained one of the richest countries in Southeast Asia in terms of per capita income. In 2004, the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) put Brunei in 33rd place out of 177, well ahead of such countries as Argentina, Bahrain, or Kuwait.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southeast Asia; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## BUDDHISM

Buddhism is a way of living harmlessly and mindfully on the earth. The practice of Buddhism is an ancient method of mental purification. This practice consists in mindfulness of breathing and other techniques of meditation based on yoga. Application of Buddhist meditation techniques ideally results in skillful actions that are conducive to enlightenment and beneficial to all beings. “Buddha” means “one who is awake.” A prime example of one who is awake or enlightened is the particular Buddha called “Siddhartha” who lived in the Magadha region of north India in the fifth century BCE.

Some of the Buddha's main teachings are the causal interconnectedness of everything; harmlessness to all beings; eradication of caste as a criterion for worthiness; balancing likes and dislikes to see things as they really are; eliminating all obsessions; and cleaning the mind of possessive, acquisitive, dualistic, and egoistic thinking.

Buddhism began in India and spread throughout South and Southeast Asia, as well as throughout Central and East Asia. As empirical data from Prebish and Baumann shows (2002), Buddhism is practiced worldwide. Census taking may not measure the full extent of Buddhist practice, since one can be a Buddhist simply by “taking refuge” (in the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha), and there are even those who practice Buddhism without calling themselves Buddhist.

In the developing world of South and Southeast Asia, B. R. Ambedkar in India, A. T. Ariyaratne in Sri Lanka, Chatsumarn Kabilsingh in Thailand, and Hari Bansh Jha in Nepal are among those with influential, socially engaged interpretations of Buddhism.

Buddhists in the developing world have often construed “suffering” or “unsatisfactoriness” (*dukkha* in Pali) in such a way that suffering can be eliminated in some significant part by improving the material conditions of life. Hari Bansh Jha suggests interpreting the elimination of suffering in a utopian sense, such that one can bring about the elimination of suffering by social and economic change. In Buddhism, one difference from Marxist theory is that material change should be based on a purification of the mind free of egoism, and not simply on development of class-consciousness; equal distribution of goods; and proletarian control of the means of production, consumption, and distribution.

What the dedicated aspirant on the Buddhist path seeks is enlightenment—to become “awake” to patterns of self-deception, self-centeredness, and greed. The practice is seen as being awake and working for social liberation in this very life. Being awake in this sense would have outcomes toward inclusive thinking, especially in the economic sphere. Economically successful Buddhists do not think that their wealth is at all proof of personal goodness. Ariyaratne, for example, quotes with evident approval the economics of Schumaker as it appears in *Small Is Beautiful*. As explained by A. T. Ariyaratne and others, *sarvodaya* means the welfare of all. At the level of state policy, a government according to *sarvodaya* would be one that implements social and economic policies with zero tolerance for poverty.

Among some Buddhists in the developing world, such as followers of B. R. Ambedkar, there is little or no interest in traditional ideas of karma and rebirth as these appear in Pali Buddhist texts. In India, B. R. Ambedkar (1891–1956) wrote on Buddhism, established Siddharth College, and reinterpreted Buddhism to help the oppressed classes. He took self-ordination as a Buddhist monk in 1956. In movements like this one, the Buddhist doctrine of suffering and its elimination is interpreted as relating to social change, inclusion for *dalits* (“untouchables”). To paraphrase Ariyaratne, the fundamental difference between modern economics and Buddhist economics is that modern economics emphasizes maximizing consumption by increasing production to satisfy continually created needs, whereas Buddhist economics tries to maximize human satisfaction by choosing the best pattern of consumption in relation to basic human needs. Use of local resources is emphasized, in contrast to participating in a global pattern of proliferation of desires in

## BUDDHISM

consumer behavior. A post-colonial, neo-Gandhian influence is present here that could not have been present at the time when traditional textual Buddhism emerged.

One form that Buddhism takes in the developing world is proactive in wishing to abolish poverty and work against forces that would have it otherwise. It is helpful to compare Western Buddhism, wherein one can distinguish (a) Western “socially engaged Buddhism” from (b) Western Buddhism that emphasizes the practice of meditation without social action. Comparing these, Buddhism in the developing world is more like (a) in the hearing the call to action, yet is also like (b) in moving away from traditional, literal views of rebirth realms.

An emphasis on self-reliance is a characteristic emphasis of Buddhism. Being Buddhist in the developing world means having an inclusive attitude of spiritual uplift and self-reliance. Everyone must be self-reliant on the Buddhist path. This self-reliance is emphasized in the early tradition of Theravada Buddhism and contrasts with the reliance on other power in some parts of the Mahayana tradition. Yet although one must be self-reliant and show vigor, no person is isolated from another. We are all linked in an inescapable network of mutuality. According to Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya takes a view of development according to which development is a process of awakening. This process has the human being at the center, with the objective of the personality awakening. The goal is not to create rich persons or rich communities, but to create a no-poverty society. Sarvodaya is dedicated to discovery and fulfillment of the Basic Human Needs (BHN) so that there is no poverty. BHN includes simply: clean environment, water, clothing, food, house, healthcare, communication facilities, energy requirements, education, and cultural and spiritual needs. There may also be as many as fifteen to twenty “subneeds” under each BHN category.

Knowing and seeing for oneself is consistently emphasized in the Buddhist tradition. When Buddhism occurs in the developing world, metaphysical concerns are generally completely absent or downplayed. The focus is on the here and now, and in eliminating suffering (construed to include ameliorating the condition of workers). This is seen, for instance, in the fact that Jha’s *Buddhist Economics and the Modern World* is, in his words, “Dedicated to Lord Buddha the father of socialism.”

The heart of Buddhist compassion is non-violence. The message of the Buddha, like that of Gandhi (whose work Dr. Martin Luther King studied), is to overcome all opposition and duality through the message of love. This does not mean that socially engaged Buddhists must acquiesce in

the face of social and economic exploitation. Theirs is a way of constructive engagement, attempting to make a friend of the other.

Thinking of the future of Buddhism in the developing world, one main emphasis of Buddha’s teaching is the Middle Way. Traditional textual Buddhism has distinct senses of the middle way: (a) soteriologically, a middle between Brahmanical soul substance eternalism and Carvaka materialist annihilationism; (b) ethically, a middle between the sensualism of the princely palace prior to renunciation and the asceticism of the Jaina teachers with whom Buddha studied before enlightenment. Although these distinctions are prominent in traditional textual Buddhism, in the developing world, a new sense of the term “middle way” seems emergent: (c) politically, a middle way between communism and capitalism.

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**See also Nepal; Sri Lanka; Tibet**

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## BULGARIA

### Location

The Republic of Bulgaria lies in southeastern Europe in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Located along key land routes and historical migration roads

between Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, it occupies a strategic position particularly because of its proximity to the Turkish Straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

With a land area of 110,912 square kilometers, Bulgaria is bordered by Romania along the Danube River (north), Turkey (southeast), Greece (south), and Macedonia-FYROM and Serbia-Montenegro (west). The population of 7,973,890 (2002 est.) comprises Bulgarians (83.9%), Turks (9.4%), and Roma (4.7%). The capital, Sofia, has a population of 1,088,700 (2003 est.).

## Land and Climate

The topography is varied: in the north, the Danubian plateau is the most fertile farmland. In the center, the Balkan Mountains (Stara Planina) traverse the country from east to west. In the southwest, the Rhodope and Pirin Mountains culminate with the Musala Peak (2,925 meters), the highest point on the Balkan Peninsula. In the west, the Black Sea coastline is a popular Eastern European tourist area. Between the Black Sea and the Rhodope lies the Thracian plain. Forests cover more than one-third of the territory. The climate is continental temperate, with cold, snowy winters and hot, dry summers. The Danube, the Iskur, the Maritsa, and the Struma are the principal rivers.

## History Until 1945

Human settlement in the region dates to prehistoric times. The Thracians established the first civilization in 3500 BC. Later the country was successively integrated into the Roman and the Byzantine Empires. During the seventh century AD the Bulgars, nomadic tribes from central Asia, took control of the country. They adopted Christianity in 865. Two Bulgarian kingdoms flourished during the Middle Ages. In 1393, following the fall of Tirnovo, Bulgaria was integrated into the Ottoman Empire until 1878. The Ottoman rule was direct and controlling because of the proximity of the center of the Empire, Constantinople-Istanbul.

Following the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878 and the treaty of Berlin (July 1878), Bulgaria became an autonomous principality. In 1908, following the Young Turk revolution, the prince of Bulgaria, Ferdinand of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha, proclaimed independence.

One of the main issues from the nineteenth century until 1945 was the expansion of the Bulgarian

territory: In 1885, Eastern Roumelia was successfully incorporated into Bulgaria, but the government failed to integrate Macedonia in 1912–1913. The claim toward the Macedonian territories partly explained Bulgaria's choice to side with Germany during WWI and WWII. After 1918, Alexander Stamboliski and the Agrarians ran Bulgaria until 1923. Political turmoil marked the interwar period. In 1935, King Boris III established his personal dictatorship.

In 1945, Bulgaria became a People's Republic and fell within the Soviet sphere of influence. It became a member of the Soviet-led military alliance, the Warsaw Pact (1955), and the communist economic organization, COMECON (1949).

## Current Economy

Bulgaria is traditionally an agricultural country (20% of the GDP). The principal crops are wheat, oilseeds, vegetables, fruits, and tobacco. Roses are also grown in the Valley of Roses, an area well known for manufacturing perfume. Bulgaria's natural resources include bauxite, copper, lead, zinc, coal, oil, and natural gas. There are also many mineral springs. The major industries are machine building; metalworking; food processing; engineering; and the production of chemicals, textiles and electronics.

After a difficult economic transition between 1989 and 1997, recovery has been slow and partial. The recent economic situation is characterized by a positive GDP, 4.8% in 2002 and 4.3% in 2003; the inflation rate was 5.6% in 2003. Unemployment is moderate for the region with 14.3% (2003). Bulgaria remains sensitive to international fluctuations as more than 45% of her exports consist of raw materials. The importance of services has increased from 29.5% of GVA (Gross Value Added) in 1989 to 58.8% in 2002. The Bulgarian economy moved toward a service-oriented model as the industry's share went down from 59.4% of GVA in 1989 to 28.7% in 2002. Tourism and communications have shown a robust growth. The private sector's share of GVA reached 72.2% in 2002. However, like most of the ex-communist states in the region, Bulgaria suffers from corruption and a substantial "gray economy," which ranged from 20% to 30% of GDP in 2002–2003.

## Bulgaria's Developments After 1945

From 1945 to 1989, Bulgaria was a strong totalitarian regime, and one of the closest of the East European

countries allied to the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of Todor Zhivkov (1962–1989), an almost complete political immobility prevailed. However, the communist regime deeply transformed the Bulgarian society. Through education and the development of the industrial sector, a consistent urban middle class emerged from a traditionally agricultural society. By the late 1980s only one-fifth of the population was still directly involved in farming.

In the late 1970s, Zhivkov's daughter, Ludmilla Zhivkova, who was the head of the commission for Arts and Culture, brought a new wind. Emphasizing Bulgarian nationalism, history, and culture, she tried to distance her country from Soviet ideology. A few years later a timid civil society started to emerge as demonstrations took place on the streets because of concern for the ecology, as well as unions meeting in Sofia (1987–1989).

Zhivkov resigned on November 10, 1989, one day after the fall of the Berlin wall, signaling a "quiet transition." Since then, Bulgaria has acquired a reputation as an "island of stability" in the Balkans, as the country escaped the bloody transition of Yugoslavia. However, in spite of the establishment of a new set of institutions, a parliamentary democratic republic, the adoption of a new constitution (1991), and the staging of regular elections, no political party has been able to establish a long-term government and major economic reforms have proved difficult to enact.

The development of Bulgaria has been challenged by three major issues: First, Bulgaria's transition toward a free market economy proved to be a slow, painful process that is far from being accomplished. In the early 1990s the standard of living fell by about 40%. Then, the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia and Iraq hurt the already damaged economy. In 1996, the economy collapsed, and social turmoil threatened the new democracy as a severe political crisis occurred. The resignation of socialist Prime Minister Videnov resulted in a general election, which was won by the Union of the Democratic Forces (UDF). Since then a slow recovery and political stability prevail. The government has been moving to introduce structural reforms, such as privatization, liquidation of state-owned enterprises, liberation of agricultural policies, and the reform of the country's social insurance programs. In July 2001, following a general election, an unexpected coalition government was formed. Simeon of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha, the son of Boris III, became prime minister and the socialist candidate, Georgi Parvanov, became president of Bulgaria.

Second, the status of the Turkish minority was successfully modified. Under the communist regime, the Turks had been forced to assimilate into Bulgarian

language and culture. A brutal and strong policy was introduced in 1984–1985 when the authorities forced the Turks to adopt Bulgarian names. Later, during the summer of 1989, about 320,000 left the country for Turkey. The army was deployed. After 1990, the new government successfully implemented a radical change of policy to fully integrate the Turks politically and now they have representatives in the government and parliament. Since 1991, Turks have enjoyed equal rights with Bulgarians.

Third, Bulgaria opted for a new foreign policy driven by three objectives: Sofia establishes cooperation with Washington; Bulgarian soldiers participate in the military operations conducted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Afghanistan, and in Iraq; and Bulgarian military bases are open to US forces. In March 2004, Bulgaria became a member of NATO. Because of its historical ties to Russia, Bulgaria still retains some links with that country, although after 1989, Bulgaria tried to distance itself from what was still the Soviet Union, a communist country. More recently, with the election of President Putin, the relationship between the two countries has improved. Sofia still imports 85% of its energy resources from Russia (gas, oil, nuclear energy), and more than 80% of Bulgaria's trade is with former Soviet-bloc countries. Finally, in 1995, the EU accepted Bulgaria's candidacy.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe**

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## BUNCHE, RALPH

Dr. Ralph Johnson Bunche was a scholar/activist in the fields of civil rights, human rights, decolonization, and peacekeeping. He was born in Detroit, Michigan, August 7, 1903, and became the first African American, and person of color of any origin, to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. He received this international honor in 1950 for his success as United Nations mediator in bringing about the 1949 armistices between Israel and its Arab adversaries, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Son of an itinerant barber and raised by his maternal grandmother, Bunche fashioned several path-breaking careers, in academia, as a civil rights leader, and as a civil servant in both the United States government and the United Nations.

Bunche, the scholar, earned his PhD at Harvard and was an early student of Africa and the problems of race. He became professor and first chair of the new political science department at Howard University in 1929 and was elected president of the American Political Science Association in 1953. He was in the forefront of the struggle for civil rights in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s. From 1923 to 1941, he was primarily a scholar; from 1941 to his death in 1971, he was primarily a practitioner and activist.

Bunche's focus on the conditions and experiences of indigenous peoples and cultures subject to colonialism paralleled and was linked to his interest in the condition and experience of black people in his own US society. To Bunche, the condition of African Americans and that of the blacks in Africa, as well as that of colonial peoples throughout the world, was part and parcel of the same problem—that of racism and economic deprivation. He was an early leader in the development of US understanding of Africa. Because of his expertise on Africa and colonial problems, he was recruited into the World War II Office of Strategic Services, where he headed the Africa Section of the Research and Analysis Branch. In 1944, he moved to the State Department where in the post-war planning unit he was involved in the creation of the United Nations and played a particularly central role in the evolving process of decolonization. He helped create the United Nations at San Francisco in 1945 and had a central role in the adoption of three chapters of the UN Charter that dealt with post-war colonialism. For two decades, as under-secretary-general—the highest post held by an American in the UN—he played a leading role in the conception and conduct of the UN's peacekeeping

function. In the last decades of his life, Bunche was one of the most widely known figures on the international scene. He died in New York City on December 9, 1971.

BENJAMIN RIVLIN

See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973)

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## BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM

Bureaucratic authoritarianism (BA), a term coined in 1973 by Guillermo O'Donnell, is a member of the very extended family of authoritarian regimes, generically characterized by “limited, not responsible, political pluralism, without elaborate and guiding ideology, but with distinctive mentalities, without extensive, nor intensive political mobilization, except at some points in their development, and in which a leader, or occasionally a small group, exercises power within ill-defined limits but actually quite predictable ones” (Linz 1964). By this path-breaking definition, authoritarianism has been clearly distinguished from totalitarianism, a regime in which the state's total monopoly over power, as framed within an all-encompassing ideology, sets forth a program of radical transformation of society that mobilizes the whole population, yet excludes (or exterminates) all those suspected of incompatibility with, or enmity toward, the said program.

Although authoritarianism had been widespread in Europe and elsewhere early in the twentieth century, its study began in earnest in the 1960s with Franco's Spain as its first study subject, a country that was difficult to place squarely in the totalitarian camp, despite its initial alliance with Nazi Germany. The term acquired its full significance in the following decade, with the widespread emergence of a new kind of undemocratic rule in Latin America, which abruptly ended the era of proto-democratic populist mobilizations in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, and that of democratic socialism in Chile.

By merging the general concept of authoritarianism with the debate on dependent capitalism and

professionalization of the military (Stepan 1971, 1973), Guillermo O'Donnell (1973) identified bureaucratic authoritarianism (BA) as a new variety of authoritarianism, typically exemplified in Argentina's 1976–1983 military dictatorship. The “bureaucratic” qualifier added the element of rational management of the state and the economy, coupled with the rejection of the corporatist and populist past, hence the exclusion of the organizations (unions, parties, and so on) and interest groups that had partaken in the populist alliances. In other words, with BA's modern rational state organization and its disregard for the maintenance of legitimacy toward key groups in society and the popular masses, authoritarianism took one step in the direction of totalitarianism, yet stopped short of putting forth a total ideology or mobilizing the masses.

The concept was immediately heralded as a major turning point, providing, as it seemed, just the key to the puzzle over the repeated emergence of military regimes in Latin America from 1964 to 1976. To all accounts, BA aptly portrayed the regime that had taken power in Argentina from 1976 to 1983, and prided itself on having reestablished law, order, and economic growth on sound managerial and technocratic (as opposed to ideological) grounding, while eliminating the communist peril. But it also aimed at including other cases, such as Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile, also taken over by the military from 1964 to 1985, 1973 to 1985, and 1973 to 1989, respectively. With time, however, the initial enthusiasm over this formula began to dim, not only in view of the human rights atrocities they perpetrated, but also for their failure to reestablish economic growth (excepting Chile in the mid-1980s), their fiscal and borrowing recklessness, and their propensity to adopt corporatist self-serving welfare provisions that excluded the rest of the population. Even among their erstwhile allies (such as business and the middle classes), these regimes were eventually discovered to be seriously lacking in the virtues by which they had defined themselves, and not sufficiently similar to one another to justify the use of a single type. Thus it was argued, for example, that rather than a pure BA, the Argentine military from 1976 to 1983 represented a mixture of extremely exclusionary authoritarianism and totalitarianism (the latter in view of the enclaves in charge of the repression, torture, and disappearance of “subversives”), while Brazil's military was seen as more inclusionary, due to the maintenance of elections, parliament, and unions (albeit under the control of the military). Chile, by contrast, changed over time from an extremely stark to a more negotiable authoritarian rule. Lastly, in their relentless witch hunts of the Tupamaro guerillas, the military in Uruguay

proved the most repressive of the four countries, despite the country's long tradition of democratic rule.

When these regimes returned to civilian rule, they also did so in remarkably different ways: virtual expulsion of the military in Argentina after the Malvinas military fiasco; their total discredit in Uruguay as expressed in a plebiscite; a transition planned by the military themselves in Brazil; and initially the retention of considerable political and military power by the dictator in Chile under the constitution of 1980.

Despite their limitations, shared by most typifications, Linz's and O'Donnell's work on authoritarianism, and that of others following them (Malloy 1977; Collier 1979) mark an important watershed in political theory signifying the demise of the then-dominant ideas on political modernization, which had predicted imminent democratization for Latin America's relatively advanced industrialized countries. Together with the ongoing debate on dependent capitalism, these works thereby opened an extremely rich and fruitful debate that radically changed the research questions debated within the academic community.

The conceptual birth of authoritarianism and its BA variant also had important policy repercussions, insofar as in the building of strategic alliances against potential Soviet/Cuban expansionism, US policy makers found authoritarian governments to be politically more acceptable allies than other undemocratic rulers. This in no small part contributed to the legitimation and consolidation of these regimes and the consequent unchecked spreading of human rights abuses. With the change of policy in the Carter administration, however, and the generally dismal economic performance of these regimes, external support began to falter, thereby preparing the grounds for the third wave of democratization, beginning with Argentina in 1983.

At first glance, little discrepancy between Linz's and O'Donnell's ideas on authoritarianism is apparent if we focus on regime structures only. In contrast to Linz, however, O'Donnell gives primary importance to the social base of regimes: BA regimes are said to rest on a coalition of high-level military and business technocrats working in close association with foreign capital. They exclude subordinate classes (outlawing any kind of political organization thereof, and pursuing labor, peasant, or urban popular leaders with Dirty War techniques), and are therefore “emphatically antidemocratic” (Collier 1979). The “limited pluralism” included in Linz's definition is hereby given an important corrective: since BA regimes include only a very small elite, their politics can be called factional rather than “plural.” Equally absent from O'Donnell's BA is the notion of “mentality,” a somewhat vague concept in Linz's definition.

The most important difference between the two authors is that Linz aimed at typifying the structural characteristics of a wide variety of authoritarianisms, regardless of origin or policies, whereas O'Donnell was theorizing on an historical sequence of regimes ending up with the birth of BAs in Latin America. At Stage One, oligarchic democracies, which had ruled from the nineteenth century to the Great Depression, were supported by economic elites (landed, and mining) whose power was based on the export of primary products to industrialized countries. At Stage Two, these oligarchies whose wealth was destroyed by the Great Depression, were overthrown by populist leaders (as Perón in Argentina, Kubichek in Brazil, Battle in Uruguay), based on multi-class coalitions of urban elites and popular sectors, and sustained by import substitution industrialization (ISI). Finally, at Stage Three, the rise of BA regimes was said to have coincided with the end of the easy phase of import substitution, leading to domination by military-technocratic elites and the exclusion of popular sectors from the benefits of new capital-intensive industrial growth.

O'Donnell's economic explanation of the rise of authoritarianism had a mixed reception, with calls for a more actor- and ideology-mediated view of the transition from populist economic policy (ISI, currency overvaluation, inflation, and debt) to more orthodox market-oriented policies (Hirshman 1979). His hypothesis of the "deepening" and "exhaustion" of import substitution, alleged to have led to authoritarian rule, was also questioned, based on available evidence that these difficulties had arisen before the breakdown of democracies, and had in part been solved before the military coups that ushered in BA.

A second kind of critique concerned the overextended use of the BA concept, which came to describe almost any Latin American or Southern European non-democratic regime in the 1970s, whether populist and inclusionary, as post-revolutionary Mexico, or elitist and exclusionary, as Chile under Pinochet (1973–1989) or Argentina under the military junta (1976–1983). In the case of Mexico, the term was initially held to be applicable, despite three fundamental differences between Mexico and typical BA regimes: the inclusion of the popular sectors (via state corporatist mechanisms); the presence until the 1980s of a governing elite that was more populist than technocratic; and the preservation, well into the 1980s and even into the 1990s, of ISI and tailored welfare programs. Additionally, Mexico's military was nowhere on the political map at any time since 1910, which may have contributed to the uncanny stability of the post-revolutionary regime.

When all was said and done, however, O'Donnell's concern for the alliances and coalitions backing up Latin America's BA regimes has been crucial to understanding the logic and evolution of these regimes, and has easily translated into today's concern for the social composition of political forces supporting or weakening the newly reestablished democracies. In fact, it was argued that we owe the demise of these dictatorships in large part to the dissolution of the alliances between *blandos* (softliners) and *duros* (hardliners) within the military, and between the military and business.

The debate on authoritarianism was soon to be interrupted *sine die* when the Argentinian military returned to civilian rule in 1983, shortly followed by Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile. Despite the suddenness of the change, however, the potentially enduring overlap between authoritarianism and democracy initially received relatively little attention. Excepting the role of the Catholic Church (mostly seen as mitigating authoritarianism), and important (yet relatively marginalized) work on social movement mobilizations during the four military dictatorships, the tendency to think of these regimes as indivisible units had left little room for the study of their weaknesses, and the forces at work preparing for re-democratization. As a result, subsequent democratization was overwhelmingly attributed to top-down elite negotiations and deliberate "crafting" from above. Likewise, the authoritarian ways of governing displayed by some of the new democracies (as the Menem administration in Argentina) or fighting Parliament with plebiscitarian techniques (as Fujimori's administration in Peru) were given short shrift.

Since the return to civilian rule in Southern Europe in the 1970s and in Latin America in the 1980s, the debate on BA has become a relatively neglected subject. The concept was perhaps so specifically descriptive of Latin America at a certain historical juncture (especially of Argentina, as some critics of O'Donnell have argued), that it was bound to fall into disuse after re-democratization. Yet authoritarianism, the more general term, and one not necessarily referring to military rule, has remained alive and well. The reason is the persistence in new and old democracies of authoritarian traits and institutional niches, and the tolerance of authoritarian practices.

Rather than continue along the line of typifying regimes as indivisible wholes, as in the past, the research task confronting analysts in the twenty-first century is to unravel the patchwork nature of political regimes and discover the relations of interdependence linking their different component parts. As such, the study of authoritarianism and some of its bureaucratic aspects is bound to remain fruitful, independently



of the disappearance from the scene of specific kinds of authoritarian regimes that led to coining the term.

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**See also** Argentina; Authoritarianism; Brazil; Chile; Uruguay

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## BURKINA FASO

Burkina Faso, formerly known as Upper Volta, is a small, landlocked country in the West African region. It is located North of Ghana and shares its other borders with Benin, Niger, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, and Togo. Its total area of 274,200 square kilometers is mostly flat with some hills in the west and southeast of the country; 50% of the country's land is forest and woodlands. Burkina Faso's climate is tropical overall; the winters are warm and dry while the summers are hot and wet. However, the country has experienced a number of recurring droughts, which have severely

affected agricultural activities. The majority of the twelve million Burkinabés are farmers; they either cultivate cash crops such as cotton, peanuts, and sesame, or food crops such as millet, rice, and vegetables. The Mossi are the largest ethnic group in the country with 40% of the country's population. Other represented ethnic groups include: the Senufo, the Gurunsi, the Lobi, the Bobo, the Mande, and the Fulani. To date, there has been no conflict among the country's ethnic groups. The country is among the poorest of the poor countries of the world, ranking 171 out of 174 countries in the United Nations Development Program Human Development Index.

Burkina Faso's short history has been quite turbulent. Even as a French colony, it oscillated between having its own colonial status and being part of other colonial territories such as the French Sudan or Côte d'Ivoire. It finally became its own, more stable, colonial territory in 1947 and gained its political independence on August 5, 1960. During the first twenty years of its existence, Burkina Faso relied heavily on French economic assistance and experienced a number of military coups. Blaise Compaoré, the country's president as of this writing, has been slowly and successfully moving the country toward political and economic liberalization.

After difficult attempts by Upper Volta's first president, Maurice Yaméogo, to create a national identity among the ethnic groups that make up Burkina Faso, the country lived through four military coups involving different leaders and factions. General Sangoulé Lamizana was the first to stage a military coup. He assumed the presidency in 1966 and alternatively restricted and allowed national political activity while in office until 1980. He was overthrown by Colonel Saye Zerbo, one of his own officers, and the latter was deposed by another Mossi officer, Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo, in 1982. This last coup was met with public indifference, even though it was the first to result in civilian or military deaths. During this time, the country did not change much economically. It was particularly dependent on French aid because of a number of economic and military cooperation agreements signed between France and Upper Volta prior to independence. French assistance between 1960 and 1972, for instance, equaled five times the Burkinabé government's budget for 1972, \$2 billion.

On August 4, 1983, Thomas Sankara, previously prime minister under Ouédraogo, was freed from prison by 250 Burkinabé soldiers and took charge of the country. In favor of complete autarky, this Marxist revolutionary sought to rid his home country of French exploitation and bring home the thousands of Burkinabé laborers continuously working in Côte d'Ivoire. He created the National Council of the

Revolution (NCR) at the national level and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution at the local level to revolutionize life in Burkina Faso and restructure its social space. The state was working to organize segments of the country's civil society. Sankara also changed the name of the country from Upper Volta to Burkina Faso, or "The Land of Men of Integrity," in August 1984. His positions and policies were not popular with most Burkinabè citizens, regardless of social class, and alienated Westerners and the international financial institutions. On October 15, 1987, following months of economic unease and social tension, Thomas Sankara was assassinated and Blaise Compaoré took over as the country's leader.

Compaoré immediately wanted to "rectify" the revolution begun by Sankara. He allowed the formation of several political opposition groups (although none based on ethnic or religious identity), as well as the creation of new, more independent media. He created the Popular Front to replace the NCR and serve as a forum for all major political entities. He led the creation of a new, more democratic constitution in 1991. This new governing document called for the separation of power between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government and created a second legislative body, the Chamber of Representatives, to be a consultative body. It also made it illegal for military personnel to hold political office. Although change continued to be slow and Compaoré is still in power (as of this writing), his reforms have definitely created a more open society. A number of increasingly democratic multi-party elections have been held since 1987, among them two presidential, one municipal, and two parliamentary voting opportunities.

Compaoré also accepted capitalism as the economic system of choice for development in Burkina Faso. He thus regained assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank starting in 1991, with the signature of a structural adjustment plan and loans totaling \$31 million. Compaoré launched serious economic reforms of the public, banking, and fiscal sectors of the economy while liberalizing agricultural trade. Despite the severe devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994, the 1990s were a comparatively a good decade for the country as it moved toward the production of more expensive agricultural products such as sun-dried tomatoes and green beans for export. Since 1999, its overall annual GDP has been more than 5%. In July 2000, as an indication of its economic and social progress, Burkina Faso was approved for \$400 million in debt relief under the World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. According to IMF and World Bank standards, the country has done well economically and reduced poverty since then, despite the

continuing crisis in neighboring Cote d'Ivoire. Burkina Faso continues to receive much assistance from the international financial institutions.

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## BURMA

See Myanmar

## BURUNDI

Burundi is a small but densely populated country of 27,834 square kilometers with a population of 7.7 million (2004). The country is bordered by Rwanda to the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west, and Tanzania to the south and east. Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River separate Burundi and the DR Congo. The capital is Bujumbura.

Burundi's religions are dominantly colonial; about 60% are Christians, mostly Roman Catholic; Swahili Muslims comprise 5%; and others are mainly followers of traditional religions. The main language is Kirundi; French and Kiswahili are also spoken. There are seven major ethnic groups: Hutu, Tutsi, Ganwa (royal clans), Hima (also seen as a clan of Tutsi), Swahili Muslims, pygmoid indigenous Twa, and Mbo.

The European colonization reached Burundi in the 1880s. In 1918, Burundi and Rwanda were given to Belgium as a mandate of the League of Nations and later the UN until 1962. The Belgians were in need of Hutu and Tutsi as laborers in the mines and plantations. The Tutsis were told by the colonizers that they were "born to rule" while Hutus were "born to

serve.” The devastating effects of such racism continue to be felt today in both Rwanda and Burundi.

By instigating and militarily supporting the Hutu revolt in Rwanda in 1959, the colonialists created the dictatorship of the majority, but the Ganwa-Tutsi constitutional monarchy in Burundi remained in place, though it waned in power and influence. In 1959, the pan-Africanist Ganwa prince Louis Rwagasore drew huge crowds at mass rallies demanding immediate independence. Rwagasore became the head of Uprona, the Tutsi-dominated Union for National Progress.

Between 1959 and 1966, tens of thousands of Tutsi in Rwanda were murdered and tens of thousands fled to Burundi and other nearby countries. In the following decades, mutual cycles of extreme violence ravaged Central Africa. Burundi’s descent into violence began in 1965 with a Hutu military coup, which was quelled. Afterwards, the first massacres took place.

In 1972, a state-organized, selective genocide was carried out by the army against tens of thousands of Hutus and against the political opposition among Tutsi-Banyaruguru. Educated Hutu and Tutsi dissidents were rounded up by the army and murdered. Up to a hundred thousand people are estimated to have died.

Burundi’s young democracy disintegrated and Uprona became a tool of the military, leading to the institution of military rule dominated by Tutsi-Hima. The Ganwa nobility was finally ousted from power by Captain Michel Micombero, the head of the new military power elite, who remained in power from 1966 to 1976. In the fall of 1976, Colonel Jean Baptiste Bagaza, a Tutsi-Hima and a relative of Micombero, staged a bloodless coup.

Under the eleven-year Bagaza regime, there were no further massacres; but there was no power sharing either. All provincial governors and most civil servants were Tutsis. Uprona was made into a single “unity” party. Bagaza introduced limited reforms and attracted Western aid. Human rights violations were simply “overlooked.” Aid and coffee export financed the first glimpse of modernity: the electrification of urban centers and bitumen roads.

Bagaza fell in a coup in 1987 by Major Pierre Buyoya, who reintroduced power-sharing, giving an equal share of posts to Hutu and Tutsi. In 1990, France—followed by other donors—made aid conditional to multi-party democratization. A new constitution was accepted by referendum, but the transition to democracy was full of uncertainties.

The second free and fair elections (after those in 1961) took place on June 1, 1993. Uprona was challenged by the Hutu-dominated Frodebu, the Front for Democracy in Burundi (*Front pour la*

*Démocratie au Burundi*). Frodebu candidate Melchior Ndadaye (a Hutu moderate) was the clear winner. Ndadaye had been in office one hundred days when he was murdered during a failed military coup on October 20, 1993. His assassination triggered a series of organized massacres against the Tutsi minority.

Within weeks, fifty thousand Tutsi farmers and thousands of Hutu Upronists were slaughtered by Hutu Frodebists. From October 1993 to spring 1998, Burundi was engulfed in “ethnic” slaughter that claimed the lives of tens of thousands of unarmed civilians and caused the displacement of hundreds of thousands more. After almost three years of mixed regimes under Hutu leadership, Pierre Buyoya seized power again in a bloodless coup in June 1996. Neighboring governments imposed an economic embargo on the land-locked country to force it to reintroduce democratic rule.

Still, the conflict raged on, fuelled by a seemingly unstoppable flow of arms. Tanzania and Zaire allowed Hutu rebels to use their territory. The fallout from the genocide and civil wars in Rwanda and Burundi caused instability in the neighboring states: rebels from both countries continued to hide out in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The political turnaround in Burundi came in June 1998 with the “partnership” between government and parliament, based on a joint political platform, and the transitional constitution of June 6, 1998. Traditional forms of reestablishing social harmony, such as the old institution of arbitration known as *abashingantahe*, similar to a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, were adopted at a national level.

Direct talks between the military foes culminated in the Arusha Peace Accords of August 2000. All parties—except the armed groups—signed the accords, which became the base for a three-year transitional period, starting in 2001 and slated to end with elections. For the first eighteen months, Pierre Buyoya (Uprona) remained president; Domitien Ndayizeye (Frodebu) then took over, and remained in office as of 2005. The period was extended because the Constitutional Court failed to validate a draft constitution in time. One rebel group still refuses to sign the accords, and hence the elections could not be held by October 31, 2004, when the transitional period should have ended; they have been postponed repeatedly.

Leadership quarrels had led to several splits within both rebel groups. The armed wing of Palipehutu, the FNL, is active in the northern provinces bordering Congo and sometimes in the Bujumbura area. The FNL has an inherently tribalist agenda. By 2005, most FDD factions joined the government camp,

with only the FLN continuing strikes against “soft targets,” mainly Tutsi civilians, Hutu “traitors” (Upronists) and even refugees from the Congo.

The key issues underlying the conflict are those of the control of state power and state resources. Main features of the intrastate conflict are fictitious ethnicity, minority governance, regional divide, and spill-over effects of the Congo crisis. A regional effort to end conflict was agreed to by eleven regional heads of state on November 22, 2004, in Dar es Salaam.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa**

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### BUTHELEZI, MANGOSUTHU GATSHA

Buthelezi was born in 1928 at Mahlabathini, KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa. Buthelezi, who traces his ancestry to the Zulu King Dingane, was appointed a hereditary chief in 1957.

KwaZulu was the homeland created for Zulu people. Because Zulus are South Africa's largest ethnic group, Buthelezi exercised considerable influence. In 1970, Buthelezi became Chief Executive Officer of Zulu Territorial Authority (ZTA). The ZTA evolved into the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA), which was dominated by Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The IFP (formed in 1975 as a National Cultural Liberation Movement) had more than two million

members. The IFP advocated Zulu self-determination, a “Zulu renaissance,” a Zulu-monarchy, the promotion of traditional-African culture, and black liberation from white control. Buthelezi supported apartheid because he believed apartheid's homeland system allowed Zulus political autonomy.

Buthelezi established the KwaZulu homeland capital at Ulundi, site of the final Zulu defeat at the hands of the British. This was deemed symbolic of the re-emergence of the Zulu kingdom and the end of colonial subjugation. During the 1980s and 1990s, the IFP came to support capitalism and consociationalism. The IFP strongly opposed the ANC's armed struggle against apartheid and rejected the African National Congress (ANC)'s advocacy of socialism, sanctions, and majoritarian-democracy within a unified South African state. The IFP engaged in a violent struggle against the United Democratic Front (internal wing of the ANC) during the 1980s and 1990s. Despite this, Buthelezi repeatedly called for Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

Under Buthelezi, the IFP stood for a multi-racial capitalism; non-violent resistance to the apartheid state; and the politics of negotiating with white South Africans. Buthelezi also built an alliance with local white capitalists during the apartheid era. Buthelezi's vision of development insisted on leaving an autonomous space for adherents to traditional African culture who did not wish to be “developed”/Westernized. Buthelezi opposed the socialist model of development, preferring to encourage the growth of an indigenous business class and then relying on “trickle-down” economics to deliver benefits to the wider population. Although Buthelezi worked within the apartheid system as KwaZulu's chief minister (from 1972–1994), in 1976 he rejected the idea that KwaZulu would become fully independent of South Africa. This challenged the central tenet of apartheid that each of South Africa's ten “black nations” would be given independence (which would have left South Africa without any black citizens).

During the negotiations to end apartheid (1991–1994) Buthelezi became a powerful focus of conservative opposition to the deal being hammered out between the ANC and the National Party. Buthelezi wanted a federal system, allowing for Zulu autonomy, while the ANC wanted a unitary (integrationist) state. A violent struggle ensued between Inkatha and ANC supporters. Buthelezi's refusal to participate in the first one-person-one-vote elections (1994) nearly plunged South Africa into a civil war. The IFP entered the elections at the last minute and won control of the KwaZulu-Natal province. A rapprochement (albeit tense) eventually took place between the IFP and the ANC. Buthelezi was South Africa's minister

## BUTHELEZI, MANGOSUTHU GATSHA

of the interior from 1994 to 2003, and on occasion even served as South Africa's acting president.

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**See also African National Congress; Apartheid; Mandela, Nelson; South Africa**

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## **CABRAL, AMILCAR**

Founder and secretary-general of the *Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné Cabo Verde* (PAIGC), Amilcar Cabral (1925–1973) led what many think was the most successful African revolutionary movement. The revolution Cabral led in Guinea-Bissau resulted in independence in 1974 and was the direct cause of the revolution in Portugal, which ended the last surviving fascist regime in Europe. Though Cabral was noted in his lifetime as a revolutionary theorist and strategist of guerrilla war, most continuing interest in Cabral centers around two major areas: his analyses of the role of national culture in liberation movements and the dangers of the postrevolutionary period in the Third World.

Cabral's analysis of the role of national culture in liberation movements is based on his definition of imperialism as an attempt to destroy and supplant the history of colonized peoples. In his view, the reorientation of production in colonized areas to suit imperial goals could not succeed if it was aimed at only economic relationships. Colonial governments also had to subvert the political, religious, social, and artistic culture of indigenous peoples to prepare them for "assimilation" into the metropole's value systems. Cabral thought that national liberation was only feasible if this process was reversed by recapturing national culture. Thus, liberation movements should nurture the reassertion of culture, promoting attitudes conducive to self-determination and assertions of national worth. This would undermine the

ability of imperial governments to assert control over colonized peoples during the liberation struggle and enable liberation movements to form new national cultures that could resist attempts to undermine independence (Bienen 1977).

Cabral's analysis of the dangers of the postrevolutionary period is tied to these ideas. He saw that successful liberation movements must be based on political organizations that conduct an empirical analysis of actual social relationships and form strategies accordingly. This task falls to the urban "petty bourgeoisie" of bureaucrats, teachers, lawyers, and small businessmen because they are the only people with the skills necessary. They, however, are the ones most closely tied to the imperial relationships and values that must be overcome. Liberation movements are caught in a dilemma. The class that has to lead them is the one most likely to stop short of a restoration of national economic and cultural integrity. Cabral warned that only those members of the petty bourgeoisie who cut their ties with imperial institutions by joining liberation organizations should be trusted. His call for a class suicide by the petty bourgeoisie as a prerequisite for successful liberation still has relevance, albeit little hope for success (Cabral 1969; Meisenheider 1993).

Cabral's insistence on the political reformation of national cultural values to fit changed circumstances, not to restore a mythological past, in today's climate of religious and ethnic movements.

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## CAMBODIA

Cambodia, situated on the southern part of the Indochina peninsula in Southeast Asia, covers an area of about 69,898 square miles. It extends 280 miles north to south and 360 miles west to east. It shares land borders with three countries: Thailand to its west and north, Laos to its north, and Vietnam to its east. The mountains, the plains, and the highlands constitute its three major geographical units. Cambodia is bounded by mountain ranges such as the Dangrek Mountains on the Thai border. The highlands of the northeast in the area bordering Laos and Vietnam provide fertile volcanic soil suitable for cultivation of plantation crops like rubber and coffee. But it is the Tonle Sap ("great lake") in the heart of the country that works as a natural flood regulator by drawing the excess water of the Mekong River during the monsoon. A fertile plain extends from the Dangrek Mountains in the northwest to the Vietnam border in the southeast enriched by the river system. The Mekong River traverses more than three hundred miles, flowing north to south through Cambodia before entering Vietnam. It has a long coastline along the Gulf of Thailand. The seasons (dry and rainy) are governed by the northeast and southwest monsoons. The climate is tropical, with the monsoon season lasting from May to early November, followed by a dry season from December to April. The population is estimated at approximately 13.3 million, with an estimated growth rate of 1.8% annually (2004). The capital, Phnom Penh, has a population of about 1.5 million people.

Cambodia was under the Hindu kingdom of Funan for the first six centuries CE until it was overthrown by the Chen-la Khmers in the sixth century CE. The Angkor kingdom dominated from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries during which the Khmer genius created such architectural wonders as the temple complex of Angkor Wat. The Thai armies sacked and captured Angkor by 1431. The extensive Cambodian state authority gradually dwindled as it gave in

to Thai and Annamite onslaughts. It began its modern phase in 1863 when it became a French protectorate. Attempts at revolt were nipped in the bud while the institution of the Cambodian monarchy was retained as a shield against popular upsurge. King Norodom signed the treaty of 1884, which effectively placed the entire internal administration of Cambodia in the hands of France. In 1887, Cambodia became part of the wider Indochinese Union. During World War II, the French Vichy regime retained hold of Cambodia, followed briefly by an "independent" government with Son Ngoc Thanh as prime minister. The French reestablished their colonial rule with the end of Japanese occupation. As an anticolonial struggle ensued, King Norodom Sihanouk took the lead in negotiating independence that was announced on November 9, 1953, and reaffirmed by the Geneva Agreement of 1954. As Cambodia got entangled in the US war in Vietnam, the Right (alarmed at what they saw as pro-Communist, pro-Vietnamese foreign policy) organized the *coup d'état* led by General Lon Nol in March 1970. Lon Nol in turn was overthrown by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge in April 1975. The genocidal policy of Khmer Rouge provoked Vietnamese intervention on December 25, 1978, and the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) led by Heng Samrin was formed. It was renamed State of Cambodia (SOC) in April 1989. Vietnam began its withdrawal in September 1989. Meanwhile, Pol Pot's rebel Government of Democratic Kampuchea renamed itself the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) in 1982, bringing together various factions (including the Khmer Rouge, Funcinpec, and Khmer People's National Liberation Front).

A transitional period under United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) following the Paris Accord of October 23, 1991, culminated in national elections in May 1993. Norodom Sihanouk was reinstated as monarch in September 1993. He helped arrange a power-sharing agreement between Norodom Ranariddh of Funcinpec and Hun Sen of the Cambodian People's Party (CPP). This arrangement, however, unraveled when the latter overthrew Ranariddh in July 1997. Following the second national elections in July 1998, a coalition government was formed in November with Hun Sen of CPP again as prime minister. In the July 2003 general elections, the CPP won but failed to win a clear majority. This delayed coalition with Funcinpec by one year (July 2004) when Hun Sen became prime minister again. Following Norodom Sihanouk's abdication, Norodom Sihamoni, his son, became king in October 2004.

During the colonial period, Cambodia emerged as a supplier of primary products (including rice and

rubber). It had poor social and physical infrastructure. Education and health were neglected. The initial plans sought to remedy this. The economy remained primarily agricultural (more than 70%). Cambodia initially received foreign aid from the United States (1955 until 1964, when it refused US assistance), and then the country started receiving aid from Vietnam and the Soviet bloc in the 1980s and aid from the United Nations in the 1990s. The Khmer Rouge period (1975–1979) left about 1 million dead and devastated the economy by destroying existing economic institutions. After 1979, the centrally planned economy faced the ill effects of an international embargo. In 1988, it began introducing economic reforms. When a new constitution was introduced in 1993, the right to private property was restored, and market forces were allowed to operate. A new investment law and reforms in the taxation system and the banking system were introduced. The arrival of UNTAC accelerated the economy. Investments registered a fall due to the 1997 Asian economic crisis. In terms of the human development index, Cambodia's gross domestic product (GDP) growth (percentage change) fell from 6.9% in 1999 to 4.5% in 2002 but was slated to rise to 5.5% according to ADB projections. Cambodia ranks 130th in UNDP's list of 177 nations. Life expectancy at birth is about 57 years. Industrial growth has been led by growth in garment manufacturing. Trade relies on export of light manufacturing and natural resources and the import of petroleum products, transport vehicles, machinery, and consumer durables. Tourism is an important foreign exchange earner, and it got a boost when the open skies policy was initiated. Cambodia's growth prospects brightened when it became a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in 1999 and a member of the World Trade Organization in 2003. But real growth would depend on improvement of infrastructure and greater investment in health and education.

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**See also Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Drug Trade; Drug Use; Khmer Rouge; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## CAMEROON

Shaped like a slightly distorted triangle, Cameroon is located in the transitional zone between West and Central Africa. It is bordered on the west by Nigeria, Lake Chad to the north, Chad and the Central African Republic to the east, the People's Republic of the Congo to the south and southeast, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the southwest. The Cameroon Mountain, which reaches a height of 13,350 feet/4,069 meters at its peak near the coast, is the highest mountain in West Africa and the most dominant physical feature in the country. Temperatures in Cameroon range from an average of 68 degrees Fahrenheit/20 degrees Celsius around the lower slopes of the Cameroon Mountain to more than 90 degrees Fahrenheit/32 degrees Celsius in the extreme North. Rainfall exhibits a similar disparity, with an average annual rainfall of 400 inches/1,016 centimeters around the coastal areas to less than 62 inches/157.5 centimeters near the northern town of Maroua. The vegetation follows a similar pattern to both the temperature and rainfall, ranging from a dense forested region in the South to the dry Sahel region near Lake Chad.

During the European colonization of Africa, Cameroon became a German colony. However, German rule in Cameroon was short-lived. At the end of World War I, the former German colony was partitioned between France and Britain, to be administered as League of Nations Mandates and later as United Nations Trusteeships. France got four-fifths of the territory, while Britain got the rest, consisting of two noncontiguous territories along Nigeria's eastern border. On October 1, 1961, the former French trusteeship, which had gained its independence on January 1, 1960, reunited with the southern section of the British territory known as the British Southern Cameroons to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon with Ahmadou Ahidjo as its first president. Under the new federal constitution, the former French territory became East Cameroon, while the British Southern Cameroons were renamed West Cameroon. On September 1, 1966, Cameroon became a one-party state when Ahidjo seized control of the country. This development was followed on May 20,



1972, with the dissolution of the federation in favor of a unitary state called the United Republic of Cameroon. The creation of a unitary state was the culmination of Ahidjo's objective of creating a strong centralized state with him as the ultimate authority.

Ahidjo remained Cameroon's only head of state until his voluntary retirement in November 1982. Paul Biya, the prime minister, became Ahidjo's constitutional successor. Although President Biya initially promised to introduce political reforms in Cameroon, not much changed. In fact, apart from the symbolic change of the single party's name from the (CNU) to the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM), Biya adopted the same repressive policies and constitutional arrangements that had allowed his predecessor to stay in power for more than two decades. Because of domestic unrest and external pressures from Western industrialized nations following the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, Biya was forced to institute political reforms, including the legalization of a multiparty system. Even so, Biya has managed to remain in power, with the CPDM as the dominant party in parliament. In fact, support for many of the opposition parties, including the Social Democratic Front (SDF), the Cameroon Democratic Union (UDC), and the *Unions des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), all of which were critical in forcing Biya to institute reform, has fizzled as many opposition leaders have been co-opted by the regime. Nevertheless, the liberalization of political space has created opportunity for greater political discourse, including the emergence of various Anglophone groups that are highly critical of the way the English-speaking minority has been ignored and marginalized by the majority French-speaking Cameroonians since reunification in 1961.

For more than two decades after independence, Cameroon was seen as the model state for positive economic growth in Africa. President Ahidjo and his successor pursued the policy of planned liberalism (renamed communal liberalism under Biya), which advocated significant government control over resource allocation as the most effective way to deal with poverty and achieve rapid economic development. The country has a varied and rich base of natural resources, and, accordingly, agriculture remains the most important sector of the economy, employing more than two-thirds of the labor force. After agriculture comes the services sector, which employs about 20% of the country's labor resources. The overwhelming majority of farm workers in Cameroon are women, most of whom produce the bulk of the food crops consumed locally and exported to neighboring countries. Most men who work in

agriculture are engaged in the production of cash crops (cocoa, cotton, coffee, palm kernels, and bananas). Since petroleum became an important export commodity in the mid-1980s, the rate of urbanization has accelerated as many rural inhabitants have abandoned their jobs in the rural areas in search of opportunities for economic advancement in the urban sectors.

Cameroon's real gross domestic product (GDP), measured at average 1995 prices, was \$6,319 million US dollars in 1980, but by 2000, it had increased to \$10,044 million. Although real GDP grew at a healthy rate of 8.5% between 1975 and 1984, it registered at a rate of -0.1% during the period 1985-1989. Since then, there has been some recovery resulting primarily from contributions of the petroleum subsector.

Cameroon's industrial sector, which includes mining, manufacturing, construction, and power, employed about 9% of the labor force in 1990. In the late 1990s, this sector was accounting for as much as 18.6% of the country's GDP. Mining, although it employs only 0.05% of Cameroon's labor resources, has become the most important source of income for the central government in Yaoundé. Cameroon also has large reserves of natural gas, bauxite, iron ore, uranium, and tin. These resources, however, remain largely undeveloped.

Manufacturing, which employs about 7% of the labor force and accounts for as much as 10% of the GDP, is concerned primarily with the processing of both domestically produced commodities (petroleum refining and processing of agricultural products) and imported raw materials (notably alumina imported from Guinea and processed at the aluminum smelter plant at Edea). This sector (based on value of output) is dominated by food products (16.2%); beverages (13.1%); petroleum and coal products (13.0%); and wood products (12.6%).

Trade is very important to the Cameroon economy. Within the country, trade flows from south to north, and vice versa, and from rural to urban areas. Cattle, beans, groundnuts (peanuts), and several cereals move from the north to the south; kolanuts, cassava, yams, and plantains move from the south to the north; and maize (corn), several varieties of yams, chickens, and other food products move from the middle-belt to other parts of the country.

Cameroon's most important import trade partners are France, Nigeria, Germany, and the United States. Most of the country's export trade is carried out with Italy, France, Spain, and the Netherlands. Major exports include petroleum and petroleum products, timber and timber products, cocoa beans, and coffee.

Cameroon is a member of the Franc Zone, which includes most of France's former colonies in Africa.

Before the euro became the common currency for the European Union (EU), metropolitan France and its many overseas territories belonged to the Franc Zone. The (CFA) franc is the currency of the African Franc Zone countries, which include Cameroon, and is issued by the *Banque Centrale des États de l'Afrique de L'ouest* (BCEAO) in the West African monetary area and the *Banque des États de l'Afrique Centrale* (BEAC) for the Central African monetary area. After the EU achieved monetary union and national currencies (including the French franc) were withdrawn, the CFA franc became officially pegged to the euro at a fixed exchange rate.

Cameroon has yet to provide itself with a transport system that can effectively meet its requirements for moving goods and people—food crops and other commodities from the rural agricultural areas to the urban areas, as well as labor resources to where they are needed most. At reunification in 1961, the government made improving road, rail, port, and air infrastructures a major goal of national policy. By the mid-1980s, however, the country only had about sixty-two thousand kilometers of road, only 2,500 kilometers of which are paved. Poor road conditions make it difficult for farmers to transport their commodities to markets in the urban centers.

Cameroon has been served quite well in the past by air links, although Cameroon Airlines (CAMAIR), the national airline, has encountered a lot of management and financial problems in the last several years. Several international carriers, however, continue to provide air transport services to Cameroonians traveling out of the country. International airports can be found at Douala, Yaoundé, Garoua, and Bafoussam.

Douala remains the country's oldest and most important seaport and is responsible for more than 95% of traffic. It is the primary port of exit for goods originating in several countries in central Africa. Smaller ports deal in more specialized cargo: Limbe (petroleum); Kribi (timber and cocoa); and Garoua (cotton).

The government dominates telephone, television, radio, and telegraph services. Cameroonians, however, have access to foreign broadcasts, including the BBC, VOA, Radio France, and several other services from around the world. Television, which was first broadcast in 1985, now reaches virtually all parts of the country. Although the government has been making an effort to provide viewers with locally produced programs, foreign programs remain very popular.

In general, economic growth and development have not been as rapid as most Cameroonians had expected at reunification in 1961. Many problems

remain, even in 2005, and particularly vexing to many Cameroonians is the relatively high level of poverty that exists in the country, especially among women, youth, and rural inhabitants. Many Anglophones remain quite frustrated about their economic and social conditions and blame the highly centralized administrative system for making it very difficult for them to improve their welfare. Despite these difficulties, many Cameroonians remain optimistic and believe that the deepening and institutionalization of democracy would provide them with the wherewithal to deal with poverty and improve their living conditions. Hence, many of them, including those in the Diaspora, are working very hard to improve governance and public accountability through the deepening and institutionalization of democracy.

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### CAMP DAVID ACCORDS (1979)

For thirty years, Israel remained isolated from and at war with its Arab neighbors. Besides the 1948 war of independence, three other wars were fought between Israel and various Arab states. In 1956, the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who hoped to become the major leader of the Arab world, nationalized the Suez Canal. Israel joined England and France to invade Egypt and retake the canal. In 1967, the Six

Day War erupted when Egypt and Jordan blockaded the Red Sea port of Elat. Israel found itself at war with Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq and rapidly defeated all opponents. From its neighbors, Israel then seized territory, including Jerusalem that Israel declared to be its capital. From Egypt, Israel took the whole Sinai Peninsula. In these confrontations, the Soviet Union backed the Arab states, and Israel found its allies in the West, particularly the United States. Thus, the Middle East question became linked to the Cold War. In 1970, Nasser died, and Anwar Sadat, a more conservative leader, replaced him. In 1972, Sadat ordered troops to attack Israel once more on the most holy Jewish holiday—*Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement.

With the surprise attack, Egypt made initial gains, but in the end the borders stayed about the same—Israel still kept the Sinai. Both sides had significant casualties, and Sadat's brother, a pilot, died in the war. Furthermore, Sadat was dissatisfied with Moscow's aid and ceased military relations with the Soviets. Sadat was now ready to make peace with Israel. In a dramatic speech in 1977, he announced to the Egyptian parliament that he would go anywhere to make peace, even to Jerusalem. Other Arab leaders condemned Sadat, but Israel was ready to welcome him, the first of any Arab leader to visit. The two countries had been at war since 1948. Israel's leaders and people enthusiastically greeted Sadat when he arrived in November 1977. The prime minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, made a return trip to Ismaila, Egypt.

Begin, leader of the right-wing Likud coalition, always maintained a hard line when dealing with Palestinian issues. However, Israel public opinion forced him to deal with Sadat, but succeeding negotiations reached a deadlock. American president James Carter, anxious that this opportunity for peace not be lost, offered his services as an "honest broker." He invited both Begin and Sadat to the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, to work out their differences.

Meetings began on September 5, 1978, and twelve days of difficult negotiations followed. Sadat wanted the Sinai returned, and Begin wanted to break Israel's isolation, but each wanted more. Sadat's position in the Arab world demanded that he work on the Palestinian question as well, although some Arab extremists would allow absolutely no dealing with Israel. Begin needed recognition of Israeli security with all Arab capitals and retention of land captured in its 1967 Six-Day War. Two agreements were hammered out. The first was a draft peace treaty between Cairo and Jerusalem; the second was a wider proposal for a general peace between Israel and the Arab

nations of the entire regions. In the end, only the basic issues were resolved. Israel left the Sinai and Cairo, and Jerusalem exchanged ambassadors.

The preamble to the treaties stated that United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 served as the basis for resolution; the preamble also noted among other factors that the Middle East was the "birthplace of the great religions," that it had faced four wars in thirty years, and that the people of the region "yearn for peace" as was evidenced by the enthusiastic reception the people of Israel and Egypt gave Sadat and Begin on their visits to those countries. The "opportunity for peace . . . must not be lost," the preamble added.

The document also stated that a comprehensive peace required the guarantee of sovereignty territorial integrity and independence of the countries of the region and their right to live in peace as well as have secure and recognized borders without threats of force. Cooperation of the nations of the region in promoting economic development and security would lead to regional stability; measures such as demilitarized zones, international peacekeepers, and monitoring could be used to ensure peace in the region.

According to the Egyptian-Israeli agreement, Israeli forces were to gradually leave the Sinai desert over a period of three years after the treaty and return the entire area to Cairo. Israeli ships would be able to use the Suez Canal. The second treaty, which was more vague, stated that Israel would recognize a Palestinian state on the West bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza strip, areas that Israel occupied since the Six Day War. Jerusalem would also partially withdraw its troops from those areas over a three-year period in preparation for final peace talks. The two parties signed the peace treaty on March 26, 1979, and Israel withdrew from the Sinai and honored the first treaty. However, the country did not act on the second.

The accords, however, were a remarkable breakthrough. Begin and Sadat jointly received the Nobel Peace Prize for 1978. Moslem and Arab extremists regarded Sadat as a traitor and on October 6, 1981, members of Egyptian Islamic *Jihad*, a Muslim extremist group, assassinated him while he was presiding over a military ceremony commemorating the *Yom Kippur* War. However, despite difficulties and disagreements, diplomatic relations between Israel and Egypt continued. In 1994, Jordan became the second Arab state to recognize Israel. Sadat was one of a long line of statesmen and spiritual leaders—Henry IV of France (1910), Mohandas Gandhi (1948), and Yizhak Rabin (1995)—who were assassinated by religious fanatics because they tried to

accomplish the difficult task of bringing peace and toleration between different religious groups that shared the same territory.

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**See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Israel; Middle East: International Relations; Palestine**

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## CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (CIDA)

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is the federal agency charged with planning and implementing most of Canada's international development programs. Similar in scope and agenda to the US Agency for International Development (USAID), CIDA strives to reduce poverty in the Third World to form a more secure, equitable, and prosperous world. After World War II, most Canadian aid to the developing world, channeled through the Department of External Affairs, took the form of contributions to the United Nations and its agencies. In 1959, the Department of Trade and Commerce, cognizant of the growing need for foreign aid in the developing world, established the Economic and Technical Assistance Bureau to coordinate Canada's efforts to stimulate Third World development. In 1960, the Economic and Technical Assistance Bureau was transferred to the Department of External Affairs and renamed the External Aid Office. Given the rapid expansion of foreign aid by the Canadian government during the 1960s, coupled with the increasing number of underdeveloped African nations gaining their independence from Europe at the same time, the Canadian government created CIDA in 1968 to replace the External Aid Office. Currently, CIDA administers 80% of the Canadian foreign aid budget, while the rest of the foreign aid budget is administered by the Department of Finance and the Department of Foreign Affairs, which had

previously been known as the Department of External Affairs.

CIDA, which supports projects in more than 150 countries, works in partnership with developing countries; Canadian organizations, institutions, and businesses; and international organizations and agencies. Like many development agencies around the world, CIDA is working in cooperation with other aid agencies to foster development in the Third World. CIDA's development agenda follows the guidelines established by world leaders at the September 2000 UN-sponsored Millennium Summit, which called for eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality and empowering women; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), malaria, and other diseases; promoting sustainable environmental policies; and working in greater cooperation with international aid agencies to foster development in the Third World.

CIDA programs and projects have benefited thousands of people in many developing countries. In Tanzania, CIDA has helped a nongovernmental organization establish and operate nine clinics. Since 2000, almost five hundred thousand people have visited the CIDA-supported facilities. In Senegal, a CIDA-supported program has supported a network of savings and loans institutions that have facilitated the availability of credit available to the rural poor. The financial institutions are self-sustaining and have benefited more than eighty thousand people.

Through the International Youth Internship Program, CIDA has sent thousands of recent college graduates, between the ages of nineteen and thirty, to developing countries to gain work experience in their field of study while simultaneously assisting in international development programs. In 2004, the Canadian government unveiled the Canada Corps to increase Canadian development efforts in the Third World. The first Canada Corps mission was a team of five hundred volunteers who observed elections in the Ukraine. In addition, CIDA's Industrial Cooperation Program provides financial support to Canadian companies interested in investing in the developing world.

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**See also Poverty: Impact on Development; United Nations Development Program (UNDP); United States Agency for International Development (USAID)**

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## CAPITAL FLIGHT

Strictly speaking, “capital flight” means the rapid outflow of capital from a country or region after investors lose confidence in the country’s economic prospects. In an aggravated situation, domestic residents will anticipate the devaluation of the home currency and therefore will convert their savings into foreign assets. Their expectations will be self-fulfilling because this causes the exchange rate of the abandoned domestic currency to plummet. Since the debt crisis of the 1980s in the developing world, the term “flight” came to be applied more broadly to capital outflows from residents of developing countries.

Capital flight occurs when domestic investors fear their government would give precedence to its foreign capital rather than its domestic debt obligations. Other causes include the loss of confidence in adequate foreign debt management and domestic economic policies or the increased country-specific risks of legal and political instability. The situation contrasts with the nationalization period, during which foreign direct investments are at risk, but domestically owned assets are considered safe from expropriation.

Governments usually try to stop capital flight by devaluing the domestic currency. If this succeeds, the fleeing “hot money” returns shortly. If not, it will remain abroad until conditions improve—in this respect, it is a kind of classical financial speculation. Another way to tackle this symptom—though this has sometimes caused financial crises on its own—is the installation of currency boards. Countries commit to converting domestic currency at fixed exchange rates, but to make this commitment credible, the currency board should hold a backup of gold and foreign reserves of at least 100% of the domestic

currency issued. If capital flight occurs, the supply of domestic currency shrinks, causing interest rates to rise automatically.

A currency board can also put pressure on the financial institutions if interest rates rise sharply. If local inflation remains higher than that of the country to which the currency is pegged, the domestic currency may become overvalued and uncompetitive. Because of the fragility of banking systems in the emerging market, the currency may not withstand this regulation, and furthermore, these boards cannot act as a central bank, being a lender of last resort to stop bank panic. Argentina’s decision during its crisis in 2002 to devalue the peso in spite of adopting a currency board a decade earlier showed the vulnerability of such solution, which did not prove to be a panacea.

Capital flight does not necessarily mean that money is leaving the country. It also occurs if investors, both foreign and domestic, suddenly lower their valuation of all domestic assets. The extraction and expatriation of profits by foreign firms are other forms of capital flight. For instance, 10% of Nigeria’s petroleum revenue is paid to the foreign oil companies as royalties, and the companies reinvest their profit in Europe. The driving force behind these outflows is generally a perceived decline in the return or an increase in the risk of the long-term assets held in Nigeria. This flight capital is held offshore until conditions improve, such as in the case of Mexico in the 1990s.

Capital flight is among the risks the globalized financial markets pose. Foreigners make portfolio investments whose flows are easily reversible. If these investors panic, they can sell their assets in to avoid capital losses. Due to the increased international mobility of capital, the portfolio investment of foreign investors is much more dangerous than foreign direct investment; foreigners are much more likely to try to get rid of their shares at the first sign of falling profits. Mere suspicion is enough to make the “growing bubble” of high investment expectations burst, as seen in the East Asian financial crisis that started in 1997. Thus, the vicious circle of capital flight and currency instability destabilizes the economy.

The spreading of such investor pessimism to other countries’ markets, called “contagion effects,” is another negative implication of excessive capital mobility. Neoliberal financial reform increases the vulnerability of the countries because it abolishes many of the economic boundaries that separate national economies. Increasing the linkages among national economies also increases the possibility that one country will fall victim to financial and macroeconomic instability that originates elsewhere.

Because investors tend to view developing countries in an undifferentiated fashion, they will often pull out of every country in a market if they perceive problems in one. This “guilt by association” contributed to serious difficulties in Brazil following Mexico’s financial crisis. The Asian crisis was itself a case of contagion from Thailand to the Philippines, Malaysia, South Korea, and Indonesia. Events in Asia in 1997 exemplify the way that a vicious cycle of capital flight and currency depreciation can culminate in national financial crises.

The potential for capital flight, made possible by the removal of controls on capital movements, often prevents governments from promoting progressive economic and social policy. If foreign investment is undertaken for the sole purpose of tax evasion, it leads to capital and tax revenue shortage in the source country as well. Most of such capital flight comes from corrupt financial transactions linked to criminal activity, such as drug trafficking, racketeering, and extortion. Moreover, tax authorities in developing countries seldom filter these transfers for money laundering. Great capital flights often emerge from corrupt county leaders, dictators, and military rulers like Mobutu Sese, Haile Selassie, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Marcos family. Another cause of flight can be the threat of nationalization, sudden regime changes, or antiminority violence and ethnic tensions as in Russia, Indonesia, and Zimbabwe.

In larger terms, capital flight refers not only to financial but also to physical or human capital. Human capital is the economic potential contained in a person, some endowed at birth and the rest received from the product of training, education, and experience. In broader terms, capital flight is the stock of manpower available for an enterprise or economy. Human capital consists also of intellectual capital; thus, its flight could mean the “flight of intellectuals” to the wealthier nations. This is known also as “brain drain.” Although significant outflows of human capital will likely have a negative effect on economic growth, feedback effects of returning money may actually stimulate economic growth. For instance, the money sent home from the United States by Latin American immigrants could be bigger than the total FDI going to this region. In addition, the “flight of intellectual capital” causes the outflow of intellectual materials, such as information, technology, experience, and intellectual property, that might otherwise be used for development. One example is the Western ownership of copyrights to music from developing countries.

Ironically, developing country leaders court foreign investors to provide the necessary financial capital, but they do not try to court the expertise or

retain human capital that will develop and manage the investments and resources within the region. “Brain drain” also leads to technological gaps, forcing developing nations to export raw materials and also their workforce. For instance, Africa, with a population of 800 million, was always a producer and exporter of muscle power and a consumer of technology by the import of refined materials. The payment of profits to overseas shareholders is a kind of capital flight leading to an increase in the level of poverty and thus political instability. This, in turn, creates a market for the importation of arms, wherein the remaining capital goes to arms-exporting developed nations.

Foreign direct investment coming from countries like South Korea, Mexico, Taiwan, and Malaysia as domestic manufacturers invest in export-substituting or strategic plans in the European Union and the United States, or shifting of domestic assets by local inventors for the sake of portfolio diversification into more liquid and better foreign markets, may not be considered capital flight. Liberalization and development of domestic capital markets can reverse the flow.

## Methods of Capital Flight

There are several ways in which investors and corporations can circumvent official controls and transfer funds abroad illicitly. The most common method involves “misinvoicing” based on trade either by underinvoicing exports or overinvoicing imports. Other ways are the overseas transfers of unexisting or overstated franchises, loans, and license payments to associated companies abroad—frequently, these are virtual companies in tax havens in such areas as Cyprus and the Cayman islands. Bank transfers can also be used to avoid official recording systems, particularly by making use of increasingly complex financial derivatives in offshore financial centers to avoid capital controls.

## Transfer Volumes

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates that citizens of developing countries amassed about \$250 billion worth of foreign assets between 1975 and 1985 (compared to a total foreign debt of \$800 billion). Although Mexico had the largest holding (\$40 billion to \$50 billion), Venezuela’s and Argentina’s holdings were a larger proportion of national income,

nearly equaling their foreign debt. A similar situation was in Indonesia, Nigeria, the Philippines, and even South Korea. Although it is difficult to estimate the volume of capital flight, the IMF and World Bank have stated that the stock of Sub-Saharan flight capital in 1990 was equivalent to 39% of the region's total real private wealth. The most heavily indebted nations, Nigeria and Sudan, send out more than 100% of their gross national product (GNP). The ratios were 10% for Latin America, 3% for South Asia, 6% for East Asia, and 39% for the Middle East, of which capital could have meant a serious investment if kept at home. The Overseas Development Institute found higher rates for 1994. The outflow of flight capital as a proportion of annual export earnings was 78% in Argentina, 9% in Brazil, 16% in China, 59% in Ghana, 41% in Indonesia, and 9% in Malaysia. The size of these outflows in relation to export earnings is clearly a source of concern.

### Methods of Overcoming the Causes of Capital Flight

The best treatment targets capital flight's causes rather than its symptoms and effects. This involves improving domestic economic and financial conditions, implementing sound macroeconomic policies, maintaining low levels of debt and possibly high levels of growth, and creating functional and broad capital markets, as well as solid institutions. Smaller steps include the establishment of independent Central Banks to stop extraordinary access of government officials to public funds, thus reducing corruption and embezzlement. Capital flight can be stemmed and reversed through enhancing cooperation between developed and developing nations and between the commercial and tax authorities of the source and destination countries. Some suggest imposing international sanctions on depository safe-haven countries like Switzerland, but this would hit the Swiss economy and its lending capacity because one-third of the capital flights would end up there.

On an international scale, new tax treaties or tax harmonization by encouraging sales taxes and relying less on taxes on interest and profits, as well as exchange of data on income paid to foreigners, would help close the loopholes in the international taxation system that facilitate capital flight and other illicit funds transfers. Yet another option is to reduce the tax benefits of capital flight offered by rich countries. This would require greater economic stability and institutional certainty in the source countries and more rigorous tax enforcement and cooperation in

the destination states, but offshore tax havens and international competition for capital make new tax treaties unlikely.

To counteract capital flight, governments impose restrictions on capital mobility abroad through capital controls that limit the transfer of foreign investors' profit or the domestic residents' investments abroad. Capital control, as well as flight, is not characteristic only of developing countries. Many developed countries imposed them until the early 1990s, when most of them liberalized almost completely their capital markets.

The pattern was more mixed in developing countries. Latin American countries imposed capital controls during the debt crisis of the 1980s and then scrapped most of them afterward. Asian countries began to loosen their widespread capital controls in the 1980s, a process accelerated during the 1990s. Capital controls encouraged black markets for foreign currency and ultimately failed to keep money at home. They had also unwanted side effects of deterring foreign investment. The Asian capital flight of the late 1990s revived interest in this method. There was also discussion of the introduction of a "Tobin tax" on short-term capital movements.

Governments can also limit capital flight by keeping domestic currency undervalued relative to other currencies or by keeping local interest rates high. Developing countries in particular can promote the development of domestic financial markets that offer investors a "safe" alternative to foreign assets.

Small countries with limited domestic financial markets and currencies that are more vulnerable to external shocks can hold a portfolio of foreign assets and try to diversify their exports over the longer term. Many groups, such as the so-called Asian Tigers, have been successful at this, and have promoted export-oriented growth combined with technological development that make them preferable targets for capital inflows.

In the end, the most practical strategy for reducing capital flight is for governments to pursue sound fiscal and monetary debt relief and commercial policies guaranteed by international financial organizations that minimize the need for large changes in exchange rates and that restore confidence.

LASZLO KOCSIS

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## CAPITALIST ECONOMIC MODEL

The capitalist economic model is the foundation for the modern global economy. Alternative economic models, including communism and socialism, have been proposed and tested throughout history. However, the capitalist model has survived all others. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics disbanded into its constituent nation-states, which promptly reverted to the capitalist economic models that had made their former enemies so prosperous. Even the Socialist bastion of the People's Republic of China has recognized the need to allow capitalist activity in large regions of the country to provide the financial resources that could help the party remain in power. Capitalism now reigns in all but a few nations, although its form varies substantially across countries. The US model is among the purest forms of capitalism, relegating economic decisions to the marketplace in the vast majority of cases. Western European nations, believing that the unfettered capitalist model is too harsh to the poor and the unfortunate, have adopted a more "caring" version of capitalism, in which market forces are tempered with government policies that foster the redistribution of wealth and blunt capitalism's sharper edges. The Japanese model provides a more pervasive role for government, owing to social factors that tend to rank the group above the individual. Developing nations feature other forms of capitalism. In such models, the political and economic elite tends to hold sway over economic policies, with the effect of exaggerating the natural inequities inherent in the free market.

### Tenets of Capitalism

The capitalist economic model is based on the free market. Individuals are assumed to make decisions according to their own set of incentives. If individuals may make decisions freely, then each economic transaction implies that both parties must be better off having executed it than they had been before making the trade. So long as this economic activity does not generate significant side effects on others in the economy and as long as significant competition exists, it is also the case that when individuals act in their

own self-interest, they simultaneously maximize the economic well-being of the society.

### Historical Roots

Free market economics predates capitalism, which properly developed from the events accompanying the industrial revolution. Before that period, the main factors of production were land, labor, and know-how. With the industrial revolution, however, capital became a critical resource for efficient production. Traditionally, "capital" referred to physical capital—the buildings and machinery that enhanced productivity. However, the financial sector adopted the term in the twentieth century to designate the financial resources that were necessary for modern economic activity.

The original capitalists were wealthy individuals who were able to transform their financial assets into the physical capital necessary for production. It became difficult for individuals without capital to compete with factory owners. Because capital was so concentrated in the hands of a relatively small group of people, capitalists had much more market power than any individual worker; this advantage allowed the capitalists to exploit workers at extremely low wages, while simultaneously reaping large returns on their capital investments. Social reactions to this unequal distribution of economic power varied across nations and time periods. One school of thought, which encompasses socialism and communism, rejected the capitalists and the market mechanism that made them rich, preferring to place trust in the hands of a benevolent government. A second reaction was the formation of labor unions to counteract the monopoly power of employers. Later, governments became involved in the regulation of labor markets and workplace environments to provide further protection for individuals.

### Modern Capitalists

No longer are huge sums of personal wealth required for a person to become a capitalist. Nearly two centuries of prosperity generated by the capitalist global economy have generated a new breed of capitalist. Rather than investing their personal fortunes in a single economic entity, middle class investors become capitalists through their stock market investment. Stock markets allow firms to raise *financial capital* by issuing shares of the company. Investors purchase



those shares, thereby laying claim to a portion of any profits generated by the firm. In developed countries, even those with a small amount of savings can participate in the market this way. Even in developing countries, most pensions are financed through stock market investments, making the club of capitalists large and truly global. Financial capital is one key component of the modern economy.

The second important type of capital is the *physical capital* necessary for production of both goods and services. Both developed and developing nations rely on foreign sources of physical capital to supplement that supplied domestically. Such foreign infusions are known as foreign direct investment (FDI). FDI was originally invested by colonial powers to their territories abroad. However, during the twentieth century, the majority of FDI was invested by developed countries in the economies of other developed nations. With improved technology, communications, and transportation infrastructure, however, the FDI pattern has recently begun to return to its developed-to-developing country origins, with the People's Republic of China having replaced the United States as the top destination for FDI every year since 2002.

The availability of financial and physical capital is a necessary condition for economic growth under capitalism. Increasingly, however, critical inputs into business are managerial know-how and the entrepreneurial spirit. These intangible inputs to the production process are often overlooked by commentators on capitalism, many of whom focus exclusively on the role of capital. Managerial know-how has evolved from Frederick Taylor's simple analysis of worker efficiency in the early twentieth century to become a complex discipline. Managers must be concerned with the opposing goals, such as maximizing both long-term market share and short-term profit, minimizing costs, and keeping workers happy and motivated. The lack of management know-how explains why many promising developing-country enterprises are unable to compete in international markets.

Entrepreneurial spirit, while often confused with management know-how, is actually a completely different concept. By nature, entrepreneurs are risk takers who forego steady paychecks for the opportunity to create freely and the chance to make millions. They have played key roles in the development of the capitalist economy, having provided the initiative that began global corporations and continues to generate the fresh ideas that push the technological frontier. Although it is common to believe that the role of the entrepreneur in developed countries has been diminished, owing to the economic domination of large multinational corporations (MNC) during the latter half of the twentieth century, this view is incorrect.

The aforementioned technological and communications enhancements that have shrunk the world have resulted in significant downsizing of MNCs in developed countries in recent years, with global capital mobility allowing traditional manufacturing jobs to exit high-wage developed countries and enter low- and middle-income countries near the turn of the millennium. The creativity and flexibility of the entrepreneur offer the best hope of job creation in such nations. Indeed, entrepreneurs in developed countries typically generate over 80% of new jobs.

### Capitalism's Shortcomings

Despite the indisputable benefits that capitalism brings in terms of economic growth and the enhanced quality of life that accompanies higher average incomes, the capitalist economic model has critical deficiencies. In the early years, capitalists often took advantage of their workers, offering deplorable working conditions and requiring long hours, even for child labor. As the model produced economic growth, however, workers began to take some power back by forming labor unions. When capitalists tried to bust the unions, politicians took note of the number of voters being hurt and passed legislation ensuring a more equal balance of power between labor and capitalists. At one extreme, contract negotiations for large industries in Germany have three participants—management, labor, and the government. Certainly in developed countries, some excesses of early capitalism are merely historical phenomena. Several Western European countries, for instance, now mandate a workweek of fewer than forty hours.

Capitalism has been less successful in bringing prosperity to developing countries. These countries often fail to enforce their child labor or occupational health and safety regulations. While the lack of management training and limited access to capital provide part of the explanation, several other factors are important. Undoubtedly, the most important of these causes is corruption. Certainly, the financial scandals (such as Enron, WorldCom) of the early twenty-first century make it plain that even the most developed nations have not conquered corruption. On a national level, corruption is endemic in most developing countries. On the macroeconomic level, the political decision makers are often also those capitalists who own a nation's major industries. Certainly, the economic self-interest of these individuals makes it unlikely that the economic rules will change to allow substantial economic gains to become widespread, initiating a vicious cycle that prevents economic

growth. Disillusioned workers become less productive, squeezing the capitalists' profits and leading them to hold more tightly to the wealth they already possess. Strikes originally intended to apply pressure on owners have become ingrained into the social fabric in countries like Brazil, whose strikes often have no particular rationale except to prove to management that labor can strike.

On a microeconomic level, red tape and the resultant bribery hinder economic progress. In some developing nations, starting a new business can take months of paperwork or might generate outrageously high start-up fees. For instance, in the first few years of the Czech Republic's post-Soviet experience, starting a new firm officially generated fees that exceeded the average annual income in the country, cutting off the main source of job creation—the small business sector.

Corruption also occurs on the international scale. As in the domestic case, differential power provides the opportunity for abuse. Although international economic institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were founded after World War II to help low- and middle-income countries develop, their agendas are clearly influenced by the geopolitical and domestic special interests of the developed nations that provide the bulk of their funding. Even the World Trade Organization (WTO), which has certainly benefited rich as well as poor nations, has a poor record of balanced treatment of developing countries. For instance, the outcomes of the Uruguay Round of trade-barrier reductions strongly favored developed countries, particularly the United States and Western Europe. Although other forces played important roles, this imbalance partially explained the violent breakdown of the so-called Millennium Round of negotiations in Seattle, Washington. When the round restarted in Doha, Qatar, developing countries took a proactive approach. Originally led by India and later joined by China, developing nations for the first time committed to negotiating together to balance the power of the developed world.

The behavior of capitalists in developed countries has also been blamed for devastating financial crises. Beginning with the crash of the Mexican peso in December 1994, developing countries have seen a rash of currency crises (such as in Southeast Asia, 1997; Russia, 1998; Brazil, 1999; and Argentina, 2001). To be sure, much of the blame rests with the affected countries themselves. Poor financial sector oversight, unrealistically pegged exchange rates, and inappropriate monetary and fiscal policies abounded. However, developing countries point to the financial capital provided by developed-country investors as

a major problem because it is too mobile. Investors have long argued that to ensure the safety of their investments abroad, countries had to allow them to withdraw their financial capital immediately if economic fundamentals warranted. However, such free outflow of capital, known as capital flight, could easily cause a panic. If investors believe that the currency of the host nation was about to depreciate or be devalued, the economic incentive is to withdraw the investment. Unfortunately, once investors begin to suspect that the currency could fall in value, there is a self-fulfilling prophecy. When they withdraw their investment, the demand for the host country's currency falls dramatically, decreasing its value. Developing nations have alleged that international currency speculators even have the incentive to start or exacerbate a currency crisis in order to profit. As a result, some countries now place strict controls on the exit of financial capital, requiring a waiting period between the investor's announced intention to withdraw capital and the withdrawal itself.

Other problems associated with capitalism include environmental degradation, overfishing, and inability to access medical treatments (such as AIDS drugs). Despite its problems, however, capitalism is unchallenged as an engine of economic growth.

JEFFREY W. STEAGALL

**See also Capital Flight; Collectivism; Communist Economic Model; Development History and Theory; Free Market Economy; Marxism; Mixed Economy; Socialist Economic Model**

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#### CARDOSO, FERNANDO HENRIQUE

Fernando Henrique Cardoso was born in his grandmother's house in Rio de Janeiro on July 18, 1931, and grew up in São Paulo, Brazil. Cardoso served two terms as Brazil's president, from January 1, 1995, to

January 1, 2003, winning both elections with an absolute majority. Cardoso received his Ph.D. from the University of São Paulo in sociology, and during the 1960s, he emerged as an influential intellectual in the analysis of social changes, especially in Latin America, and of international development, dependency, democracy, and state reform. With the publication of his seminal work *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (1969), Cardoso established his reputation as a world-class sociologist. During the 1960s, Cardoso also became an outspoken critic of Brazil's bureaucratic authoritarian regime, which came to power after ousting the government João Goulart in 1964 and remained in power until 1985, when Brazil had its first democratic election after twenty-one years of military dictatorship. It is interesting to point out that Cardoso is the son and grandson of Brazilian generals; however, he did not opt to follow his grandfather or father's footsteps and enter Brazil's famous military academy (*Escola Militar da Agulha Negra*). In the late 1960s, Cardoso was arrested and interrogated by military security forces, in addition to having his research institute bombed. To escape this persecution, Cardoso spent the 1970s and early 1980s living and teaching in the United States, France, and Chile, before returning to Brazil.

Upon returning to Brazil, Cardoso founded the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (PSDB) and, overcoming his past reputation as a leftist intellectual, was elected senator in 1982. As a member of the Brazilian senate, Cardoso became a key drafter of the 1988 constitution. In September 1992, the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies overwhelmingly voted for the impeachment of Fernando Collor de Mello, the young and previously unknown former governor of the poor northeastern state of Alagoas, following allegations of corruption. Rather than facing a full impeachment and the possibility of losing all of his political rights, Collor de Mello resigned, and his vice-president, Itamar Franco, assumed the presidency.

Franco, the former senator from the state of Minas Gerais, lacked any political base and political direction in the aftermath of Collor de Mello's resignation. During the Franco administration, inflation soared to an annual unprecedented rate of 2490% in 1993. Brazil's economic perspectives were the worst in the history of the republic. Franco tapped Cardoso to become, in 1994, his finance minister. Prior to becoming finance minister, however, Cardoso had served as Brazil's minister of foreign relations for six months, from 1992–1993. During the short period as minister of foreign relations, Cardoso, the multi-cultural intellectual sociologist, was able to bring

Brazil to the international spotlight. One of his greatest accomplishments as foreign minister was the formation of the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR).

The MERCOSUR or MERCOSUL, a four-partner association between Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, was established in 1991 with the signing of the *Treaty of Assuncion*. The scheme envisioned the creation of a free trade zone that would eventually evolve into a full-fledged "common market" along the lines of the European Union. Under the MERCOSUL treaty, Brazil's archenemy in Latin America, Argentina, was no longer a threat to Brazil's national security. Instead, in this new international system of the twenty-first century, Argentina is an essential piece of Brazil's foreign policy to create a stronger Latin America vis-à-vis the United States and the rest of the world. In October 2003, Argentina and Brazil signed what has been referred to as the *Buenos Aires Consensus*. This important document signed between Presidents da Silva and Néstor Kirchner reflects their common aspiration for economic growth with social justice and manifests their determination to transform the MERCOSUL trading block into a catalyst for building a shared future. The consensus, according to Greider and Rapoza, is a "proposed alternative to the much-despised Washington Consensus, which has straitjacketed developing economies with its harsh economic rules."

Upon assuming the position of minister of finance, Cardoso's first goal was to bring Brazil's rate of inflation under control. Cardoso launched the Real Plan, an anti-inflation program, which within two years brought Brazil's rampant rate of inflation under control. Riding on the coattail of his Real Plan success by taming Brazil's hyperinflation, Cardoso launched his presidential candidacy and was elected president in 1994 in a landslide victory against his opponent Luis Inacio "Lula" da Silva, Brazil's 2005 president. Cardoso received 34,350,217 votes (54.28%) to "Lula" da Silva's 17,112,255 (27.04%). During his first term in office, Cardoso was able to maintain Brazil's inflation under control, and Brazil's new currency introduced by Cardoso, called the *real*, remained stable. Cardoso also introduced a privatization program and economic modernization, both of which have been criticized for their unexpected manifestations of social exclusion. As William C. Smith and Nizar Messari have pointed out, the Cardoso administration was caught in an inescapable dilemma of contemporary Brazilian politics: how to reconcile the exigencies of the market and globalization with the equally compelling needs to promote democracy while combating poverty, violence, and social exclusion.

JOSE DA CRUZ

**See also Brazil; Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations**

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## CARE

The Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) is one of the world's largest nonprofit voluntary agencies involved in the provision of humanitarian relief and development assistance. Founded in the United States after World War II to provide relief packages to displaced persons in Europe, CARE has evolved into a global confederation of eleven national nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with an international secretariat headquartered in Brussels, Belgium. CARE activities, initially directed only at humanitarian food aid, have expanded to include a range of development assistance reaching tens of millions people annually throughout Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. Forms of assistance include agricultural aid, small business credit programs, emergency food aid, food security and delivery, education and training programs, primary health care, reforestation programs, road building, and water purification and sanitation programs. These programs are focused at the family and community level. CARE attempts to involve beneficiary populations in the project development process while seeking to promote social justice and respect for the dignity of persons.

The mission of CARE is to provide relief and development aid to individuals, families, and communities in the poorest countries of the world. The chief goals of this CARE assistance are to promote self-reliance and self-help among aid beneficiaries, to increase economic opportunities, to deliver emergency aid, to serve as an advocate in policy making by

governmental institutions, and to promote policies of nondiscrimination.

## Historical Development

In 1945, CARE, an acronym that initially stood for Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, was established by twenty-two American private agencies to coordinate the delivery of aid packages to millions of displaced persons in Europe. The CARE packages initially consisted of American Army surplus food parcels, each of which provided enough food for ten people to have a meal. To personalize the process, Americans who had relatives in Europe could obtain and send the packages to their families in war-devastated Europe, until governments there could promote economic recovery. CARE began to assemble its own packages with contributions from American businesses, eventually sending more than 100 million CARE packages to the needy in Europe. The packages contained various meats, margarine and lard, fruit preserves, honey, raisins, egg and milk powder, and coffee. In 1948, CARE began to tailor the packages to the food preferences of people from various cultures, as well as started to provide blankets and basic tools, medicine, and school supplies. As CARE activities began to expand beyond Europe in the late 1940s and early 1950s to reach needy people in Asia and other parts of the world, the acronym CARE was revised to stand for Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, reflecting the more global scope of CARE relief activities.

By the 1950s, Europe had largely recovered from the terrible damage of World War II, and CARE began to send its aid packages to newly emerging countries. In 1954, with the emergency needs waning and with the formation of a new Food for Peace aid initiative by the US government, CARE began shifting its emphasis from emergency aid to longer term developing programming and food distribution. It also served as a major conduit through which the US government provided surplus grains to countries experiencing food shortages. CARE has continued to serve as one of the US government's largest implementing partners in the field of humanitarian aid.

In the 1960s, CARE began to branch out from food aid to provision of health care; in the 1970s, in the wake of major droughts and famines in Africa, CARE began to specialize in agro-forestry, clean water programs, and other development-related activities. In the early 1980s, CARE also specialized in providing secure transportation of food assistance

into conflict zones and disaster-stricken areas where food diversion was problematical, such as in Somalia. In many emergency situations, food warehouses and shipments tend to be diverted by local employees and then sold on local markets, thus diverting sometimes fairly large percentages of food aid intended for refugees, displaced persons, and other communities in distress. To reduce this problem of food diversion, CARE trained specialists in food logistics and transportation and offered these services to governments and relief agencies of the United Nations, thus providing greater security for food shipments from the ports to the delivery points where food was then rationed to those for whom the aid was intended. In addition, CARE also became involved in construction of roads to enhance assistance delivery and to promote greater farm-to-market access for local farmers. Like many NGOs, CARE evolved into a dual-purpose agency, providing both emergency humanitarian aid and long-term development assistance, especially as the decolonization process of the 1960s led to the independence of more than a hundred countries, many from the developing world that had vast needs for economic development assistance.

Initially an American relief initiative, CARE eventually expanded in the 1980s, as several national chapters of CARE were formed in other countries, including Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom. With this internationalization of CARE, an international secretariat was established in Brussels to coordinate the work of the various national CARE members.

### **CARE Programs for Development**

While humanitarian relief aid remains a major part of CARE's portfolio of assistance programs, a large portion of its activity increasingly focuses on development assistance. CARE International, which coordinates the work of ten national members, is involved in more than six hundred projects in about sixty countries throughout the world. As a seasoned non-governmental organization, CARE develops projects in consultation with local staff in the countries of assistance and with the line ministries of the countries in which the projects are located. Such an approach increases the likelihood that the project benefits will be sustained beyond the time that CARE ceases to fund a project.

As is true for most NGOs that got their start focusing primarily on humanitarian assistance and

emergency aid in the aftermath of World War II, one can trace a certain evolutionary process by which CARE and other humanitarian bodies gradually looked beyond emergency assistance to longer term development aid. Thus, as developing countries emerged onto the international stage in the 1960s and 1970s, CARE initiated programs to meet basic human needs. International assistance bodies, such of the World Bank, had begun to emphasize this approach in the 1970s. The basic human needs approach to development emphasized provision of the fundamental forms of aid to promote agricultural development so that food self-sufficiency might be achieved. Programs emphasizing access to medicine and health care, sanitation, and education were common elements of a basic human needs approach. Sensitivity of aid programs to the environment began to surface during the 1970s and 1980s. Efforts to cope with deforestation and desertification emerged in CARE and other NGOs.

During the 1980s, the emphasis began to shift somewhat as a reflection of the more conservative governments in the United States and Europe. Programs promoting privatization, credit schemes, support for small business, and the like became more popular ways of promoting economic growth and development. In targeting refugee aid in Africa and Central America, the international aid community and the UN system took note of the developmental impact of refugees and returnees on the economic and social infrastructure of countries receiving them. This notion was consistent with CARE's aid philosophy to take into account refugee-related impacts on development; to promote relief programs that helped to strengthen host country capacities in cooperation with local organizations; and, through enhancement of local capacities, to enable implementation of sustainable outcomes. In a similar spirit, CARE undertook programs to advance the education of girls and the advancement of women. Because many of the countries of assistance had experienced civil wars and thus were littered with mines, CARE undertook programs of land mine safety. Lasting peace in such cases depended on the development of conflict resolution capacities in post-civil war situations.

In the 1980s and 1990s, with a welter of civil war situations being resolved and numerous new situations emerging, CARE and other NGOs organized assistance for the promotion of civil society. With the demise of global communism and the governments that promoted Socialist alternatives to Western development aid, many governments in the developing world realized that significant reforms of their governmental structure would be necessary. In many cases, fragile and new governmental structures emerged

from the ashes of civil war, and efforts to ensure democratization and accountability on the part of new governments were undertaken. NGOs assisted in this process by targeting aid on community development programming that encouraged healing of wartime wounds, promoted interethnic cooperation, and encouraged development of civic institutions.

Today, CARE programs run the gamut of the many different emphases in development assistance programming. CARE is still very much in the humanitarian aid business. It continues to provide food aid in the form of emergency assistance and in more development-oriented contexts, such as food-for-work programs. Health care for women and children is another major focus of CARE programs, touching on both humanitarian and development-related projects. More than 3 million people in thirty-one countries benefit from CARE's water and sanitation programs, while more than 1 million have benefited from CARE education and training programs. One of the major areas of CARE development assistance takes the form of training programs for farmers in the agricultural sector. CARE also supports reforestation programs. In the year 2000, CARE supported the planting of 13 million trees. CARE's basic infrastructure aid includes the building and repairing of roads through food-for-work or cash-for-work programs. CARE has also sponsored credit and marketing support for the development of businesses and enterprises. Much of this aid is targeted at women to provide them with previously unavailable opportunities to participate in business enterprises. The range of CARE development programming is, then, comprehensive.

CARE has also over the years developed an advocacy focus by which it attempts to influence policy making of governments at both the national and local levels. The goals are to enhance the empowerment of the poor, to promote the enlistment of the energy and talents of impoverished people in the quest for sustainable prosperity, and to advance human rights and humanitarian goals.

## Conclusion

CARE is one of the world's largest and most highly regarded NGOs. Starting as an entirely American operation with a focus on relief to war-torn Europe, it now has eleven national members and undertakes humanitarian and development aid activities throughout the world. Spending only 9% of its revenues on overhead and administrative expenses, it is one of the most cost-efficient NGOs in the world. Governments,

the European Union, and UN agencies trust CARE with the implementation of large relief programs, contributions of commodities, and considerable multilateral funds. In the year 2003, CARE's programming budget was about \$446 million. CARE International's assistance reaches about 30 million people in more than seventy countries. CARE complements its relief activities with the promotion of grass roots and community-oriented development programming. In pursuit of this twofold agenda of humanitarian and development assistance, CARE hires local staff whenever possible to implement its programs. This development assistance philosophy aims at promoting an attitude of local ownership of the programs, thus increasing the likelihood that they can be sustained.

CARE is an influential player in the international humanitarian and development assistance community, serving on the front lines of some of the world's most complicated and visible humanitarian relief situations, such as in Somalia during its refugee crisis of the early 1980s and its civil war in the early 1990s. But much of CARE's work is less noticeable, being undertaken in far-flung regions of the globe—quiet battles are waged by its staff in solidarity with local communities to overcome the harsh realities of grinding poverty that affect so much of the developing world.

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**See also Basic Human Needs; Disaster Relief; Humanitarian Relief Projects; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

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## CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE (CBI)

The Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) originally referred to the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act of 1983 (CBERA). It has since become a general term used to refer collectively to the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Expansion Act of 1990 (CBERA Expansion Act) and the US Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act (CBTA) of 2000. Future US economic legislation concerning the Caribbean basin will likely also be included under this label.

## CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE (CBI)

The CBI legislation was passed following the United States and Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) invasion of Grenada in 1983. Its purpose was to provide economic growth in the Caribbean basin, on the assumption that such growth would help create democratic stability in the region, which would then benefit the United States economically in particular and socially in general. The original CBI legislation included such provisions as expanding the number and amount of products that could enter the United States duty-free, encouraging direct investment from US corporations in the region through tax incentives (which allowed for products such as textiles to have preferential access to US markets), and increasing direct US aid significantly. The perceived benefits of the legislation would increase opportunities for US exports and business investment while at the same time reducing illegal immigration to the United States and lessening the attractiveness of the illegal drug trade by providing economic alternatives locally. The CBI's intent was to promote economic development and diversification through private sector investment. It was seen as a program that could further US foreign policy goals in the Caribbean basin by creating economic opportunity and could do so without the infusion of large amounts of direct government aid.

Currently, twenty-four countries benefit from CBI legislation: Antigua, Aruba, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Costa Rica, Dominica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Montserrat, the Netherlands Antilles, Nicaragua, Panama, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. Further countries may be included at future dates if the US president designates them as beneficiary countries. Such designation must take into account various factors, such as if the designated beneficiary country provides for internationally recognized workers' rights, has met US counternarcotics certification, provides transparency and non-discrimination in government procurement, and protects intellectual property rights and the like. Most, although not all, criteria tie the designated country to obligations that have been reached by the World Trade Organization. The US president may also withdraw, suspend, or limit benefits if it is determined that a country is no longer meeting criteria for designation.

The benefits for designated countries under the CBI are various. The primary benefit, and the one that has the most prominence, has been to allow for duty-free imports into the United States in perpetuity for a wide range of products manufactured in CBI

countries. Coupled with duty-free access to US markets for Caribbean manufacturers, the CBI also provides government assistance to programs that purport to benefit private sector development. Given the US domestic political agenda when the CBI was first created, CBI's emphasis on the private sector is hardly surprising. The program would, its supporters argue, allow economic development in the region at a minimal long-term cost to US taxpayers. Expanded local economies would alleviate a demand for continued direct US aid. Among the benefits that the CBI provides is direct US economic aid to programs within designated countries that aid private sector development. These include creating skills training programs and local Chambers of Commerce, financing essential imports, initiating business development missions, and continuing general efforts to improve local business environments and encouraging local investors. It has been argued that the larger, more economically developed and diversified states in the region, such as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, have benefited the most from CBI to date.

Expansion of benefits to designated states in recent legislation indicates that this concentration on private sector development will continue barring a drastic change in US economic aid policy. Goods from other countries that are assembled in CBI-designated states have had to undergo substantial transformation and have at least a 35% value added to be allowed into US markets under the duty-free provision. This requirement can be waived if the components are of 100% US manufacture.

The CBI is perhaps one of the earliest examples of the "trade not aid" US foreign policy programs that began to arise during the Reagan administration and has continued through both Democratic and Republican administrations since. Interestingly, the credit for the CBI does not lay with the Reagan administration but rather with then-Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica. Seaga had suggested a comprehensive plan to promote economic development and democracy in the Caribbean. Seaga's conservative political credentials, coupled with the spectre of increased political instability in the region following the assassination of Maurice Bishop in Grenada, brought his plan to the forefront of the Reagan administration. While the CBI was not nearly as generous or encompassing as Seaga's plan, it did serve as the basis of the US policy.

Regardless of Seaga's initial role, there is little doubt that the CBI was formulated with US domestic policy in mind. Following the Grenada incursion of 1983, the Caribbean region did take on a foreign policy role for the United States that it had not seen since the Cuban missile crisis of the early 1960s.

The Sandinista government in Nicaragua, a Soviet “combat brigade” in Cuba, civil war in El Salvador, and Marxist insurgents in Colombia all brought attention to perceived political instability in the region. This did not negate the domestic political reality that foreign aid, with few exceptions, is rarely viewed favorably by US voters. The CBI allowed policy makers to have it both ways—giving economic assistance to allies in the region while arguing that the true beneficiary of such programs would be not just US foreign policy objectives, but US business interests as well.

The overall success of the CBI is mixed. There has been growth in industry in the Caribbean region, which arguably would not have occurred without the various tax and duty-free treatments the CBI provides. “Nontraditional” exports from the region, such as electronics, have increased. At the same time, economic growth has not approached the level that both US and Caribbean policy makers predicted at CBI’s initial passage. It has been argued that the granting of duty-free status to manufactured goods, for example, has not offset economic losses due to quotas on agricultural imports, especially sugar, to the United States. Textiles exports to the states have continued to decline even with the benefits the industry receives under CBI legislation.

One obvious benefit of the CBI has been to create a legislative “hook” through which the Caribbean region has been able to remain visible in further US trade negotiations and subsequent policy. As was seen with the passage of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Expansion Act of 1990, the creation of the US–Caribbean Free Trade Partnership Act of 2000, discussions to include the Caribbean basin in NAFTA, and even the addition of the Caribbean region to important economic articles in the 2001 Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, the existence of the CBI creates an environment that makes it far easier for US policymakers to direct resources to the Caribbean region. Without an existing framework in place, as other regions of the world have discovered, it is usually difficult to convince policy makers in the United States to concentrate on the concerns of their region.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations**

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## CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY AND COMMON MARKET (CARICOM)

The Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) was established by the Treaty of Chaguaramas signed by the prime ministers of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago in Chaguaramas, Trinidad, on July 4, 1973. It went into effect on August 1, 1973. In 1974, Antigua, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Montserrat also signed the treaty. In 2004, the Bahamas, Suriname, and Haiti joined as full members, with Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, and the Turks and Caicos accepted as provisional members. From its inception, CARICOM has had three primary areas of concern: the promotion and integration of the economies of the member states; cooperation in certain noneconomic areas (that is, education and health), which member states perceive cooperative endeavors as beneficial; and coordination of foreign policy concerns of its members both within and outside of the Caribbean region.

The Conference of Heads of Government is currently the highest decision-making body in the organization. Consisting of the heads of government of the member states, the conference is responsible for the general policy direction for CARICOM, as well as final decisions on treaties and relationships between CARICOM and non-member states and international organizations. Each member of CARICOM has one vote, and a unanimous vote is required to create binding decisions. Under the conference, the Community Council of Ministers is the second-highest body in CARICOM. The Community Council of Ministers consists of one ministerial representative from each member, and all major decisions must also be made by a unanimous vote. The council is responsible for financial arrangements within CARICOM, as well as coordinating the various lower councils and



developing overall strategic plans to recommend to the conference. The council is also responsible for coordinating CARICOM's actions with non-member states and international organizations.

Four specialized councils exist under the direction of the Community Council of Ministers, each with responsibility for a specific policy area. The Council for Trade and Economic Development is primarily concerned with trade and economic development and oversees CARICOM's single-market policies; the Council for Foreign and Community Relations coordinates relations between CARICOM and non-member states and international organizations; the Council for Finance and Planning coordinates economic policies of the member states in areas of financial and monetary integration; and the Council for Human and Social Development promotes human and social development.

The Caribbean Community Secretariat in Guyana is the primary administrative office. The secretariat has no official decision-making power, although it is generally accepted that it has played a role in decision making through the exercise of its bureaucratic powers—studies, reports, project evaluations, policy projections, and the like. The official role of the secretary is to serve the region as a whole, rather than any individual or group of states.

Nine lesser Standing Committees of Ministers are responsible for specific sectoral aspects of regional integration—health, industry, education, labor, foreign affairs and defense, finance, agriculture, transport, and mining. Various institutions, while independent, are officially associated with CARICOM. These include such entities as the Caribbean Development Bank, the University of the West Indies, the Caribbean Marketing Enterprise, and Caribbean Meteorological Council.

CARICOM was created following the example of the European Economic Community and seeks to achieve economic integration through voluntary free market methods. By removing barriers to the flow of goods, services, and capital, it is hoped the region can somewhat mitigate the problems of economies of scale, external dependence, and economic fragmentation. Regional integration through CARICOM, it was hoped, would lead to sustained growth by encouraging market expansion, economic cooperation, and investment in this newly expanded economic environment. The result, according to the EEC model, would eventually lead to lower unemployment, higher standards of living, and balanced growth.

The specific mechanisms that CARICOM has adopted to achieve these broad goals have been trying to remove duties, quotas, and any other identifiable tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade as well as adopting common external tariffs (CET) and

common protective policies (CPP). CET will stimulate internal industrial production by imposing low barriers to capital goods and raw materials while imposing higher barriers to finished products. CPP protect specific regional industries. It was expected that these two programs would lead to increase in trade and investment among the members.

The success of CARICOM has been mixed. In areas of defense and foreign policy, there is little doubt that CARICOM has led to greater solidarity among the members. Regional security and territorial integrity are a shared concern of all members, and agreement on these matters has given CARICOM a strengthened bargaining position when dealing with regional and extraregional actors and when dealing with multinational negotiations. In other areas of functional integration outside of economic concerns, CARICOM has also shown success. Cooperation in regional transportation, education, and health initiatives has been and continues to be successful.

However, in what is usually seen as the most important aspects of CARICOM, economic cooperation and development, the outcomes have been more mixed. CARICOM has been successful in easing restrictions on movement of persons between member states for economic reasons through the Free Movement of Skills initiative.

Economic cooperation has improved during the last thirty years among CARICOM members, yet the hoped-for economic benefits have remained largely unrealized. Domestic political concerns coupled with a wariness to limit sovereignty by allowing regional organizations control economic policies continue to limit the possible effectiveness of CARICOM. A major stumbling point has been a failure to create a common policy concerning foreign investment. The hoped-for reduction of external dependency and greater regional self-reliance has not matched expectations. Even with CARICOM, individual member states are faced with their own domestic political realities when faced with economic decisions. Something as seemingly valuable as cross-listing stocks on the various regional stock exchanges has been problematic at best because different states have viewed the costs and benefits of doing so differently. As is the case in most countries, parochial interests will usually overshadow regional integration in economic matters. A clear example of this has been the continued failure to develop a monetary union. This has been a goal of CARICOM since its inception, yet it appears to be as distant now as it was then. Relinquishing absolute control of a state's currency, even if economic benefits can be clearly argued, remains politically difficult.

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See also **Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA)**; **Caribbean: History and Economic Development**; **Caribbean: International Relations**

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## CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (CDB)

The Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) was established at a conference of plenipotentiaries of eighteen countries and territories by an agreement that was signed in Kingston, Jamaica, on October 18, 1969, and went into effect on January 26, 1970. On January 31, 1970, the Inaugural Meeting of the Board of Governors was held in Nassau, Bahamas. The permanent headquarters of the institution is located in Wildey, St. Michael, Barbados. Its purpose is to foster the economic growth and development of its member countries in the Caribbean and to promote economic cooperation and integration among them. The first article of the charter establishing the CDB requires that the institution give special regard to less developed member countries of the region.

Membership in the CDB is open to regional states and territories, as well as to nonregional states that are members of the United Nations, any of its subsidiary agencies, or the International Atomic Energy Agency. Members are classified as either regional or nonregional and borrowing or nonborrowing. There are currently twenty-five members of the CDB. Of these, twenty are regional and five are nonregional. Regional countries include Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Colombia, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos,

and Venezuela. Nonregional countries are Canada, China, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Although the CDB is committed to broadening its membership base with borrowing and nonborrowing as well as regional and nonregional members, borrowing members hold a permanent majority of the voting power in the CDB, and regional members represent a permanent majority in the Board of Directors. Suriname (1997) and Haiti (2003) have been admitted as borrowing members, although all of the formalities for their entrance have not yet been completed.

The CDB is administered by a board of governors, a board of directors, a president, two vice presidents, as well as other officers and staff. The highest policy-making body of the CDB is the board of governors, in which all of the bank's powers are vested. With the exception of matters concerning the admission of new members, a change in capital stock, amendment of the charter, election of directors and the president, and the termination of bank operations, the board of governors may delegate its powers to the board of directors. The board of directors oversees the general policy and direction of the CDB. It also exercises all powers delegated to it by the board of governors and is responsible for making decisions regarding concerns such as loans, borrowing programs, and the bank's administrative budget. As chairman of the board of directors, the president is responsible for appointing staff and for the organization and operation of the CDB. Below him are two vice presidents: a vice president of finance and a vice president of operations. In the absence of the president, the ranking vice president performs the duties and exercises the authority of the president. The CDB has an additional staff of ninety-nine professionals from eleven different countries and ninety-eight support staff, primarily from Barbados.

The CDB aims to be the leading financial institution for Caribbean development. In close collaboration with its borrowing member countries, the bank encourages social and economic development and works toward the systematic reduction of poverty in the region. To promote development and reduce poverty, the CDB assists its regional members in the coordination of their development programs. This allows members to better use their resources and harmonize their economies, which makes them more complementary, and promotes the orderly expansion of their international, particularly intraregional, trade.

Also recognized as an associate institution of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), and therefore as an institution pursuing the same broad purposes as that association, the CDB promotes projects that include aspects of regional economic integration. In the agricultural sector, it

has been involved in the rationalization of the Windward Islands banana industry and the rehabilitation of the sugar industry of the more developed member countries, as well as in promoting agricultural diversification in the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). It has also financed projects directly and through regional institutions such as the Caribbean Food Corporation. In industry, the CDB is actively involved in supporting projects that aim to reduce regional competition and thus make industrial development in member countries more complementary. In addition to providing capital loans and technical assistance to regional projects in shipping and air transport, the CDB has actively facilitated the development of intraregional transport facilities.

Recognizing that community involvement is essential for sustained and inclusive development in rural areas, the CDB has also been active in poverty-reduction initiatives for the rural poor. Established in 1979, the CDB's Basic Needs Trust Fund (BNTF) program provides resources for the improvement of conditions in poverty-stricken rural communities. This program facilitates the delivery of basic public services to poor communities. Projects include the provision of schools, health services, water systems, roads, drains, and day care centers. Since its inception, the BNTF Program has positively affected 1.6 million of the region's poor inhabitants, with two-thirds living in rural areas. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have contributed additional resources to the fund.

Because borrowing member countries of the CDB are particularly vulnerable to natural disasters—and because they are forced to respond to disasters while coping with social and economic problems associated with economic diversification, debt management, inflation, and poverty—the bank has also introduced means to help its members mitigate and recover from disasters. Prior to the implementation of its National Disaster Management Strategy in 1998, the CDB's disaster relief policy focused on restoration and rehabilitation in the aftermath of a disaster. The strategy implemented in 1998, however, places greater emphasis on reducing the risks and vulnerability of borrowing members to disasters by raising preparedness and improving the scope of collaborative efforts among developmental institutions working with disasters in the region. Recently, the CDB's Disaster Mitigation Facility for the Caribbean (DMFC), with the support of USAID, has been involved in projects designed to strengthen a region's ability to cope with disasters and to decrease its vulnerability to disasters. The DMFC is also active in the

provision of financial assistance to borrowing members to be used for the purpose of implementing functional disaster mitigation practices and increasing the capacity of the CDB to address disaster management issues. The CDB's current disaster management strategy strives to incorporate disaster mitigation into all of its policies, programs, and projects.

The CDB also mobilizes additional financial resources for the development of its regional members. Such finances come from within as well as outside a region. The CDB has thus far raised loans from the European Investment Bank (EIB), the World Bank, and the International Development Bank (IDB), as well as on the capital markets of Trinidad and Tobago, the United States, and Japan. By providing aid to financial institutions in a region and supporting the establishment of consortia, the institution further encourages public and private investments in development projects. The bank may also finance directly any projects contributing to the development of a region or any of its regional members.

In appraising and preparing prospective projects, the CDB considers its costs and potential impact on local and regional development and on poverty and vulnerability. Project appraisals assess factors such as legal, technical, commercial, organizational, and environmental validity; the project's contribution to the removal of economic bottlenecks; and the ability of the borrowing country to service additional external debt. Prior to the commencement of a project, the CDB provides its regional members with the appropriate technical assistance. Technical assistance (TA) operations are meant to complement project operations by assisting in the transfer of techniques as well as facilitating the development of expertise and the identification and promotion of opportunities for investment in the borrowing members of the CDB. Technical assistance often involves, but is not restricted to, undertaking or commissioning preinvestment surveys and identifying and preparing project proposals. In addition to providing financial and technical assistance and helping regional members better coordinate their economies, the CDB is also active in the promotion of regionally and locally controlled financial institutions and of a regional market for credit and savings. The charter of the CDB further stipulates that the institution may undertake or promote such other endeavors as they may advance its purpose.

The financial resources of the CDB consist of ordinary capital resources (OCR), mostly comprising subscribed capital and borrowings and special funds resources (SFR). Its lending activities are divided into two broad categories: *ordinary operations* and *special operations*. Ordinary operations are financed from

the bank's OCR, and special operations are financed from its SFR, although a project may require that some aspects be financed as ordinary operations and others be funded as special operations. While ordinary operations of the CDB embrace all of its borrowing members, the bulk of its special operations are in less developed member countries. Excluding instances in which the territory or member country objects to the CDB's financing of an undertaking, the bank may participate in or make direct loans to the governments of its regional member countries, to public as well as private entities operating within such countries, and to international or regional entities concerned with the development of a region's economy.

Whether forming part of a national, subregional, or regional development program, the CDB provides principally for the financing of specific projects. Projects financed either directly or indirectly by the CDB since it commenced operations in 1970 cover a broad spectrum of developmental activities dealing with ports, livestock, fisheries, export services, agriculture, roads and bridges, industrial estates, water, power, electricity, infrastructure, waste management, sea and air transport equipment, airports and runways, tourist facilities, education, residential mortgages, and human resource development. The focus of such projects is on promoting social equity and protecting the environment.

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**See also Caribbean Basin Initiative; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Caribbean: History and Economic Development; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS); United States Agency for International Development (USAID)**

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## CARIBBEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION (CARIFTA)

When independence became generally accepted as the future of the British colonies in the Caribbean following World War II, the problem arose concerning what form independence would take. Initially, Great Britain believed that its former colonies would form a federation, leading to a single political entity spread over the several island states. As a prelude to full independence, the British West Indies Federation was created in 1958 comprising ten member states, including Jamaica (as well as the Cayman Islands and the Turks and Caicos), Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, and Dominica. A Customs Union was part of this federation; however, in its four years of existence, political concerns in trying to create a single political entity from ten separate states overshadowed economic concerns. Because the British colonies had relatively small populations who historically had provided agricultural and some industrial raw materials to the home country, very little trade had existed between the islands. Although the West Indies Federation came to an end in 1962, it is rightly considered the beginning of attempts at greater regional integration among Caribbean states.

When Trinidad and Tobago announced its decision to leave the Federation in 1961, Prime Minister Williams proposed the creation of a Caribbean community, consisting not just of the former members of the federation but of all Caribbean island states and the Guianas. To discuss this new attempt at regional integration, the first Heads of Government

Conference was held in Trinidad in July 1963. This led to a series of Conferences concerning the creation of a Free Trade Area that culminated in the Agreement of Dickenson Bay, Antigua, in December 1965. The Dickenson Bay Agreement created the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA).

The initial members of CARIFTA—Antigua, Barbados, and British Guiana (Guyana)—deliberately delayed the official beginning of CARIFTA to allow time for other states in the region to join. CARIFTA came into force on May 1, 1968, with eleven states as members. In recognition of the differences in levels of development, countries were divided into two classes: most developed countries (MDCs) were Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana; the less developed countries (LDCs) were Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Grenadines. In recognition of their differing levels of development, the LDCs were given some preferential treatment in lifting some trade barriers.

CARIFTA was intended as a true free-trade area, with all members pledging to eliminate tariffs and quota systems on each member's products. It was modeled on the European Economic Community, albeit much less ambitious. Indeed, Great Britain's attempts to join the EEC in some ways motivated the governments in the Caribbean to form CARIFTA. It was feared that Great Britain's successful entry into the EEC would deny its former colonies preferential access to British markets with exports such as sugar and bananas. This would deny the Commonwealth Caribbean its primary market for exports. Their own regional trade union was seen as a possible means of alleviating some of their economic disadvantages.

CARIFTA was not an overly ambitious attempt at integration. Coming after the failed West Indian Federation, this was most probably inevitable. It concentrated on removing barriers to intraregional trade. CARIFTA gave very little attention to renegotiating the relationships its members had with states outside the region and relied on consensus for what policies it did develop. CARIFTA was a first step into realistic integration among the Commonwealth Caribbean states. When complete political federation failed, it was necessary to find a basis for the level of cooperation that would be politically viable to the states in the region, and CARIFTA provided that. In 1973, the eighth Heads of Government Conference of CARIFTA voted to transform CARIFTA into a true common market and transform CARIFTA into the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). CARICOM would continue to promote economic integration, but it would also expand

the areas of cooperation beyond purely economic concerns.

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**See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations**

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## CARIBBEAN: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The history of the Caribbean, or even its economic history, cannot be summarized in a few paragraphs. Few generalizations can be made, and there is little agreement among scholars on some aspects of the region. Even the geographic delimitation of the region represents a problem. It is customary to include, in this region, all the islands lying between North and South America, along an arc of about 4,500 kilometers, from the western tip of Cuba to the southern coast of Trinidad.

### The Archipelago

If we disregard the mainland of the Caribbean—as the nomenclature below does—the following terms can be used more or less interchangeably to describe the archipelago: “islands of the Caribbean,” “the West Indies” (albeit this term often refers exclusively to the Anglophone islands), or “the Antilles” (often a French term), which are sometimes divided into “the Greater” and “the Lesser” Antilles. The Greater Antilles comprise Cuba, Hispaniola (shared by the Dominican Republic and Haiti), Jamaica, and Puerto Rico.

Economically and administratively speaking, the archipelago can be broken down as follows: (i) the Eastern Caribbean (Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts (also St. Christopher)

and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Grenadines); (ii) the British dependencies (Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks, and Caicos); (iii) the French Caribbean (Guadeloupe, Martinique and satellite islands, and half of St. Martin); (iv) the United States's possessions (Navassa Island, Puerto Rico, and the US Virgin Islands); (v) the Netherlands Antilles (half of St. Martin, Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao); (vi) and the larger islands (Cuba, Hispaniola—Dominican Republic and Haiti—Trinidad and Tobago) that constitute the focus of this discussion. The Bahamas and Guyana can be added to the picture, although these are technically beyond the Caribbean Sea.

### **Territory, Population, Climate, and Language**

The size of the territory of the island-nations ranges all the way from Cuba, with about 111,000 square kilometers, to St. Kitts and Nevis, with 261 square kilometers. As for the population, Cuba boasts of more than 11 million people, and St. Kitts and Nevis is the smallest independent country, with a population estimated at less than thirty-nine thousand. The agriculturally productive lands of Montserrat, a British dependency, were reduced by about two-thirds because of recent volcanic activities, with the eruption of the Soufriere in 1995; much of the population fled the island to the United Kingdom and other countries. Many of the islands lie within a seismic zone; the most notable eruption in modern times was that of Mont Pelée in Martinique in 1902.

In regards to the climate, the Caribbean archipelago is well-known for its tropical weather (only the Bahamas lie north of the tropical zone as well as beyond the Caribbean Sea), mitigated by the ocean breeze. In fact, the sea and the climate may be the islands' main common assets. Variations in temperature between daytime and nighttime and between summer and winter are more pronounced in the northern islands and at higher altitudes. Although the natives may disagree, even wintertime is beach weather; in fact, the winter is the high point of the tourist season.

Another reason why the Caribbean is more popular with the tourists in the winter is the hurricanes that are prevalent during other seasons. Practically all the islands of the Caribbean can and have been affected, at one time or another, by hurricane-force winds in the summer and fall, between June and November, especially in September. Whether it is hurricane season or not, the winds almost invariably blow from the East.

All of these islands have been colonized, starting around the sixteenth century and continuing well past the middle of the twentieth century and in a few cases to the present; the lone exception is Haiti, more exactly the Haitian side of Hispaniola, which achieved independence (and emancipation) by 1804. Consequently, the population of the Caribbean can be divided by language into Anglophone and Francophone, hispanophone, and speakers of Dutch, reflecting the former presence of the respective European imperial powers. In some cases, local or indigenous languages, including Papiamentu in the Dutch islands, are spoken; various creole languages, the most recognized being the Creole of Haiti, are added to the mix; and pidgin languages or pidginized versions of European languages are also present. Further mixtures exist to complicate matters, such as the "Spanglish" spoken by many Puerto Ricans.

### **Political Background and Balkanization**

Politically speaking, as a result of the Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine enunciated by Theodore Roosevelt at the beginning of the twentieth century, "flag independence" and some form of parliamentary government, along with a greater or lesser degree of a free-market economy, prevail in most of the region. Revolutionary Cuba is the obvious exception. Other nations, such as Grenada (1979–1983) or Guyana, or even Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, which have attempted to establish closer ties with Cuba, have experienced direct or indirect American intervention. The *cooperative socialism* advocated by Forbes Burnham in Guyana was an attempt to find a third way in social and economic policies (but was also a reaction against the previous regime, Cheddi Jagan's Marxist approach), as was the *democratic socialism* advocated by Michael Manley in Jamaica; Burnham's line failed because of internal, including ethnic, contradictions, while Manley's attempt encountered opposition from the Cold War policies of the United States.

Some islands or groups of islands have yet to achieve any sort of independence, most notably Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which are possessions of the United States. The British Virgin Islands and Montserrat are still part of the British empire, and Martinique and Guadeloupe are considered departments or administrative units of "metropolitan" France. Unlike the French or Dutch islands, Puerto Rico enjoys some autonomy. In fact, it is officially described as a "commonwealth," but, for practical purposes, its status is somewhere in limbo

between statehood as a state of the United States and full independence. The dependent political status of these island territories would render their economic integration difficult, if not impossible.

There is no region in the world more balkanized than the island-nations of the Caribbean since decolonization; indeed, several countries have less than one hundred thousand inhabitants (St. Kitts and Nevis has a population of about thirty-nine thousand, Dominica around seventy-three thousand), whereas Cuba has 11.2 million, the Dominican Republic has 8.4 million, and Haiti has almost 7.6 million (these figures are estimates for the year 2003).

The balkanization of the region is a handicap in more ways than one; since each island-nation, however small, has its own government, with a more or less elaborate civil service and diplomatic corps, the export earnings of the country, which are the revenues from taxes and tariffs, are siphoned off to pay the salaries and benefits of elite government officials. The process of balkanization did not end with decolonization. While there are centripetal tendencies (discussed in the following paragraphs), the centrifugal tendencies remain strong. For instance, Anguilla split from St. Kitts and Nevis to remain British, there is a movement in Nevis for independence from St. Kitts, and many Tobagonians (residents of Tobago) are keen on obtaining greater autonomy if not complete independence from Trinidad.

### **Ethnicity and Culture**

Ethnically speaking, the population of most islands is predominantly Afro-Caribbean, that is, Caribbean of African ancestry. According to some censuses and informal surveys, however, there are White majorities in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, although these claims have been challenged by social scientists and others concerned with matters of “race” who argue that the social pressures in both lands favor White or Spanish ascendancy and the denial or rejection of African blood. Moreover, almost half the population of Trinidad and of Guyana is of East Indian origin. There is also a Chinese minority on many islands.

Culturally speaking, the situation is even more complicated. Varieties of Western civilization (such as British, French, and Spanish) have assimilated elements from the original Arawak and Carib Native American cultures, even though the Native American population died out or was killed off within 150 years of the arrival of the Europeans (except for a small contingent on the island of Dominica and in Belize).

The influence of various cultures of West Africa can be clearly observed in Haiti, Cuba, and some of the smaller island-nations. In the twentieth century and at present, the political, economic, and cultural influence of the United States has often become dominant, not only in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, but also throughout the region.

The term “African Diaspora” is often used in the context of demography and culture to refer to the dispersal, involuntary or voluntary, of the African population throughout much of the world; but there is also a Diaspora within the Diaspora, that is, the dispersal of several million people from the Caribbean, settling in some European countries, notably England and France, in the United States, and Canada (in the case of the Anglophone West Indies, the Caribbean Diaspora amounts to about 40% of the population that remains).

### **Economic History and Industrialization**

Perhaps the least diverse and controversial aspect of the Caribbean is its economic history. To oversimplify, this history has been dominated by the plantation economy, more specifically the cultivation of the sugarcane. Sugar became queen of the Caribbean and, indeed, of the Atlantic world trade, for three hundred years, from early in the sixteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sugar continued to dominate the economies of most islands in the nineteenth century and in the first third of the twentieth century, although it had long lost its status as the most profitable item in world trade.

Since the first third of the twentieth century, the region as a whole has undergone modernization—as advocated by the St. Lucian economist W. Arthur Lewis in 1950 and 1951—along institutional and economic lines, while remaining or becoming underdeveloped at the same time. Modernization is evident in various ways: the growing importance of the service sector and, in some cases, of the manufacturing sector, accompanied by neglect of agricultural production, apart from the production and export of sugar in Cuba and of bananas, especially in the lesser Antilles.

The benefits of an increasing demand for bananas in Europe has been mitigated by a drop in world prices and by competition, both from South America and from United States-owned transnational corporations (Chiquita, Dole, and Del Monte brands) in South and Central America; in fact, this competition has led to international tension between the United States and the European Union, which came

to a head in the late 1990s. Nevertheless, bananas account for roughly half of all “export” earnings in the case of Guadeloupe and Martinique but are also significant, in absolute figures, for St. Lucia (almost 60% of export earnings), Jamaica, St. Vincent, and Dominica (almost 70% of export earnings).

Few of the island-nations are self-sufficient with regard to food supply, even with regard to their staple food. The paradox has reached extremes: although rice is a staple food in Puerto Rico, none of it is locally grown. While there still are orange groves and coffee plantations in Puerto Rico (gone wild), the oranges and coffee consumed by Puerto Ricans come exclusively from abroad. Although some of the island-nations still specialize in the production of certain cash crops, the population of the entire region has become dependent, to a greater or lesser extent, on food imports and on loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to help pay for those imports. Indeed, loans from the World Bank and other foreign sources have reached \$2.5 billion in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, \$3.9 billion for Jamaica, and \$4.6 billion for the Dominican Republic. These amount to extremely high per capita debts; they also explain, in part, the relatively high growth rates in gross domestic product (GDP).

Perhaps the common trait in the contemporary economy of the entire region is the reliance on the tourist trade and, to a lesser extent, on remittances from abroad. The Caribbean Diaspora not only contributes financially but also technologically by introducing skills acquired abroad. On some of the islands, the tourist trade has become the number one contributor to the economy, far exceeding revenues from agricultural exports and manufacturing, in some cases accounting for up to 80% of the export earnings. But the reliance on income from tourism has its drawbacks: the repatriation of profits to the foreign owners of hotels and hotel chains, the lack of linkages to other sectors of the local economy (the installations and even the food are mostly imported), and the low level of skills required from the workforce and, consequently, the relatively low salaries. Among the intangibles, the negative impact on pride, identity, and self-respect may be deplored.

Moreover, apart from the very marginal benefits provided by visits from cruise ships—limited to a few spots favored by the liners—the income from the tourist trade has been declining in the case of several island-nations over the past few years. Development and modernization may themselves prove a mixed blessing, for they negatively affect the tourist trade, which has been either the main or an important source of revenue for most island-nations (including Cuba). The more modern the island, the less likely it is

to remain a tourist spot; this general rule also explains why Cuba has become the number one destination for tourists. Although only 1.2 million tourists visited Cuba in 1997, the projection, as confirmed by sources from outside Cuba, are for between 4 and 5 million visitors by 2007, outdoing the Mexican “Riviera.”

Industrialization programs have been launched in the region; perhaps the best known of these are the Puerto Rican programs created during the New Deal and World War II and organized by the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration. These programs were popularly known as Operation Bootstrap. An industrial park was also set up at Point Lisas in Trinidad under Prime Minister Eric Williams, taking advantage of the windfall profits resulting from the oil boom. Although some industrialization did result, neither of these programs was successful enough to catapult the country or the island from the ranks of the underdeveloped. The political conditions in Cuba were more favorable for central planning of development, but, here too, internal and external factors combined to defeat the effort. Thus, Cuba remains a country largely dependent on the monoculture of sugar, whereas Trinidad and Tobago continues to depend on its exports of crude and refined oil and gas. The manufacturing sector of the latter contributes less than 10% to the country’s GDP; the balance of payments, favorable until 1982, has been unfavorable since that time. Indeed, since the island-nations are small, so are the domestic markets; hence, nearly all consumer goods have to be imported.

### **Economic, Social, and Political Progress**

No generalizations can be made about economic or social achievements in the region; if anything, the contrasts are stark. While the per capita gross national income is \$7,530 (as of 1995) in Puerto Rico—far lower than in any state of the United States—and \$4,750 in Trinidad and Tobago (as of 1999) and growing, the corresponding figure for Haiti is only \$1,400, and at least three quarters of the population has no share in production. Life expectancy in Cuba is age 76.3 and is almost as high in Dominica, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica; it is less than age 52 in Haiti. Infant mortality rate in Cuba is below seven per thousand, lower than in the United States and most industrialized nations. It is thirty-nine per thousand in the Dominican Republic and seventy-six per thousand in Haiti. The growth in the GDP has been around 5% during the past three years in Grenada (2002–2005), around 6% in Trinidad and Tobago, and more than 8% in the Dominican Republic. The



growth has been even higher in some of the small island-nations of the Eastern Caribbean, whereas it is negative in Haiti.

All of this information seems to confirm the notion that Haiti is the poorest country not only in the Caribbean but in the entire Western Hemisphere. Using a combination of socioeconomic indices, some of the island-nations are ranked in the upper third among all the countries of the developing world. Cuba is doing well as far as social indices go, but the data regarding economic achievements are simply not available (at least not to the World Bank).

Decolonization has proved a mixed blessing. Most of the Anglophone Caribbean enjoys political independence, with Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago achieving independence in 1962. Those two influential nations led the path to independence, followed by Barbados and Guyana in 1966, the Bahamas in 1973, Grenada in 1974, Dominica in 1978, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines in 1979, and Antigua and Barbuda in 1981.

The island-nations have adopted some kind of parliamentary system along with civil rights and regular elections. In a few cases, authoritarian regimes have taken over until dislodged or overthrown. The most obvious example of such a regime is Cuba, where the regime led by Fidel Castro has replaced, in the name of socialism, earlier authoritarian systems. Haiti and the Dominican Republic have had more than their share of dictators, although in both cases there have been elections that were relatively free according to most observers. In Haiti, we have the anomaly of the same democratically elected president displaced twice by inside forces or outside intervention. Other examples of *coups d'état* include the New Jewel movement led by Maurice Bishop in Grenada, which itself became the victim of a counter-*coup d'état*, leading to Bishop's assassination and a few days later to outside intervention by the United States.

The government of Guyana has also been the victim of outside intervention (notably by the United Kingdom and the United States), although lack of stability there is due in large part to ethnic dissension. Although ethnic divisions have plagued the government of Trinidad and Tobago as well, there the parliamentary system has weathered all the crises rather successfully. In Barbados, the passing of power from one regime to the next has been peaceful. In Jamaica, even though there is no ethnic strife, the passing of power from one party to the next has been more troublesome, with plenty of violence incidental to polling. All in all, however, there is hope for the establishment of solid, lasting civil societies throughout most of the region.

Even politically and diplomatically, with the possible exception of Cuba, most of the island-nations may be considered part of the American sphere of influence, enjoying less than full independence. Economically, independence entailed disintegration rather than integration. Some islands and some nations are doing better than others. Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands have benefited economically from their ties with the United States, enabling their residents to travel to-and-fro between island and mainland, even though the impact of the colonial system may have been deleterious on the morale and the morals. A few of the island-nations stand a chance of escaping the vicious circle of underdevelopment by virtue of profits from oil (in the case of Trinidad) or from bauxite (in Jamaica and Guyana).

Economic integration began with the establishment of a British West Indies Federation in 1958, but that federation was short-lived. This balkanization has prompted attempts at reintegration, such as the failed West Indies Federation, between 1958 and 1962. Among relevant international organizations, there is the relatively successful Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), the successor to the Caribbean Free Trade Association set up in 1968, entailing economic cooperation among the Anglophone West Indies; for instance, it has adopted a Common External Tariff in 1992.

CARICOM was established by the Treaty of Chaguaramas (in Trinidad) in 1973. While the Treaty was originally signed by Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago, it was eventually expanded to include at least fifteen states and spread geographically and culturally beyond the Anglophone West Indies to include Haiti and Suriname. Concrete steps have been taken by this organization to integrate the economies of at least some of the island-nations and to establish a common market and a free-trade association. CARICOM has also taken steps to coordinate foreign policy and intervene in combating regional problems, such as the spread of AIDS. Moreover, it has repeatedly adopted resolutions to reinforce civil society in the islands, including civil rights, the parliamentary system, free press, and the fight against corruption.

Other manifestations of cooperation among the islands include the campuses of the University of West Indies (UWI), founded in 1948; it now has campuses on Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and Guyana. The Caribbean Group for Cooperation in Economic Development (CGCED) was established in 1977 by some Anglophone countries (including Belize in Central America); it has expanded beyond the Anglophone Caribbean to include Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Suriname. These are

certainly positive signs indicative of potential economic, political, and social progress; indeed, such progress is not likely to take place anywhere in the Caribbean without effective cooperation.

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## CARIBBEAN: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Although the entire Western Hemisphere experienced European colonialism, the Caribbean islands were subjected to the most pervasive, diverse, and lengthy European colonial experience. Since the initial arrival of Christopher Columbus in the region in 1492, the European nations and the United States after 1898, for a plethora of economic and strategic reasons, vied with each other to establish colonies. In 1945, the entire Caribbean region—with the exception of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba—was still controlled by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands. As such, foreign policy was conducted by the colonial powers. Notwithstanding the independence of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba, these nations conducted their foreign policy in the shadow of US diplomatic imperatives. Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba—all of which had been militarily occupied by the United States for prolonged periods during the first half of the twentieth century—were cognizant of the fact that their foreign policy initiatives were conditioned by the vagaries of US foreign policy.

In the post-World War II period, Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago achieved their independence. Meanwhile, Anguilla, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Montserrat, the

Netherlands Antilles, Puerto Rico, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and the US Virgin Islands remained European and US colonies. The exigencies of the Cold War, especially as manifested in the 1959 Cuban Revolution, brought a new prominence to Caribbean international relations. Notwithstanding sporadic, and frequently unsuccessful, attempts by some of the independent Caribbean nations to assert a foreign policy independent of that of the United States, most Caribbean nations have pursued a pro-US foreign policy aimed at strengthening their economic infrastructure. John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress provided funds to strengthen the economic and military infrastructures of pro-US governments in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The three most significant regional organizations in the Caribbean region are the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), which facilitates consultation, cooperation, and concerted action among member states concerning issues such as economic development; the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), which supports economic cooperation through the Caribbean Common Market; and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), which promotes extensive cooperation among the English-speaking member states in the Eastern Caribbean.

### Haiti

Following a violent slave revolt that lasted for thirteen years, Haiti, which occupies the western third of the island of Hispaniola, became the Western Hemisphere's second independent nation in 1804. As such, Haiti became the world's first independent black republic. During the first half of the nineteenth century, slaveholding nations, such as the United States, intimidated by the only successful slave revolt in the Western Hemisphere, refused to grant Haiti diplomatic recognition. The onset of the US Civil War, however, allowed President Abraham Lincoln to grant Haiti diplomatic recognition. During the twentieth century, the economic and political influence of the United States in Haiti was more influential than that of any other country. The United States was Haiti's most important trading partner and the most important source of foreign economic and military assistance. From 1915 until 1934, the United States, primarily concerned with protecting access routes to the Panama Canal, militarily occupied Haiti and controlled the nation's foreign policy.

During the Duvalier dictatorship (1957–1986), successive US presidential administrations overlooked

the authoritarian nature of the Haitian government. François and Jean-Claude Duvalier exploited US fears of communism in the Caribbean following Fidel Castro's successful 1959 revolution in Cuba. US policy makers viewed Haiti as a bastion of anti-communism in the Caribbean. As such, the US government provided the Haitian dictatorship with generous amounts of economic and military aid. In 1987, after the Duvalier regime had been overthrown, the United States briefly suspended all aid to Haiti. In 1989, the US resumed economic aid to Haiti on the condition that the Haitian government continue to make progress toward holding democratic elections and cooperate in US efforts to control the international drug trade.

In 1991, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a defrocked Roman Catholic priest, became the nation's first democratically elected president. The Haitian military, however, overthrew Aristide nine months later. A US-led United Nations peacekeeping force intervened in 1994 and restored Aristide to power. Regardless, political and economic instability, notwithstanding large infusions of economic aid, continued. As such, a virtually endless flow of refugees has sought asylum in the United States. Aristide, who returned to power in questionable elections in 2000, became increasingly authoritarian and lost the support of US policy makers. An armed revolt in early 2004, coupled with US pressure for his removal, resulted in Aristide's exile in February 2004. A US-led force attempted to restore order and stability, while the international community pledged more than \$1 billion in economic aid.

Haiti's relations with the Dominican Republic have been tumultuous. Haiti militarily occupied the Dominican Republic from 1822 until 1844. Haitian occupation, and subsequent attempts to reconquer the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola, seriously strained diplomatic relations between the two nations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Notwithstanding the almost constant flow of Haitians crossing the border in search of employment in the Dominican sugarcane fields, border conflicts have frequently erupted into violent conflict. In 1937, Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo orchestrated the massacre of twelve thousand Haitians in the Dominican Republic. Nevertheless, during the Duvalier regime, the Haitian government facilitated the procurement of Haitian cane cutters for the annual Dominican sugarcane harvest. By 2000, the presence of more than 1 million people of Haitian origin in the Dominican Republic, many of whom were illegally present, caused an additional strain in Dominican-Haitian relations.

Because of Haiti's unique cultural and historical legacy in the Caribbean, ties with other Caribbean nations have been limited. During the colonial period, the United Kingdom and France, fearful that the Haitian experience would encourage economic and political instability in their colonies, discouraged contact between their Caribbean colonies and Haiti. This lack of contact continued into the postindependence era. Haiti remains the least developed nation in the Western Hemisphere.

## Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic achieved its independence in 1844 after being militarily occupied by Haiti for twenty-two years. After a brief period of economic and political pandemonium, the Dominican government voluntarily petitioned to return to Spanish colonial status in 1861. Realizing that Spanish colonial status was not the panacea for their economic and political woes, Dominican elites proclaimed independence in 1865. Although the Dominican Republic—pursuing a liberal, export-led economy based on exports of raw materials to Europe and the United States—experienced a brief period of economic and political stability during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, political and economic chaos had returned to the nation by 1900. Ongoing economic and political chaos, the threat of European intervention, and the desire to protect the access routes to the Panama Canal, convinced the United States to militarily occupy the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924.

During the Trujillo dictatorship (1930–1961), successive US presidential administrations overlooked the authoritarian nature of the Dominican government. Rafael Trujillo exploited US fears of Nazism during the 1930s and communism during the Cold War to garner US economic and military aid. Trujillo proclaimed himself the most ardent anti-Communist in the Western Hemisphere and closely aligned his foreign policy with that of the United States. His voting record in the United Nations (UN) was parallel to that of the United States. Following Fidel Castro's successful 1959 revolution in Cuba, US policy makers were concerned that Trujillo's authoritarian excesses might lead to the establishment of a second Communist regime in the Caribbean. In 1960, the Organization of American States (OAS) imposed diplomatic sanctions against the Dominican Republic as a result of Trujillo's participation in the attempted assassination of

Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt. The United States, therefore, supported the overthrow and assassination of Trujillo in 1961. President John F. Kennedy's attempt to make the Dominican Republic a showcase for democracy resulted in the election of Juan Bosch to the presidency of the Dominican Republic in 1963. Conservative elements in Dominican society, however, overthrew Bosch, who had been pursuing a leftist-oriented foreign and domestic policy, in September 1963.

In 1965, a counterrevolution designed to restore the deposed Bosch to power resulted in a civil war. President Lyndon B. Johnson, under the pretense of forestalling the establishment of a second Communist state in the Western Hemisphere, sent twenty-three thousand US troops to restore order and stability. The unilateral US military intervention was quickly transformed into a multinational OAS-sponsored intervention. US-supervised elections in 1966 were won by Joaquín Balaguer, who closely aligned the Dominican Republic politically and economically with the United States. In return for his pro-US foreign policy, Balaguer was rewarded with generous sugar quotas and increased economic aid. Subsequent Dominican governments have pursued a foreign policy closely tied to that of the United States. The United States is the nation's most important trading partner, and remittances from Dominicans living in the United States contribute substantially to the Dominican economy. The Dominican government has also cooperated with US officials on issues such as reducing illegal immigration, the return of stolen cars to the United States, and the extradition of fugitives. In addition, the Dominican Republic sent troops to Iraq in support of the fight against terrorism.

Historically, relations with Haiti have oscillated between sporadic to tense. Lingering Dominican animosity against Haitians, dating back to the 1822–1844 military occupation, has fomented distrust of the Haitian government. In addition, Dominicans, who view themselves as Hispanic and European, tend to view Haitians as black, uncivilized, and African. Frequently, in an attempt to keep the civil unrest in Haiti from spreading to the Dominican Republic, the Dominican government has closed the Dominican–Haitian border. During the 1990s, however, the Dominican government supported the attempted democratization process in Haiti. A point of contention between the two nations is the presence of more than 1 million Haitians in the Dominican Republic, many of who are there illegally.

Although the Dominican Republic's most important diplomatic relations are with the United

States, the nation maintains accredited diplomatic missions in most Latin American nations and the major European nations. The Dominican Republic's relations with Cuba increased during the 1980s. Although the Dominican government is cognizant of US hostility toward Fidel Castro's regime, the Dominicans and Cubans implemented sports and cultural exchanges during the 1980s. The Dominican Republic also maintains close diplomatic relations with Venezuela, the supplier of the majority of the Dominican Republic's petroleum needs. The Republic of China (Taiwan) has extensive cultural and economic relations with the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic is one of the few nations in Latin America to recognize the Taiwanese government as the legitimate Chinese government.

## Cuba

Unlike the rest of Spanish-speaking Latin America, which achieved independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cuba—the largest island in the Caribbean—did not attain independence until 1902. Given Cuba's geographic position, the Spanish government was able to isolate Cuba from the revolutionary movements seeking independence on the mainland between 1814 and 1824. In 1895, scholar José Martí launched an independence movement that contributed to the demise of Spanish colonial rule. Citing humanitarian, economic, and national security concerns, the US intervened in the Cuban struggle for independence. The so-called Spanish-American War of 1898 resulted in Spain relinquishing control of Cuba and Puerto Rico to the United States. Prior to appropriating funds to fight the war, the US Congress passed the Teller Amendment, which stated that the US had no intention of annexing Cuba. Thus, at the conclusion of the war, the US government made plans for Cuba's independence. Puerto Rico, however, which was not covered by the Teller Amendment, was made a US colony.

The 1901 Platt Amendment was a precondition for Cuban independence. It provided for an extensive degree of US control over Cuban affairs, made Cuba a virtual protectorate of the United States, and set the stage for the symbiotic alliance between Cuban elites and US policy makers and businessmen that lasted until 1958. Thus, in 1902, Cuba was granted independence. Cuba's foreign policy, however, was closely regulated by the United States. Although the Platt Amendment was abrogated in 1934, the United States continued to dominate

Cuban internal and external affairs. In addition, it also continued to control the vast naval base at Guantanamo Bay. Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, who directly or indirectly ruled Cuba from 1934 until 1958, received generous economic and military aid packaged from the United States. Just like Trujillo, Batista was an ardent anti-Communist. Batista's corrupt and brutal authoritarian regime, however, fueled a revolution led by Fidel Castro during the 1950s. On January 1, 1959, Castro's revolutionary forces entered Havana as Batista departed into exile.

Castro's nationalist rhetoric was infused with a certain degree of anti-Americanism. Castro was determined to break the symbiotic alliance between Cuban elites and US businessmen and politicians. The Cuban leader rounded up more than five hundred of Batista's closest supporters and executed them after a brief trial. More than one-tenth of Cuba's population, more than five hundred thousand people, fled to the United States. Castro used the derogatory term *gusanitos* (little worms) to refer to these exiles. By 1961, Castro had nationalized, without compensation, all US investment in Cuba. The US severed diplomatic relations with Cuba on January 3, 1961. Newly elected President John F. Kennedy supported a CIA-directed invasion of Cuban exiles in April 1961. The goal of the invasion was to overthrow Castro—who was viewed by most US policy makers as a Communist—and restore a pro-US government to power in Havana. The Bay of Pigs invasion, however, was a fiasco. Within a matter of days, the entire Cuban exile force had been killed or captured. Castro, who feared subsequent invasions, pursued a closer alliance with the Soviet Union. The Cubans had replaced dependency on the United States with dependency on the Soviet Union. Cuban sugar exports, which had primarily gone to the United States, were now sent to the Soviet Union.

In October 1962, the Soviet Union attempted to install medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba, which provoked the Cuban Missile Crisis. The Soviets claimed that the warheads were defensive in nature, while the United States claimed that the warheads were offensive in nature. The crisis proved to be one of the most tense moments in the Cold War. After a series of messages between Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviets agreed to dismantle the missile sites in Cuba. In return, the United States promised that it would not invade Cuba. In addition, the United States promised, albeit secretly, to remove nuclear warheads from Turkey. To appease the Cubans, the Soviet Union promised to provide Castro's regime with extensive military and economic aid. Castro used this aid to develop a cradle-to-grave

social welfare state. This program was relatively successful until communism collapsed in Eastern Europe in 1991.

The cornerstone of Castro's foreign policy was the attempt to spread Communist revolutions around the world. Castro spent millions of dollars and deployed thousands of troops in Africa and Latin America, which inhibited diplomatic relations with many nations. During the 1980s, Castro sent fifty thousand troops to Angola and twenty-four thousand troops to Ethiopia. Castro's foreign adventures, however, were curtailed during the 1990s after Soviet funding was terminated. Cuba has abandoned, for the most part, its financial support of revolutionary movements in Latin America and Africa. Nevertheless, the Cuban government continues to maintain relations with several revolutionary groups throughout Latin America and Africa.

The cessation of massive infusions of Soviet aid also produced a severe economic crisis in Cuba. Castro gradually opened up the economy to limited private enterprise and encouraged foreign investment. Nevertheless, the United States continued to enforce the economic embargo that had been in place since the 1960s. In 1996, the Helms-Burton Act tightened the economic embargo. Although Castro remains a totalitarian pariah in the Western Hemisphere, he has attempted to portray his regime as a moderate Socialist state. In anticipation of Pope John Paul II's 1998 visit, which was a huge public relations event for the aging dictator, Castro declared Christmas an official holiday in 1997. In 2000, Cuba signed a barter agreement with Venezuela that provided for the exchange of Venezuelan petroleum for Cuban goods and services. Cuba's arrangement with Venezuela has kept the Cuban economy afloat.

## Jamaica

After three centuries of colonial rule, the British government granted Jamaica internal autonomy in 1953. The United Kingdom, however, continued to control defense and foreign relations. In 1958, Jamaica joined the West Indies Federation (WIF). Nationalist labor leader Alexander Bustamante, however, opposed Jamaican participation in the WIF and convinced Jamaican voters to opt out of the association in 1961. Jamaica became independent on August 6, 1962, with Bustamante serving as the nation's first prime minister. Jamaica is a member of the British Commonwealth.

On the day after independence, Bustamante described Jamaica as a pro-US, anti-Communist

nation. During the 1960s, Jamaica frequently sided with the United States when voting on Cold War issues in the United Nations. In the early 1970s, however, Prime Minister Michael Manley decided that Jamaica had to reorient its foreign policy away from that of the United Kingdom and the United States. In 1972, Manley's government granted diplomatic recognition to Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba. Relations between Jamaica and the United States deteriorated when Manley supported Cuban interventionism in Africa. Relations with the United States, however, improved greatly when Edward Seaga became prime minister in 1980. Seaga worked closely with the Ronald Reagan administration. Reagan made Jamaica the centerpiece of his Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). Reagan and Seaga established a close working relationship. Seaga was the first foreign leader to visit Reagan after his inauguration in January 1981, and in 1982 Reagan was the first US president to visit Jamaica. Seaga supported the US intervention in Grenada in 1983, as well as the continuation of US economic sanctions against Cuba.

Although relations with the United Kingdom remain close, economic relations with the United States are predominant. The United States is Jamaica's most important trading partner, and almost 1 million US tourists visit Jamaica annually. The Jamaican government actively seeks to increase US foreign investment in Jamaica. In addition, the US government provides millions of dollars per year for development projects. Since Jamaica is the Caribbean's largest producer of marijuana and an important transshipment point for cocaine, US government officials have worked with Jamaican officials to limit the flow of illegal drugs to the United States. Since 1997, US officials have had the permission to enter Jamaica's territorial waters and search ships in an effort to fight drug trafficking. Since 2000, Jamaican authorities have seized several tons of marijuana annually and have actively prosecuted thousands of drug smugglers.

### **Trinidad and Tobago**

The British, who acquired Trinidad in 1797 and Tobago in 1814, incorporated the two islands into a single colony in 1888. Trinidad and Tobago joined the West Indies Federation (WIF) in 1958. In 1962, following the example set by Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the WIF, which effectively ended the association. Trinidad and Tobago became an independent nation on August 31, 1962, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations.

Eric Williams was prime minister from 1962 until his death in 1981. Williams supported greater economic integration in the Caribbean. In 1967, Trinidad and Tobago became the first Commonwealth nation to join the Organization of American States (OAS). Although the nation has maintained an independent voting record in the United Nations, Trinidad and Tobago has maintained a friendly relationship with the United States. Significantly, Trinidad and Tobago insisted on maintaining diplomatic relations with Communist nations, especially Cuba. In 1972, Trinidad and Tobago, along with Jamaica, Barbados, and Guyana, established diplomatic relations with Cuba. Although Williams desired relations with Cuba, he consistently pointed out the superiority of the capitalist system over the Socialist system. Trinidad and Tobago opposed the US-led invasion of Grenada in 1983. In 1994, Trinidad and Tobago supported US peacekeeping efforts in Haiti.

As the most industrialized country in the English-speaking Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago has a commanding presence in the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). Trinidad and Tobago is committed to free-market economic policies and encourages foreign investment. By 2000, virtually all state-owned industries and corporations had been privatized. US investors have more than \$1 billion invested in Trinidad and Tobago. Trinidad and Tobago supplies the majority of the liquefied natural gas imported by the United States. In addition, the nation has cooperated with the United States in the war on drug trafficking.

### **Barbados**

Barbados achieved independence on November 30, 1966, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. Before independence, Barbados was a member of the West Indies Federation. In 1973, Barbados was one of the founding members of CARICOM. Since independence, Barbados has transformed itself from an economy dependent on the sugar industry to an economy based on tourism. More than 1 million tourists, mainly from the United Kingdom and the United States, visit Barbados each year. Barbados receives extensive economic and military aid packages from the United States. Barbados has also cooperated with US authorities in the war on drug trafficking.

Prior to 1982, Barbados's foreign policy was primarily driven by economic issues. Although Barbados established relations with Cuba in 1972, those relations were distant. In 1982, Prime Minister

Tom Adams began to focus on national and regional security concerns. Adams was concerned about the Marxist government of Maurice Bishop in neighboring Grenada. In 1983, Adams was the biggest supporter of the US-led invasion of Grenada. In 1994, Barbados supported the US initiative to promote democracy in Haiti.

### **Bahamas**

Although the United Kingdom continued to control defense and foreign affairs, the Bahamas were granted internal self-government in 1964. Independence was achieved on July 10, 1973, and the Bahamas became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The economy is almost entirely dependent on tourism. More than 4 million tourists—mostly from the United States—visit the Bahamas annually. Virtually all food and manufactured imports come from the United States. The Bahamas maintain a strong international relationship with the United States. Although the Bahamas has diplomatic relations with Cuba, the two nations do not have resident ambassadors. The largest threat to internal security is the massive infusion of illegal Haitian immigrants. The Bahamas has cooperated with the United States in the war on drug trafficking.

### **Grenada**

Grenada achieved independence from the United Kingdom on February 7, 1974, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. Grenada's first prime minister, Eric Gairy, was overthrown in a bloodless *coup d'état* by the New Jewel Movement (NJM), which established a Marxist government with ties to Cuba, the Soviet Union, and other Communist nations. The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) turned Grenada into a Soviet–Cuban client state. The stockpiling of vast quantities of Soviet-supplied weapons was a matter of great concern to Grenada's neighbors. In October 1983, an internal power struggle resulted in the death of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Following a period of pandemonium, a US–Caribbean force landed on the island to restore order and stability. Since 1984, US–Grenada relations have been friendly and the United States has provided significant amounts of economic aid. The United States, Venezuela, and Taiwan have embassies in Grenada. Grenada has embassies in the United Kingdom, the United States, Venezuela, and Canada. Grenada

strongly supported US efforts to restore democracy to Haiti in 1994.

### **Dominica**

Dominica was granted independence on November 3, 1978, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. The main priority in foreign relations is economic development. Prime Minister Eugenia Charles was a strong supporter of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). Charles also defended President Ronald Reagan's October 1983 invasion of Grenada at the Commonwealth Summit in India in November 1983. The government of Dominica supported the US initiative to restore democracy in Haiti in 1994. The United States has funded multimillion-dollar development projects in Dominica.

### **St. Lucia**

St. Lucia achieved independence on February 22, 1979, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. The main priority in foreign relations is economic development. St. Lucia seeks to conduct its foreign policy primarily through its membership in the OECS. St. Lucia participated in the 1983 invasion of Grenada and maintains a cooperative relationship with the United States.

### **St. Vincent and the Grenadines**

St. Vincent and the Grenadines achieved independence on October 27, 1979, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. The main priority in foreign relations is economic development. St. Vincent and the Grenadines seeks to conduct its foreign policy primarily through its membership in the OECS. St. Vincent and the Grenadines supports US efforts to eradicate drug trafficking in the Caribbean.

### **Antigua and Barbuda**

Antigua and Barbuda achieved independence on November 1, 1981, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. The main priority in foreign relations is economic development. During the Cold War,

Antigua and Barbuda's government was vehemently anti-Communist. Antigua and Barbuda supported the US peacekeeping initiative in Haiti in 1994. In addition, Antigua and Barbuda has cooperated with US agents in the war on drug trafficking.

## St. Kitts and Nevis

St. Kitts and Nevis achieved independence on September 19, 1983, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. The main priority in foreign relations is economic development. Relations with the United States have been friendly, and the United States has supplied the nation with generous economic aid packages. St. Kitts and Nevis sent a contingent of police to participate in the US invasion of Grenada in 1983.

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See also **Alliance for Progress; Anguilla; Antigua and Barbuda; Aristide, Jean-Bertrand; Bahamas; Barbados; Batista y Zaldívar, Fulgencio; Betancourt, Rómulo; Bishop, Maurice; Bosch, Juan; Caribbean Basin Initiative; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Caribbean Development Bank; Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA); Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Castro, Fidel; Cayman Islands; Commonwealth (British); Cuban Revolution; Dominica; Dominican Republic; Drug Trade; Duvalier, François; Grenada; Guadeloupe; Haiti; Jamaica; Martinique; Netherlands Antilles; New Jewel Movement; Puerto Rico; St. Christopher and Nevis; St. Lucia; St. Vincent and the Grenadines; Trinidad and Tobago; Trujillo, Rafael Leonidas; Virgin Islands (British); Virgin Islands (United States); Williams, Eric**

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## CARTELS

### Cartels Defined

A “cartel” is an arrangement among some or all suppliers that is designed to restrict output, raise prices, and increase the profits of members. Within most developed countries, cartels are illegal, but this was not always the case, and they were common in the United States prior to the antitrust Sherman Act (1890), in Germany prior to 1945, and in the United Kingdom until 1956.

Less-developed countries (LDCs) are affected by cartels in two main ways—as members of international producer cartels, such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and as importers and consumers of goods produced by private, international “hard-core” cartels, such as those recently prosecuted in lysine and carbon electrodes.

### International Producer Cartels

The centerpiece of the New International Economic Order, which was widely discussed in the 1970s and sought to usher in a new relationship between developed and developing countries, was supposed to be the development of International Commodity Agreements.

Ostensibly, the main purpose of the agreements was to stabilize prices. The main instrument for achieving price stability was the establishment of



buffer stocks, which are features of the tin, rubber, and cocoa agreements.

In practice, however, most LDC producers hoped and perhaps expected that the commodity agreements would increase the prices they received over the long term. Buffer stocks could not achieve this, but export controls might, and such controls were features of the sugar, coffee, and tin agreements. In these cases, it is meaningful to refer to them as cartels.

Table 1 summarizes the features of eight of the most important producer agreements; with the possible exceptions of rubber and cocoa, all have been referred to as cartels at some point. But with the exception of the diamond cartel, and perhaps OPEC (which is considered in more detail in upcoming paragraphs), none of the other commodity agreements is currently effective at raising the long-term producer price; Gilbert (1996) captures the idea well in an article entitled “International Commodity Agreements: An Obituary Notice.”

To get a better sense of the dynamics of producer cartels, consider the three cases of tin, coffee, and diamonds:

- *Tin:* Although tin producers had cooperated on and off since 1921, the first International Tin Agreement was concluded in 1954 and came into operation in 1956. The International Tin Council (ITC) established and maintained a buffer stock, using it to stabilize prices. In this, it had some success; between 1957 and 1977, the price fell below the (admittedly low) price floor just once and then only briefly. Prices were high in the 1970s as Malaysia’s once-dominant production fell, and the minimum price was raised; consumers switched to aluminum, and Brazil entered the market. By the early 1980s, the ITC had an unsustainably large buffer stock, and when the tin market collapsed in November 1985, the ITC owed

£900 million, most of it inadequately backed by collateral in the form of tin that had halved in value.

- *Coffee:* The first international coffee agreement was established in 1962, when Brazil was clearly the dominant oligopolist and was in a position to punish noncooperation (by releasing stocks of coffee). During the following decade, coffee prices were higher and more volatile than in the previous decade. The coffee agreements ended in 1989, when the United States refused to participate; by then, new producers had eroded Brazil’s position, and Brazil itself was increasingly ambivalent about the desirability of trying to boost the price of coffee; it is the second largest coffee market in the world. Pasour (1990) argues that commodity agreements “tend to freeze the pattern of production, protect high-cost producers, and restrict the growth of lower-cost supplies.” This applies well to coffee.
- *Diamonds:* De Beers sought to establish a diamond cartel in 1934 in response to a depression-era drop in diamond prices. The firm has a stake in half of the world’s twenty-three operating diamond mines and uses the technique of *single channel marketing*, whereby it buys diamonds from suppliers and then sells them through the Central Selling Organization. The market for rough diamonds is worth \$6 billion annually and is an important source of revenue for several developing countries, including Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola. Other major producers are Australia, Canada, and Russia. Executives of De Beers never travel to the United States, where they risk prosecution for their anticompetitive practices.

Table 1: The major cartel-like international commodity agreements

	Diamonds	Oil	Tin	Coffee	Rubber	Cocoa	Bauxite	Sugar
Year of first agreement	1934	1960	1954	1962	1980	1972	1974	1954
End of cartel-like agreement	2000	...	1985	1989	1999	1988	1994	1983
Were export controls used?	Yes	From 1983	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Was a buffer stock used?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Approximate share of market (%)	78–90	31–56	72–86	90–95	80	?	73–80	?
Organization	De Beers	OPEC	ITC	ICO	INRO	ICCO	IBA	ISA

Sources: Gilbert (1996); Alhajji and Huettner (2000).

Note: Other international commodity agreements, with limited cartel features, include copper, iron ore, bananas, olive oil, and wheat.

## Is OPEC a Cartel?

At least 250 economics textbooks use OPEC as a classic example of a cartel. Formed in 1960, OPEC is typically seen as the prime mover behind the four-fold rise in the price of oil in 1973, its subsequent doubling in 1979, and the maintenance of high oil prices in the early 1980s.

This view is controversial, and several observers argue that it is misleading to view OPEC as a cartel (or at least as an effective cartel). They point out that OPEC did not set production quotas until 1983; did not monitor quotas (that is, try to identify cheaters) until 1985; has never, as an organization, moved to punish quota violations; and faces elastic demand because its share of the world market is comparatively modest. In addition, they note that there are alternative and better explanations for oil price movements. The rise in price in 1973 was associated with the Arab–Israeli war, high world demand, and a drop in new discoveries; the jump in 1979 was due to the Iran–Iraq war; the high prices of the early 1980s were sustained because Saudi Arabia, the dominant exporter, reduced output sharply; and the low prices of the late 1980s occurred despite OPEC quotas and were due to the ending of Saudi Arabia’s unsustainable program of output reductions.

The ineffectiveness of OPEC as a cartel may be contrasted with the effectiveness of the major oil companies (the *Seven Sisters*: BP, Esso, Gulf, Mobil, Shell, Socal, and Texaco) that formed a cartel in 1928 after a secret meeting in Achnacarry, Scotland. The companies agreed to divide the market and were highly profitable during the subsequent four decades.

## Private International “Hard-Core” Cartels

In July 1995, the US Department of Justice announced an investigation into a private international cartel that sought to control the market for lysine, an additive to animal feed. This was the first of a number of successful investigations into international “hard-core” cartels; since then, the United States and European Union (EU) authorities have pursued 167 cartels (Carlton and Perloff 2005), levying fines over this period of more than \$4 billion. Most developing countries have weak laws governing cartels; Brazil and Mexico are exceptions, but only the latter has levied a fine on a hard-core cartel. The victim was ADL, a ringleader in the lysine cartel, and a senior executive famously declared that “our competitors are our friends; our customers are the enemy.”

As theory would predict, most of the cartels were formed in industries with relatively homogeneous products where the lead time for investments was long and the top four sellers accounted for at least four-fifths of the market. The reasons for the surge in cartels—most were formed during 1988 through 1992—are not entirely clear, but may have reflected lax enforcement in the United States and a change in managerial compensation practices that put a premium on boosting profits.

Although many of the cartels operated only in the EU or NAFTA countries, more than half of the cartelized sales were global and affected developing countries to at least some extent. Connor (2003) estimates that these forty-two global cartels on average involved 4.9 companies, had combined sales over about the period 1990–2002 of about \$111 billion (see Table 2), and on average overcharged by 27%.

Table 2: Summary of available information on known international cartels, 1990–2002\*

	No. of cartels	No. of companies per cartel	Total sales affected, \$ billion	Overcharge rate, %
Total	98	5.9**	211	25
<i>Of which:</i>				
Global	42	4.9	111	27
EU or NAFTA only	55	8.3**	102	34
<i>Memo:</i>				
In food and feed ingredients	42	3.8	86	26
In organic chemicals	50	4.9	102	27
In cement [EU]	1	42	61	25
In graphite, carbon products	7	4.7	6	n.a.
In other industries	33	11.8	11	n.a.

Source: Connor (2003).

Notes: \*Approximate time period. Sales refer to entire period.

\*\* Excludes Eurozone bank cartel.

n.a., not applicable.

Table 3: Imports from known cartels by country category, 1997

	Low income	Low-middle income	Upper-middle income	All developing countries
Value of imports from cartels, \$ billion	12.0	23.4	45.7	81.1
Cartelized imports as % of total imports	8.8	5.3	7.3	6.7
Cartelized imports as % of gross domestic product (GDP)	1.1	0.9	1.5	1.2

Source: Levenstein and Suslow (2001).

Note: Classification of countries follows the World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001*.

At the time that they were first identified, the typical global cartel had been in existence for at least six years.

International (global) cartels would impose costs on consumers in developing countries. The effects on LDC producers are less clear; on the one hand, they may benefit from the higher prices created by the cartel, but there is also some evidence that cartelized firms made access to technology more difficult and took active steps, such as predatory pricing or filing antidumping suits, to keep LDC production at bay. There are growing calls to ban hard-core cartels under a World Trade Organization competition agreement.

Based on information of thirty-seven international cartels prosecuted by the United States or EU in the 1990s, coupled with moderately detailed information on trade, Levenstein and Suslow (2001) estimate that cartelized products represented approximately 2.9% of LDC imports in 1997 (see Table 3). Under the reasonable assumption that these goods were overpriced by a fifth, then private international hard-core cartels overcharged LDCs by \$16 billion in 1997, an amount equivalent to one-third of official development assistance in that year.

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**See also New International Economic Order (NIEO); Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)**

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### CASTE SYSTEMS

Caste is an age-old institution, evolved through several centuries. As a system of stratification, it has existed in many parts of the world and is being practiced today in some countries. But the caste system of closed endogamous descent groups as prevalent and practiced in India is not found elsewhere (Bayly 2000; Kolenda 1984). Caste is a well-entrenched phenomenon in countries like India.

"Caste" comes from the Portuguese word *casta* meaning species, breed, race, or lineage. The Portuguese first used this word to refer to various segmental groups found in the Indian society. By definition, caste is a form of social stratification involving a system of hierarchically arranged, closed, endogamous strata, the membership of which is ascribed and between which contact is restricted and mobility is impossible (Jary and Jary 2000). In other words, caste is characterized chiefly by hierarchical arrangement, endogamous nature, and membership by birth.

Caste groups have their own distinctive culture manifested in their behaviour, mannerisms, dress, speech, habitat, rituals, superstitions, beliefs, and religious practices, as well as in every other socio-economic, political aspects of their life. Under this system, the social position of individuals is determined not by their wealth but by their ascriptive membership. Each caste is a large-scale descent group and forms an interdependent cooperative but unequalitarian segment consisting of a set of occupational groups, ordered by purity and pollution customs (Kolenda 1984). Pollution separates castes as distinctive entities.

Due to the differences in the ideologies of hierarchy and inequality, the caste system cannot be compared to other systems of racial stratification. Society is divided into permanent groups that are specialized, hierarchically arranged, and separated in matters of consumption, marriage, sex, and ceremonies related to social life such as birth, marriage, and death (Dumont 1970).

The term “caste” was used to refer to tribes and castes in India until the nineteenth century (Kolenda 1984). Caste groups with varying degrees of respectability and circles of social intercourse are a pan-Indian scheme (Srinivas 1952). According to the census count, in 1901 there were 2,378 castes in India; it is estimated that there are about three thousand caste groups presently found in India, formed of mixed unions between different *varnas* or between the *varna* and the offspring of mixed unions.

The caste system is a complex one composed of several Hindu ideas, namely, pollution, purity, and social units of *jatis*, *varnas*, and *dharmas* (religious duties). The system is, however not typical to Hindus alone but is common among Muslims, Christians, and Jews with relative variations. Muslim caste, for instance, differs from the Hindu caste wherein no ethico-religious ideas of hierarchy or regulation of intercaste relations are found. In addition, no *varna* categories are spotted among the Muslims (Srinivas 1965).

The essence of caste is *varna*. *Varna* denotes the division of Hindu society into four orders of Brahmana (Brahmin priest and scholar), Kshatriya (ruler and soldiers), Vaishya (merchant), and Sudra (peasant, labourer, and servant). The Brahmana, Kshatriya, and Vaishya are the “twice-born” castes, while the Sudras are not. There are also the untouchables who are not part of the *varna* system but fall outside the four *varnas*. Although the caste system is found in various forms in different parts of the world, including Asia and Africa, India is known for both its origin and its rigorous practice.

## Origin

The expressions of caste are evident in the sacred writings of the *Vedas*, compiled between 1500 and 1000 BCE in India. Several factors, both individual and collective in nature, have contributed to the emergence of caste system. Conquest, race differences, religion, and economic development are prominent among the factors (Kroeber 1930). According to the Hindu tradition, the caste system is originated from four *varnas*. Brahmins sprang from the mouth of the deity, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from the thigh, and the Sudra from the feet. Brahmins are assigned divinity and are allowed to perform the duties of studying, teaching, sacrificing, assisting others to do sacrifice, giving alms, and receiving gifts. Designated as the source of strength, Kshatriyas are allowed to perform the duties of studying, sacrificing, giving alms, using weapons, and protecting treasure and life. For the Vaishyas, work is important. They are supposed to study, do sacrifice, give alms, cultivate, and engage in trade, while Sudras serve all the three higher *varnas* (Hutton 1946).

Occupational theorists hold that occupation is the sole basis of caste distinction, and the caste system is a process of evolution of occupations (Nesfield 1885). Some believe that the origin of the system should be observed in the peculiar circumstances of a complex system of a society with a cross-division of guilds, which is largely a matter of colour. There are also scholars who argue that rituals are responsible for the birth of the caste system. Hutton finds reason in the geographical isolation of the Indian peninsula for the origin of the system. Apart from this, for him, there are other valid reasons, such as the primitive idea that food transmits qualities as well as the ideas of totemism, taboo, pollution, ablution, ritual sacrifice, ancestor worship, and sacraments. Beliefs in reincarnation, the doctrine of *karma*, hereditary occupation, and trade and craft secrets are added to his list. Not less important is the exploitation by a highly intelligent hierarchy that evolved a religious philosophy in this regard (Hutton 1946).

## Features

The caste system operates within a limited locality, say in a village or in a few neighbouring villages (Kolenda 1984). Characteristically it has several identifying features. The following paragraphs describe the prominent ones.

First, the system divides the society into segments, and therefore, a caste-based society is not a homogeneous one. Castes are the groups with a well-developed life of their own. The membership in a caste group is determined by birth. Second, it is based on hierarchy. Caste groups are ranked in the order of social precedence. In India, for instance, Brahmins are at the top, while the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras follow them in a descending order of hierarchy. The castes that come under each of these four *varnas* are again hierarchically positioned. Nonetheless, there is ambiguity in the matter of the order among the castes, particularly between the middle rungs (Srinivas 1991b). Caste groups have their own rights, duties, and privileges. The higher castes enjoy the power and privileges that are customarily denied to the lower castes. Lower castes are expected to provide services to the upper castes at times of special social occasions, such as birth, marriage, and death.

Third, the caste system has its features of restrictions on feeding and social intercourse. Restrictions imposed on giving and accepting food and drinks from other castes are for retaining the purity of castes. The castes from whom individuals could accept cooked food and drinking water are either equal or superior, whereas the castes from whom they do not accept food and water are inferior. Fourth, caste groups have civil and religious disabilities and privileges. Caste groups live in separate quarters, and the lower groups will stay away in isolation, usually away from the high castes. Castes who are at a lower level are not allowed to use public amenities including wells, roads, and schools in the village. The shared belief is that wells get polluted if a low caste person draws water from them. Entry to public places including places of worship is decided by the principles of pollution and purity. Lower castes are not only prohibited from wearing dress and ornaments similar to that of the higher castes but also not allowed to follow the customs of the higher castes. On occasions of birth, marriage, and death, they perform extra duties to the higher castes for which they are paid money or given gifts. This practice is known as *jajmani*, *bara balute*, *mirasi*, or *adade*. The relationship between a *jajman* and the lower caste is unequal, but stable, sustained on mutuality and is inherited (Srinivas 1965).

Fifth, caste groups are allowed to have only restricted choice of occupation. No caste groups have been given the freedom to change their occupation but to follow their hereditary one. *Hali* system (*hali* means plough), for instance, prohibits the twice-born from ploughing the earth (Ghurye 1979; Kolenda 1984). Finally, caste systems have restrictions on marriage. Caste groups are divided into subgroups,

and the members of the subgroups are not permitted to marry those from other groups. Endogamy is strictly adhered to.

Caste groups have their own separate governing bodies called caste *Panchayats*. Authorized to deal with all aspects of the customs and practices of caste groups, *Panchayats* act as a council for each caste group. The council can also decide on matters such as eating, drinking, adultery, fornication, or any other caste affair. Members are liable for punishment if they do not observe the caste prescriptions. Punishments are rendered in the form of outcasting, giving fines, offering feasts to the offender's castes, and assigning corporal and religious expiation (Ghurye 1979). The caste system, in other words, is characterised by unique features like hierarchy; endogamy; hypergamy; occupational association; restrictions on food, drink, and smoking; caste organisation; and privileges and disabilities.

A caste group may be labelled as "dominant" when it preponderates numerically over other caste groups in a given area and when it wields overriding economic and political powers. When a caste group is able to enjoy one form of dominance over the other castes, it can frequently acquire other forms of dominance as well. Numerical strength and wealth can take a caste to the upper levels of the ritual hierarchy. In other words, when a particular caste group changes its rituals and ways of life along the lines of the higher castes, it will be able to move up in the social ladder. In some cases, the dominance of a caste group becomes decisive with all the powers, including the maintenance of law and order. It can punish those individuals who breach the caste customs and practices and ensure the observance of caste codes to the members (Srinivas 1991a).

## Caste Systems in the World

The caste system, albeit not in the way it is practised in India, is observed in several countries but in variant forms. The Spartan division of the society into citizens, helots, and slaves shows the signs of a caste system. In the Roman Empire, there were patricians, plebeians, and slaves. These classifications, however, were on the basis of land holding and wealth, not on the criteria of the Indian caste system (Kroeber 1930). Some, like Lloyd Warner, describe the blacks and whites in the United States as caste groups rather than races because they are socially and not biologically defined categories (Beteile 1992). Bourdieu referred to the racial divide between whites and Muslims in colonial Algeria as a caste system.

Caste-like groupings also exist in China and Madagascar (Bayly 2000). In both South Africa and the southern United States, caste has been used to explain the systems of racial stratification (Jalali 1992). In Fiji, there are chieftains associated with their own clans who have a specific function to perform. These castes are graded according to their functions.

Burma under the Burmese monarchy had seven distinct classes of outcastes: Pagoda slaves, professional beggars, executioners, lepers, deformed and mutilated persons, and coffinmakers. Each of them had specific functions (occupations) and positions in the society. People from these outcaste classes could not enter a monarchy or become Buddhist monks (Hutton 1946). Japan is often referred to as “a land of caste” though a clear hereditary or occupational distinction is not made out (Kroeber 1930). Japan’s *bushido* code defines a hierarchy consisting of warriors (*samurai*), commoners, merchants, and untouchables; this hierarchy more or less resembles the *Varna* system of India. But this hierarchy is not associated with the proliferation of smaller caste groups (Bayly 2000). The *Eta* in Japan constitutes a community of outcastes, who reside on the fringes of the Japanese society. They are considered subhuman, wear distinctive clothing, and have no social activities with other classes. Though the Japanese government had abolished all such feudal discrimination way back in 1871, the position of *Eta* in the society has not improved. They are still being discriminated against at school, at places of employment, and in trade and marriage (Hutton 1946).

In Africa, among the Masai, there is a tribe of hunters called *Wandorobo*. Resemblances to a typical caste system are found in the modern Africa, too. Among the Somali of the East Horn, there are certain outcaste classes of *Tomal*, *Yebir*, and *Midgan*. Pollution and taboo are common among them. The case is no different in East Africa either. In the Rwanda and Burundi regions, there are three racially and economically distinct groups, namely the *Tussi*, *Hutu*, and *Twa*. With the *Twa*, no *Hutu* or *Tussi* will enter into marriage. The *Tussi* look down on the *Hutu* for eating mutton and goat-fish. In the Ibo society, a group of people called *Osu* offer similarities to a caste group. The *Osu* became a class apart and live in segregated areas. Calling anyone an *Osu* is an insult.

Among the Jews and Gypsies, the system is in vogue. In Egypt, the fighting men were divided into two categories. They were, for generations, not allowed to learn and practice any other craft or trade. The swineherds in Egypt were not granted permission to enter temples. Being a priest was also a hereditary occupation. Herodotus mentions seven “clans” of priests, as well as fighting men,

herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and navigators in Egypt. There are also classes of craftsmen, farmers, and artificers in Egypt that were hereditary and compulsory.

As it is clear, caste is being practiced in several parts of the world in varying forms. However, the most rigorous form of its practice is observed in southern Asia, specifically in India.

## Caste Today

In the wake of modernisation, changes in caste systems are evident in societies where the system is strictly followed. India is no exception. The system in India has been a hindrance to the development of the society. However, the significance of the caste system on the lives of Indians is on the decline, particularly in the urban and suburban areas and among the educated and professionals. Because the society is under the influence of Western ways of life, values, and outlook, the caste system ceases to exert a great influence on individuals (Srinivas 1965). Caste becomes less and less a criterion that decides social interaction, prestige, and social position. Hypergamy is now not strictly followed in many parts of India. Rules relating to pollution and purity are no more rigidly observed.

The link between the caste and occupation is breaking. Occupations are no more associated with particular castes. The resultant occupational mobility has weakened the importance of the caste system in the modern society. Since independence in 1947, India has passed several constitutional provisions to provide for reservations in education and employment affecting acceptance and mobility to the lower castes. Attempts by the lower castes to liberate themselves from the bonds of the caste system and from the clutches of the domination of higher castes have paid-off well. Sanskritization, as Srinivas called it, helped the lower castes to improve their social standing. “Sanskritization” is a process by which the lower castes emulate the Brahmin style of life, adopt the Sanskrit rituals, and hire the services of Brahmin priests to purify their customs. As part of this process of Sanskritization, a lower caste may adopt vegetarianism and even give up drinking liquor.

Caste as a system of social stratification, however, maintains its hold over the prevailing social structure and is manifest, both covertly and overtly, in a number of realms of social intercourse. Endogamy is not that stringently followed now as is the case with the practices of purity and pollution (Beteile 2002). But there are forbidden areas of interaction between castes, preventing their intensive association and

assimilation. Despite this, the impact of the caste on the social structure and political and economic spheres has not been negligible. Caste is still a potent source of social identity and political mobilisation. Specifically, caste has evolved its importance in manifold directions: employing as a means of promoting political ambitions, relating to labour force recruitment, and involving with religious beliefs and customs (Thorner 2002). Organized endeavours of caste groups have brought them political and economic advantages in the form of increased share in job reservations and in the development projects and programmes designed by the government. Political organisation along caste lines has resulted in improving the presence of caste groups in various political decision-making bodies of the country. Constitutional provisions, combined with the enactment of new legislations, and the timely constitution of commissions to look into the position of castes have changed the lot of particularly backward castes in India. All these changes have had a cumulative effect on the economic well-being of the castes, who started suffering from disabilities before 1947. If the trends in India are any indication, the caste system will lose its vigour to the class system in the new era of liberalisation and globalisation.

RADHAMANY SOORYAMOORTHY

See also **India**

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### CASTRO, FIDEL

Fidel Castro Ruiz was born into a prosperous sugar-planting family in rural eastern Cuba, probably on August 13, 1926. He attended the country's best Jesuit schools, graduating from Colegio Belen in Havana in 1945 and going on to earn a doctorate in law at the University of Havana. He practiced law for two years before becoming a left-wing revolutionary. His first act was an unsuccessful attack on the military government of Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar on July 26, 1953, when he attacked the Cuban army's Moncada barracks. He spent fifteen months in prison but was released as part of a general amnesty, after which he went into exile in the United States and Mexico. He returned to Cuba in December 1956 with a guerrilla force. Fighting began in the Sierra Mountains, and Castro seized power on January 1, 1959, becoming prime minister after Batista fled the country. He then abolished the office of prime minister to become first Head of State, then Council of State President, and finally, Council of Ministers president in 1976. Castro gradually imposed a Communist-style regime over the following years, including land reform, widespread nationalisation, and, eventually, central planning. Such reforms caused a hostile reaction in the United States that culminated in a total trade embargo being imposed in 1960. The Soviet Union thus increased the aid it was giving to Cuba, and this became vital to the Cuban economy. It allowed Castro to introduce important domestic initiatives, especially improvements in literacy and health care, along with an activist and reasonably independent foreign policy. Castro became a leading figure among less-developed countries, and Cuba had an influential role in Latin America and Africa. It became an important nation in the Group of 77, chaired the nonaligned movement (1979–1983), and was elected onto the United Nations Security Council in October 1989.

Castro gained this leadership role through an active policy of aiding poorer nations, particularly those in Africa. Cuba's military interventions, especially in Angola (1975 and 1987) and Ethiopia (1977), gained most attention in the West as the arrival of thousands of troops proved decisive in these wars. These Cuban interventions, along with support for

revolutionaries in Latin America, continually irked the United States and prevented any attempts at reconciliation. In Africa, however, Cuba was generally supported as it was fighting colonialism in Angola and opposing a military attempt to change postimperial borders in Ethiopia. This was an important issue among the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which Cuba had helped to form.

Cuba was also one of the largest providers of civilian aid during the Cold War; Castro sent a huge number of aid workers to Africa, including many doctors. By the mid-1980s, there was one Cuban aid worker in Africa for every 625 Cubans; the equivalent figure for the United States was one for every thirty-four thousand. The first doctors were sent in 1963 when many professionals were leaving Cuba because of the revolution. Despite this, however, Castro did not charge for his aid until 1978, when he began to ask for a relatively modest fee and then only from oil-producing nations. These Cuban doctors were therefore cheaper than those being offered by Western powers. A large number of teachers, especially primary school ones, have also gone to Africa and other less-developed countries with up to twenty-two thousand students going the other way each year because of Cuban scholarships allowing them to study at a high school or university.

In domestic policy, education has been Castro's most impressive achievement. Since the revolution, primary school education has become nearly universal, and literacy rates have improved immensely. Secondary and higher education remains limited, however, and subject to political interference. Health care has also been cited as a Cuban success, but Castro was able to build upon a good if insufficient pre-Revolutionary infrastructure. However, he has closed the gap in access between rural and urban areas, as well as replaced the large number of doctors who fled in the early 1960s.

Castro has also greatly influenced the Cuban economy that has suffered from his changing beliefs. In the early 1960s, the government nationalised all businesses in Cuba except for the smallest farms and abolished the market and wage differentials. This led to widespread inefficiency and underemployment. The centralised system called for extensive planning, but the technicians needed for this had either fled or been fired. Thus, the economy failed to grow, and rationing was introduced in 1962. In 1964, Castro abandoned the limited attempts made to diversify the Cuban economy and instead concentrated on its traditional staple crop: sugar. A long-term trading deal was signed with the USSR, and this relationship became the foundation of Cuba's economy until the 1980s. The Soviet Union, and later its Eastern

European allies, overpaid for huge amounts of Cuban sugar and provided other subsidies as well.

The Cuban economy recovered in the 1970s as the sugar price rocketed and Castro introduced limited market reforms. However, a drop in the sugar price in the second half of the decade led to an economic downturn. More serious were the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of communism in 1989. Cuba was heavily reliant on aid from these countries by then; Soviet aid alone equalled 10% of Cuba's gross domestic product (GDP), and the ending of this cash flow led to a drop in Cuban living standards. Castro, however, refused to follow the Eastern Europeans into introducing democratic reforms and instead asserted his power. He overhauled the leadership of the government that had been remarkably stable since the mid-1960s and introduced a widespread clamp-down on corruption.

Castro survived the collapse of the Soviet Union, but he has been reduced on the world stage. Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua, and the regime stopped backing rebels in El Salvador and Chile (where General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte had left power). In part, this reflected the ending of Soviet aid, but it also showed the success of Cuba's army, as the side they had backed won in every instance. Subsequently, Cuba has focused upon improving relations with foreign governments, especially in Europe, Latin America, and Canada. Relations with the United States remain fraught, however, despite some successful agreements such as the 1988 deal to end the Angolan war and bilateral migration deals in the 1980s and 1990s. The United States still imposes the trade embargo that was tightened further during the Clinton presidency to include sanctions against companies from Third World countries.

NEIL DENSLOW

**See also Angola; Batista y Zaldívar, Fulgencio; Caribbean: History of Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Chile; Cuban Revolution; Education; El Salvador; Ethiopia; Group of 77; Health Care; Migration; Nicaragua; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Pinochet Ugarte, Augusto**

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## CAYMAN ISLANDS

The Cayman Islands are located west-northwest of Jamaica in the Caribbean Sea, roughly halfway between Cuba and Honduras. This location has been the key to the significance of these otherwise small islands. Originally part of the British colony of Jamaica, the Cayman Islands became a crown colony when Jamaica became independent in 1962. As a crown colony, the Caymans hold the British monarch as head of state, while locally a governor, legislative assembly, and executive council provide for the administration of the islands. All defense needs are provided by Great Britain.

This arrangement is common in British Overseas Territories located at great distances from London.

Prior to the 1800s, no permanent settlements existed in the Caymans, and their chief significance was as an occasional base for pirates in the region. As a part of the British colony of Jamaica, the islands were not large enough to have much political power, and it was after they were separated from Jamaica that the Cayman Islands developed increased importance as a tax haven for Americans and Europeans. The tourism industry also began to develop in the 1960s and is the major industry for the islands today.

The tourist industry has given the Cayman Islands one of the lowest unemployment rates in the Caribbean. The service sector (which includes tourism) makes up more than 95% of the economy of the islands. The Cayman Islands has one of the highest rates of female employment in the region as well. Overall, the Cayman Islands are nearly unique in the Caribbean in that poverty is nonexistent; only the Netherlands Antilles, the Bahamas, and Cuba have their entire populations above the poverty level.

Because the Cayman Islands have no direct taxation, the administrative location of businesses to the islands makes them attractive; along with the Bahamas, the Caymans have become a major center for offshore banking. However, the ease of transfer of funds and bank secrecy rules made offshore financial centers like these centers of money laundering as well. The US General Accounting Office rates the Cayman Islands as one the top two countries in which the transfer of profits from illegal activities takes place. However, since 1984, the government of the Cayman Islands has become more cooperative in

combating money-laundering activities and has forced banks to be more accountable in identifying their customers. The Cayman Islands have also joined with the United States in a treaty to fight the trafficking of narcotics.

Another category of business attracted by the low tax burden of the Caymans is that of multinational corporations, also known as International Business Companies (IBCs). Ivelaw Griffith estimates that more than twenty-six thousand such corporations were registered in the Caymans in 1994, a tremendous number considering that the total population of the islands was less than thirty-three thousand at that time. That number of businesses nearly doubled by 2004. Along with this activity is the practice of merchant shipping companies registering their vessels in countries that have low standards of inspection and low taxes; nearly all the large merchant vessels registered to the Cayman Islands are foreign-owned.

An unusual source of revenue to the government of the Cayman Islands is the production of postage stamps. Rather than simply accommodating the needs of residents of the islands and of tourists, stamps are produced for the purpose of collection. The hobby of philately (stamp collecting) values stamps inversely to the size of the country that produces them; with the Caymans having only 262 square kilometers of territory on all three islands, stamps (both used and unused) are in high demand.

The popularity of the Cayman Islands for tourists, which has provided the basis for the largest segment of the nation's economy, places further demands on the islands themselves. The largest of the islands, Grand Cayman, is the most developed, with an airport and shipping ports as well as the country's largest city, George Town. Each of the other islands, Little Cayman and Cayman Brac, has an airfield, and plans are being developed to accommodate greater numbers of tourists on those islands. Because physical space is limited and large numbers of people will put pressure on the still-unspoiled land and beaches, however, the issue of how to undertake economic development without destroying the attraction of the islands is still being debated. Because the Cayman Islands have no natural resources, any degradation of the islands' appeal to tourists would increase the need to rely on the islands' role as an offshore financial center and would greatly change the level of employment and, subsequently, the standard of living for the people of the Cayman Islands.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Caribbean; Money Laundering**

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### CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

Romanian Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu liked to be called the “Genius of the Carpathians,” but the failed development schemes of his regime of twenty-four years left permanent scars on his country.

Nicolae Ceausescu was born on January 26, 1918, the third of ten children. His childhood was marked by resentment of his alcoholic father. At age fifteen, he was arrested for street fighting. He was attracted to communism as a teenager and is said to have vowed to become “Romania’s Stalin.” He was arrested again at age eighteen for distributing Communist pamphlets. Romania sided with Hitler in World War II, and Ceausescu spent most of the war years in prison. This furthered his political education because he had ample time to talk politics with his cellmate, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who became his Communist mentor and patron. Ceausescu escaped from prison in August 1944, as Soviet troops were approaching Bucharest.

Ceausescu ran for office in 1946 before the Communists had consolidated their grip on Romania. On election day, he shot to death a bank manager who had refused to make a campaign contribution. By 1947, the Romanian Communists had eliminated all rivals. Ceausescu served as minister of agriculture from 1948 to 1950 and as deputy minister of the armed forces from 1950 to 1954. Gheorghiu-Dej emerged as an undisputed Communist boss. Ceausescu became a full member of the Politburo in 1955, and for the next ten years maneuvered to eliminate rivals. When Gheorghiu-Dej died of cancer in 1965, Ceausescu became general secretary of the Communist Party.

Ceausescu refused to follow Moscow’s foreign policy line. He condemned the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia and refused to allow Soviet bases on Romanian soil. For this, he was praised by Presidents Nixon and Ford and was toasted in Washington by President Carter. But his megalomania expanded, and

his paranoia deepened. He appointed his wife, Elena Petrescu, as first deputy prime minister. A 1971 visit by the couple to North Korea and China seemed to fertilize their imaginations regarding the perquisites of unlimited personal power. Ceausescu claimed that “a man like me comes along only once every five hundred years.” Bookstores displayed a thirty-volume set of his speeches. Elena, a high school dropout, now boasted a doctorate in engineering and presided over the Romanian Academy of Sciences. All photographs of Ceausescu had to be edited so that no one could appear taller than he. The tyrant worried that the American CIA might try to kill him by dusting his clothing with poison, so he put on brand new clothes every morning. His secret police force swelled to include 180 thousand agents. A network of underground tunnels and bunkers radiated outward from his People’s Palace in Bucharest, a building 466 feet high with 3,875,000 square feet of floor space. There were forty other presidential palaces around Romania, some of which the leader never visited. Life became much harder for the average Romanian. Because Ceausescu wanted a young population, the government banned contraception and denied medical care to old people. Thousands of unwanted children ended up in orphanages.

The Ceausescus’ downfall came in 1989 when anti-Communist revolutions swept Eastern Europe. Romanian troops fired on demonstrators in Timisoara on December 17, but the overconfident couple flew off to visit Iran the next day. When demonstrations spread to Bucharest they hurried home. Addressing a huge crowd from the balcony of his palace, Ceausescu froze with fear when his people booed him. He and Elena fled by helicopter but were hunted down by the army, which defected to the rebels. On December 25, 1989, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were summarily tried and condemned. Three hundred people volunteered for the three-man firing squad.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe; Romania**

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## CENTRAL AFRICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Joseph Conrad, in his novel *Heart of Darkness*, painted a picture of Central Africa as a home to a horrific legacy of environmental degradation, exploitation, and violence. Conrad's book, written during the heyday of the colonial era, pointed out some of the horrors wrought by colonial-era disruption of native societies. Despite the wave of independence that swept the region in the years since World War II, the damage caused by this disruption, and by later events that augmented it, has still not been repaired.

Central Africa is difficult to define—for the purposes of this discussion, the region includes Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), the Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and the island nation of São Tomé and Príncipe. The region is even more difficult to characterize physically and culturally.

### The Physical Setting

The region spans more than thirty-five degrees of latitude, from the northern tip of Chad at the Tropic of Cancer (23° 26' N) to the southern tip of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (approximately 13° 27' S). Longitudinally, the region stretches almost twenty-five degrees, from the Gulf of Guinea and South Atlantic Ocean east to the Great Rift Valley.

Except for those portions of the region along the Guinea and Atlantic coasts or in the depths of the Great Rift Valley, Central Africa occupies a massive plateau in the center of the continent. Much of the southern portion of the region lies within the Congo Basin, a broad, relatively low-lying region (about one thousand feet above sea level), drained by the Congo River. The northern portion is drained by two river systems—the Sanaga (Cameroon) and the Niger (Central African Republic and southern Chad)—or else is internally drained (northern Chad).

Aside from the Congo Basin and coastal plains, the area is ringed with upland areas in the southern portion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, bordering the Great Rift Valley, through the heart of Cameroon and the Central African Republic and in the Tibesti Massif of northern Chad. Volcanoes are

associated with many of the upland areas in the region. Active volcanoes can be found along the Great Rift Valley in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as in Cameroon and São Tomé and Príncipe. The volcanoes of the Tibesti Massif are young but have been mostly inactive for several thousand years.

### Climate, Flora, and Fauna

With such a wide latitudinal range, it should be no surprise that the region encompasses a diverse array of climates. The core of the region—much of Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon—is a tropical wet climate characterized by high temperatures and high precipitation with no dry season. The year-round growing season with adequate rainfall supports an extensive equatorial rainforest, second in extent only to that of the Amazon and Orinoco basins of South America.

The rainforest is a complex environment. Despite the well-developed forest cover that typically features a tree canopy consisting of three layers—scattered emergents that tower above the main canopy, the canopy itself in which the crowns of trees form a more or less closed layer, and an understory of trees that survive in the shade of the canopy—the soils are often poor because the high temperatures favor rapid decomposition of plant and animal material, and the high precipitation quickly leaches the nutrients from the soil. The rainforest supports a diverse array of animals, including forest elephants, great apes (gorillas, chimpanzees, and bonobos), hippopotami, lions, leopards, crocodiles, a host of monkeys, parrots and other birds, pythons, and many others.

To the north and south of the tropical wet climate zone lie tropical savanna climate belts, characterized by high temperatures but that have strongly seasonal rainfall. The savanna consists of grassland with scattered trees. The frequency of trees decreases with increasing distance from the tropical wet climate zone. Fire is an important component of these ecosystems, helping maintain the grass cover. The savannas are home to many of Africa's characteristic animals, including elephants, rhinoceroses, giraffes, zebras, wildebeest, various antelopes, lions, cheetahs, and baboons.

North of the northern savanna belt is the semiarid grassland—or steppe—of the Sahel. The climate of the Sahel is characterized by high temperatures but also with seasonal rainfall characterized by periodic droughts. Because many of the residents of the region

depend on subsistence farming, the droughts, especially when combined with chronic overgrazing, can be devastating as the fragile vegetation cover is destroyed. In such cases, desert often replaces steppe in a process called *desertification*. In fact, the sands of the Sahara Desert to the north have been spilling into the Sahel, thus permanently moving the boundary between the two regions farther and farther south.

The northern two-thirds of Chad fall within the Sahara, the greatest desert region in the world. The desert climate features clear skies, high temperatures, and little or no rain. The landscape of the Sahara is a mosaic of rocky plains, arid peaks (such as in the Tibesti Massif), and massive sand seas (called ergs) with the huge, ever-moving dunes that the name Sahara conjures up. Plant and animal life in the region is quite sparse.

## Economy

### *Geological and Hydrological Resources*

The nations of Central Africa control a wealth of natural resources. One of the most important exports from the region is petroleum and petroleum products. The petroleum industry, including in some cases refining as well as oil production, has flourished for years in Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon. The Central African Republic and Chad both possess potentially important oil reserves. Chad joined the ranks of oil-producing nations in 2003. The Democratic Republic of the Congo possesses important reserves of another fossil fuel, coal, while the Republic of the Congo and Equatorial Guinea possess reserves of another fossil fuel, natural gas.

Other important geological resources include bauxite (aluminum ore; Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo), cadmium (Democratic Republic of the Congo), cobalt (Democratic Republic of the Congo), copper (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo), diamonds (Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo), germanium (Democratic Republic of the Congo), gold (Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon), iron ore (Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon), kaolin (Chad), lead (Republic of the Congo), manganese (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon), natron (sodium carbonate; Chad), phosphates (Congo Republic),

potash (Republic of the Congo), radium (Democratic Republic of the Congo), silver (Democratic Republic of the Congo), tin (Democratic Republic of the Congo), titanium (Equatorial Guinea), uranium (Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon), and zinc (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo).

In addition to mineral resources, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Gabon, and São Tomé and Príncipe have significant hydropower resources.

### *Biological Resources*

Many of the nations in the region (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tomé and Príncipe) possess large tracts of tropical forest; thus, it is no surprise that timber and wood products are important to their economies. Some of the major tree-based products include coconuts (São Tomé and Príncipe), copra (São Tomé and Príncipe), palm kernels (São Tomé and Príncipe), palm oil (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Gabon), rubber (Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon), and quinine (Democratic Republic of the Congo).

Agriculture is important throughout the region. Important crops include bananas (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe), beans (São Tomé and Príncipe), cassava or manioc (tapioca; Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea), cinnamon (São Tomé and Príncipe), cocoa (Cameroon, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tomé and Príncipe), coffee (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tomé and Príncipe), corn (Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo), cotton (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad), grains (Cameroon), gum Arabic (Chad), millet (Central African Republic, Chad), oilseed (Cameroon), papaya (São Tomé and Príncipe), pepper (São Tomé and Príncipe), peanuts (Chad, Republic of the Congo), potatoes (Chad), rice (Chad, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea), sorghum (Chad), sugar (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Gabon), tea (Democratic

Republic of the Congo), tobacco (Central African Republic), and yams (Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea).

Central Africa features a number of animal-based industries. Livestock (primarily cattle but that may also include camels, goats, and sheep) are economically important in Cameroon, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon, while the poultry industry is a vital part of São Tomé and Príncipe's small economy. The fishing and fish-processing industries are obviously important to the coastal nations (Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tomé and Príncipe), but they are also important in landlocked Chad, which borders on part of Lake Chad, the largest lake in the Sahel. (Chad shares the lake with Cameroon, Niger, and Nigeria.)

### *Other Industries*

The economy of Central Africa has moved beyond extraction. Additional industries based on the region's natural resources include brewing (Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of the Congo, São Tomé and Príncipe), cigarette making (Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo), meatpacking (Chad), soap making (Chad, Republic of the Congo, São Tomé and Príncipe), and textile manufacturing (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, São Tomé and Príncipe).

Other industries include assembly and manufacturing (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo), chemicals production (Equatorial Guinea, Gabon), and ship repair (Gabon).

### **Colonial Legacy**

Despite the region's vast natural wealth, few of the nations have been able to capitalize on their resources to build stable economies and societies. Part of the reason for this failure lies in the colonial history of the region because the colonial powers did not promote independence and economic self-sufficiency among the vassal states.

Most of the central region, like almost the rest of Africa, was gobbled up by European powers in the scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although two of the countries, Equatorial Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe, had been colonies for far longer. Equatorial Guinea, first claimed by Portugal in 1474, was traded to Spain in

1778. São Tomé and Príncipe was colonized by the Portuguese in 1485.

The Portuguese, who pioneered the trade route around the Horn of Africa to Asia, had explored much of the territories along Africa's West Coast. However, they did not claim all of the territories they visited, thus opening the door for other colonial powers. Germany beat the British to establish a colony in what is now Cameroon, in 1884, although the Germans lost the colony in the aftermath of World War I, with France being awarded 80% of Cameroon's present-day territory and Great Britain being awarded the remaining 20%.

France did not wait for World War I to begin claiming colonies in Africa, however. The French acquired much of the region that now makes up the Republic of the Congo (called Middle Congo at the time) between 1882 and 1891. They occupied what is now Gabon in 1885, the Central African Republic between 1885 and 1887, and Chad between 1891 and 1900. The territories were consolidated into French Equatorial Africa in 1910.

Belgium's King Leopold II took over what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo in what was essentially a private colony, called the Congo Free State, between 1877 and 1885. In setting up the colony, Leopold proclaimed a humanitarian interest in the welfare of the native residents. However, the violence of his regime is now notorious, and most of the region's residents were subjected to forced labor. Anything not already owned by Europeans became Leopold's private property, and with the labor of the enslaved population, ivory and rubber were extracted.

Leopold began a war against Tippu Tip—the most powerful Arab slave trader in the world at the time—who competed with Leopold for ivory. The war, carried out primarily by tribal proxies, featured brutal torture of prisoners, including cannibalism, on both sides of the conflict.

As demand for rubber soared in the 1890s, the Belgians used terror as a weapon to scare the populace into increasing production. The Force Publique—led by European officers but with primarily native troops—killed, tortured, raped, and mutilated uncooperative villagers. Mutilation typically involved chopping off the right hands of victims, who more often than not died since they received no medical attention afterward. An accurate estimate of the casualties will never be known, but millions died as a result of Leopold's atrocities.

Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness*, published in 1902, helped call attention to Leopold's regime. Two years later, Sir Roger Casement, the British Consul, published a damning eyewitness report. The Belgian Parliament, in its own report,

confirmed Casement's findings in 1905. Belgium annexed Leopold's domain in 1908, but by then, the rubber boom that drove his brutal profit-taking measures was dead, as were untold numbers of victims.

### **Independence: Steps Forward and Back**

Belgium, Britain, and France were all but spent in the aftermath of World War II. Britain and France began preparing for some degree of autonomy among their colonial holdings. Britain had planned for outright independence but also planned to bide its time until rioting in Accra, the Gold Coast (now Ghana), encouraging the British to accelerate the process. (The Gold Coast was granted independence in 1957.) France was also encouraged to let go of its colonies sooner than it had hoped following its debacle in French Indochina (1950–1954) and the bloody Algerian war of independence (1954–1962).

The Belgian Congo (as the Congo Free State had been renamed) survived World War II unscathed and boasted of a profitable economy. The Belgians blindly thought that a good economy and improved quality of life, in areas such as education and health care, would keep the natives happily in the imperial fold. But the Congolese, noticing the nationalistic tide elsewhere on the continent and not overly impressed with Belgian reform proposals, grew restless as well. Days before a Belgian-only commission was to announce plans for local elections leading eventually to the formation of a national assembly, a riot broke out in Léopoldville (now Kinshasa) on January 4, 1959. The Force Publique violently restored order, but the die was cast. Belgium's King Baudouin soon announced that the colony would be granted full independence—and it was, the following year after only a six-month warning. The new nation was soon called the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The remnants of French Equatorial Africa were subdivided into the Central African Republic, Chad, Middle Congo (renamed Central African Republic), and Gabon in 1958. The four nations were admitted as semiautonomous members of the French Community the same year, but they were granted independence in 1960. The French Cameroon gained independence in 1960, and in the next year, the primarily Christian southern portion of British Cameroon voted to join the new republic.

Spain and Portugal, which had remained neutral in World War II, took more time to release their colonies. Spain, in response to pressure from nationalists in Equatorial Guinea, as well as in the United Nations, granted the colony independence in 1968.

The islands São Tomé and Príncipe had been uninhabited at the time the Portuguese arrived in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the residents of the colony desired self-rule in the twentieth century. A Portuguese regime committed to dissolution of Portugal's overseas empire seized power in 1974, and São Tomé and Príncipe, among others, was granted independence the following year.

### **Failures of Democracy**

Most of these nations were ill prepared for independence. In probably the most extreme example of economic devastation in the wake of abandonment by a colonial power, most of the Portuguese professionals fled São Tomé and Príncipe, leaving few skilled workers—only one doctor on the two islands; many abandoned businesses and plantations, and the remaining populace had a 90% illiteracy rate. Manuel Pinto da Costa, secretary general of the leading independence group—the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP)—was named the nation's first president. Da Costa established a Socialist, single-party (MLSTP) state.

The fledgling Democratic Republic of the Congo, when it was set free, was not much better off. The nation possessed vast natural wealth. But Belgian officials fled the country, leaving the new nation with few trained administrators. The educational system was in its infancy—the first Congolese university graduate finished his degree only four years before, in 1956. Tribal leaders held more power than the central government, and the central government was itself divided philosophically. The first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, was a Marxist, while the first president, Joseph Kasavubu, favored the West.

Within months, a military *coup d'état* broke out in the capital. Katanga, the southernmost and richest province, seceded, and an anti-Communist, Moïse Tshombe, was declared its president. The United Nations (UN) sent peacekeepers into the country. Lumumba turned to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev for assistance, setting up a Cold War conflict. The United States, via the Central Intelligence Agency, funneled arms, money, and personnel to the country. With such assistance, Kasavubu and his loyal Colonel Joseph Mobutu overthrew the Lumumba government. Lumumba was later assassinated. UN forces helped the government regain control of Katanga. Mobutu, in 1965, deposed Kasavubu, declared himself leader, and renamed the country Zaire.

The other nations in the region also formed single-party states typically led by strongmen such as

Mobutu: Ahmadou Ahidjo in Cameroon, David Dacko in the Central African Republic, François Tombalbaye in Chad, Fulbert Youlou in the Republic of the Congo, Francisco Macías Nguema in Equatorial Guinea, and Léon M'Ba in Gabon.

## Unending Conflict

### Cameroon

Single-party rule did little to bring peace and stability to the region. In some cases, armed conflicts began before independence. For example, the Union of Cameroonian Peoples (UPC) started a rebellion in the French Cameroon in 1955. The movement kept struggling even after the French Cameroon achieved independence in 1960. Ahidjo outlawed all opposition political parties in 1966. Government forces captured the last major UPC leader in 1970. Ahidjo resigned and constitutionally transferred power to Prime Minister Paul Biyo in 1982, but he launched a failed *coup d'état* against Biyo in 1984 and subsequently went into exile. Biyo has stayed in power despite questionable multiparty elections in 1992, 1997, and 2004.

### Central African Republic

Instability seems endemic to the region. In the Central African Republic, Dacko was deposed in a *coup d'état* by a relative, Colonel Jean-Bédél Bokassa, in 1966. Bokassa proclaimed himself emperor of the Central African Empire in 1976. Atrocities by the Bokassa government stirred unrest, and in 1982, Dacko—backed by French forces—returned the favor and deposed Bokassa in 1982, but he was again deposed in 1981 by General André Kolingba. Kolingba initiated the transition to civilian rule, and the Central African Republic remained a democratic state despite several mutinies by military officers from minority tribal groups. The civilian government was finally deposed in a 2003 *coup d'état* by General François Bozizé, who acted with broad popular support. Bozizé won a disputed election for president in March 2005.

### Chad

In 1965, Chad erupted in civil war between the Muslim north and east against the Tombalbaye's southern-led government. By 1975, Tombalbaye's

erratic and brutal leadership led to a *coup d'état* in which he was ousted by forces led by General Félix Malloum, but the Malloum government disintegrated in yet another civil war in 1979 in which eleven factions (to some extent defined by tribal origin) struggled for supremacy. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) stepped in, persuading the factions to form a transitional national unity government (GUNT). The coalition, which featured President Goukouni Oueddei and Minister of Defense Hissène Habré (the former prime minister), began to fall apart almost as quickly as it had been thrown together. Libya exploited the rift, sending in its own troops, and France and Zaire sent in troops in response (while an OAU peacekeeping force remained neutral).

While France and Zaire withdrew their forces following a pact with Libya in 1984, the Libyans stayed, but the Libyans were driven back inside their own borders between a defeat by Habré's forces and an unfavorable World Court decision. Habré had been brutal in his suppression of dissent, however, and this brutality led to a breach with one of his own generals, Idriss Déby, who attacked from the Darfur region of the Sudan. Déby's troops, assisted by the Libyans and unopposed by the French, marched into the capital city of N'Djamena unopposed on December 2, 1990. Despite unrelenting challenges—including armed uprisings, such as one by a rebel group in the Tibesti region of northern Chad—Déby has remained in power. He has nudged the country toward democracy, although his 2001 presidential election was marred by allegations of fraud.

### The Democratic Republic of the Congo

After seizing power, Mobutu implemented a program of Africanization and, in keeping with the policy, changed his name from Joseph Mobutu to Mobutu Sese Seko Koko Ngbendu Wa Za Banga. He concentrated all power in his hands, and, for two decades, was successful in suppressing dissent. As the Cold War came to a close at the end of the 1980s, Mobutu's hand weakened, and the government, undermined by corruption—including Mobutu's massive embezzlement of government funds—began to fall apart. Mobutu managed to remain as head of state as a result of power sharing between rivals. Mobutu's downfall came from the East. As the ethnic strife in Rwanda and Burundi spilled westward across Zaire's borders, Mobutu persecuted one of the groups involved, the Tutsis. As the Tutsis fought back, Zairean dissident groups joined them. The

coalition, which became known as the Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre (AFDL), was led by Laurent-Desire Kabila, who repeatedly defeated Mobutu's forces. Peace talks between the government and the AFDL failed in early 1997, and Mobutu fled, allowing Kabila to seize the capital unopposed. He renamed the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Unfortunately, Kabila failed to prove as able a political leader as he was a military leader; the civil war, with the involvement of troops from five other nations, resumed shortly after he assumed power. Despite efforts to broker a peace deal, the fighting between government and rebel troops continued. Kabila was assassinated in January 2001. His son, Joseph, succeeded him. Joseph Kabila managed to broker brief peace deals, but ethnic clashes, coupled with government incompetence, reignited fighting in the northern and eastern part of the country. Ugandan-backed forces control a strip of territory in the North, while Rwandan-backed forces control a strip of territory in the East. Some believe the reason for the continued Ugandan and Rwandan involvement in the Congolese conflicts is to provide cover for looting the nation's abundant resources—including diamonds—in the region.

### ***Republic of the Congo***

Youlou's reign in the Republic of the Congo was marred by ethnic and political strife, and he was deposed in a military *coup d'état* in 1963. The military installed a provisional civilian government led by Alphonse Massamba-Débat—who was elected president—but Débat was himself ousted in 1968 in a *coup d'état* led by Captain Marien Ngouabi. Ngouabi declared himself president, renamed his National Revolutionary Movement the Congolese Labor Party (PCT), and led the nation until his assassination on March 16, 1977. The PCT tapped Colonel (later General) Joachim Yhombi-Opango as president. Yhombi-Opango was himself removed in 1979 and replaced by Defense Minister (and Colonel) Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

With the demise of the Soviet Union, the Marxist-leaning government of the PCT began to crumble, and democratic reforms were implemented, leading to multiparty elections in 1992. The fledgling democracy staggered into another civil war in 1997 that brought Sassou-Nguesso back to power. Throughout six years of continued bloodshed, Sassou-Nguesso's government managed to sign peace accords with all of the nation's rebel groups, the latest pact being signed in March 2003.

### ***Equatorial Guinea***

While the people elected Francisco Macías Nguema the first president of Equatorial Guinea, during his first term he systematically dismantled the nation's constitution and awarded himself the title of President for Life in 1972. Macias and his henchmen provided only one government service—internal security, accomplished by terror of the citizenry—and began dismantling the nation's civil society as effectively as they had earlier shredded the constitution. Macias's nephew, Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, ousted his uncle, who was arrested, tried, and executed. Obiang assumed the presidency in 1979 and tried to repair the damage done by the Macias regime. A new constitution was drafted with the assistance of the UN and put into effect in 1982. Obiang was reelected president in 1991, 1996, and in 2002, although those elections are widely regarded as flawed. While the country's coffers are now full as a result of oil revenue, living standards for much of the populace do not reflect the government's wealth.

### ***Gabon***

Gabon's first president, M'Ba, died in 1967 and was succeeded by El Hadj Omar Bongo, who has remained head of state since. Bongo initiated reforms leading to a nominal multiparty democracy in 1990. The new constitution, adopted in March 1991, included a Western-style bill of rights. Bongo was reelected in the first multiparty presidential elections in 1993, but the results were disputed. He was reelected again in 1998. Months before the next scheduled presidential election (in December 2005), there were no real challengers to Bongo's leadership and no signs that he planned to pass the reins of government to a new generation.

### **An Exception**

#### ***São Tomé and Príncipe***

São Tomé and Príncipe embraced the ideals of democratic reform in 1990, changing its constitution and allowing opposition political parties. The first multiparty elections were held in 1991 and—in a pattern not characteristic of the region—the elections were free, transparent, and without violence. Miguel Trovoada, a former prime minister who had been sent into exile in 1986, was elected as an independent candidate. He was reelected in 1996. Democracy has



reigned except for one week in 2003 when the army, complaining of corruption and of concerns over the fair distribution of oil revenues from discoveries in the Gulf of Guinea, seized power. President Fradique de Menezes, elected in 2001, was quickly restored to office.

## Looming Disaster

If the political and ethnic conflicts have not been enough to retard progress in Central Africa, an emerging disease discovered in the early 1980s has the power to set back development in the region for generations. That disease is acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).

The first signs of AIDS were noticed in the late 1970s among gay men from Sweden and the United States and among heterosexual men in Haiti and Tanzania. The syndrome was first described in 1981 and the virus that causes it, human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), was identified in 1983. The virus attacks the immune system, destroying the body's ability to fight off other infections. As patients' defenses get overwhelmed, they succumb to a host of other diseases, such as Kaposi's sarcoma, a formerly rare type of skin cancer, and pneumonia caused by *Pneumocystis carinii*.

While HIV can be spread by sharing of needles contaminated with HIV-infected blood, or by use of contaminated blood products, it is primarily transmitted by sexual contact. Promiscuous sexual activity, whether between homosexuals or heterosexuals, promotes spread of the disease.

HIV probably originated in the Congo, possibly as a related virus jumped from apes or monkeys to humans as the animals were butchered for food. The first victim of AIDS (diagnosed retrospectively) died in a hospital in Kinshasa in 1959. Nearly 30 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa are infected with HIV; while Central Africa is the likely source of the virus, the hardest hit areas are in Southern and East Africa, where HIV infection rates in some cases exceed 25%. Infection rates in Central Africa range from a high of 13.5% in the Central African Republic to a low of 3.4% in Equatorial Guinea. (No data are available for São Tomé and Príncipe.)

Adults aged fifteen through forty-nine, the age group most responsible for running civil society as well as for rearing families, are hit hardest by HIV infection. As a result, HIV/AIDS threatens social stability in nations where infectious rates are highest. AIDS orphans, those children whose parents have died of AIDS, are a growing problem in Sub-Saharan

Africa. There are at least 12 million AIDS orphans in Sub-Saharan Africa—the Democratic Republic of the Congo has more than nine hundred thousand—and the number is expected to grow. The effects on the orphaned generation may have long-lasting, potential disastrous effects on Central Africa's development.

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See also Ahidjo, Ahmadou; Algeria; Authoritarianism; Cameroon; Central Africa: International Relations; Central African Republic; Chad; Children and Development; Civil Rights; Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; Congo, Republic of the; Corruption, Governmental; *Coup d'État*; Deforestation; Democratization; Desertification; Dictatorships; Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); Elections; Energy: Impact on Development; Environment: Government Policies; Equatorial Guinea; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Africa; Gabon; Globalization: Impact on Development; HIV/AIDS; Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations; Infectious Diseases; Lake Chad Basin Commission; Libya; Lumumba, Patrice; Marxism; Military and Civilian Control; Military and Development; Military and Human Rights; Minorities/Discrimination; Natural Disasters; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Peacekeeping Operations, Regional and International; Population Growth: Impact on Development; Poverty: Impact on Development; Public Health; Rain Forest, Destruction of; Refugees; Rwanda; Self-Determination; Single-Party States; Socialism; Sudan; Uganda; Urbanization: Impact on Development; War and Development; White Community in Africa; Wildlife Preservation

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## CENTRAL AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### Defining Central Africa

The central part of the African Continent, usually known as Central Africa, is a region that has been defined in many ways, but on this occasion the definition will include the following countries: the Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Gabon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Cameroon, and the Republic of the Congo.

All these countries share the characteristic of having French-speaking populations. With the exception of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which formerly was a Belgian colony, the other countries were included among the French colonial territories. As a matter of fact, France was closely related to its territories after achieving independence and still plays a role in some of the countries; for instance, Chad, Gabon, and the CAR host French troops in their territories. This is an ethnically diverse region with large followings of Islam and Catholicism developed, together with other religions. Most of these countries have a diversified agricultural production, and these products are part of their exports.

### Economic Development and Global Integration

In their first decades of independence, most African countries opposed the neocolonialism trends. During the 1990s, however, African countries abandoned their exclusive bilateral policies with the superpowers or colonial metropolis and began functioning as a bloc in the world scenario. Despite hopes that this change would make them stronger, the formation of

these blocs made them more vulnerable as they began to depend more and more on their linkages with the Western world.

At the time the Central African countries gained more freedom, they opened their economies to the world, with consequent markets and investments diversification. Regional organizations were also formed, including the Central African Peace and Security Council (COPAX), the Central Bank of Central African States (BEAC), and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) created in 1983 with the mission of promoting cooperation among state-members, encouraging self-sustained development, and improving inhabitants' lives. This latter agreement includes a progressive plan toward the elimination of custom taxes among state-members and the establishment of a common external tariff for all state-members. In addition, the plan takes into account improvements in the industry sector, transports and telecommunications, and the free traffic of goods and services all in a twelve-year period. Besides the countries of the region, Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda, and São Tomé and Príncipe are also included in this agreement. Angola is categorized as an observer.

The programs and politics of structural adjustment set by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have a ruling presence in the region. In the 1980s, the IMF played a leading role in the economic policies adopted by the DRC. In exchange, the country's external debt was reconsidered, and the IMF was awarded a considerable loan, which was followed by a monetary devaluation and other austerity measures. These were later abandoned in 1986, but in 1989, the DRC was forced to establish a new economic reform due to the economic instability it was suffering.

During the 1990s, the economic instability in Gabon encouraged the IMF to introduce a plan to stabilize the economy and the World Bank to promote a structural adjustment. In a similar way, Chad is also largely dependent on foreign assistance and capital for most public and private sector investment projects.

More recently, Cameroon has also embarked on various IMF and World Bank programs designed to spur business investment, increase efficiency in agriculture, improve trade, and recapitalize the nation's banks. In 2000, the country completed an IMF-sponsored, structural adjustment program; however this institution is pressing for more reforms, including poverty reduction programs.

On the whole, the adjustments have improved the macroeconomic conditions in some countries, but the population's living standards have worsened.

The accelerated external opening has made the continent more vulnerable, and the foreign investments have not helped the general population. Foreign companies' investments, most of the time done in alliance with corrupt governments, leave almost no revenues for the common people. The *spill-over effect*, supposed to happen after the promising investments took place, does not seem to have done much to improve African's living conditions.

These countries are mainly raw-material exporters, with slight activity in industrial development and a diminishing participation in world trade. In the case of Gabon, it has begun a process of industrialization highly dependent on foreign capitals. This fact has worsened social problems by accelerating the exodus of peasants to the cities, creating in this way cheap working labour for the multinational companies and destroying at the same time the possibility of an alimentary self-sufficiency. As a consequence, the region is constantly vulnerable to the uncertain and ever-changing fluctuations in the prices of raw materials, the oscillations of international trade, the external debt payments, the internal conflicts, and the decrease of international aid.

### **Conflicts and Development in the Postindependence Period**

In addition to facing the challenges of AIDS, poverty, food shortages, chronic undernourishment problems, high external debts, and economic crises, Central Africa also faces other conflicts that cause great instability in the region.

According to a United Nations (UN) report by the Central Africa Consultative Committee in charge of security issues, the causes of *internal conflicts* and the insecurity in this area are closely linked with the rivalries between ethnic groups, the lack of democracy of political powers, the fragility of state institutions, the deficient public sector policies, poverty and underdevelopment, failure in the transitions toward democracy, the proliferation of paramilitary groups, as well as the unrestricted circulation of weapons, vital space troubles, economic difficulties, and other such factors.

One of the reasons that accounts for these conflicts lies within the history of these countries. The borders of many states were not originally established as borders between independent states but as territorial divisions among the superpowers by the end of the nineteenth century in the times of imperialism. Boundaries were created artificially and in an arbitrary way, without regarding the different

ethnicities or people's religions. Therefore, almost all the African territory is characterized by incomplete borderlines, a fact that usually arises territorial, ethnic, tribal, and religious disputes. Ethnic identity and religious fanaticism are often exploited by political and military elites who want to monopolize the access to power and resources by excluding the members of other ethnicities or religions.

Most of the time, different attempts to explain wars in Africa make the mistake of considering the *ethnic factor* as the decisive one. Although this is an important factor, it is important to emphasize the existence of areas of potential natural resources conflicts. These areas often coincide with areas that are chronically unstable; while conflicts are often characterized as the result of ethnic or political wars, the real reason for conflicts may lie in interests concerning *natural resources*, such as oil or diamonds.

Two other factors tend to increase the internal climate of constant conflicts. On the one hand, the socioeconomic crisis is a consequence of the wars, and on the other hand, the sale of weapons helps to maintain the existing conflicts or to create new ones in other countries. These conflicts are not only the result of internal causes but also a consequence of the interaction between internal dynamics and external influences, which many times tend to worsen internal factors.

External influences are continental as well as extra-continental. International organizations and Western powers like the United States, Great Britain, France, and Belgium are involved and exert pressure on the African conflicts by supporting the allied groups and by offering political, financial, and military support to defend their own economic, political, or strategic interests.

As in other regions of the continent, these disputes have a plurality of causes and factors with similar effects: an increase in refugees and displaced people, a deterioration of the economy, a rise in food shortages, and a spread of diseases.

Most African disputes have their origin in the years of African independence, mainly during the second half of the twentieth century. The distribution of the continent's territory among the colonial powers occurred during the twentieth century. As a consequence, during the 1960s, a large amount of new states emerged whose main characteristic, besides having little experience in the exercise of their sovereignty, was a clear political instability.

After World War II, with the objective of linking its African colonies in a significant association, France started making them independent. The territories that in 1910 had become part of the French Equatorial Africa gained their independence

in 1960, creating the present states of the Central African Republic, Chad, and the Republic of the Congo.

The DRC, formerly known as Zaire, was part of the Belgium colonies. In 1959, as an answer to the increasing demands for complete independence by the main nationalistic parties, the DRC's government announced the forthcoming elections with the aims of establishing an autonomous government. In 1960, the DRC proclaimed its independency.

After World War I, Cameroon's territory, which had formerly been annexed by Germany, was divided among the British who kept the area near Nigeria and the French who kept the rest of the country. After World War II and within an expanding decolonization process, these territories also gained their independence in 1960. The British part of Cameroon became a part of Nigeria.

### **Brief History of Recent Country Conflicts**

The postindependence period is distinguished by constant instability. Since their beginnings, the Central African governments have been characterized for being authoritarian and very corrupt. In the case of the CAR, after its independence, an authoritarian government was established after which three tumultuous decades of misrule were finally deposed, and civilian rule was established in 1993.

Two autocratic presidents have ruled Gabon since independence from France. President Bongo has dominated Gabon's political scene for almost four decades.

Chad endured three decades of ethnic warfare as well as invasions by Libya before a semblance of peace was finally restored in 1990. During this period, the repression forced citizens to find refuge in the Central African Republic.

In Cameroon, President Ahmadou Ahidjo faced a revolt fostered by a pro-Communist party. He held his position until 1982 when he resigned. In 1984, former prime minister Paul Biya took his place, faced successfully an attempt of *coup d'état*, and is still in charge of the government.

In the DRC, after independence, ethnic disputes and military revolts have provoked violent disorders, all of which intensified when the prime minister of the province of Katanga proclaimed his independence from the country and asked Belgium for military help. To solve this conflict, the United Nations Security Council authorized the disembarkation of military troops to restore the order in Cameroon and avoid a civil war.

However, this UN intervention was not an easy one because the active UN general secretariat died in mysterious circumstances when he was trying to obtain a cease-fire between UN troops and Katanga's forces. In 1977, the DRC was invaded from Angola by former residents of Kananga. The invasion was rejected with the military aid of Belgium, France, Morocco, and other states.

The Republic of the Congo has also seen great disturbances after its independence. This period has been characterized by *coups d'état*, instability, and radical administrations that ended in a brief and violent civil war. During the Cold War, this country signed a cooperation and friendship treaty with the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and maintained good relations with Communist states all over the world.

The fall of the bipolar system in 1991 destroyed the East–West alignments. Although the African continent seemed to lose strategic importance for the superpowers, tensions did not decrease, some conflicts remained, and new ones appeared. In addition, many countries in their surroundings acted as partners but also as rivals.

The northern part of Chad is still an unstable area, where revolts occur against the government. Besides, Chad still has strong tensions with its neighbour, the CAR. In March 1996, the conflict between Cameroon and its neighbour Nigeria arose again because of the border territory of Bakassi. In July 2003, due to an International Court of Justice verdict, Nigeria agreed to return the Bakassi peninsula together with other thirty-three border towns to Cameroon.

The CAR has suffered a large amount of uprisings and *coups d'état*. The 1995 and 1996 revolts gave birth to a French intervention to support President Patassé, who would be later reelected. After the 2003 *coup d'état*, transition institutions have been established, and an electoral calendar has been set for March 2005. However, the situation remains fragile and changeable.

Gabon is not free from internal political instability, but a small population, abundant resources, and considerable foreign support have helped make Gabon one of the most prosperous and stable African countries. As for its external role, Gabon played a relevant one in the Chad–Libya conflict in the 1980s.

The DRC was involved between 1994 and 1996 in the Rwanda conflict, hosting large quantities of refugees in its border territory. In 1997, this situation caused trouble when the presence of Hutu refugees, several of whom were responsible for the killings in Rwanda, provoked the Tutsi revolt. This rebellion, supported by the United States, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Angola, spread over the DRC territory

and weakened the Mobutu's regime that was supported by France. This all ended when Kabila came into power. Once there, Kabila reestablished relations with Cuba, China, and North Korea and criticized the contracts with multinational firms that had been signed by Mobutu. In 1998, Kabila's government was subsequently challenged by Rwanda, and Uganda backed the rebellion. Troops from Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Chad, and Sudan intervened to support Kabila. Finally, a cease-fire was signed in 1999, but Kabila was assassinated in 2001. The next year, his daughter signed a peace agreement with Rwanda.

Some neighbouring Central African countries even encouraged this unstable situation and took advantage of it. According to a 2002 UN report, Rwanda and Uganda were involved in the benefits obtained in the DRC war. Both countries were exporting diamonds and coltan, minerals imported from the DRC (these two countries do not have such resources within their territories). The situation in the Republic of the Congo is similar to that of DRC because this country is also a victim of its richness in minerals. After a long Marxist-Communist period, the Congo returned to democracy in the 1990s. Between 1993 and 1994, the Republic of the Congo was submerged in regional and ethnic tensions that provoked violence outbreaks. In 1997, a violent and armed battle burst in the country's capital city. The former President Sassou-Nguesso deposed the governor Lissouba with the help of Angola. He suspended the constitution and announced that democracy would come back after three years of transition. In the 2002 elections, which were considered dishonest by the opposition, Nguesso was the winner. A peace treaty was finally signed in March 2003.

The civil war that provoked so many damages to this country is closely linked with the petroleum reserves. The Republic of the Congo is Africa's fourth largest petroleum producer with significant potential for offshore development. As an example, Lissouba had negotiated an agreement with the American company Occidental Petroleum (Oxy); however, the Elf company, very powerful in the Republic of the Congo as well as in Gabon, supported Nguesso to withdraw Lissouba from government. This situation was published in the papers and generated a mass media scandal.

### **Oil Extraction and a New Strategic Position of Africa in the Global Scenario**

By the time the Cold War ended, a new strategic geography appeared: the conflicts that used to have an ideological-political bias were becoming more

focused on the control of natural resources. Therefore, many African countries that previously were of no interest whatsoever for Western powers have begun to occupy a most important place in the political planning of them. The natural resources allow the intervention of several multinationals, many times taking advantage of the conflicts in the area, like in the Republic of the Congo incident mentioned previously.

In spite of the fact that Latin American and the Persian Gulf are the largest zones where the United States obtains oil, the United States imports more petroleum from Africa than from Saudi Arabia and obtains more from Angola than from Kuwait. According to the US Department of Energy, the African states produce 11% of the oil world production, and they are expected to produce around 13% in 2025. This number confirms that the United States has increased its interest in the African oil resources as an alternative to the Middle East. The Central African region mainly occupies an important place: Gabon, where the main international firms operate, exported 140 thousand oil barrels a day to the United States in 2001. The oil, however, does not only go to the United States; for instance, the Republic of the Congo exports most of its production to France.

Chad is another country of great oil importance. Therefore, Exxon Mobil, ChevronTexaco, and Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) have financed the construction of an oil pipeline 1,070 kilometers in length, which goes through Cameroon to the sea to be transported by ship. In addition, there has been a lot of oil prospecting in the Republic of the Congo, Gabon, and Cameroon. This area's petroleum is not only abundant and of excellent quality, but also the proximity of these platforms to the US coasts make the oil easier and cheaper to transport.

But not only the United States is interested in the countries of the African region: the previously mentioned French petrol company Elf is also interested. This firm has experienced several scandals regarding corruption in alliance with the local governments and the strategic interests of France.

The zone where the oil is extracted, however, is characterized by instability, disorder, and internal conflict, all of which are injurious factors for its production. Owing to this chronic unsteadiness, the United States has focused on mutual economic and political cooperation relations with some countries of this region and also offers military support consisting of training and equipment. The main aim of this foreign policy is to help these petrol states to recover stability. The foremost benefited state is Nigeria, being also the main oil supplier in Africa, but the United States also exerts some military influence in

Chad, Gabon, and the Republic of the Congo, other oil-exporting countries.

On the other hand, this further military involvement of the United States provokes consequences in Muslim countries like Chad, where the opposition force has allied with extremist groups such as Al Qaeda.

This involvement of the United States is carried out from a military and geostrategic point of view. The countries of the Central African region are important as long as the superpowers continue to import oil and minerals from the area. Their foreign policy is specifically linked with the countries' resources, while the major and most urgent problems such as HIV, tuberculosis, and malaria are not a priority, and many times, remain ignored.

### Natural Resources and Development

The discovery of huge amounts of oil and mining resources in African countries has not brought the stability and prosperity that the market value of these resources might suggest. Profit is generated but largely for the governments and the multinational companies. These facts show that the richness of a country does not depend on how many natural resources reserves it has but on how the income generated from those reserves is distributed. In the way, this situation has occurred in Central Africa during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries—the existence of large amounts of reserves does not seem to have improved people's living standards but, on the contrary, has worsened them.

Central Africa is a fine example of how the struggle for the control of diamonds or oil has contributed to encourage regional and civil wars, as well as authoritarian and corrupt governments. In addition, the region does not receive all the necessary aid that it should from the international community, and the help received does not reach all countries. For instance, the United States has a selective mechanism of aid. First, from the United States's \$10 billion destined to international aid, only \$1 billion is destined to the Sub-Saharan African countries, among which are the Central African ones. Second, those countries that qualify for aid must meet a certain criteria of eligibility. In 2000, the Bush administration approved the African Growth and Opportunity Act as a tool for the growth and integration of Africa to the global economy. Such act is centered in the promotion of a free market and the expansion of commerce and investments, offering preferential

taxes and other economic benefits for those countries that undertake economic reforms.

Although this program promotes economic growth for the African continent, the benefits of this act are centered in the oil and mining sectors; only a few countries have been selected among the beneficiary ones, and all of these selected countries, such as Angola, are strategically linked with the United States. As with the political economy, the attempts of developed nations to promote security, peace, democracy, and human rights have not been, for the most part, successful.

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**See also Cameroon; Central Africa: History and Economic Development; Central African Republic; Chad; Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; Congo, Republic of the; Corruption, Governmental; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Africa; Gabon; Neo-Colonialism**

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### CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

As its name suggests, the Central African Republic is situated in Central Africa. It is landlocked, surrounded by Cameroon on the west, Chad in the north, Sudan in the east, and Democratic Republic of the Congo and Republic of the Congo in the south. The largest part of the country is occupied by the vast Azande plateau. The highest point is Mont Ngaoui at 4,658 feet (1,420 meters), and the lowest point is the

Oubangui River at 1,099 feet (335 meters). The climate is subequatorial/tropical, with hot and dry winters and a mild to hot rainy season from April to October. The average monthly temperature is 72 to 85 degrees Fahrenheit (21 to -31 degrees Celsius), precipitation is about 50 to 55 inches (1,270 to 1,397 mm yearly). Main rivers are in Oubangui, which forms the border with Congo (Kinshasa) and Sangha. Most of the vegetation is tropical high grass savanna grassland, but there are dense and moist rain forests in the southwest and dry savanna grasslands in the extreme northeast. The 2004 population was estimated at 3.75 million, with a growth rate of 1.56% annually. Large areas in the East remain virtually uninhabited, and most of the population is concentrated in the western half of the country. The capital, Bangui, is located on Oubangui River, is the largest city, and has a population of about seven hundred thousand.

From the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, the people of the present-day Central African Republic were devastated by slave traders. The French penetrated the region between Ubangi-Shary in 1889 and occupied it in 1894. Known as the colony of Ubangi-Shari, the area that is now the Central African Republic was united with Chad in 1905. Five years later, it was joined with Gabon and the Middle Congo to become French Equatorial Africa. A rebellion in 1946 led by B. Boganda forced the French to grant self-government. In 1958, the territory voted to become an autonomous republic in the French Community, and on August 13, 1960, President David Dacko proclaimed the republic's independence from France. Dacko moved the country into Maoist (Mao Zedong) China's orbit but was overthrown in a *coup d'état* on December 31, 1965, by the army chief of staff Colonel Jean-Bédél Bokassa. On December 4, 1976, he proclaimed the Central African Empire, and Bokassa professed himself the emperor. His regime was epitomized by brutality and excessive abuse. He was overthrown in another *coup d'état* on September 20, 1979. Former President Dacko returned to power and restored the country's original name.

An army *coup d'état* on September 1, 1981, deposed President Dacko again. A military government came to power, led by André Kolingba. He established, in 1987, a single ruling party, the Central African Democratic Assembly. In 1991 through 1992, President Kolingba, under pressure, announced a move toward parliamentary democracy. In elections held in August 1993, Prime Minister Ange-Félix Patassé defeated Kolingba, promising to pay salaries due of the military and civil servants. In 1995, the country adopted a new constitution. However, Patassé was unable to keep his promises to the

military, which staged a revolt in 1996. At Patassé's request, French troops suppressed the uprising. In 1998, the United Nations sent an all-African peace-keeping force to the country. In elections held in September 1999, amid widespread charges of massive fraud, Patassé easily defeated Kolingba. Patassé survived a *coup d'état* attempt in May 2001, but two years later, in March 2003, he was overthrown by General François Bozizé. In the last two years, thousands of people fled the country's turmoil, creating a humanitarian crisis in neighboring Chad. In December 2004, a new constitution was adopted by a referendum. It gives a presidential term of five years, renewable only once, and entrusts the prime minister with extensive powers. The constitution also mandates a 105-member national assembly. Elections for the president and the national assembly were held March 13, 2005, the first since the Bozizé *coup d'état* and the two subsequent years of military rule.

Economic development is hampered by the landlocked location, shaky political situation, generally unskilled work force, and inherited abandoned and mishandled macroeconomic projects. The Central African Republic is one of Africa's poorest and most isolated nations. About 60% of the population is employed in agriculture, including cotton, coffee, tobacco, manioc (tapioca), yams, millet, corn, rice, bananas, and timber. Cattle breeding and fishery are scantily developed. Industries include diamond mining, logging, brewing, manufacturing textiles, making footwear, and assembling bicycles and motorcycles. Per capita gross domestic product (GDP) was \$1,100 in 2003 and is expected to shrink. Internal political instabilities overlap with conflicts in Chad, leaving refugees and rebel groups in both countries. Sudan has pledged to work with CAR to stem violent skirmishes over water and grazing rights along the border.

Transportation infrastructure is poorly developed. There are no railways, and roads total 14,795 miles (23,810 kilometers) (only about 400 miles, 643 kilometers, are paved). There are fifty-two airports but only three with paved runways. Waterways total 1,740 miles (2,800 kilometers), primarily resulting from the Oubangui and Sangha rivers. The GDP is expected to shrink in 2004. Income distribution is oddly disparate. International aid—mainly from France—can hardly meet essential humanitarian needs, particularly for preventing the spread of AIDS.

In 2003, the adult literacy rate was approximately 51% (63.3% for males and 39.9% for females). Although eight years of schooling for children 6 to 14 years old is officially compulsory, less than 60% of school-age children attend school. There is a university in Bangui, founded in 1966, and a National

School of Arts. No modern health care system exists outside Bangui, which itself has only one major hospital. A number of hospitals and clinics staffed and operated by missionaries provide relatively good care to those who can reach them. For the majority of Central Africans, however, little is offered by the poorly equipped facilities. There are approximately 3.5 physicians and 20 nurses for every 100,000 people. In 2004, the estimated life expectancy was determined to be 39.7 years for males and 43.1 for females. According to the same 2004 estimates, the population growth rate is 1.56% annually, and infant mortality is 92.15 per 1,000 live births. Overall, the country has a poorly educated population and a long history of poor economic policies.

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**See also Central Africa: History and Economic Development; Central Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Africa**

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## CENTRAL AMERICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Geographers consider the area of Central America to stretch from the south of Mexico to the tip of Panama in the Southwest. Historians, economists, and political scientists, on the other hand, generally consider the Central American region to consist of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. These five countries, it is argued, experienced similar colonial governance and have maintained close economic and political ties over the centuries. Social scientists generally do not consider Belize as part of Central America because it was a British, not a Spanish, colony and it became an independent, sovereign state only in 1981, more than 150 years later than the rest of the region. Economically and politically, Belize is more closely identified with the former British colonies in the Caribbean than its neighboring Central American republics. Similarly, Panama is also generally not regarded as an integral part of Central America. Panama has a rather unique

history. It is a relatively young country; it was formally a part of the South American country of Colombia until 1903. The creation of Panama was significantly aided by the United States, which had been interested in the area to build what became known as the Panama Canal. The country was effectively split in half by the interoceanic canal and its land buffer, which was sovereign United States territory. Because of the similar colonial histories of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, the fact that they were governed as a single entity in the Central American confederation until the mid-1830s, and their continued interconnectivity, this discussion will examine those countries alone while excluding Panama and Belize.

Although Central American countries are linked by several similarities, there are also major differences in their economies and their application of economic and social policy, which became particularly apparent after World War II. Today, there is considerable variance in the levels of wealth across Central American countries. At the end of World War II, gross domestic product per capita (GDP/c) in the five major Central American states lay within a narrow band of \$90. Costa Rica enjoyed the highest GDP/c at \$282, while Nicaragua suffered from the lowest at \$191. In the subsequent forty years, Costa Rica's GDP/c increased to \$806 (in constant 1970 US dollars), but that of Guatemala, the next highest, grew only to \$440. Honduras, the poorest country in the region, showed little economic development with just \$273 per capita, which is lower in real terms than Costa Rica's GDP/c in 1945. In the post-World War II period, the extent of economic development varied greatly across the region. The increasing economic and social gaps between the countries in the post-World War II period have become still more pronounced through the present time.

### Historical Origins of Economic and Social Development

The colonial period laid the foundations for future trade and economic development in the region. For most of Central America, the economic system established by the Spaniards, the *Encomienda* system, underpinned the region's economic development. The *Encomiendas* were land grants that forced indigenous peoples to work in a serf-type relationship. This system permitted the creation of large *haciendas* (a large plantation estate) throughout the region. In the postindependence period and especially after the 1870s, coffee and bananas dominated the countries'



economies. There were, though, significant differences between these two dominant sectors and across the countries.

In the case of coffee, the production and export remained in the hands of Central Americans, but banana production and exports were controlled by foreign companies with few economic links to the local economies. While coffee production was domestic and encouraged by targeted government policies, the rise of the banana industry was an unplanned outgrowth of the Central American political elites' attempt to develop their countries' infrastructure and help the coffee sector. To aid in the construction of the railroads, Central American governments granted US railroad-building companies large areas of land where the railroads were to be built. These companies used their land grants to plant and cultivate bananas as they constructed the railroads. These companies also developed high levels of vertical integration; the bananas were transported on the companies' railroads to their own ports and then shipped on their own ships to the US markets. The banana companies became economically and politically successful within their economic enclaves. In the case of Honduras, for example, the companies eventually controlled more than two-thirds of the country's territory, and they tended to interfere in Honduran politics to advance their economic interests.

By the start of the twentieth century, the agrarian basis of Central America's economy was firmly established. The economies were based on the exportation of two primary products, coffee and bananas. A third sector involved peasant farmers producing basic foods for their own consumption or the local market. The two export sectors relied on a labor market based on debt peonage that was encouraged and fostered by national vagrancy laws. This type of labor relationship did not develop in Costa Rica due to the paucity of indigenous peoples, which resulted in the creation and maintenance of small farms. The banana companies tended to import labor from the Caribbean to overcome the lack of a labor force living in the coastal areas of Costa Rica near plantations.

The export-based economic development strategy, which served the region well, took a severe hit in the 1930 when the Great Depression struck the US economy and spread to other countries. This world depression severely reduced demand for Central American exports, which in turn significantly reduced the tax revenue for governments across the region. The economic turmoil led, in part, to a reconsideration of the economic development model.

The post-World War II period in Central America marked a major transformation of their economies

and the adoption of an Important Substitution Industrialization (ISI) strategy. The goal of this strategy was to erect protective tariff barriers against goods produced outside of the region and to encourage domestic producers to make replacement goods without having to compete with more efficient international producers. It was thought that the tariff barriers would be a short-term strategy that would protect the Central American infant industries only until they could compete with the internationally produced imports.

Key to the success of this strategy was the creation of the Central American Common Market (CACM). All five Central American countries agreed to join the CACM, although Costa Rica was a little reluctant at first and did not formally join until 1963, two years after the other four countries.

The years from the 1960s until the late 1970s were an economically prosperous time for the region. For example, in the period of 1960 to 1968, the GDP (in constant terms increased) was 5.9% per year and 4.7% in the following five-year period (1968–1975). This impressive growth record was driven by the secondary sectors (manufacturing, construction, transportation) and tertiary sectors (commerce, banking, and other services). The traditional agricultural and mining (primary) sector, although still important, was slowly eclipsed by the other two more rapidly expanding sectors (Acuña-Alfaro 1999:7). Thus, the period of economic expansion of the 1960s and 1970s also resulted in a reorientation of the region's economies away from primary production and toward secondary and tertiary sector activities. The late 1970s, though, saw another major depression for Central America's economies spurred by a series of unfortunate events. Prices for Central American exports generally declined, which was problematic because these were the countries' major earners of international currency. At the same time, the prices of imports rose rapidly, especially for oil. As the countries' import bills exceeded their exports, the governments needed to borrow money on the international market, and this was exacerbated by the second major oil price hike in the late 1970s. By the end of the 1980s, the region's international debt reached \$7.7 billion. The continuing economic crisis caused international borrowing to balloon to more than \$14 billion three years later. But when Costa Rica became the hemisphere's first country to default on its international debt, this particular avenue for dealing with the economic downturn was effectively closed.

Furthermore, the increasingly violent internecine wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua were destructive in human and economic terms and eventually led to the virtual cessation of the CACM.

The wars killed hundreds of thousands of people and forced millions more to seek refuge in neighboring countries, as well as increased government expenditures on expanding military capabilities. With the exception of Costa Rica, which had and has no standing army, the 1980s saw major increases in military expenditures across the region, especially in Nicaragua, at a time of declining government revenues.

### The 1980s and 1990s

The 1980s are generally regarded as a “lost decade” for Central America. A major economic crisis was sparked by a number of factors: the international recession, the debt crisis, political violence, falling export prices, rising oil prices, and internecine wars in three of the region’s countries. The wars also effectively cut off trade routes throughout Central America. According to Victor Bulmer-Thomas (1991), real GDP per capita was lower in 1990 than it had been in 1980. Although the economic decline affected all Central American countries, for some the economic collapse was significantly more pronounced. In Costa Rica, for example, the cumulative decline in GDP/c from 1980 to 1990 was 4.7%. At the other extreme, Nicaragua’s cumulative decline was almost 43% for the same period. The other countries ranged between 19% (El Salvador) and 14% (Honduras). The middle point (1985) was the nadir of this collapse of GDP growth; although some countries began a slow economic recovery (Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras), GDP per capita in El Salvador remained flat and in Nicaragua it continued its decline.

The decline in per capita GDP was compounded by the rapid increase in population growth rates. For example, the population of the entire region in 1950 was slightly less than 10 million people, but by 2003 it was more than 35 million. In addition to the increase in population, there was a marked change in where people lived, which reflected the relative decline of traditional agriculture. In 1965, for example, 38% of Costa Rica’s population lived in urban areas, but by the start of the 1990s, 47% were classified as urban dwellers. Corresponding numbers for the rest of the region are even more pronounced with the exception of Guatemala; for two countries, Honduras and Nicaragua, the majority of their populations now reside in urban areas. In Honduras, the urban population increased from 23% to 51%, and the Nicaraguan numbers increased from 43% to 55%. El Salvador also saw major growth in its urban population during this period from 39% to 46%. Guatemala,

though, remained the most rural population in the region with only a slight increase from 34% in 1965 to 39% in 1998 (World Bank 2000, World Development Indicators; Unesco n.d.).

These events and the ensuing economic depression set in motion a series of economic policy reforms across the region. These reforms, widely known as neoliberal or Washington Consensus reforms, were encouraged by international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as conditional loans. A major part of these reforms was an emphasis on reducing the role of the state in the economy and the insertion of Central American goods and services into the world economy as well as the introduction of new nontraditional export products. In all countries of Central America, the export of agricultural goods declined as a percentage of total exports. For example, comparing the period before the major economic depression (1979) with the period of economic growth (2001), the percentage of total exports for agricultural products decreased from slightly more than 70% to 30%. The most striking decline is in the case of El Salvador, which declined from approximately 65% to about 15% in 2001 (*Proyecto Estado de la Región* 2003:138).

The collapse of traditional agro-exports is reflected in the coffee sector’s contraction across the region as a percentage of all exports. With the exception of Nicaragua, where coffee has increased its share of that country’s exports, all other countries have been harmed by the world’s overproduction of coffee and the consequent collapse of world coffee prices. In Costa Rica, for example, coffee declined from 18% of the country’s total exports to less than 5%. The most pronounced decline is the case of El Salvador, where coffee declined from almost 38% of all exports to approximately 10%.

### The Contemporary Period

How should economic success be measured? As already stated, the commonly used indicator of economic development is gross domestic product per capita (GDP/c), which measures total market value of goods and services produced in a country divided by the total population. Thus, if the economy is growing more rapidly than the population, then the GDP/c will increase, and the country will be labeled as increasing its economic well-being. But if the country experiences slow economic growth or rapid population growth, then the GDP/c will decline. This measure, although widely used, is a very crude and

incomplete measure. For example, it fails to include how the country's income is actually distributed or to take into account the population's living conditions.

One good indicator of economic development is average life expectancy. Big differences can be noted across the region: life expectancy in Costa Rica is seventy-eight years, which is nine years more than neighboring Nicaragua and thirteen years more than Guatemala. Life expectancy in Honduras and El Salvador is seventy-one years. The level of poverty is another indicator of how profoundly economic development has affected the population. The Human Poverty Index (percentage of the population living in poverty) for 2000 was 4% in Costa Rica compared with 23.5% for Guatemala, 24.4% for Nicaragua, 20.5% for Honduras, and 18% for El Salvador. An indirect measure of a population's well-being comes from the region's literacy rates. All the countries have experienced substantial improvements in the literacy levels in the postwar period. For example, in Honduras the literacy rate in 1950 was 35%; in 2003, it was 80%. Similar improvements have been seen across the region including in Guatemala, which had the lowest level in 1950 (29%) and high level of 70% in 2003. But there remain major differences across the countries; Costa Rica's literacy rate is almost 96%, while Nicaragua and Guatemala still have rates in the low- to mid-70% range.

In response to the shortcomings of the GDP/c measurement instrument, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) devised a measurement technique to capture the results of economic growth on the actual population. This measure, the Human Development Index (HDI), is a composite measure of development that takes into account life expectancy, health, education, and standards of living. Using the HDI measurement also reveals the stark contrast among the region's countries. Costa Rica's HDI ranks the country 45th in the world (above some "developed" countries). The next highest Central American country's HDI is El Salvador at 103rd, while the region's other countries are ranked between 115th (Honduras) through the 121st (Guatemala).

These figures are not unrelated to the level of social expenditure per capita undertaken by the various countries in the region. Costa Rica spends more than six times as much on social programs per capita than the next highest country, Guatemala. Costa Rica spends \$622 (in 1997 US dollars) compared to \$107 in Guatemala, \$82 in El Salvador, and \$57 in both Nicaragua and Honduras (*Proyecto Estado de la Región* 2003:31). These policy priorities reflect decisions made by political leaders and are, in part at least, a reflection of the regime type of each country.

In the case of Nicaragua, for example, the Somoza family dominated the political and economic scene before the Sandinistas took over in 1979 and then diverted much of the government's expenditures to fight the US-backed counterrevolution. Social expenditure was in the first instant not a priority, and in the second period, it was severely restricted by war expenditures.

### Natural Setbacks to Economic Recovery

Apart from international interventions and political policy decisions that have hampered economic and social development, the Central American region's economic well-being is, periodically, affected by severe natural disasters. For example, the Nicaraguan earthquake in 1972 devastated Managua, leaving much of the city in ruins and killing more than ten thousand people. Apart from earthquakes, hurricanes are also common events. In the period from 1972 through 2001, there were six major hurricanes that pummeled the region. Hurricane Mitch slammed into Central America in 1998 at a time when many of the preconditions for economic growth were being put into place; according to the InterAmerican Development Bank, political reforms, the end of the civil wars, and economic reforms were all in place as the hurricane hit. More than 11,000 people died, and 15,300 were missing; 438 bridges and 164,000 homes were destroyed. The total estimated economic cost of the hurricane was set at \$6.5 billion, with the majority of that destruction concentrated in Honduras and Nicaragua.

### CAFTA

The Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) was signed by the five Central American countries in May 2004. The Dominican Republic joined in December 2004. It remains to be ratified by the US Congress before it can take effect. According to the joint statement by the Central American Presidents in December 2002, for the Central American states, the goal of the agreement is to open up the US markets to Central American products; attract US investment to the region; strengthen the region's democracy, rule of law; and to foster economic and social development. This agreement will be an extension of the neoliberal economic policies advocated as solutions to Central America's economic problems of the 1980s and 1990s.

As with earlier economic development in Central America, this new economic development strategy tying the region to international trade, particularly with the United States, reflects the continued link between regional economic development and internal politics and international politics. Most remarkable is the divergence in economic and social development across the region in spite of a common history and proximity of the countries.

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**See also Central America: International Relations; Central American Common Market (CACM); Costa Rica; El Salvador; Ethnic Conflicts: Mexico and Central America; Guatemala; Honduras; Nicaragua**

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## CENTRAL AMERICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### Problems of Definition

Defining the region of Central America is not as easy as it might seem. On the one hand, Central America is often narrowly defined as the five contiguous states

of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. These five countries all have Spanish as their official language, are former Spanish colonies, and share similar historical trajectories and a dominant cultural heritage. These historical, political, and cultural factors rather than geographical proximity are the reason that these five countries are generally viewed together as a region. On the other hand, two other states, Belize in the northeast and Panama in the southeast, are geographically part of Central America but are generally not regarded as part of Central America. Belize, an English-speaking, former British colony, did not achieve independence until 1981, more than 150 years after the rest of the region. Belize is also politically and economically more closely tied to Britain's other former Caribbean colonies than the core states of Central America. Politics in Belize have also been at variance from much of the rest of Central America as it has enjoyed parliamentary democracy rather authoritarian rule and civil wars.

Panama, for its part, is generally not included in studies of Central America because of its unusual history including its much later creation in 1904 with the United States acting as midwife. The presence of US troops and US control over the Panama Canal, which physically splits the county in two, further separates Panama from the rest of the region. Since the 1980s, though, both of these countries have become increasingly involved in the political and economic life of the isthmus. This discussion examines primarily the international relations of five of the Central American countries: the republics of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

### Central American International Relations from Independence Through World War II

Central America's high level of cultural homogeneity prior to the Spanish conquest was maintained during the colonial period. When the region became independent of Spain, the individual provinces (countries) quickly joined the short-lived Mexican Empire.

With the fall of the Mexican Empire, the five states of Central America formed the *Provincias Unidas del Centro de América* (United Provinces of Central America), which itself collapsed in 1839, after years of internecine violence between competing military strongmen. The notion of Central America as a single state did not die with the collapse of the United Provinces; it has been an ongoing concept through the present day.

The United States has been a major (if not *the* major) player in the internal politics and economic lives of Central America since its independence from Spain. First, the Monroe Doctrine declaration clearly placed Central America in the United States's "backyard." Second, as the United States continued to claim territory further westward, the need for a quick route to cross from the East Coast of the United States to the West became more pressing. With it came a renewed interest in Central America as a possible transcontinental route, which also attracted the attention of US filibusters such as William Walker, who invaded and took control of Nicaragua in the 1850s. Later, the United States intervened in Central American civil wars; in 1912, the United States, for the first time, sent troops into Nicaragua to support one side of a civil war to try and stabilize the region. US troops remained in Nicaragua until the 1930s when US foreign policy changed under the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

US governments, though, did not have a monopoly interfering in Central America's internal politics. Other countries, particularly the United Kingdom, took control of what was originally known as British Honduras and eventually Belize. The United Kingdom also engaged in gunboat diplomacy in Central America, including the bombing of the Nicaraguan town of Grenada. It was also the British Navy that captured the US filibuster William Walker and handed him over to the Honduran military, which eventually executed him. US companies (primarily banana companies) also flexed economic and political muscle in the region and became dominant political actors in some Central American countries.

Relations between the United States and Central America improved during the Roosevelt administration's (1933–1945) Good Neighbor Policy. President Roosevelt, an early advocate of unilateral US intervention and annexation in Latin America, rejected the corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and became the first sitting US president to visit Latin America and the Panama Canal Zone. These overtures to Latin America in general and Central America in particular paid a dividend in improving international relations with Central America. For example, after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the Central American countries showed their support for the United States by joining World War II against the axis powers. Henry Raymond (2005) argues Roosevelt's policy toward Latin America led to an improved and consolidated inter-American system (including the creation of the Organization of American States) and an end to Latin American mistrust of the United States.

## Post-War International Relations

With the conclusion of World War II, the United States shifted its attention to rebuilding Europe's economies through the Marshall Plan and left the Central American countries to address their own substantial economic problems with little economic aid. The end of the Roosevelt era was accompanied by the start of the Cold War, which in turn reoriented United States–Central American relations and set the stage for regional international relations through the end of the 1980s.

The new era of preventing communism from taking hold in Central America began in the early 1950s when President Eisenhower employed the CIA (acting with the support of dictators in Nicaragua and Honduras) to undermine and eventually overthrow Guatemala's democratically elected government, headed by President Jacobo Árbenz. This intervention effectively ended Guatemala's first experiment with democracy and ushered in years of dictatorship, civil war, and state terrorism.

The *coup d'état*, which took place at the height of the Cold War, removed a democratically elected president whom the United States viewed as a Communist and whom US banana companies operating in Guatemala saw as a threat to their economic position. As part of the growing anti-Communist movement in the United States, overthrowing Árbenz successfully pushed the Organization of American States to support a US resolution stating communism was a threat to the region and was "incompatible" with the OAS charter. This declaration gave a new judicial rationale for US intervention in the internal affairs of its neighboring republics as well as demanding collective action from the other Latin American states to stem the perceived tide of communism in the Western Hemisphere. According to Henry Raymond (2005), the success of the US policy in removing Árbenz established a model for US interventions in other Central American countries, particularly Nicaragua and Panama in the 1980s.

Another major shift in US policy toward Central America came in response to the Cuban revolution in 1959 and the election of John F. Kennedy and lasted through the early 1990s. Although President Kennedy paid more attention to Latin America than any president since Franklin Roosevelt, the Alliance for Progress, Kennedy's policy initiative that was designed to encourage economic development and democratic governance, ultimately became another tool in the United States's anti-Communist policy. In the case of Central America, though, the economic development

and democratic reform goals eventually took second place to internal security goals. With the death of Kennedy and the assumption of President Johnson to office, the emphasis of the alliance changed; emphasis on democratic governance was no longer a precondition for Central American countries to receive US aid and diplomatic recognition. Instead, Kennedy's policy of ostracizing newly created military dictatorship was replaced by willingness to deal with any government that was friendly to the United States and sufficiently anti-Communist.

As the Central American economic situation worsened in the 1960s and 1970s, successive US administrations tolerated the rise of dictators and the abuse of human rights as the only solution to eradicating nascent insurgencies and rebellions. Even the administration of Jimmy Carter, who had made human rights a central part of his international relations agenda, was caught in the contradiction of a perceived need to fight communism in Central America and the promotion of democratic governance and respect for human rights. El Salvador, for example, witnessed years of dictatorial oligarchic rule and increasing levels of brutality and democratic fraud. The Carter administration's attempt to rein in the government's political violence by ending military aid to the country was thwarted by the Salvadorian *junta's* decision to refuse the aid in advance. Again, even with the murders of two US land reform workers, the Archbishop of San Salvador, and nine thousand other Salvadorians, the United States did little to end the bloodshed. In the case of Nicaragua, Carter's actions with respect to the Somoza dictatorships were poorly implemented and had serious consequences of bolstering the dictatorship, which was eventually toppled by domestic insurgents, the FSLN (Sandinistas). The Ronald Reagan presidency marked a new direction in United States–Central American relations. Reagan saw the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua as a Communist regime that was attempting to export its revolution to Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.

According to Reagan and his appointees, Central American political violence was caused by the influence of international communism rather than by domestic ills such as economic crises, dictatorship, brutal repression, and corruption within the region. Alexander Haig, Reagan's secretary of state, signaled the administration's new direction for its relations with Central America when he noted that "International terrorism will take the place of Human Rights in our concern" (Raymont 2005:236).

While the United States saw its relations with Central America through a Cold War lens that showed Soviet and Cuban Communists sponsoring the

rebellions in Guatemala and El Salvador and supporting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua with subsidized oil and major flows of armaments, other countries (including the European Union) did not view the Soviets and Cubans as the root of the region's problems.

It was clear that the Soviets and the Cubans were at least tangentially involved. Fidel Castro, for example, visited Managua, Nicaragua, in 1980 on the first anniversary of the Sandinista Revolution and promised military support if the country were invaded by the United States. President Daniel Ortega added to the perception of Soviet involvement when he visited Moscow in the early 1980s and signed economic agreements with his Soviet hosts.

The Reagan administration increased the stakes in its international relations with Central America; it began a proxy war against Nicaragua and increased military aid to dictatorial governments in Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. The *quid pro quo* for Honduras's aid was that it allowed Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary insurgents to attack Nicaraguan territory from Honduras. The US strong-arm tactics were also used on Costa Rica, which has a constitutional ban on the existence of a standing army. Costa Rica was cajoled to support the US position against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. On one hand, this should have been relatively easy for the Costa Ricans, who are noted for their general hostilities toward Nicaraguans (stemming back to Costa Rica's civil war and subsequent two invasions of Costa Rican territory by Nicaragua in the late 1940s and early 1950s). But when Oscar Arias assumed the presidency in 1986, he found that Costa Rican territory had been routinely used to harbor Nicaraguan contras and used to stage attacks on Nicaragua. Arias moved to end this situation and tried to close down many of the clandestine runways that were used by the United States and the contras. The US response was to cut US aid to Costa Rica. In 1983, for example, US aid to Costa Rica was more than \$200 million, but this collapsed to about \$100 million in 1990 at the end of Arias's term in office (Wilson 1998).

A major turning point in Central America's international relations came with the intervention of a group of Latin American countries (Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, and Colombia), known as the Contadora group, which attempted to create a negotiated settlement to the ongoing Central American crisis. While Contadora's mid-1980s efforts produced a number of agreements to end the conflicts in the region, it was not until the agreements between the presidents of the Central American countries were signed in the late 1980s that real progress was made.

In 1987, President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica received the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in the creation of a negotiated peace process that helped foster a negotiated settlement to the civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. The Costa Rican's initiative and its international validation through the Peace Prize rankled the United States, which had opposed a negotiated settlement to the crises.

The Escapulas II agreements that helped end the years of internecine fighting in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua also laid the framework for increased levels of regional cooperation and integration. This agreement also created the System of Central American Integration (*Sistema de Integración Centoamericano*, SICA) and the Alliance for Sustainable Development (*Alianza para el Desarrollo Sostenible*, ALIDES), which were the institutional tools to increased levels of regional integration.

Another political innovation was the creation of the Central American Parliament (commonly referred to as PARLCEN). This body has representatives from all Central American countries with the exception of Costa Rica. It is ironic that while the process of regional integration has been broadened to include Belize, Panama, and the Dominican Republic as associate members of the Central American Parliament, Costa Rica has consistently refused to join this political body. This is especially interesting as PARLCEN was, in large part, the brainchild of former President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica.

With the end of the civil wars and the return to democratic politics across the region in the late 1990s, relations between the Central American republics have improved. This is reflected in the increased number of high-level meetings of Central American presidents to discuss and thrash out treaties and agreements of a variety of development related issues. Between 1998 through 2002, for example, there were twelve such meetings involving Central American presidents. These meetings are in response to a region-wide desire to increase economic trade and political ties within the region.

Central America's national parliaments have ratified many international treaties concerning human rights, but there is considerable variation in the number of treaties signed by each country as well as in terms of the effectiveness of the enforcement of the treaties. The keenest signatory to major international human rights treaties has consistently been Costa Rica. This is perhaps in part due to the country's history as a consolidated democratic state for more than fifty years. Between 1950 and 1998, Costa Rica has signed seventeen international human rights treaties and has regularly lived by the constrictions

of the agreements, especially since the creation of its Constitutional Court (Sala Consitucional) in 1989. During the same period, Nicaragua has ratified only five, which includes the genocide treaty of the early 1950s that all countries of Central America have signed. Honduras similarly signed only five treaties. El Salvador and Guatemala have tended to sign more treaties since the early 1980s.

The most significant recent development in Central American international relations was the move to reinvigorate the moribund Central American Common Market (CACM), which was created in the 1960s and effectively collapsed during the 1980s due to disruptions in trade because of the various civil wars. In the postwar period, as part of the movement toward reducing the role of the state in economic activities and the increasing level of globalization, the Central American states collectively negotiated a free trade agreement with the United States (CAFTA, Central American Free Trade Agreement). Although this agreement has been written, it is only slowly being ratified by the various national assemblies in Central America. Once again, though, the US Congress appears to be less than willing to ratify the treaty, which means that it cannot take effect and leaves the Central America countries outside of a major trading block.

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**See also Alliance for Progress; Árbenz Guzmán, Jacobo; Arias Sanchez, Oscar; Belize; Central America: History and Economic Development; Central American Common Market (CACM); Contras; Costa Rica; El Salvador; Ethnic Conflicts: Mexico and Central America; Guatemala; Honduras; Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations; Nicaragua; Organization of American States (OAS); Panama; Panama Canal Treaties, 1977; Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); United States–Dominican Republic–Central American Free Trade Agreement**

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## CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMON MARKET (CACM)

The Central American Common Market (CACM), or the Mercado Común CentroAmericano (MCC), was the first Latin American attempt at economic integration in the twentieth century. The idea came out of Resolution Number 9 in the Fourth Period of the Sessions of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), on June 16, 1951. It is important to note that while historically there have been several attempts to return to a politically integrated Central America, the CACM represented an outside entity's economic vision for the region.

In 1951, El Salvador initiated the trend proposed by ECLA, signing trade treaties with Guatemala and Nicaragua. The following year, the ministers of economy from all Central American nations (Panama was not included) came together to create the Committee for Economic Cooperation for Central America (CCE). For the rest of the decade of the 1950s, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua continued with several of these bilateral agreements, lasting only between one and four years. But it was not until June 10, 1958, in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, at the fifth meeting of the CCE that Central American representatives subscribed to a Multilateral Treaty of Free Trade and Economic Integration, becoming effective on June 2, 1959. A General Treaty of Central American Economic Integration became the key policy instrument; all five countries had ratified the treaty by September 1963.

The post-World War II conditions for a vibrant, integrated industrial region in Central America presented formidable challenges. Made up of geographically and demographically small nations, Central

America possessed a small internal market, with national markets even less significant in the Latin American context, much less in the global one. With roughly 8 million inhabitants in 1950, and a gross annual product of only \$1.4 million, per capita income was a mere \$175 (US) for the entire region. The vast majority of Salvadorans and Guatemalans earned considerably less, an average of \$95 for the former and \$80 for the latter. These poverty rates were further concentrated in the rural sector, where two-thirds of Central America's population made their home. The regional infrastructure for industrialization was equally poor, with roads and railways favoring foreign-owned export industries, such as those of the powerful United Fruit. With high illiteracy rates and poor health condition and nutrition rates, the workforce certainly could not have been expected to reach high standards of industrial production in the new period of transition.

Yet, despite these challenges, the impetus for growth and development spurred by the ideals of the CACM made for political and economic changes. The general goals of the CACM included the liberalization of intraregional trade, the establishment of a free trade area involving an increasing number of manufactured goods, and a customs union. The General Treaty also provided for a Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI). From the 1950s through the 1970s, the economic gains spurred under the treaty were impressive by most standards. Overall, gross internal product in the region grew at a rate of 5.2% between 1950 and 1978. Similarly, trade within the region increased in the two decades between 1960 and 1980, from US dollars of \$33 million to \$1,129 million. Intraregional exports that amounted to \$31 million in 1960 grew to \$285.2 million by 1970. Based on export rate indicators, Guatemala and El Salvador particularly benefited from the increase in intraregional trade. Guatemala sold 32.3% of its exports to the regional market in 1970, while El Salvador compared favorably at 35.3%. Intraregional purchases were also very favorable in 1970, with Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua purchasing 25% of their imports from the CACM. With the exception of Nicaragua, intraregional exports continued to grow steadily in the 1970s. By the 1980s, with growing political unrest and revolutionary struggles in the region, trade declined, and the CACM collapsed. A global recession in 1982 only compounded an already depressed regional situation. From 1980 to 1985, intraregional exports that had steadily climbed in Central America since the 1950s suffered drastic declines: from \$260.1 to \$137.6 million for Costa Rica; from \$295.8 to \$157.2 million for El Salvador; from \$440.8 to



## CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMON MARKET (CACM)

\$205.0 million for Guatemala; from \$91.4 to \$19.9 million for Honduras; and from \$75.4 to \$24.1 million for Nicaragua.

Increasing foreign debts accompanied these falls in exports. At the beginning of the 1970s, the region's foreign debt was not altogether unmanageable, amounting to \$1.35 billion. But this debt grew steadily in the decade, an average of 23% annually, reaching \$1.93 billion in 1973 and \$6.875 billion by 1979. For El Salvador and Honduras, the debt overwhelmed them even more at this time, growing an average of 33% annually. The extreme rise in petroleum products stemming from the first oil crisis in 1973 and the second in 1978 made Central America and the CACM even more vulnerable, raising the cost for industrialization.

The lofty goals for economic integration through the CACM met several challenges. Ideological difference between governments stymied multilateral accords from the beginning. In January 1960, for example, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala formed a separate economic association, hoping to have a common market within five years. Under the sponsorship of the US government, El Salvador and Honduras initiated a bilateral treaty for economic unity, incorporating Guatemala as soon as this third country found out about the initial goals. The three-country treaty went further than all previous and future accords in establishing the free flow of goods, people, and capital. Costa Rica and Honduras in particular reacted angrily to this trilateral move; the latter's complaints eventually led to a December 1960 General Treaty for Central American Economic Integration signed by Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua; Costa Rica signed on in July 1962.

The liberalization of trade relations as stipulated by the CACM benefited those with an already strong industrial base in the region, largely foreign, mostly US-owned corporations. In the 1960s, for example, under the climate of free trade, foreign companies trading in fruit, such as Castle & Cook and United Fruit (later becoming United Brands), diversified their products into food processing. Along with the underpaid employment that came with their growth, the development of regional, national industries was further frustrated. The so-called soccer war between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969 also disrupted the CACM significantly. Their breaking of official relations that year brought disarray to the commercial flow of goods. Located literally at the center of Central America and bridging the regional integration by land, Honduras played an important role in facilitating a smooth road for the mobility of goods across land.

Such economic relations with the United States have usually been part of the equation in the CACM's goals for the economic integration and for its failures. When the CACM was first ratified in the early 1960s, US corporations vying for the new regional market expanded their direct investments, doubling between 1950 and 1970. While CABEL's purpose was to promote regional industrialization, the Central American Bank instead supported US investments. The fact that the United States provided most of the fund's capital facilitated the favoritism given to US companies in the region. Thus, while the CACM expanded regional markets, it did not protect these new, relatively weak markets from the overwhelming competition coming from the United States. The retardation of the region's industrial economy and its close association with US markets were plainly clear by the early 1980s. By 1981, the CACM had thirteen items for which it provided 10% or more to US markets, with bananas easily topping that list. The fact that twenty years after the establishment of the CACM it was bananas and not an industrial product that topped the exports list made a more diversified, regionally controlled Central American economic integration quite a dream.

Logistical challenges became more pronounced in the 1970s and 1980s, with changes brought upon by the fall of the Somoza dictatorship and rise of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and with the armed revolutionary challenges in Guatemala and El Salvador. Mired in these social, economic, and political shifts, the region continued to experience an increase in the annual deficit of balance of payments. Limited internal supplies and overseas markets' protective measures also presented critical roadblocks to the efforts of the CACM. Increasing debts within the region and especially to outside lenders prevented member nations from investing larger portions of their funds to develop a stronger industrial infrastructure. Not positioned competitively as an industrial player, Central America under the CACM never achieved the desired goals, despite producing measurable growth up to the end of the 1970s.

While the failures the CACM suffered were largely economic, political, and social dilemmas frustrated whatever gains had been achieved in the 1950s and 1960s. Between 1945 and 1973, capital flow and the exporting output were positive. Yet, little new employment was generated in the process. Everyday conditions in the rural sector, easily the least developed and most poverty-stricken segment, remained virtually unchanged, despite signs of modernization in the larger urban centers. The modernization of agriculture actually disempowered a vast majority of

rural workers, turning them into an underpaid and more easily exploitable wage labor force with little-to-no land ownership for basic subsistence. Overall, the vast majority of Central Americans did not benefit directly or indirectly from the new flows of monies. The gains from limited Central American economic integration went to the elite, a post-World War II pattern that reached its peak in the 1970s. At this time, the average income of those belonging to the top 5% of the wealthy class exceeded more than thirty times the average earnings of those making up the lowest 20% of the poor class. Such drastic income polarization proved that growth without a more equitable social well-being could not bring about overall regional development. Health, housing, and educational standards improved, but not to the levels expected from that of “developed” nations. The stagnant social conditions for the majority of Central Americans that remained a pattern since after World War II, and especially in the rural sectors, were in part the fuel behind the armed struggles in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

With a more politically stable region following peace accords in El Salvador and Guatemala, the 1990s saw a renewed interest in the CACM. Yet, its immediate, gigantic competitor, the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), made a new and improved CACM less attractive. With a desire to become part of the more powerful economic North American block, Central American nations have placed less interest in their own regional integration. Costa Rica, for one, with declared interest to join NAFTA, entered into a free trade agreement with Mexico in 1994. The earlier goal for economic integration shifted to export-led growth, reducing external tariffs to increase trade liberalization, a usual requirement from international lending agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for procuring further loans.

The transnational dimensions for all of the CACM members, but especially for El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, have meant that remittances from citizens working abroad have kept their respective economy afloat, regardless of the success of economic development. For El Salvador, for example, the trade deficit has been offset by remittances (an estimated \$1.6 billion in 2000) from the hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans living abroad. Coupled with external aid, these remittances have kept a national and regional economy afloat, with inflation falling to single-digit levels. The fact that as of January 1, 2001, the US dollar was made legal tender alongside the colón suggests that this country’s economic integration too is linked more to North America than to its Central American neighbors.

In the 1990s, natural and infrastructural disasters such as those brought on by Hurricane Mitch in 1998 proved the CACM to be of little long-lasting effect in the face of large catastrophes. In 2001, border disputes between Guatemala and Belize and between Honduras and Nicaragua undermined attempts to integrate the management and conservation of one of the region’s growingly scarce resources: water. While seemingly paradoxical, growth, relative development, and great poverty all came at once with the CACM. Industrialization rose, but so did the polarization of resources between social classes.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Costa Rica; El Salvador; Guatemala; Honduras; International Monetary Fund (IMF); Mexico: History and Economic Development; Nicaragua; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Panama; Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)**

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## CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Lying outside the borders of the ancient Roman Empire, Central and Eastern Europe's inhabitants—the Germans and Slavs—were among the peoples that brought an end to that empire. In the Middle Ages, the countries of the modern region were born. Almost all of them at one time or another in the past controlled great nations.

During the early Middle Ages, the people of Central and Eastern Europe converted to Christianity, a major catalyst in the differentiation of the nations. In addition to Germans, West Slavs separated into Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks; East Slavs into Russians, Ukrainians, and Belo Russians; and South Slavs into Bulgarians, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Slovenes—all of which eventually formed nation-states. In addition, in other nations appeared the Romanians, descendants of the Roman and indigenous peoples; the Balts—Lithuanians and Letts; and non-Indo-European speakers—Hungarians (Magyars), Estonians, and Finns.

By 1715, the great power system arose to dominate European affairs, and the great powers of Eastern Europe—Austria, Russia, and Prussia—effectively gained control of the northern portion of the regions, while the Turkish Ottoman Empire held sway over the Balkans.

The economy of the lands of Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages was chiefly agricultural with some mining of iron, silver, copper, other minerals, and later, coal. The land was owned by the nobility and gentry classes and worked by peasants who remained in a condition of serfdom until the nineteenth century. Casimir the Great (1333–1370) of Poland invited Jews expelled from Western Europe to his kingdom, and many others found their way to other cities of Central and Eastern Europe where they worked as merchants and artisans. The economy of the Ottoman lands in Europe was similar to those of the North—agriculture and mining. Lands were managed for the sultan by Moslem knights and worked by Moslem and Christian peasants. Here also the sultan invited Jews as artisans, chiefly Sephardim from Spain in contrast to the Ashkenazim north of the Danube.

After the era of the French Revolution, the great powers reorganized the continent hoping to keep the *status quo*, but national revolutions had already begun to erupt in Europe. Serbia began its revolt in 1804. Greece followed next. The major forces of revolt were the rise of nationalism and classical liberalism carried by the growing middle classes and the younger generation. Furthermore, the spread of the

industrial revolution eastward into continental Europe brought about the growth of Socialist and anarchist ideologies. Another powerful national movement existed among the aristocracy and intellectuals of Poland, whose country had been gobbled up by Russia, Prussia, and Austria at the end of the eighteenth century. Now the Poles wanted their independence once more.

The ruling aristocracy kept these movements in check more or less for thirty years until serious revolutions broke out in 1848. In France and Germany, the focus of nationalism, liberalism, and socialism came to the fore. For Austria it was the worst. There, Italian, Czech, Romanian, and especially Hungarian rebels demanded independence. The efforts failed, but the Austrian government had to fight a war against a Hungarian republic declared by Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) and only with the unwanted help of Russia was able to defeat it. The revolutions finally ended serfdom in Prussia and Austria. Russia ended it in 1863.

The Revolutions of 1848 acted as a catalyst on the national movements of Eastern Europe. Within a little more than two decades, Germany and Italy were unified. As for the national minorities of Eastern Europe in the Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman Empires, the desire for independence increased. German Austria came to terms with the Hungarians, creating the unique Austro-Hungarian Empire to find a balance versus the various Slavic minorities. Austria and Hungary were completely independent in all domestic policies united only in foreign policy and the military. The emperor was at the same time king of Hungary.

The two states treated their national minorities differently. In Austria, the government followed a policy of cultural autonomy. Most of the Catholic minorities—the Slovaks, Slovenians, and Croatians—were satisfied with this solution. Only among the Czechs was there a strong movement looking for dissolution of the Empire and even possibly a pan-Slavic state led by Russia.

In Hungary, the government followed a policy of “magyarization”—forcing minorities to become Hungarians by assimilating into society principally by adopting the Hungarian language. This policy can be compared to the United States's “melting pot” practice of the early twentieth century, but some national minorities, including Slovaks, Romanians, and Croatians, objected.

Poland, with its territory and population divided among Germany, Russia, and Austria, continued its activity for a resurrection of independence. The Catholic Poles preferred Catholic Austria of the three.

Meanwhile in Russia, national movements blossomed among the more than one hundred non-Russian nationalities. St. Petersburg's policy, like that of Hungary, was "Russification." However, unlike Hungary, being Russian meant being Russian Orthodox. This only exacerbated the nationalist movements as the minorities joined the variety of anti-Tsarist and antigovernment political movements that arose, and terrorist national groups began violent activity.

The Ottoman Empire followed Austria's multicultural policy at least for non-Moslems, but the European nations still aimed for complete independence. After the Crimean War (1854–1856), when a coalition including England, France, and Turkey defeated Russia, the protector of the Romanian provinces, Romania was able to unite as an autonomous state in Turkey. Serbia and Montenegro enjoyed the same status. In the 1870s, uprisings by Serbs in Turkish Bosnia and Bulgarians led to the Russo-Turkish war in 1877–1878, which was resolved by the 1878 Congress of Berlin. Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania gained *de jure* independence, and northern Bulgaria gained *de facto* status while remaining under Turkish legal control. Southern Bulgaria was in a similar but less independent status, and Macedonia, which had been conquered by Russia, was returned to Turkey. Bosnia remained a part of Turkey but administered by Austria.

Bulgaria was dissatisfied with its allotment and wanted to achieve the boundaries outlined in the Treaty of San Stefano, which Turkey and Russia had signed in March 1878 before the Congress of Berlin modified it. In 1885, they managed through a *coup d'état* and a short victorious war against Serbia to add southern Bulgaria. In 1908, Sofia's Prince Ferdinand (1893–1918) declared his *de jure* independence from Turkey in conjunction with Austria's outright annexation of Bosnia to the chagrin of the Serbs. In the meantime, terrorists operated in Macedonia (the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—IMRO). Both Macedonians and Bulgarians claimed the organization as their own, and by the 1920s, when Macedonia was mainly under Greece and Yugoslavia control, the IMRO split into Bulgarian and Macedonian wings. Greek rebel groups were also operating in the region.

In 1912, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro went to war against Turkey and drove it from Europe except for Istanbul (First Balkan War, 1912–1913). However, Austria and Italy prevented the Serbs from adding Albania, which had declared its independence during the war and whose land had been designated to Belgrade by its treaty with Sofia. The Serbs then announced their intention to keep Western Macedonia, which had been assigned to Bulgaria.

Furthermore, the Greeks, who had made no territorial agreements, moved in and occupied southern Macedonia. In June 1913, Bulgaria attacked Serbia and Greece (Second Balkan War, 1913) and lost even more territory, including Edirne, to Turkey.

The Serbs coveted Austrian Bosnia; when Gavrilo Princip of the Serbian irredentist group Young Bosnia assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Austrian heir to the throne, on June 28, 1914, World War I erupted five weeks later. All major powers and Balkan countries were drawn into the conflict—Russia, England, France, Italy, Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, and Greece on one side; Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria on the other.

When the war ended, the map of Europe was redrawn. The Russian Revolutions in 1917 brought the Communist Party to power and Russia out of the war in March 1918 before the final armistice. Thus, Soviet Russia, along with the Central Powers, became the pariahs of the post-World War I world. New countries were carved out of the multinational empires—Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Finland. Poland was reconstituted. Romania increased at the expense of its neighbors. Montenegro disappeared.

The interwar period lasted less than twenty years—from 1918 to 1939—during which time the countries of Central and Eastern Europe fought each other to grab their neighbors' territory. By 1922, Soviet Russia was able to regain Ukraine and Belarus and establish them as union republics in the newly formed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The other countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1920s established constitutional parliamentary republics, but during the great depression of the 1930s, they one by one (except for Czechoslovakia) turned to authoritarianism and fascist-type governments.

Most of the countries were agrarian with relatively little industry. This brought conflict between communities in cities and in the countryside, as well as the rise of strong peasant parties; while peasant parties had great success at the polls, they were sometimes overthrown by force as in Bulgaria and Poland or gerrymandered out of power as in Romania.

Leaders of almost all the countries tried to adjust to economic crises by hoping to restore their large medieval empires at the expense of their neighbors. Economic development remained at a standstill. Foreign investors moved in and exploited the countries for their rich natural resources. This was the case for France in Yugoslavia and Italy in Albania. During the depression, Germany set up trade agreements in the countries largely based on credit, which bound the nations to Berlin. Within the nation-states, another method of economic exploitation placed minorities,

particularly the Jews, at a disadvantage to the ruling nation. Examples of this were the exploitation of Croats at the expense of Serbia in Yugoslavia; Slovaks at the expense of Czechs in Czechoslovakia; and Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, and Belo Russians at the expense of Poles in Poland.

With World War II, the countries fell once again under the influence of the great powers—at the start of the war, Germany was in power; at the end of the war, the Soviet Union held power over the countries, with a few exceptions such as Greece and Turkey. The USSR maintained its control by establishing the Cominform as a network of Communist parties, Comecon as an economic network, and, in response to the Western military alliance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Soviet military alliance, the Warsaw Pact. Under Soviet domination, the Eastern European countries were ruled by coalitions led by Communist parties. Moscow oversaw the purge of independent Communists from the leadership. Because of the history of invasion patterns into Russia, control over the northern tier states—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany—was more vital to the Kremlin than the Balkans, and the Red Army remained in the North. In the South, the Soviets relied more on political accommodation.

In Poland, the Communist Party lacked support because of its ties to Moscow. After being dissolved in the 1930s, it grew during the war under the name the Polish Workers Party (PWP) and was a major force against Nazi occupation. Afterward, Moscow backed its loyal “Lublin Committee,” but Wladyslaw Gomulka (1905–1982), who had some independence from the Soviets, emerged as the Communists’ most popular figure. With the help of Moscow, the PWP formed a government with the Social Democrats and Peasant Party and maintained its power by bullying its opponents with unwarranted arrests and even executions. Supporters of the anti-Communist leadership, which had spent the war years in England, engaged the Communists in armed conflict in 1945 but lost to them, enabling the government to more thoroughly maintain its control. The government also quickly nationalized the country’s economy.

The Polish peasant leader Stanislaw Mikolajczyk (1901–1966), the most popular politician, left the government coalition and formed his own party. However, by controlling the elections of 1947, the PWP overwhelmingly defeated him. Mikolajczyk left the country. After expelling Gomulka in 1948, the party leadership had disappeared. In 1951, the constitution was amended, and the Communists loyal to Moscow gained complete control of the country.

In Czechoslovakia, which the Germans had occupied since 1939, the prewar leaders Eduard Benes

(1884–1948) and Jan Masaryk (1886–1948), who also had been in exile in England, signed agreements with Moscow to reestablish the state including aspects similar to the Soviet Union. As elsewhere, the Communists gained control by joining a coalition with other parties. The Communists also had strong support in the country and did not need to use strong-arm tactics in the first postwar elections. However, in the summer of 1947, the tide turned against them when Moscow prohibited Prague from participating in the Marshall Plan and when some of the parties in the governing coalition ruled against the Communists. The Communists then used their control of various organizations and local police stations to destroy their rivals by armed force and political maneuvers. They forced Benes from office and most likely murdered Masaryk. By May 1948, the Communists were in complete control of the government. In fact, the fall of Prague to Moscow was a major turning point in European politics, ending for good the Grand Alliance of World War II and beginning the Cold War.

Unlike Poland and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria were not occupied by but allied to Germany. In those countries, the Red Army drove out the Germans and, by agreement with the West, had the major occupation role. As the Red Army advanced into Hungary, the Communists followed the usual pattern and established provisional governments based on coalitions with other antifascist parties. Since the Western countries retained some voice in the country through the Allied Control Commission and Moscow was concentrating on Poland, there was less interference in Hungarian elections in 1945 and 1946. The popular Smallholders Party (SHP) therefore gained the majority of votes. However, by agreement, the coalition continued. The Communists in control of the ministry of interior were able to turn the police forces into their own army. They also had important sympathizers in the other parties of the coalition excepting the SHP. To attack the latter, they began a press campaign accusing the SHP of reactionary and anti-Russian politics, and the Communists also used divisions with the SHP to weaken it. In 1947, after the peace treaty between Hungary and the Allies was signed, the Communists took their final steps. They arrested leaders of the SHP and the anti-Communist Catholic church, including Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty (1892–1975), and they forced the SHP prime minister Ferenc Nagy (1903–1979) to go into exile by threatening his family. In 1949, Budapest adopted a new constitution based on that of the Soviet Union.

As the Red Army approached Romania in August 1944, young King Michael arrested the pro-German

dictator Ion Antonescu and put in a government friendly to the Allies, including a Communist. The Romanian Communist Party was extremely weak and remained part of a coalition while building its strength through various front organizations with other parties. Furthermore, since the Allies allowed Moscow major influence in Romania, the Soviets interfered in the country's internal politics, creating a rapid change of prime ministers. Communists took over the government bureaucracy, and Moscow also was able to gain control of the country's economy through the Allied treaties. By manipulating the elections of 1946, the Communist-controlled coalition gained the government. King Michael abdicated in 1947, and Romania became a republic under Communist control.

After rapidly marching through Romania, the Red Army then entered into Bulgaria in early September 1944. Sofia had established an antifascist pro-Western government, but Moscow would not agree to an armistice unless the Fatherland Front—a coalition including Communists—took over. The Bulgarian Communist Party was one of the strongest in Eastern Europe, but the Agrarian Union, another member of the Front, was more popular. Both the Communists and the Agrarians had engaged in violent political wars with the governments of the other parties since the 1920s. Now the Front took its revenge through war crime trials, eliminating any opposition. In the next step, George Dimitrov, the hero of the 1933 Reichstag Fire trial and former leader of the Comintern, returned to Bulgaria and assumed the position of prime minister. The young King Simeon (1937– ) (who would, in 2001, return to Bulgaria as prime minister) went with his family into exile, and the Fatherland Front declared Bulgaria a republic. The Communists then turned on their opponents within the Front and gained complete control by 1948.

When Josef Broz-Tito (1892–1980) fought the attempts of Moscow to rein in his independent policies, Soviet leader Josef Stalin (1879–1953) expelled him from the Cominform and the Communist community. Tito went on to turn Yugoslavia into a one-party independent and neutral Communist state with more if still restricted freedoms than the Soviet bloc countries. Instead of the central planning that ruled the economies in the Soviet bloc, he introduced a measure of real workers' control in the factories and made trade agreements with the West. Tito also became a leader along with Jawaharlal Nehru of India (1889–1964), Sukarno (1901–1970) of Indonesia, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (1909–1972), and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt (1918–1970) of the Unaligned Movement. Yugoslav citizens had more freedom of movement than other citizens of Eastern European

countries and traveled to Germany as *gastarbeitern* (guest workers). Josip Broz Tito reformed Yugoslavia into six constituent republics—Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia—and two autonomous regions—Kosovo for Albanians and the Banat for Hungarians. Thus, he followed Stalin's model in the USSR and, just like Stalin, set the pattern for future republics. King Alexander (1921–1934), when he established his royal dictatorship in 1929, had reorganized the country on a geographical basis to attempt to deal with national rivalries. It did not work. Tito, of mixed Croatian–Slovenian parentage, gave the republics autonomy, but the hatred remained and proved fatal for the future.

Because of wartime agreements and strategical issues, Stalin gave only lukewarm support to the strong Greek Communists and their attempts to take control of the country where the West supported the unpopular monarchy. As a result, with US aid under the Truman doctrine, the Monarchists and Conservatives won the Greek Civil War (1944–1949) and kept the country out of Communist hands. Greece and Turkey, its rival, joined NATO.

Romania, also because of its southern tier position, was able to maintain a more autonomous position in the Soviet bloc. After the war, “native” Communists led by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901–1965) were able to win a power struggle against the “Muscovite” group led by Ana Pauker (1894–1960) and Vasile Luka (1898–1960). They convinced Stalin to let them rule. In 1965, Gheorghiu-Dej's leadership fell to the weak and corrupt Nicolae Ceausescu (1918–1989), who used the Soviet southern tier system to carve out a niche between East and West, defying Moscow on some issues. These issues included maintaining relations with Israel after the 1967 Six-Day War when the other bloc countries severed them or participating in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics despite a USSR boycott. However, Ceausescu assured Moscow of his loyalty. Yet when social and economic conditions eased in the 1980s elsewhere in Eastern Europe, he instituted an even harsher dictatorship. In the Russian Revolutions of 1989, he was the only Eastern European leader executed by his people.

Albania under Enver Hoxha (1908–1985) followed its own path. Hoxha had sided with Stalin against Tito, whom he suspected of trying to incorporate Albania in his plans for an expanded Yugoslavia. With the “destalinization” campaign of Nikita Khrushchev, Hoxha broke relations Moscow. The country, unlike Yugoslavia, remained relatively isolated by refusing relations either with the USSR or United States, although it did continue relations with China after Moscow's break with Peking, and relations with other Western and Soviet bloc

countries continued. Economically, Albania tried, not always successfully, to rely on its own resources with limited trade.

With all the southern tier countries following unique paths, Bulgaria chose loyally to follow the Soviet Union. In the wake of the break with Tito, Todor Zhivkov (1911–1998) emerged as the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1954, at first with others, then alone. He remained as such with only a few unsuccessful attempts to remove him until 1989.

In the northern tier states, Moscow maintained a much stricter control. The Soviets relinquished Finland and Austria, although they retained the territory gained in World War II and a little extra to make sure it bordered Norway and Sweden. In the other countries—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany—Moscow maintained the Red Army presence and, through the Tito-area purges, saw to it that the Communist parties with leaders loyal to Moscow held supreme power, although the parties ruled through token coalitions with remnants of other left-wing parties. Moscow retained the Polish territory it had taken in 1939 according to the infamous Soviet–Nazi Pact, but Poland extended westward to the Oder-Niese border with Germany regaining the medieval Polish kingdom of Silesia. The Soviets also arranged that the eastern borders of the Eastern European states be adjusted so that the USSR had contingent boundaries with Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. After the death of Stalin, there were a number of uprisings that invariably brought about Soviet responses ranging from pressure to make changes within the party to armed intervention. The first serious revolt was in East Germany immediately after Stalin's death. In 1956, uprisings in Poland brought Gomulka back to power. However, the Polish revolts inspired the more severe Hungarian uprising led by Imre Nagy (1896–1958), who had left the Communist Party. Nikita Khrushchev responded by sending in Soviet troops and executing Nagy.

Khrushchev, however, allowed Gomulka and the new Hungarian leader Janos Kadar (1912–1989) to practice polycentrism, a more moderate form of communism, in their countries. In 1968, after Leonid Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev as supreme leader of the Soviet Union, the chief of the party of Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubcek, pushed the policy to the limit in the “Prague Spring,” permitting even more freedoms. Just as in 1956, Soviet troops intervened in Hungary, although Dubcek, unlike Nagy, survived.

Resistance and uprisings, however, continued. In 1970 in Poland, a series of strikes and demonstrations

brought down Gomulka, and Eduard Gierek (1913–2001) replaced him. One aspect of polycentrism in Poland was the semiautonomy of the Catholic Church, which became a beacon for dissidence. This dissidence increased with the election of Karol Wojtyla (1920– ) to the papacy as Pope John Paul II in 1978. A dissident intellectual group, the Workers' Defense League (KOR), fought for the liberation of Poland, but the real crisis occurred with strikes in the Lenin shipyards at Gdansk led by the electrician Lech Walesa (1943– ) in 1980. Walesa and his coworkers formed the Solidarity (*Solidarnosc*) Union, which did not bring in Soviet troops but forced the imposition of marshal law and the replacement of Gierek with Marshall Wojciech Jaruzelski (1923– ). It also helped to bring the end of the Communist monopoly in Eastern Europe when Mikhail Gorbachev (1931– ) brought in his sweeping changes in the Soviet Union.

Soviet politics dominated postwar Eastern Europe economics as well. Under Stalin, this meant essentially bilateral trade agreements for the benefit for Moscow. Comecon, the Soviet economic union, assigned special tasks to each of the countries; for example, it assigned Bulgaria agricultural produce, while Czechoslovakia and East Germany received more industrial assignments. Furthermore, according to treaties with the United States and England, Moscow was allowed to confiscate factories and other economic goods from Germany. Moscow designated Eastern European countries people's democracies because, unlike the Soviet Union, they had not yet achieved the stage of socialism. However, Marxist theory demanded that each of the countries have an industrial capacity to hasten the growth of proletariat and lessen the percentage of the peasantry. This led to inappropriate use of resources, such as in the unproductive *Kremikovtsi* steel mill in Bulgaria. Furthermore, the Stalinist application of “central planning” and five-year plans continued and would remain a factor in the economies until the fall of communism. The planners emphasized quantity at the expense of quality and especially the environment, which greatly suffered under the system. Yugoslavia, as indicated previously, went its own way. The United States broached the countries in 1948 about joining the Marshall Plan, but Stalin refused to accept the offer.

Khrushchev's policy of polycentrism allowed more flexibility in the economies of Eastern Europe. The countries diversified and also made their own trade agreements with non-bloc countries. There was a greater emphasis on consumer goods, and they also accepted deficit balances of trade. As time went by, more freedom of travel and contact with relatives in the West allowed hard currency to come in, and some citizens were able to purchase goods in the “dollar

shops” present in all the countries. The Soviet Union under Brezhnev in 1965 introduced a more consumer-oriented and management incentive policy called *Liberianism* after the economist Evsei Liberman (1897–1983). The Soviets had tried modified market economies in the past—during the 1920s with the New Economic Policy of Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) and attempted it again in more serious vein in the 1980s under Gorbachev’s *Perestroika* restructuring. Gorbachev’s concurrent policy of *Glasnost*, openness or freedom of expression, soon led to the frank discussion that the whole system of centralized planning and collective agriculture was at fault and helped bring down the Communist system in the USSR and Eastern Europe. In some of the countries, small private enterprises such as restaurants and taxi services were permitted. Capitalist firms began to operate in Eastern Europe—hotel chains like Japanese Otani, French Novotel, and the American Sheraton. In the 1980s, there was even a McDonalds in Budapest. Hungary most successfully introduced Western-style market economy on a consistent basis, but even Bulgaria attempted it. In other places, the experiment only lasted a short time. Poles had even been allowed to go as guest laborers to the West, but the Polish economy collapsed over the solidarity crisis. In Romania, the system failed because of Ceausescu’s mismanagement; in Czechoslovakia, it failed because of the Prague Spring.

Much of the economy was in the form of illegal black markets, especially when citizens could get goods from foreign visitors or Western relatives as well as from travel abroad (if permitted). There was also a gray market barter economy characterized by citizens exchanging goods and services either within a country or between citizens of one country with another (since travel within the Socialist bloc was easier than travel outside the bloc; Polish glass for Czech linen is an example of this trade). The non-Communist countries integrated into the European market systems seeking trading alliances with the various European economic associations, such as the Common Market, The European Free Trade Association, and the European Union (EU).

Because of its government’s inability to solve the economic crises, Poland negotiated an agreement with the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity by which elections for a new parliament were held in February 1989. The Communists were guaranteed one-third of the lower house. The other parties in the PWP had another third, but the remaining third and the upper house were for open contests. Solidarity overwhelmingly won those seats. Although the Communists were also guaranteed the government, they failed to form one and turned the reins over to

Solidarity, which began the process of introducing a free market economy. Throughout the 1990s, Solidarity controlled the government. Walesa was the first freely elected president since World War II. However, little progress was made to reforming the economy, and with dozens of new parties, political turmoil reigned. As the new millennium began, the Social Democrats (the former Communists) made a comeback when working with other left and center parties.

In 1988, Imre Pozsgay in Hungary spearheaded reforms, including freedom of the press and independent labor unions through the Communist Party politburo; the following year, the government changed the electoral laws leading to contested elections. At the same time, Moscow and Budapest signed an agreement calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. Ceremonies in 1989 honoring Imre Nagy and those killed in the 1956 uprising marked the end of Communist rule in Hungary. In the first elections of 1990, center and right-of-center parties defeated the Communists (renamed the Hungarian Social Democratic Party), and the new government rapidly converted to a democracy and a market economy. In the elections of 2002, however, the Social Democrats in coalition with the Free Democrats narrowly won.

Although the Communist government in Prague gave lip service to Gorbachev’s reforms, they were reluctant to make changes. In 1988, demonstrations occurred throughout the country in reaction to the reforms elsewhere in the Soviet bloc. Then, in November 1989, student demonstrations in Bratislava and Prague led to massive demonstrations of up to a half million protesters. By the end of the month, the Communist Party gave up power, and Alexander Dubcek, the hero of the Prague Spring, came back as speaker of the national assembly. Vaclav Havel (1936–), the writer and leading dissident, was elected president. This smooth changeover has been dubbed the Velvet Revolution; two years later, the country peacefully divided into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, ending seventy-five years of stormy history.

In Romania, the attempted arrest of Pastor Laszlo Tokes occurred in December 1989 (and brought about a mass rally against the government in Timisoara). Even though Tokes was a Hungarian, the city’s Romanian population still supported him. Demonstrations in Bucharest followed, forcing the Ceausescu to flee. However, they were arrested, tried, and executed. The new government outlawed the Communist Party, but ex-Communists remained in control. New demonstrations followed in 1990, and the government brutally suppressed them. A new constitution was written, and gradual democratic and economic market reforms were introduced.



In Bulgaria, Zhivkov began losing support in 1988 when he refused to accept the advice of party and technical leaders for improving the economy. In elections for leadership in the professional associations in the spring of 1989, the party slates were voted down. Later in the year, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, a huge demonstration of protesters against Zhivkov's mismanagement, especially in the wake of environmental disasters, led to a *coup d'état* against him by members of the party. As elsewhere, reforms of the new government introduced political democracy and a market economy. The Communist Party, renamed the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, still maintained some support, but it had to share power with the Union of Democratic forces over the next decade and a half.

The collapse of communism established a new era in Central and Eastern Europe. Politically, it led to the breakup of the artificial post-World War I federations. In 1994, Czechs and Slovaks mutually agreed to dissolve their state into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Yugoslavia broke into its constituent republics—Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro. However, the dissolution was accompanied by a decade of bitter war involving foreign interventions. The Soviet Union broke up into its fifteen constituent republics, accompanied by war in some of the new states. Thus Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia reappeared as independent countries once more, and Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine joined the states of Central and Eastern Europe. The boundaries of the countries, however, remained the same. In these countries of Central and Eastern Europe, multiparty parliamentary democratic republics became the standard. The Communist parties, calling themselves Socialists or Social Democrats, participated and still had strength; for the most part, however, they remained as opposition forces and not in power. In perhaps the strangest situation, the leader of the Socialists (Communist Party) was elected president in Bulgaria, and the pretender to the throne, Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, was elected prime minister. In addition to the wars in some areas, the new states suffered from crime, corruption, assassinations, and conflicts with minorities—all problems that had existed in the interwar period. However, unlike that period, there was a genuine commitment to fit into modern democratic Europe. The countries applied and generally won affiliation with the North American Treaty Organization (NATO) and the EU. By 2004, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia were in NATO; Austria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia were in the EU.

Market economies and foreign investment also became the standard for all of the countries with various degrees of success. The countries formed regional associations, such as the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Group and the Visegrád group, to promote private enterprise and government and private cooperation in the economy. Throughout the regions' agriculture, forestry and mining has remained important, but industry has remained behind Western standards.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe**

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## CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Eastern Central Europe or Central Europe is the descriptive title generally given to those states that lie between Germany and Russia. These states can be broken into three fairly distinct regions. The Baltic States include Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The Balkans include Albania and the states of the former Yugoslavia: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, and Slovenia. The Central European states are Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. This discussion will refer to the whole region as "Central Europe." Throughout their history, the domestic politics of the states and the region as a whole have affected international relations. Pressured by external enemies and often rent by internal conflicts, which left them vulnerable to military advances, the states in Central Europe have frequently played a strategic role in the history of Europe and, in the twentieth century, the world.

The idea of Central Europe or *Mitteleuropa* has long been more cultural and political than geographical; it has often been noted that Prague, in the Czech Republic—a Central European state—lies to the west of Vienna, yet Austria is considered to be a Western European state. Historically, these three regions have

been pawns in competing games between empires. The end of World War II saw the imposition of yet another empire on the countries of Central Europe. In the years immediately following the end of World War II, the Soviet Union under Stalin moved to consolidate its hold on those states lying immediately to its west. The extension of Soviet influence and control from the Balkans north to the Baltic States brought those states into a new form of empire. At post-World War II conferences in Yalta and Potsdam among the Allied leaders, Stalin cited Russia's security concerns as the basis for maintaining a Soviet military presence in those states. Given the role of the Soviet Union in defeating Germany, the Western powers were inclined to acquiesce.

### 1945–1989

While their political autonomy has at times been in question, the states of Central Europe have played a significant role in international relations. In the period between 1945 and 1989, these states acted as an introduction of the "Socialist community" into Europe for the Soviet Union and as a staging ground for the Soviet army. Stalin cited the same security concerns with regard to the Balkans as he had with Eastern Europe; however, those reasons did not sit as well in that area. The movement of the Soviet Union through the Balkans follows a long-running pattern of Russian expansion toward the straits of the Dardanelles.

In response to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Stalin formed the Warsaw Pact between the Soviet Union and its satellite states. As members of the Warsaw Pact, the central European states played a more dangerous role between NATO forces and Russia. The Warsaw Pact was also utilized as an internal control mechanism designed to keep the satellite states in line with Soviet policies.

The imposition of Communist rule varied among the Central European states. The Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were forcefully absorbed by the Soviet Union and recreated as republics within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The Baltics have always maintained that the Soviet takeover was illegal. Thus, their presence on the international stage between 1945 and 1989 was limited to their strategic role as staging areas for the Soviet military. The Balkan states were initially considered to be Soviet satellite states, yet by the end of the 1960s, Russia had very little influence in that area; Albania had found a new ally in Mao Zedong's China and formally left the Warsaw Pact, while Tito had

broken with Stalin and also pulled Yugoslavia out of the Warsaw Pact.

The Central European states became Soviet satellite states with Communist governments playing a subsidiary role to the Soviet government in Moscow. The decade immediately following World War II saw the economic development of Central Europe closely follow that of the Soviet Union. It is true that under the Soviet system, the states of Central Europe experienced almost half a century of political stability, which was unusual for the area. However, political stability under Soviet communism did not mean a peaceful evolution into developed, industrialized nations. The societies of Central Europe were more sophisticated and economically developed than Russia under Stalin. This contrast meant that participation in the industrialization program instituted by Stalin actually undermined any economic gains made by Central Europe before World War II.

Following the Communist takeover, the Soviet Union nationalized industrial production and began a program to collectivize the agricultural sector. The economies of Central Europe were exploited to speed up the recovery of the Soviet economy. Stalin viewed his acquisition of the economic structures of the Central European states as war reparations. In addition, all foreign trade in the satellite states was to be directed to Moscow. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or Comecon) was established in January 1949 to speed the economic integration of the region with the Soviet Union. Under Comecon, the satellite states were obliged to purchase Soviet raw material exports at highly inflated prices and sell the finished products to Russia cheaply. Industrial output doubled in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1955, and in the less industrialized satellite states, particularly Bulgaria and Romania, output rose 12%–14% per year between 1950 and 1955.

After Stalin's death in 1953, there was some loosening of economic controls from Moscow, and for a while a new course was adopted that included raising wages, cutting prices and taxes, boosting agricultural production, and reducing investment in heavy industry. However, in 1955, the policy of economic integration was pursued even more strongly, and Central Europe became even more dependent on the Soviet Union for raw materials for the industrialization programs. The rapid industrialization in the 1950s began to have a negative impact on the socioeconomic development of the region by the late 1950s and early 1960s.

In addition to economic changes, the death of Stalin brought about significant cultural changes for Central Europe. After 1955, cultural relations with the West were renewed in all states except for Bulgaria and Romania. While maintaining the appearance of

fidelity to Soviet ideology, there was a general reorientation toward the West coupled with a renewal of national themes. In Poland, in particular, the Catholic Church was given more freedom to operate. The economic and social consequences of Stalinism had bred increasingly higher levels of tension throughout Central Europe. The loosening of controls allowed people to begin talking about the shortcomings of Communist regimes and brought about a slight lessening of tensions.

### **Revolution and Rebellion**

Despite the excesses and terror of the Stalin years, many people remained supportive of the national Communist parties and adhered to the Communist Party line in the Central European states. However, the loosening of controls after Stalin's death had unquestionable ramifications for Central European governments and citizens. October 1956 has been termed "Polish October" for the actions that preceded and followed the Eighth Party Plenum held in Warsaw that year. Polish party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka managed to convince Soviet leaders that Poland would remain loyal to Moscow and continue to support Soviet foreign and defense policy. He managed to prevent Soviet military intervention in Poland. Hungary was not so fortunate.

In 1956, revolution in Hungary was the first and most fundamental challenge to Soviet domination in the region. There was no mass support for the Communist Party in Hungary. The Soviet Army had imposed Communist Party rule in Hungary, and the party barely clung to power. Soviet economic policies had resulted in a considerable lowering of standards of living and disaffection of the great majority of the population. Prior to 1955, there had been no active opposition to the Soviet regime, but with the death of Stalin and the lessening of the terror, the hostility to the regime began to surface. The revelation of crimes committed during the Stalin era caused the previous Hungarian leadership to be discredited, and the minor, halfhearted attempts by the new regime to enact reforms only increased the activities of the opposition. Inspired by Poland, Hungary moved its events much faster and further than Poland had. The demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, release from the Warsaw Pact, and the recognition of Hungary's neutral status brought in the Soviet tanks on November 4, 1956. Outside of Western Europe, the invasion of Hungary did not have much impact. The United States and other NATO states

did not want to risk a direct US-USSR conflict through Western intervention in Hungary. The bloody suppression of the Hungarian uprising and the reluctance of the United States and European states to become directly involved underlined the uncertain status of Central Europe as a player on the international stage.

Further splits in the Communist world brought Central Europe once more to the world's attention. The 1960 split between China and the Soviet Union publicly introduced the idea that multiple interpretations of communism were possible. The creation of a Communist world with multiple centers of Communist ideology and policy gave rise to speculation in Central Europe that those states could also create their own brand of communism without Soviet influence or interference. This idea of "polycentrism" took hold in Central Europe and spread rapidly.

Albania, the smallest of the Central European states, was the first to break away from Moscow. Albania had based its Communist government on two fairly important factors: its leaders were fanatically loyal to Moscow and even more Stalinist than Stalin; second, much of Albania's loyalty had been based on a strong rivalry, bordering on hatred, with Yugoslavia. When Moscow began making overtures to Tito in an effort to win back Yugoslavia, Albania decided to look elsewhere for inspiration and protection. In 1961, Albania formally left the Warsaw Pact and found a willing ally and protector in Mao Zedong, who was happy to get a foothold in Europe. There was no real political, economic, or military value in the alliance, but it did allow for a Chinese presence in Europe. Its relationship with China has continued to severely hamper Albanian economic and social development. It remains one of the poorest and least developed nations in southeastern Europe.

Romania soon followed Albania and began to dissociate itself from the Soviet Union. The desire for a more independent policy clashed with Moscow's attempt to increase the centralization of the Soviet system. The break between Romania and the Soviet Union was initially economic in character; Romania opposed Comecon and its initiative to more closely coordinate economic policies between the Soviet Union and Central Europe. It was argued that such close integration would impede Romanian industrialization and economic development. Romania succeeded in this undertaking and at the same time managed to improve and expand diplomatic and economic relations with the West. This independent Romanian course was limited to foreign policy; the national Communist Party retained firm control of domestic economic and social policies.

Czechoslovakia was not immune to the changes moving through Central Europe. In early 1968, Alexander Dubček was installed as the new leader of Czechoslovakia. He began to promote economic reforms much more vigorously than had been done in the past. Dubček's intention was to keep Socialist principles in industry and agriculture but at the same time expand trade links with the West. He maintained that he had no intention of leaving Comecon or the Warsaw Pact, but the changes in Czechoslovakia caused a great deal of unease in Moscow. Czechoslovakia shares a border with Austria and thus the West. The permeability of this border was not lost on Moscow, and the threat perception increased accordingly. Romania did not share any borders with Western states. On August 21, 1968, having failed to stop what became known as the "Prague Spring" through other forms of pressure, the Soviet Union along with other Warsaw Pact members (except Romania) invaded Czechoslovakia.

The "normalization" of Czechoslovakia in the wake of the invasion marked the beginning of a period of economic and social stagnation throughout the region. The invasion of Prague quelled the hopes for gradual change in Central Europe. By the end of the 1960s, the "Sovietization" of Central Europe appeared to be complete. The various rebellions had been put down, and the process appeared to be irreversible. Control over Central Europe by the Soviet Union was codified in the Brezhnev Doctrine, which maintained that the Soviet Union would not give up any of the territory it had gained at the end of World War II. The socioeconomic system that was taking shape under Soviet influence was not very successful, but it did appear to be more or less permanent. Leadership was less repressive than it had been under Stalin, and intellectuals in most states were allowed a limited degree of freedom; however, economic growth rates began decreasing in the late 1970s and never really recovered. It bears remembering, though, production figures in the Soviet-controlled economies were often vastly overstated, so there was no way to really know the true state of the economy.

The primary grounds for maintaining the ties between Central Europe and the Soviet Union were the strategic military considerations of the Soviet Union. As mentioned, the Central European states were used as a buffer zone between the Soviet Union and the West. As relations with the West and Central Europe gradually improved, the argument that defense against the West was a necessity became harder to make, and it became more difficult to make those states adhere closely to Soviet policies. The exception to this rule was Czechoslovakia. Under the "normalization"

imposed after the Prague Spring, Czechoslovak opposition and the economy subsided into stagnation and did not reappear until the late 1980s.

Yugoslavia also proved to be an exception to Moscow's control over the governments of Central Europe. Yugoslavia was expelled from Comintern (the Communist international party) as early as 1948, yet it managed to maintain its independence and avoid a Soviet invasion. Tito broke with Moscow over the implementation of Communist policies and was able to preserve Yugoslav independence from Moscow following Stalin's death. Under Tito, Yugoslavia played an important role in world affairs as the leader of the nonaligned movement. Along with Nasser in Egypt and Nehru in India, Tito symbolized the transformation of smaller states into nonaligned status within the politics of Cold War bipolarity.

## 1989 and Beyond

The year 1989 has been called *annus mirabilis*, the miraculous year. Political scientists, analysts, diplomats, and politicians had been unable to predict the end of communism in Central Europe. The fall of the Berlin wall and the subsequent breakdown of the Communist systems that had directly and indirectly supported its existence were seen as a miracle. The collapse of Soviet power and Communist control caused a mass movement toward democratic forms of government in the entire region. The nature of the regime change and the nature of the previous Communist system have shaped the political systems that subsequently arose in Central Europe. It is now important to briefly examine some particulars for each area in the Central European region and then move to a more general discussion of international relations for the entire region from 1989 to the present.

### *The Baltic States*

The Baltic States spent the time between 1945 and 1991 as republics within the Soviet Union. The changes in Central Europe brought about sweeping changes in the Baltic States as well. Almost immediately they began agitating for independence from a slowly imploding Soviet Union. In 1991, taking matters into their own hands, Estonia, followed by Lithuania and Latvia, declared their independence from the Soviet Union and their reestablishment as sovereign states. All three Baltic States had long maintained that the Soviet takeover was an illegal

annexation and therefore they were not subject to Soviet control. The fear was that the Soviet Army would move out to reestablish control over the break-away republics, and, in fact, there was an abortive attempt by the Soviet Union to do just that. The Soviet Union feared that if the Baltics were allowed to leave, then other republics would do the same.

Reestablishing themselves as independent states, the Baltics have resumed their former relationships with the Scandinavian states, and all three applied for membership in NATO and the EU. NATO formally invited the Baltic States along with Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia into the alliance at its Prague Summit in November 2002. EU membership for the Baltic States was finalized in May 2004. Membership in both organizations has provided the Baltics with their long sought-after reunification with Europe. Russian reaction to these developments has been much more subdued than originally feared. In fact, Russia has signed several agreements with NATO and is officially a junior partner with the alliance. It is clear that the Baltics will continue to play an important role in European–Russian relations.

### *Central Europe*

Political change in Central Europe after November 1989 was rapid and profound. The general atmosphere in Central Europe was one of independence and renewed economic development, and by January 1990, elections had been held in most of the states with former opposition leaders taking on the role of newly elected post-Communist leaders. Intense political and economic change followed quickly. In Poland, Lech Walesa, leader of the trade union turned political party, Solidarity, was elected president. In Czechoslovakia, playwright Vaclav Havel was elected to that country's presidency three months after being released from jail, in a transition so uneventful it has been nicknamed the "Velvet Revolution." Romanian opposition forces captured Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife and executed them by firing squad on Christmas Day 1989. Events were moving so quickly that academics and politicians alike had a difficult time following along.

In 1992, the "Velvet Divorce" of the Czech and Slovak republics followed the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia. This move resulted in an economic loss for Slovakia. A recipient of a large part of the Soviet industrialization program, Slovakia was unprepared for the rigors of a free market economy. Compounding the problem was the general economic

downturn that permeated Central Europe. Poland brought in Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard University to assist in its economic reform. After experiencing a rapid and severe economic downturn, Poland began recovering at about the time that the other states were beginning what would turn out to be a multiyear decline in economic growth. All of the post-Communist economies were experiencing severe economic declines that included increasingly higher inflation and unemployment rates coupled with a devaluation of currencies. The overall economic slump had a political impact as well. Democratic politics became increasingly unstable, encouraging a reaction against Western-style economic reforms and promoting nostalgia for the former regimes.

In 1999, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic were formally admitted to NATO as full members of that alliance. Once again, questions with regard to Russian reaction surfaced. In early 2000, some of those fears were put to rest; Russia announced it had "forgiven" Hungary and the others for joining NATO and would continue to maintain relations with those states. As with the Baltic States, the Central European states all applied for membership in the EU as soon as that option became available. Along with the Baltics, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Slovakia, Cyprus, and Malta became full members of the EU in May 2004.

Bulgaria and Romania have active applications with the EU and are expected to be admitted in 2007. Membership in the EU has brought a new set of problems and promises for the post-Communist states of Central Europe. Their acceptance as full members indicates that the EU believes that these states can satisfactorily meet the necessary obligations that come with forming the eastern border of that organization. The challenge now becomes maintaining achieved levels of economic growth and political development.

### *The Balkans*

The Balkan states, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, and Slovenia experienced perhaps the roughest transition in Central Europe. Albania, after breaking with the Soviet Union in 1961, subsequently broke with China in 1978. It spent most of the twentieth century being largely ignored by the rest of the world. Isolated and backward, Albania has never been considered a state with much to contribute to the world. Early in the post-Communist period, the Albanian economy fell victim to a pyramid scheme that collapsed the entire

economy. Italy, its neighbor across the Adriatic Sea, has become more involved in Albanian domestic affairs due to the long-standing relationship, as well as for reasons of proximity. A mounting refugee crisis has strained Italian police and immigration forces. The collapse of Yugoslavia and the resultant warfare have only added to Albania's problems.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia was perhaps the single most important factor in bringing the Balkans to the attention of the world. The dissolution of the Soviet Union encouraged the Yugoslav states to take a similar path. Serbia and Montenegro have formed a two-state federation, while Slovenia and Croatia, bordering Austria and Hungary, respectively, moved rapidly to establish relations with those states and with Europe in general and to distance themselves from the former Yugoslavia. This move has contributed greatly to their continued economic growth and ability to maintain some distance from the troubles of the other states. As already mentioned, Slovenia became a member of the EU and NATO, and Croatia is working to fulfill its EU application obligations.

For most of the 1990s, Serbia and Albania have been engaged in ongoing wars that have required the presence of United Nation (UN) peacekeepers to maintain any semblance of order. Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina and then into Kosovo has resulted in the creation of a UN war crimes tribunal to deal with accusations of genocide on both sides of the situation. In addition, a growing refugee crisis has strained the already limited resources of Albania and required an increased and ongoing UN presence in the area. Since late 2000, with the ouster of Milosevic and his supporters in the government, Serbia has been working to become more integrated and involved with the international community. The cessation of hostilities has, obviously, greatly contributed to economic growth and political development in the area.

## Returning to Europe

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the end of the Cold War was the immediate shift in focus from East to West in the foreign policies of the Central European states. Almost without delay, these states announced their intentions to "return to Europe." A "return to Europe" included full integration into the political, economic, and security structures of the West. These goals have been accomplished for most of these states; the admission of these states

into NATO and the EU has supported and even accelerated the reform process throughout Central Europe. The former Communist states have not only undergone radical changes in their domestic structures (political transitions from authoritarian systems to democratic systems and centralized, planned economies replaced with free market capitalist systems), but they have also dramatically changed their outlook and policies with regard to the countries of the West.

The initial euphoria brought about by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent collapse of the Communist regimes was soon dispelled by the harsh realities of radical structural change. The "shock therapy" approach to economic restructuring exacerbated the general economic depression being felt throughout Europe; social inequalities became more pronounced, and the reemergence of racism, anti-Semitism, and aggressive nationalism contributed to a sense of futility with regard to the future prospects of the region.

With the collapse of communism, historian Francis Fukuyama declared the "end of history." However, it appeared that what was happening in Central Europe was not the end of history but the renewal of historical conflicts. Regional cooperation has never been a hallmark of East Central European relations. The control imposed over the region by Moscow had simply masked old problems rather than putting an end to them. Central Europe was and is facing many of the same problems of state-building, developing economically, combating ethnic conflicts, and reintegrating with the rest of Europe. Yet it must be noted that these recurring problems are taking place in a very different world than that which existed the last time Central Europe stood on its own on the world stage.

Globalization and its concurrent increase in economic competition and interdependence, transnational interactions, and formal and informal integration have fundamentally changed international relations at all levels. Supranational organizations, such as the EU, and broad international treaties are slowly replacing the state as the central actor in the global arena. Central Europeans now find themselves emerging from their relative isolation and forced regional semi-integration into a world of voluntary and, some might argue, necessary political and economic integration, as well as increased competition. In short, the world is a very different place than it was fifty years ago.

Adrian Hyde-Price has suggested that there are seven major factors that have changed the context of regional relations in Central Europe. To begin with,

the end of the Cold War has initiated an external environment that is generally supportive of political and economic reforms in the former Communist states. The growth of complex interdependence has altered the relationships between European states and the rest of the world. In addition, the end of the Cold War has meant the end of hostilities between the two superpowers whose moves dominated the international stage for so long. The second factor is a reflection of this change. Central Europe no longer sits between two hostile powers that used the region as a military staging area. Third, the creation of multilateral frameworks for consultation and cooperation, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe, has provided an institutionalized basis for resolving conflicts and imposing sanctions on those states that fail to adhere to the new norms of democracy, human rights, and democratic values.

The fourth factor impacting the context of regional relations is the fact that despite old arguments regarding the “true” borders of some states, there have been no serious attempts to alter the currently internationally recognized borders that were laid down at the end of World War II. Fifth, in conjunction with the acceptance of current international borders, with a few notable exceptions, there has not been the violent response to ethnic minorities living within state borders. The problems, while they do definitely exist (see *Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe*), have been less intense than during the period between World Wars I and II.

The sixth factor is the ongoing existence of democratic political systems in the majority of the states. Albania and, until recently, some of the former Yugoslav republics are the notable exceptions to this general rule. However, despite its apparent fragility, democracy continues to develop in the region. Finally, the last factor is the change in the international environment itself. As mentioned earlier, the growing economic integration in Europe and the rest of the world has helped the overall economic condition of the international arena.

## Conclusion

Poor bilateral relations between the states of Central Europe have long played a role in that region’s inability to maintain a united front against common enemies or present a regional response or interest with regard to other international issues. With the dissolution of the Soviet empire, several regional

organizations within Europe reached out to include various states in Central Europe. The success of these organizations and the positive impact on Central European economies has led to the growth of intraregional organizations as well as increased interest in extraregional and supranational organizations.

One of the first steps taken by the Central European states after 1989 was to declare their withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and begin negotiations to join NATO and the EU. The requirements for admission to both of these organizations provided support to governments trying to sell economic and political reforms to an otherwise reluctant and economically hard-hit populace. Membership in NATO in particular was supported as a means to insure against any possibility that Russia might decide to reassert control over the region. In particular, the Baltic States were eager to join to be assured of preserving their long-desired independence. Memberships in NATO and the EU are viewed as necessary steps to the dual goals of returning to Europe and increasing the pace of economic development to match that of the West.

Memberships in NATO and the EU also were viewed as essential to security and reform efforts by the Central European states. With a few notable exceptions, almost every former Central European Warsaw Pact state is now a member of NATO. The expected admission of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU in 2007 will complete the overall goal of those states for returning to Europe. Both the application processes and membership in those two organizations have increased the pace of reforms and kept those governments on track to continuing political and economic reforms.

If a person accepts the argument that the extent to which international organizations can affect the behavior of states is determined by the nature of the international organizations themselves, then NATO and the EU, due to their nature of economic and military integration and the democratic values underlying the policies of those organizations, have profoundly impacted domestic policies and infrastructures in the Central European states. Implementation of the reforms necessary to meet the requirements of those two organizations has required a great deal of change on the part of the Central European states. In addition, in their attempts to meet those requirements, the Central European states found themselves working in close contact with many different international organizations. The collapse of communism has greatly expanded the international horizons of the Central European states.

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See also **Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe**

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## CENTRAL ASIA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### Historical Overview

Central Asia lies at the concurrence of three influential world areas: Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. Traditionally, the geographical boundaries of the Central Asian region run from the Caspian Sea in the west to Xinjiang in the east and reach as far southward as the Hindu Kush mountains. The discussion here will focus on the heart of this vast territory, or *Transoxiana* as the Greeks called it, the land beyond the Oxus River, the modern Amu Darya. This centralized location resulted in the region serving as a cultural interface, absorbing a multitude of ideas, practices, and technologies from virtually every

corner of the Eurasian landmass, and on occasion generating its own unique contributions. Humans have lived in this part of the world since prehistoric times, as numerous caches of petroglyphs attest—some at Saimaly Tash in central Kyrgyzstan date to 3000 BC. One of the earliest organized societies to occupy the broad, sweeping plains the Russians many centuries later would call the *steppe* were the Saka people, more commonly called the Scythians. These aggressive, nomadic warriors were craftsmen of exquisite works in gold and left the landscape dotted with *kurgans*, or burial mounds of their chieftains. A kurgan unearthed in southern Kazakhstan in the 1960s revealed a magnificent costume composed of hundreds of individual gold pieces.

While many of the ancient peoples of Central Asia were nomadic, the cities, typically sited along the streams draining the mountains to the south and east, would spur both economic and cultural connections to the rest of the world. These settlements were strung across the region from Xinjiang in the east, through the Fergana Valley on the western slopes of the Tien Shan, and continued westward along the Amu Darya and its tributaries, finally culminating in the fertile Khorezm oasis lying just east of the Caspian Sea. This was the heart of the famed Silk Road, an artery that joined the East and West almost continually for two millennia. Under the influence of the Sogdians, an Indo-European people related to the Persians, many of these trading centers would amass considerable wealth and power. Among the oldest and most influential was the fabled city of Samarkand, which attracted the attention of Alexander the Great, who made a conquest of both the city and one of its most beautiful residents, Roxana, in 328 BC.

Around 700 AD Muslim armies gradually pushed into Transoxiana from eastern Persia, displacing the local religions of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and others with the ascendant faith of Islam. The defeat of a Tang Dynasty army on the banks of the Talas River in 751 AD would ensure that Central Asia would belong not to China but to the *Dar ul Islam*, or realm of Islam, for the next 1,300 years. The Muslim conquest resulted in the transformation of Central Asian culture almost immediately in the urban areas and more gradually among the loosely knit nomadic communities along the margins of oasis civilization. Within three centuries, Central Asian cities would emerge as vital sources of Islamic scholarship and produce great advancements in science, philosophy, art, literature, and architecture. This era of relative stability and tranquility was shattered in the mid-thirteenth century with the arrival of the Mongols, under the leadership of Genghis Khan. Initially, the Mongol conquest was destructive and disruptive, as



many of the region's cities were razed and the inhabitants put to the sword. But Mongol domination also eventually increased trade with other parts of the vast Mongol empire, and the conquerors themselves in some cases converted to Islam and adopted local customs, spurring a recovery of the region's culture.

By the mid-1300s, Mongol power was collapsing in Central Asia, as the empire disintegrated and the heirs of the Great Khan struggled for control. The void would be filled by a fierce conqueror nearly the equal of Genghis Khan himself, who, like the Mongol ruler, rose from humble origins to control a vast empire. Amir Timur, or as he is known in the West, Tamerlane, was born at Kesh (modern Shakhrisabz, near Samarkand). Eventually, his empire would stretch from northern India in the south, to Baghdad in the west, and to Moscow in the north, covering most of western Asia, while Samarkand would become one of the most important cities in the world. Marching against China in the winter of 1405, Amir Timur died of a fever and was interred in a magnificent mausoleum in Samarkand. Like the Mongol empire, the Timurid state crumbled as most of those following Amir Timur showed to be less capable at managing an empire. Central Asia's economy and culture stagnated, as its great distance from the world's oceans hindered both social and technological exchange. Simultaneously, a new power was awakening to the north. The Russians, once vassals of the Mongols, were building an empire of their own, and it was only a matter of time before their push toward the south would bring them to Central Asia.

Russian interest in the resources and strategic position of Central Asia dates to at least the time of Tsar Peter the Great, if not earlier. Peter's efforts to court the local rulers met with quite limited results, but within a century and a half his successors were establishing a string of forts across the northern steppe lands of Kazakhstan, garrisoned by Cossacks. Russian absorption of the steppe nomads, primarily the three Kazakh "hordes" and their cousins the Kyrgyz, was a slow, inexorable process that took most of the nineteenth century. The Tsar's incursions deeper into Central Asia were in part a response to British expansion into Afghanistan at the same time, the strategic contest known as the "Great Game." A seminal event in the conquest of Central Asia by the Russian empire was the capture of Tashkent from the Khanate of Kokand in 1865. The loss of Tashkent opened the way for absorption of the Khanate's territory, and by the end of the nineteenth century the Khanate had been eliminated, and Russia was administering the bulk of the region as "Turkestan." Immigration of Slavic settlers to Central Asia in the last decades of the century skyrocketed, and tensions

between the newcomers and the indigenous peoples were rooted mostly in economic issues, especially land ownership, but cultural differences also contributed to friction between the groups. Periodic revolts and violence rocked the region through the last half of the nineteenth century.

A "soviet," or council, was established in Tashkent several weeks before the Bolsheviks took power in the Russian capital in 1917. The Russian Civil War (1918–1921) was as destructive and chaotic in Central Asia as it was elsewhere, and it was only after the Red Army of General Mikhail Frunze took over the Bolshevik forces that the region was secured for the Communists. By 1922, the new regime was in control, although an insurgency, the "Basmachi," continued to harass Soviet forces for another decade. The advent of Josef Stalin in the late 1920s ushered in a disastrous era for Central Asia. Stalin intensified the antireligious campaign until World War II, when circumstances forced him to adopt a more conciliatory stance toward Islam and other faiths. Stalin's program to collectivize agricultural holdings had catastrophic consequences for the region's nomadic populations, specifically the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. Both groups suffered severe declines in their numbers, and rather than turn their livestock over to the state, they slaughtered millions of head of cattle and sheep, leaving the animals in the fields to rot. On the positive side, Stalin's rule also witnessed widespread industrialization, a tremendous rise in literacy among Central Asians, and the modernization of transportation and communication facilities, especially in urban areas.

Stalin's successors during the Soviet period generally followed the policies he had set in place in Central Asia although certainly not with the same ruthlessness. Nikita Khrushchev initially relaxed the harsh restrictions on religion from the Stalin era, only to reverse course in the late 1950s, urging a new anti-religious campaign. Khrushchev also was responsible for the famous "Virgin Lands" program, which was designed to increase agricultural production in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) by bringing millions of acres of previously uncultivated land into production. The new acreage was worked mostly by Russian and Ukrainian volunteers, many of whom stayed after the campaign had run its course. This influx of settlers helped to increase the percentage of Slavs there, making them the largest group in the northern regions of the republic. By the late 1950s, the Kazakh SSR had taken on new strategic importance for several reasons. First, the launch site for the Soviet space program, Baikonur, was located in the southern Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan also acquired the dubious distinction of serving as the USSR's main testing ground for nuclear weapons, a role that

led to severe environmental problems in eastern Kazakhstan.

Central Asia had long been a producer of cotton, but by the early 1960s, the Soviet administration was devoting increasing amounts of investment to this crop. Cotton was known as “white gold,” a reference to the valuable hard currency the fiber earned for the USSR on the world market. Between 1960 and the mid-1980s, vast stretches of new lands, never before cultivated in Central Asia, were put into cotton production, and yields skyrocketed. But this bonanza came at a high cost. All the new land was irrigated, and the water for irrigation was drawn from the region’s two main streams, the Amu Darya and Syr Darya. These rivers had fed the Aral Sea for thousands of years and were its only source of recharge. In the 1980s, it had become clear that the Aral was collapsing because the rivers were delivering miniscule amounts of water to the Aral Sea, and the surrounding region had become an ecological wasteland. Today, the sea continues to shrink, and the commercial fishing industry, which once produced a sizable portion of the USSR’s caviar and other fish products, is gone. The health of millions of people in western Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan has been severely damaged, and the countries affected still struggle to adequately address this tragic remnant of their Soviet legacy.

By the mid-1980s, most of the Central Asian Soviet Socialist republics had been under the control of leaders who had been in place for decades, the majority of them appointed by Khrushchev in the early 1960s. While this had led to considerable stability in the Communist Party structure in Soviet Central Asia, it also had generated massive levels of corruption, nepotism, and abuse of authority. The arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev at the helm of the Soviet Union in March 1985 signaled a change, and over the next several years, Gorbachev systematically replaced the old guard leadership in Central Asia. It was in Central Asia, in fact, that Gorbachev was given his first lesson in the importance of ethnic politics in his crumbling empire. When he removed the long-time First Party Secretary Dinmukhamed Kunaev from the Kazakh SSR in December 1986, putting in his place an ethnic Russian from outside the republic, violent protests rocked the Kazakh capital of Alma-Ata (Almaty) for several days. Unfortunately, this would not be the last instance of ethnic animosity bursting forth in Central Asia. In 1989, in the Uzbek SSR, violence erupted between the majority Uzbeks and a minority group, the Meskhetian Turks, that resulted in dozens of deaths; however, a far worse episode occurred near the city of Osh in the southern Kyrgyz SSR the following year, in which Kyrgyz and Uzbeks

battled each other for days, resulting in several hundred deaths. On the eve of Soviet collapse, Central Asia appeared to be a cauldron of environmental and ethnic turmoil.

The attempted *coup d’état* against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991 caught the leadership in Central Asia off-guard, and few in Central Asia seemed prepared for the abrupt collapse of the Soviet Union within four months and the countries’ sudden emergence as independent states. The five new Central Asian states have struggled in their efforts to shift to capitalistic economies and establish the framework of civil society. While none of these countries could be labeled democracies in the Western sense, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have made some progress toward creating pluralistic political systems. Uzbekistan has remained authoritarian, while the leader of Turkmenistan, Saparmyrat Niyazov, has crafted a cult of personality that Stalin himself would likely envy. Most of the presidents are former Communist Party leaders, and most have retained their positions for almost fifteen years due to rigged elections and repression of opposition figures and parties. Economic progress has been uneven and sporadic. While the variety and general quality of goods has improved, living standards have either remained stagnant or actually declined relative to costs. Potential economic development varies across the region, as some countries are well-endowed with valuable resources, but others, particularly Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, are more poorly endowed.

One aspect of Central Asian culture that has certainly changed from the Soviet era is the advent of Islam. In the early 1990s, thousands of new mosques and medressehs were constructed in the region, and many people became interested in learning more about their Muslim heritage after being separated from the greater Islamic realm for almost seventy years. In Tajikistan, the Islamic Renaissance Party became a major political force in the country and played a central role in the country’s civil war in the 1990s. By the late 1990s, some leaders in the region were warning of the radicalization of Islam, a concern underlined by the rise of the Taliban in neighboring Afghanistan. Uzbekistan cracked down on Islamic believers in 1998, passing harsh antireligious legislation, but in February of the next year, Tashkent was shaken by a series of car bombs. Subsequently, small groups of armed insurgents of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), supported by the Taliban and possibly Osama bin Laden, infiltrated Kyrgyzstan from bases in Afghanistan and Tajikistan in the summers of 1999 and 2000. These raids accomplished little in a strategic sense, but they highlighted the instability of the region, a concern for the West but

also for Russia and China, each of which possesses restive Muslim populations. In addition, by the late 1990s, Central Asia had acquired a new geopolitical dimension, as significant deposits of petroleum and natural gas had been discovered in the Caspian basin, and Western oil companies were deeply invested in exploiting and delivering these resources to the global market.

After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, on the United States's East Coast, including New York's World Trade Center in the Twin Towers, and the Pentagon Building in Washington, Central Asia's significance became magnified for the United States due to its proximity to Afghanistan. Within weeks of the attacks on the United States, American officials had negotiated agreements with Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan for the use of air bases in those countries, and many of the raids conducted against the Taliban regime were carried out from these facilities. After the ouster of the Taliban from power in Afghanistan, the United States has continued to maintain a military presence in the region, generating unease in both Russia and China that both resent the American presence in Central Asia. The geopolitical significance of Central Asia, viewed as a frontline region in the "war on terror," has become obvious to US policy makers. Some argue that these new nations remain vulnerable to the threat of Islamic militancy, while others suggest that the most reliable method of stabilizing Central Asia is to advance civil society, promote democracy, and encourage economic development, thereby undermining the attraction of extremist doctrines. What seems certain is that the Central Asian region is just as vital and strategic today as in the days of Alexander.

### **Economic Development**

For at least two millennia, Central Asia's economic development balanced on two pillars: agriculture and trade. Production of crops was concentrated in the oases that spread along the streams that drained the great peaks lying to the south, providing precious water that the arid climate did not. Soils in the river valleys were extremely fertile, once sufficient water was brought to them, so over time complex and extensive networks of irrigation works appeared. The fields and orchards of the region produced a surplus in most years, allowing for a division of labor and the rise of cities. Some urban places in Central Asia, such as Samarkand, may have been established several thousand years ago. The settlements clustered along the streams, inadvertently occupying the most accessible passages through the heart of the region and

sitting adjacent to the only reliable sources of water in the dry, sometimes parched, heart of Asia. This geography would turn out to be fortuitous when trade began to flourish between Europe and Asia.

Precisely when caravan business developed along the famed Silk Road is impossible to determine because the process was undoubtedly gradual and inconsistent initially. Certainly, by the first or second century after the time of Christ, there was an active and regular exchange of goods between China and the Roman Empire, with silk being the most prized and valuable commodity traded. The Central Asian oasis cities, situated directly between these two vast states, were ideally located to benefit from the commercial transactions of these two giants. There was much more than silk exchanged, of course—gold, spices, slaves, gemstones, and many other goods were in demand. Central Asian merchants, acting as middlemen, acquired substantial wealth as a result. Although trade was often interrupted by war, pestilence, or famine, the Silk Road functioned for at least 1,500 years, funneling great wealth through the heart of Asia.

The Russian conquest of Central Asia brought changes in the region's fundamental economic structure. In the oases, the Russian administration greatly increased the amount of productive land by enlarging the irrigation system or rebuilding what the indigenous population had allowed to degenerate. Much of the new land was used to grow cotton, especially after the introduction of American varieties that were more productive. In the steppe region, large numbers of Slavic settlers were brought in who occupied land formerly used by the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz nomads for grazing, gradually turning the northern steppe into a zone of grain production. Many of the nomads abandoned their lifestyle for agrarianism as well. The primary economic activity for these peoples slowly shifted from animal husbandry to agriculture, with the bulk of production in wheat. By the turn of the twentieth century, Central Asia had become a major source of cotton and grain for the Russian empire.

Before the arrival of the Russians, there was virtually no industrial development even in the urban centers, but the Tsarist administration initiated some efforts to industrialize the Central Asian economy. In the northern steppe, the discovery of coal and other mineral resources led to the emergence of limited industrial production, based mostly on extraction and smelting of ores. In the south, little effort to industrialize was made to avoid competition with the textile industries in European Russia. Some small-scale development was allowed in the textile and food processing industries, primarily for local consumption, but virtually all manufactured goods

were imported from Russia. Infrastructure, especially railroads, was significantly expanded at the same time, mostly with the goal of increasing the flow of Central Asia's mineral and agriculture wealth to the industrial centers of northwestern Russia. In essence, the Russian empire exploited Central Asia in a classic colonial mercantile relationship, leading to stunted economic development.

After the disruption of the civil war, the Soviet government attempted to expand industrial production in Central Asia. This effort did not show significant results until the late 1920s, but with wide-scale electrification, which became a major goal of the new regime, economic development proceeded apace. In the North, huge coal deposits in Kazakhstan led to rapid and massive industrialization in Karaganda, Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, and other cities, with a focus on iron and steel and petrochemicals. In the South, much emphasis was placed on Tashkent, which became an industrial center producing a great variety of goods. During World War II, entire factories and enterprises were relocated to Central Asia from regions of the USSR threatened by the Germans, and this strategic repositioning enhanced the industrial capacity of the entire region. However, much of the cotton produced in Central Asia continued to be refined in other parts of the Soviet Union, and many of the industries there emitted dangerous levels of pollution.

In the agriculture sector, the Soviet regime completely transformed the production system by collectivizing nearly all agricultural holdings. Two types of enterprises resulted: on the "collective farms," farmers were assigned production quotas and shared any surplus; on the "state farms," those working the land were paid cash wages like factory workers. The Soviets continued to expand production of cotton due to the large sums of foreign currency its sale on the international market brought in for government coffers. These earnings were vital for purchasing goods and equipment that the USSR could not produce itself. From 1960 to the mid-1980s, the acreage in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan increased exponentially, boosting cotton production but also resulting in increased demand for water. Ultimately, this "monoculture" of cotton would cause imbalances in economic development and one of the greatest environmental disasters of all time, the collapse of the Aral Sea, as noted previously.

On the positive side, although the Soviet regime exploited Central Asia for its resources and invested relatively little in developing local industry, except in the case of northern Kazakhstan, the Soviet administration greatly increased levels of literacy and education, constructed significant infrastructure, and

developed the resource base of the region. But the benefits of the Soviet legacy are quite unevenly encountered across Central Asia. Kazakhstan inherited a well-developed industrial base and an extensive transportation and communications system, while tiny Tajikistan, the poorest republic in the USSR, received relatively little investment from the center, except in the areas of hydroelectric power generation and a few related industries.

Since the Central Asian republics achieved independence in 1991, all states have been struggling to shift their economies from a command economy to a system based on market mechanisms, with varying degrees of success. The legacy of the Soviet system has proved difficult to overcome because many of the linkages from that period have collapsed, and new economic relationships must be cultivated. The lack of democratic institutions has hurt the economic transition, and corruption is pervasive in all the countries at every level. Investment capital is badly needed, as the transportation and communications systems need upgrading and expansion, and many of the industrial facilities left from the Soviet period are outmoded. The quality of education has declined in most of the Central Asian states because funding has been reduced due to poor economic performance. Substantial foreign investment has flowed mostly into extracting the region's resources, but in other sectors, foreign investors for the most part have avoided the region. In some countries, notably Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, demographic growth remains high, stressing local resources and services. Unemployment and inflation were serious problems in the 1990s and remain worrisome, although both have dropped in recent years.

Yet there are some reasons to expect economic progress in the region. Tourism remains underdeveloped in all five countries, and its increased presence could stimulate job creation and investment, if the necessary infrastructure can be developed. Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, both endowed with a wealth of hydrocarbon resources, have a significant potential for economic growth and improving living standards, if their oil and gas can reach the world market efficiently. Uzbekistan's agricultural wealth and industrial development also present advantages, but the government there has moved quite slowly in reforming the economy since the collapse of the USSR. The two smallest countries, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, are poor and remote but control what may soon be the region's most vital resource: water. If additional investment can be found, and if greater cooperation and coordination of goals and strategies might be achieved among the new states of Central Asia, then the region stands a good chance

of successfully overcoming its historical and geographic disadvantages and fully integrating into the global economy.

REUEL R. HANKS

**See also Afghanistan; Bangladesh; Bhutan; Central Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Asia; India; Iran; Maldives; Nepal; Pakistan; Sri Lanka**

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## CENTRAL ASIA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The collapse of the Soviet Union ended three centuries of direct Russian control of Central Asia. Some analysts thought that the disintegration of the Soviet Union would lead to a new “Great Game” in the region involving Russia, Iran, and Turkey. The region’s geostrategic location, its socioeconomic and political ties with Russia, and its historic and cultural ties to Iran and Turkey provided natural attractions for Moscow, Tehran, and Ankara to exert influence in the region. The Central Asian states, by virtue of their membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the ties of their *nomenklatura* (officialdom) to Russia’s power hierarchy, maintained their foreign policy orientation toward Moscow. Civil strife in the postindependence Central Asia allowed Russia to maintain its influence in the region through direct or indirect military intervention to stabilize its porous borders and guard its southern flank.

Russia’s involvement in Tajikistan’s civil war is a good case in point. Beginning in February 1990, a series of events spurred periodic upheavals and anti-government revolts in that country. In February, riots

erupted in the capital city of Dushanbe, ostensibly over preferential housing allocations issued to Armenian refugees from Nagorno Karabakh. In March, he elected Tajik Supreme Council (parliament) and named Kahar Mahkamov as president. On August 24, 1990, Tajikistan issued a “declaration of sovereignty,” paving the way for eventual independence from the Soviet Union. Mahkamov, however, was never popular with Tajik nationalists who viewed him as more pro-Soviet than pro-Tajik. Furthermore, Mahkamov had a Tartar wife, and his children had married non-Tajiks. The president’s “authenticity” remained suspect during his tenure.

Mahkamov committed a major political blunder by supporting the August 1991 conservative military *coup d’etat* in the Soviet Union. After the failure of the *coup*, anti-Communist demonstrators demanded Mahkamov’s ouster, and he was forced to resign on September 9, 1991. The same day, Tajikistan declared its independence. Parliamentary chairman Kadreddin Aslonov replaced Mahkamov. Aslonov immediately banned the Communist Party and froze its assets. In parliament, the Communist Party retaliated by forcing Aslonov’s resignation and replaced him with Rahman Nabiev as acting president and parliamentary chairman. Nabiev had been first secretary of the Communist Party but had lost his position in 1985 during Mikhail Gorbachev’s anticorruption campaign. Nabiev replaced the Communist Party ban and restored the privileges of the old party operatives. Fearing a return to the old guard, the opposition organized massive demonstrations against the new government, eventually forcing Nabiev to agree to conduct free presidential elections.

The opposition to Nabiev, based on a broad sector, was led by the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP), the nationalist Rastokhiz Party, and the Pamir-based Lali Badakhshan Party. In April 1992, this unusual coalition organized massive demonstrations demanding the resignation of parliamentary chairman Safarali Kenjaev. Although the government initially agreed to consider Kenjaev’s ouster, it reneged on its promise, leading to the storming of the parliamentary building by the opposition. After this episode, Kenjaev resigned his post. However, he still had supporters, particularly in the district of Kulab. This prompted Nabiev to restore Kenjaev to his post on May 3, 1992, which precipitated another major crisis with the opposition. Fierce fighting ensued between the forces loyal to Nabiev and those of the opposition, leading to a bloody civil war, which not only threatened the foundation and territorial integrity of Tajikistan but also challenged the emerging political order in Central Asia.

Continuing gridlock and instability eventually led to a bloody civil war in Tajikistan, which spilled over to the neighboring states. The civil war in the 1990s cost the lives of more than twenty thousand people and caused the displacement of 10% of the country's population. Human rights violations, such as torture and physical annihilation, or real or imaginary opponents of the regime, were extensive and documented by such international human rights organizations as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

In the West, the civil war in Tajikistan was generally portrayed as a struggle between secularists and Islamic Fundamentalists or between Democrats and the Communists. In fact, the main cause of the civil war stemmed in local and regional loyalties. These relations were exacerbated by the involvement of the Russian army and the Uzbek government. One side of the civil war was represented by those whose political bases were in Khojand and Kulab. As members of the "old guard," they represented an order that was more palatable to the interests of the Russian Federation and the government of Uzbekistan. Their opponents in the civil war, the Islamic-Democratic opposition, represented new political forces based in such areas as Kurgan Teppe, Garm Valley, the Pamir region, and the district around Dushanbe.

Russia's military involvement in Afghanistan enabled the deployment of the 201st Motorized Division and border guards, who had been directly involved on the side of the old guard apparatchiks since the beginning of the civil war. Supporters of the old guard used Russian and Uzbek army equipment, including tanks, during the course of the civil war. Uzbekistan provided direct military assistance, particularly in Khojand and Dushanbe, to the government forces. Since Tajikistan had no air force, Uzbek airplanes bombed strategic rebel positions on behalf of the Tajik government. New security organizations were formed in Tajikistan through Uzbek and Russian involvement in Tajikistan's internal affairs. Moreover, the CIS-Tajik collective security treaty allowed the permanent stationing of some twenty-five thousand multinational soldiers on Tajik soil.

In regional terms, Russia's continuing involvement in Tajikistan poses a number of questions. Tajikistan shares no common border with Russia, and the once significant Russian population in Tajikistan has been reduced to a negligible size through emigration since the early 1990s. Furthermore, Russia has minimal commercial stake in Tajikistan. Yet, contemporary Tajikistan remains Russia's last foothold in Central Asia. For many Russians decision makers, it is psychologically satisfying to maintain Moscow's presence in Tajikistan as long as possible. All other former

Soviet republics in Central Asia and the Caucasus have drifted away from Moscow except Tajikistan. President Rahmonov is the only Central Asian leader who has not challenged Moscow's policies, either in Central Asia or in international affairs.

In addition to Russia, the other two regional actors whose policies have implications for stability and peace in Tajikistan are Uzbekistan and Iran. Uzbekistan has long been leery of the growth of political Islam in Central Asia, especially in neighboring Tajikistan. Under President Islam Karimov, virtually all opposition to the government of Uzbekistan has been eliminated, and no independent press operates in the country. Karimov has managed to develop a strong cult of personality by strengthening his own personal power over the most significant governing institutions in Uzbekistan. For example, he occupies the presidency and heads the Council of Ministers simultaneously. Karimov has succeeded in gaining the support of the United States under the guise of "fighting terrorism" and has intensified the government's brutal crackdown on all types of dissent in his country. The same pattern has been replicated in Turkmenistan under Separmurad Niyazev, the country's authoritarian president.

Uzbekistan's domestic politics and its geopolitical location have largely been responsible for Karimov's heavy-handed policies toward political developments in neighboring Tajikistan. When the Tajik civil war started, Uzbekistan adopted a similar policy to that of Russia. Fearing both the spillover effect of the revival of political Islam in Tajikistan and the stirring of nationalist sentiments among its own large Tajik population, the Uzbek government joined the Russian forces to support the Tajik government against its Islamic-Democratic opponents. However, the position of Uzbekistan with respect to developments in Tajikistan began to change in mid-1994. One reason for this shift of policy is that President Karimov no longer fears Tajik nationalism, and the threat of the spread of political Islam from Tajikistan has subsided considerably.

Although Tajikistan no longer poses any significant security challenge for Uzbekistan, uncertainties about future developments in Tajikistan will continue to allow Uzbekistan to act as a political hegemon in that country. In this role, Russia remains Uzbekistan's only regional rival. From Dushanbe's perspective, Uzbekistan's dreams of becoming a regional heavy-weight and serving as a godfather for Tajikistan may redound to the detriment of Tajikistan's political development. For example, on November 3, 1998, the rebel Colonel Mahmud Khudoyberdiyev and his supporters invaded Tajikistan from their bases in Uzbekistan. Although the government forces

suppressed this rebellion five days later, Tajikistan found itself at the brink of another war. President Rahmonov blamed Uzbekistan for this uprising, and Tajikistan claimed that Uzbekistan gave sanctuary to Khudoyberdiyev and his fleeing fighters. This episode clearly demonstrates the uneasy Tajik-Uzbek relations and the unpredictability of regional conflicts in Central Asia.

Iran has also been a regional player in the recent political developments in Tajikistan. Iran's interest in Tajikistan is more cultural and historical than political. Iran has no common borders with Tajikistan, and in view of Tajikistan's weak economy and poverty, the country has minimal economic attraction for Iran. However, because of a common linguistic lineage, Iran has sought to develop sociocultural links with Tajikistan and the Tajik people. It has done so by inviting Tajik cultural figures to Iran on a regular basis. Iran has allocated scholarships to Tajik students and has actively promoted the exchange of literary and artistic groups, as well as tourism, between the two countries. Since Tajikistan's independence and throughout the Tajik civil war and beyond, Iran has been careful to maintain contact with all sides and remain neutral in Tajikistan's political imbroglio. In this vein, Iran has been in the forefront of numerous mediation efforts between secular and Islamic forces in Tajikistan and has been instrumental in bridging the once insurmountable gap between the Tajik government and opposition forces. In general, Iran shares with Russia some common security interests in Tajikistan. But Tehran can hardly match Russia's influence and assets in Tajikistan and cannot counterbalance Uzbekistan's more ambitious goals in the region.

Another major issue affecting Central Asia's international relations was the status of the Soviet-era nuclear weapons. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan, Central Asia's largest republic, was the only country in the region that possessed nuclear weapons. However, the Kazakh government agreed to transfer the control of these weapons to the Soviet Union and later declared itself to be a non-nuclear state. The five Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan also began negotiating amongst themselves to create a nuclear-weapon-free-zone (NWFZ) in the region. On September 27, 2002, after almost five years of negotiation, the Central Asian republics signed a NWFZ treaty in Samarkand, Uzbekistan. This agreement was hailed by Jayantha Dhanapala, United Nations Undersecretary General for Disarmament Affairs, as a great step forward for nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament. Disagreement amongst the Central Asian states

almost derailed the signing of the Samarkand agreement. For example, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan had already signed a collective security treaty with Russia in 1992. As a result, they wanted to preserve Russia's prerogative to deploy nuclear weapons on their territories should they find it advantageous to their security interests. However, this would have weakened the NWFZ treaty. The final language of the treaty committed the Central Asian states to establish a complete NWFZ in the region while recognizing that each state would not jeopardize the existing security arrangements with Russia.

On the economic front, the Central Asian states are members of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), which links them with the broader southwest and southern regions in Asia. The genesis of the ECO dates back to 1964, when Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey established the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). After the Iranian revolution of 1979, the RCD became a *de facto* moribund organization. Under Iran's initiative, the RCD was revived under its new name. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Iran encouraged the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union to join the ECO to create an Islamic common market. Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan were the first former Soviet republics to apply for ECO membership, followed by Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan. It is interesting to note that Romania also reportedly asked to join the ECO, and Turkey sought to include northern Cyprus in this grouping. Iran successfully lobbied against the inclusion of both states, and no formal action was taken in this regard.

The ECO member states' dream of establishing a thriving market stretching from the Caspian region to the Indian Ocean may not be realizable in the near future. It is true that the ECO has established a number of institutions, such as a shipping line and an investment and development bank, to facilitate communication, trade, and transportation among its members. Indeed, meetings of various organs of the ECO occur regularly, and protocols and memoranda of understanding are signed among the participants. However, daunting obstacles remain in the ECO's path.

First, most of the members of the ECO have vulnerable economies characterized by poor performance. Even the oil- or gas-rich members of the ECO suffer from economic mismanagement, corruption, cronyism, and a relatively low level of industrialization. Second, it is now clear that political and ideological divisions will continue to hamper meaningful cooperation among some member states. Third, uneven burden sharing in the organization will

ultimately redound to the detriment of the founding states, like Turkey and Iran, as they seek to keep the weaker Central Asian members “happy” in their organization. Last, but not least, territorial disputes among member states, such as those between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, do not help foster political unity in the organization.

Another important factor affecting Central Asia’s international relations is the continuing uncertainty about the legal status of the Caspian Sea. Before the creation of the independent states of Central Asia, the Soviet–Iranian agreements of 1921 and 1940 served as the basis for the legal status of the Caspian Sea. According to Iran, the Caspian water body is a closed lake and not a sea, and the aforementioned Iranian–Soviet agreements did not specify any division of the Caspian Sea; rather, they solidified the Caspian’s legal status as a body of water under the joint control of Iran and the Soviet Union. In the absence of any new agreements governing the Caspian’s legal status, Iran has insisted any further developments/claims must be based on either the distribution of the outer seabed and Caspian subsoil into sectors divided equally among the five riparian states, or the resources should be shared commonly by all five states. Furthermore, any agreement on the legal status of the Caspian must be unanimous, and no single littoral state should be granted the right to veto the decisions of the other states or undertake unilateral measures in violation of the agreed principles. Last, Iran has insisted on declaring the Caspian as a demilitarized zone and that, due to the fragile nature of the Caspian’s ecosystem, all economic activity undertaken in the region must take into account the Caspian Sea’s environment.

Iran’s position has been largely at odds with those of the other Caspian states in Central Asia. Russia, whose own position on the legal status of the Caspian Sea paralleled those of Iran, has now moved away from Tehran. In early 1998, Azerbaijan announced that Moscow and Baku had agreed to divvy up the Caspian seabed. This was followed by an agreement between Russia and Kazakhstan to divide their international waters in the northern part of the Caspian Sea. When Turkmenistan gave its endorsement to the Russian–Azerbaijan and Russian–Kazakh proposals, Iran was left isolated. However, both Russia and Turkmenistan have modified their positions, and territorial disputes between Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan have muddied the water further.

For its part, Iran has taken measures that, in effect, have challenged its own official position on the legal status of the Caspian. For example, in late 1997, Iran announced its intention to open its sectors of the Caspian Sea for development by international oil

companies. In early December 1998, Iran announced that the Anglo-Dutch Shell and Britain’s Lasso had signed a major deal with Tehran to undertake oil and gas exploration in Iran’s sector of the Caspian Sea. After the deal was made public, Azerbaijan issued a strong statement claiming that unilateral actions should not be undertaken by Iran in areas that may fall within Azerbaijan’s seabed and territorial waters. Iran, which has consistently condemned unilateral energy agreements between Azerbaijan and foreign oil companies, now found itself on the other side of the controversy. In response to Baku’s objections, Tehran reminded Azerbaijan of the need to devise a new Caspian legal regime that is acceptable to all parties to avoid further conflicts over sovereignty issues. Iran’s foreign ministry also, once again, reminded Azerbaijan of the terms of the 1921 and 1940 Soviet–Iranian agreements regarding the Caspian Sea.

What is important to note is that neither the 1920 treaty nor the 1940 agreement provides a clear framework for determining the legal status of the Caspian Sea. In fact, the 1921 treaty did not directly address Iranian or Soviet territorial sovereignty in the Caspian. Rather, it only implicitly gave Iran the right to deploy its navy in the Caspian Sea, but it also gave the Soviet Union the primary responsibility for the security of this body of water. The 1940 agreement did reserve a ten-mile wide area off the coast of each country for exclusive fishing zones, but it made no reference to either country’s sovereign rights in the Caspian Sea.

There are two specific documents that do address the issue of Russian and Iranian sovereign rights in the Caspian Sea. These agreements are the 1723 Russo–Iranian Alliance Treaty and the Iran–Soviet Memorandum (known as the Aram–Pegov Agreement) signed in August 1962 between the Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Aram and Nikolai Pegov, Russia’s Ambassador to Iran. The treaty grants Russia sovereignty over the length of the Caspian Sea, while the memorandum recognizes Iran’s sovereignty in an eighty-mile wide area below the line from Absheron to Hassan Kiadeh in the southern Caspian. Perhaps because Iran still hopes to gain support for its position on the equal distribution of the Caspian Sea among the five riparian states, it has failed to register the Aram–Pegov Memorandum with the United Nations. This would give a degree of international legitimacy to Iran’s legal rights in the Caspian and would strengthen its position vis-à-vis the position of the Central Asian states and Russia. The Iranian parliament also needs to approve the area delineated by the Aram–Pegov line as internal Iranian waters, hence subject to its exclusive sovereignty.



These measures will allow all Central Asian riparian states plus Russia and Iran to initiate pragmatic discussions with each other to draft a blueprint of a Caspian legal regime whose principles are acceptable and beneficial to all.

Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are the two Central Asian states whose energy resources have placed them in a unique position to enhance their international stature and have allowed them to play a greater regional role than the energy-poor countries in Central Asia. Kazakhstan has signed several major agreements with Western oil companies, while Turkmenistan's natural gas resources are attractive to the outside world. In addition to signing agreements with Western oil companies, Kazakhstan has sought to engage in oil swap deals as a means of earning immediate financial gain from its oil production. For example, in January 1997, Kazakhstan shipped five hundred thousand barrels of oil to northern Iran in exchange for an equal volume of Iranian oil to be shipped from the Persian Gulf on Kazakhstan's behalf. However, oil swap deals have become less regular and unpredictable.

Turkmenistan has been a key country in various pipeline schemes to get Central Asia's energy resources to the outside world. In December 1997, Iran's President Mohammad Khatami made his first trip abroad as president to Turkmenistan to inaugurate a gas pipeline linking Turkmenistan and Iran. The pipeline runs 270 miles from the Turkmen field of Korpeje across the Iranian border of Kord-Kuy, where it links with the existing network of East-West gas pipelines. Turkey has also joined this pipeline project. In 1996, Turkey and Iran signed a \$20-billion agreement for the purchase of natural gas from Iran, and Turkey completed a 188-mile pipeline between the Iranian border and the Turkish city of Erzerum.

The United States has consistently favored the so-called Eurasian transportation corridor, which would include bypassing Iran and the Persian Gulf routes, in favor of pipeline routes from Turkmenistan to Turkey via Georgia. The US attempts to exclude Iran from the various pipeline proposals in Central Asia and the Caspian region may redound to the detriment of the long-term stability of the region and damage the fragile economies of the littoral states. All of the Caspian pipeline routes carry political and economic risks. The western route, which has vigorously been promoted by the United States, Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, bypasses both Russian and Iranian territory. Essentially, two major pipelines encompass the western route. The most expensive of all pipeline schemes is the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline,

which will directly link Baku's oil fields to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Ceyhan. Although major oil companies initially balked at the prospect of building a pipeline whose cost may exceed \$4 billion, they eventually succumbed to Washington's political demands. While this pipeline may become operational as early as 2006, the governments of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan have expressed reservations about the wisdom of the Baku-Ceyhan route.

A second, and less expensive, western pipeline links the Caspian to the Georgian port of Supsa on the Black Sea. There are several drawbacks to this scheme. First, oil will have to be shipped by tankers from Supsa to the Bosphorus, the strategic waterway that divides Europe from Asia. However, Turkey has announced its intentions to limit tanker crossings and traffic through the Bosphorus to protect the ecological system of the area. In addition, political instability in Georgia, including secessionist movements by the South Ossetians and Abkhazians, makes this route a hazardous one. In addition to the western route and the economically advantageous southern route, which has long been opposed by the United States on political grounds, there is also an eastern route to get Central Asia's energy resources to the outside world. This route basically involves Chinese and Kazak energy deals and does not affect the overall energy picture in the region.

For several years, the United States has also pushed the southeastern route. As initially envisioned, this proposed pipeline would link Turkmenistan with the Pakistani port of Gwadar through western Afghanistan. The American oil company Unocal and Delta-Nimir of Saudi Arabia were the staunchest proponents of the southeastern pipeline. The total cost of the project was estimated to reach \$2 billion. It was in this context that the United States, through its Saudi and Pakistani allies, began to support the ultra-Fundamentalist and reactionary Taliban movement in Afghanistan with the hope of bringing much needed political stability to that war-torn country. Without political stability in Afghanistan, the proposed pipeline would not have been politically and economically feasible. Both Unocal and Delta-Nimir played a significant role in providing the necessary funding to pay off various Taliban officials. Unocal's Vice President Chris Taggart even described Taliban's control of Afghanistan as a "positive development." Of course, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States derailed the southeastern pipeline proposal after the US war against the Taliban regime and its al-Qaida supporters in Afghanistan.

The US war in Afghanistan catapulted Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan to the forefront of the “war on terrorism.” Not only were these countries recruited to provide logistical support to the US war efforts, but they became tempting areas for establishing US military bases in what had been considered as Russia’s “backyard.” One of the least known by-products of the “war on terrorism” has been the deployment of US forces in various Central Asian countries. A number of former Soviet bases have now been refurbished and turned into US forward bases for military operations in the Middle East and Eurasia. In the words of former US Secretary of State Colin Powell, the US interest and presence in Central Asia would be of a kind that could not have been dreamed of before the 9/11 tragedy. The United States may indeed become the preeminent outside power in the region whose influence may drastically change Central Asia’s international relations in the twenty-first century.

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See also **Afghanistan; Bangladesh; Bhutan; Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Asia; Ethnic Conflicts: Commonwealth of Independent States; India; Iran; Iran–Iraq War, 1980—1988; Kashmir Dispute; Maldives; Nepal; Pakistan; Sri Lanka; Tajikistan; Taliban; Uzbekistan**

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## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA)

### Prior Intelligence Organizations

In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Office of Coordinator of Information (COI) and appointed General William “Wild Bill” Donovan as its head. In 1942, the COI became the covert Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Eventually, sixteen thousand wartime OSS agents provided espionage for and assistance to the European resistance movements.

The end of World War II saw the demise of the OSS. There were no covert agencies between then and the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947; during those years, legal intelligence capabilities consisted of information gathering and analysis.

President Harry Truman established the CIA, modeled on the OSS, under the National Security Act of 1947. Accountable to the president through the National Security Council, the CIA’s functions were analysis and coordination of intelligence activities of other government departments. In 1948, it established a covert action component.

The first threats were in postwar Europe. The CIA backed right-wing generals in Greece against the Communists in 1947. In 1948, when Italian Communists threatened to win elections, the CIA bought votes, infiltrated and disrupted broadcast propaganda, and engaged in threats. The Communists lost.

In 1949, under Operation Mockingbird, the CIA recruited American news organizations and journalists

to spy and spread its propaganda. Coopted were the *Washington Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and the networks, as well as AP, UPI, Reuters, and more. The CIA claimed its stable included twenty-five organizations and four hundred journalists.

The CIA's Radio Free Europe, established in 1949, encouraged the 1956 Hungarian uprising by broadcasting Nikita Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and by implying that America would help the Hungarians. During the failed rising, seven thousand Russians and thirty thousand Hungarians died.

### **CIA in the Developing World: The 1950s**

The CIA's activities in the developing world, as in Eastern Europe, centered on battling communism, which frequently meant undermining popularly elected reformers. The removal from power of unfriendly foreign leaders was known as "executive action." Frequently, the CIA backed the right-wing opposition, often the military. One example was the CIA support in the 1953 overthrow of Iran's democratically elected leader, Mohammed Mossadegh. Many critics believe this was due to his threats to nationalize British oil assets. When Jacobo Árbenz nationalized the National Fruit Company and began land reforms in Guatemala in 1954, the United States classified him as a Communist and thus an enemy. The CIA provided bribes, disinformation, propaganda, financing, logistics, and other support to a *coup d'état* that ousted Árbenz in 1954. Other executive action assassination victims included Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, and General Abd al-Karim Kassem of Iraq. In Laos between 1957 and 1973, the CIA averaged almost one *coup d'état* per year. Haiti was the target in 1959, when the US military helped "Papa Doc" Duvalier take over.

Once in place after a *coup d'état* the right-wing dictator often received CIA assistance in training his security forces. The CIA has trained Latin American military leaders at the School of the Americas (SOA), first in Panama, then at Fort Benning, Georgia. During the 1980s and 1990s, criticism arose over the large number of SOA graduates who went on to prominent places in dictatorial regimes. (One out of seven members of DINA, the Chilean intelligence agency under Augusto Pinochet, were SOA graduates.) In 2001, SOA was renamed the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC); however, it remains at Fort Benning.

### **Cuba**

The CIA's major failure was the effort to unseat Fidel Castro of Cuba. After Castro ousted General Fulgencio Batista in January 1959, the United States accepted Castro until he cut the rents of low-wage earners by up to 50%, confiscated the seized property of former governing officials, nationalized the telephone company and halved the rates, and redistributed land owned by American companies. The United States stopped providing Cuba with technology and technicians needed to keep its economy afloat. Then the United States cut back on its purchase of Cuban sugar. Castro refused to back off, nationalized \$850 million in US property in 1960, sold his sugar to the USSR and Eastern Europe, and got weapons and technicians and machinery from the USSR. In March 1960, the CIA got the green light from Eisenhower for a \$13-million project to train guerrillas for action within Cuba. Operation Mongoose involved four hundred CIA officers.

The CIA's Technical Services Division assigned Sidney Gottlieb to find ways to undercut Castro with the people. Gottlieb came up with a plan to spray a hallucinogenic drug in a television studio where Castro was to appear. Another idea was to contaminate Castro's shoes with thallium so his beard would fall out. Deputy Director of Plans Richard Bissell rejected these ideas and decided to have Castro assassinated. In September 1960, the CIA opened discussions with Johnny Rosellina and Sam Giancana of the Mafia, eventually offering \$150,000 for the assassination.

When John F. Kennedy came into the presidency, he learned of the CIA's plans for an invasion force. His advisors convinced him that Castro was unpopular, and the people would rise at the first opportunity, and Kennedy feared being seen as soft on communism. On April 14, 1961, US B-26 airplanes began bombing Cuban airfields, leaving Castro with eight planes and seven pilots. On April 16, fourteen hundred exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs. The invasion lasted seventy-two hours, with all the invaders killed, wounded, or captured. A CIA shakeup ensued, and the agency focused on covert attacks on Cuba's economy.

### **The 1960s**

In Ecuador, the CIA-backed military ousted the elected Juan Bosch, replaced him with a friendlier vice president, and let the CIA fill the vice presidency.

The CIA's involvement in Ecuador spanned 1960 through 1963. In the Congo (Zaire), the CIA assassinated Patrice Lumumba in 1961, but the people resisted efforts to impose a leader friendlier to the United States. Four years of unrest ensued. The CIA was active in Brazil in 1964 and, in 1965, was active in Indonesia, Greece, Congo (Zaire), and the Dominican Republic. The CIA intervened in Greece again in 1967 and helped capture Che Guevara in Bolivia. In Vietnam, Operation Phoenix in South Vietnam began—eventually twenty thousand Viet Cong and bystanders would die.

In 1969, Dan Mitrione, officially a police advisor, arrived in Uruguay, where he instructed the government in torture techniques. In 1970, the leftists captured and killed him. Cambodia's Prince Sahounek, popular for keeping his country out of the Vietnam War, was overthrown in 1970. His replacement, Lon Nol, entered Cambodia into the war, energizing the opposition Khmer Rouge, which took power in 1975 and killed millions.

Another CIA effort took place in Chile, where Salvadore Allende and his Socialist Workers' Party seemed headed for victory in 1970. International Telephone and Telegraph and other international companies feared the worst. Richard Helms of the CIA took the corporation's money and transferred it to conservative Chilean parties. Allende won anyway, and President Richard Nixon ordered Helms to assist a Chilean army *coup d'état* against Allende. Allende died fighting the *coup d'état* of September 11, 1970, and the more amenable Augusto Pinochet took power.

### The Attempts to Rein in the CIA in the 1970s

Congress enacted the Case-Zablocki Act in 1972 in an attempt to make the CIA accountable. Congressional termination of CIA funds for the secret war in Cambodia came in 1972. Then investigation of the Watergate break-in revealed that seven of the perpetrators had CIA histories. The reformist William Colby, Deputy Director for Operations, began an internal cleanup of the CIA, which he continued after he became director when Helms was fired by Nixon.

Exposés such as *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (1974) by Victor Marchetti and John Marks and *Inside the Company* (1975) by Philip Agee generated public outrage, and Frank Church headed a Senate Investigation intended to reform CIA's accountability. In 1974, Seymour Hersh exposed

long-standing CIA domestic surveillance under Operation Chaos, and Congressional hearings led to the firing of James Jesus Angleton, who ran the programs that opened mail and surveilled antiwar protesters.

When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigated the CIA in 1975, Helms denied passing money to the plotters or otherwise assisting in the overthrow of Allende. The Senate and the CIA inspector general found that Helms lied to the committee, engaged in illegal domestic surveillance, and had a role in the murders of Lumumba, Kassem, and Diem. Helms received a two-year suspended sentence in 1977 for lying to Congress.

### More Interventions: The 1970s and 1980s

Even as the Congress worked to get control of the CIA in the 1970s, in Angola the CIA backed Jonas Savimbi of UNITAS, driving his opponents into the clutches of the Soviet Union and Cuba. In 1979, the CIA lost the Shah of Iran, backed the anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan, and continued in El Salvador and Nicaragua; it targeted Honduras in 1983.

Although the Congress stopped funding CIA efforts in Nicaragua in 1976, the CIA continued off-book funding until 1984, when it got funding again. In 1984, after aid to the Nicaraguan Contras was fully outlawed, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, US Marine Corps, used the CIA's networks to continue financing the Contras.

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**See also Castro, Fidel; Contras; Counterinsurgency; Coup d'État; Guevara, Ernesto "Che"; Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)**

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## CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION (CENTO)

The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), originally known as the Baghdad Pact, was a mutual defense and cooperation alliance in the Middle East from 1955 through 1979. In the early 1950s, the United States wanted to establish a Middle East Defense Organization to contain the spread of Soviet communism. The Eisenhower administration saw Egypt as the linchpin of such an arrangement, but Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser rejected the proposal. The United States then began to pursue the possibility of an alliance among the “northern tier” countries—Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan—that it believed recognized the danger of the Soviet threat as Nasser did not.

With urging from the United States, Turkey and Pakistan signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual defense on April 2, 1954; the United States already had such a commitment with Turkey because of Turkey’s membership in NATO and had signed a mutual defense pact with Pakistan in May. Despite Nasser’s calls for Arab states to refuse membership in Western-sponsored pacts, Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact with Turkey on February 24, 1955. Based on Article 51, the self-defense clause of the United Nations Charter, the treaty provided for security and defense cooperation, noninterference in one another’s domestic affairs, and accession by any state in the region concerned with peace and security. It was to remain in force for five years and could be renewed for additional five-year periods. Britain acceded in April 1955, followed by Pakistan in September and Iran in November. Although the United States did not officially accede to the treaty, it belonged in all but name. The organization was headquartered in Baghdad.

Nasser vociferously attacked the Baghdad Pact, largely through radio broadcasts on Voice of the Arabs. He opposed Western-sponsored defense pacts on several grounds: they were a method for dividing the Arab world; they were neoimperial because they permitted the stationing of foreign military missions on Arab soil; they were directed against the wrong enemy, the Soviet Union and not Israel; and they ultimately served only Western interests. In September 1955, Nasser’s popularity in the Arab world soared when he announced Egypt had signed an arms deal with Czechoslovakia, thus successfully defying the West by “leapfrogging” over the Baghdad Pact. The United States, viewing this as the first serious evidence of Soviet penetration of the Middle East, offered to supply Egypt with arms if Nasser would cancel his deal with the Soviet bloc, but he refused.

The confrontation between Nasser and the West over the Baghdad Pact reached a climax in late 1955. Despite an agreement with Nasser to refrain from attempts to draw other Arab states into the pact, Britain continued to pressure Jordan to join. Massive popular demonstrations and rioting in Jordan against the British and the Americans caused three governments to fall in rapid succession. Order was restored only after Jordan announced it would not join the Baghdad Pact.

Popular sentiment in Iraq also mounted against the pact and the government’s pro-British policies. Nasser’s radio campaign helped spur increasing opposition to the government, especially in the army. Following the ill-fated Suez invasion by Britain, France, and Israel in July 1956, Nasser’s stature and influence in the Arab world reached new heights. This increased pressure on Iraq’s isolated, pro-Western government. On July 14, 1958, Arab nationalist army officers overthrew the Iraqi monarchy; the intra-Arab struggles surrounding the Baghdad Pact were a significant factor in triggering the Iraqi revolution. The new Iraqi government withdrew from the Baghdad Pact in March 1959.

In August 1959, the Baghdad Pact was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, and its headquarters were moved to Ankara, Turkey. The United States officially remained outside of CENTO, but after the Iraqi Revolution, it had signed identical mutual defense agreements with Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey; these were very similar to the commitments the United States would have assumed as a member of CENTO. CENTO’s main military task was to coordinate the security arrangements of its members. It held yearly joint maneuvers, including air and naval exercises. American and British military aid was largely delivered through bilateral agreements, but the formal existence of this organization had increased the levels of assistance that they provided to members.

For its northern tier participants, CENTO functioned more effectively as a vehicle of socioeconomic development than as a security arrangement. Improving communications links between the three countries was a top priority. Rail links were developed between Iran and Turkey as well as Iran and Pakistan, and an all-weather highway was constructed between Iran and Turkey. Turkish ports at Trabzon and Isken-derun were modernized, as were telephone, telegraph, and teletype communications links. The members wanted to encourage and expand free trade among themselves. A multilateral technical cooperation fund was established to underwrite the exchange of experts, information, and ideas related to economic

development. Agriculture, education, and culture also received attention. Their growing closeness in economic matters led Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey to establish the Regional Cooperation for Development in 1964.

By the mid-1960s, enthusiasm for CENTO was waning. Iran's relations with the Soviet Union warmed up, dimming its fears about Soviet aggression. Pakistan called on the organization to assist it in its 1965 and 1971 wars with India, but CENTO declined in both cases. The United States even suspended military assistance to Pakistan as a result of the 1965 conflict, which it viewed Pakistan as having precipitated. Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974 caused the British to withdraw the troops they had stationed in Turkey, leaving CENTO moribund. CENTO officially ceased to exist after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, when Iran withdrew.

As a security arrangement aimed at preventing the spread of Soviet influence into the wider Middle East, CENTO was unsuccessful. Several Arab states, notably Egypt, Syria, and eventually Iraq, signed treaties of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Moreover, it merely duplicated existing Western commitments to Turkey through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to Pakistan through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Its main accomplishments came as a result of heightened social and economic cooperation among the northern tier countries, particularly in the modernization of transportation and communication links.

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**See also** Baghdad Pact; Middle East: International Relations; Nasser, Gamal Abdel

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## CHAD

The Republic of Chad is a land-locked country situated in north central Africa measuring 496,000 square miles. Chad's topography is generally flat except for a range of hills along the eastern border and relatively high, barren mountains in the far

northwest. The climate is hot and arid in the northern desert regions as it averages less than eight inches of rainfall annually. In the south, the climate is wet and tropical, and this zone receives thirty-nine inches of rain. The population is estimated at 9.5 million, with an annual growth rate of 3.2%. The capital city, N'djamena, known as Fort Lamy until 1973, lies at the confluence of Chad's main rivers: the Logone and the Chari. It has an estimated population over seven hundred thousand.

The better climatic conditions in the southern region make it possible for population to settle and become farmers. Most people live in the South, where the major cities are located: N'djamena, Moundou, Sarh, and Abeche. However, Chad's population is mainly rural, as the urban population rate is around 25%. Classical African religions, Islam, and Christianity are Chad's religions. French, Arabic, and Sara are the official languages, with more than 120 dialects.

Chad, already a French colony since 1897, and three other colonies were administered together as the French Equatorial Africa (AEF). Significant advances were made with the French Constitution approved in 1946 that granted Chad and other African colonies the right to elect a territorial assembly with limited powers. In November 1958, the AEF was officially terminated. Chad gained its independence on August 11, 1960. That same year, Francois Tombalbaye, leader of the *Parti Progressiste Tchadien* (PPT), became the first president of the Republic of Chad. Since 1960, Tombalbaye's government faced several conflicts due to many local and external displeased groups; in 1969, the Muslim guerrilla provoked a great attack on the government, and Tombalbaye had to ask the French for help. In 1975, Tombalbaye was assassinated, and Colonel Felix Malloum gained control. During Malloum's military government, Chad entered into a war with Libya, accusing the latter of boundary violations. In 1979, Malloum abandoned his position, and with the mediation of Sudan, a cease-fire was obtained. Goukouni Ouddei became president. The war continued, and in 1987 the Libyan occupants were expelled, allowing Chadian troops to conquer the northern zone of Aouzou. In 1988, Chad and Libya reached an agreement over that zone. In 1990, Idriss Deby became president, and a temporary state of peace was achieved. In 1998, a rebellion broke out in northern Chad, which sporadically flared up despite two peace agreements signed in 2002 and 2003 between the government and the rebels. Deby has been president since 1990.

Chad's economic development suffers from its geographic remoteness, drought, lack of infrastructure, and political instability. In 2004, Chad's nominal

gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated at \$10.6 billion with per capita income at approximately \$1.2, which makes the country one of the poorest in Africa, even poorer than Rwanda. Traditionally, Chad's economic performance has been very dependent on fluctuations in rainfall and in prices of its principal export commodities, especially cotton, the major export product (40% of total exports in 1999). Cattle and gum (Arabic) are also exported. More than 80% of the workforce is involved in agriculture (subsistence farming, herding, and fishing, especially in Lake Chad).

Recently, oil fields have been discovered in the South. The Doba Basin oil project will pump oil from reserves in Chad through an underground pipeline to coastal Cameroon. This is supposed to stimulate major investments into Chad, and it is expected to double government tax revenues.

Chad has been highly dependent on foreign assistance, being one of the most indebted poor countries in the world. In 2002, 65% of the GDP were imports, while exports only reached 12%. This unbalance has traditionally been financed through more debts.

Infrastructure, education, and health systems were not consistently developed during the last fifty years due to the long and devastating civil war and also due to the lack of economic resources.

As for Chad's infrastructure, it is largely undeveloped in the country. There are no railroads and no ports. Its telecommunications system, as well as its water, electricity, and gas providing facilities, are almost nonexistent. All this affects the population, whose living conditions are not good. The population living under the poverty line in 2001 was estimated at 80%. The general life expectancy at birth did, however, improve in the last thirty years, passing from an alarming thirty-nine years in 1970 to forty-four years in 2002 (UNDP 2004), but this number is still very low. In the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) (2004), Chad was listed among the last countries of the list. The infant mortality rate was estimated at ninety-four per one thousand live births, a high number, which is the result of poor health care.

Since independence in the 1960s, the Chad government has tried to extend the health care system. With foreign aid, new medical facilities have been built, and many health care professionals have been trained. The public system had improved, but since the 1995 liberal reforms, a system of payment for treatment and medicine has been introduced that benefits only those who can afford it. This has resulted in a higher standard of health care for private people but not for the poor. Besides, the government's public health expenditure is only 2% of the gross domestic income (GDI), which makes it even harder to improve the

conditions. As a result, infectious and parasitic diseases are a constant problem, tuberculosis is common, and AIDS is on the increase; outbreaks of cholera and meningitis have occurred, and the guinea worm and malaria are also a constant problem.

The education system was largely damaged during the war, with the results of a present adult literacy rate of only 45% and more than 60% of women illiterate. The primary enrollment ratio was 58% in 2001, but the secondary enrollment ratio was only 8% in that same year. Most girls do not attend school.

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**See also Central Africa: History and Economic Development; Central Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Africa**

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### CHÁVEZ, HUGO

Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías, born July 28, 1954, became president of Venezuela in 1998. Chávez became widely known in 1992, when, as a former paratrooper and graduate in military sciences, he headed a failed military attempt to topple the government of President Carlos Andrés Pérez. After two years of imprisonment, Chávez emerged as the leader of a new political party, the Movement for the Fifth Republic. Breaking the stranglehold of a discredited party system that had dominated Venezuelan politics since 1958, Chávez ran for the presidency in 1998 and won by the largest percentage of voters (56.2%) in four decades. He pledged to eradicate corruption,

reform the public sector, and expand opportunities for the poor.

Upon taking office in early 1999, Chávez embarked upon what he referred to as his “Bolivarian Revolution,” named after Venezuela’s hero of independence, Simon Bólvivar. Without legislative consultation, Chávez suspended Congress and authorized the rewriting of the Venezuelan Constitution. The new constitution contained far-reaching reforms, extending to all Venezuelan citizens the rights of health, welfare, and political expression. At the same time, it increased the power of the president and extended the presidential term of office.

In a show of widespread support from Venezuela’s impoverished majority, Chávez supporters won roughly 60% of the seats in the 2000 local assembly elections. In the same year, Chávez consolidated all Venezuelan labor unions into a single, state-controlled Bolivarian Labor Force.

Chávez’s policies were met with increasing hostility from many in the middle and upper classes. Controversial economic measures that he instituted in 2001 gave rise to mass protests and strikes. An alliance of opponents from the military, business, and media sectors brought about a *coup d’état* on April 12, 2002. Within forty-eight hours, Chávez was reinstated after the post-*coup* government collapsed in the face of rebellion by loyalist troops and massive protests. The event generated widespread uprisings both in support of, and in opposition to, Chávez. Social chaos and violence were repressed by the metropolitan police. The overthrow was condemned by the leaders of Latin American states and international organizations.

Pressure intensified in 2002 and 2003. After a prolonged general strike led by the management of Venezuela’s oil company, PDVSA, Chávez replaced the managers and consolidated control of the state company. Having secured the state oil enterprise, Chávez shifted oil revenues toward welfare programs. These actions provoked criticism against Chávez from domestic as well as international sources.

Chávez’s government has aroused as much dissent as it has loyal support. His strongest backing comes from the impoverished rural and urban workers who make up Venezuela’s majority (an estimated 80%). The privileged upper-middle and upper classes regard his government policies as Socialist and authoritarian. This last group, less numerous but more affluent and powerful, organized a four-day petitioning drive to bring about a recall referendum. The referendum, which was supervised by an international oversight committee, took place on August 15, 2004. Chávez was the undisputed victor.

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See also [Venezuela](#)

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### CHIANG CHING-KUO

Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek’s son, is often credited for the “Taiwan miracle” of the 1970s, when Taiwan achieved a 13% growth rate, \$4,600 per capita income, and the world’s second largest foreign currency reserves.

Born in Zhejiang Province, China, on March 18, 1910, Chiang Ching-kuo went to Moscow in 1925 to study the Soviet social and economic system. He was sent to Siberia after his father adopted anti-Communist stances in the Nationalist Party (KMT) but was eventually allowed by Stalin to return to China with his Russian wife in 1937. From 1938–1941, he held various high-level political posts in the Jiangxi Province, where he implemented public works and development projects. Chiang fought in World War II and the subsequent civil war with the Communists, making several important military decisions, before following his father to Taiwan in 1949.

Chiang held a series of important posts in Taiwan. He was director of secret police from 1950 to 1965, minister of defense from 1965 to 1969, vice premier from 1969 to 1972, and premier from 1972 to 1978. In 1978, he succeeded his father as president, a post he held until his death in 1988. He was involved in the economic development of Taiwan throughout his career. From 1955 to 1960, he worked on planning and construction of the Central Cross-Island Highway. He chaired the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development (CIECD) from 1967 to 1973. As president, he strongly supported the work of economic ministries and agencies, including CIECD’s successor, the Council for Economic Planning and Development (CEPD), and the Chinese External Trade Development Council. The fiscal policies of his economic technocracy, as well as the institutions they created, contributed to Taiwan’s export-oriented development.

Chiang was the driving force behind the Ten Major Construction Projects and Twelve New Development Projects of the 1970s, many of which were extensions of Japanese infrastructure projects of the 1930s. The ten projects were seven infrastructure projects, including the Chiang Kai-shek International



Airport, a freeway, two railways, and a nuclear power plant as well as three heavy industrial projects of an integrated steel mill, a petrochemical complex, and a large shipyard. The twelve projects included infrastructure projects and expansion of the steel mill. By 1983, government ownership of industry had increased to 19%. In Chiang's second term as president from 1984 to 1988, he also completed the Fourteen Major Construction Projects. These projects provided the upstream materials and infrastructure needed for the expansion of the many small and medium enterprises that dotted the Taiwanese countryside, contributing to a legacy of growth with equity.

In contrast to his more autocratic father, Chiang Ching-kuo was somewhat of a populist, often emphasizing his close friendship with Taiwanese people. Throughout the last years of his life, he oversaw important changes in Taiwan's political environment. In 1987, he permitted people from Taiwan to travel to China, eventually making it possible for Taiwanese private investment there. In the same year, he also lifted martial law, lightened restrictions on newspapers, and permitted the creation of opposition political parties, albeit only after strong pressure from human rights activists. Some people in Taiwan thus remember him for laying the foundation of Taiwan's later democratization. When he died in 1988, he was succeeded by Lee Teng-hui, the first native Taiwanese president of the Republic of China.

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**See also Chiang Kai-shek; China, People's Republic of; Taiwan**

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### CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Chiang Kai-shek was a central figure in the history of China and Taiwan. Born in the Zhejiang Province on October 31, 1887, he studied at the National Military Academy in China and then the Military Staff College in Tokyo, where he met Sun Yat-sen and joined his

United Revolutionary League, forerunner of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT). In 1923 and 1924, he traveled in the Soviet Union to study the political and economic system and to seek its aid. After Sun's death in 1925, Chiang assumed the three leadership positions of the Republic of China (ROC): president of the republic, KMT party chairman (which he purged of Communists), and commander of the armed forces. In 1926 through 1927, he led the Northern Expedition against recalcitrant warlords and unified China. In 1927, he married Soong Mei-ling, whose powerful banking family provided skills and resources important to economic development.

The ideological underpinnings of economic development in the ROC were based on Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People: democracy, nationalism, and peoples' livelihood. From 1927 to 1937, the KMT implemented an economic development program in the Yangtze Valley, mostly concentrating on technical improvement rather than structural changes in land ownership. Although Sun had called for land-to-the-tiller land reform, Chiang was unable to implement such a policy due to landlord resistance. After the 1937 Japanese invasion and battles with Mao Zedong's Communist forces, he had to concentrate on defense. Chiang eventually lost China, partly because he relied on landlord support for his rule and was resented among the peasantry.

At the end of World War II, the Allies gave Japan's colony of Taiwan to the ROC. When the Communist Party took China in 1949, Chiang was forced to move to Taiwan, which became the only territory under his control. In Taiwan, he inherited a strong base for economic development. Under Japanese administration from 1895 to 1945, Taiwan had developed an infrastructure of ports, highways, and railroads as well as universal education. Modern agricultural development had already made Taiwan into a major producer of sugar, rice, tea, and other foodstuffs.

As the leader of a one-party state, Chiang ruled Taiwan with an iron fist. Fiercely opposed to both Communism and Taiwanese self-determination, he used the military to violently suppress Taiwanese protests in 1947 and began a period of martial law that would last forty years. Cowered by state violence, Taiwanese landlords had no choice but to comply with a "land-to-the-tiller" Land Reform of 1953. That reform laid the base for widespread rural industrialization and relatively equitable income distribution.

With the United States's support, Chiang promoted industrial development, giving technocrats control of the economy. After the outbreak of the Korean War, the United States began a massive program of economic and military aid to Taiwan, including monetary support, provision of development advisors,

and preferred market access for Taiwanese products. In the 1960s, Taiwan began export-oriented industrialization, focusing initially on textiles, chemicals, machinery, and consumer goods. In 1965, Asia's first export-processing zone (EPZ) was established in Kaohsiung. This and subsequent EPZ developments secured Taiwan's place as an important subcontractor in an international division of labor. By the early 1970s, Taiwan was exporting capital goods and foreign aid to Southeast Asia. Chiang remained president of the Republic of China in Taiwan until his death of a heart attack in Taipei on April 5, 1975, and the reins of power passed to his son Chiang Ching-kuo.

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**See also Chiang Ching-kuo; China, People's Republic of; Chinese Revolution; Taiwan**

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## CHILDREN AND DEVELOPMENT

The construction of modern ideas about the child began in Euro-American ways of thinking about childhood during the Enlightenment period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The new view of the child as an efficient, autonomous, and flexible being became institutionalised in professional arenas dedicated to caring for children, such as child welfare, schooling and education, social policy, social work, child psychiatry, as well as an array of public institutions. Although contemporary and powerful Euro-American ideas about the child are now dispersed globally in formal education, and by means of discourses and images transmitted by the international media, many cross-cultural researchers are noting that their impact is restricted by indigenous customs and local ways of being, a number of which also provide counter-narratives to Western ideas about the child.

In Euro-American societies, images of the child display the psychological and social effort that is required to maintain the clear distinction between adult and child that is important to Western societies. The clear distinction works to separate childhood from the social ideals and behaviours that constitute

being adult. Dual and opposing categories of child and adult are established and maintained in a conceptual dichotomy that, many social scientists argue, does not take into account most children's actual continuity of growth and development. As a consequence, the notion of childhood as a pure and uncontaminated socially constructed category is inadequate to encompass and understand children's work, child sex work, and child soldiers at war, activities in which many children perform resolutely unchildlike actions.

Images that constitute notions of the child and childhood also become significant when linked to conceptualising, designing, and planning development projects. Images of impoverished children are used to encourage relatively wealthy Euro-American donors to contribute to development agencies' work in war zones or with profoundly impoverished peoples. But all three notions of child, childhood, and development have been severely critiqued when applied across cultures. Changes in global social and political frameworks since the 1980s have dramatically reshaped the daily lives of women, men, and children in the developing world. As active agents, they have become increasingly integrated into global production and consumption processes, the social and cultural effects of which have been multiple, contradictory, inclusive, and exclusive. When the implications of globalisation across cultures and at the grass roots in developing countries are examined, the very specific effects of increased global integration on children in developing countries become apparent. Therefore, many cross-cultural researchers now maintain that the ways in which children in developing countries negotiate complex and rapid changes in diverse and contrasting circumstances must be examined and theorised.

Despite the OECD's (2003:27) claim that the impact of globalisation is not significant, many social scientists argue that it must be considered. Globalisation is not a new phenomenon because children have always been impacted by conquest, slavery, and emigration. However, in the twenty-first century, due to the variety of encounters between different societies, many definitions of globalisation now exist. A useful working definition, according to Kaufman *et al.* (2001), is that globalisation is a process that opens nation states to many influences that originate beyond their borders. In applying this definition, an examination of the ways in which globalisation as a process impacts upon children's lived experiences and how children may be encouraged to be participants in a globalised world is made available. For example, the increased level of global consensus on children's rights, as reflected in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), has great potential for supporting

the work of child advocates, including children and youth themselves. Since the mid-1980s, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) has given more attention to child protection as an element of children's rights concomitant with its key interests in child survival, health, and well-being. The Commonwealth Secretariat is focusing on human rights for women and female children, concentrating on the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) issues, violence against women and female children, and the promotion of human rights through the Commonwealth Secretariat judiciary.

An examination of the wide-ranging impacts of globalisation and the ways that local peoples negotiate and constitute its processes suggest that a precise definition of development is problematic. In Euro-American discourse, "development" initially implied notions of positive change or progress and, following World War II, became associated with ideas of resource extraction and institutionalizing and improving national economic growth. Hence, development was measured by indicators such as the gross domestic product (GDP) or health care access figures and was perceived as synonymous with planned social change. In the 1990s, however, development was subject to ideas that incorporated notions of processualisation, transmogrified into the developing world, and was attributed different and disputed meanings.

Earlier concepts of development were characterized by ideologies associated with evolution and were strongly linked to processes of colonization. Citizens of developed nations often believed in the inherent superiority of their economies, societies, and technologies compared to those deemed to be enduring rudimentary or low-level technology. The sociopolitical ideals of Euro-American nation-states were to help Asian, African, and South American peoples to model their societies on the industrialized nations. As a consequence, economists were initially and, to some extent, still retain their power as principal theorists of development.

Development projects, however, have often failed because the Euro-American discourse of progress is a powerful and globally institutionalized ideology that, many political theorists argue, is immune from criticism. They also maintain that in globalising world markets, technology and knowledge are commodities that must be sold. More significantly, they contend, development has often proved counterproductive and has worsened people's lived experiences in remote and grass-root communities because the multiple interests of stakeholders concerning development projects have not been acknowledged. As mutual understanding between developer and local people was rarely a

goal, indigenous and local people's knowledge was frequently dismissed or ignored in favour of more powerful Western scientific discourses and practices. Political theorists also contend that powerful social and economic elites in developing countries willingly rejected the knowledge of socially and politically disadvantaged peoples, and, where and if local knowledge was recognized, it was incorporated only in situations where Western science could profit by its use. Because project designers did not always recognize that people in indigenous and local communities were capable of active human agency, they were often unaware of their different needs and goals or that people in indigenous and local communities may engage with the ideas of development and then reject development as unsuitable. Given such lack of understanding among powerful adults about the needs and priorities of indigenous and local adults across cultures, theorists argue, the many and varied needs of children situated in development ideologies, project designs, and implementation have generally been of little concern.

### **Child Labour and Development**

Social scientists and cross-cultural researchers contend that a key dimension to any analysis of the link between children and development is that of child labour. While the dominant mood of much research into child labour is marked by indignation and feelings of compassion, quality studies portray how it is a complex phenomenon that varies considerably within and across countries. Most international authorities, such as UNICEF and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), define a "child" as a person below the age of sixteen; for certain types of hazardous or socially undesirable work, a minimum age of eighteen is stipulated. The concept of child labour is debated, with some researchers arguing that work undertaken by children below the specified age is exploitative and others arguing that labour is a right as long as performance does not harm the child's basic needs of nutrition, health, education, and recreation. UNICEF and the ILO propose child labour be tolerated during a transitional period of economic growth until eradication can be achieved.

Most studies of child labour link to children's schooling and focus on gender and urban/rural dimensions. Some studies are specific to a country. Those on Vietnam, for example, focus on the several and varied impacts of French colonization, regional differences, land reform, historical processes, institutional arrangements, and attitudinal differences to

show how child labour is more accepted in northern Vietnam than in the southern part of the country and to aid the formulation of development policies. Other studies based in Europe subvert Euro-American perceptions of Europe (as a developed group of nations) in their examination of issues such as the Albanian economic crisis and its effects on children, particularly the rise in child labour, the loss of later-year schooling, and the assaults on prepubescent children by older armed teenage gangs.

Although most researchers contend that the majority of child labour in the developing world is found within family activity in rural areas, many authors provide details of other kinds of child labour, such as that of urban or street children. The parking boys of Kenya who clean and guard a driver's vehicle while the driver is absent are an example; other examples include the informal sector street vendors of peanuts, cigarettes, and pens in many African and Southeast Asian countries and those in most developing economies, who wash dishes in informal eating establishments such as kiosks and street or beach cafés.

Laws are often in place to severely restrict the labour of children, but researchers have noted that social and governmental attitudes, employers, parents, and children themselves contribute to its continuance. Connections between poverty and child labour exist, with children from the poorest areas and families tending to work at early ages, but it has also been argued that child labour may be a cause of poverty as well as a consequence. Child labour has been recognized as key to policy formation issues, but researchers allege that governments are reticent to recognize the problem, the public is insensitive to it, and many child labourers are socially and politically invisible. Nonetheless, while the expansion of world trade has raised many developing countries' GDP, and the absolute number of children living below the poverty line is decreasing, there is growing income inequality within and between many countries. And, while local cultures are adapting to and transforming global trends in local ways, local action on its own may not be sufficient to improve conditions when they are determined not just by a factory owner but also regional and international trade treaties and conventions. Although the relationship between income inequality and child labour at the macroeconomic level has been stressed, authors have recently argued that children are the prime actors who determine how they respond to rapid changes. They contend that the active agency of children also requires recognition because children frequently adapt more readily than parents and elders in their communities.

Nieuwenhuys (1994) clarifies how impoverished children engage in a range of activities that are seldom

remunerated but are necessary to family livelihood. But work undertaken within a family context is rarely acknowledged as socially or economically meaningful, despite being the dominant form of labour in peasant and industrialized societies. Social and economic theorists have described how children are excluded from conceptualizations and analyses of the division of labour in Western industrialized countries. Rather, children are positioned ideologically and practically as serving their childhood in schools. Childhood has thus been scholarised in the industrialized West, and the proper relationships of children to adults are constituted as structurally and economically dependent. Furthermore, contemporary economic theorists argue that classical economic theory ignores children's unremunerated work within the family, as it is conceived as creating use value rather than the exchange value necessary to source profit and capital growth. In addition, analyses of children's unremunerated work encounter hostility from political and economic elites when scholars characterize it as exploitation. For these reasons, many researchers argue that child labour is too malleable because the term enables employers to use children without acknowledging their work. Some suggest the more inclusive children's work, as it encompasses any activity done by children that contributes to production, gives adults free time, the more their work facilitates the work of others, or substitutes for the employment of others. As many working activities have negative consequences for the children performing them, it then becomes essential to understand household decision-making processes, to devise multidimensional policy approaches, and to acknowledge the prime role of private responses, such as the potential for corporate social responsibility (OECD 2003).

### **Child Sex Work**

The tourism and entertainment sector is considered to be a soft area of development, so it is not often analysed by economic or political theorists. However, in the latter decades of the twentieth century, the issue of child sex work became a key focus of research for cross-cultural and feminist researchers. They noted that much of the labour in accommodation and food provision occurs in the informal economy, is of diverse character, and involves multifarious minor transactions that are difficult to capture via research projects of limited duration or standard accounting procedures. Working conditions often involve lengthy tours of duty, job insecurity, low or no

wages, minimal opportunity for collective or enterprise bargaining, and negligible or no occupational health and safety conditions. Low pay is exacerbated by apprentice or trainee positions, and payment of tips or commissions on food or beverages occurs only when sold. Labour conditions tend to favour children as their attractiveness and allure become important qualifications for work in hospitality and entertainment, and their economic vulnerability provides an easy pathway to the provision of commercialized sex. In addition, rapid urbanization, labour migration, and growing male unemployment have placed strain on customary patterns of family structure and female dependence and have driven unskilled girls into formal and informal sector work as maids, domestic servants, market and street vendors, bar girls, and waitresses. Female children often work in commercialized versions of socially acceptable domestic or marital roles such as cleaning, food preparation, care of younger children, and doing laundry. Nonetheless, a significant impact of their work is exposure to sexual opportunity, either through casual contact with customers or as a structured aspect of hospitality and entertainment duties.

Montgomery (2001) confronts the challenges presented by Western discourses of children's rights that presume such rights are universal in her analysis of child sex work in a slum community in northern Thailand. The limited life choices and survivalist pragmatism that inscribe young people's decisions in an environment inhibited by severe poverty are portrayed. While recognizing children's vulnerability, the discourse of children's rights is critiqued, as it is seen as rarely recognizing children as proud human agents who garner self-esteem, express love and filial duty, and struggle to make informed choices via practices designed to financially support their families. Other researchers similarly note that among rescued child sex workers under fourteen years of age in Thailand, the majority was uneducated and came from low-income families. Their working hours ranged from six hours to a full day, and they served three to fifteen customers daily. In rehabilitation centers, they were offered social and medical services and skills training for one year, but also endured severe discipline and social humiliation. As a consequence, many chose to return to the relative freedom and dignity of the streets.

Researchers of child sex work portray communities' perceptions that sex work is not harmful and that life is difficult for everyone. They note the importance of children's ties with their family and kin, describing how regular customers are incorporated into kin networks where they are perceived to fulfill kinship roles of reciprocity. Children also create status within their fragment of often profoundly hierarchical

broader societies by indebting younger children through pimping activities, constructing rank via traditionally hierarchical relationships based on age, and, through the acquisition of money, wielding direct and indirect power in materialist microcultures where money and power are indistinguishable.

Data about children's work anchored in field research suggests that childhood be rethought in terms of the ways it functions as a permanent social category that contributes to the maintenance and advancement of particular global and local social orders that are patriarchal and hierarchal in nature. Governments in Sweden, Germany, and Australia have taken action to control the activities of nationals who engage in pedophilic activities in their home territory or abroad. Researchers note that countries such as Thailand and the Philippines, driven by the difficulties produced by rising HIV infection rates, have reviewed their legislation, taken steps toward law enforcement on behalf of sexually exploited children, and altered their Labour Code. Nonetheless, it is argued, without solving basic social and economic difficulties manifest in poverty, it is difficult to effectively translate laws into practical action.

## Gender Differences

For the reasons just described, health issues for children in developing countries are significant. Apart from violence upon their person during their work activities, and malnutrition, key risk factors for child sex workers are contracting a sexually transmitted disease, including HIV; drug use to dull hunger and block the psychological and physical difficulties of street life; and for girls, pregnancy. Pregnancy is but one consideration of gender difference that is essential to any analysis of how children manage the impact of development. The social status of a child's male and female relatives and caregivers can vary dramatically so that issues of violence, gender roles, and discrimination are directly relevant to children's well-being. Although female children in developing countries are gaining educationally, they are less likely than boys to be enrolled in school, to be literate, or to attain a high level of education. UNICEF (1991) and AusAid note that discrimination against girl children is extensive, particularly in South Asia, and that forms of bonded labour and extensive trafficking in children exist throughout Southeast Asia.

Education is seen as an important factor for all children in developing countries but particularly for women and girls. For example, studies in India show that children of educated women are more likely to go

to school, and the more schooling women receive, the more probable it is that their children will also benefit from education. Skills that female children acquire at school not only result in improved health outcomes for themselves and their children but also, eventually, for their grandchildren. Education also leads to more equitable development, stronger families, better services, and better child health; women who have been to school are less likely to die during childbirth. The costs and consequences of depriving girls of education are great as girls become particularly vulnerable to poverty and hunger and are at greater risk than boys of becoming infected with HIV/AIDS, of being sexually exploited, and being drawn into child trafficking.

The last decade of the twentieth century saw the narrowing of the gender gap in primary school enrollment globally. The ratio of girls' gross enrollment rate to the boys' rate in developing countries increased from 0.86 to 0.92. Girls' enrollment in nearly two-thirds of developing countries increased over the decade, with the biggest improvement seen in Benin, Chad, the Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sudan. In Morocco, the proportion of enrollment of girls in rural areas increased from 44.6% in 1997–1998 to 82.2% in 2002–2003. Yet, the primary school completion rate for girls lags way behind that of boys, at 76% compared with 85%. UNICEF (2004) reported that 83% of all girls out of school in the world live in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and East Asia and the Pacific.

Analyses of the social impact on female children of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, from 1996 to 2001, note the Fundamentalist Islamic group made minimal investment in the country's welfare and development during its period of rule. Education was severely hindered, and girls were especially neglected and oppressed. Nonetheless, a 2001 report based on a survey of more than one thousand Afghan men and women living in Afghanistan and nearby refugee camps noted that more than 90% of respondents indicated strong support for the rights of Afghan women and overwhelmingly endorsed equal access for girls to education, freedom of expression, and legal protections for the rights of women and participation of women in government; this response suggests potential for improvement in the lived experiences of female children.

### Current Emphases in Research

Current emphases in research on children and development are working to bridge the gap between

knowledge about children's worlds and modes of being and those deemed to be part of adulthood. Many researchers now critically assess both boys' and girls' daily work within familial contexts and question why their work appears as morally neutral within an analytical framework of class, kinship, gender and household organisation, state ideologies, and education. Research is showing how children confront the challenges of combining education with home life and ongoing contributions to household income, how they balance the demands of adults, and how they live as children and contribute to global social interaction through local action.

Feminist groups are particularly critical of the phenomenon of female infanticide that, they argue, has accounted for millions of gender-selective deaths throughout history. They contend that it remains a critical concern in a number of developing countries, notably China and India, and that its continuance reflects the low status accorded to women generally and to female children in particular in many developed and developing countries. Infanticide is seen as closely linked to the phenomena of sex-selective abortion, which targets female fetuses almost exclusively and the overall neglect of girls.

Research is moving forward concerning children and development by moving beyond the conventional perspective of working to understand children's impoverishment solely at a particular point in time. Bradbury *et al.* (2001) are arguing for an examination of children's movements into and out of poverty, in addition to conventional modes of analysis. The adverse impact on an individual child's living standards of being poor depends on past poverty; that is, those who have been poor for an extensive period are likely to be more deeply impoverished than those who are newly poor, as families' financial and skill capacities are depleted over time. A child's accumulated poverty history also advises whether impoverishment is concentrated among a small group of children or is widely shared, and length of time in poverty has effects on adulthood via development and future life chances.

Another innovation in research about children and development suggests including children and childhood within sociological and development thinking to ensure children are recognized and accepted as participant agents in social relations and that childhood is understood in terms of its relation to adulthood. Proposals that scholars can learn from children about the gaps and lack of fit between their experiences and their positioning in the social order, often taken for granted by adults, are offered, as are suggestions that children's social status must be raised and an arena for consideration of their rights and

responsibilities be provided because children are embedded in societies and therefore in economies, governments, and cultures. A clear critique has been mounted of the concept of child labour as inadequate to analyse much of the work performed by children in rural societies because it assumes an immature human being exposed to a certain type of undesirable activity rather than an exploration of the activities undertaken by children, as well as their variety and their valuation. A further critique of research on children's work in rural societies exists, with arguments that such work has seriously suffered from the use of *a priori* judgments about which activities are suitable for children and that judgments are made on the basis of moral considerations introduced by colonial powers and initially reflected in their child labour legislation. Researchers and development planners are urged therefore to value the everyday work activities performed by children in their varied rural and urban settings and to incorporate children's needs and concerns into development planning.

HELEN JOHNSON

**See also Basic Human Needs; Globalization: Impact on Development; Labor; Women: Role in Development; Sex Trade/Trafficking**

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## CHILE

### Geography and Population

The Republic of Chile lies on the western coast of South America and stretches approximately 2,600 miles north to south and 90 miles east to west. At 292,258 square miles, it is nearly twice the size of California. The desert in the north of the country, bordering Peru and Bolivia, contains great mineral wealth (copper, nitrates, timber, iron ore), while the fertile central area is rich in terms of population and agricultural resources. Forests, grazing lands, volcanoes, lakes, canals, peninsulas, and islands dominate southern Chile. Its Andean mountains border with Argentina on the east.

In 2004, Chile's population numbered 15.8 million, 85% of which live in urban centers, primarily (40%) in the country's capital, Santiago. Most of the population has Spanish ancestry, but there are also a significant number of Irish, English, and German descendants of the colonial and postcolonial period. About eight hundred thousand Mapuche Indians, who were ruthlessly repressed by the Chilean governments of the nineteenth century, live in the south-central area.

Approximately 6 million Chileans form the active population, out of which 5.5 million are employed (2003) in services (63%), industry (23%), and agriculture (14%). Unemployment (9.4% in May–July 2004) still poses a serious problem for modern Chile.

Education is compulsory until the age of twelve, and the adult literacy rate is 96%. The majority of Chileans (89%) are Roman Catholic. The Catholic Church, as well as freemasonry, has played an important role in the political, social, and cultural life of Chile.

## Historical Overview

From the mid-1500s until 1810, Chile was under the rule of the Spanish crown. The revolt that led to Chile's independence brought little social change. The War of the Pacific with Peru and Bolivia (1879–1883) enabled the young republic to expand its territory northward and to acquire valuable nitrate deposits that, together with other mineral and agricultural exports, led to significant economic growth. This era of national affluence and the establishment of a parliamentary-style democracy in the late nineteenth century served principally the interests of the ruling oligarchy, who were represented by the conservative and liberal parties.

The interwar period witnessed the rise of the middle and working classes. Marxist parties and a middle-class centrist party, the *Partido Radical*, were founded with strong popular support. The Radicals, in a coalition with the Socialists and Communists, dominated Chilean politics from the mid-1930s until 1952. This was a period of increased state intervention in the economy, increased industrial production, and overall economic growth but also of inflation and economic dependence on the United States. American copper companies were able to manipulate Chilean copper production and prices while resisting tax increases. As a result, the Chilean leftist parties became highly critical of the policy pursued by their coalition partners of the *Partido Radical*. The disillusion with the economic policy of the Radicals, who seemed incapable of establishing sound noninflationary economic growth and of transferring the benefits of the industrial and economic growth to larger segments of the Chilean population, led to the end of the Radical era in 1952.

The succeeding government, however, led by the old dictator Carlos Ibañez until 1958, did not restore the power of the traditional political elite. On the contrary, the reforms of the electoral system during his presidency extended the franchise to a larger segment of the Chilean adult population and made voting both secret and compulsory. It also dictated stronger penalties for electoral fraud or bribery; weakened the power of the oligarchy; and enabled Marxists, Christian Democrats (from the *Partido Demócrata Cristiano*, formally established in 1957), Radicals, and other parties to gain popularity in various regions of the country. Furthermore, Ibañez allowed the Communists—who had been outlawed in 1948—to return to national politics and facilitate the organization of workers. At the same time, this permitted them to form, together with the Socialist party, a new leftist coalition called *Frente de Acción Popular*.

From 1958 until 1973, rightist and leftist political parties alternated in Chilean official institutions. None of them were able, however, to tackle the fundamental economic problems of Chile. Throughout the 1930s and 1950s, the Chilean governments pursued a policy of state intervention to create import substitution industries, but they failed to reform the regressive tax system, making them, consequently, heavily reliant on deficit financing and foreign borrowing.

As elsewhere in the world, the 1960s were a period during which radical and revolutionary ideas flourished. For Chile, this was also a period of growing polarization among the Chilean population. In 1964, the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei won the popular vote for the presidency with his campaign “Revolution in Liberty.” Frei embarked on far-reaching social and economic reforms, without, however, endangering the capitalist economic system. In light of Castroite fear following the Cuban Revolution of 1959, the Frei administration was viewed by many observers abroad as the best alternative to a Marxist-dominated Chile. By 1967, however, Frei encountered increasing opposition from the parties of the Chilean Left and radical elements within his own Christian Democratic party. They considered Frei's reforms inadequate. Society in Chile was divided between those urging for deeper changes and those wanting to prevent radical transformations.

The end of the 1960s witnessed a further radicalization of the Chilean Left. Salvador Allende, a member of the Socialist party and leader of the *Unidad Popular*—a coalition of Socialists, Communists, Radicals, and dissident Christian Democrats—won the presidential election of 1970. Allende wanted to build a Socialist society by legal means. His program included structural reforms such as nationalization of private industries and banks, agrarian reforms to destroy the *hacienda* system, and strengthening of the political and economic power of workers. But Allende's “Road to Socialism” was soon confronted with the United States's CIA-backed opposition of political parties on the Chilean Right, private enterprises, a large segment within the army and the US government led by Richard Nixon, who were all mistrustful of the Chilean authorities. The economic recession of the 1960s continued into the 1970s (with the exception of the first year of Allende's government) and contributed to the growing opposition to the *Unidad Popular* government.

The social unrest in the early 1970s brought the Chilean military into the political arena. In September 1973, a military *coup d'état* led by General Augusto Pinochet overthrew Allende, and in December 1974, Pinochet declared himself President of Chile. The



militaries had neither a clear political nor economic policy. Their only clear political program was the “depoliticization” of Chilean society, which meant the repression of supporters of Allende’s Socialist project and the military control of virtually all important national institutions, to guarantee stability and economic growth. Massive human rights abuses were justified by the doctrine of “national security.” The national committees set up by the civil governments in the 1990s to examine human rights violations committed by the military regime reported approximately three thousand killings or disappearances and many more victims of torture, persecution, prison, and exile.

After 1973, trade unions and political parties of the Left were severely oppressed by the militaries, but resistance to the Pinochet regime never died out entirely. The economic collapse of 1982–1983 led to the rise of open opposition to the regime. General Augusto Pinochet remained in power until 1988, after being denied a second term of presidency by a plebiscite (provided by the 1980 Constitution in which the Chileans expressed their desire to organize presidential elections). The Christian Democrats Patricio Aylwin and Eduardo Frei Ruiz, leading a seventeen-party coalition, the *Concertación de los Partidos por la Democracia*, governed the country from 1990 until 1999. The elections of January 2000 brought Ricardo Lagos, of the Socialist party and leader of the *Concertación*, to the presidency of Chile for a six-year term.

### **Socioeconomic Development of the Last Decades**

Following the rough economic postwar period, the 1973–1990 military government pursued for the first time in the history of Chile a rigid free market economic model, drawn by the so-called Chicago Boys, a group of economists trained at the *Universidad Católica* in Santiago and the University of Chicago. This neo-liberal model contained three main objectives: (i) economic liberalization to increase the role of markets; (ii) reversion of the state-interventionist trend (prevailing in Chile since the interwar period) and privatization of state-owned companies; and (iii) stabilization of inflation. Chile committed itself to free trade, welcomed large amounts of foreign investment, and limited the government’s role in the economy to regulation.

Market-oriented economic policies were continued and strengthened by post-Pinochet governments. In contrast to other Latin American countries, the

Chilean economy grew at an impressive rate in the period between 1987 and 1997, reaching a 7% growth in real gross domestic product (GDP). This impressive economic growth declined in 1998 because of tight monetary policies (implemented to keep the current account deficit in check), lower export earnings (a product of global financial crisis), and a severe drought that reduced crop yields and caused hydroelectric shortfalls and electricity rationing. By 2003, exports and economic activity showed clear signs of recovery, and growth rebounded to 3.3% in real GDP. Experts expect a GDP growth of around 5% in 2004 and 2005, as copper prices, exports earnings, and foreign investment increase.

The World Economic Forum’s 2004 Competitiveness Rankings shows that Chile has not only improved its position (ranked twenty-second, compared to twenty-eighth in 2003), but it continues to be the most competitive economy in Latin America. Foreign investors are also attracted to Chile because of its high quality of life: low-cost, high-standard housing; well-known international private schools; and relatively low criminality rates compared to other Latin American countries.

Chile is traditionally an export economy, particularly dependent on its copper exports. The state-owned firm CODELCO is the world’s largest copper-producing company. Other important non-mineral exports are wood products, fruit, processed food, fish, paper products, and wine. In 2003, Chile’s largest export markets were Asia (30.8%), Europe (24.4%), and North America (23.7%). It also imported consumer goods, chemicals, motor vehicles, fuels, electrical machinery, and heavy industrial machinery from its major suppliers in 2003: Argentina (20.3%), the European Union (17%), United States (13.6%), Brazil (10.1%), and China (6.9%).

Successive Chilean governments concluded free trade agreements with commercial partners in the Western Hemisphere, the European Union, Japan, and South Korea, among others, to promote export-led growth. In June 2003, Chile and the United States signed an ambitious trade agreement that will lead to completely duty free bilateral trade within twelve years. Chile has also been a leading proponent of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

According to the United Nations Development Programme, Chile has been highly successful in reducing poverty since the end of the Pinochet regime. The share of Chileans with incomes below the poverty line—defined as twice the cost of satisfying a person’s minimal nutritional needs—fell from 45% in 1987 to 18.8% in 2003, while the rate of indigents (those living in extreme poverty, not being able to cover the minimal nutritional needs) fell from 17.4% to 5.7% in the

same period. Unemployment—which rose from 4.4% in 1970 to 1973 to 30.4% in 1983—has declined steadily from the mid-1980s (6.2% in 1997). During the last decades, the Chilean governments have also increased subsidies for education and housing and have made considerable achievements in key social indicators such as infant mortality, life expectancy, and women’s labor market participation. However, some analysts criticize the highly “economicist” approach in the studies of Chile and Latin America, in general, as well as the official statistical methods used to measure poverty. The Chilean economy has made strong economic gains since the mid-1980s, but not all Chileans have taken part in this boom. The unemployment rate rose in the late 1990s and remains stubbornly high in the first years of the new millennium (9.4% in May–July 2004). A World Bank study on inequality (2004) reported that Latin America and the Caribbean show higher rates of socioeconomic disparity than other regions in the world. If Chile differs from other Latin American countries when it comes to economic growth and competitiveness, it does not when it comes to income distribution. Social inequality in Chile remains high by international standards. The Gini index—a statistical measure of inequality in which zero expresses complete equality and one hundred total inequality—for Chile increased from fifty-four in the 1990s to fifty-seven in 2004. Especially, Chileans of indigenous origin represent a group of concern. Indigenous people are 56% more likely to live in poverty, receive half the income of nonindigenous people, and have 2.2 years less schooling. World Bank reports on education also highlight that—despite the higher social spending and despite the fact that a vast majority of Chileans has access to public education—the lingering gap between the performance of private and public schools and schools in urban and rural areas still calls for a solution.

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**See also Allende Gossens, Salvador; Pinochet Ugarte, Augusto; Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations**

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### CHINA: CULTURAL REVOLUTION

During the early 1960s, the leadership of China fell to Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi, both of whom were longtime and important members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Both favored a more pragmatic and bureaucratic approach to social and economic development and moved quickly to restore order in China through a centralized network of administration under CCP control. Under the leadership of Liu and Deng, Chinese industry and agriculture achieved a range of new successes in increased productivity and improved stability. But the CCP and the centralized agencies that directed this expansion of the Chinese economy grew rapidly and created a new bureaucratic elite that increasingly assumed the lifestyle and mannerisms of a privileged class.

Mao Zedong’s great displeasure with the “right opportunist line” of the CCP under the leadership of Deng and Liu prompted him to initiate what he called the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. Mao’s call for “continuing revolution” was supported by Lin Biao, the commander of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), and a group of leftists centered on Mao’s wife, Jiang Qing. Among these were the so-called Gang of Four, which included Jiang and three young politicians from Shanghai: Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen, and Yao Wenyuan. In general, Mao was supported by many of China’s young people, who were frustrated by the current state of Chinese society. Organizing themselves as the Red Guard, these youth became the vanguard of his campaign against “capitalist roaders” within the ranks of the Communist Party.

Mao’s charisma and prestige enabled him to win the support he needed to accomplish the initial

objectives of the Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping was driven from power and exiled from the capital, and Liu Shaoqi died while under house arrest in 1969. Mao's goal was to do away with the "four olds": old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking. This included not only the old ways of the CCP but of China itself, including historical artifacts. In addition, many teachers, government workers, and other educated professionals were subjected to severe persecution.

During the summer of 1967, however, key units of the PLA revolted, forcing Mao to call for a restoration of order. While the Cultural Revolution would formally continue until Mao's death in 1976, it lost strength after the PLA mutiny. In 1971, Lin Biao attempted to overthrow Mao; the *coup d'état* failed, but Mao's leadership was nevertheless discredited in the eyes of many Chinese. In 1972, China had even opened negotiations with the United States and hosted a visit by President Richard Nixon in an effort to readjust the country's international strategic position.

### Reform Under Deng Xiaoping

Following the death of Mao in September 1976, and the subsequent arrest of the Gang of Four, the Cultural Revolution was brought to a close. Throughout 1977 and 1978, China's leaders moved on several fronts to acquire new technology and establish a broader economic basis for future growth. This included such measures as the construction of a major port facility at Shanhaiguan in the Hebei Province and the negotiation of a lucrative industrial development package with Japan.

The leading proponent of this shift toward openness and modernization was Deng Xiaoping. After his banishment, Deng resided in Jiangxi Province until February 1973, when a series of shifts in Cultural Revolution politics led Mao to recommend his political rehabilitation. Deng's return to the central leadership did not last long, however, and in April 1976 he once again was condemned by Mao for his rightist tendencies and was forced from his position. But following the death of Mao and the arrest of the Gang of Four, Deng was again allowed into the ranks of the central leadership.

Following the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP in December 1978, Deng emerged as the most powerful leader in the Communist hierarchy and moved quickly to bring reform-minded supporters such as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang into the ruling Politburo. Adopting the slogan "practice is the sole criterion of truth,"

Deng condemned the Cultural Revolution and vigorously promoted the Four Modernizations in the areas of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. Universities, with strictly merit-based admission, were established to train scientists and technicians. In the countryside, peasants were permitted to engage in formerly forbidden "side occupations," which included a wide range of private initiatives in growing, processing, and marketing agricultural commodities. The managers of state industries were also allowed greater flexibility in rewarding individual productivity among their workers and determining output on the basis of market considerations. In general, China moved closer toward a mixed rather than a strictly planned economy.

Attention was also directed toward political reform, and major efforts were undertaken to combine "centralism" with "people's democracy," thus broadening the base of decision making within the ranks of the CCP. Measures were also taken to ensure judicial organizations greater independence and to reinforce the principle of equality before the law. These political reforms and new legal protections did not, however, extend as far as many had hoped. Deng's harsh suppression of the Democracy Wall movement in early 1979 following publicly posted appeals for a Fifth Modernization, or democracy, clearly demonstrated the limits of political change. While new freedoms would be allowed in the sphere of economic development, the CCP would tolerate no challenge to its political supremacy.

Throughout the 1980s, Deng's policy of *gaige kai-fang*, or "reform and openness," was expanded, at least economically, as new programs were implemented to stimulate growth in agriculture and modern industry. To promote foreign investment and develop China's export industries, four "special economic zones" were created near major coastal cities. These zones served as the incubation quarters for a variety of new joint enterprises and manufacturing ventures with foreign corporations. Improved political relations with Japan and the United States at this time opened the markets of these countries to Chinese goods, creating a favorable balance of trade and encouraging a greater flow of capital into China.

Unfortunately, the phenomenal economic growth of China in the 1980s also generated some negative consequences, such as inflation, unemployment, and increased corruption among government officials. The hardships and uncertainty of the new economy, combined with a lack of democratic reform by the Communist government, led university students to take to the streets in protest, culminating in the Tiananmen Square massacre of the summer of 1989. Deng's suppression of the demonstrations at

Tiananmen squashed political dissent and reasserted the authority of the CCP, despite or perhaps in reaction to concurrent collapse of the Communist governments of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Until his death in February 1997, Deng continued to promote modernization and economic expansion in China while handing the reins of political power over to a new generation of technocratic leadership.

### Continuing Reform Under Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji

After Deng's death, the presidency of China was conferred upon one of his chief political protégés, Jiang Zemin, a trained engineer and former Shanghai Party boss who had been brought to the capital in 1989 to help pacify the country in the aftermath of the Tiananmen disaster. The following year, the key position of Premier of the State Council was transferred from the conservative Li Peng, who had played a predominant role in the suppression of the Tiananmen protests, to Zhu Rongji, who had directed much of China's economic growth in the mid-1990s. Under Jiang and Zhu, economic reform was expanded as the country continued its rapid integration into the international economy.

**See also** *China, People's Republic of*; *Chinese Communist Party*; *Chinese Revolution*; *Communist Economic Model*; *Deng Xiaoping*; *East Asia: History and Economic Development*; *Jiang Zemin*; *State-Directed Economy*; *Taiwan*

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### CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF

Located at the eastern end of the Eurasian continent, the People's Republic of China occupies a land area of approximately 3.7 million square miles: an area larger than all fifty states of the United States of America. The country encompasses a wide variety of regional climates and topographies, stretching from the Amur River adjacent to Russian Siberia in the north to the tropical jungles of mainland Southeast Asia in the south. The arid Tarim basin and the high Tibetan plateau dominate the western and southwestern portions of the country. While vast in area, China lacks an abundance of land suitable for agriculture and is forced to feed its 1.3 billion people—nearly 25% of the world's total population—on only 7% of the world's arable land. Agricultural self-sufficiency and economic development have thus proved to be especially challenging goals for the leaders of modern China.

### Historical Background

Throughout most of China's four thousand-year recorded history, the country has been ruled by a succession of imperial dynasties that rose to power and later declined in a historical pattern known as the "dynastic cycle." Among the most noteworthy and long-lived of these dynasties were the Zhou (1045 BCE–256 BCE), the Han (207 BCE–220 CE), the Tang (618 CE–907 CE), the Ming (1368 CE–1644 CE), and the non-Chinese (Manchu) Qing (1644 CE–1911 CE). During the course of this long traditional era, Chinese civilization progressively expanded outward from its birthplace in the Yellow River valley as it extended its political and cultural hegemony over neighboring peoples and regions. The state was governed through an elaborate system of bureaucratic administration centered on the emperor, or the Son of Heaven as he was referred to in classical historical accounts. The ancient Chinese regarded their country as the virtual center of human civilization, a concept reflected in its traditional designation as the Middle Kingdom.

With the arrival of increasing numbers of Western traders and missionaries in the early and mid-nineteenth century, China's traditional system of political administration and interstate relations came under intense pressure. Following the country's humiliating defeat by the British in the Opium War (1839–1842), China's rulers were forced to open the country more widely to Western penetration and implement a wide range of economic and political

reforms to meet the challenge of Western wealth and power. The reforms undertaken by the Qing dynasty rulers were insufficient, however, to satisfy the nationalist aspirations of a new generation of enlightened Chinese, and under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and his Revolutionary Alliance, the dynasty was overthrown in the Nationalist Revolution of 1911–1912.

But the new republican-style government established by Sun Yat-sen was unable to consolidate its hold over China, and by 1916, the country descended into a decade-long period of political fragmentation during which most of the country fell under the control of regional warlords. Throughout this time, young Chinese intellectuals vigorously promoted social and political reform in the New Culture and May Fourth movements, while Sun Yat-sen worked for political reunification and modernization through his Nationalist Party Guomindang. In 1921, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was also established with the assistance of the Moscow-based Comintern (Communist International), thus providing the Chinese with a Marxist alternative to their country's political future.

An alliance (“united front”) between the CCP and the Guomindang succeeded in reuniting the country in the Northern Expedition of 1926–1928. But with the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, leadership of the Guomindang fell to Chiang Kai-shek, a staunch anti-Communist who shortly after achieving his military objectives in the Northern Expedition embarked on a violent campaign to exterminate his former CCP allies. Fleeing to the countryside, Communists under Mao Zedong temporarily established a rural base in Jiangxi Province, but in October 1934, they were forced on their heroic six thousand-mile Long March flight from Guomindang forces, finally establishing a new base near the village of Yan'an in remote Shaanxi Province. By late 1936, Japanese incursions in northern China forced Chiang to accept a second united front with the Communists that would last for the duration of World War II.

Soon after the surrender of the Japanese to Allied forces in August 1945, President Truman dispatched General George Marshall to China to attempt to mediate a peaceful resolution to the political conflict between the Guomindang and the CCP; but the bitter legacy of the prewar period and the irreconcilability of their political agendas proved insurmountable. In the summer of 1946, Chiang Kai-shek moved quickly to take advantage of the military advantages he enjoyed by attempting to dislodge the Communists from their base in Manchuria, thus sparking civil war. Chiang failed, however, to win popular support for his corrupt and inefficient regime, and by 1949, his Nationalist forces were defeated by the People's Liberation Army and forced to flee to the island of Taiwan.

## People's Republic of China

With the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, a new chapter in the history of modern China began. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, who was regarded with cult-like devotion by his political supporters, the new Communist-led government embarked on a concerted campaign to remove the last vestiges of foreign imperialism and build a new China. The first step in this process was a massive effort to redistribute land to the peasant masses by expropriating the holdings of the rural gentry and wealthier peasants. This campaign was occasionally marked by extreme violence and persecution as the Communist leadership sought retribution against their alleged class enemies. The government also moved vigorously to suppress prostitution, opium, and other criminal activities that had flourished during the prerevolutionary period.

In 1950, the government passed a series of laws that provided the legal framework for a thoroughgoing reform of Chinese society. A new marriage and divorce law, for example, greatly improved the lives of women by granting them new marital and property rights. The Chinese government also undertook a series of mass campaigns in the early 1950s to consolidate its control over China's urban population and “rectify,” through intensive indoctrination and intimidation, any potential political opposition. These campaigns were prompted in large part by fears of American aggression at the time of the Korean War, during which large numbers of Chinese troops were allied with the North Koreans.

Throughout the mid-1950s, China's industrial economy was developed on the basis of the Soviet model, with the assistance of hundreds of Russian technical advisors and large quantities of Soviet equipment. A Central Planning Commission was established, and in 1953, the first Five Year Plan was launched, scoring impressive achievements in the development of heavy industry. During this period, most large businesses and financial institutions were nationalized and brought under the control of new government ministries assigned to manage the various segments of the expanding Socialist economy.

## Great Leap Forward

Although the Communist government had attained considerable success in restoring key sectors of the industrial economy during its first years in power, agricultural production continued to lag. By the

mid-1950s, therefore, the Chinese government began to push more vigorously for agricultural collectivization. Mao Zedong was the primary force behind this effort, for he was eager to socialize the agricultural economy and believed that China was uniquely positioned to make a revolutionary stride toward the classless utopian society he envisioned as the highest goal of Marxism. The Great Leap Forward, as Mao's ambitious initiative of 1958 became known, was an attempt to radically restructure Chinese society and decentralize the Chinese economy by reorganizing the population into huge collectives, or people's communes. These people's communes were intended to become the centers of both agricultural and industrial production, in which the collective will of the masses would inspire "more, better, faster, and cheaper" modes of production.

In the end, the Great Leap Forward proved to be an unmitigated disaster. The decentralization of industry, exemplified by experimental enterprises such as "backyard furnaces," proved horribly inefficient, and agricultural production declined precipitously as overzealous officials misallocated resources and manpower. Furthermore, many peasants resisted the communal living arrangements imposed upon them and failed to manifest any genuine dedication to the larger Socialist aspirations of their leaders. The consequences of Mao's failed experiment were "three bitter years" of catastrophic famine (1959–1961) during which as many as 20 million Chinese are believed to have lost their lives.

The tragedy of the Great Leap Forward not only caused untold hardship for the Chinese people but also badly damaged relations between China and the Soviet Union. The "Sino-Soviet split" of 1960, in which the two countries completely severed political relations, was caused largely by Mao's pretentious criticism of the Soviet Union's "revisionist" domestic and foreign policies. But as the failure of the Great Leap Forward became apparent, Mao's own policies came under criticism by the top leadership of the CCP, and following a meeting of the Central Committee in December 1958, he was obliged to "retire from the front line" and to allow other prominent party officials to set administrative policy.

## **Cultural Revolution**

During the early 1960s, the leadership of China fell to Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, both of whom were highly esteemed for their long and distinguished careers of service to the Communist cause. Both men favored a more rational approach to social

and economic development and moved quickly to restore prosperity to China through a centralized system of planning and administration. Under the leadership of Liu and Deng, Chinese industry and agriculture recovered quickly from the Great Leap Forward and achieved steady progress in improved productivity and economic stability. But the growing power of the agencies and institutions that directed this renewed expansion of the Chinese economy gave rise to a new bureaucratic elite that increasingly assumed the lifestyle and mannerisms of a privileged class.

Mao's great displeasure with the "right opportunist line" of the CCP leadership and the new elite that it had engendered prompted him to initiate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. Mao's call for "continuing revolution" was supported by Lin Biao, the commander of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), and a core of leftist radicals led by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing. Mao was also supported by many of China's young people, whose frustration and resentment over some of the inequities they endured under the current system could easily be channeled toward overthrowing the established order. Organizing themselves as the Red Guard, these youth were impassioned with a cult-like devotion to Mao and became the vanguard of his campaign against "capitalist roaders" within the ranks of the party.

The power of Mao's charisma and prestige enabled him to win the support he needed to accomplish the initial objectives of the Cultural Revolution. The first victims of his campaign were those leaders of the CCP who had long resisted his radical agenda, including Deng Xiaoping, who was driven from power and then exiled from the capital, and Liu Shaoqi, who, after cruel mistreatment by the Red Guards, died while under house arrest. But as the Cultural Revolution progressed, the targets of attack were broadened to include anything or anyone associated with the "four olds": old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking. During this most violent and disruptive phase of the Cultural Revolution, many precious artifacts from China's past were defaced or destroyed, and millions of teachers, government workers, and other educated professionals were killed or subjected to severe persecution.

By the summer of 1967, chaos arising from the violent factionalism of the various Red Guards forced even Mao himself to condemn the "ultra-Left tendencies" of the movement and call for a restoration of order. The Cultural Revolution lost even more of its ideological impetus following Lin Biao's failed attempt to overthrow Mao in 1971, an event which greatly discredited Mao in the eyes of many Chinese.

Thus, while the Cultural Revolution would formally continue until the mid-1970s, it would not be as radical or destructive as it had been during its initial phase. Indeed, in 1972, China even opened negotiations with the United States and hosted a visit by President Richard Nixon, ending years of bitter confrontation and opening the pathway to the eventual normalization of relations in 1979. And in 1973, Deng Xiaoping and some other former members of the CCP persecuted during the early phase of the Cultural Revolution were “rehabilitated” and allowed back into the leading ranks of the government.

### Reform Under Deng Xiaoping

Following the death of Mao in September 1976, and the subsequent arrest of Jiang Qing's Gang of Four, the Cultural Revolution was finally brought to a close. By this time, most Chinese had grown weary of the economic stagnation and political extremism of the Cultural Revolution and had begun to yearn for a more pragmatic approach to social and economic development. Thus, throughout 1977 and 1978, China's leaders moved on several fronts to acquire new technology and establish a broader economic base for future growth. This included such measures as the construction of a major port facility at Shanhaiguan in the Hebei Province and the negotiation of a lucrative industrial development package with Japan. At the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP in December 1978, Deng Xiaoping emerged as the most powerful leader in the Communist hierarchy and moved quickly to bring reform-minded supporters into the ruling Politburo. Adopting the slogan “practice is the sole criterion of truth,” Deng condemned the leftist radicalism of the Cultural Revolution and vigorously promoted the Four Modernizations in the areas of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology.

One of the early measures taken by the Chinese government to promote the Four Modernizations was the establishment of key universities to train a new generation of scientists and technicians. Admission to these new schools would be based on academic merit and not on one's class background or ideological zeal, as it had during the Cultural Revolution. In the countryside, peasants were permitted to engage in formerly forbidden “side occupations,” which included a wide range of private initiatives in growing, processing, and marketing agricultural commodities. The managers of state industries were also allowed

greater flexibility in rewarding individual productivity among their workers and determining output on the basis of market considerations. In general, throughout China, private incentives and market forces were allowed to function more freely as a stimulus to social and economic development.

Deng and his supporters also directed their attention to political reform, and major efforts were undertaken to combine “centralism” with “people's democracy,” thus broadening the base of decision making within the ranks of the CCP. Measures were also enacted to ensure that judicial organizations would have greater independence, and a greater effort was made to reinforce the principle of equality before the law. These political reforms and new legal protections did not, however, extend as far as many had hoped. Deng's harsh suppression of the Democracy Wall movement in Beijing in early 1979 following publicly posted appeals for democratic reform, or the Fifth Modernization, clearly demonstrated the limits of political change. While vast new freedoms and incentives were promoted in the economic life of the country, the CCP would not tolerate challenge to its political supremacy.

Throughout the 1980s, Deng's policy of *gaige kai-fang*, or “reform and openness,” was progressively expanded as new programs were implemented to stimulate growth in agriculture and modern industry. To promote foreign investment and develop China's export industries, four “special economic zones” were created near major coastal cities. These zones served as the incubation quarters for a variety of new joint enterprises and manufacturing ventures with foreign corporations. Improved political relations with Japan and the United States at this time opened the markets of these countries to Chinese goods, creating a favorable balance of trade and encouraging a greater flow of capital into China.

But the miraculous economic growth of China in the 1980s also generated some negative consequences, such as severe inflation, high unemployment, and rampant government corruption. These factors, combined with the anxiety growing out of the hardships and uncertainty of the new economy, led university students to take to the streets of Beijing in protest in April 1989, culminating eventually in the tragic Tiananmen Square massacre of June, during which several hundred demonstrators were killed by PLA troops. In the end, Deng's ruthless suppression of the Tiananmen protests effectively squashed political dissent and reasserted the authority of the CCP at a time when the Communist governments of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were rapidly collapsing under similar forms of popular opposition.

## Continuing Reform Under New Technocratic Leadership

Until his death in February 1997, Deng continued to promote modernization and economic expansion in China while handing the reins of political power to a new generation of technocratic leadership. In 1993, the presidency of China was conferred upon his chief political protégé, Jiang Zemin, a trained engineer and former Shanghai Party boss who had been brought to the capital in 1989 to help pacify the country in the aftermath of the Tiananmen disaster. Jiang successfully perpetuated Deng's strategy of promoting liberal economic reform while maintaining the CCP's authoritarian grasp on political power. In 1997, the country enjoyed an important foreign policy success with the British return of Hong Kong to PRC control under the "one country-two systems" policy that protected the democratic rights of the city's residents under the new Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR).

In 1998, the key position of Premier of the State Council was transferred from the conservative Li Peng, who had played a predominant role in the brutal suppression of the Tiananmen protests, to Zhu Rongji, another engineer by training who had directed much of China's economic growth in the mid-1990s. Under the technocratic leadership of Jiang and Zhu, the country focused on rapidly integrating itself into the international economy. China's admission to the World Trade Organization in 2001 marked the culmination of this process while providing a new framework for future social and economic development. China was also granted the privilege of hosting the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing, yet another sign of the approval and admiration of the international community.

The ability of the CCP to smoothly transfer political leadership to a new generation was demonstrated in March 2003 by the peaceful retirement of Jiang Zemin and the orderly designation of Hu Jintao as the new president of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, Zhu Rongji willingly acceded his post of Premier of the State Council to Wen Jiabao. Hu and Wen were also trained originally as engineers and seem determined to continue the pragmatic approach to social and economic development pioneered by Deng Xiaoping and his successors.

If China's leaders are able to navigate a peaceful resolution to the simmering dispute over the return of Taiwan and begin moving the country in the direction of democratic reform, the remaining obstacles to improved relations with the international community

will have been lifted. But China's new leaders also face the formidable challenge of completing the country's transformation to "market socialism." The growing disparities in wealth arising from China's rapid economic development have generated serious social tensions and exacerbated crime and government corruption. The new generation of leadership must therefore move quickly to regulate and reform the political system and strive to distribute the benefits of economic expansion to a much broader segment of its vast population. If this can be done successfully and the current pattern of development continues, China appears destined in the twenty-first century to become an economic and political superpower of preeminent importance to the future of the international community.

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**See also Chiang Kai-shek; Chinese Communist Party; Chinese Revolution; Communist Economic Model; Deng Xiaoping; Mao Zedong; Zhou Enlai**

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## CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP)

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was founded in 1921 as part of the Communist International's (Comintern) strategy to support the construction of socialism in Russia by having Communist parties assume leadership over nationalist movements against imperialist expansion in Asia. The mission of the



party was to regain territorial integrity, sovereignty, and unity for China by supporting the bourgeoisie in its modernization effort and in its fight for national independence. The strategy was to join the bourgeoisie and its party, in this case the Nationalist Party Guomindang, in a united front to help the country move on to capitalism. This strategy was also aimed at hindering the bourgeoisie to make full use of its power by limiting its ability to exploit workers at its own wish.

A first attempt to put this theory into practice ended with a disaster. Even before the Guomindang took over power in 1927, it tried to destroy its former ally. As a result, the CCP retreated to the countryside and went through years of internal debate trying to define a strategy independent of the Comintern and that would be successful because it was rooted in Chinese society. The focus of the party shifted from the cities to the countryside, from political issues to military means of mobilization and participation, and from close cooperation with the Comintern to independence. This shift was propagated among party members during the 1942–1945 Yan'an Rectification campaign, which prepared the party organizationally for the Communist takeover while the Anti-Japanese War laid a military and political basis for the later victory. Mao Zedong, who was elected leader of the CCP on its Seventh Party Congress in 1945, is said to have been the inventor of this victorious strategy. Until today, Mao-Zedong-Thought stands for the successful sinification of Marxism-Leninism in China and is heralded as the guiding principle of the CCP.

After the Communist takeover in 1949, the CCP entered a period of intensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, but the majority of its leadership soon felt uneasy with this renewed partnership. For Mao Zedong, the Soviet Union had become a negative example, after Stalin's death, of a Socialist country degenerating to revisionism and later on to Socialist imperialism. Many leading members of the party supported his idea that China should neither submit to Russian chauvinism nor should it internally go through the same degeneration process as to be observed in Russia. Consequently, the CCP started to focus on class struggle and not on economic issues. Even though the Great Leap Forward had already shown at the end of the 1950s many of the problems resulting from the continuation of the revolution under conditions of postrevolutionary construction, it was only after the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and Mao Zedong's death that the CCP leadership departed from Mao's line.

After a period of reorientation under Hua Guofeng, the CCP leadership under Deng Xiaoping

introduced a set of policies focused on economic development. In December 1978, the Party's Eleventh Central Committee decided on its Third Plenary Session to allow for a gradual introduction of market economy and the opening of the country to foreign investors. This set of policies, without which China's unprecedented economic growth could not have taken place, is now attributed to Deng Xiaoping and said to be his personal contribution to the development of Mao-Zedong-Thought. In the twenty-first century, the CCP has redefined its role as a party of people as a whole acting as a modernization agent on behalf of the Chinese nation longing to catch up with the most advanced nations of the world. During its Sixteenth Party Congress, the CCP publicly acknowledged its new role by integrating this idea into its statutes and linking them to its leader Jiang Zemin. On the same occasion, the CCP elected its present leadership under Hu Jintao.

Since its fundamental change of policies in 1978, the CCP has shifted its focus from class struggle to economic development; at the same time, it has held the notion that economic development is more important than political change. Its legitimacy is therefore solely based on economic growth and efficiency. While this strategy has so far been quite successful, it has not prevented major frictions to arise. The 1989 student movement in Beijing and other parts of the country showed the party leadership that economic growth without political reform could easily lead to a legitimacy crisis and to major splits inside the CCP, the victim of which turned out to be the then-party leader Zhao Ziyang. Since then, the CCP has been able to accommodate most of those taking part in the 1989 protest movement but is now confronted with social unrest in the countryside and among workers in the cities.

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**See also China, People's Republic of; Chinese Revolution; Deng Xiaoping; Mao Zedong; Marxism; Zhou Enlai**

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## CHINESE REVOLUTION

The Chinese Revolution, in the narrow sense of the word, was a protest movement under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which was founded in 1921 under the influence of the international Communist movement and came to power in 1949. The protest movement was directed against the growing influence of foreign powers on Chinese territory and inequality of income and land distribution in the countryside, as well as against poverty among the urban working class population. Its main aims were to restore sovereignty of the Chinese state over Chinese territory, to distribute land to the tillers so as to overcome inequality among poor peasants, and to strengthen the state's influence on the process of industrialization to accelerate industrial growth and limit the exploitation of the workers. The Communist Revolution in this sense is part of the international Communist movement under the leadership of the Communist International, although the CCP had realized in the 1940s that its only chance to rise to power would be to define itself as a genuinely Chinese political force independent of any foreign influence whatsoever.

During the first phase of the revolution, the focus of the protest movement was located in major Chinese cities, and the forms of protest imitated the model of Communist movements in Western industrialized countries. Starting from 1924, the CCP followed the advice given by the Communist International and built a united front with the Nationalist Party Guomindang. Convinced that the Communist movement in China had to help the bourgeois democratic revolution to succeed, the CCP agreed to join the GMD in an effort to put an end to regionalization in China and reestablish a powerful central state that had been lacking since the fall of the last dynasty in 1912. When the united front split in 1927, it was the Guomindang, however, that formed the central government and forced the CCP to retreat to the countryside, where it had to develop a survival strategy. Using the fragmentation of village life and the weakness of the state for their own purposes, the Communist Party saw the possibility to develop its influence in the villages and surround the cities by the countryside, attacking its enemies where they were weak and strengthening its own ranks by recruiting peasants from newly "liberated" areas for locally organized militias. Because the cities were unable to survive if cut off from the surrounding countryside, the cities had to give in after a certain time. Step by step, the territory under Communist control grew to become a major threat for the central government. Only after several large-scale military attacks by

government troops was the army, under Communist leadership, compelled to leave its territory and embark, in October 1934, on the legendary Long March. The end of the march came in October 1935, resulting in a diminished party with its new center at Yan'an. The CCP was now ready to establish a second united front against Japanese aggression with the national government of the Guomindang.

During the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), the Communist army used guerrilla tactics to fight the enemy behind the lines and develop its own strength by bringing peasants willing to fight against the Japanese aggressor under its influence. Simultaneously, the party started reorganizing itself by launching a rectification campaign, in the course of which Mao Zedong was elected supreme leader of the party and Mao-Zedong-Thought its guiding principle. The experience of the Chinese revolution as summarized in Mao-Zedong-Thought was defined to consist of three elements: the Communist Party as the driving force of the revolution, the Communist army supporting the claim for political power by military means, and the united front as an instrument to unite with large parts of the population. By the end of the war, the party and its leadership were just as well prepared to continue their march to power as the army was ready to take over the Chinese territory starting in the far north of the country and fighting its way down south. The last phase of the Chinese Revolution was a fierce civil war between Communist troops and the army of the central government in which the question of political power was resolved on the battlefield with military means. In the course of this civil war, the central government was forced to retreat to the island of Taiwan, leaving the whole of mainland of China within the boundaries of the last dynasty except for Hong Kong to the Communist Party.

The Chinese Revolution, in a broader sense of the word, starts with the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 and the fall of the dynasty in the spring of 1912. It continues through the whole of the twentieth century and will not end before China will have found a stable political system that allows for the economy to grow fast enough for the Chinese population to live in relative prosperity. In this context, the efforts of the Communist Party to build socialism in China since 1949 are included as are the attempts of the local gentry to overthrow dynastic rule and establish a republican order after 1911. The aim of the Chinese Revolution in this sense is to find a new political order capable of uniting the country within the boundaries of the Qing state and to establish China internationally as one among the leading nations of the world. As both ends have not yet been achieved, the Chinese

revolution has not reached its aims and is therefore still going on. The CCP has time and again reiterated the two aims described in the beginning of this paragraph; however, since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, the party has refrained from referring to the necessity of continuing the revolution. To the contrary, during the last years of the twentieth century, the Communist Party shifted its focus from political change to stability and order as a precondition for economic growth, while at the same time making efforts to unite the country by reintegrating Hong Kong and Macao and resisting all kinds of independence movements within its boundaries.

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**See also Chiang Kai-shek; China, People's Republic of; Chinese Communist Party; Mao Zedong; Marxism; Soviet Bloc; Zhou Enlai**

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## CHRISTIANITY

From the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, just after World War II in 1945, most of the developing world was controlled, directly or indirectly, by European nations or the United States. This meant subservience of Third World political, economic, and cultural entities to imperial powers that mandated a congenial environment to their interests. A major element of this regime was Christian missions that followed the flags of their respective imperial states into Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The governments, those of European countries and corporations, provided stipends and land to missions that were willing to dominate the natives' religious and educational systems and thus redefine their indigenous culture.

The Euro-American states asked missionaries to establish schools, clinics, and churches in cities and villages and supplied oversight, funding, and an administrative apparatus. Where economic sectors, such as the East India Company, were more dominant

than the political sectors, companies offered missions the same incentives as did imperial governments to establish these cultural institutions.

The mission schools, churches, and clinics made the missionary the advocate for a European form of Christian culture. To accomplish this enculturation of the natives to British, French, German, Spanish, Dutch, or Portuguese dress, language, and customs, including their form of the Christian religion, the missions managed local village life by providing a pastor, teachers, and physicians. To the degree that natives adopted European customs, they were deemed to be "civilized" and no longer "heathens" or "pagans," and the "darkness" of their land was said to be lifting. So the imperial states and economic enterprises turned to Roman Catholic or Protestant missions for this "civilizing" task of turning Asian, African, or Latin American lands into miniature versions of the homeland: "Little Europes."

Europeans and Americans deemed virtually everything "native" as "heathen," and all of the products of Western civilization were deemed "Christian" and "civilized." As a result, there was a ban on native religious rites, such as communicating with ancestors through spirit mediums, performing native dances, making native drinks, praying to gods, and performing rituals. Christian missions replaced these with rites they saw as progressive and moral and an improvement over "demonic" practices. They also "rechristened" landscapes that had a native religious tradition to honor European saints, conquerors, or missionaries. Even if there was a form of native monotheism, the missionary changed the deity's name to a Christian equivalent. Not until Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans acquired control over the Christian churches and schools did they begin to incorporate native names and rituals into their Christian theologies, but this did not occur in most countries until the end of the colonial era, when missionaries from Europe, North America, and New Zealand began to withdraw in the 1950s.

In the process of taking control of the indigenous cultures, economies, and political structures, the Christian missions joined the European state and mining company governments in expropriating native land. A near universal pattern was for the Europeans to force natives to move to designated areas of the least arable lands. In those Native Reserves, they set up a civil service of Native Commissioners and Native Police to collect hut taxes and other revenues and to enforce labor regimes that capitalized on cheap and often forced labor. These Native Reserves were akin to what the United States called Indian Reservations under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The methods and functions of the Christian missions in

the developing world were very similar to those for aborigines who were also under missionary influence in Australia and New Zealand. The imperial rulers allowed Christian denominations to work in these reserves and to divide up the country into denominational domains where they assumed responsibility for providing schools, churches, and clinics to educate, proselytize, and heal the natives, respectively. The Christian minister, whether European or native, was the teacher, the pastor, and often the person who replaced the native healer with European medicine. All of this was done in close collaboration with the government.

Churches recruited missionaries from Europe, North America, and Australasia. The nineteenth century marked the greatest missionary successes since the apostles' treks across the Roman Empire in the first five centuries of the common era, the conversion of Ireland and Europe from the sixth through the eleventh centuries, and the missionary work in the regions of South, Central, and North America in the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. With the exception of North America and Australasia, Europeans normally did not exceed 15% of the total population that they ruled.

In the nineteenth century, the enormous success of Christian missions caused the Christians of Europe, North America, and Australasia to hope that Christ's second coming would likely be brought about by human effort as they worked to win the world for Christ. This was the postmillennial theological dogma that Christ's thousand-year reign on earth would likely commence in their own time. This euphoric mood gradually changed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as problems of controlling an empire increased and as native resistance grew. Military and civil service expenses often outran profits from trade in areas where there were limited mineral or other lucrative natural resources.

Africans or Asians had not ceded their lands and cultures to Euro-American empire builders without a fight. Bloody battles pitted the European machine gun against African and Asian spears, knives, and arrows. In Latin America, revolutions expelled Spanish and Portuguese rulers by the early nineteenth century but retained the Catholic Church alongside indigenous Indian and African religious practices. European intruders could never assume that "natives" did not resent their political, economic, and cultural exploitation. "Exploitation" was not the word missionaries chose for what they saw as humanitarian work and for accepting native lands for the work done at their mission stations. But there were always a few who agreed that Christian missions were co-conspirators with political and

economic interests in abetting the exploitation of the native population.

A few missionaries raised their voices against forced labor, unfair taxes, and the lack of a majority voice or majority rule in the government of the state and the church. In the 1930s, the dissenters increased. Anthropology pointed to connections between the cultural elements of religion, language, and custom, as well as to political and economic spheres. Some missionaries witnessed how the detachment of people from their traditions and lands had disrupted their lives and cultures. Some missionaries saw their involvement in this cause as a violation of the essential message of the Christian Gospel, Jesus teaching of love and hope, particularly in relation to the priority of helping the poor as opposed to enriching people of higher class.

This restlessness reached a climax during and after World War II. From 1939 to the end of the twentieth century, Africans and Asians organized to rid their lands of European and North American imperialism that had failed to recognize the principles of democracy (majority rule) that President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of 1918 had declared essential to self-government. This program called for decolonization of empires. While European withdrawal from colonies did not take place in 1918, and while many Europeans did not see self-determination as a right of native peoples of Africa or Asia, the colonized people began to adopt the principles of self-government from their European colonizers. When they spoke of liberation and human rights, they were often echoing what they had learned in Christian mission schools and universities. It was becoming impossible for Christians to ignore economically ambitious multinational corporations that took wealth from Third World colonies or to ignore the churches that abetted political, economic, and cultural domination of their people.

In August 1941, US President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had reiterated Wilson's call for self-determination, although they did not tie the democratic principle directly to the developing world. But leaders of independence movements in colonized nations made the connection, as did missionaries who tied themselves to the well-being of the people they served. They were becoming aware of cravings for self-government, economic equity, and a revival of their cultural traditions.

By the 1960s, the preachers of a Liberation Theology were making it the equivalent of the political revolutions that were emancipating African, Asian, and Latin American Christians of the developing world from Euro-American domination in their

political, economic, and cultural lives. That this was not accepted by political leaders after World War II any more than it was after World War I did not cause the liberators to be less zealous. Opponents of decolonization resisted the burgeoning Third World political revolutionaries, which they accounted for as a result of Communist infiltration and doctrine.

Liberation theology was, as its European opponents saw it, essentially a class-based theology of atheist upheaval against Western Christian civilization. But priests and ministers who embraced it saw it as assisting the poor in their strivings for hope and faith. Phillip Berryman, a priest in a barrio in Panama in 1965–1973, embraced the new theology in a period when missionary and native Catholic clergy in Latin America were enunciating a liberation movement among their congregations. El Salvador's archbishop Oscar Romero saw the new theology as liberating the poor in their communities. Many conservative church leaders and lay Christians saw liberation theology only as atheistic Marxist dogma.

Many independence leaders of the 1950s to the 1990s were educated in Christian mission schools and universities. Christians of Africa, Latin America, and Asia may well have seen a "liberation theology" as a match for their political and economic aspirations. And if capitalist nations in the West did not agree to their revolutionary goals, the former colonies were ready to turn to Eastern Europe, North Korea, and China to find a political structure that fit their aim of removing colonial domination. So in the case of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front's dependence on Eastern Europe and North Korea for weapons turned Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo to support a Communist political philosophy rather than their Roman Catholic mission training.

Out of a mid-2004 global population of 6,364,317,000, 32.9% were Christian. Of these, 382,816,000 were African; 323,936,000 were Asian; and 497,949,000 were Latin American. This added up to a total of 1,204,701,000 Christians in areas where most developing nations are located. In Europe, North America, and Oceania (lands of central and south Pacific), there were 799,862,000 Christians. Therefore, the balance of membership in Christian denominations is shifting to the developing world. The shift is having an effect on Christian churches and on the international conciliar movement. Third World Christians are sending missionaries to urban areas of the West. This is particularly true of Latin American, Korean, and West African missionaries from traditional denominations as well as indigenous churches, particularly Pentecostals. If present trends continue, this domination of Christianity by the developing world will make this a reverse missionary

movement, aimed primarily at Asian, Latino, and African migrants.

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### See also Liberation Theology

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## CHRISTIANS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Christianity began as a Jewish sect in the Middle East and has maintained a presence in the region since its foundation. It rapidly expanded despite persecution during the first three centuries of the common era, such that indigenous churches were founded on every corner of the Roman Empire of the day. The growth of Christianity was accelerated by the conversion of Constantine and the edict of toleration in 313, ushering in a period during which Christianity became the dominant religion of Asia Minor, the Levant, Egypt, and North Africa.

Major divisions arose among the Middle Eastern Churches as a result of dissenting opinions in the following centuries, each of which had a significant impact on the divisions of Middle Eastern Christianity. The first of these came as a result of the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus in 431 and Chalcedon in 451, when the Nestorian and non-Chalcedonian Churches separated from the mainline Roman church in disagreement over the nature of Christ. The second came with the Great Schism that divided the Eastern Orthodox from the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in 1054. These divisions created a patchwork of different Christian churches throughout the region, including many national and autocephalous groups, such as the Coptic, the Syrian Orthodox, the Greek, the Assyrian, and Armenian Churches as well as the Roman Catholic (or Latin) Church. During the later Middle Ages and into the early colonial period, the Roman Catholic Church succeeded in reconciling

some of the ancient churches back to papal authority. This spawned the creation of eastern-rite Roman Catholic groups known as Uniate Churches. These include the Maronite, Greek Catholic, and Chaldaean Churches.

Today, Christians in the Middle East fall generally into four families based on these divisions: the Oriental Orthodox Churches; the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Churches; the Roman Catholic and Uniate Churches; and the Protestant Evangelical Churches founded by Western missionaries since the Reformation.

With the ascendance of Islam as a political force beginning in the seventh century, Christianity in the Middle East fell into a long period of decline. What had been the dominant religion became an ever-dwindling minority. The imposition of a special poll tax (*jizya*) and behavioural restrictions placed on Christians by the Muslim conquerors impelled many to seek conversion over the centuries. Official toleration of Christians was subject to the vicissitudes of imperial policy. In 1009, the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, ushering in fears among Christians about persecution at the hands of Muslims and leading to the declaration of the first Crusade. However, given their foreign extraction and devotion to eastern sects of Christianity, Eastern Christians tended to fare as badly at the hands of the Crusaders as did Muslims.

During the later Ottoman period, intervention by the European powers brought Christians under foreign sway. Various colonial powers sought to bring certain Christian populations under their protection as a means of establishing claims on the crumbling Ottoman state. During the same period, the Europeans came to a series of agreements, known as "capitulations," that enshrined the rights of non-Muslim subjects within the empire. The capitulations gradually came to apply to indigenous Christians, who were emancipated from most of the limitations on their participation in public life as a result of the Noble Rescripts of 1839 and 1854. As a result, Christians began to be employed in the bureaucracies and militaries of Middle Eastern states. At the same time, the Ottoman administration agreed to maintain the existing position of the various Christian sects with regard to holy places within the empire, a concession that came to be known as the Status Quo agreements. The Status Quo continues to be cited as the authority for the division of responsibilities among Christian sects with regard to custodianship of the holy places.

In the period of Ottoman decline, Christians came to take an important role in the early secular nationalist movements and achieved an unprecedented

measure of influence in Middle Eastern societies. In Egypt, Coptic Christians assumed places in the upper levels of the nationalist administrations, and one Copt, Boutros Ghali, became Prime Minister from 1908 to 1910. In Lebanon, the increasing population and wealth of Christians improved their relative standing, and European support of nationalist tendencies emboldened them to demand greater power in the area of Mount Lebanon and the coastal cities. This eventually led to the creation of "greater Lebanon" under the French protectorate after 1920 and the declaration of the modern state of Lebanon in 1943 as a state dominated by a Christian majority.

Elsewhere, Christians became central figures in pan-Arab movements. Michel Aflaq, an Eastern Orthodox adherent of Syrian descent, was a founder of the Ba'athist movement in 1947, and Christians have continued to play an important role in the Syrian and Iraqi Ba'ath parties. Christians also played a prominent role in the early Palestinian liberation movement, including George Habash, who founded the Marxist-oriented Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in 1967, and Naif Hawatmeh, leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine founded in 1969.

With the creation of independent republican states in the Middle East, the central role that Christians played in the nationalist movements began to fade. In Egypt, many were targeted by the nationalizing reforms brought about by Gamal abd al-Nasser's Free Officers' revolt. Elsewhere, the growth of Islamist nationalism endangered the secular definition of Arab identity and threatened to alienate Christians from their societies. This process intensified after the defeat of the Arab nations and Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the Middle East war, which brought about a sea-change in Arab politics beginning in 1967.

Following 1967, Christians were typically forced into a defensive position, finding that the waning of secular nationalist movements eroded their economic and political clout. In Lebanon, the massive influx of Palestinian refugees and internal demographic shifts favouring the Shi'ite population brought a challenge to Christian dominance. Muslim sects supported a more aggressive policy toward Israel coupled with constitutional reform to recognize the decline of the relative proportion of the Christian population. Christians by and large viewed the Palestinians as interlopers and felt that Lebanon should refrain from supporting their cause. The revolutionary changes occurring in Lebanese society increasingly polarized the indigenous sects and led to civil war beginning in 1976. While there remained internal divisions among the Christian Lebanese over the

direction of foreign policy, the leadership of the Lebanese Phalange, notably Bashir Gemayel, managed to unite many of the Christian-dominated groups in opposition to the Palestinian presence. From 1980, the united Lebanese Forces militia sought to defend a Christian enclave in east Beirut and Mount Lebanon, and in 1982, it supported an Israeli incursion designed to rout Palestinian militants. However, Syrian intervention and the rise of Shi'a militancy in the South dealt a strategic blow to the Lebanese Forces, which were weakened and eventually acquiesced to constitutional changes under the Taif Agreement of 1989.

In Egypt, the increasing popularity of Islamist elements critical of the state's *infitah* policies and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Israel led the regime of Anwar Sadat to placate the opposition by assenting to a certain number of their demands. While Sadat deliberately adopted Islamist slogans and rhetoric, the most significant policy change involved a drive to include the Islamic Shari'a as the source of Egyptian law. This drew widespread opposition from the usually quiescent Coptic Christian clergy, who staged demonstrations and made statements critical of the regime. In the autumn of 1981, a widespread crackdown against critics of the regime included the decertification of the Coptic pope and his placement in internal exile. With the assassination of Sadat, open criticism of the regime began to fade, and the pope was reinstated in 1985.

Among the Palestinians, regional Christian organizations responded to the plight of refugees. While Christians maintained an active presence in the Palestinian resistance, many in the diaspora emigrated to new countries of origin or were naturalized to their host countries. A large number remained within the state of Israel, where they remain in large numbers among the cities of Galilee and the northern coast, such as Nazareth, Haifa, and Acre. Elsewhere, they remained numerous in Jerusalem and the surrounding cities and villages. Many of the leading families became involved in local politics in the occupied territories. During the period of the first *indifada*, starting in late 1987, these were involved in organizing local committees of resistance.

In Syria and Iraq, strong nominalism nurtured nonecclesial forms of Christian political activity even as associations with other religious minorities helped to reinforce secular pan-Arabism. In Jordan, Christians maintained a quiet support for the monarchy and participated openly in public life. In other regions of the Arab world and in Iran and Turkey, Christians remained a tiny minority, subject to occasional public interest but given little importance in public life and policy, although they have been granted a set number

of seats in the Iranian parliament since the revolution of 1979.

Today, Christians number between 12 million and 14 million in the Arab countries of the Middle East, although the exact population remains obscure given its politicization. They remain concentrated by and large in the Arab nations of the eastern Mediterranean. Christians in Egypt, mostly adherents of the Coptic Orthodox Church, compose somewhere around 10% of the population of 76 million. A mixture of Maronite and Greek Uniate Churches and the Eastern Orthodox dominate the Christian population of Lebanon, which now comprises somewhere around 30% of a population of 3.5 million. In neighbouring Syria, Christians number somewhere around 10% of the population and form about 5% of the population of Iraq and Jordan and among the Palestinians.

The number of Christians in the Middle East is in significant decline, in both absolute and relative terms. This is due to a low birth rate and a high rate of emigration. Certainly the growth of Islamism as a popular ideology and the concomitant erosion of secular nationalist principles have had a role in motivating Christians to leave the region. In addition, Christians find it relatively easy to network and connect to Western societies. As a result, Middle Eastern Christians have formed an increasingly large diaspora in countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. The spread of Arab Christians to Western societies has prompted the creation of many external groups interested in supporting coreligionists who have remained in the region, especially among Egyptian Copts, Lebanese Maronites, and Iraqi Assyrians. Within the region, the growth of evangelical groups and a small but growing number of Christians from a Jewish background in Israel (known as "Messianic" Jews) have begun to change the complexion of Middle Eastern Christianity.

Both formal and informal international networks of Christians have become publicly active in the past few decades. The Vatican has retained an active role given its responsibilities in sharing custody of many of the holy sites and its leadership among a great number of Middle Eastern Christians. An official pilgrimage by Pope John Paul II in 2000 increased the visibility of Christian groups and promised to improve relations between Christian sects and between Christianity and Islam. The ecumenical movement now encompasses each of the four families of churches under the banner of the Middle East Council of Churches. Mission activity and *ad hoc* networks of Christians has brought the Christian message in contact with the majority Muslim population, in particular through the development of interreligious

dialogue efforts, the media, and the involvement of Christian development agencies. Partnerships between local Christians and Western Christian organizations remain low-key, however, in view of the widespread suspicion among Arabs that Christian groups might have a neocolonial agenda. One factor contributing to this view is the association of conservative Western Christian groups with the pro-Israel Christian Zionist movement. Several Middle Eastern Christian groups have taken an active role in seeking to counteract such alliances, applying liberation theology as an alternative viewpoint.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Middle East: History and Economic Development**

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## CHUAN LEEKPAI

As a long-time political luminary and leader of the Democratic Party, Chuan Leekpai was pivotal during Thailand's democratic transition and rapid economic development. Born on July 28, 1938, in the southern Thai province of Trang, he is often described with reference to his "working class" background. While Thai political commentators and fan Web sites praise his moderate politics and reputation for personal integrity, Chuan's acerbic speaking style and straight-forward approach have also earned him many detractors. As a focus for liberal causes and consensus building, Chuan Leekpai is an elder statesman of the Thai political establishment.

Chuan was the first Thai prime minister who came from neither an aristocratic nor military background.

He was also the first civilian prime minister to have been educated entirely in Thailand. Educated at Trang Wittaya and Silpa Suksa (Silpakorn Demonstration) Schools and having two degrees from Thammasat University's Faculty of Law, he has demonstrated a lifelong commitment to strengthening the country's education system.

Chuan's early work experience was also unique in that he was not originally employed by the government. After a short period spent working as an attorney, Chuan was elected to Parliament in 1969. He became a leading southern Thai politician during the turbulent 1970s. At various times of political upheaval, he was accused of being a Communist and went into hiding after the bloodshed in Bangkok of October 1976.

Early in his career, Chuan experienced a relatively rapid rise through the ministerial ranks. His varied career as a government minister included leading the ministries of justice, commerce, education, agriculture and cooperatives, and public health. As minister of public health, Chuan was instrumental in Thailand's initial steps to combat HIV/AIDS in the late 1980s, a move supported by the World Health Organisation and facilitated by donated supplies of condoms.

Chuan's first term as prime minister, from September 23, 1992 to July 12, 1995, was marked by its departure from the ideology of the brief Suchinda regime. In contrast, Chuan's coalition government, where his Democratic Party held the most seats, was antimilitarist and prodemocracy. Although billed as a reformist administration with an ambitious decentralisation agenda, this coalition government was often criticised for its weakness and inexperience.

Defeated in the 1995 elections, Chuan's Democratic Party was in opposition for the tumultuous events of 1997. In that year, the country's financial crisis led to the downfall of the government of political stalwart General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh. As the Thai currency (the baht) was floated and rapidly devalued, the Thai economy contributed to a major fiscal crisis throughout the Asian region. Chuan subsequently returned as Prime Minister to face the International Monetary Fund and a barrage of international interest and criticism. During this difficult period, he gained much recognition and respect for his shrewd international maneuvering.

Thailand's new constitution, which was adopted in 1997, was the culmination of a long process of violence, activism, and reorganisation. It imposed a number of major reforms on the country's political system, particularly targeting corruption and human rights violations. Promoting a progressive social and environmental agenda, the constitution was the result of a political evolution in which Chuan played a



major role. This constitution defined the decentralisation and administrative reforms of his second term as prime minister.

Chuan's second term as prime minister, from November 9, 1997 to November 17, 2000, was marked by a new level of confidence. Assuming concurrent appointment as prime minister and defence minister, Chuan directed attention to reinforcing the preeminent role of civilians in administering the country. During this period, the occurrence of sporadic military *coups d'état*, which were once a common part of Thailand's political tradition, lessened.

Although his government was relatively successful in managing the country's recovery from the economic crisis, some of Chuan's closest political allies were implicated in a series of highly publicised corruption scandals. While this damaged the Democratic Party's standing, Chuan's reputation as an honest politician emerged from these controversies relatively unscathed.

Chuan's influence on Thailand's broader political and economic transformation is significant. During his two terms as prime minister, he consistently struggled to displace the military from its previously unassailable position in Thai politics. He encouraged and pressured the military to professionalise and, crucially, undermined its ability to impose itself on the fledgling constitutional and democratic reforms.

He also emphasised the role that Thailand could play within Southeast Asia. By championing the nation's seaboard developments, particularly in eastern Thailand, Chuan intended to make Thailand a hub for wider economic development. He marketed the country as a "financial gateway" for the region.

Defeated in the January 2001 elections, Chuan Leekpai is widely regarded as being overwhelmed by the charisma of his CEO-style opponent, the former policeman turned media magnate, Thaksin Shinawatra. The Democratic Party, with only 128 seats, became the major opposition to the Thaksin government. Ironically, under the new constitution, this small number of seats was not enough to effectively obstruct government legislative programs that could depend on the Thaksin government's enormous majority.

During Chuan's political career, southern Thailand has been Chuan's stronghold; his influence over its development is considerable. Because of Chuan's solidarity with southern issues, he elicits special affection among southern Thais who generally regard him as one of their "favourite sons." Even when the Democratic Party, Thailand's oldest political party, polls poorly in other regions, it often dominates the southern Thai political landscape. Chuan's mother, Thuan Leekpai, who lives in the family home in Trang, has also assumed some importance as a regional "mother figure." Even after Chuan stepped down as leader

in 2003, the Democratic Party retained much of its support in southern Thailand.

Many Thais define Chuan's periods as prime minister according to his personal honesty and dependability. While some members of his Democratic Party governments experienced serious claims of corruption, Chuan remained largely unsullied. His consensus-driven approach to negotiation and capacity to build coalition governments mark an important stage in Thailand's late twentieth-century political and economic upheavals.

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### See also Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Thailand

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### CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic education, otherwise referred to as citizenship education, can be conceptualized along two dimensions. Viewed from a polity or societal perspective, it is the process through which public knowledge and public values, attitudes, and group identification norms, perceived to be germane to political stability, are transmitted from one generation to the other. Included in these attributes are the history and structure of political institutions, loyalty to the nation, positive attitudes toward political authority, belief in fundamental values (like the notion of equality and rule of law), interest in political participation, and dexterity in monitoring public policy. Civic education can also be viewed from an individual perspective, in which case it encapsulates the process of public knowledge as well as values and group identifications

being accorded private meaning and internalized as guides for behavior (Torney-Judith *et al.* 1999: 15–16; 1992:158).

Civic education encompasses both explicit and implicit goals that may be articulated through an array of educational programs, activities, and statements. The most obvious of these include a statement of educational goals, curriculum guides, a context of instructional textbooks, and teacher-prepared lessons. Explicit routines and rituals, such as reciting the national anthem, using a community service, engaging in group cooperation, using discussion as a teaching tool, and learning strategies, further exemplify the variety of ways in which civic education is transmitted within the educational realm.

Nevertheless, civic education is controversial. There is a clear absence of consensus regarding the knowledge base and attitude orientation necessary to attain effective civic education (Hursh 1994:767). How much factual knowledge of history or government structures, for instance, is required for effective citizenship? Political problems are nebulous, and arriving at an appropriate consensus about resolving them is a vast territory riddled with numerous disagreements, both philosophically and epistemologically. Furthermore, disagreements abound regarding the extent to which schools should emphasize support for the prevailing political order if doing so sacrifices students' opportunity to develop a critical mind. One school of thought avers that successful instruction in civic education depends largely on a climate characterized by open debate in a range of political issues.

### **Regional and National Differentiation in Civic Education**

The substance of civic education tends to differ by region and country, no doubt a consequence of the contextual reality prevailing in each area. Nations have been keen to align civic education programs to their sociopolitical interests against a backdrop of the need to foster national cohesion. Thus, nationalism and patriotism have been featured prominently in civic education programs of nations engulfed in ethnic divisions and rivalries. Civic education in this instance seeks to instill in students values that promote national consensus and formation of loyal citizens, leading to national political integration. Indeed, the emergence of the school as a formal institution is often regarded as a logical sequence in the process of national boundary-maintenance function (Fagerlind and Saha 1995:132). Through the founding president Julius Nyerere's educational philosophy of Education

for Self-Reliance, Tanzania managed to weave a political education program geared toward national unity with the Kiswahili language as the medium of communication and an emblem of cultural identity.

In other contexts, civic education has been conceptualized in spiritual and ethical terms. Many developing nations in Asia fall within this category. Countries espousing religious and moral principles in their civic education content tend to give prominence to interpersonal relationships and moral rectitude in contra-distinction to an emphasis on individualism and personal liberty, which is at the core of most civic education programs in the developed nations of the West.

Diversity in civic education extends beyond the concern for national integration and religio-moral fortitude. In some quarters, civic education is envisioned as a vehicle for inculcating in students an array of values that will inspire "and enable them to play their parts as informed, responsible, committed, and effective members of modern democratic system" (Butts 1980:1). Still, other scholars and practitioners situate civic education within the rubric of conflict in power relations. According to this view, civic education should focus on developing an educational climate and school structure that revitalizes civic culture; hence, students and teachers examine the nature of meaningful self-development in the context of the entire society, as well as the relationship between the individual and society and between the individual power and collective power (Hursh 1994:767).

### **Civic Education in Africa**

Civic education in Africa has its genesis in the postcolonial era. The need to change the inherited colonial education system and to create national unity provided the dual impetus for citizenship education programs at the dawn of independence in the 1960s. Disciplines such as history, geography, and civics were attractive to national leaders and educators as entry points in the political socialization of students. The goals of civic education then were four-fold: (i) to enable students to understand people's interaction with their cultural, social, and physical environments; (ii) to help students appreciate their homes and heritages; (iii) to develop skills and attitudes expected of citizens; and (iv) to teach students to express their ideas in a variety of ways (Merryfield and Muyanda-Mutebi 1991:621). These goals still continue to underlie civic education in the African continent today.

The development and implementation of civic education programs in Africa has been documented by Merryfield and Muyanda-Mutebi (1991) and Clive Harber (1989) in their detailed research on social studies and political education, respectively. Central to civic education in Africa is the stress laid on national development as the ultimate objective of the program. Civic education for national development has been envisioned in a holistic fashion by incorporating the cultivation of a national consensus on sociopolitical issues, ethical behavior, addressing environmental challenges, and developing problem-solving skills. Under these conditions, civic education is expected not only to lead to national development but also to promote social harmony and self-sufficiency as a counter to political disintegration and as a catalyst for social solidarity. It is, in effect, an "important legitimating agency for establishing legal jurisdiction of state authority, and above all for defining the criteria for membership in the state, that is, the bestowal of citizenship" (Fagerlind and Saha 1995:132).

Even with a similar underlying philosophy of civic education, research is explicit that political messages transmitted tend to differ from one country to the next and even within the same country (Harber 1989:195). In each country, knowledge and skills are learned in a context in which high priority is given to certain unique values. In Tanzania (in *Siasa*), until recently, emphasis was placed on socialism, in Zambia it was humanism, while in Kenya it was capitalism (in the subjects of civics, as well as social education and ethics). Educational institutions have generally accepted that these goals are not open to criticism, but the process used or needed to attain them are open to discussion.

Civic education in the continent has not been without its challenges. The tension between the attempt to create basic national goals and the role of civic education in creating a critical awareness of political phenomena remains delicate. While this situation is not uniquely African, it does indicate the functional limits of civic education as a consensus builder in the continent. Another problem is the discrepancy that prevails between the conceptualization of civic education by educational officials and the practical realities of the classroom. Teachers have tended to view civic education as an amalgam of subjects unrelated to citizenship education; they do not associate civic education with the content, attitudes, or skills of citizenship education. Lack of clarity about the meaning of civic education and how it differs from individual subjects of civics, ethics, geography, and history, common among teachers and teacher educators, hampers the development and diffusion of the education (Merryfield and Muyanda Mutebi 1991:623). The

preponderance of examinations in school curriculum is also a major drawback in the development of civic education.

## Civic Education in Asia

Traditionally, civic education in Asia, especially in the eastern regions, has been characterized by a disproportionate influence of the Confucian tradition in providing legitimacy to schools as they take on the mantle in providing moral education. Schools in the region are at the hub in teaching a code of behavior for everyday life alongside political allegiance to the state. Thus, ethical behavior and loyalty to the state are not regarded as mutually exclusive attributes in civic life.

This philosophy of civic education and the pedagogical process have, however, undergone transformations depending on the political reality prevailing in each country in the region. As of today, hardly is the civic education *modus operandi* homogeneous across East Asia; distinctive features characterize each nation. South Korea, for instance, has used civic (values) education to instruct students in traditional Korean culture, nationalism, and anticommunism since the end of the Korean War in 1953. The aim has been to cultivate in the students a deep sense of cultural pride while at the same time build a strong fervor of nationalism as a counter to the threat posed by the next-door Communist North Korea (Hursh 1994:768; Suh 1988:93). The People's Republic of China stressed the importance of equality and redistribution up to 1979 when focus turned toward hierarchical values. Beginning in the later part of the 1980s, Chinese schools offered courses on Communist ideology and morality, extolling the virtues of "correct attitude towards labor" and "the ability to distinguish between right and wrong" (Meyer 1988:127).

Nowhere in Asia are the dynamics between realignment of civic education to the changing political equation more vivid than in Hong Kong. During the 1960s, 1970s, and the 1980s, when capitalist-oriented Hong Kong was ensured political-economic continuity as a colony of the British, civic education was less overtly political and was more concerned with instilling traits of good behavior "to enable pupils to be well-informed and to become civic-minded enough to act as good citizens in the larger community they belong" (Wing On 1999:315). The decision of the British government to transfer the administration of the colony to Communist China in 1997 gave impetus to a more overt form of civic education with emphasis on loyalty to Hong Kong political process and

institutions as a distinct nation. The political stress became even more explicit in the 1996 Government and Public Affairs (GPA) syllabus, which placed stronger emphasis on understanding China and on Hong Kong's colonial transition (*ibid.* 1999:317). Observe the Curriculum Development Council's *Guidelines on Civic Education*:

Politically speaking, one's civic identity is defined by one's national identity. The national community therefore constitutes the ultimate domestic context for one's civic learning. National spirit such as nationalism and patriotism is essential not only for one's national identity and sense of belonging, but also for the cohesion and strength of one's own nation. (*ibid.* 1999:321)

Research nevertheless demonstrates that civic education in the country is still encumbered by poor textbooks, inadequate attention paid to the issue of national cohesion, and a general apathy toward the subject.

### **Civic Education in Latin America**

Latin America has had a long tradition of civic education. Indeed, one of the greatest advocates and practitioners of civic education, Paulo Freire, experimented his ideas and writings in Brazil. The country has had the most extensive civic education program, the MOBREAL, built around the Freire concept of "conscientization" of the masses, leading to sociopolitical and economic liberation. Cuba has also had a strong civic education program constructed around President Fidel Castro's Communist ideology with strong emphasis on loyalty to the state.

As in other regions of the developing world, goals of civic education in Latin America are as diverse as the multiplicity of political agendas. Those nations that have been under military rule have extensively used civic education programs to buttress their regimes. Argentina, Peru, and Uruguay, among others, have introduced political education in schools with the aim of securing support from the youth. Nations that were former colonies of European countries tend to share their goals in civic education. Finally, emergent democracies in the region are keen on using civic education to build a democratic culture (Hursh 1994:768; Cummings *et al.* 1988).

Colombia represents a recent example of a Latin American country trying to strengthen its fledgling democracy. Via the 1994 Resolution 1600, the country added legitimacy to civics as education in and for democracy (Rueda 1999). The resolution stated

that civic education is "to live democracy" at school and that the student acquires a citizen's "way of being" basically from interpersonal relationship. The civic education initiative has realized a number of important developments, including (i) the increased sensitivity on the part of teachers and the wider community regarding the discourse on school education for democracy; (ii) the increased initiatives by government and nonprofit agencies toward the development of new approaches to education in democracy; (iii) reforms in the organization and administration of schools, resulting into more flexibility and less hierarchical structures; and (iv) advances in instructional content and teaching methodologies.

In spite of these achievements, the program suffers from a number of problems. Wide dissonance abounds between classroom discourse about democratic school climate and the daily reality in the school environment. There is also widespread discontinuity between the goals of education in democracy as articulated in the educational policies and how these goals are translated into legislation, interpreted, and implemented at the school level. Besides inadequate and inappropriate teaching and learning materials is the added problem of widespread violence and gang culture in the society, which runs counter to the goals of education in democracy.

### **Prospects and Problems of Civic Education**

Undoubtedly, civic education continues to be featured prominently in the educational systems of many Third World countries. The education is either planned and systematic or simply the result of a lack of awareness of the political ramifications of school organization or the curriculum (the so-called hidden curriculum). The educational process takes place through textbooks, exposure to national symbols, the nature of classroom teaching, school structures, courses in political education, youth organizations, subject choice, access to schooling, and other such factors. The political messages transmitted differ from country to country and, sometimes, within the same country.

In evaluating the efficacy of the various approaches to civic education and how these have affected values held by students, it is imperative to underscore the research evidence. While the general intention of civic education curricula is to inculcate values consistent with national political aspirations, the realization of these objectives is influenced by the environment in which the classroom and school operate. In other words, students learn as much or more from what they experience and from the models that

they see (hidden curriculum) than as from what they are told. Pedagogical techniques that center on student participation in class discussions and expressions produce students who are more politically knowledgeable and interested and less authoritarian (Torney *et al.* 1975:37). In contrast, those taught through a teacher-centered approach with stress on patriotic rituals and lectures tend to be more authoritarian and less knowledgeable about politics. Research has shown that African schools generally suffer from rigid bureaucratic structures, authoritarian leadership, lack of accountability amidst corruption, as well as shortages of resources and contemporary social pressures (Harber 1989:112–129). This hampers the effectiveness of civic education.

Issues surrounding the nature and form of civic education continue to cloud the programs. Developing countries are still caught in the debate over whether civic education should emphasize a narrow range of values, such as patriotism and nationalism, or a broader spectrum of values. These debates have intensified as agreements over what to emphasize have declined. In Kenya, for instance, the first and more explicit model of civic education in the 1970s was articulated through a school curriculum that was bland, descriptive, and rather conservative by avoiding or downplaying potentially controversial topics (Scott 1983:273). The curriculum displayed a complete absence of ideological orientation, and it did not mention the ruling party KANU or the national ideology of African Socialism. The syllabus in the current 8-4-4-education system has, however, been more radical in approach; through the twin subjects of history and government and social education and ethics, students have been instructed on the importance of subservience to the state, the president, and the ruling party KANU, notwithstanding that the country is an incipient multiparty democracy. Similar experiences abound in many Third World countries, and they indicate that civic education curricula are yet to move from standards implied in scientific-rational views of the state and instead create public discussions and seek to develop reasonable citizens who discharge their civic purposes.

The dichotomy surrounding civic education and national unity creates another obstacle. The basic premise of civic education is to serve as a catalyst for national consciousness and the formation of loyal citizens. Civic education in schools is viewed by some as an effective tool to break down local or regional identities and loyalties and replace them with national identities and loyalties. However, research in Ghana, Liberia, Kenya, and Nigeria shows that schooling has often been effective in increasing knowledge about the nation rather than enhancing

national identity (Harber 1989:195). The case of Nigeria is significantly instructive in that it demonstrates the broader interface between ethnicity, religion, and role of religion in society in mitigating the role of the school in the forging national unity.

Rural schools in Nigeria have been less effective than their urban counterparts in teaching about the nation. Research is explicit that ethnic differences have been exaggerated and aggravated through the education system with the result that the impact of education has been disintegrative rather than integrative (Fagerlind and Saha 1995:133). Historically, from the colonial times to the present, Nigeria has been an ethnically and culturally divided country. The British colonial policy supported the development of Christian missionary-led Western education in the southern part of the country while the north was left intact under the influence of Muslim culture. At independence, the South provided the bulk of the political elite. This disparity was later to become a disintegrative factor in Nigerian society as corrective measures in employment had to be taken, which led to charges of discrimination expressed by the South. Indeed, the tendency for educational access and attainment to discriminate unequally along ethnic, racial, regional, and other distinctions create real obstacles to the effectiveness of civic education in political integration.

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## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Civil disobedience is the deliberate defiance of a law or norm upheld by duly constituted governmental authority. The defiance is public and based on reasoned argument. It usually consists of a symbolic act and is carried out for a specific end. It is also referred to as passive resistance or "satyagraha."

Since the time of Socrates, civil disobedience was practiced by individuals and groups, such as the early Christians. St. Thomas Aquinas and later John Locke have also justified civil disobedience.

During the sixteenth century, an important thinker in France, la Boétie, attacked the basis of the theoretical foundations of royal absolutism. In linking power and popular consent, he emphasized that the former emerged only out of the latter.

Over time, a tradition of popular dissent developed in the West, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the spread of democratic ideas worldwide, a corpus of political practices centering on the concept of civil disobedience developed. In this connection, the essay of the American thinker Henry David Thoreau, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (1849), marks an important milestone.

It was, however, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who, in leading the Indian national struggle against British rule, refined mass civil disobedience as a tool of political action to bring about political change. His sources of inspiration were both Eastern and Western thought. He termed his method *satyagraha*, which means an insistence upon and holding on to truth.

After an initial movement in Transvaal against the government in South Africa in 1906, Gandhi led his most famous campaign, the Salt Satyagraha of 1930–1931. The campaign began with Gandhi symbolically breaking the unjust salt law of the British government in India. Gandhi believed most conflicts in society and between the citizens and government could be solved by resorting to satyagraha, which he called a science in the making. What made Gandhi's philosophy distinctive was his insistence on *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and love.

The civil disobedient acts in accordance with a higher law, which may be divine or natural law, or indeed a person's own conscience. The civil disobedient frequently chooses intentionally to break the law publicly and sometimes with dramatic effect. By doing so, the protestor brings the injustice they are protesting against into the public eye.

An important aspect of civil disobedience is that the protestor must be acting not to achieve some private gain but to bring an end to an unjust act or law, which the protestor believes must be abolished for the common good. In doing so, the civil disobedient does not want to do away with the entire established order but targets some specific law; and this person does it according to the dictates of his or her conscience, which is considered the highest moral authority.

It is clear that civil disobedience has a chance of being carried out only in a system with some democratic norms and morality. It would be impossible as a strategy in a dictatorship. When civil disobedients do perform an act of defiance, they know they are going against the law and are committing a crime. They, in effect, deliberately court punishment. At the same time, they make a reasoned defense of their actions: on no account can an act of disobedience of law be taken lightly.

The term *civil* in "civil disobedience" is not easily explained because it has meant different things to different people. But the following meanings can be construed. "Civil" may mean the reverse of "uncivil" or "uncivilized," and in carrying out acts of civil disobedience, the protestor holds up a model code of conduct, which will inspire citizens to conduct themselves according to a higher ideal of morality. "Civil" may mean that the protest recognizes the legitimacy of the political authority overall and the duties of citizenship.

"Civil" may further indicate opposition to violence of all kinds and include a determination to adhere to nonviolence. In addition, in this sense, it may mean an acceptance that the state alone has the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence. The insistence on nonviolence is found in most civil disobedience movements and is a function of the belief that they are based on a higher morality.

Civil disobedience has been criticized on the ground that it encourages disobedience of all laws, and its logical culmination would be anarchy. What needs to be understood is that the context and circumstances in which civil disobedience takes place would be different in each specific instance, but the nature of the action would essentially be the same. Since the achievement of independence by India in 1947, the technique of civil disobedience has been applied by national liberation struggles in other Asian and African countries.

In America, the greatest civil disobedient was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who led the Black Civil Rights Movement and suffered eventually the same fate as Gandhi—death by an assassin's bullet. This type of fate also underscores the opposition such movements may face from within the community itself.

In Western Europe, civil disobedience has been resorted to by the suffragette campaign in England and by groups favoring disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. Eastern Europe, during Communist rule, witnessed civil disobedience acts, particularly in Poland, to wrest greater freedom from the government.

In more recent times, the popular movement in the Philippines against the Marcos government and the Movement for Democracy led by Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar have been inspired by Gandhi's example as well as by the Buddhist precepts prevalent in that country. Suu Kyi and her followers, through nonviolent acts of civil disobedience, have tried to gain more freedom for the people of Myanmar and eventually for the restoration of democracy.

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**See also Gandhi, Mohandas**

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## CIVIL RIGHTS

The establishment and augmentation of civil rights has been a difficult process. The general recognition of popular sovereignty, a system of nation-states requiring legal order for recognition, and a global economic system requiring legal protections all militate

in favor of the recognition of certain basic civil rights. But the institutionalization of civil rights, especially in a globalizing world, is problematic and nowhere more so than in developing countries. There the contradiction between the civil rights imperatives of protecting freedom and providing for equal citizenship is complicated by the "cruel choice" between accepting continued vulnerability and taking steps toward economic independence (Berlin 1958; Goulet 1975).

Rights can be described as set of human attributes that are necessary for adequate functioning and, consequently, should be protected for each individual (Freeden 1991). Civil rights—rights that particularly concern limits on and obligations of governments—are a subset of these. Two aspects of social activity are usually included. The first is economic rights. Here the acceptance of individual economic freedoms, such as the right to work and contract, the right to free movement, the right to own property, and the acceptance of the rule of law in economic relationships are paramount (Marshall 1965). Associated with these are political rights; recognition of equal citizenship status, including the right to vote and to hold office, the right to free expression and association, the right to legal processes to challenge government action individually and corporately, and the right to an affirmative defense of equal citizenship.

As can be seen, the concept of civil rights combines both limitations on governments ("civil liberties") and affirmative duties of governments to maintain the legal status of citizens ("civil rights"). Since complicated ideas usually result in complicated policies, it should come as no surprise that civil rights policy has been a difficulty for most governments. Governments in developing countries have several characteristics that make this difficulty even more intractable.

First, developing countries must contend with the legacy of their colonial past. Needless to say, in colonial times both aspects of civil rights received short shrift from metropolitan governments. Economic freedoms were denied because extensive legal discriminations deprived the native population of equal property rights, educational opportunities, and the freedom to work as and where they chose. This was combined with a subordinate legal status that destroyed the rule of law in colonial dominions (Mamdani 1978; Prado 1969). Second, political rights were severely limited. Not only were natives deprived of meaningful participation in government, but also the colonial governments made an active effort to facilitate political divisions and economic exploitation (Olorunsola 1972).

As independence was achieved, new governments faced a quandary. Their populations demanded equal citizenship status, but ethnic groups favored by colonial

governments resented losing their position, while others insisted on reducing it. The sudden extension of political rights further activated these internal conflicts (Olorunsola 1972). Lurking in the background, there were the unfulfilled tasks of the preindependence period, particularly the need to accelerate growth in poverty-stricken economies.

While different regions faced this dilemma at different times, the response of the new states was remarkably similar. First, great progress was made in the legal extension of economic rights. The colonial economic and educational discriminations were removed from law as were restrictions on the right to work, though economic inequalities often negated the effect of legal changes. Political changes were made as well, with suffrage rights and basic civil liberties legally, though again not practically, guaranteed.

Second, the new governments also came to grips with the problems of promoting economic growth. This led to immediate conflicts with the new rights environment that had been created. Growth demands capital accumulation, and capital accumulation requires sacrifice. Different growth strategies demanded different sacrifices, but all required state capacities for meeting and ameliorating political demands unlikely to be found in newly institutionalized environments (Huntington 1968). The result was a sometimes striking diminution of civil rights as governments attempted to construct the necessary political consensus through authoritarian means. In the later part of the twentieth century, this often took a familiar course: the establishment of one-party regimes, harassment of political enemies, resulting political and economic turmoil, overthrow of civilian government by the military, establishment of dictatorial polities, and a spiral downward toward economic autarky and political repression.

As the twentieth century ended, new forces improved the civil rights picture worldwide. First, the collapse of the Soviet Union meant that authoritarian regimes allied to one side or the other in the Cold War and could no longer depend on support from the respective opponents. This was coupled with a new international concern with respect for human rights, a concern partially institutionalized by the end of the twentieth century. International and non-governmental organizations joined the democratic developed nation-states in putting pressure for increased civil rights on regimes worldwide (Brysk 2002). Second, this pressure was reinforced by the demands of international financial organizations for governmental reforms aimed at loosening the already weakening regulatory grip of governments in the new states. Economic growth had slowed in lock step with dictatorial rule. As the global economy

became more integrated and, coincidentally, more stressed, the IMF and World Bank began to demand changes in “governance,” leading to greater accountability in return for exchange credits. Part of these new demands was an insistence on respect for political and, particularly, economic rights (World Bank 1992).

The results of this new emphasis on civil rights, accompanied by an international consensus in favor of democratic regimes, have had salutary effects in the developing countries. The number of democratic governments has increased, acceptance of *coups d'état* against elected governments has decreased, and the level of protection for civil rights at the national level is at historic levels. Despite this new acceptance, however, the cruel choice is still present. While a few developing countries have shown signs of developing self-sustaining growth, others have stumbled badly after initially favorable starts, and many have shown little progress of any kind. Indeed, decades of economic and political reform have done nothing, on average, to accelerate economic growth. At the same time, economic inequality has actually increased, both within and between countries. Making civil rights fit within development projects that could create independent economies and democratic polities in developing countries remains a problem for the future (Seidman 1978).

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**See also Democratization; Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations; Legal Systems**

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## CIVIL SOCIETY

Twenty years ago, the notion of “civil society” hardly occurred outside circles of Hegel-students and Gramsci-specialists. In the twenty-first century, search machines come up with hundreds of titles. This booming civil society discourse, accompanying the development and promotion of civil society in Eastern Europe and the developing world, feeds on the philosophical notion and the historical development of civil society in Europe and North America. Both the factual and the discursive aspects of civil society must be taken into account because they do not coincide: Western society had not suddenly changed when the notion reappeared. This either means that Western society is not a civil society, which contradicts the fact that it is considered its main example, or that it is possible to *be* a civil society without being *named* civil society.

If *society* is the way in which the human species exists, *civil* society must be one of its specific forms. Since human beings organize their existence reflexively and consciously, the notion of “civil society” is part of the reflexive self-description of mankind. This implies that there is no external viewpoint, not even quasi-external, from which to describe civil society objectively. From a strictly empirical point of view, therefore, the concept has to be denied scientific status or to be instrumentalized in such a way as to leave out the normative aspects that account for its current popularity.

I propose a definition of “civil society” as a social sphere of free associational activity of individual citizens on and across the border between private and public and of the institutional effects of that activity. This definition presupposes an economic sphere—a market—from which it is distinct, a state that through legislation secures the space where free association can take place and contains individuals who are capable and willing to act as members of civil society. It also presupposes the reproduction of its conditions: resistance against state interference, protest against merger with market forces, courses in civic routines, reinforced association through meetings and mailings, and pluralistic theoretical civil society discourse, all of which constitute a complex reproductive process.

The organizing principle of civil society, namely voluntary or uncoerced association by individual citizens, is based on the more fundamental principle of free individuality, which equally lies at the basis of free market and liberal democracy. This, however, does not imply their necessary combination, nor does it exclude the formation of a community within civil society; what it does preclude is a community

that is not ultimately based on the individual decision to associate.

One of the paradoxes of late modernity is that the type of society that was criticized by Hegelians, Marxists, Conservatives, and Communitarians for its atomizing and self-destructive individualism has reappeared as a major “vision of the good life” (Gellner 1994). Both in the liberal tradition, which identified civil and free society, and in the more critical Hegelian and Marxist traditions, civil society was thought to include the economic sphere as its substance. The crucial recent innovation is the distinction, and even opposition, of market and civil society. This innovation is an effect of the increased functional differentiation of late-modern society, but it also reflects an attempt to idealize civil society as a world of virtue, in contrast with a “demonic” market as the world of profit, exploitation, and self-interest. The same tendency is manifest in the opposition between civil society and the potentially oppressive state. In countries with a weak polity, this trend is even hazardous, especially when connected with foreign developmental programs that aim to strengthen civil society. Politics and market may be “dirty” and harsh, but that is not a reason to idealize civil society. Moreover, just as a liberal state presupposes a strong civil society, a flourishing civil society presupposes a strong polity to guarantee its legal basis.

Civil society discourse is an integral part of civil society itself, similar to the way in which phenomena like culture, nation, or philosophy are unimaginable without a discourse reproducing them through the double move of self-definition and self-delineation, meaning the exclusion of “others.” What is excluded by civil society depends on how it defines itself. Here, two lines can be distinguished. Along the first line, civil society describes a type of society, distinguished from tribal or traditional society, believed to have preceded it and is contrasted with a totalitarian society, considered its major threat. In this broad sense, civil society is identical with the modern society that Ernest Gellner has labeled “Atlantic” (Gellner 1994).

Along the second line, civil society denotes a specific and central element of society in an increasingly large part of the world. This second, narrow sense of civil society excludes from itself, on the one hand, all other spheres of society, and, on the other hand, uncivil society. Concerning the first aspect, there is widespread consensus that civil society is distinct from the polity, that it is not identical with the strictly private sphere of family life and intimacy, and finally, that it is distinct from the market (Cohen 1997). The second aspect tends not to receive much attention but

is crucial for a proper understanding: civil society is civilized society, the sphere of civility and organization as opposed to that of violence and disorder—civil war, crime, hooliganism, fanaticism, and terrorism (Keane 1998; Colas 1992, 1997). Civil society is, among other things, the transformation of potentially conflicting differences of interest, value, and opinion into a multitude of potentially competing associations. As such, it is closely related to a pluralistic democratic polity (Fine 1997).

Contrary to what civil society *discourse* often suggests, civil society is not a thing. It cannot be seen, measured, counted, made, or imported. It cannot, without arbitrary choices, be instrumentalized in social or political science. The number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or the size of their memberships are important indexes, but they do not exhaust the phenomenon. Factors such as commitment and self-description in terms of civil society have to be taken into account as well.

Civil society is unnecessary: freedom to associate presupposes freedom not to associate. Since individuals must breathe, eat, and live somewhere, but *must* not defend human rights, fight global capitalism, or collect stamps in uncoerced association with others, civil society is intrinsically fragile. From an economic perspective, civil society activity is one of *leisure*, however “profitable” its long-term results may be in terms of social cohesion and civility. Consequently, civil society is not makable. Necessary conditions for its existence and flourishing can be realized, but its sufficient condition, the repeated associative action, and commitment of individual human beings cannot. Therefore, programs to stimulate or protect it make sense wherever citizens are too much concerned with securing the means of their subsistence to engage in any kind of associative activity.

Until recently, civil society discourse has focused on a national civil society, territorially congruous with national states and national economies. However, the globalization of markets, the internationalization of politics, and the emergence of worldwide communication networks have facilitated rapidly growing “global civil society.” While in principle covering the entire globe, this society is in practice limited to those who have access to the media in which it articulates and reproduces itself. Because large parts of the globe’s population continue to be illiterate and have no access to telephones or the Internet, this civil society may well be global, but it certainly is not universal, and it generates new forms of exclusion and inequality.

The same global civil society, however, is yielding impulses in the direction of a political and social

order that does match global capitalism and the withering away of the national state. The intrinsically conflicting nature of human society reappears at the global level, and transnational civil society is one of the ways of dealing with it (Walzer 1995). While civil society has always crossed national borders, transnational NGOs in the twenty-first century typically are not second-order associations of national associations, but they are institutionalized networks of individual human beings who by association with like-minded individuals transcend their national background from the outset and who are prepared to confront any global economic actor or national government.

In the foreword to the *Global Civil Society 2001* yearbook, Anthony Giddens writes:

If civil society, rather than the state, supplies the ‘grounding of citizenship’ and is therefore crucial to sustaining an open public space, how can this be achieved outside the realm of the nation-state? If civil society is fundamental to constraining the power of both markets and government, and if neither a market economy nor a democratic state can function effectively without the civilising influence of civic association, how can this ‘balancing act’ be achieved at a global level? Can the concept of a global civil society provide an answer? (Anheier 2001)

In these few lines, Giddens indicates what are, to many concerned inhabitants of the planet Earth, burning questions and implicitly invokes the contemporary notion of civil society.

Historically, the concept of civil society reaches back to Aristotle’s *koinonia politike*, translated into Latin as *societas civilis* and synonymous with political society as late as John Locke’s *Second Treatise of Government* (1690). Scottish Enlightenment theorists were the first to draw the clear distinction between the polity (state) and civil society, which has since become classical (Seligman 1992). With Hegel and Marx, it obtained the negative connotation of a “bourgeois society” (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*), which is why in contemporary German, a new concept of *Zivilgesellschaft* has been coined to distance the contemporary phenomenon from the older notion; similarly, in Russian post-Marxist vocabulary, *grazhdanskoye obshchestvo* replaces *burzhuznoye obshchestvo*. All this shows that civil society cannot be a neutral category of the social sciences. Rather, it also performs an ideological function, legitimizing, for example, the attribution of research money in Western academia and the foreign aid industry in the developing world (van Rooy 1998).

Another important question is whether civil society, a product of European history, is not a trope for Western society: if so, civil society discourse

appears as part of Western cultural imperialism and of economic globalization, and non-Western countries would have ample reason to be cautious to make it part of their own policies. The best answer to this problem is a deconstruction of the myth of Western society as an all-round success, a recognition of its contested and conflicting nature, and of the many forms of incivility covered by material wealth.

Civil society emerged in parts of the world with a predominantly Christian religious culture, and its emergence was connected with the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and secularization. But there is no pertinent reason why similar processes cannot occur in cultural realms dominated by such religions as Islam or Confucianism. Although some religious traditions may favor civil society more than others, it cannot be reasonably argued that any religion excludes its coming to be. Moreover, religiously motivated associations are important elements of civil society.

A substantial part of the recent discussion, finally, turns around the question whether civil society is a universal model that can be applied to any part of the world, irrespective of cultural and socioeconomic differences, or whether it needs to be adapted to local circumstances to such an extent that it becomes questionable if one is still talking about the same thing (Hann 1996; Kaviraj 2001). The least one can say is that in Western and non-Western contexts alike, civil society stands for the same things: limitation of state interference, control over market forces, and voluntary association of active and committed citizens. Whether this is the “good life” is a question only individual human beings can decide, but it definitely is a universal vision.

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**See also Civil Rights; Constitutionalism, Definition; Democratization; Elections; Free Market Economy; Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations**

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## COLLECTIVISM

### Definition

Broadly speaking, the term “collectivism” denotes, along with “individualism,” the extent to which an individual favors other people’s interests by his or her behavior. Unlike the altruism/egoism dichotomy, however, the interests in question are not the ones of “the others” in general but those of a particular group or category of people to which the individual belongs.

Different cultures are obviously characterized by a different “relative weight” of individualism and collectivism. Both everyday observations and scientific research show that people in the so-called Western countries (such as in societies of Western Europe, North America, and Australia) place greater value on their individual autonomy: the freedom to choose their own purposes and goals and to take responsibility for their actions. By contrast, in the countries of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, or Latin America (the majority of which are seen as part of the so-called developing world), the emphasis is on harmony in relationships between members of a group, be it an extended family, a professional or religious community, a firm, or a neighborhood. The purposes of the individual members are subordinate to the common good. The members’ attitudes to one another are quite different from their attitude to the people who do not belong to the community. Cultures, which are defined as “collectivist,” are assumed to be characterized by mores and attitudes of this kind.

Of course, these are general tendencies only. It would be an inadmissible simplification and

stereotype to expect every Chinese person, for example, to demonstrate traits of collectivism in his or her behavior. Even in very collectivist societies, there will be professional circles, such as in academia, that tend to be individualistic. Moreover, the collectivist social organization itself exists in different variants. H. Triandis and E. Suh, for example, make a distinction between vertical and horizontal collectivism, where the former is characterized by respect for in-group norms and for the directives of authorities, and the latter is characterized by empathy, sociability, and cooperation (Triandis and Suh 2002).

Besides the descriptive approaches to collectivism, interpretative ones can also be found in academic literature; for example, in collectivist cultures, the individual must have a sense of solidarity with the other members of the group. In addition, the individual identifies, to one extent or another, with them—that is, accepts their joys and sorrows as his or her own. The individual's self-understanding and self-esteem may also depend on his or her place in the group and on its achievements. Examples of such concepts in psychology are the social identity theory (Tajfel 1982) and the theory of self-categorization.

## Theoretical Approaches

The relationship between collectivism and individualism is interpreted in different theoretical perspectives. In philosophy, it is at the root of the debate between liberal and communitarian thinkers. The liberal ideal is rational self-determination of the individual. Human behavior may be guided by universal standards of justice, insofar as it is distanced from the contingent circumstances in the individual's cultural environment (Rawls 1971). The communitarians, conversely, value precisely the cultural “embeddedness” of human behavior—the individual's unconditional identification with the communities to which he or she belongs by force of circumstance. These philosophers prefer values such as solidarity and identity to freedom and rationality (Walzer 1994).

These concepts of collectivism and individualism are essentially normative in character. The authors do not merely study the alternative patterns of behavior. They declare the one morally justified and the other morally unacceptable. This debate also has quite concrete dimensions that are politically relevant. One of them is the famous debate on human rights and Asian values. Representatives of some countries from Eastern and Southeast Asia argue that Western standards

of fundamental human rights, which claim to be universally valid, are, in fact, culturally specific or “tailored” to the notions of an individualistic culture. That is why they cannot be applied, or at least not directly, to collectivist societies (De Bary 1998).

A sociological perspective on patterns of collectivist and, respectively, individualistic behaviors is offered by F. Tönnies in his classical work *Community and Society* (*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*). Admittedly, according to Tönnies, the selfsame individuals may behave in both ways depending on whether they are interacting within a community to which they belong or not. Yet, the distinctions that Tönnies makes—organic unity of wills in the community, on one hand, and interaction between free agents of their wills and abilities in society, on the other—are emblematic of the differences between collectivism and individualism in general (Tönnies 1988).

Another range of problems addressed by sociology—more specifically, by the theories of modernity—is also associated with the relationship between collectivism and individualism. A number of authors, such as Max Weber and Anthony Giddens, study the differences between modern and traditional societies, one of those differences being along the lines of the individualism/collectivism dichotomy. Modernity presupposes trust in an impersonal social order (Giddens 1991), which is more compatible with the values of individualism, whereas the personified social relationships in traditional societies rest on collectivist attitudes.

In psychology, the problem of collectivism is of immediate concern to the previously mentioned social identity theory and the theory of self-categorization. These conceptions assign an important role to the relationship between in-group and out-group, focusing on exclusive in-group solidarity at the expense of unequal treatment of the out-group. Collectivism and individualism, however, are key issues in cross-cultural psychology and intercultural communication theories (the latter also apply to anthropological methods). Quite representative in this respect are some studies by G. Hofstede (1994) and H. Triandis (1995).

## Practical Implications for the “Developing World”

One of the key issues concerning modernization in the developing countries is whether their peoples ought to preserve their cultural identity. Collectivism is an emblematic feature of traditional societies. Is it

possible to achieve technological and economic progress without “trading” collectivist for individualist mores? Generally, countries from the developing world, such as Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea (which are making significant progress in modernization), demonstrate a tendency to preserve family-like relations within business organizations, which is in its turn a challenge when cooperating with the individualist-minded “Western” economic partners. Here again, the “Asian values” theme comes to the forefront (de Bary, Op. cit.).

Another dimension of the importance of collectivism for the developing countries is the political one. For the societies that have established a “Western-style” democratic social order, cultural collectivism is a source of problems when nourishing clients and, more generally, when trying to maintain clan and tribal solidarities against loyalty toward the nation and other civic values (Harrison and Huntington 2001). In the countries with Communist rule, collectivism as a cultural trait and collectivism as an ideological creed reinforce each other, which brings about in some cases extreme forms of oppression against the individual (such as in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge regime) and also remarkable stability of collectivist forms of political organization in the face of transition to market economy (such as in China). Whatever the case, however, collectivism should not be approached in a simplistic way, although it is obviously a challenge to modernization.

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## COLOMBIA

Colombia, the only country in South America that borders two oceans, is a country rich in natural resources, scenic beauty, and history. It also is one of the world’s most violent places, with murder ranking as the number one killer of young adults. Despite the internal conflict, Colombia has managed to maintain a formally democratic political system since the late 1950s, and its economy has largely avoided the pitfalls of some of its neighbors. Despite a recent recession, its growth rate was a relatively robust 3.4% as of 2003. Colombia is known also as a major source of illegal drugs, though it is nearly impossible to estimate their impact on the economy, with best estimates ranging from 3–13% of gross domestic product (GDP). Colombia is the world’s leading supplier of cocaine.

Geographically, Colombia is strategically located at the crossroads of the Americas. It lies at the top of the South American continent and is joined with North America via its border with Panama, a Colombian province until 1903. Its territory measures 1,038,700 square kilometers, excluding several islands in the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean, making it the fourth largest country in South America. Colombia borders Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Panama. Its territory is divided politically into thirty-two departments and the federal capital of Bogotá. It is further divided physically by the three ranges of the Andes Mountains that run through it, north to south, and by its principal river, the Magdalena, which cuts through the center. Bogotá is located on a high mountain plateau in the eastern range, at some 2,590 meters above sea level. Colombia’s climate varies widely from tropical rain forest to arid desert to temperate highlands. Consequently, it is among the most biodiverse countries in the world, claiming first place in the number of different bird species.

Despite the violence, Colombia has a relatively high population growth rate at 1.52%, and its population of 42.3 million places it second to Brazil in South America. The country is made up of mestizos (58%), whites (20%), mulattos (14%), blacks (4%), mixed black-indigenous (3%), and indigenous (1%). Some 90% of the population is at least nominally Roman Catholic, and literacy is high at 92.5%. Spanish is the official language, though English is an official language on the island of San Andrés in the Caribbean. The median age is 25.8 years.

The Colombian political system is a formal democracy, or republic, modeled on the presidential system of the United States. Under the 1991 constitution, the president is elected by popular vote every four years and may not seek reelection. The legislative branch

consists of the lower House (*Cámara*) with 166 members and the Senate with 102 members, both elected by popular vote to four-year terms. Colombia uses a form of proportional representation, under which seats in the legislature are assigned according to the percentage of the vote received by each party. There are two traditional parties—the Liberals and Conservatives—and dozens of smaller parties that, in recent years, have been challenging the supremacy of the two-party system.

## Coffee and the Economy

Historically, Colombia's economy has centered on coffee, and it was among the first producers in the world to actively market its own product, using the now familiar image of Juan Valdez, a fictitious coffee farmer. Colombian coffee production has focused on the Arabica bean, which grows at altitude and produces a rich yet mild coffee sought after for its high quality. And while coffee is grown and produced in much of the country, it is concentrated in what is known as the *Eje Cafetero*, a region that encompasses the small departments of Risaralda, Quindío, and Caldas and includes parts of Antioquia, Valle, and Tolima.

In recent years, oil has overtaken coffee as Colombia's primary export, although the economy in general is increasingly diversified. Major industries include textiles, food processing, clothing and footwear, beverages, chemicals, cement, and cut flowers. Its annual GDP is \$255 billion, and its per capita income is \$6,300. Aside from oil and coffee, exports include coal, apparel, bananas, cut flowers, gold, and emeralds. Colombia is the world's leading supplier of emeralds. The country's main trading partner is the United States, followed by Venezuela and Ecuador. It is a member of the Andean Community and the Group of Three. Its external debt totals some \$39 billion.

## A Violent History

Colombia first declared independence from Spain in 1810 but lapsed into six years of what has become known as *La Patria Boba*, an era of chaos. Real independence came in 1819 after the rebel forces under the command of Simón Bolívar defeated the Spanish at the Battle of Boyacá. Bolívar then became the first president of Gran Colombia, which included the modern-day states of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador,

and Panama. The union did not last, however, and Venezuela and Ecuador declared their independence in what were largely peaceful events in 1830. Panama seceded in 1903 with the support of the United States, which had been unable to secure a favorable treaty with Colombia granting it a concession for a canal.

Between 1828 and 1902, Colombia experienced fourteen uprisings, *coups d'état*, which are attempted civil wars, most of which were unsuccessful. This frequent recourse to violence in the political realm is a constant in Colombian history. In the nineteenth century, following independence, some thirty-three thousand Colombians died as a result of "hostilities." In the three years of the War of a Thousand Days (1899–1902), three times that many perished out of a total population of 4 million. *La Violencia*, the internal conflict that began in 1948, claimed the lives of an estimated five hundred thousand Colombians.

There are various reasons cited for *La Violencia*, which on the surface appeared to be a civil war between the traditional parties—Liberals and Conservatives. As in other parts of Latin America, Colombia's political parties were not generous in victory, and each attempted to establish political hegemony to the exclusion of the other. The Conservatives had ruled from 1886 to 1930, when a split allowed moderate Liberal Enrique Olaya Herrera to become president, ushering in sixteen years of what has come to be called the Liberal Republic. During that time, the Liberals passed sweeping land reform laws and labor laws designed to co-opt the burgeoning peasant and unionist movements. The most acclaimed and visible leader of those movements was Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, whose National Leftist Revolutionary Union (*UNIR*) threatened to undermine the two-party arrangement and, more importantly, establish elite control over the political process. By 1935, though, Gaitán had been co-opted into the Liberal fold; by 1948, he was leading "silent marches" of tens of thousands through the streets of Bogotá and seemed poised to win back the presidency from the Conservatives, who had taken advantage of a Liberal split in 1946. But Gaitán was assassinated in downtown Bogotá on April 9, 1948, sparking several days of bloody rioting in the capital known as the *Bogotazo*, which was followed by ten years of violence in the countryside.

But while *La Violencia* may appear to have been just another civil war, many scholars argue it went further. For some, it represented a backlash by the elites against what they saw as a growing threat from the lower classes, championed by Gaitán. The fact that the Liberal Party was more often than not associated with the masses is more a coincidence than a reality. Others saw in *La Violencia* the culmination of

decades of land colonization and the need for laborers in new agro-industries. Finally, some scholars point to the historically weak state of Colombia and its inability to make its presence felt throughout the national territory. Not coincidentally, much of *La Violencia* and the current conflict center on regions where new sources of wealth (legal and otherwise) have been discovered; these include oil and coca in the Llanos and emeralds in the Santanders.

*La Violencia* came to a formal end in 1958, when the feuding elites agreed on a power-sharing arrangement to replace the military dictatorship of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. Under the agreement, the Liberals and Conservatives would alternate the presidency every four years and divide evenly the other branches of government. Liberal Alberto Lleras Camargo was elected as the first president of the so-called National Front, which lasted until 1974. But while pacification appeared to be occurring, certain guerrilla groups associated mainly with the Liberals who resisted demobilization. One group in particular attempted to create an independent republic in a mountainous area south of Bogotá. Its efforts failed, but the survivors formed the nucleus of what became, in 1966, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Meanwhile, a group of radical students who had studied and trained in Cuba under Fidel Castro returned and in 1964 founded the National Liberation Army (ELN). Two other groups that appeared under the National Front were the Maoist-oriented Peoples Liberation Army (EPL) and the eclectic April 19 Movement (M-19). The National Front may have succeeded in mending the rift among Colombia's elites, but it excluded all other political voices, creating a democratic system that was rigid and closed.

## Drug Trafficking and Violence

With the election of Liberal Alfonso López Michelsen in 1974, the National Front formally ended. Colombia's guerrilla groups clearly were on the wane by the end of the succeeding administration of Liberal Julio César Turbay in 1982. But it was about this time that a new factor entered the equation, breathing new life into the insurgency and spawning a counterinsurgency from the Right: drug trafficking. What began as a relatively small-time operation to grow and smuggle marijuana into the United States in the 1970s shifted to a more ambitious, well-organized cocaine trafficking effort in the 1980s. The ruthless Medellín Cartel quickly developed into a nonstate actor so powerful that its leader, Pablo Escobar, at one point offered to

pay off Colombia's national debt in return for amnesty. The Medellín Cartel was replaced in the early 1990s by the more business-like Cali Cartel, which in turn gave way to a number of smaller cartels by the turn of the twenty-first century.

Drug trafficking added a new dynamic, and logic, to the internal conflict, which by the mid-1990s had threatened to spill over into neighboring countries and had resulted in US decertification for Colombia in the "War on Drugs." In the areas where peasants grew coca and heroin poppy as a cash crop, the guerrillas protected them in return for a cut of the profits. The FARC grew to an estimated fifteen to twenty thousand fighters with a presence in much of the country. The ELN also saw its numbers swell to some five thousand, but their forces were concentrated mostly in the Middle Magdalena region. The guerrillas also continued to harass large landowners and engaged increasingly in kidnapping, a very lucrative activity. In turn, these actions adversely affected the drug traffickers, who used their newly acquired wealth to become landowners themselves. They helped finance what started as death squads in the late 1980s but that gelled into a fairly cohesive right-wing force, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), under the leadership of Carlos Castaño. Negotiations between the government and the various actors continued throughout the 1990s, and at one point, President Andrés Pastrana had ceded to the FARC a large tract of land in the Llanos that later was rescinded and reoccupied by state-controlled forces. In 2002, independent candidate Alvaro Uribe was elected president, promising to gain the upper hand in the conflict.

Colombia experienced what some observers say was a partial collapse of the state in the late 1980s, at a time of renewed guerrilla and death squad activity and an all-out war declared by the Medellín Cartel, whose leaders vehemently rejected the government's plans to have them extradited to the United States. As a result, the 1990 elections were seen as a kind of watershed and led to momentous political and economic changes. A new constitution was promulgated in mid-1991, removing the last vestiges of the National Front and ushering in greater decentralization. At almost the same time, President César Gaviria introduced sweeping economic reforms known as the *Apertura* or opening. Colombia had emerged from the "Lost Decade" largely unscathed, but it nonetheless came under pressure to enact the same neo-Liberal reforms as its Latin American neighbors. Under Gaviria, the Colombian economy began to switch from import substitution industrialization to export-led growth, though the reforms meant that Colombian industries now would also be subject to

competition from abroad. The latter began to adversely affect some of the country's more traditional industrial sectors—such as textiles and food processing—by the mid-1990s and, coupled with the sanctions imposed by the United States in 1996–1997, Colombia's economy sank into its worst recession in decades. At the same time, the demise of the international coffee agreement in 1989 kept prices for Colombian coffee low, causing that sector to also suffer.

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**See also Drug Trade**

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## COLOMBO PLAN

The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in Asia and the Pacific was launched in 1950 to coordinate the disbursement of development aid to governments in the region. Emerging out of the spread of the Cold War to Asia by the late 1940s, the plan represented a significant foreign aid effort centered on the British Commonwealth and initiated by British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, the British government attempted to counter the threat thought to be posed by China and “international communism” by encouraging a regional program that focused on economic development. The British hoped that the promotion of the developmental and

technical elements of the Colombo Plan would demonstrate to the peoples of South and Southeast Asia that there were viable alternatives to those provided by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Communist parties of the region. It was also hoped that the plan would provide a focus for the Indian and other Commonwealth governments and increase US involvement in British policy in the region. The Colombo Plan was formulated with the encouragement of the British government by an assembled group of Commonwealth delegates at the Colombo Conference (held in the capital of Ceylon, renamed Sri Lanka in 1972) in January 1950. It was formally launched in July 1951, following its ratification by all the governments of the Commonwealth except for South Africa.

At the conference in Colombo at the beginning of 1950, the British government sought to ensure that the emphasis was on economic development, technical assistance, and a regional approach, which it thought would distract attention from the different, and even opposing, political positions of the governments in attendance. At the Colombo Conference, Minister of Finance for Ceylon, J. R. Jayawardene, called for a program on the scale of the Marshall Plan to be directed at the recently established and emerging nation-states of Southern and Southeast Asia. However, it was clear that the British government, a recipient of Marshall Plan aid, was not prepared to provide technical and economic assistance on such a scale. At the initiative of Australian Minister for External Affairs Percy Spender (who played an important role at the conference), and following discussions between the Australian and Ceylonese delegations, the proposal that had been tabled by Jayawardene was withdrawn. The delegates to the conference eventually reached a unanimous agreement in support of a draft resolution written primarily by Spender and the Australian delegation. This resolution called on the Commonwealth governments to provide whatever technical and financial aid they could to the governments of Southern and Southeast Asia. This was to take place via existing organizations and newly established bilateral arrangements.

The Colombo Conference also called for setting up a Consultative Committee that would plan a range of long-term initiatives to coordinate the Colombo Plan and other Commonwealth initiatives with the activities of other governments and international organizations. The Consultative Committee is made up of representatives from all member states and it is supposed to meet every two years to evaluate the social and economic efforts of member governments as well as to discuss technical cooperation and the overall functioning of the Colombo Plan. Meanwhile, the



Colombo Plan Council has several meetings annually in Colombo, attended by diplomatic representatives from the member states, at which development questions are discussed and recommendations are passed on to the Consultative Committee. The actual implementation of various initiatives is the work of the Colombo Plan secretariat and the secretary-general of the Colombo Plan. At the outset, it was agreed that the member governments of the Commonwealth in Asia should produce development plans for the six-year period from July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1956, and that invitations to participate in the Colombo initiative should be extended to other governments in the region. After 1956, the plan was extended at five-year intervals until the Consultative Committee, meeting in Jakarta in November 1980, decided that the plan should continue to operate for an indefinite period into the future.

In the context of the outbreak of the Korean War, the United States joined the Colombo Plan in 1951 (as did Japan, somewhat later), dramatically increasing its resources. There were two overarching and interconnected components of the plan. The first was a program of technical cooperation that sought to provide expertise and equipment to the recipient nations and bring students to the donor countries for training. By 1957, 1,500 students had gone to Britain for training and education under the Colombo Plan, while 600 went to Canada, 375 to New Zealand, and 4,000 to Australia. The second part of the plan was a broad program of economic development directed at major public investment and infrastructure projects, including roads, railways, irrigation, electricity and communications, as well as various other services. By 1956, the United States had contributed at least \$2 billion (US dollars, USD) worth of aid to the governments of Southern and Southeast Asia and was the single biggest donor government inside and outside the Colombo Plan. The corresponding figure for Canada was \$168 million, \$72 million for Australia, and \$11 million for New Zealand (all in USD). By the second half of the 1950s, the Asian governments that were members of the Colombo Plan had expanded from Ceylon, Pakistan, and India to encompass Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, the Philippines, Thailand, and South Vietnam.

Given the scale and scope of the development problems in postcolonial Southern and Southeast Asia, the Colombo Plan represented an important but

relatively modest effort to coordinate development initiatives. Against the backdrop of the Cold War, \$72 billion USD was disbursed via the Colombo Plan between 1950 and 1983, and more than half of that amount (\$41.2 billion USD) came from the United States. Funding has declined in the past two decades, but the Colombo Plan continues to operate. It held its thirty-seventh Consultative Committee Meeting in Manila in November 1998, at which the Consultative Committee endorsed the Manila Colombo Plan Agenda for Action in the Twenty-First Century (MACOPA 21). As of 2001, the member states of the Colombo Plan, which has now been in operation for fifty years, include Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the United States. Mongolia is a provisional member.

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**See also Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development**

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## COLONIALISM: HISTORY

### Definition of Terms

The terms “colonialism,” “colonisation,” and “imperialism” are often used in a confusing and interchangeable manner. Their explanation in this text will mainly follow Jürgen Osterhammel’s definition of “colonialism” in his influential work *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Osterhammel defines “colonialism” as a relationship between two collectives in which all important decisions concerning the life of the “colonised” are made by a culturally different/alien minority of “colonisers” unwilling to adapt to local customs. External interests (be they economic, political, or ideological) are the main criteria in such decisions. Usually, ideological issues such as the alleged cultural superiority of the “colonisers” echo in the nature of the relationship. The German historian Wolfgang Reinhard employs a similar definition of colonialism and emphasises the importance of the colonisers’ cultural alienness and the difference in the development of the two collectives/societies. He argues that a system of domination has to feature both these elements in order to be colonialist.

In historical periodisation, “colonialism” usually denominates the period of European overseas expansion beginning in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and ending with the process of decolonisation after World War II. Following its relatively narrow Marxist meaning, the term “imperialism” describes the last hundred years of this period starting in the middle of the nineteenth century, when colonial concepts gained new perspectives and thus new momentum. In Marxist Theory, imperialism emerged through the combination of capitalism and colonialism. Other historians allow for a wider definition of imperialism and subsume under the term any efforts and activities aiming at the creation and maintenance of a transcolonial empire. Following this political definition, “imperialism” means all collective efforts producing colonialism. However, in its economic sense, imperialism does not necessarily need colonialism and even has outlived the latter. Sometimes described as neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism, economic hegemony replaced the exertion of direct colonial rule after the process of decolonisation (for example, American imperialism).

This discussion provides a concise chronological description of the period of modern colonialism. The term “colonialism” in this text describes the primary form of relationship between the colonised and the

colonisers during the period of European overseas expansion and domination starting around 1500 and ending more or less shortly after World War II. Accordingly, “imperialism” or “new imperialism” here refers to the last one hundred years of the period when colonialism gained a number of hitherto unknown qualities and when the established colonial powers together with the “latecomers” entered into a race for the domination of the last uncolonised territories. While preimperialist colonialism aimed at the formal or informal domination of diverse overseas territories for primarily economic reasons, imperialism intended to create a politically homogenous and centrally administered colonial empire.

### Forms of Colonialism

Colonialism existed in various different forms and characteristics. In fact, it is important to consider the many different “colonialisms” characterized by the world region, the colonising country, the colonisers, and the role of the colony in the emerging world economic/political system. The most widespread and useable system of classification knows three types of colonies/colonialism:

1. **Colonies of domination:** A minority of colonisers exerts direct rule over an indigenous majority; most colonisers are civil administrators, soldiers, or merchants; there is only a small number of settlers; and colonies of domination are mostly the result of military conquest and are subject to economic exploitation. Typical examples include British India, French Indochina, British Egypt, or the American Philippines. The Spanish America is a less typical example because the European immigrants mixed with the indigenous people and a distinct Creole elite started to emerge.
2. **Settlement colonies:** A significant number of colonisers take up permanent residence in an (allegedly) empty or sparsely populated country; in most cases, the indigenous population has not yet developed sedentary agriculture and has either been pushed back by the newcomers or employed on their newly established holdings. In this situation, settlers usually came to stay and often quickly developed a taste for increased autonomy and/or self-government; such colonist societies frequently neglected the rights of the indigenous

population or completely displaced it. Typical examples include North America, Australia, Algeria, and South Africa. The plantation colonies of the Caribbean (and Brazil) are less typical examples because the colonisers imported vast numbers of African slaves as plantation labourers, and a new social structure emerged.

3. **Base colonies:** A merchant company or a country establishes a small (mostly coastal) foothold in a foreign country. Initially, these stations were merchant bases and served logistical purposes. Such colonies often had to rely on the goodwill of the “host” country; later, some of these holdings also served as centres of “informal control” over regions not formally under colonial domination. Base colonies primarily attracted merchants and service personnel from all around the world; typical examples include Malacca, Batavia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Aden.

## Early European Expansion

The word “colonialism” is generally associated with the period of European colonial expansion starting in the fifteenth century. The intra-European strife for a share in intercontinental trade between Europe and Asia urged the European powers to look for ways to circumvent the middlemen of the trade. The Portuguese conquered Ceuta in 1415 and explored the African coast southward to get direct access to the trans-Saharan trade routes, eliminating the Muslim middlemen. In the 1440s and 1450s, they reached the Senegal, Cape Verde, or Sierra Leone and entered the African slave trade. Spain tried to establish a foothold in the Atlantic by colonising the Canary Islands. Although the Pope had already acknowledged and sanctified the Portuguese monopoly in the Africa trade, Spain and Portugal needed the War of 1474–1479 to clarify their spheres of influence. Although Portugal lost the war, the Treaty of Alcáçovas in 1479 made African territory beyond twenty-six degrees latitude the country’s exclusive sphere, whereas Spain obtained the Canary Islands. Portugal made excessive use of the monopoly and invested into the exploration of the African coast. Meanwhile, the Genoese seafarer Christoforo Colombo (Christopher Columbus) had developed a plan to reach India on a westward route to tap the eastern trade directly at its source. Both Portugal and Spain declined Colombo’s ill-planned proposal. Only after Portugal’s Bartholomeu Dias had circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope and

thereby proved that Asia/India could be reached via Africa, the Spanish Crown—in an act of desperation—hired Colombo and equipped him with three ships. Colombo “discovered” the New World. He reached the Bahamas on October 12, 1492, and explored the northern coast of Cuba and Haiti before returning to Spain. Spain secured the newly discovered islands with the help of a Papal Bull, and Portugal acknowledged Spanish hegemony beyond a demarcation line 370 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. When Vasco da Gama circumnavigated Africa and finally reached India in 1498, the Treaty of Tordesillas separated the world into a Spanish sphere in the West and a Portuguese domain in the East.

## The New World

Spurred by Portugal’s success, Spain sent its ships farther to the West still hoping to find the westward passage to India at last. Spanish ships soon explored parts of the American continental coast. When a Portuguese fleet returning from India accidentally touched the Brazilian coast in 1500, it gradually became clear that Spain had “discovered” not just a few islands in the Caribbean but a seemingly endless new continent: the *Mundus Novus*. Colonising this New World, the Spanish Crown made use of a concept successfully employed in the *Reconquista*. The Crown authorised private *conquistadores* to explore and colonise the new land. They financed their enterprise privately and signed a *capitulación* that regulated their rights and duties and guaranteed them 20% of the profit. The rapid transition from exploration to conquest after 1500 can largely be attributed to the military background of these men and to their experiences during the *Reconquista*. They felt the urge to make quick and large enough profits in the New World to recover their considerable initial outlays. From Santo Domingo on Hispaniola, Spain started to expand its territory. Spanish conquerors took Puerto Rico in 1509, Cuba in 1511, and Jamaica in 1512. In Panama, they established an important centre on the mainland in 1519. From there, they conquered modern-day Nicaragua in 1526 and linked up with a northern group of *conquistadores* under Hernán Cortés, who had just pulverised the Aztec Empire. To the South, Francisco Pizarro started the conquest of the Inca Empire in 1531 to gain access to the legendary riches of Peru. By 1534, the Spanish controlled all important Inca centres and expanded their territory to northern Ecuador (1534), Colombia (1538–1539), and Chile (1540–1541). European

technological superiority facilitated the American *conquista*. The conquerors took advantage of what might be called an early form of bacterial warfare. Unknowingly, they imported diseases common to the Old World but hitherto unknown in the Americas. The indigenous population lacked immunity against the imported germs, and millions succumbed to smallpox, bubonic plague, typhoid, influenza, yellow fever, or other diseases. Although estimates still vary considerably, recent studies believe that the indigenous population saw a decrease from about 40 million people in pre-Columbian times to 4 million in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The economically important highland centres of Peru, Chile, and—a little later—Mexico were the focal points of Spanish engagement in Latin America from the late sixteenth century onward. The productive silver mines in Zacatecas, Mexico, and Potosí, Peru, had become the pillars of Spanish America's economy. Spain exploited the mines with Indian labour and sent huge amounts of silver to the homeland. In 1565, the so-called Manila Galleon commenced its yearly service between Acapulco and Manila and started to feed American silver directly into the Asian market (in significant amounts from about 1600 onward). The galleon returned with Asian (predominantly Chinese) porcelain, silk, ivory, and spices.

### North American Settlements

Apart from rich fishing grounds, natural resources were scarce in North America and did not attract the *conquistadores*. Only in the late sixteenth century did Europe develop a taste for North American furs, and the trade with beaver fur became economically profitable. France, the Netherlands, Sweden, and England established coastal settlements and entered into commercial alliances with the local Indian tribes. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain founded the first French settlement at the site of modern Quebec. During the 1620s, the Dutch established footholds on the East Coast. In 1626, they bought the island of Manhattan from an Indian tribe and founded New Amsterdam. Although both French and Dutch settlements attracted a certain number of European settlers, they were primarily fur trading stations, whereas the English very early aimed at the establishment of permanent settlement colonies. Jamestown in Virginia was founded in 1607. A little later, tobacco was introduced to the colony and soon proved to be a valuable export crop. In 1620, the Mayflower pilgrims established Cape Cod colony in Massachusetts.

England saw North American colonisation as a means to relieve rising population pressure in the homeland and furthered emigration. In the wake of the three Anglo-Dutch Wars ending with the Treaty of Westminster, the Dutch colonies in North America became English (and New Amsterdam became New York). Meanwhile, France had started to consolidate, reorganise, and expand its American holdings, such as to Louisiana. Although New France was now economically profitable and attracted more settlers, its vast territories were still sparsely populated. New England, however, concentrated its numerous settlers in smaller territories and was socially and economically self-sustaining. In 1760, the English colonies in America housed 1.6 million inhabitants, rising to 2.7 million only twenty years later. Massive immigration of Europeans and of African slaves, together with comparatively favourable living conditions, caused this increase. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, tensions between New France and New England and its European motherlands grew and finally culminated in the global Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the European counterpart to the French and Indian War in North America (1754–1763). England won the war and took over the French possessions in America. Louisiana went to Spain as compensation for the English occupation of Florida.

### The Plantations of the Caribbean and the Triangle Trade

The plantation economy of the Caribbean, Brazil, and some parts of coastal America constitutes another distinct form of colonial economy and social structure. White investors—most of whom only took up temporary residence in the colonies—developed the land to establish a (semi)industrial agricultural economy that profited from exporting produce to Europe. In America, suitable plantation land was abundant, but labour was scarce. Therefore, the economically profitable but labour-intensive cultivation of sugar cane demanded the import of cheap labour and gave great impulses to the African slave trade. A peculiar form of trade called the Triangle Trade thus developed between Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Ships from Europe brought manufactured goods to the African coast and traded these goods for slaves. The slave ships crossed the Atlantic and exchanged their load for agricultural export produce in the West Indian ports. Returning to Europe, the merchants had maximised profit and minimised time and cost involved in the trade.

The plantation model was first introduced in Brazil at the end of the sixteenth century. European investors had found the region around Bahia and Pernambuco extremely suitable for the cultivation of sugar cane. The plantation system proved a big success, and between 1580 and 1680, Brazil was the single most important producer of sugar. Labour demand soon could not be satisfied from local sources anymore, and the plantations started to rely on imported slaves. Only at the very start was the Triangle Trade with Brazil dominated by the Portuguese. Already in the 1620s, Dutch merchant companies entered the trade and quasi-monopolised it. Between 1630 and 1654, the Dutch even occupied important sugar planting regions in Brazil. The resulting conflicts between Portuguese and Dutch Brazil led to increased sugar prices on the world market and favoured the economic development of the Caribbean. During the 1620s and 1630s, England and France had secured themselves several islands in the Caribbean. In 1655, England expanded its territory to Jamaica. France took Haiti in 1697. After a brief interlude of tobacco planting, favourable world market prices induced many European planters to cultivate sugar in the Caribbean. Abundant land, suitable soil conditions, and the availability of imported slave labour led to the Sugar Revolution of 1630–1670, when large parts of the Caribbean were completely transformed to tropical export economies with huge slave-run and European-owned production units. The early years brought incredible profits and—although the profit margin had narrowed to about 5% by then—Caribbean sugar cultivation remained profitable until the 1820s.

The plantation system shaped the population and social structure of the West Indies, Brazil, some coastal regions of Spanish America, and the plantation regions of North America. Following reasonable estimates, the Triangle Trade brought between 9.5 and 11.5 million African slaves to the American plantations from the sixteenth century until the abolition of the slave trade in 1802 through 1833.

### American Decolonisation

When England had taken over the French possessions in America after the Seven Years' War, London implemented an increasingly restrictive policy toward its colonies in North America. With the help of taxes and import duties, the motherland tried to recover the costs of the expensive war and started to alienate its overseas citizens. Tensions mounted when the East India Company was granted the right to import tea directly to the American colonies in 1773. At the

so-called Boston Tea Party in 1775, American activists seized a load of tea and threw it into the sea. The conflict escalated and led to violent clashes between the Patriots and the Loyalists. When England refused to negotiate, the colonies declared independence in 1776. With the help of France, they were able to defeat a strong English force sent out to suppress the rebellion. With the Treaty of Paris in 1783, hostilities ended and the former colonies became independent. Although there had been attempts to conquer the former French-Canadian possessions, these colonies had chosen to stay a British colony and successfully resisted an American invasion.

The independence of the British colonies in North America is the first case of successful decolonisation. As such, it greatly influenced the Spanish-American independence movement(s). During the eighteenth century, many *criollos* had profited from the good economic performance of the Latin American colonies. They had developed a distinct self-consciousness as “Americans” and a desire for office. But absolutist Spain refused them access to the important offices and positions and filled these almost exclusively with *peninsulares*, those Spaniards born in Spain. When Napoleon installed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne in 1808, the *criollos* reacted and formed regional *juntas* in the Latin American centres. At first, these local administrative bodies were loyal to the former Spanish Bourbon king, but from about 1810, they followed their own interests and advocated independence. Regional attempts to overthrow the Spanish regime in Venezuela, Mexico, and Chile all failed, however, due to the resistance of the local loyalist elites. After Napoleon's fall, the Spanish king was reinstalled and pursued his absolutist and restrictive policy against the American possession with new vigour. This fuelled the Creole desire for independence and unified large parts of the heterogeneous Creole elite. Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín successfully led their troops against the Spanish army. They “liberated” the South American continent between 1817 and 1825. Mexico declared independence in 1822. Central America first joined Mexico but soon split away again, thus illustrating the strong influence of regional interests in the decolonisation of Spanish America. Simón Bolívar had propagated the idea of a unified Latin America (following the North American example); instead, the diverse interests of the heterogeneous Creole elite and their pronounced regionalism (*caudillismo*) led to the emergence of a multitude of independent states.

Brazilian independence came as the consequence of a revolution in the home country as well. In 1821, a liberal *coup d'état* overthrew the monarchy in Portugal. Accordingly, with the help of the Brazilian

planting community, the heir to the throne declared Brazil an independent empire in 1822.

## Europe and the Indian Ocean

Portugal had managed to enter the Indian Ocean trade by circumnavigating the Cape of Good Hope and reaching India by sea in 1498. Thereby the Portuguese had joined a millennia “Old World” system, connecting the eastern coast of Africa, the Red Sea region, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. Although Portuguese Indian Ocean trade meant armed trade from the beginning, Portugal did not aim at territorial domination in Africa or Asia but at the interruption of the Muslim spice trade monopoly. From 1500 onward, Portugal sent an annual fleet to India to hinder Muslim trade and to return with pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, and cloves. Five years later, the Portuguese started to establish bases and trade stations along the sea route to India. In 1510, they conquered the Indian port Goa, and a year later, they took Malacca. In 1515, they established themselves in Ormuz, and in 1518, they took over parts of the cinnamon island Ceylon. In 1544, Portugal began to trade with Japan, and in 1557, it was allowed to found Macao as a trading post with China. Although the Portuguese had established a tight network of bases between Mozambique and Japan, Portugal’s territorial holdings did initially not extend beyond those trading posts. With the closing of the sixteenth century, rising Dutch engagement in the area, political instability, and the inflexibility of the Portuguese trading system led to a swift decline of the Portuguese enterprise in the Indian Ocean. When its holdings in the region began to run at a loss in the seventeenth century, Portugal refocused its attention almost exclusively on Brazil.

The seventeenth-century European trade with Asia was dominated by the Netherlands. Besides Bruges and Antwerp, Amsterdam had served as the main market centre for Portuguese-imported Asian goods. When Philip II of Spain became king of Portugal in 1580, the Dutch saw this lucrative business at stake. Hence, in 1594, Amsterdam merchants founded the first company for overseas trade and equipped a number of merchant ships. By 1602, there were eight merchant companies involved in the Asian trade. These were merged in the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) that monopolised Dutch trade with Asia. Initially, the VOC was exclusively interested in the profitable spice trade, established trade links with the Moluccas, and founded a fort on Ambon

Island in 1605. Other bases in the region followed. In 1610, the Dutch established a factory in Hirado, Japan; a year later, they founded another one in Jakarta. To cement its foothold in the Asian trade, the VOC decided to make Java its regional headquarters, fortified its holdings in Jakarta, and made it its Asian capital in 1619 (calling it Batavia). However, the VOC did not aim at territorial domination, and if it did acquire territory it did so mainly for the sake of its trade interests. During the seventeenth century, the company had quasi-monopolised the spice trade. But its narrow focus on this trade segment also quickened its decline in the eighteenth century, when European demand for Asian products had long since diversified and more flexible English companies intruded the market. After several unprofitable business decades, the VOC was dissolved in 1799, and the Dutch government took over its territorial possessions.

Although founded two years earlier than its Dutch counterpart, the British East India Company (EIC) initially could not compete with the VOC. It commanded less capital and lacked the long-term perspectives and planning of the VOC. In its first years, the EIC had managed to establish a small network of bases and factories on the Indian coast, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Japan, but was soon expelled from the spice regions and the East Asian trade by the Dutch. It was forced into contenting itself with a number of factories on the Indian subcontinent. The EIC had established a factory at the Indian port of Surat in 1613. In 1641, the English founded Fort St. George at Madras, and ten years later they established themselves at Calcutta. In 1668, the EIC acquired Bombay. With the turn of the century, the demand for cotton dramatically increased in Europe and in its American colonies, where huge numbers of African slaves needed cheap clothing. This favoured the EIC with its access to the Indian cotton and textile producers. The company’s capital was increased in 1709, and the cotton trade flourished. While the VOC started to import Javanese coffee, the EIC became the prime importer of Chinese tea. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Dutch had already lost their trade supremacy in Asia, and the EIC had become the single most important merchant company trading with Asia.

## From Trade Stations to Colonies of Domination

Although the VOC had not aimed at the creation of a Dutch overseas empire, it had been the first European player in the Indian Ocean to bring larger territories

under its direct domination. This practice had proved to be economically beneficial to the company, giving it direct and cheap access to the local markets and a certain security of investment; however, at the same time, administration costs skyrocketed. The EIC followed this example. When the local ruler (Nawab) of Bengal occupied Fort William at Calcutta in 1756 to end the EIC's trade privileges in Bengal, the company sent an army from Madras, defeated the Nawab's forces, and became direct ruler of Bengal. The EIC was granted full rights of jurisdiction and taxation by the Mughal emperor. In successive decades, the EIC expanded its territory in India using a similar "forward defence" strategy. Financed by local taxes, the EIC hired an Indian army, conquered practically the whole Indian subcontinent until 1818, and threw back French competitors in India. Being a private and profit-oriented company, the EIC ruthlessly exploited its territories after 1757. In 1773 (Regulating Act) and 1784 (India Act), the British government tried to stabilise and regulate company rule in India. However, after initial successes, the EIC's economic focus and its intercultural incompetence led to the so-called Indian Mutiny in 1857. Parts of the Indian *sepoys* troops revolted but were finally defeated by British forces. As a consequence, the British Crown took over the EIC's possessions in India in 1858. It reorganised the administrative structure and established a conservative administration based on the collaboration of the traditional local elites.

Ideas of "white superiority," "benevolent despotism," and "white man's burden" began to shape the relations between "colonisers" and "the colonised." British India had become the first large-scale classical colony of domination where a European minority governed a majority of indigenous people. Spanish and Portuguese colonialism in Latin America had already featured such attributes mixed with typical settlement elements. But British colonialism in India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, and Singapore lacked a significant participation of European settlers. Instead, these regions experienced an influx of European business agents and white planters. Following the Caribbean example, large-scale cash crop cultivation was introduced to parts of the region in the early nineteenth century. A dual economy evolved with a foreign-dominated, partially isolated plantation economy existing parallel to the traditional indigenous economy mostly based on subsistence agriculture. Yielding to the influence of the planting community and the European absentee investors, the colonial administration focused its attention almost exclusively on the welfare of the export economy and often

neglected the indigenous sector. At the same time, European (and especially British) industrialisation had cheapened the production of textiles in Europe and flooded the Indian market with cheap cotton goods. This practice brought the swift ruin of the important Indian cotton sector. The process of "deindustrialisation" along with the high population pressure, especially in South India, led to the creation of a huge, landless wage-labour force. Following the abolition of slavery in the 1830s, South Indian excess labour was exported to the plantation regions of the world under the so-called indenture system.

### **New Imperialism and the Partition of Africa**

Since the late eighteenth century, Britain had not experienced serious competition in its Asian empire building efforts. France had been occupied with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The VOC had been dissolved, and the Dutch East Indies had been handed over to the government. This changed during the second half of the nineteenth century. France recovered from its internal problems and became engaged in Indochina and Africa. The German Unification of 1871 had created another global player that was hungry for colonial possessions. Italy developed colonial ambitions as well. The internal rivalry between these European powers made them overambitious colonisers and led to the period of "new imperialism." Most of the world had already been colonised (or even decolonised already)—only Africa and parts of the Pacific remained open for further empire building. Thus began what has been aptly named the "Scramble for Africa." Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the African continent had remained relatively spared from direct colonial domination. Although Africa had already been drawn into the world economy through the Triangle Trade, the Cape Colony and Algeria remained the only substantial European possession in the hinterland until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

All major European powers started to occupy African territory for economic and strategic reasons. France moved into Tunisia in 1881. A year later, Britain secured control over the Suez Canal by occupying Egypt. In addition, King Leopold II of Belgium and his International African Association privately acquired a huge territory in the Congo region in 1882; this territory was later known as the Congo Free State, and in 1908 it was transferred to Belgian rule. The Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 laid down the rules of engagement in the partition of Africa and

quicken its pace. Britain occupied most of Southern Africa, modern Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan, as well as Nigeria and the Gold Coast in Western Africa. France subjugated modern Senegal, Niger, Mali, and Chad and held other colonies in western Sudan and Central Africa. Germany got Southwest Africa (modern Namibia) and German East Africa (now Tanzania). Portugal held Angola and Mozambique. During the “Scramble for Africa,” European rivalry manifested itself in various crises. In 1898, clashing British and French interests in strategically important Sudan became known as the Fashoda Incident. German attempts to break the French hold over Morocco led to the Tangier Crisis of 1905 and the Agadir Crisis of 1911.

Outside Africa, the age of new imperialism saw the emergence of the United States of America and Japan as colonising countries. The former took over Hawaii and the Philippines, and the latter occupied Korea. Earlier, France had established a firm hold over French Indochina, and Britain had secured Burma. Germany colonised eastern New Guinea. China had become a target of European imperialism since its forced opening to European commerce in 1842. Although not formally colonised, China was subjected to continuous British, French, and American intervention.

### The World Wars and Decolonisation

The European powers’ aggressive colonial policy together with intra-European tensions eventually led to the outbreak of World War I (1914–1918). After four years of warfare in Europe and in the colonies, the victorious countries (particularly England and France) split up most of the colonial territories of the losers. Britain acquired most of the German colonies in Africa, as well as Palestine and Iraq from the crumbling Ottoman Empire. The British and French empires had thus reached their greatest extents. On the other hand, World War I had devastated Europe and ruined European economy. Even the victors found it hard to maintain control over their vast colonial empires. In addition, the colonies’ exhaustive financial and military support of the home countries had spurred local independence movements that had already started to mobilise support for increased autonomy of the colonies. On that background, Egypt achieved quasi-independence in 1922 with British soldiers solely remaining at the Suez Canal. In India, the nationalist movement started to gain momentum and could not be satisfied by the halfhearted

British reforms of 1919 and 1935. But outside Egypt, effective decolonisation did not happen before the end of World War II, due to two different factors. First, most nationalist movements were carried by local elites and thus did not initially aim at the declaration of independence but at an increased political and economic autonomy within a colonial system. Second, the colonial powers—though seriously weakened by World War I—were not yet willing to release their overseas territories. In Asia, this changed rapidly after World War II. India had supported the British war effort with almost 2.5 million soldiers all around the world and had contributed heavily to the war expenses. In its post-World War II situation, Britain did not have the means to profit from the South Asian colonies anymore and swiftly granted India independence in 1947. Ceylon and Birma followed in 1948. South Asian decolonisation (much like the decolonisation of Africa in later years) was an unorganised process initiated by economic necessities and local nationalist ideas. In the case of India, decolonisation led to the partition of British India into a Muslim Pakistan and a Hindu India accompanied by a mass exodus on both sides and the death of more than 1 million people in the resulting atrocities. The United States granted independence to the Philippines in 1946. Since 1948, the United States also supported the Indonesian independence movement, leading to full independence from the Netherlands in 1956. France was less willing to leave Indochina. After a lengthy and bloody war against the Vietnamese independence movement (Vietminh or the *Viet-Nam Doc-Lap Dong-Minh* League for the Independence of Vietnam) and a devastating defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, France had to accept the partition of Vietnam. After the French retreat, Vietnam became a prime stage for American neo-colonialism with tensions finally culminating in the (second) Vietnam War.

African decolonisation commenced only in the late 1950s. For France and Britain, the African colonies had been crucial for their economic recovery in the first ten years after World War II. But now Britain acknowledged rising national consciousness in the colonies and released Sudan (1956), Nigeria (1960), Sierra Leone (1961), Tanganyika (1961), Uganda (1962), Kenya (1963), Zambia (1964), Malawi (1964), the Gambia (1965), Botswana (1966), and Swaziland (1968). In most of these cases the transfer of power was comparatively smooth. In other cases, such as in Rhodesia or the French Maghreb (particularly in Algeria), the presence of substantial and influential white settler communities complicated issues of decolonisation and led to terrorism and guerrilla warfare in both countries. Algeria finally



achieved independence in 1962. Rhodesia became modern Zimbabwe only in 1980.

## Conclusion

Centuries of mainly European-dominated colonialism together with the often unorganised and rushed decolonisation of Africa and Asia have left long-lasting marks both on the colonised and on the colonisers. Unresolved territorial conflicts in Africa, the Near East, or in South Asia have their roots in colonial policies. Mass migrations of settlers, wage labourers, or religious communities during the age of colonialism have shaped the ethnic structures of large parts of the world and guarantee a constant potential of ethnic and/or religious conflict. Colonialism, imperialism, and later neo-colonialism have drawn regions into the world market that had hitherto remained almost untouched by global dynamics. Conquerors and colonisers, settlers, and missionaries with a pronounced Eurocentric ideology have spread European culture and values no matter whether it was welcome. Vast territories of land were claimed by the colonisers. Indigenous peoples have been disowned, pushed into wage labour, or even enslaved. European legal codes with legal concepts alien to the “colonised” were implemented in the overseas territories. European settlers and entrepreneurs installed agricultural and industrial forms of production hitherto unknown there. In colonies of domination without a significant percentage of permanent settlers, the greatest part of the financial profit was not reinvested but transferred to the mother country. In settler colonies, reinvestments primarily benefited the European economic sector.

However, oversimplifying interpretations of European colonialism that hold the colonisers responsible for exploiting and “underdeveloping” their dependencies does not fully correspond with reality either. It has been argued that the slave trade eased the effects of African food shortages or that European investments developed the colonies’ infrastructure. The implementation of European legal codes helped to guarantee basic human rights. In many cases, health care and education were made affordable for the poor. The role of American gold and silver in the economic rise of Europe has also been questioned. Britain’s economic backwardness against Germany in the early twentieth century has been attributed to its reliance on the resources of the Empire. More often than not, the real beneficiaries of colonialism have been private merchant companies, European entrepreneurs, and the members of the local collaborating elites.

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**See also Colonialism: Legacies; Neocolonialism**

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## COLONIALISM: LEGACIES

### Introduction

The continuities from the colonial to the postcolonial period are being increasingly acknowledged, but the real empirical relationship is not so easy to reconstruct. For instance, the links between colonialism and capitalism remain controversial. Mainstream historians regard the relationship as incidental and theoretically uninteresting, whereas radical Africanist historiography presumes that European colonialism in Africa and Asia was a product of European capitalism and was undertaken to serve its interests. Other historians underline that capital penetration

was the basic process and that colonialism partly furthered and partly hindered capitalism.

The links between colonialism and economic processes are indirect and complex because of the fact that they were mediated by different historical agents at different historical moments and by different colonial states. As numerous studies underline, the main agent of colonialism was the state: primarily the metropolitan state, which was replaced later on by the colonial state. During the process of colonization, the role of the colonial state changed. At the beginning, most of the European colonial states envisaged no function for the state. Later on, the state had to keep law and order and to create possibilities for other colonial agents, mainly economic activities, such as agriculture and industry. The state had to create opportunities for economic agents and also for the missions who worked in colonies. Fields where economic gains could be expected were reserved for economic agents, while those that were needed for the maintenance of the colony and the colonial economy were left to the power of the state or other noneconomic agents.

Theoretically, the colonial process of letting go of a legacy remains rather poorly understood. This discussion suggests that colonial intervention initiated a process of change that was historically unprecedented and was rather different according to its historical periods and its geographic origins. A further presumption of this text is that colonialism had unintended and more or less dysfunctional consequences that consisted of including colonized regions in an ever-enlarging world system. This world system did not only include economic systems but also political, social, and cultural systems. Processes profoundly affecting the given economic, political, social, and cultural spheres of societies were started at the beginning of colonial rules, although most of them only became evident many decades afterward.

After the decision had been taken to establish a colonial system, new structural constraints were imposed and new actions were set in motion. Following these initial processes, further change was induced. Often, the outcome was something that was not intended and most of the time barely understood by political or economic agents themselves. The newly created system was dependent on colonized people and colonizers, even if they only had limited possibilities to introduce a planned process of transformation. Often, these processes were initiated by actors who were interested in a civilizing mission. The ideological impetus was *to bring light* to the alien groups or to develop their social, economic, and political institutions. The product after decades or

centuries of colonial rule was the integration in a world system of economies, politics, and cultures.

The legacies of colonialism thus include a process of development that was at the same time a goal and a means. To study these processes, it is important to ask whether these transformations can be understood as historical parallels produced by similar structural imperatives. This question will be discussed in the following paragraphs by differentiating between geographical areas that knew rather different colonial experiences due to given local cultures and to different historical moments. In this sense, the text will discuss the process of colonization in South America that took place some centuries before the European colonization in Africa. The Asian experience is the last discussion point. Surely, other forms of colonization could be tackled here, such as the Roman or Greek experiences. But these early forms of colonization are only marginal to this encyclopedia of the developing world. The interested reader may find information about these periods in historically oriented encyclopedias.

### Colonialism: Legacies in Latin America

The hierarchy of races, which was introduced rather early in European history, meant that Europeans were at the top, followed in descending order by Asians, Amerindians, and Africans. Amerindian peoples enjoyed a more elevated status because they were regarded as fit to Christianization. The time frame of the colonizing efforts in Latin America was different from those time frames in Africa. Colonial development occurred here in slow motion and stretched out over three centuries, in comparison with Africa's colonial history of less than one century.

Another differentiating factor was that Iberian rule did not enrich the Portuguese and the Spanish as much as it did the English, French, or Dutch ruling groups. The two Iberian countries belonged to the less dynamic part of Europe. Nevertheless, they served as a transmission belt for the rising commercial *entrepôts* of England, France, and the Netherlands, as Tignor (1999) underlined. According to him, the Iberian conquerors were pushed by motivations that can be resumed as god, gold, and glory. The conquest of Spanish and Portuguese America was, as the early decades of European colonial rule in Africa, a period of pillage and plunder. Colonial debates and revelations about abuses led to a more rationalized colonial administrative system. Metropolitan authorities undertook a more rationalized utilization of colonial power. Ministries of colonies, recruitment, and

training procedures for colonial officers were established. The Spanish recruited their colonial administrators from their leading universities, whereas France and Britain established specialized colonial schools for their colonial elites. In the Spanish, French, and British colonies, the local agents were often oppressive and venal officers. They carried out many formal administrative tasks, and they had numerous other duties essential to the success of their colony. They facilitated the implementation of institutions, such as wage labor, schools, and consumption patterns related to European consumer goods.

Research about the economic effects of colonialism is a field rather under-researched. Nevertheless, in the mining zones of Mexico, Peru, and southern Africa, European colonialists were faced with similar problems of finding labor supplies. The labor recruitment techniques were alike in these areas. The state supported labor recruitment and encouraged sometimes highly coercive labor-recruiting systems. In Spanish-America, mine workers were Amerindians who suffered, as did their African counterparts, from long journeys to the mines and dangerous working conditions. Similar mechanisms in front of this labor force, as well as high levels of mortality, could be found in the different geographic areas.

The culture of colonialism and such topics as education, urbanization, art and architecture, the role of women, law, and social rules have common aspects, resulting in syncretistic tendencies and hybrid processes. Nevertheless, this is a field in which local cultures were rather important and determined the sort of change that took place. Common factors in the two continents were religious conversions, which brought increasing literacy, and awareness of a Western-style of learning. The introduction of world religions led to a rapid social and economic change of given cultures and to population movements into urban areas. However, indigenous religious traditions did not disappear but were incorporated in newly introduced beliefs and practices.

Another common factor for Latin America and Africa is the artificial drawing of political boundaries that were established in imperial ages and continued after the independence of states. In Spanish-America, these boundaries evolved over a much longer period than in Africa and were thus more adapted to political and economic realities. A further similarity is related to the political instability that both continents experienced after independence. Spanish-American independence took two decades and was characterized by military conflicts. African postcolonial policies were overwhelmed with ethnic conflicts, which often originated in colonial divide-and-rule policies. Once the European colonial administrations had

disappeared, *coups d'état*, civil wars, and ethnic or religious conflicts could be found.

In many regions, the colonial heritage consisted of the creation of export economies that had a particular function within the world system of division of labor. The intertwining of export economies with indigenous structures of production left out an economic structure that has been interpreted to be a characteristic element of a situation of dependence. The former required the latter and adapted to it. The existing structure of production survived within the colonial system. Indigenous structures of production became a part of export economies. The effects of these practices were thus historically deep.

The middle of the eighteenth century constitutes the break between former and later colonial empires depending on the industrial revolution in Western Europe. Distinct characteristics of the Iberian colonization in Southern America are its long duration of three centuries and its profound impact on economic and social structures. White colonialists formed an urban upper class, living on the income of commercial exchanges and large landownerships cultivated by an indigenous subjugated peasantry. At this time, 80% of the colonized groups in the world lived in countries colonized by the Spanish and the Portuguese.

### **Colonialism: Legacies in Africa**

For African countries, colonialism was the main constitutive factor. Hundreds of small societies existed in their later areas. The colonial power fixed these populations, breaking up their independence and integrating them into a colonial society. In Africa, south of the Sahara, colonialism existed about eighty years. Development processes, launched in this period, were carried over in more or less modified forms to the independent states. Sometimes, developments were overturned by later ones, proving and documenting continuities and discontinuities of African history. This discussion shows transformations in social, spatial, and ecological spheres brought about by colonialism. The no-less fundamental changes within African societies need another research approach that would begin with precolonial structures of these societies and analyze their gradual transformations during colonialism.

Perhaps the most important result of colonial development at the end of the nineteenth century was that it made Africa a continent with many small and some big countries. A geographical region, circumscribed by arbitrary borders, was appropriated by the colonial state and changed into a society. These

countries were colonies with internal structures impregnated by colonialism. One of its most important characteristics was the separation between colonizers, on the one hand, and colonized people on the other. This social order was based on a racial and hierarchical division. Most of the Europeans were at the top of this hierarchy, and most of the Africans were at the bottom. The impact of this sort of colonial racism contributed to an enduring feeling of inferiority by Africans.

More and more, Africans became necessary for the colonial state and the economy. They were increasingly accommodated since the 1920s in intermediary positions in colonial bureaucracies, missions, plantations, and enterprises. These Africans received opportunities to improve their material and social standing and to acquire skills, which European colonialism appreciated and required. An increased number of literate Africans began to be employed by civilian or military bureaucracies of colonial states. In the interior of the countries, where more precolonial policies had been maintained than in coastal areas, local chiefs often were middlemen between their groups and the colonial administration. They were assisted by literate and paid personnel formed by missions or colonial schools. The armed forces, needed since the beginning of colonialism, could not have functioned without Africans.

Slave labor lost its economic significance since the abolition of the slave trade in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Slaves were replaced by free migrant laborers who were recruited by European employers. The situation was different in some eastern and southern African countries, where Asians replaced precolonial Arab competitors in merchant capitalism. Asian traders were active along the caravan routes and employed African itinerant traders. They supplied them with commodities and sent them to countryside. These Asians formed an ethnic minority occupying a middle level in the colonial society, even if they received the legal position of "natives."

Under modern European colonialism, very few Africans could gain the position of an employer. Colonial structures based on race obstructed this possibility. Economic advantages were strictly reserved for European employers, and only Africans with political resources, such as chiefs with access to the labor of their subjects, could compete with European employers. Other African farmers were disadvantaged because they lacked the necessary labor force. If they were Christians, who were required to be monogamous, only their wife could help them because all other laborers were needed for the colonial economy. Missions were one of the principal employers of paid and unpaid labor. They bought their lands from

Africans and helped to establish the idea of private land rights. Furthermore, missions introduced new crops, such as cotton and wheat, and they were the first to use the ox-plough. Most of their agricultural work was undertaken by Christians who frequented their schools and churches.

One of the central functions of missions was the spread of Christianity. Missions introduced the idea of personal responsibility before God, a notion that contributed to the collapse of former collectivist values and institutions in African societies. Missionaries were not ready to tolerate many African customs and values and, in effect, they undermined them. They focused on individual responsibility. The reading and writing they taught was a technique that favored individuality. Missions used the methods of Western medicine. All these measures contributed to underline the utilitarian value of Christianity and guaranteed the internal colonization of the African mind, which was necessary for the success of European colonialism. Christianity began to become a way of individual improvement. Furthermore, missions worked more and more with African clergymen, catechists, and teachers.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, economic change had to be imposed from outside the African societies, and African labor had to be found by force. As colonialism progressed in the following decades, an increasing number of Africans voluntarily joined the colonial economy by exchanging their labor force against returns they could use in the same economy, which changed their way of life and their welfare. Increased mobility and the possibility to gain money and to receive education gave young men a much more independent position in relation to elders. African cosmologies were transformed by new religions. Former loose ethnic identities were changed into more exclusive identifications. The introduction of a monetary economy implied the emergence and creation of new needs. The spread of money and the market mechanism sufficed for the creation of a stable workforce since the 1950s. The wider use of money meant the growing enrollment of Africans for work within the colonial system. Imported consumer goods were spread more and more in the interior of the countries and created new needs and wishes.

In the first decades of colonialism, the recruitment of migrant labor was backed by taxation. People were obliged to work or to deliver produce. Africans began to participate in the colonial economy, but most of them continued to work for some months on their farms. A paid occupation was not still an envisaged lifestyle until the 1940s. Africans could sell their labor by continuing to depend on their farmlands. This access to land prevented Africans from becoming poor city dwellers. Therefore, the state was obliged

to intervene in the economy by pressure, force, and the creation of new needs. The colonial state had the task to keep law and order and to create possibilities for other colonial agents, especially private enterprises.

All these measures show that European colonialism laid the foundations of African countries as political, economic, social, and cultural entities. Processes that were set in motion by colonial measures changed political, social, cultural, and economic systems in the continent, forging them into entities that were taken over some decades later by African nationalist governments. What the twenty-first century calls “development” was really initiated by early colonizers. English, French, and German colonial governments conceptualized their actions in terms of development. Dual Mandate, *Mission civilisatrice*, and *Entwicklung* were notions used in strategies, measures, and ideologies. The development movement, diffused after World War II, can be seen as an essential part of the last years of colonialism in Africa and Asia. The European colonial nations wanted to change African societies. They invented strategies and discussed possibilities of progress and improvement. Development was seen as a qualitative social transformation for the better. It justified colonialism, which would otherwise have been a pure process of exploitation based on racism. In this sense, colonial development was a historically progressive process. Colonialists underlined the beneficialness of colonialism; radical and conservative scholars were sympathetic with this idea as well.

Even if colonial intentions and practices were partly exploitative, it can be claimed today that they brought Africans the means to live in the modern world. Colonialism acted as a powerful agent in a process that is called globalization. Its long-term consequences were much more important than its short-term goals. Colonialism had to serve European interests, but it became increasingly powerful in the local context of African societies. Global aims permitted local people to get access to benefits that they could accept as positive developments. Early colonialism introduced institutions, such as wage labor, furthered the monetization and commoditization of the economy, and led to a different class formation in African societies.

### Colonialism: Legacies in Asia

In Asia, British, French, and Dutch colonialism was active for about 120 to 150 years. For a short period, Japan colonized Korea. In contrast to the parallel

time frame of colonialism in Africa, the colonizing nations were opposed to highly developed cultures characterized by cosmologies and religions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam. These religions were different from the often animist cosmologies of African territories, possessing institutions such as temples and monks, and being characterized by detailed ethical world views and religious duties. The European colonizing countries were confronted to these cosmologies. Due to their Christian background, Europeans did not try to adapt their politics to the different religions but used their colonial methods and practices as they did in other colonized regions. It seems that scholars only recently began to recognize the influence of these religious worldviews on the development of the different territories. The astonishing success of countries such as South Korea or Sri Lanka, characterized by the Buddhist religion that preaches an ethics that favors a healthy, industrious, and nonviolent way of life. In Buddhism, material well-being can be reached by work, and *Nirvana* is attained by an equilibrated spiritual life. In this sense, this cosmology resembles to the Protestant ethics, which Weber declared to be responsible for the success of modern Western economy. On the contrary, Hinduism and the caste system were already considered by Weber as obstacles to the development of a modern economy. Besides other factors in Asia, religious cosmologies seem thus to have had a rather different influence on the development of societies than in African countries South of the Sahara.

It is now important to review the legacies of colonialism in Asia. Here, colonialism took place as in Africa after the first industrial revolution in Western countries. Before 1880, the motivating forces of European expansion have to be looked for in the transformation of economic and social structures of Asia and Africa. In the long and rich history of Asian and African populations, the short period of European colonialism changed, on the one hand, perspectives and the timetable of their future. On the other hand, the colonizing nations were not able to change profoundly the economic and social structures of their overseas possessions. They lacked financial means even if the colonized people, having frequented the schools of the white man, required a rapid modernization and economic development.

Between 1760 and 1830, Great Britain and its empire were shaken up by profound upheavals. The metropolis was characterized by the outbreak of the industrial revolution that allowed the emergence of a different world. European economies were now interested in penetrating Asian countries to accrue the role of their private economic interests in front of a colonial state whose role it was to introduce a mode

of administration. In Asia, populations who did not have any experience with European authority or who did not even know any centralized control were confronted with European colonialism. Therefore, colonial rule was obliged to intensify in a varying degree its influence: coastal regions were easier to administer than regions far from the coast. But everywhere, foreign norms related to bureaucracy and economy were imposed. Western concepts of administration did not any longer permit personal relations between upper and lower classes. Furthermore, the colonial state destroyed the autonomy of small local communities; it transformed the position of local elites and modified social actions at such a point that fundamental authority rules were obliged to change and to accept the alien model. By creating new political bodies, which laid the foundations of the development of nations in a modern sense, colonial rule induced a universal process for the creation of nation-states.

As already seen in Africa, the establishment of frontiers was poorly linked to economic, social, cultural, ethnic, or geographic realities. Former political centers were incorporated in newly created entities: the redistribution of the territory and the separation in several political and administrative unities were realized in the twentieth century by newly drawn frontiers. Direct administration was mixed with protectorates where an indigenous administration survived. But it was always the central colonial system, which controlled the territories, that decided each important question. The new political order was very different from the former one where power was exercised from the center to the periphery by successive circles of decreasing influence. The state could now reach villagers in their local life-worlds. Civil servants were charged to collect taxes, to apply law and order, and to administer the land and civil engineering according to uniform principles. Newly created administrative departments took charge of more activities: education, health, economics, and social politics. These transformations, introduced by colonial authority, signified a replacement of former traditional authorities.

Since the end of the nineteenth century until the 1940s, economic transformations were even more radical than political and administrative transformations. The European powers tried to provoke an economic development profitable to governments and metropolitan economic groups. Private investments of European businessmen and white male planters were favored. The transportation and communication network was extended, a fact that changed the economy and integrated the different regions in the world economy.

The legal change of land ownership was totally opposed to former land rights, which had given the peasant a right on the produce of the land but not its ownership. The indigenous nobility gained considerable remuneration by linking its interests to those of large enterprises. A disorientated proletariat was created that was removed from its original surroundings and its former social groups.

The new economy was based on rich cultures, the exploitation of mines, and large commerce that attracted the eradicated manpower and womanpower. Disequilibrium was created between a preponderant agriculture and a small industrial sector. During the whole colonial period, raw materials were exported from the colonized countries, and manufactured goods were imported from the metropolis.

The traditional economy was maintained in large sectors but rarely without any modifications. It became necessary to earn money, to pay taxes, and to exchange goods for money. The heavy load of taxes, usury, and the concentration of land led to a weakening of the peasant economy, to the loss of land by smaller and larger peasants. In the village community, social inequalities increased, and many peasants got to know impoverishment. Land became more valuable than labor force, and the cultural and intellectual ditch between administration and countryside increased.

Colonialism induced a more or less rapid weakening and disturbance of the former society. A new society was created that was characterized by a group of "developed" people and increasing numerous impoverished groups who were living in large cities. The village community had to accept the creation of social inequalities, a new organization based on the nuclear family with changing land rights and the weakening of the reciprocal rules between members of a community.

Reactions from the indigenous groups were diverse. Some notables whose interests were preserved or increased showed their gratitude. But most of the members of the ruling groups did not welcome the disappearance of their former customs and, in particular, of their personal status. Resistance was founded essentially on religion, such as Islam or Buddhism.

Nevertheless, the ruling groups were obliged to open their mind to Western culture. Asian modernity touched every field: Western science, new ways of thinking, medicine, and other such practices. To introduce new ideas and competencies, colonial authorities asked Christian churches to disperse modern education. In the countryside, there was a sort of closing in front of innovations brought by colonial powers. The overthrow of essential values and attitudes, linked to the weakening of former social

structures, provoked disorder. People lost reference points and adopted an attitude of reaction against each innovation: they tried to defend traditional values. Colonialism did not erase existing hierarchies (such as princes), but it tried to integrate them in a new social stratification structure and in another functioning of Asian societies.

Economic changes, the creation of new social classes, class differentiation based on a way of life, existing cosmologies, and foreign influences were combined to bear new cultures and mentalities. In the twentieth century, situations, ideas, customs, and religious values introduced by colonization produced literary and musical expressions. They contributed to the creation of new behaviors without eliminating completely former ways of thinking and living. People were touched in different degrees according to groups, social classes, towns, and countryside. A sort of syncretistic encounter emerged, which has been studied more and more by scholars.

Most of these agrarian societies were weakly integrated in the Asian commercial space. The more or less uniformity of production systems and precolonial exchange systems was replaced by a high differentiation of economic and social spaces, unequally developed. The Asian continent became a historical reality with multiple and inextinguishable outlooks. The transfer of technical and scientific knowledge from industrialized societies, which was necessary for the functioning of the colonial economy, led to a changing relation of humans to nature. Nevertheless, at some places, the peasant economy subsisted without modern inputs beside a capitalized form of exportation of primary materials.

The success of Asian colonization was based on the goals of those who introduced plantations and mines, banks, and commercial enterprises. Profits and gains were destined to individuals, colonial enterprises, ruling groups, and middle classes in the metropolis. However, this historical break was not spread everywhere. In some regions of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, there still exists precapitalist forms of community: large families, lineages, and village communities. They survive with elements of modern social classes and former familial structures.

## Conclusion

To draw up historical balance sheets is most often a difficult endeavour. The complexity of problems and situations, as well as the different standards of comparisons and of making empirical investigations, contribute to a rather hazardous record of colonial

achievements. The colonial legacy in South America, Africa, and Asia shows a history of a powerful diffusion of economic, political, cultural, and social standards that integrated these geographic areas in a world system, known since several decades as a “global village,” and has been characterized by processes of globalization that are unique in human history. It is possible to say that the credit balance of colonialism, understood in this sense, outweighs its debit account even if our actual world is characterized by numerous problems that have to be resolved not only on a local scale but also on a global scale.

Because of the complexities of concrete situations, this discussion could only suggest some tentative legacies of colonialism without developing historical cases in length. The further reading proposes some concrete scholarly work. Many more historical studies exist that analyze particular phenomena. However, because of given theoretical conceptions, most scholars will not question the legacies of colonialism. Another problem is the rather short historical distance to African and Asian colonialism, which renders difficult the sort of endeavour presented in this discussion.

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**See also Colonialism: History; Neocolonialism**

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## COMMON MARKET FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (COMESA)

Headquartered in Lusaka, Zambia, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) is the largest regional economic integration scheme in Africa in terms of spatial extent and the number of member countries. It was established by a treaty signed in 1993 in Kampala, Uganda, and was ratified in 1994 in Lilongwe, Malawi, as a strengthened successor to the erstwhile Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for Eastern and Southern Africa, which had existed since 1981. COMESA now has twenty-one members, including Angola, Burundi, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The Republic of South Africa is not a member of COMESA, having instead opted for membership in the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

African countries have long favored regional economic integration of one form or another. In 1965, with the help of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the newly independent nations of Eastern and Southern Africa convened a ministerial meeting in Lusaka to explore the possibility of forming a regional economic bloc. Following this meeting, an Interim Council of Ministers was set up to initiate programs for economic cooperation, pending the completion of negotiations on a formal treaty for regional economic integration. In 1978, a meeting of Ministers of Trade, Finance, and Planning in Lusaka adopted the "Lusaka Declaration," which called for the establishment of a regional economic community, beginning with a regional PTA. The PTA would be upgraded, over a period of a decade, to a common market until

an economic community had been established. The treaty establishing the PTA was signed on December 21, 1981, at a meeting of the Heads of States and Governments in Lusaka, but it came into force in September 30, 1982, following its ratification by more than seven nations, as required by Article 50 of the treaty. The transformation from the PTA into a Common Market, as envisaged by the PTA Treaty, came about in December 1994, in Lilongwe, when the Treaty of COMESA was finally ratified.

## Objectives

Article 3 of COMESA's Treaty stipulates a sixfold objective for the organization: (i) to attain sustainable growth and development of the member states by promoting a more balanced and harmonious development of their production and marketing structures; (ii) to promote joint development in all fields of economic activity and encourage the joint adoption of macroeconomic policies and programs to raise the standard of living of the people; (iii) to cooperate in the creation of an enabling environment for foreign, cross-border, and domestic investment; (iv) to cooperate in the promotion of peace, security, and stability among the member states; (v) to cooperate in strengthening the relations between the common market and the rest of the world and to adopt common positions in international fora; and (vi) to contribute toward the establishment, progress, and the realization of the objectives of the African economic community.

COMESA has identified some priorities with which it expects to make the greatest possible impact in furthering its objectives. These include the creation of a full Free Trade Area that guarantees the free movement of goods and services; the free movement of people, capital, and investment through the adoption of common investment practices; the simplification and harmonization of trade documents and procedures; the elimination of production and manufacturing rigidities; and the adoption of common standards, measurement systems, and quality assurance practices. Others include the harmonization of macroeconomic policies and data collection procedures; the adoption of a common agricultural policy; the promotion of regional food sufficiency; and the enhancement of currency convertibility toward an eventual establishment of a monetary union among its members. As with most subregional blocs, COMESA has some fundamental principles to which it expects the entire membership to adhere. These, according to Article 6 of the COMESA Treaty, are the principles of equality and interdependence



of member states; solidarity and collective self-reliance; nonaggression between member states; and the recognition, promotion, and protection of fundamental human rights. Other such principles are the commitment to liberty, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law, the assurance to peaceful settlement of disputes among member states, and the promotion of democracy.

### **Institutions**

Article 7 of the COMESA Treaty identifies its main institutions as the following eight: the Authority of the Heads of State and Government (the Authority); the Council of Ministers (the Council); the Court of Justice; the Committee of Governors of Central Banks; the Intergovernmental Committee; the Technical Committees; the Consultative Committee of the Business Community and other Interest Groups; and the Secretariat.

The Authority, made up of all the heads of states or governments, is the supreme organ of COMESA. It is responsible for the general policy and direction of the organization. The authority meets once a year and may hold extraordinary meetings at the request of any member, provided such a request is backed by one-third of the members of the Authority. The Council of Ministers (the Council), the second highest organ, is composed of Ministers designated by the member states. It is responsible for monitoring COMESA's activities to ensure the proper functioning of the organization in accordance with its treaty. Among other things, the council makes regulations, issues directives, and monitors and reviews COMESA's financial and administrative management. The main judicial arm of the organization is the Court of Justice, which ensures the proper interpretation and application of the provision of the COMESA Treaty and adjudicates disputes that may arise between member states regarding the interpretation and the application of the treaty.

Made up of the governors of the monetary authorities of member states, the Committee of Governors of Central Banks is responsible for the development of COMESA programs in the field of finance and monetary cooperation, including the determination of the maximum debt and credit limits to the COMESA Clearing House and the setting of a daily interest rate for outstanding debt balances. The Intergovernmental Committee, which consists of principal secretaries from member states, is responsible for developing programs and action plans in all sectors for cooperation, except in the finance and monetary sector, and for overseeing the implementation of the

provisions of the COMESA Treaty. COMESA has a total of twelve Technical Committees that are made up of designated representatives of the member states. They include committees on Administration and Budgetary Matters; Agriculture; Comprehensive Information Systems; Energy; Finance and Monetary Affairs; Industry; and Labour, Human Resources, and Social and Cultural Affairs. Others are committees on Legal Affairs; Natural Resources and Environment; Tourism and Wildlife; Trade and Customs; and Transport and Communications. These committees are responsible for the preparation, monitoring, and implementation of COMESA programs in their respective areas.

Made up of representatives of the business community and other interest groups from the member states, the Consultative Committee promotes dialogue between its constituency and the other organs of COMESA. It is responsible for ensuring that the interests of the business community and other interest groups are considered in COMESA programs. Finally, as with most such organizations, COMESA has a Secretariat, which is responsible for providing research-based technical support and advisory services to member states. The Secretariat is headed by a secretary-general who is appointed by the Authority to serve for a five-year term, with the eligibility for a second-term appointment.

### **Contribution to Development**

With a population of about 400 million, the COMESA region obviously has a large reservoir of both skill and unskilled labour forces and a sizeable potential market. Eastern and Southern Africa also have an enormous natural resource endowment, which includes several extensive water bodies (the rivers of Nile, Congo, and Zambezi, as well as the lakes of Victoria, Malawi, Nyasa, and Tanganyika) that could be exploited for hydroelectric power, irrigation, fisheries, and water transportation. The region also produces a significant proportion of the world's diamond, gold, platinum, and manganese and is home to a large amount of the world's iron ore, phosphate, petroleum, and uranium. Despite this rich resource base, the COMESA region, like most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, is still burdened with mass illiteracy, extreme poverty, heavy debt load, poor infrastructure, geopolitical conflicts, and a variety of devastating diseases, including the scourge of AIDS/HIV. Fifteen COMESA member states are now among the twenty-three least developed countries in Africa with most of them—Angola,

Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zambia—making the World Bank's list of "severely indebted" countries in 2000 (World Bank 2002). Manuel Castells estimates in his *End of Millennium* (2000) that by the mid-1990s, Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for about 60% of the nearly 17 million HIV-positive cases across the world, of which COMESA members such as Malawi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zambia, Rwanda, and Uganda are among the worst hit. Indeed, AIDS is now the leading cause of death in Uganda. Making matters worse, geopolitical and ethnic conflicts have reduced to shambles much of the institutions and material bases of life in countries such as Angola, Sudan, and Rwanda.

It is against this background that COMESA seeks to use its integration initiatives to stimulate economic growth through cooperation and improved resource allocation. As a regional economic bloc, the removal of trade barriers has long been on COMESA's agenda. In pursuing removal, COMESA adopted a gradualist approach that called for the reduction of tariffs by 60% by October 1993, 70% by October 1994, 80% by October 1998, and 100% by October 2000, thus achieving a Free Trade Area by the latter date. However, only nine member states—Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Sudan, Zambia, and Zimbabwe—were able to meet the 2000 deadline to form the COMESA Free Trade Area. This is hardly surprising because the acute lack of financial resources in the region makes it difficult for some members to eliminate custom duties on which they have come to depend for substantial portions of their government revenues. As part of its efforts to promote intrabloc trade, COMESA has initiated programs to harmonize trade statistics and the customs regulation and management system across the region. More specifically, the usability of COMESA's Customs Document (COMESA-CD), as well as its Automated System for Custom Data and Management (ASYCUDA), has been improved considerably.

COMESA expects to form a full custom union by the end of 2004 and a full-blown monetary union, with a common currencies and a common central bank, by 2025. To this end, the organization has again adopted a steady approach, entailing the consolidation of existing protocols on monetary cooperation and macroeconomic convergence by 1996; the introduction of a limited currency convertibility and information exchange rate union by 2000; and the creation of a formal exchange rate union by 2004, with an eye toward a full monetary union by 2025.

In addition, to enhance self-sufficiency in food production and to promote agro-based industrial

development, COMESA has embarked on a number of noteworthy programs in agriculture, fishery, and irrigation. For instance, the organization has promoted free trade in agricultural products and fostered the dissemination of technical innovations and best practices in the production, processing, and marketing of agricultural products across the region. It has also embarked on land reforms and expanded training, as well as research and extension services aimed at empowering both small- and large-scale farmers in the region. In addition, plans are underway to establish the Common Marine Fisheries Investment and Management Policy for managing and protecting COMESA's marine fisheries against exploitation by nonmembers. Still involved the fishing industry, COMESA is promoting the processing and marketing of value-added fish and fishery product, based mostly on cultured tilapia, shrimp, tuna, and sardines. With private sector support, coupled with an increasing commitment to gender equity, COMESA has intensified its development initiatives in many other sectors, including manufacturing, tourism, energy, and forestry. Most of these development impetuses are backed by the Bretton Woods institutions through ongoing structural adjustment programs in the COMESA region.

The unparalleled growth in information and communication technologies provides unique opportunities for generating and accessing wealth, knowledge, and power. However, as with many parts of Africa, the COMESA region has only a meager telecommunication infrastructure and electronic network connectivity. This lack provides both a challenge and an opportunity to COMESA. For one thing, COMESA can leapfrog ahead in its economic development by taking advantage of the new satellite and wireless communication technology to circumvent the need to invest in expensive conventional telecommunication infrastructure. The possibility of creating a borderless and information-driven economy in the region, through the use of digital technologies and communication networks, is certainly greater now than ever before. The challenge for COMESA, however, is to work with the private sector to develop basic information technology infrastructure, in the likes of a reliable electricity supply, good telephone lines, and computerized network connectivity; COMESA also wishes to establish the necessary incentives and regulatory systems that could spur a sustainable economic growth in the region. Perhaps more important than the improvement of the region's information technology infrastructure is the need to resolve the duplication and conflicts of interest engendered by the existence of many overlapping integration schemes in that part of Africa. As it stands now,

COMESA members such as Seychelles and Mauritius belong to the Indian Ocean Commission; Burundi, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo belong to the Economic Community of Central African States; Namibia and Swaziland are members of the Southern African Customs Union; and Mauritania, Seychelles, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo are all members of the Southern African Development Community. The difficulties in sorting through the maze of agreements and commitments wrought by such multiple memberships can hardly be gainsaid.

JOSEPH MENSAH

**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); Southern African Customs Union (SACU); Southern African Development Community (SADC); Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations; Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)**

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### COMMONWEALTH (BRITISH)

The British Commonwealth of Nations, or the British Commonwealth, is now renamed as Commonwealth of Nations and is often referred as the Commonwealth. However, many prefer to use the old terms to avoid confusion between different commonwealths. The Commonwealth of Nations is a voluntary association of independent republic nations that recognize the British crown as the head of the free alliance, while some other member countries owe their common allegiance to the British Crown. All member nations have equality of status, and Britain

does not retain hegemony in the association any longer. Though only independent states can be members, the political territories of individual nations within the Commonwealth can also be technically affiliated with the Commonwealth programs. Commonwealth is the heir to the British Empire. Membership has been traditionally based on prior association with the British Empire. It does not mean, however, that the Commonwealth membership includes all former parts of the British Empire. A few colonies or dominions of the British Empire, such as Burma, are not members of the Commonwealth. Mozambique was the first nation that was not a part of the former British Empire to join the Commonwealth (1995).

The number of members in the Commonwealth is not fixed. The members usually initiate admissions, readmissions, and suspensions. The membership list has changed often over the years based on new admissions, voluntary withdrawals, suspensions, and readmission of members. In addition, the formation of or withdrawal from federations of Commonwealth countries affects the number of members; for example, Malay and Singapore were separately admitted, they formed the federation of Malaysia, and then Singapore withdrew from the membership and recommenced with its original membership. South Africa left in 1961, reapplied for membership, and was readmitted in 1994. Similarly, Fiji left in 1987 and rejoined in 1997. The Commonwealth had fifty-four member countries in 2004, with more than a quarter of the world's population and about one-fifth of the planet's land surface. It is constituted of different religions, cultures, sizes of countries and populations, ethnicity, languages, and types of governments.

The meaning of the term "commonwealth" has changed over the years. The origin of the term can be traced back to "commonweal," and the term meant common welfare or public good. In archaic usage, it also meant body politic. The term commonwealth also has different historical connotations and precedents. Historically, England and Scotland were united into the Commonwealth of England under Cromwell in the seventeenth century. The term Commonwealth is also used to describe the federation of Poland and Lithuania formed in 1569. Commonwealth could also be interpreted to mean a nation, republic, state, or a union or federation of nations, republics, and states. Australia and the Bahamas, for example, are officially called commonwealths. In the United States, four states are called commonwealths, and the term is also used to describe the political association between Puerto Rico and the United States. Recently, twelve of the former states of the Soviet Union have formed the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Commonwealth of Nations (the Commonwealth) originated and evolved from the British Empire. The loss of the American colonies very likely changed the British attitude, and later on, the British policies probably leaned more toward the granting of colonial self-government as a matter of practicality. For example, in response to the Canadian rebellion in 1837, demanding similar rights as the United States the Durham report recommended a responsible government along the British system of government and that a local assembly should be in charge of local affairs, leaving other affairs such as constitutional amendments, defense, foreign trade, and foreign affairs under the jurisdiction of Great Britain. Canada took the lead in extending the scope of Canadian self-government. The expansion of Canada, Australia, and South Africa gave further impetus to this trend. By the early twentieth century, the Commonwealth started to take shape. These partially self-governing colonies were later designated as dominions and were allowed to send delegations to the Colonial Conferences in London that were later called Imperial Conferences.

World Wars I and II were watershed periods in the development of the Commonwealth. The first period is the incorporation of dominions into a Commonwealth. The end of World War I resulted in major changes in the status of the dominions. This was the period when Britain tried moving away from colonial administration to self-governing dominions with the Parliament at Westminster maintaining overriding powers. During the Treaty of Versailles, dominions of the British Empire were allowed to participate independently as members of the League of Nations. As a result of the Imperial Conferences of 1921, 1923, 1926, and the consequent Balfour report and Statute of Westminster in 1931, autonomy of the dominions, free choice of membership, and equality of status of all members within the Commonwealth were recognized. The statute explained that legislation passed in United Kingdom that was applicable to the dominions had to be at the request or consent of the respective dominion governments. There were still other major issues, such as the Privy Council acting as the final civil and criminal appellate court of the dominions and the amendment of constitution of the dominions by the United Kingdom. The original members of this Commonwealth were Australia, Britain, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland (which later became a province of Canada). Soon after in 1932, a trade agreement called the Commonwealth Preference was established, and tariffs for goods from these countries were eliminated; the agreement was followed by treaties among other Commonwealth countries.

The Commonwealth army played an even more crucial role in the survival and eventual victory of Britain in World War II. After the war, many countries in the British Empire gained independence. The development of the Commonwealth entered a new phase after the agreement of India to become a member while retaining its status as an independent republic. This new arrangement provided a new structural model for joining the Commonwealth without accepting the British monarch as the ruler. This was a period when the Commonwealth admitted a large number of countries ruled by people of color.

Another significant phase transpired in 1973 when Britain joined the European Union. Treaties between the Commonwealth countries and countries outside the Commonwealth were nothing new. However, the entry of Britain into the European Union is more inclusive than other trade agreements. For example, after it had joined the European Union, Britain had to discontinue, in 1977, the special trade agreements it had with the other Commonwealth nations.

The Commonwealth has neither a charter nor a constitution in written documentary form. This kind of an arrangement allows flexibility. Decisions are mostly made on the basis of common consent or near consensus, and the proceedings are marked by informality. Common law traditions and norms are shared by most of the group. Most of the Commonwealth nations have parliamentary forms of governments with the British system as the archetype but with many variations. The goal and emphasis of the Commonwealth have always been the rule of law and an honest and democratic form of government. The issue of human rights was also added in the first war.

The contributions of the Commonwealth have taken different forms. They include technical help, advice, negotiation, and the resolution of internal conflicts. The Commonwealth election observer groups have been sent to different countries to facilitate or monitor the democratic election process and suggest reforms in electoral laws. Many of the organizations also work in collaboration with other national and international agencies, such as the United Nations Development Program office in bringing about land reforms and improvements in transportation and communication.

The development of the Commonwealth has undergone changes from nomenclature to conceptualization. The Commonwealth has tried to address the changing needs and demands through announcements such as the Singapore (1971) and Harare (1991) Declarations. The Singapore Declaration issued the Commonwealth Principles, and the Harare Declaration, a significant event in the history of the Commonwealth, reaffirmed the earlier Singapore Declaration,

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emphasizing the protection and promotion of democratic processes and institutions, human rights, rule of law, honest government, and socioeconomic development of individual states. It was followed by the Edinburgh Economic Declaration in 1997.

There is no Commonwealth judicial tribunal to address disputes between two or more Commonwealth nations, and thus, disputes go before the International Court of Justice. Surprisingly, there have been only six cases that went before that court during the twentieth century to resolve national issues between two Commonwealth countries. The border dispute between Botswana and Namibia is a case in point. It was about a territorial dispute between two Commonwealth countries that was brought to the International Court of Justice for a judicial settlement. Both countries accepted the decision, and the issue was settled amicably without recourse to diatribe or borderline violence.

The Commonwealth consists of many agencies—governmental, quasi-governmental—that are sponsored or partially supported by the government and other nongovernmental organizations. The Commonwealth has offered a wide range of training programs and scholarships and facilitates communication among the universities, scientists, and athletes from different countries. The Commonwealth also provides economic aid, help with administration and governance, and technical assistance and consultation to the developing nations. The bureaucratic arm of the Commonwealth is the Secretariat with a multinational staff, and the secretary-general is appointed by the members of the Commonwealth on a rotational basis. The Human Rights Unit, for example, is one of the segments of the Secretariat. The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative is a nongovernmental group supported by the Commonwealth Foundation. Numerous other organizations and activities exist: the Commonwealth Games (formerly known as The British Empire Games), Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and regional conferences, Commonwealth People's Festival, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Commonwealth Local Government Forum, Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings, and the Commonwealth Foundation.

The Commonwealth has been variously described as an elite club for heads of state or prime ministers, an ex-colonial power play in disguise, and a model international organization that has achieved many successes without much ado. Times of stress and tensions among the Commonwealth are common. India and Pakistan, both of which are members of the

Commonwealth, have clashed a number of times. The issue of apartheid policy of South Africa created enough divisions in the Commonwealth that some observers wondered if the Commonwealth would survive the rifts. The readmission of Zimbabwe has been a hotly discussed issue during the twenty-first century. Britain is a member of the European Union in addition to the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, however, has managed to survive these crises in the past.

The relevance of the Commonwealth in the age of globalization and changing political and economic or trade alliances is being seriously debated. Globalization has imposed new sets of demands on most of the Commonwealth countries. It has yet to be seen if Britain and the other technologically advanced countries can provide support to other countries in the Commonwealth and to what extent given the limited resources. It is too early to decide about those outcomes. However, it cannot be denied that smaller countries gain a higher status in international negotiations, participating as members of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is a unique institution different from other international organizations, including the United Nations. It is strictly based on the power of persuasion. The nature of the Commonwealth is bound to change even further with the membership of Britain in the European Union, and therefore, the significance and importance of the Commonwealth are likely to diminish. However, the assistance it has rendered is wide and varied in scope, and it has served a useful purpose for its members, especially for the smaller and poorer nations. Issues such as growing concern for human rights and establishment of democratic forms of government and globalization will most likely continue to be discussed in the Commonwealth forums. The Commonwealth has been slowly reinventing itself to keep up with the changing needs or demands of the member countries and the global situations from its very inception. The flexibility of the Commonwealth is likely to allow it to keep reinventing itself to focus on new problems as they arise. However, it is hard to foresee the precise directions, types of changes, and the resultant outcomes in the context of a fast-changing world. Regardless of scholarly opinions, the popularity of the Commonwealth cannot be denied because at least a couple more countries have expressed an interest in applying for membership in the Commonwealth in the twenty-first century.

SUBHASH R. SONNAD

**See also** Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies

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## COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### Origin

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is the successor of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). By the time of its dissolution, the USSR was in a deep political and economic crisis, and the USSR members were deeply dissatisfied by the excessively centralized nature of the Soviet Union that was established by the first Treaty of Union in 1922.

Between 1990 and 1991, the fifteen members of the USSR were negotiating a new (second) union treaty, but these negotiations were undermined by the steep economic recession caused by transition from the command-controlled economy to the market-oriented economy and by inconsistencies of the Soviet economic policy. Nonetheless, the negotiations over the new union treaty were not progressing, and the political situation continued to deteriorate. These

circumstances were used by the hard-line members of the ruling Communist Party and the military, who organized a *coup d'état* in August 1991. The new military government could not, nonetheless, secure support among the political groups in the country and among the population or establish its control beyond Moscow. In a few days it surrendered; however, the far-reaching consequences of the *coup d'état* revealed themselves in a new development, the nation's dissolution, that was unexpected by many in the former Soviet Union.

The new round of the union treaty negotiations began immediately after the collapse of the *coup d'état* but in a very unfavorable environment. Three Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—peacefully withdrew from the Soviet Union in September 1991, undermining the viability of the USSR. Meanwhile, the remaining twelve members of the USSR continued intensive negotiations over the future of the Soviet Union. However, on December 8, 1991, leaders of the three founding states of the USSR—President Yeltsin of Russia, Shushkevich of Belorussia (Belarus), and Kravchuk of the Ukraine—unilaterally signed an agreement on the dissolution of the USSR and expressed the desire to establish a new type of interstate cooperation. This was in spite of a national referendum when the Soviet citizens voted, confirming their desire to retain the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the institutional unity of the fifteen republics. Moreover, the agreement signed on December 8, 1991, was not drafted as a legally correct document. In the end, the dissolution of the USSR and establishment of the CIS was formally endorsed on December 21, 1991, in Alma-Ata, as leaders of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine signed the Protocol to the Agreement on the Establishment of the Commonwealth of the Independent States.

The eleven states also unanimously adopted the Alma-Ata Declaration that signified the beginning of independence of the former Soviet Union Republics and established the major principles of dealing with the problems of post-Soviet development.

Although Azerbaijan signed the Protocol in Alma-Ata, the republic's legislature voted against its ratification. However, Azerbaijan ratified the Protocol to the Agreement and joined the CIS in September 1993. Georgia—who initially was also reluctant to join the CIS—did so in December 1993, thus bringing the number of the CIS member states to twelve.

The CIS Charter, adopted by the Council of the Heads of State on January 22, 1993, states that the Commonwealth of Independent States is based on

the equality of all its members. All the member states are independent and equal subjects of the international law. The Commonwealth serves to further development and strengthening of friendship, good neighborly relations, interethnic accord, trust, and mutual understanding and cooperation among its members.

## Structure

The CIS is an amorphous union of the former Soviet Republics. Unlike the former Soviet Union, the Commonwealth does not have a rigid centralized structure, and there is little coordination in internal and external affairs among the member states. According to the CIS Charter, the Commonwealth “is not a state and does not have any supranational powers.” All interaction among the member states of the CIS is conducted through its coordinating institutions. These bodies cover broad areas of common interests and cooperation in the fields of economic development, trade, banking and financing, foreign policy coordination, parliamentary cooperation, and defense and security policies.

- **Council of the Heads of State** is the supreme body of the Commonwealth of the Independent States. It mainly debates on the matters and solves the problems related to the common interests of the member states. Its decisions are adopted by consensus and are not binding. The council meets annually to discuss and decide on strategically important questions.
- **Council of the Heads of Government** coordinates cooperation between the executive powers of the member states in economic, social, and other spheres. Its decisions are adopted by consensus and are not binding.
- **Inter-Parliamentary Assembly** is a consultative institution of parliamentary cooperation created to coordinate constitutional reforms in all republics. The assembly is represented by parliamentary delegations of each member state.
- **Economic Court** of the CIS ensures implementation of economic commitments within the CIS. The court settles economic controversies and disputes among the member states.
- **Council of Foreign Ministers** is the main executive body of the CIS for cooperation in the foreign policy activities of the member states. Through this council, the member states attempt to formulate their common stand on such issues as a crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a crisis on Kosovo, and wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The council was one of the main bodies in establishing the CIS peacekeeping forces.
- **Council of Defense Ministers** is a body under the Council of the Heads of State. It coordinates military cooperation of the CIS members.
- **Economic Council** is the main executive body responsible for implementation of the decisions adopted by the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government concerning the Agreement on Creation of Free Trade Zone and its Protocol.
- **Executive Committee** is the executive, administrative, and coordinating body of the CIS. It organizes all activities of the Council of the Heads of State, Council of the Heads of Government, Council of Foreign Ministers, Economic Council, and other bodies of the CIS.
- **Council of Border Troops Commander** is a body of the Council of the Heads of State. It is responsible for maintaining stable conditions on the outer borders of the CIS and for coordination activities of the border guards of the CIS.
- **Council of Collective Security** is the supreme political body of CIS member signatories of the Agreement on Collective Security of May 15, 1992. It coordinates joint activities of the state signatories of the agreement.
- **Interstate Bank** is an organ for organization and implementation of multilateral interstate settlements of financial transactions between the central (national) banks as well as for coordination of monetary policies of the member states. This institution was working on the idea of establishing a common ruble zone though this idea did not materialize.
- **Interstate Statistical Committee** was established to coordinate activities of statistical organizations of member states, develop and implement a standardized statistical methodology, facilitate information exchange among the member states, provide assistance to national statistical services, and create and maintain the common statistical database. Presently, there are more than sixty organs of sectoral cooperation in the CIS, such as the Consulting Council for Labor, Transport Coordination Conference, Migration and Social Security of Population, and Interstate Ecological Council.

## Activities

The Alma-Ata Declaration signed on December 21, 1991, officially announced that the USSR ceased to

exist. All former Soviet states immediately began a period of political and economic transition. The CIS was formally established to coordinate political and economic cooperation. The Agreement on Armed Forces and Border Troops and the Agreement on Strategic Forces were reached on December 30, 1991, for peaceful transformation of former Soviet Armed Forces. Since the disintegration of the former USSR was unexpected, many issues were being resolved at an *ad hoc* basis, and many states were changing their positions and attitudes according to their internal and external environments.

In 1992, there were numerous items on the agenda list of the meetings of the CIS leaders. Among them were the questions of the legal succession of the Soviet Union, strategic forces, security, and economic cooperation. At these meetings it was decided that all long-range nuclear and strategic weapons would come under the joint control of the President of the Russian Federation and the Chief of the CIS Armed Forces. In January 1992, Commissions on the Black Sea Fleet and the Caspian Flotilla were established. In addition, an agreement was signed on legislative cooperation at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference. In February, the Council of the Heads of State reached an agreement on free movement of goods between republics. Also in February, the CIS Council of Heads of State decided to retain Russian ruble as a common currency within CIS economic space. Another agreement was signed in February on a unified command for general-purpose armed forces for a transitional period of two years. However, Azerbaijan, Moldova, and Ukraine decided to establish independent armed forces. In March, an agreement was adopted on repayment of foreign debt of the former USSR. At the meeting of the Council of Heads of Government, also in March, all states with exception of Turkmenistan reached an agreement on settling interstate conflicts. At the same meeting, an agreement on status of border troops was signed by five states. In April, an agreement was signed on establishment of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly by Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In May, the meeting of the Council of the Heads of Government issued an accord on repayment of interstate debt, and statements on the issue of the balance-of-payments were adopted. On May 15, 1992, the Treaty on Collective Security was signed by six members of the CIS for a five-year term. It was also agreed to establish CIS joint peacemaking forces to intervene in the CIS disputes. In July, the Economic Court was established in Minsk. The leaders of the newly independent states agreed to honor all international agreements signed and ratified by the former

USSR. It was also agreed that the Russian Federation was the legal successor of the USSR in the United Nations Security Council. The CIS republics were admitted as members of the United Nations in 1992. The leaders were also discussing the economic legislation of the CIS, a common monetary system (ruble zone), and visa-free travel of CIS citizens within the Commonwealth.

In 1993, the focus of the meetings of the CIS leaders was on the strengthening of the CIS. On January 22, 1993, the CIS Charter was adopted at the meeting of the heads of state in Minsk (Belarus). It was signed by seven out of ten members, with exception of Moldova, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine. Question of a common finance system was still on their agenda; the documents on the establishment of the Interstate Bank were endorsed by all ten members of the CIS. In February, a foreign economic council was established. In April, a proposal by Presidents of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan was discussed in an extraordinary meeting of the heads of state in Minsk. The presidents were interested in further strengthening of the role of the CIS in security system, in economic cooperation and creation of a common market, and in coordination of foreign policy and human rights protection. As a result, a month later—in May 1993 at the meeting of the Council of the Heads of State held in Moscow—the member states, with exception of Turkmenistan, adopted a decision on establishment of the Economic Union. In June, the CIS defense ministers decided to abolish CIS joint military command, which was to be replaced on a provisional basis by a joint staff for coordination of military activity. In September, the Council of the Heads of State reached an agreement on establishment of a Bureau of Organized Crime with headquarters in Moscow. The Treaty on Establishment of the Economic Union was signed on the September 24, 1993, by the member states with exception of Turkmenistan and Ukraine. The treaty provided a framework for the economic union within the CIS, which included creation of currency union and gradual removal of tariffs. Later in December 1993, Turkmenistan was admitted as a full member of the Economic Union and Ukraine as an associate member in April 1994.

On April 15, 1994, the most important outcome of the meetings of the CIS leaders was signature by all member states of the Agreement on Establishment of Free Trade Zone. A draft framework for customs legislation in CIS countries to facilitate the establishment of the free trade zone was approved by all member states with exception of Turkmenistan. In January, the issue of illegal migration was discussed at the meeting of the Council of Border



Troop Commanders. In March, a plenary session of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly established a commission for the conflict resolution in Nagorny Karabakh (Azerbaijan) and Abkhazia (Georgia) and endorsed the use of the CIS peacekeeping forces. In September, at the meeting of the Council of the Heads of Government, all member states, with exception of Turkmenistan, agreed to establish the Interstate Economic Committee to implement economic treaties adopted within the framework of the Economic Union. In October, the Convention on Rights of the Minorities was adopted at the meeting of the heads of state. At the first session of the Interstate Economic Committee in November, draft legislation on a customs union was approved. The Interstate Economic Committee was incorporated with other working bodies and sectional committees of the CIS into the CIS Executive Committee. In October, the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly adopted a resolution to send military observers to Nagorny Karabakh (Azerbaijan) and Abkhazia (Georgia). Direct negotiations for peaceful settlement of the conflicts were proposed by the Inter-Parliamentary Commission on the conflict in Abkhazia and Georgia. In December, the mandate of the commander of the CIS collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan was enlarged by the Council of Defense Ministers. In 1994, the CIS was granted an observer status with the United Nations. A cooperation accord was signed between the CIS and UNCTAD in May 1994.

In 1995, the leaders discussed the issue of the collective security and extended the mandate of the CIS peacemaking forces in Tajikistan and Abkhazia (Georgia). In February, the heads of state adopted a memorandum on maintenance of peace and stability. The memorandum called for refraining from exerting military, political, or economic pressure on another member state. It also urged for peaceful resolution of border disputes. In November, the Council of Defense Ministers announced establishment of the Joint Air Defense System to be coordinated mainly by the Russian Federation.

In 1996, the Council of the Heads of State considered the draft of the long-term plan for the integrated development of the Commonwealth in 1996 and 1997. In January, a decision was approved on formation of the Council of Ministers of Internal Affairs. In January, the meeting of the Council of Heads of State approved Georgia's proposal to impose sanctions against Abkhazia. In April, a program to counter the organized crime within the CIS was approved by the heads of government. A cooperation accord was signed between the CIS and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in June 1996. In September, there was a first meeting of the interstate

commission for military economic cooperation, and a draft agreement on export of military services and projects to third countries was approved. In August, the Council of Defense Ministers, with exception of the Ukrainian minister, condemned the political, military, and economic threat posed by the expansion of NATO. In October, an emergency meeting of the Council of Heads of State discussed the situation in Afghanistan and possible security threats in the region. In November, the plenary session of the Interstate Parliament issued a statement urging the NATO countries to abandon the plans of the NATO expansion. However, Russian and Ukraine states began strategic cooperation with NATO from mid-1990s onward.

In 1997, at the meetings of the CIS leaders, the long-term plan for the integrated development of the CIS was adopted, and the mandate of the CIS peacemaking forces in Tajikistan was extended. In March, development of the Customs Union was discussed at the meeting of the Council of the Heads of Government, and the need for the free trade regulations was endorsed by all member states, with the exception of Georgia. Also in March, the principles of the program for greater military and technical cooperation were approved by the Council of Defense Ministers. During the 1997 meetings, the leaders admitted that the CIS failed to ameliorate economic conditions of some member states. Russia was criticized for failing to implement CIS agreements. Russia, for its part, urged the member states to be more active in defining and implementing the CIS agreements. Nevertheless, support for the CIS institutions was expressed. In December, the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly adopted fourteen laws relating to banking, education, ecology, and charity.

In 1998, the discussions were centered on improvement of the activities of the CIS, on its restructuring, and on development of military cooperation among the CIS members. Reform of the CIS was on the agenda list of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly meeting in June. In March, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan signed an agreement on establishing the Customs Union with the aim to remove trade restrictions; to standardize trade and customs regulations; and integrate economic, monetary, and trade policies. In April, the Council of Defense Ministers proposed to draft a program for military and technical cooperation among the CIS member states. In April, at the request of the Russian President, Armenia and Azerbaijan signed a statement expressing their support for a political settlement of the conflict in Nagorny Karabakh. A document proposing the resolutions to Abkhazia conflict was prepared and adopted, but the resolutions were not accepted

by Abkhazia. In June, a number of documents were signed by the Council of Border Troops Commanders and at the meeting of the CIS interior ministers. The first meeting of a special forum took place also in June. It discussed issues of restructuring the CIS. It was agreed that a new institution needed to be created. Working groups were established to coordinate proposals and documents on the CIS reform. However, in October, the proposals of the reform were unanimously rejected as inadequate by all twelve members of the CIS. The Inter-Parliamentary Assembly approved a decision to sign the European Social Charter in June 1998. At the same meeting, it adopted ten model laws relating to social issues. A declaration of cooperation between the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly and the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was also signed. In December, the Council of Defense Ministers approved the draft proposal on military information security.

In February 1999, Tajikistan became the fifth member of the Customs Union that was established in 1998. In April, the Council of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States adopted the Protocol to the Agreement on Establishment of a Free Trade Zone. According to the agreement and its protocol, the existing bilateral free trade regime should be replaced by a multilateral regime to create a favorable environment for free movement of commodities and services within the CIS, thus creating the prospect of establishing the CIS common market. The Council of the Heads of Government met in April and adopted guidelines for restructuring of the CIS and discussing the future development of the Commonwealth. Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan signed a protocol in April 1999 to extend the Treaty on Collective Security for another five years. In October, the heads of the five member states of the Customs Union approved a program to harmonize their national legislation to create a single economic zone.

The year 2000 meetings were mostly dedicated to antiterrorism campaigns and fights with organized crime. During a June 20–21 meeting, the Council of the Heads of State adopted the program of the CIS members on the fight against terrorism and other types of extremism and decided to establish the Anti-Terrorism Center. It also adopted the Decision on Realization of the Decision by Council of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States of April 2, 1999, on establishment of a Free Trade Zone. By a request from Tajikistan, CIS decided to withdraw collective peacemaking forces from Tajikistan. The mandate of the CIS collective peacemaking forces in Abkhazia (Georgia) was extended. During the Minsk summit, held November through December 2000, a

final decision on launching the CIS Anti-Terrorism Center was adopted. A Joint Declaration on Closing of the Chernobyl Atomic Power Station was adopted. In May, the five members of the Customs Union signed a treaty establishing the Eurasian Economic Community. Russian Federation withdrew from the visa-free travel agreement reached in 1992. In June, five members of the Customs Union signed an agreement for visa-free travel within the Customs Union. The Eurasian Economic Community with headquarters in Astana (Kazakhstan) was officially inaugurated in October. In May 2000, the states signatories of the Treaty on Collective Security called for strengthened military cooperation in view of the threat from the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. In October, the parties to the treaty signed the Agreement on the Status of Forces and Means of Collective Security Systems.

In March 2001, the interior ministers of the CIS discussed the issue of increasing transnational crime and drug trafficking. The issues of the economic cooperation, health, education, crime and terrorism, and military and technical cooperation were discussed in the May meeting of the Council of the Heads of Government. In a May meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers, the ministers approved the plan for military cooperation until 2005. The tenth anniversary of the Commonwealth was the center of an informal “jubilee” meeting in November. The summit adopted a statement on cooperation in social and economic development and integration at a global level. In October 2001, with the view of September terrorist attacks against the United States, the parties to the Treaty on Collective Security adopted a new antiterrorism plan. Combating international terrorism became the main priority of the Treaty on Collective Security.

Topics of economic cooperation, perspectives for the free trade zone development, and security and improvement of the working methods of CIS organs were discussed in an October 2002 meeting of the CIS leaders in Chisinou (Moldova). In February, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan announced formation of a new regional security union: the Central Asian Cooperation Pact. Establishment of a regional division of the Anti-Terrorism Center was discussed at October CIS summit.

In 2003, the joint meeting of the Council of the Heads of State, Council of the Heads of Government, and Council of Foreign Ministers took place in Yalta (Russian Federation) on September 18–19. The main concerns of the meeting were the issues of further development of economic cooperation, establishment of the free trade zone that would eventually lead to a single economic space, as well as the questions of

social, humanitarian, and military cooperation. The meeting was addressed by the executive director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Consequently, a decision on cooperation with the UN Office of Drugs and Crime was adopted.

In spite of numerous decisions adopted by the CIS supreme bodies and agreements signed by the member states, the goals of the CIS charter have not been fully implemented, and the agreements have not been ratified by the all of the member states. In 1993, for example, in spite of the decision on common currency zone (ruble zone), Kyrgyzstan decided to issue its own currency, called the som. This act spurred other CIS members to abandon the ruble zone and introduce their own currencies.

A trend also emerged that more and more CIS member states began to favor bilateral agreements and the formation of subregional groupings. In March 1996, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and the Russian Federation signed the Quadripartite Treaty for greater integration based on a common market and customs union. It was to be open for all CIS member states and the Baltic states. Consequently, these four states and Tajikistan founded the Eurasian Economic Community in October 2001. In April 1996, Belarus and the Russian Federation signed the Treaty on the Formation of the Community of Sovereign Republics that was aimed at extensive economic, political, and military cooperation. A year later, in April 1997, Belarus and Russia signed a further Treaty of Union and formulated the Charter of the Union, with an eventual goal of their voluntary unification. The charter was signed in May and ratified by Belarusian and Russian legislature in June. In December 2000, the presidents of Belarus and the Russian Federation signed an agreement for the Belarus adoption of Russian currency on January 1, 2005, and for the introduction of a new joint currency by January 1, 2008. The Central Asian states created their own economic community called the Central Asian Economic Union (CAEU) in 1994, which was later transformed into the Central Asian Forum. The GUAM (abbreviation of member states' names) Group united Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova in the late 1990s in joint economic and transportation initiatives and in attempts to establish a subregional free trade zone. The group was later joined by Uzbekistan in April 1999, transforming GUAM into GUUAM. The heads of state of the group's members meet annually, and their ministers for foreign affairs meet twice a year. Another subregional grouping that unites the Russian Federation, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia meets regularly as the Caucasian Group of Four.

ALFIA ABAZOVA AND RAFIS ABAZOV

**See also Armenia; Azerbaijan; Belarus; Georgia; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Moldova; Russia; Tajikistan; Turkmenistan; Ukraine; Uzbekistan**

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## COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to the creation of fifteen new independent countries. After the Russian revolution of 1917, the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) inherited the multinational Russian Empire in which more than one hundred nationalities lived. Josef Stalin, a Georgian (not a Russian), as commissar of nationalities devised a system that created a hierarchy of nationalities. The major ones were assigned union republics; at the second level were those of autonomous republics found inside several of the union republics, chiefly the Russian federation. At the third and fourth level were national and autonomous districts also located within union republics. The hierarchal system, which placed the Russian federation above the republics, led to the split between Stalin and Vladimir Lenin just before the latter's death. Stalin's system held as the Soviet Union grew in power. During and after World War II, the number of union republics grew to fifteen.

When the Soviet Union dissolved, however, Moscow let the union republics go with relatively little bloodshed. The other national entities, autonomous republics and districts, were maintained, and those that wished to separate, such as Chechnya and Dagestan, led to bloody and pernicious civil wars. Under the Soviet system, Moscow represented the whole USSR in foreign affairs with a minor exception that the Ukrainian SSR and Belorussian SSR had seats in the United Nations but invariably backed Soviet

votes. This resulted from a compromise that Moscow made with its former Western allies in establishing the United Nations in 1945. Instead of one ministry of foreign affairs, there were fifteen.

Out of the necessity of dealing with common problems, economic issues, and relations with the outside world, in 1992, twelve of the republics joined a new organization called the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Three—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—refused to join. These Baltic republics, which had been part of the Russian Empire since the eighteenth century and had a brief two-decade period of independence between the two world wars, were added to the Soviet Union through the infamous Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1938. Moldova, which also was added as a consequence of that treaty with some minor variation, also joined. The West designated the entire group of former union republics as the newly independent states (NIS). The CIS, thus, included Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

The Commonwealth began on December 8, 1991, even before the end of the USSR, with an agreement among the presidents of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. The CIS formally started two weeks later on December 21, with eleven republics. Georgia joined later. In January 1992, administration began at the designated center, Minsk, the capital of Belarus. The CIS administration coordinated issues and policies of economics, foreign relations, defense, environment, immigration, and legal matters. The Commonwealth Council, consisting of the presidents and prime ministers of the member states, led the Commonwealth. Pertinent cabinet members from the member republics in the areas of the Commonwealth's concerns also aided the council. However, in practice, the coordinated effort has proved difficult as it often runs counter to the varying policies of the individual states. One example was the initial proposal to maintain a unified military and nuclear arms command; however, some of the European republics wished closer relations with NATO and the European Union. Another area of difficulty was in the move toward market economies and privatization.

One immediate question regarded the relationship of the CIS and the Baltic republics to the United Nations. They agreed that Russia would take the Soviet Union's seat on the Security Council. The twelve other countries who were not already members applied and were admitted as members in 1992. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, but not any of the CIS states, joined NATO and the European Union. All of the NIS states are in form parliamentary

republics with an elected president, prime minister, and parliament.

Some of the states formed regional associations. Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine were members of the Black Sea Economic Organization. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russia were on the Council of Baltic Sea States.

The CIS required independence of the states and respect for their borders. It promised joint cooperation on a unified nuclear policy. Russia claimed the Soviet property in Russia. Russia also took over the Soviet nuclear armament and held the greatest conventional military forces in the world. Soviet embassies and consulates, as well as the Soviet seat on the United Nations Security Council, fell to Russia. Russia, as the major power in the CIS, aroused the historic suspicions of Russian expansionist ambitions.

The republics argued over the division of Soviet assets, and within a few years, the CIS proved incapable of settling inter-republic disputes. The status of the Crimean peninsula inhabited by Russians but located in the Ukraine divided those republics. Kiev and Moscow also argued over the ownership of the Black Sea fleet. Moscow also leased Sebastopol and other Black Sea ports from Kiev. They settled the issue in 1995 with Russia getting 82% of the fleet, and two years later, Russia signed a ten-year friendship treaty. Ukraine and Belarus sent nuclear arms and missiles back to Russia. A collective security agreement introduced in 1992 did not include Moldova, Ukraine, or Turkmenistan, and in 1999, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Uzbekistan refused to extend their participation. In 1999, Russia objected to the expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe and into the Yugoslav crisis. The Taliban in Afghanistan was also a concern of the confederation.

Trade began to recover after its decline from 1992 through 1994. The CIS established a customs union, although some republics, particularly the Ukraine and Turkmenistan, joined only reluctantly due to their fear of losing access to Western markets.

In 1999, Uzbekistan joined the GUAM group—Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova—formed in opposition to the CIS; the group then changed its acronym to GUUAM to include its new member state. However, CIS and Uzbekistan signed a bilateral agreement to fight Uzbeks Islamic rebels in Kyrgyzstan where CIS forces were helping them. The fighting spilled over into Tajikistan, and a treaty was created between Russia and Tajikistan to help end the civil war by stationing border guards.

Most of the CIS followed variations on a similar path to independence. In general, this occurred in two stages—a declaration of sovereignty within the USSR and then a declaration of independence. While some

republics announced their intentions of separation from the Soviet Union, in the future independence occurred in all cases after the failed *coup d'état* against Mikhail Gorbachev on August 19–21, 1991. Another catalyst for the national movements was the Soviet parliamentary elections in March 1989, the first contested elections since 1918.

In the Caucasus, Armenia in the 1980s formed the Armenian National Movement, which won the 1990 republic parliamentary elections. On August 23, the parliament declared Armenian sovereignty, and thirteen months later (September 23, 1991) independence was also declared. Armenia had been engaged in a war with neighboring Azerbaijan since February 1988 over the Nagorno-Karabakh region, an autonomous Armenian national district, and Sumqayit, another Armenian area, both in what was then the Azerbaijan SSR. Azerbaijanis killed thousands of Armenians, and thousands more left the enclave for the republic. The Azerbaijani blockaded access to Armenia, strangling its economy. Moscow sent troops to support the Armenians in 1990, and the Armenians occupied Azerbaijan territory connecting Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia; they held on to the territory as political instability gripped Azerbaijan.

Although Azerbaijan declared its independence after the *coup d'état* against Mikhail Gorbachev, the Communist Party continued in power with its leader Ayaz Mutalibov elected president. In May 1992, the Azerbaijan Popular Front carried out a *coup* against Mutalibov and won new elections with Abulfaz Elchibey on a platform of withdrawing from the CIS and defeating the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. However, the Communists carried out their own *coup d'état*, led by Heydar Aliyev in June 1993, and kept the republic in the confederation.

Georgia took advantage of Gorbachev's Glasnost policy to move toward independence even before the USSR collapsed. The nationalist opposition won the parliamentary elections of October 1990 and elected the political dissident Zviad Gamsakhurdia president after declaring the republic's independence in April 1991. Gamsakhurdia's opponents declared civil war, but the military deposed him in January 1992. They established a state council led by Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister and leader of the Georgian Communist Party. In new elections, the voters overwhelmingly elected Shevardnadze as the head of state of the republic. Opponents accused Shevardnadze of dictatorial methods, but because of his effectiveness, the public still supported him. Georgia joined the CIS in 1993 but also became an associate member of the European Union and a member of the Council of Europe and the World Trade Organization, as well as a partner of

NATO. The republic faced secessionist movements by the Ossetians and the Abkhazians, former nationalist districts when they were part of the Soviet Republic. Abkhazia declared its independence in 1992 and put its old (1925) constitution in effect. Thousands of Georgians fled the area. Shevardnadze refused to recognize the state, and warfare began.

The Soviet Union finally agreed to the independence of the all the Baltic countries on September 6, 1991. The Baltic states refused to join the CIS. In Latvia, glasnost led to mass protests over environmental pollution. The Latvian Popular Front won the 1990 elections and announced the eventual independence of the republic. Moscow responded by sending in the army, leading to clashes in Riga in January 1991. After the failure of the August *coup d'état*, the legislature declared its independence immediately. Latvia held elections restricted to persons who were citizens before the incorporation of the country into the Soviet Union in 1940 or their descendants. The elected parliament restored the constitution of 1922. The government tried to expel those who were not citizens, especially the many Russians living there, and moved closer to the West. Relations with Moscow were strained; however, through the 1990s, Riga attempted to amend its relationship with Moscow.

Similarly, in Lithuania during glasnost period, the Sajudis reform movement appeared. The 1990 election produced a nationalist legislature that declared the republic's independence on March 11. Moscow established an economic boycott, which had little effect. In January 1991, during the Desert Storm crisis in Iraq, Gorbachev sent in troops to reclaim the state. Despite the bloodshed, the effort failed, and Moscow recognized Lithuania's independence after the *coup d'état* of August. In the election of 1992, the Communists, now called the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDLP), won a slight majority, but LDLP continued the nationalist policies, including moving closer to the West and liberalizing the economy. Because of corruption and recession, a coalition of the Christian Democrats and the Centre Party won the 1996 elections; in 1998, Valdas Adamkus, who had been an American citizen, was elected president. His policy was to liberalize the economy, stop corruption, and attract foreign investment. Up to this time Vilnius depended on Moscow as an economic partner. Now it linked more to the West, dramatically reducing inflation (from more than 1000% at the beginning of independence to less than 10% at the end of the century).

In addition, a Popular Front emerged in 1988 in Estonia, and this front won republican elections, declaring independence recognized by Moscow in September 1991. Like Lithuania, Estonia restricted

the right of non-Estonians while recognizing as citizens those who had left after the Soviet Union and who had been incorporated the country. Estonia relied on Russia for trade but was able to ameliorate the strained relations over the citizen laws. Soviet forces left in 1994.

In Central Asia, native Kazakhs were a minority in the republic compared to the Russian inhabitants. The long time Communist leader Dinmukhamed Kunayev was a popular and imaginative leader who protected the interests of both groups. His dismissal in 1986 because of corruption caused riots of a magnitude not seen since the days before the dictatorship of Josef Stalin. Kazakhstan was also the site of many of the USSR's nuclear weapons. Kazakhstan announced sovereignty in October 1990 and independence on December 16, 1991. The republic elected Nursultan Nazarbayev as president, and he continued Kunayev's popular policies. Unlike in the Baltic states, relations between Russia and Kazakhstan remained good. Russia retained control over the nuclear facilities. Kazakhstan joined the United Nations and International Monetary Fund.

Kyrgyzstan of all the Central Asian Republics was the most anxious to break away from the USSR and declared its independence on August 31, 1991, right after the failed *coup d'état*. Askar Akayev was elected president; he was a reformer who instituted democratic institutions and looked more to the West than any of the five former Central Asian Republics. However, the emigration of Russian and German professionals brought about an economic recession. Turkmenistan has natural gas, which brought in foreign investors. It declared independence on October 27, 1991, but the dictatorial regime has done little to improve conditions in the republic.

In Tajikistan, independence came on September 9, 1991, but support for Russia and the Communist party was still strong. Anti-Communist and Islamic opposition led to civil war.

The opposition drove out the Communist President Rahman Nabiyeu. Russian troops helped bring down the opposition and put in power Imomali Rahmonov, who won the 1994 presidential elections and ruled with an iron hand. Thousands of Muslims fled to Afghanistan from where they launched attacks on the republic. Tens of thousands were killed in the fighting, and hundreds of thousands were displaced.

In Uzbekistan, Communists maintained tight control. They supported the *coup d'état* against Gorbachev, but after its failure, they declared independence. Islam Karimov was elected president. Despite lip service to democracy, the still ruling Communist leadership imposed authoritarian politics. Opposition parties were stopped at the polls and their

leaders attacked, and international human rights groups criticized the government. The state remained close to Russia and Communist China, but ethnic minorities left the republic as the government leaders wedded their authoritarian regime to Uzbek nationalism.

In Russia itself, the failure of the attempt to remove Gorbachev in August 1991 brought the end of the Soviet Union on December 1991, and Boris Yeltsin came to power in Russia. Russia did not recognize minorities that declared their independence and frequently the state used violence to suppress uprisings, most notably the Muslim Chechens. Economic difficulties led to a breakdown of relations between Yeltsin and the Russian parliament, and a new constitution was drafted, giving the president more power. In 1998, because of corruption and economic difficulties, Vladimir Putin replaced Yeltsin, and the former won the presidential election of 2002. His regime, while committed to democracy and a market economy, nevertheless was not adverse to use of authoritarian measures.

Chaos reigned as Moscow attempted to transform from a Communist-controlled state with economic central planning to a multiparty democracy with a market economy. Longstanding ethnic conflicts re-emerged, even though the major minorities were now separate countries in the CIS. The revived Orthodox Church and the Russian need for aid from the West were also political factors in the new Russia and the CIS. In 1997, Moscow signed a treaty that gave it observer status with NATO.

Belarus was less anxious to break away from the Soviet Union, although a nationalist spirit grew in the 1980s, especially since Belarius suffered greatly from the Chernobyl nuclear accident. Minsk declared sovereignty on July 27, 1990, and then full independence on August 25, 1991, but the Communists still dominated the government through the new elections. Belarius did not write a constitution until 1994. A complicated election system brought many independents and representatives from nonpolitical groups into the parliament. Aleksandr Lukashenko, who was elected president, supported Moscow. He then manipulated the government to rewrite the constitution and give him more power.

Moldova, the old Turkish and Romanian province of Bessarabia, was marked by its mixed ethnic character. The Moldovans themselves are closely identified with Romanians, but the Soviets tried to emphasize the differences, claiming that Moldovans were a distinct nationality. In the 1980s, however, the Moldovan national movement reappeared. The republic declared sovereignty in June 1990, and independence on August 27, 1991, right after the *coup d'état* in the Soviet Union. Moldovians debated whether

they should move toward union with Romania, which was still ruled by former Communists, and the Gagauz and Russian minorities declared their own separatist republics. The government was militarily unable to contend with the Russian separatists, and the country remained in a state of inertia. The elections of 1994 brought the Agrarian Democratic Party to power in the parliament over both the pro-Romanian and pro-Russian parties. The legislature introduced a new constitution that gave autonomy to both the Gagauz and the Russian minorities, easing the civil tension and moving the country toward reform. In 1994, Moldova and Russia signed an agreement to remove the Red Army within three years.

In the Ukraine, a national movement arose in the late 1980s when concern over Russification moved the Ukrainian leadership to address issues of language and culture, including history and religion. In addition, the leadership raised the issue of the economy and environmental pollution. In 1989, the Ukrainian parliament passed a law making Ukrainian the official language of the republic. Historical Ukrainian figures, such as Ivan Mazepa, who allied with the Swedes in the eighteenth century against Peter the Great, and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the noted Ukrainian president who served briefly as president of independent Ukraine in 1918, were now celebrated.

The Ukrainian Uniate Church revived, leading to conflicts with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church over property, churches, and politics. The environmental movement Green World, led by author Yuri Scherbak, arose in the wake of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and became a force in Ukrainian politics. Strikes and opposition to Moscow arose among the Donbas miners as their conditions worsened. In the critical years at the end of the 1980s, they joined the Ukrainian nationalists even though most of them were linguistically closer to Russians. In independent Ukraine, they moved away as a split developed between pro-West Ukraine centered on Kiev and pro-Moscow Ukraine centered on the Donbas. There were also class and religious aspects involved in the split—Uniate versus Orthodox and Kievan intellectuals versus proletarian miners.

In the spring of 1988, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union of released political prisoners, an outgrowth of the 1970s Helsinki Watch, appeared as an opposition party. As elsewhere, the parliamentary elections of 1989 and 1990 brought antigovernment, nationalist, and anti-Communist representatives to the national and republic parliaments. The republic declared sovereignty on July 16, 1990. In response to the national movements, the Soviet Union tried to negotiate a new relationship with the republics, giving

more autonomy but keeping control over foreign policy, the military, and Soviet finances.

In Ukraine, the Communists pushed for the support of the Gorbachev plan, while the opposition group *Rukh* demanded independence. After the August 1991 *coup d'état* failed, Ukraine immediately declared independence (August 24), which was ratified by overwhelming support from all ethnic groups in a plebiscite on December 1. Ukraine immediately started relations with other countries, although it joined the CIS at its founding. Kiev joined NATO's partnership for Peace in 1994 and the Council of Europe in 1995. In 1998, it became associated with the European Union.

Leonid Kravchuk was elected president and Leonid Kuchma prime minister. Both promised to move toward a Western orientation and market economy, but Kravchuk refused to implement the promises, and the Communist-controlled Supreme Council of State backed him. Kuchma resigned, and Kravchuk reintroduced central state control over the economy. In the elections of 1994, Kuchma defeated Kravchuk, but the council was still in the hands of the Communists, which hindered development. Kuchma arranged for foreign loans to no avail. Meanwhile, the division between East and West Ukraine intensified.

A new constitution in 1996 gave the president increased authority, but the country was in perpetual economic crisis with inflation and strikes by the miners. At the end of the decade, the economy improved. Kuchma was reelected in a hostile election in 1999. Kuchma was accused of massive corruption and involvement in the murder of a journalist. In another disputed election in 2004, the pro-Russian eastern candidate Viktor Yanukovich narrowly defeated Viktor Yushchenko, the pro-Kiev candidate. Accusations of fraud and even attempts to murder Yushchenko led to a division of the country. The East threatened to separate. In November 2004, the Supreme Court ordered new elections.

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**See also Armenia; Azerbaijan; Belarus; Georgia; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Moldova; Russia; Tajikistan; Turkmenistan; Ukraine; Uzbekistan**

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## COMMUNIST ECONOMIC MODEL

The Communist economic model, in the ideal sense of the term's theoretical conception, does not exist. In the idealist Communist society envisioned by Marx, the economy is operated on the principle of "from each according to one's ability and to each according to one's needs." In other words, workers contribute whatever they can to the society and get from the society whatever they need. In such an economic model, there will be no profit making, no value or commodity exchange, and no money.

To speak of the Communist economic model is to speak of an economic model that has been put into practice in the name of achieving this ideal. This

usually refers to an economy in a country run by a Communist party. The historical role of a Communist party is supposed to facilitate, by means of violent revolution and economic reconstruction, usually in that order, the achievement of the goal of communism. However, this usually requires qualification, as in the case of China, a country run by the largest Communist party in the world, which since the 1980s has operated on an economic model that is very different from what it was during the era of Mao (Mao Zedong) from 1950s to the 1970s. Moreover, because of different historical and political-cultural traditions, the Communist economic model has been implemented very differently in different countries. Therefore, the Communist economic model is an abstraction.

## Some Basic Features of Communist Economic System

The first, most salient and overriding feature of Communist economic model is that no private ownership of means of production (such as factories, lands, rivers, and natural resources) is allowed. The second most salient feature is that the most essential and majority of economic activities are carried out in accordance with top-to-bottom planning. This is called the "planned economy." Because economic plans are issued as governmental decrees, it is also called the "command economy." Thus, the central government may draw up a five-year plan for what to produce, including details on the priorities of production, raising revenue, and even on how much each citizen should spend. Both the former Soviet Union and China had five-year plans. Each five-year plan is further specified into a yearly plan. In such a planned economy, the prices of commodities do not fluctuate according to the supply and demand of the market but are fixed by the government. These plans are then issued to various administrative and bureaucratic levels for implementation. These administrator and bureaucrats may draw up their own plans to fulfill the targets, goal, or quotas of the central plans. The third feature of this system is that the bureaucrats and administrators who implement these plans are either ideologically committed or will obey the central government's command, willing or unwillingly. Bureaucrats and administrators in the system are usually members of the ruling Communist Party, and dissent is not allowed. The fourth feature of this system is that enterprise for public good may or may not be encouraged, but for private gains it is suppressed.



### Ideological Origin

The Communist economic model originated from Communist critique of capitalism. Premised on the evidence of exploitation of the working class in terms of working conditions, child labour, and subsistence pay, as well as the increasing polarization between the rich and poor during the development stage of capitalism (as what is happening in China in the twenty-first century), Marxist critiques argued that capitalism encouraged greed and was orientated to profit making, therefore alienating human life. Overcoming this capitalist logic and creating a new society of production should aim at improving human conditions and human needs. The logic of this argument is that society should pool all resources together to produce what is best for the public good rather than private gains and what is best for human needs rather than profit.

### A Case Study of China

Immediately after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took power in 1949, a revolutionary program of land reform was carried out. Land was confiscated from landlords and distributed equally to the rural residents on a per capita basis. However, to achieve better control and centralized planning and to avoid growth of private wealth and polarization, collectivization soon followed. In what was called the “commune system,” land and means of production were pooled together, and everyone became a member of the commune in which one worked as one was able, and staple grain was distributed equally on a per capita basis irrespective of labour contribution. During the beginning of the commune experiment, when there was no household economy and everyone ate in a public canteen, the ideological zeal led to disastrous famine. Since the 1960s, however, households have been allowed to own private plots, and a point system that rewarded work was implemented.

During the era of Mao, capital was accumulated by exploiting rural surplus under the state plan for rapid industrial development. For the purpose of industrialization, state planning had kept consumption to the minimum by rationing food and daily necessities. Urban residents were compensated by social and economic security, such as lifetime employment, generous pension, free education, free health care, and virtually free housing.

The economy reform policies that went into effect in the late 1970s have meant a gradual transformation of China from a command economy to a largely

market economy. China is now part of the world capitalist economy. Though China is still ruled by the CCP, its economy does not operate on the basis of a Communist economic model.

### Industrialization and Economic Growth

Until the 1980s, both the former Soviet Union and China made tremendous progress in industrialization, and the economic growth was higher than that of the capitalist economy in many countries.

Because of this rapid growth, Soviet Russia became one of the two superpowers during the Cold War, and China has pulled a large amount of people out of absolute poverty in three decades. In terms of literacy, health care, and life expectancy for the poor, China has done better than India, which has often claimed to be the largest democracy in the world. Even in terms of industrialization, China under the Communist economic model performed better than India.

### A Critique of Communist Economic Model

In countries where a version of the Communist economic model was run, shortages of food and daily necessities have been prevalent. Scarcity of commodities in the former Soviet Union, for instance, was legendary. Two basic problems with the command economic model led to this. First, though resources can be pooled together effectively and efficiently for a specific project, it is difficult to have an overall plan for an entire society. The second basic problem is related to the definition of human needs and who decides what is needed. Many Communist countries during the Cold War period concentrated on heavy industry and on military defense technology. As a result, daily necessities, such as socks and washing powder and even butter and bread, were considered secondary. The people in these countries were either implicitly or explicitly asked to sacrifice to compete with the capitalist system for the construction of a new society.

A final word of criticism concerning the Communist economic model is related to political oppression. Based on its very ideological orientation, the system not only demands individual sacrifices, but it also suppresses individual initiatives and creativity for private pursuits. For many, if not all, the lack of freedom of individual pursuit of “happiness” not only stamper economic prosperity but is also intrinsically unacceptable.

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See also **Capitalist Economic Model; Collectivism; Development History and Theory; Free Market Economy; Socialist Economic Model**

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## COMOROS

The Comoros are a group of islands of volcanic origin in the western Indian Ocean. The three westernmost islands form the independent Union of Comoros; the fourth island, Mayotte, remains a French territory. The population of 760,000 is Islamic and ethnically and culturally homogeneous. Economically, Mayotte is highly dependent on subsidies from France, while the independent islands rely on foreign aid and remittances; vanilla, cloves, and perfume essences are the only significant exports. Gross national income (GNI) per capita in the independent islands was \$450 (US dollars) in 2003; real growth rates are generally positive but highly variable.

Relatively prosperous in the precolonial period due to their participation in regional trading networks, the islands' economies contracted following colonisation by France. The suppression of the slave trade and an almost complete lack of investment by the colonial power were accompanied by a severing of the islands from their natural socioeconomic environment—the East African coast—and orienting them toward Madagascar.

In 1975, the unilateral declaration of independence marked the end of six decades of colonial neglect. Independence prompted a French-backed revolution, but the lack of French support forced President Ali Soilihi to turn against his backers. Recognising the need for change, he embarked upon a radical Marxist-inspired program of social and economic reform. Soilihi's immediate objectives were achieving self-sufficiency in food production and educating the population; he dismantled colonial administrative structures and attacked the customary social order. Resistance to the latter, the tyranny of an increasingly

unrestrained youth militia, a volcanic eruption, and a massive influx of refugees following anti-Comorian riots in Madagascar led to social discord and hastened economic collapse. A decline in public support reflected Soilihi's increasing lack of control and finally provoked the mercenary-led restoration of a pro-French government in 1978.

Since the end of the Soilihi regime, approaches to development have been both unimaginative and unsuccessful; the political life of the country has been marked by a succession of *coup* attempts, several that were successful; in 1997, the island of Ndzواني (Anjouan) seceded. Despite an appeal to free market forces and the encouragement of investors (many of dubious competence), there has been no coherent policy of economic or social development beyond mendicity: an ongoing quest for donors. Despite the reestablishment of national unity of the three independent islands in 2002, chronic political instability and economic mismanagement discourages investors. The country remains highly dependent on the colonial power, and the development process is constrained by the continued French role in shaping policy and the subsequent difficulty of independent political action or economic policy.

A number of development organisations, bilateral and multilateral, operate in the country, but many projects are marked by failure. A small handful do succeed in achieving social acceptance, but the majority of lasting infrastructure projects, particularly on the largest island of Ngazidja, are financed by the emigrant community and not by outsiders.

Ali Soilihi's presidency was brief, but his policies left a lasting impression, particularly in view of the lack of real progress since his fall, and a critical re-evaluation of the period is currently benefiting from the perspective afforded by time. Although there is clearly an element of nostalgia in such retrospectives, there is also a recognition that the present political elite is not qualified to tackle the country's increasingly intractable economic woes. The country has no niche role—tourism suffers from a lack of air links, labour costs are high, and agricultural land is already overcrowded—and chronic corruption impedes all but the most persistent development initiatives.

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## CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE

The Democratic Republic of the Congo, formerly known as Zaire, is located in Central and West Africa on both sides of the equator. The country has a small access to the Atlantic Ocean at its western border, but it is bounded on the west by Angola and the Republic of the Congo; to the north by the Central African Republic and Sudan; to the east by Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania; and to the south by Zambia and Angola.

This region was first exploited by Europeans during the Portuguese exploration of Africa in the late 1400s. The taking of slaves from the region soon followed, with these being taken to the Americas. The slave trade continued into the nineteenth century, during which time King Leopold of Belgium established a colony of his own (not a colony of Belgium) in the region. This colony, the Congo Free State, had not been established in keeping with the other European colonies of the period, and the other European colonial powers objected to Leopold's personal rule. This resulted in the Belgian government taking control of the region in 1908, renaming it the Belgian Congo.

The purpose of European colonization was for economic gain, and the natural resources of the Belgian Congo (primarily copper, along with other minerals and natural products) were profitable. Profits dropped during the international depression of the 1930s, but resumed following World War II.

African movements for postwar independence met with mixed success in many areas, but in 1957, Belgium permitted limited home rule, and in 1960, full independence was achieved. The new government had a multiparty structure, like many European parliaments, with no group in clear control. Complicating the new independence was the fact that many Belgian military officers had held onto their positions of power. This led to local revolts and fragmentation of the country, and President Joseph Kasavubu had his prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, arrested.

Lumumba was assassinated, and civil unrest continued. At the invitation of the government, the United Nations sent in military forces to restore peace. Revolts continued for years until the Congolese army overthrew the civil government, and Colonel Joseph Mobutu declared himself president.

Five years of civil war had badly damaged the country's infrastructure, so Mobutu's first missions were to centralize power in the national government, end regional fighting and efforts at secession, and restore the economy. Unfortunately, just as production in the copper industry could resume, the world market price for copper dropped, and the price for oil increased.

From the time of independence in 1960, the economy and population of the Congo had changed dramatically. The people of the region had traditionally engaged in subsistence farming, with families providing essentially for themselves; with independence, however, a migration of the population to the cities began. This reduced overall food production, and Congo changed from being self-sufficient to a country requiring imports of essential materials. The potential mineral wealth (in addition to copper, some gold, silver, tin, manganese, and other minerals can be mined) made international credit easily available, and Congo became a major borrower. Only twenty years after independence, Congo (known as Zaire from 1971 to 1997) had a national debt of more than \$4 billion.

The performance of the economy of Congo/Zaire was inconsistent, even after civil order was restored. While agricultural output expanded between 1967 and 1983, exports dropped, and gross domestic product (GDP) fluctuated, with an overall decline.

One of the country's largest creditors was the United States, which saw Congo/Zaire as a Cold War regional ally against the Soviet Union. This led to a continuation of international loans, with the result that by 1980 the World Bank and International Monetary Fund stepped in to attempt to bring order to Zaire's finances. The United States continued to stand by President Mobutu as an ally through the 1980s, after his earlier intervention against a Cuban-supported government in Angola and against Chad in 1983. Mobutu was able to sustain his rule easily through the 1980s, but regional conflict in the early 1990s brought about his downfall.

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda sent large numbers of refugees into Zaire, and in the eastern regions, an armed rebellion against Mobutu began. Forces led by Laurent Kabila's *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaire* (AFDL) steadily worked their way westward until Mobutu fled the country in 1997. Kabila's revolutionary government was quickly recognized by countries in the region, and

he ruled the country (renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo) until he was assassinated in January 2001. His son, Joseph Kabila, was named as his successor. The International Rescue Commission estimates that some 2.5 million people were killed in the civil war that led to Mobutu's overthrow.

Since the overthrow of President Mobutu, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has continued to import more than it exports, and its international debt in 2002 was more than \$8 billion. Because much of this is believed to have been diverted by Mobutu for his personal use, the government is attempting to trace those funds and alleviate its international obligations.

As of 2005, the Democratic Republic of the Congo's future holds more promise than it has in decades. The new Kabila government is widely recognized as legitimate, regional fighting has subsided, and the first elections since 1960 have been scheduled. This relatively secure environment offers the opportunity for the nation's mineral resources to be developed and for agricultural exports to be increased.

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### CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE

The Republic of the Congo is located in western equatorial Africa on the northwestern banks of the Congo and Ubangui rivers. It has a short, 3-mile/150-kilometer Atlantic coastline and is bordered by the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cameroon, Gabon, and Angolan Cabinda. The Mayombe escarpment extends into the coastal regions of Congo, reaching a height of about 875 yards/800 meters. The low (650–750 yards/600–700 meters) Bateke plateau dominates the country's center, while the swampy forests of the Congo River basin dominate the north. The Niari valley in the south contains the country's best agricultural land. Congo's climate is generally equatorial but varies somewhat depending on altitude and proximity to

cold ocean currents off the coast. Pronounced rainy and dry seasons occur at different times of the year in the various regions.

From the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, three important African kingdoms occupied significant parts of the territory of contemporary Congo. These included the Loango kingdom along the Atlantic Coast, the Tio kingdom in the Plateau region of central Congo, and the Kongo kingdom extending into southeastern Congo. The belief in the supernatural powers of the kings served as an important ideological basis for power in all three. Their economies were based on agricultural production, with the slave trade becoming an important trading component in the sixteenth century. Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza was the first European to penetrate the Congo beyond the coastal region in 1875. In 1880, de Brazza gained the signature of the Makoko, King of Tio, on a treaty granting the French dominion in his territories, and a parallel signature from the King of Loango in 1883. These served as a legal pretext for French occupation of the territories over the coming two decades. In 1910, Congo became part of the federation of French Equatorial Africa (FEA), including the territories of Congo, Gabon, Chad, and Ubangui-Chari, with Brazzaville as the capital. From 1898 to 1930, Congo was under the dual administration of the French government and some forty "concessionary companies." These gained rights to exploit the natural and human resources of their individual concessions in return for rent and taxes, leading to horrible abuses but little lasting economic development. Between 1922 and 1934, the French constructed the Congo-Ocean railway connecting Brazzaville and Pointe Noire, at the cost of some fourteen thousand African lives. While per capita income in Congo has been bolstered since the 1970s by petroleum income, the economy remains largely unindustrialized and underdeveloped.

Following France's defeat in World War II, partisans of Free France and Vichy battled to control French Africa. After a Free French victory, thanks to the support of a key governor, Félix Éboué, Brazzaville became the headquarters of Free France in Africa during the war. In 1944, Charles de Gaulle chaired an important colonial conference in Brazzaville, at which time France promised political reform after the war. Congo's agricultural economy expanded during the war to meet increased allied demand for commodities. In 1946, France permitted the establishment of a territorial assembly and the election of two Africans to the French National Assembly. Felix Tchicaya, a Gabonese-born resident of Pointe Noire (Congo), was elected to represent the territory then known as "Moyen Congo." Until his

political eclipse in 1957, Tchicaya had one chief rival in politics named Jacques Opangault, an Mbochi from northern Congo. In 1953, the French opened a dam on the Djoué River that provided electricity to Brazzaville, stimulating increasing migration into the colonial capital.

The politics of the late colonial period were dominated by personality and ethnoregional loyalties. No strong basis for national identity emerged. In 1956, Félix Youlou became a significant political figure when he rallied the Lari people to his cause and was elected mayor of Brazzaville. Congo became an autonomous state in the Franco-African Union in 1958 before its proclamation of independence in 1960. In 1959, the National Assembly elected Youlou as president. Although Youlou had charisma, he followed conservative, pro-French economic and foreign policies until his overthrow in 1963. Beginning in the late colonial period, Congo's main source of export revenue was timber harvested in its southern forests, with annual production varying between five hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand cubic meters. Congo also produced tobacco, sugar, cocoa, bananas, and peanuts on a small scale for export and local consumption.

After Youlou's fall, Congo's government created a new, single party for the state, the *Mouvement Nationale de la Révolution*, and followed a vaguely Socialist path to development. Alphonse Massamba-Debat, a former assembly president, became Congo's second president. He ruled, without fully consolidating power or fundamentally altering the economy, until being overthrown in 1968.

Congo's next three presidents were all northern Mbochi army officers. The first, Marien Ngouabi, renamed the country People's Republic of Congo, created a new state party (the *Parti Congolais du Travail*), and adopted Marxism-Leninism as the state's official ideology. His regime coincided with large increases in oil production and prices in the early 1970s. The state took the leading role in the economy, nationalizing private enterprises (such as the Industrial and Agricultural Company of Niari, SIAN) and launching others (such as the Textile Printing Company of Congo, IMPRECO). After Ngouabi's assassination in 1977, Jacques Yhombi-Opango briefly served as president before being overthrown in a bloodless *coup d'état* in 1979. His successor, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, ruled Congo until the political transition of 1991. Oil revenues allowed substantial investments in Congo's state-dominated industrial sector, led by the Hydro-Congo petroleum product-marketing monopoly, during this period and caused massive urbanization of the country. Civil society was kept firmly under state control, however, following Marxist doctrine.

The revolution that overthrew Sassou was motivated by an economic crisis dating to the oil price collapse of 1985 and by the ideological shock of communism's collapse. Congo's leaders organized a "sovereign national conference" in 1991 and put in place a transitional government that drafted a new constitution. Multiparty elections in 1992 saw the election of Pascal Lissouba, a scientist and former prime minister from the 1960s, as president. Voting, again, exhibited an ethnoregional pattern. The revolution of 1991 led to the rebirth of a free press and of a nascent independent civil society. A political dispute at the end of 1992 led Lissouba to dissolve the assembly and organize new elections in 1993, which his party won by dubious means. Political protest, ethnic cleansing, and low-grade civil war between political militia groups ensued, leading to more than two thousand deaths.

The civil peace was restored during 1994, but political tension hung over Brazzaville and led up to the presidential elections scheduled for July 1997. The economy had performed poorly under Lissouba, with GDP *declining* by an average of 3.2% annually between 1993 and 1997. Annual inflation averaged more than 16% during the same years, owing mostly to the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994. Civil society remained weak. Only weeks before the election, Lissouba attempted to arrest Sassou, who was to be a presidential candidate in the elections. This move precipitated another more deadly civil war between the political militia, ending with Sassou's victory in October. Some ten thousand Congolese died. Sassou owed his victory mostly to French support and Angolan intervention. As Sassou sought to consolidate his rule, yet another civil war broke out in December 1998, lasting a full year and killing fifty thousand. Relative peace returned to Congo by late 1999. Since then, some of the country's infrastructure has been rebuilt, but the economy remains utterly dependent on petroleum income and the civil society cowed by the threat of renewed war.

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## CONSTITUTIONALISM, DEFINITION

Determining how state power should be used and limited is probably the oldest and most intractable political problem. The sudden independence of the European empires after World War II and the more recent disintegration of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe made that problem inescapable and worldwide. One of its most vexing aspects involves the legal establishment of new sovereign powers. The general recognition of popular sovereignty, a system of nation-states requiring legal order for recognition, and a global economic system requiring legal protections all militated in favor of the promulgation of constitutions. But the uses of constitutions, especially in the developing world, are more problematic than might appear at first glance.

Constitutions are power maps; they are, at the same time, proclamations of sovereignty, institutional guidelines for the power and staffing of government offices, and listings of limitations on government power (Duchacek 1973). This combination of aims makes the definition of constitutionalism difficult. The more common definitions of the term view constitutionalism as long-term, self-imposed, and procedural; the term refers to substantive limitations on majority decisions (Elster and Slagstad 1988). Drawing on classical liberal political and economic theory, these definitions emphasize acceptance of limited government and the rule of law. For this perspective, the most important features of constitutional orders are the establishment of responsible governments, regular elections, an independent court system, public order, and protection of individual rights, especially to property and to secure contracts (de Smith 1962). Another, more functionalist view of constitutionalism focuses instead on the establishment of sovereignty and the need for constitutions to adapt to social and economic environments to secure legitimacy (Friedrich 1967; Loewenstein 1963). Constitutionalism, then, is not so much a matter of limitations on government as of establishing government in the

first place. Constitutions that reinforce sovereignty through building national loyalties and adapting state power efficiently to other social and economic institutions are much more likely to succeed.

Both liberal and functionalist definitions of constitutionalism have some relevance to the problem of constitutionalism in developing countries, but both approaches have major weaknesses. Liberal definitions have pinpointed a major problem in developing countries. The new states have been characterized by authoritarian governments and accompanying deprivations against individual rights. Obviously, legal limitations on state power might help alleviate these difficulties. Just as obviously, however, this approach assumes what is, in fact, problematical in much of the developing world. The concerns about limitations on government that motivate theorists in this school presuppose a level of state power and legitimacy to which most developing countries can only aspire. Calls for the rule of law when governments cannot consistently claim authority twenty kilometers from their capital cities are likely to prove unconvincing as well. Further, the main elements of this view are problematic. Obviously, the need to assert popular sovereignty runs directly into the establishment of governmental limitations (Poggi 1992). Further, the components of the rule of law, such as public order, security of contracts, and protection of property rights, beg several important questions: what institutions will establish public order; what types of contracts will be secured; and which property rights will be protected?

Functional definitions are similarly flawed. In a mirror image of the liberal view, its emphasis on establishing sovereignty spots the immediate problem for most governments in the developing world. What this approach fails to show is how stable, legitimate political orders can be established if constitutions are seen as adaptable instruments. Also, if governments are increased in power, what is to stop those who hold it from authoritarian excesses? Finally, the predominant role given to the formation of national loyalties, while certainly not trivial, avoids the hard task of establishing the institutional powers and limits that can help build them.

The difficulty of establishing a valid and useful constitutional theory for developing countries should not deter thinkers on the subject. It is evident, however, that present definitions of constitutionalism must be rethought. This task can be addressed, as Seidman (1978) shows, by looking at the task of development itself. Development is concerned with changing established patterns of social, political, and economic behaviors to different and more productive pursuits. Its main tools in achieving these goals are

law and regulation. What both existing approaches to constitutionalism have avoided is how constitutions can be adapted to development purposes. The dominant liberal approach would achieve development goals by the rule of law and the institutions—an independent court system and strong security forces—to enforce it. The result would be an environment more conducive to capitalist development and, presumably, limited democracy. The functional approach would depend instead on increasing national integration to ensure that legal commands would be followed and development initiatives are achieved.

What both approaches avoid is that development involves a choice. Individuals in developing countries must take a sharp pencil to legal commands; their environment leaves little room for error. Only those laws and regulations that are clear and understandable in terms of that environment, which they have the opportunity and capacity to obey and which they perceive (at least) are in their interests, are likely to prove useful (Seidman 1978). One can assert the rule of law through nondemocratic institutions like independent court systems or call for loyalty to the new state and its ideologies to very little effect unless the legal order meets these criteria. And it is here that both definitions of constitutionalism fail. Both are based, de facto, on an elite controlled, top-down transmission of commands. Liberal constitutionalism seeks protection for urban, capitalist interests that cannot mobilize development initiatives through democratic institutions; functionalist constitutionalism seeks loyalty for national political leadership. The task, however, is to provide substantial communication concerning development laws and regulations between mass publics and legislatures and administrators. Hence “constitutionalism,” to be relevant to the developing world, must be defined as a participatory exercise providing the power map for the development process. For this purpose, parts of both perspectives examined in this discussion will prove useful, but not unless they are recast with the aim of providing institutions that foster the necessary input functions to make development work. This problem awaits further thought.

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### CONTRAS

The Contras were a guerrilla army opposed to the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua during the 1980s and 1990s. Their attempt to defeat the Sandinista government badly damaged Nicaragua and helped to maintain the bitter divide between the Left and the Right, which has characterized much of that country’s history. The secret funding of the Contras by the United States government, without Congressional approval, led to the Iran-Contra Scandal that tarnished the second term of the Reagan presidency.

### Nicaragua

After becoming an independent nation in the nineteenth century, Nicaragua suffered under the rule of a succession of corrupt strongmen, often backed by the United States. These governments supported the interests of Nicaragua’s wealthy elite and foreign, generally American, corporations, at the expense of the country’s population of poor farmers.

In 1912, the US Marines intervened to protect American corporate interests and the presidency of Adolfo Diaz. The Marines stayed in Nicaragua until 1934, supporting a series of puppet presidents. They were opposed for much of their occupation by General Augusto Cesar Sandino, a political Liberal. Sandino was finally killed during a US-brokered peace negotiation, executed by order of General Anastasio Somoza Garcia, a US-trained leader of the Nicaraguan National Guard. After his death, Sandino became a folk hero among poor and left-wing Nicaraguans.

Somoza used his position as head of the National Guard—along with the support of the American government—to stage a *coup d’état* and seize power in 1937. He ruled until 1956, when he was replaced by his two sons, Luis and Anastasio Somoza, who ruled

either directly, with one of them as president, or as the real power behind a series of puppet presidents. Their rule was characterized by rampant corruption.

In the 1960s, radical opponents of the Somoza regime established the *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* (FSLN)—the National Sandinista Liberation Front—named after General Sandino. Brutally suppressed by the Somozas, the Sandinistas's success was limited at first, but Anastasio Somoza's attempts to maintain his own one-man rule (Luis died in 1967) alienated more mainstream elements in the population who allied themselves to the Sandinistas. In 1979, Somoza was finally convinced he could no longer hold on to power, and he went into a US-facilitated exile. Tens of thousands died in the war to remove him from power.

The new government was led by Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega. It put into place numerous reforms, including confiscating the Somoza's land holdings and imposing agrarian reforms. Some of these measures were too extreme for Ortega's more moderate, non-Sandinista allies, including Violeta Chamorro. Chamorro's family owned the paper *La Prensa* and had opposed Somoza but also disagreed with the more radical Sandinista policies.

The US government began funding opponents to the Sandinistas, including *La Prensa*. However, the most controversial of the US actions involved the creation and support of the military army known collectively as the Contras.

## The Contras

Immediately after Somoza's departure from Nicaragua, a number of his officers and men in the former Nicaraguan National Guard left the country and became involved in anti-Sandinista exile groups. Other Nicaraguans, including some ex-Sandinistas, opposed the regime because of specific policies, particularly its close ties with Cuba and its leader Fidel Castro. These anti-Sandinista forces were collectively called the "Contras," short for *contrarrevolucionarios* or counterrevolutionaries.

Generally, the Contras were right-wing in ideology but divided into several and not always friendly groups, and it therefore would be a mistake to lump them all together. For example, groups placed under the Contra label included Edén Pastora, a former Sandinista leader who, while not in agreement with more conservative Contras, opposed Sandinista leader Ortega's ties with Cuba. It was the more conservative Contra groups, however, particularly those whose roots lay in the dictator Somoza's

regime, which were the most prominent and the best funded.

In particular, the *Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense* (FDN)—Nicaraguan Democratic Force—became the group most identified with the label "Contra." The FDN was made up of ex-Somoza officers and led by former National Guard leader Enrique Bermúdez. The FDN was based in Honduras, Nicaragua's northern neighbor, and was supported by that country's conservative government. Very quickly, also, the FDN began receiving extensive financial and logistical support from the United States.

It is possible that some Contra elements received funding from the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during 1979 and 1980, although this was not the official policy of the US government under President Jimmy Carter. In 1981, however, Ronald Reagan was elected president of the United States, and American policy became strongly anti-Sandinista and pro-Contra. President Ronald Reagan opposed the Sandinista regime and was willing to use military force to remove them from power.

In late 1981, Reagan signed the National Security Decision Directive 17 (NSDD 17), which authorized secretly funneling millions of dollars in military aid to the Contras. Reagan made it clear that it was his administration's goal to remove Ortega and the Sandinistas from power. Reagan justified this attempt to overthrow the government of an independent nation on the grounds that the Sandinista's ties to Cuba made them part of the general Soviet alliance and therefore a threat to US interests. More specifically, Reagan and other conservatives in the United States also accused the Sandinistas, probably correctly, of supporting left-wing guerillas in El Salvador.

The CIA, under NSDD 17 authorization, spent millions arming and training the Contras, which eventually became an army of perhaps five or six thousand men. The Contras, and for the most part this meant the FDN, carried out bombing attacks against Nicaraguan civilian and military targets. In 1983, the Contras began large-scale raids across the border from their bases in Honduras (and with support from the Honduran army) but with only limited success. Nicaragua's economy was disrupted, but local pro-Sandinista militias were able to defeat the invaders. In 1984, US forces placed mines in Nicaraguan ports in an attempt to further destabilize the Sandinista government, a move that received widespread attention and international condemnation. The Contras also used terrorist techniques, including assassination, against the Nicaraguan government. By 1984, international hostility to the US's pro-Contra position convinced the United States Congress, then



controlled by the Democratic Party, to temporarily end American funding of the Contras's military activities. The Boland Amendment, the amendment that ended the funding, was reluctantly signed into law by President Reagan on October 12, 1984.

Without US funding, the Contras, who lacked widespread popular support in Nicaragua, were unlikely to succeed in their efforts to overthrow the Sandinistas. Moreover, elections held in late 1984 gave the Sandinistas a strong majority in Nicaragua's National Assembly and elected Ortega president.

### **Iran-Contra Scandal**

President Reagan was reluctant to allow the Contras, whom he likened to the US's founding fathers, to fail. With Reagan's encouragement, National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane authorized his subordinate Oliver North to organize further aid to the Contras. North, using the National Security Council (NSC) as his base of operations, raised funds from sympathetic countries around the world as well as from private donors (some of whom received the reward of a photo with President Reagan). The NSC was also aided in its activities by the CIA. All this was done against the Bolland Amendment and therefore was illegal under US law. It was also done entirely without congressional knowledge and kept secret because North and his superiors (McFarlane and later his replacement, Admiral John Poindexter) knew that it was illegal.

This illegal funding of the Contras gradually began to become public after 1985, when a CIA-operated plane piloted by Eugene Hasenfus was shot down over Nicaragua. Hasenfus was captured, and his confession, along with captured documents, revealed the tip of the illegal activities of the CIA. In 1986, after government officials, including President Reagan, denied US involvement, a congressional investigation was opened. Congressional committees gradually unraveled parts of the Contra funding story, particularly the central role of Oliver North and John Poindexter.

The investigation also revealed that the US government had authorized selling weapons to Iran, then an enemy of the United States, in return for helping to obtain the release of American hostages being held in Lebanon. Much of the money gained in these arms sales, which were themselves illegal, was funneled by Oliver North to support the Contras. It was the discovery of this unique funding method that exploded into the Iran-Contra Scandal.

An independent counsel, Lawrence Walsh, was appointed in December 1986 to investigate the Iran-Contra affair. In the end, both Poindexter and North were convicted of violating US law, but their convictions were overturned on appeal (largely because they had previously been granted limited immunity by congressional committees). It was never proven that President Reagan knew of the illegal nature of his subordinates' activities, although it is clear that he was in sympathy with the policies they were advancing—the destabilization of the Nicaraguan government. Later, President Bush, who had been vice president during Iran-Contra, pardoned many of the major participants in the scandal, including Robert McFarlane.

### **End of the Contras**

The exposure of the Iran-Contra Scandal in the United States made further support of the Contras politically difficult. Furthermore, there was widespread hostility to the United States's pro-Contra policies in both Central America and in the larger international community. Well-documented reports of Contra atrocities reduced what limited popularity they once had, while the economic strain the conflict put on neighboring countries, such as El Salvador and Costa Rica, made ending the war seem a necessity.

Costa Rican President Oscar Arias put forward the Arias Peace Plan, which both demanded an end to outside intervention, as well as an agreement by the Sandinistas to hold new elections. President Ortega agreed but was rebuffed by the United States and the Contras, both still hoping for military success. In 1988, a Nicaraguan offensive against Contra forces still in Nicaragua led to further Contra defeats and a recognition that the war was failing.

The Bush administration, which came to power in 1989, ended the Reagan policy of military action and supported the idea of Nicaraguan elections, pushing strongly for the defeat of Ortega by helping to fund his opponents. The 1990 presidential election led to Ortega's defeat and the victory of Violeta Chamorro, candidate of the moderate Right.

Some Contra forces, unhappy with the Chamorro government's decision to keep some Sandinista elements within the Nicaraguan government, fought on until 1994, when the last Contra bands made their peace with the government.

The Contras had some roots in a genuine reaction by anti-Leftist elements within Nicaragua, but they

would have been impossible without extensive support and funding by the United States, funding obtained both within and outside the confines of US law. In the end, the elements must be viewed as an extension of US foreign policy, a policy that was opposed the Leftist pro-peasant policies of the Sandinista government.

Politically, the Contras achieved only limited success. They failed to oust the Sandinistas from power through military means. They did, however, put pressure on the Ortega government, and it may have been that pressure that eventually led to Ortega's defeat in 1990.

Economically and socially, the Contra War was a disaster for the people of Nicaragua. Nicaragua was forced to spend a large portion of its gross national product on troops and weapons, while much of Nicaragua's northern provinces were disrupted by Contra raids. The result was to make an already poor country poorer. The human cost of the Contra War is difficult to calculate but probably exceeds fifty thousand killed. To a country with a population of approximately 4 million, this was an immense loss.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations; Guerrilla Warfare; Nicaragua**

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## COPTIC CHURCH (COPTS)

The Coptic Orthodox Church is the indigenous church of Egypt, currently encompassing approximately 95% of the Christian population in that country. The Coptic Orthodox Church is the largest of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, distinct in its organization from the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches since the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451. Its independence from the rest of the world's

churches is signified by its recognition as an “autocephalus” church. The head of the church is its patriarch, known locally as the pope of the Coptic Orthodox Church. Individual adherents are known as “Copts.”

The term “Coptic” refers both to the church and to the Egyptian language in use in the first century when the church was founded, which has been retained as a liturgical language written in Greek characters. It is conjectured that the word is a derivative of a Greek term used for the nation of Egypt; thus, “Coptic” is synonymous with “Egyptian.”

According to tradition, the Coptic Church was established by St. Mark in the first century CE. To this day, the Coptic Holy See of Alexandria is known as the Holy See of St. Mark. Over the course of the following four centuries, Christianity grew to become the most influential religion in Egypt, and several important early Christian leaders came from the Coptic Church, including Origen of Alexandria, Athanasius, and Dioscorus, who led the church out of the mainstream of Christian orthodoxy in 451. The division of the church led to widespread religious conflict in Egypt that came to an end with the Muslim conquest in 640. During the Islamic period, Copts were tolerated, but the internal weakness of the church and restrictions and taxation imposed upon non-Muslims contributed to the gradual erosion of the Christian population; by the end of the Ottoman period, they were a small minority.

During the late colonial period, Copts were gradually emancipated from feudal-era restrictions that controlled their public activity. They were freed from an obligation to pay a special poll-tax (*jizya*) in 1855, admitted as equals to the Egyptian armed forces, and began to achieve greater prominence in the early nationalist administrations. Copts became prominent in business and in the administration. One Copt, Boutros Ghali, became prime minister in 1908, only to be assassinated two years later. The event signaled an increase in hostility toward the Coptic Church, which was perceived as a fifth column for colonial authorities even as those authorities sought to mollify local Muslim religious sentiments. From the 1930s, restrictions on church construction were intensified under a ministerial rescript. Following the Free Officers' Revolt of 1952 and a subsequent republican administration, the Coptic Church was significantly weakened through the confiscation and nationalization of personal and institutional properties. Increasing levels of emigration further decreased the number of Copts resident in Egypt.

The decline of the Church came to a halt in 1959 with the appointment of a reformist patriarch,

Kyrillos VI. The patriarch saw to an intensification of Christian education and to the empowerment of lay and clerical leadership, encouraging the rise of several like-minded bishops. Among these was Nazir Gayed, a charismatic youth leader, who was instrumental in the growth of a rigorous new catechetical Sunday school movement. Upon the death of Kyrillos VI in 1971, Gayed succeeded him as Pope Shenouda III. The present patriarch has overseen the further institutional resurrection of the church. In the late 1970s, he led a more activist approach toward the regime in response to the growing threat of Islamist radicalism toward Christians and church properties, a radicalism tacitly courted by the government of President Anwar al-Sadat. His opposition to the regime amid the riots and violence of Sadat's final days caused the government to charge him with treasonous activities and to force him into internal exile in 1981. Following the assassination of Sadat later that year, Shenouda sought reconciliation with the government and was reinstated in 1985. During the past two decades, the Coptic Church has sought to consolidate the gains made under the reformers and to maintain a cordial relationship with the government and conservative Islamist elements. Through the 1990s, the church suffered as a target of the radical Islamist *Gama'a al-Islamiya* terror organization, but government repression of the radicals and international attention to the plight of the church have bolstered its position. The church has effectively modernized, providing significant local social services, such as relief, educational, health, and rehabilitative programs. In spite of the patriarch's traditional title as Bishop of the See of Alexandria, the administrative offices of the church are situated in Cairo.

In the twenty-first century, Copts are found throughout Egypt and in diaspora communities throughout Europe, North America, and Australia, where they have established indigenous dioceses appointed by the patriarch. While Copts are found throughout Egypt, they are especially concentrated in Cairo and in Upper Egypt, particularly in the governorates of Asyut, Minya, and Sohag. Their numbers are a matter of significant controversy: Copts are said to compose anywhere between 4% and 10% of the Egyptian population.

In the third century, a Coptic ascetic, St. Anthony the Great, became the founder of the Christian monastic movement when he retreated to a spot in the Eastern Desert of Egypt not far from the Red Sea coast. He was followed by many imitators, who established monasteries in the deserts of Egypt, most notably in the salt water depression known as Wadi Natrun, south of Alexandria. Monasticism became a key feature of the Coptic Orthodox Church, so much

so that the modern hierarchy is drawn entirely from the ranks of anchorite monks from the many monasteries that are scattered throughout Egypt. Thus, while the hierarchs are celibate, individual priests may marry. Despite a prolonged period of decline, the monastic movement has seen a resurgence under the past two patriarchs, and the largest monasteries have been refurbished and developed into major centers of spiritual retreat.

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See also **Christianity**

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## CORRUPTION, GOVERNMENTAL

Corruption, in one form or another, remains an important development constraint in virtually all developing societies. Unfortunately, it is difficult to define and measure, making it very challenging for researchers to empirically test for it.

### Defining Corruption

Traditionally, corruption is defined in terms of three basic models. First, corruption, as argued by Nye (1967:419), is “[b]ehavior which deviates from the normal duties of a public role” and hence is related to the performance of the duties of a public office. Second, it is related to the exchange concept, which is derived from the economic theory of the market. As argued by J. van Klaveren (1990:26), state custodians (civil servants and politicians) view their public offices as enterprises from which they can extract extralegal compensation. If a civil servant, for example, can generate for himself more resources from outside sources (such as through bribes) than from his regular employment, he may spend most of his time and

effort meeting the needs of the entrepreneurs who bribe him than performing the public duties for which he was hired. Finally, corruption is related to the concept of the public interest. According to Carl Friedrich (1990:15), the “pattern of corruption may therefore be said to exist whenever a power holder who is charged with doing certain things, that is a responsible functionary or office holder, is by monetary or other rewards, such as the expectation of a job in the future, induced to take actions which favor whoever provides the reward and thereby damage the group or organization to which the functionary belongs, more specifically the government.” Hence, the activities of opportunistic state custodians can severely damage public interest and must be considered important variables in the examination of corruption and its impact on society.

### Classifying Corruption

The development literature identifies four categories of corruption: (i) cost-reducing corruption; (ii) cost-enhancing corruption; (iii) benefit-enhancing corruption; and (iv) benefit-reducing corruption (Alam 1989). The first category, cost-reducing corruption, involves situations in which civil servants reduce the costs imposed on an enterprise by government regulations. For example, the regulator can exempt an enterprise from complying with certain government regulations or eliminate the taxes owed by that business to the government. The civil servant and the business owner share (based on a prearranged sharing formula) the savings generated by the bureaucrat’s actions.

In cost-enhancing corruption, the second category, civil servants who are placed in charge of public stocks of food and other public goods may extract rents by charging demanders a price that is higher than that allowed by law. In addition, bureaucrats whose job it is to grant licenses and permits, such as import licenses, for entrepreneurs to enter business sectors closed by government regulations can confiscate part of the monopoly profit associated with the licenses. Finally, the civil servant can illegally tax economic activity for his own benefit.

In the third category of benefit-enhancing corruption, civil servants transfer to citizens who are legally due public benefits more than the legal amount. In exchange, the recipient surrenders some of the benefits to the civil servant. Throughout developing countries, incumbent rulers use this mechanism to transfer resources to individuals and groups, such as military officers and labor unions, that have

developed enough violence potential to threaten regime security.

In the fourth and last type of corruption—benefit-reducing—civil servants illegally transfer to themselves benefits that belong to citizens. For example, the director of the country’s public pension plan may delay the transfer of retirement benefits to retirees and, subsequently, appropriate the interest earned by the delayed funds. This type of corruption is quite pervasive in developing countries given the fact that civil servants have more information about public benefits programs than ordinary citizens.

### Corruption and the Theory of Public Choice

Many economists, not satisfied with the explanations given for corruption in the development literature, have turned to the theory of public choice, which considers corruption as postconstitutional opportunism, designed to extract benefits for individuals or groups at the expense of the mass of the people. As argued by public choice theorists, the scope and extent of corruption in a society is determined by the society’s institutional arrangements. After the constitution has been compacted and adopted, there is an incentive for individuals and groups in the society to subvert the laws or rules to generate additional income for themselves. The subversion of rules, if it can be undertaken successfully, can enhance the ability of individuals and groups to extract benefits above and beyond what they would have secured otherwise. Such behavior can take place in both democratic and nondemocratic societies (Ostrom, Schroeder, and Wynne 1993).

Civil servants and politicians may use their public positions to maximize their private objectives instead of carrying out the duties for which they were appointed or elected. The desire by civil servants and politicians to engage in opportunism, such as corruption and rent seeking, and the effort by special interest groups to subvert society’s laws and generate benefits for themselves create opportunities for corrupt behavior. For example, a trader who wants to secure a lucrative import license may bribe a clerk at the trade ministry to easily secure the permit. The latter offers the trader opportunities to earn monopoly profit.

The regulatory activities of the government impose significant transaction costs on market participants and have a negative impact on firm profitability. To minimize these regulation-related costs and enhance firm profitability, some entrepreneurs may turn to the bureaucracy for help. The enterprise owner pays the

regulator a bribe so that her business is treated favorably and she can minimize the burden of government regulation on her economic activities. For example, in exchange for the bribe, the regulator can exempt a business from meeting various government mandates, such as providing wheelchair access to the business or meeting certain safety and environmental standards. As argued by public choice theorists, bureaucratic corruption is related directly to the scope and extent of government intervention in the markets. Hence, an effective and sustainable corruption control program must involve the modification of existing rules so as to change the incentive structures faced by participants in markets (Mbaku 2000; Rose-Ackerman 1999).

### The International Dimension of Corruption

Corruption is a universal problem. Although it affects both developed and developing countries, it does not have a uniform impact on each one of them. In recent years, many policy makers around the world have recognized corruption's global nature and have been attempting to coordinate their cleanup efforts. Corruption is no longer viewed as arising from the interaction of domestic entrepreneurs with their bureaucracies. Many politicians and civil servants, especially in Third World countries, are now arguing that the contributions of transnational corporations to the culture of corruption must be recognized to allow governments to more effectively deal with it.

Since the mid-1980s, many organizations have become interested in corruption cleanups. Some of the most important of these organizations include the United Nations (UN), the Organization of American States (OAS), the International Chamber of Commerce, Transparency International (TI), the World Economic Forum (WEF), the World Bank, Interpol, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Why is there renewed interest in corruption control? During the last two decades, there have been significant developments in the global political economy, which have changed the willingness of many people, especially in the developing countries, to tolerate venality and malfeasance in the public sector. In the late 1980s, many of these people took to the streets in demonstrations against incompetence, corruption, and inefficiency in the public sector and demanded institutional reforms to make their public sectors more efficient. Since then, the balance of power in many countries has been shifting in favor

of more open, transparent, and participatory forms of governance (Glynn, Kobrin, and Naím 1997).

Since the early 1990s, the world has become more economically interdependent. As a result, corruption in one country can easily spread to other parts of the world. Corruption distorts market incentives and makes it quite difficult for the market to serve as an effective and efficient tool for the allocation of resources. In many African countries, which have been engaged in privatization programs during the last several years, corruption has allowed many civil servants and politicians to mismanage the process and create windfalls for themselves. And, in Eastern Europe, corruption has so distorted the new capitalism that many of the poor are now actively calling for a return to the old system.

The new post-Cold War economic interdependence has helped internationalize corruption. According to Glynn, Kobrin, and Naím (1997), there are three changes that have contributed significantly to the globalization of corruption. First, increased levels of economic integration have made it much more likely that corruption in one region of the world will impact economic and political activities in another part of the world. For example, when the corrupt activities of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) forced it into insolvency in 1991, many of the world's economies, especially those in the Third World, were affected (Passas 1994).

Second, radical changes in information technology have had a tremendous impact on the international financial system and enhanced the ability of traders to behave opportunistically. For example, new, efficient, and fast systems of transferring funds electronically have made it quite difficult for national regulators to deal with corruption. Some anticorruption groups have argued that the ease with which funds can be moved from Africa to Europe or the Caribbean has meant that corrupt civil servants and politicians can easily and almost effortlessly hide their ill-gotten gains from the public, making it quite difficult for the government to recover these funds when and if the individuals are convicted of corruption. Law enforcement agencies in the West, however, continue to produce technological innovations that may actually make it possible to properly monitor these transnational transactions and gather the information needed to fight global corruption.

Third, since the Cold War ended, there has been a rise in the number of cooperative agreements between various economic units domestically and across borders. As argued by Glynn, Kobrin, and Naím (1997), although globalization exacerbates the problem of corruption, it also provides opportunities and instruments to fight against it.

Corruption is an important obstacle to the maintenance of a free, multilateral trading system. For a competitive international economy to function efficiently, participants must obey the rules and refrain from engaging in any form of opportunism. For example, countries that allow or encourage their businesses (for example, through favorite tax treatment) to pay bribes to foreign public officials place such firms at a competitive advantage over firms from countries where the paying of bribes to foreign civil servants and politicians has been criminalized. For many years, US multinational companies complained that they could not compete successfully with European firms for business contracts in developing countries because their counterparts were allowed and encouraged (until recently) by their national governments through favorable tax treatment to engage in corruption abroad.

### Corruption Cleanups

All countries, at one time or another, have developed and implemented anticorruption programs. Many of these programs have been designed to change the behavior of public servants and improve efficiency and minimize venality in the public sector. The development literature identifies four main strategies that have been employed at various times in the past and in various countries to deal with corruption. These have met with various degrees of success, and they are societal, legal, market, and political strategies (Gillespie and Okruhlik 1991).

According to the societal strategy to “clean up corruption,” the society is expected to define a common standard for judging morality and use it to determine if a given behavior qualifies as corrupt. Civil society must remain vigilant and seek out individuals who engage in corrupt behavior and report them to the police. Both the government and civil society organizations should educate the public about corruption and its negative impact on growth and development. Such an education program should enhance the ability of citizens to detect corrupt behavior and report it to the police for further action. The private media has an important role to play in this approach to corruption control. The media investigate and expose corruption, enhancing the ability of the police to further investigate and collect the evidence needed for the prosecution of offenders by the courts.

The legal approach works through the police, the judiciary, and the mass media. First, the law defines civil servants’ jobs and their responsibilities and places the appropriate constraints on them. Second,

the law defines corrupt behavior. Third, citizens are encouraged to watch out for and report incidents of corruption to the authorities. Fourth, the police are expected to investigate any reported incidents of corruption and gather the information needed for further action to be taken by the courts. Fifth, the judiciary system then uses the information provided by the police to prosecute and punish those found guilty of corruption. In cases where grand corruption is suspected or where high-ranking civil servants and politicians are involved, special prosecutors or commissions of enquiry may be convened to look into the situation.

While the police and the courts are very critical to the corruption cleanup process, one must note that unless these institutions are free of corruption, they cannot perform their jobs effectively. Hence, to perform their jobs well, the police and the judiciary must be effectively constrained by the law.

Throughout the developing world, low pay for public employees has been given as a factor contributing to high levels of venality and malfeasance in the public sector. Thus, as part of the effort to clean up corruption in these countries, it has been suggested that across-the-board wage increases should be granted to public workers to minimize the temptation to engage in opportunism. Higher pay, however, could simply force the civil servant to seek larger bribes to compensate for the probability of losing what is now a more lucrative public position. In fact, in most of Africa, a lot of the corruption that takes place in the public sector originates from high-ranking officials and not from low-level, poorly paid government workers, most of whom usually do not have any favors to sell to private-sector operators.

It has been suggested that any reforms in the public services must be accompanied by the provision of counteracting agencies, such as an independent judiciary or some type of independent review board, an ombudsman, or other investigative body (Rose-Ackerman 1978, 1997, 1999). It is important, however, to note that such institutions can become politicized (as is evident from many developing countries and used by the ruling coalition to punish the opposition and enhance its ability to continue to monopolize political power and the allocation of resources.

Those who subscribe to the market approach to corruption cleanups believe that there is a discernible relationship between the structure of the market and corruption. Government regulatory activities in the economy can distort market incentives and create opportunities for civil servants to extort bribes from entrepreneurs. Deregulation or decreased intervention is the solution usually recommended by scholars. This approach, however, has at least two problems.

First, it involves an effort to achieve certain outcomes within an existing incentive structure. Second, the problem is not with the market per se but with the existing incentive structures faced by traders. Of course, the incentive structure, as argued by Brennan and Buchanan (1985), determines the behavior of market participants and, hence, market outcomes. The most effective way to deal with corruption in this instance is to modify existing incentive structures (through rules reform). Reforming the rules, as indicated here, does not imply deregulation but reconstruction of the neocolonial state through a democratic constitution to provide institutional arrangements that adequately constrain state custodians.

Decentralization of state power is the heart of the political strategy to corruption cleanups. For many years, it has been argued that the concentration of power in the central government has made it possible for members of the ruling class to plunder the national economy and engage in corrupt behavior to enrich themselves. Thus, any reform that decentralizes power and brings the government closer to the people will improve accountability and civil service efficiency, as well as reduce corruption. It is also argued that part of the political strategy to deal with corruption should include increased transparency. These reforms, however, can easily be reversed through ordinary legislation by subsequent governments and power that is reconcentrated in the center.

Success of each anticorruption strategy enumerated in the previous paragraphs depends on the effectiveness and professionalism of the counteracting institutions (such as the judiciary, police, and mass media) that exist in a country. The assumption is that each one of these institutions is well constrained by the law and that those who serve in it are free of corruption. Unfortunately, this is not true. First, most developing countries do not have viable independent mass media that can investigate and expose corruption without the threat of censure or harm by the incumbent government. Second, many countries have judiciary systems that are not independent of the executive branch of government. In fact, throughout most of the Third World, the judiciary is under the complete control of the chief executive who has the power to appoint and dismiss judges. Third, public institutions are pervaded with corruption and, hence, cannot be expected to successfully carry out an anticorruption program. A viable, effective, and sustainable anticorruption program must begin with institutional reforms to select appropriate new rules, which (i) adequately constrain the state (and prevent its agents from engaging in corruption) and (ii) provide the foundation for the construction of new and

more effective counteracting agencies (an independent judiciary; a well-constrained police force; professional and neutral armed forces; a free press; an independent central bank; an efficient and representative parliament; and a professional civil service).

## Constitutionalism and Corruption Cleanups

Public choice theory argues that corruption is a “rules-related” problem. Thus, dealing effectively with it requires a thorough examination of the rules that regulate sociopolitical interaction in the society in question. Because rules determine the incentives that market participants face, one cannot adequately understand the nature of corruption in an economy without a thorough examination of the country’s laws and institutions.

In a study published in 1985, Brennan and Buchanan argued that rules (i) determine how individuals within a society interact with each other; (ii) arm the people with the means to peacefully resolve conflict; (iii) provide market participants with information, making it possible for them to anticipate the behavior of others in the market; and (iv) constrain the behavior of individuals as well as that of collectivities in the society. The police, for example, cannot function effectively as a check on corruption if it is not adequately constrained by the law.

Within each country, one can find both implicit (custom and tradition) and explicit (written constitution) rules. Corruption can be viewed as postconstitutional opportunism—that is, activities on the part of individuals designed to generate extralegal income for themselves, usually through subversion of existing laws. Hence, opportunism is defined as any behavior designed to improve the welfare of an individual or group at the expense of other members of society and includes such behaviors as shirking, corruption, adverse selection, moral hazard, and free riding (Ostrom, Schroeder, and Wynne 1993).

To design and execute an effective anticorruption program, then, requires that one begin by first thoroughly examining the country’s existing laws and institutions. This review can then be followed by reforms through democratic constitution that enable the selection of institutional arrangements that adequately constrain the state but enhance entrepreneurial activities. This approach has many benefits. First, the institutional arrangements selected are most likely to reflect the values of the relevant stakeholder groups, enhancing the chance that the people will consider such laws and institutions as legitimate

tools for the regulation of their sociopolitical interaction. When the people claim ownership of the rules that govern their interaction with each other and with the collectivity, compliance is significantly improved, thus minimizing the costs of policing. Second, this approach will allow the people to find ways to constitutionally constrain state custodians and prevent them from engaging in opportunistic behavior. Third, economic freedom can be entrenched constitutionally, enhancing entrepreneurship and maximizing wealth creation. Finally, the reforms can provide the economy with viable and effective structures for the management of ethnic diversity, resulting in significantly lower levels of intercommunal violence. Peaceful coexistence of groups should enhance wealth creation.

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### COSTA RICA

The Republic of Costa Rica is situated on the Central American isthmus between Panama to the west and Nicaragua to the north as well as the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. While the country is small (a little larger than West Virginia at 31,689 square miles or 51,000 square kilometers), it has considerable geographical diversity and biodiversity and a relatively large population of 4 million. Most Costa Ricans (who refer to themselves as *Ticos*) are *mestizo* (a mix of European and Indian heritage). It is estimated that 1% of the population is indigenous and 1% is Chinese; West Indians make up 3% of the population. More than 76% of the population profess Catholicism, which is the state religion. Other religious faiths, though, are protected by a constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion. Protestant churches have grown rapidly in the last two decades and currently include more than 15% of the population.

Despite its small size, Costa Rica's geography varies from rain and cloud forests to arid regions. There are two basic seasons: a dry season (December to April) and a rainy season (May to November). It also enjoys some of the most intense biodiversity in the world, with hundreds of species of birds, animals, and insects residing in the region. The country is subject to periodic earthquakes, flooding, landslides, and volcanic eruptions.

Although Costa Rica was Spain's poorest colony in the region, it currently enjoys the highest per capita income in Central America. Much of Costa Rica's economic and political success was a result of the country's economic development model that was gradually implemented after a short, bloody civil war in 1948.

Costa Rica's postwar development has produced impressive results in both economic and political terms. In socioeconomic terms, the country stands out in contrast to its neighboring republics and in Latin America generally. For example, life expectancy at birth is 78 years for Costa Ricans compared with 69 years for neighboring Nicaraguans. The Human Poverty Index (percentage of the population living in poverty) is 4.4% for Costa Rica compared with almost 23% for Guatemala, 18% for Nicaragua, and 17% for Honduras. Similarly, Costa Rica's historical emphasis on education is reflected in its illiteracy rate of 4.2%; Guatemala has a 30% illiteracy rate, Nicaragua has 23%, and El Salvador has almost 20%. Finally, the stark contrast with the region's other countries is revealed through the United Nations Human Development Index, a composite measure of human development, taking into account life expectancy,



health, education, and standard of living. Costa Rica ranks 45th in the world (above some “developed” countries), while the next highest Central American country is El Salvador at 103rd (El Salvador). The region’s other countries are ranked between 115th (Honduras) through 121st (Guatemala).

In terms of political development, Costa Rica again stands out from its neighbors. Costa Rica has one of the oldest and most respected democracies in the hemisphere. Elections regularly take place every four years and are completely transparent; the results have never been contested by any political party. With the end of the 1948 Civil War and the promulgation of the current constitution (1949), all aspects of the country’s electoral life have been in the hands of a nonpartisan elections tribunal. The members of this tribunal cannot be members of any political party and are selected by a majority vote of the Supreme Court. This body, the Supreme Elections Tribunal (TSE), is responsible for maintenance of the electoral register and all other related issues. It supervises the conduct of the electoral campaigns and the elections themselves. The final results of elections have never been challenged since its creation. Until the late 1990s, general election turnout was consistently above 80%. In 1998, it declined to 70% and then slightly further in 2002.

The 1949 constitution prohibition on the existence of a standing army has allowed successive Costa Rican governments to divert that money for social and economic programs, while other countries in the region have spent a significant proportion of their gross national product (GNP) on defense.

The end of the civil war also marked a turn in the economic development of the country. While exports were still seen as the engine of the country’s economy, successive governments (of both major parties) used the powers of the state to facilitate new industries and expand welfare provisions. This model, although introduced incrementally, was employed from 1949 through the early 1980s, when a major economic crisis and the rise of a neoliberal economic paradigm brought the gradual reform of the social democratic model. In 2002, the GDP per capita, taking into account purchasing power parity (PPP), stood at \$8,840 (US dollars), which was almost twice the GDP of the second most prosperous country in the region, El Salvador at \$4,890.

While the vast majority of the population still favors government intervention in the economy and the provision of social goods such as health care, insurance, and telecommunications, successive governments have reduced the role of the state in these areas.

In 1989, a constitutional amendment created a constitutional branch of the Supreme Court. This

court, *Sala Constitucional* or *Sala IV*, immediately ended the almost two hundred years of court inaction. The new court instead took a direct and active role in the country’s political life. Indeed, the number of cases reflects the increasing activity of the court. In 1990, the first full year of the court’s existence, it received 2296 cases to more than 14,000 in 2003. The court has addressed claims that affect every article of the constitution, including the rights of former presidents to seek reelection, AIDS patients to receive antiretroviral medications, and labor unions to strike.

The major areas of the economy are services, industry, and agriculture. Within these areas, tourism dominates the service sector, and microprocessors the industrial sector. In agriculture, which employs more than 20% of the work force but only produces 9% of GDP, has not kept up with the growth areas of the economy. Low world coffee prices in the past few years and world overproduction of bananas (the country’s two major agricultural products) have hurt this sector.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central America**

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## COTE D’IVOIRE (REPUBLIC OF THE IVORY COAST)

The Republic of the Ivory Coast, or the Cote D’Ivoire, lies on the Gulf of Guinea and borders on Liberia and Guinea (west), Mali and Burkina Faso (north), and Ghana (east). Most of its about 16 million inhabitants live in the southern regions, more fertile than the semi-arid interior plains and

the mountainous northwest. The climate is hot, and dry seasons alternate with shorter wet ones.

Dense forests, heavy surf, and lack of natural deep harbors discouraged foreigners until after the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), when the French enforced their claim to the region. By 1895, the Ivory Coast was incorporated with neighboring colonies into the Federation of French West Africa (AOF). The French subjected Ivoirians to the *indigénat* and forced labor. The traditional elite disappeared, coerced into lower-level civil service or, if rebellious, eliminated. A small elite of cocoa and coffee planters arose. In the early 1940s, they organized opposition to French colonial policies by forming the African Agricultural Union (SAA) and later the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI), a local branch of the African Democratic Rally (RDA).

Under General Charles de Gaulle, members of the AOF gradually moved toward independence. The negotiations, which lasted from 1944 to 1960, brought to the forefront Félix Houphouët-Boigny, a founder and leader of the SAA, the PDCI, and the RDA; he was also a young doctor from a family of well-to-do Baule coffee planters. At independence, he was elected president of the new republic, and for thirty-three years he almost single-handedly determined its development; doing so, he acted as president, prime minister, head of the armed forces, and head of the PDCI. He remains a controversial figure: he is the founding father to some and to others a tyrant who sold out to French neo-colonialism and whose policies generated the country's current ills.

Houphouët-Boigny wished to make the nation prosperous and unify its sixty diverse ethnic groups. Under him, the Ivory Coast was technically a democracy. However, while the constitution allowed a multiparty system, the president successfully insisted on single-party rule, lest unity be threatened. He spent profusely on education to bring Ivoirians into the twentieth century. Results of his efforts were mixed; education remained essentially French and was never synchronized with local cultural perceptions and daily needs. He also attempted to introduce modern hygiene and medicine and succeeded in lowering infant mortality and bringing about an annual 4% population growth. But health services remained inadequate, and health education did not reach the masses.

Houphouët-Boigny based his plans for economic development on agriculture and on export of agricultural products. He concentrated on increasing production and improving the infrastructure to further expand exports. He attempted to diversify agricultural production to shield the country from the instability of world prices for its main exports of cocoa and coffee. He sponsored industrial development to

manufacture imported consumer goods locally. He encouraged Burkinabe and Malian immigration to enlarge the workforce. The government became the largest investor in the economy.

Growth and political stability attracted foreign investments. The Ivory Coast's cooperation with France became increasingly intimate. The South particularly prospered, not only because of the location of the capital, Abidjan, center of export activities, but also because the main cash crops required fertile land, rain, and shade provided by forest trees. Cash crops in turn caused growth of a service economy. The gross national product (GDP) of the Ivory Coast, alone among those of West African nations, rose almost steadily for twenty years. However, the policies that produced the "Ivoirian miracle" also contained the seeds of serious problems. Ivoirian prosperity was unevenly distributed. Uncontrolled migration of northern Muslims and urban growth created widespread unemployment and conflicts. Emphasis on cash crops for export caused food shortages.

The population protested and demanded "ivoirization" of jobs held by immigrants and by the French. Left-leaning students viewed the omnipresence of the French as neo-colonialism and demanded the end of one-party rule.

In the 1980s, the economy faltered, and payment on foreign debt was halted. The government was forced to trim expenditures and adopt structural adjustments mandated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Unrest mushroomed: corruption in the business community was blatant; unemployment, drug use, and violent crime accelerated; mandated economic austerity pitted ethnic groups against one another in competition for scarce resources; prisons were overcrowded; and security services were inadequate. Furthermore, protests arose against the president's self-glorification, which led him to extravagant expenditures to transform his birth place, Yamoussoukro, into a monument to himself. The president responded by liberalizing the political system and permitting open elections. Voters replaced three quarters of incumbents. Yet, because of his charisma, his conciliatory tone, and his apparent willingness to listen to all grievances, Houphouët-Boigny remained popular. By the late 1980s, however, his age and health were of concern. Party unity broke as its leaders competed to succeed him. Houphouët-Boigny died in December 1993, leaving the Ivory Coast in crisis.

In accordance with constitutional provisions, Henri Konan Bedié, president of the assembly, became president and had his appointment confirmed by elections (1995), questionable though they may have been. Bedié did little to resolve economic and social crises but concentrated instead on remaining in

power. To eliminate his strongest opponent, Alassane Ouattara, he promoted the concept of *ivoirité* and engineered a constitutional amendment requiring both parents of political candidates to be Ivoirian-born. He thereby legitimized latent xenophobia and ethnic rivalries.

Bedié was overthrown in 1999 by the first ever military *coup d'état* in the country's history, led by General Robert Guei. Countrywide strikes and demonstrations occurred. The IMF expressed disapproval. Guei promised a return to civilian rule and held elections (October 2000). Unexpectedly, Laurent Gbagbo, the only other candidate who had qualified for the ballot under the exclusionary laws upheld by Guei, won. Guei contested election results. Mass demonstrations followed. The army refused to support him, and Guei fled.

From the point of view of the economy, Gbagbo, president of the Second Republic of the Ivory Coast, appears to be leading the country on the way to recovery. Anxious to lure back foreign donors, his government paid back debt arrears. The IMF ended its freeze. But creditors demand reestablishment of political stability. In response, Gbagbo created a Forum of National Reconciliation and met with his main political competitors: Bedié, Guei, and Ouattara. However, the laws disenfranchising Ouattara are still on the books. The Forum of National Reconciliation is at work. Its efficacy and Gbagbo's commitment to abide by its recommendations are still in question.

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**See also Houphouët-Boigny, Félix; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## COUNTERINSURGENCY

### Counterinsurgency and National Security

“Counterinsurgency” is defined as the measures and strategies, both military and political, that a government employs to defeat an armed resistance from within society. Armed conflicts between a government and a domestic opposition group are commonly known as asymmetric or low-intensity warfare because the combatants possess an unequal level of capabilities. In actual practice, armies have utilized the techniques related to counterinsurgency for centuries. Yet, the concept of counterinsurgency as a major feature of national security policy was first introduced in 1961, when President John F. Kennedy initiated an effort within the United States defense establishment to develop a new strategic doctrine that would present an effective response to the threat posed by unconventional forces or guerilla armies. This was deemed necessary to contain the various revolutionary or “national liberation” movements that endangered regimes in the developing world that were friendly to US interests.

The intellectual precedent for this doctrine was to be found in the strategies employed by the British forces in Malaya and the Philippines during the period 1948 through 1956. These operations emphasized the notion of “limited warfare,” in which the application of military force played a minimal role, and political and economic reform programs were implemented to foster support for the government among the local population. In this manner, the British and local leaders were able to isolate the insurgents and occupy the “center of gravity,” or the basis of political legitimacy that rebel groups must capture to succeed.

However, in many developing countries, counterinsurgency has often been associated with political repression and violations of human rights. Governments in Third World countries that have been faced with a lack of broad popular support have frequently resorted to the use of force to suppress dissent, in which large numbers of regime opponents and suspected collaborators are imprisoned or killed. Such actions became a central feature of the “national security state” in many Asian and Latin American countries that experienced mass social unrest or radical opposition movements. The prominent role assigned to the security forces in some cases has given them a position of influence that has brought them into conflict with civilian authorities.

The application of counterinsurgency doctrine became especially prominent during US involvement in the Vietnam War, in which civilian administrators were deployed to organize the rural population against guerilla activities. However, the success of this program was limited due to the emphasis of US strategy on overwhelming enemy forces with conventional firepower rather than building support for the government of South Vietnam. Counterinsurgency as a central feature of national security strategy enjoyed a resurgence during the Reagan presidency, as the administration promoted a foreign policy doctrine of covert or indirect intervention against alleged Soviet-supported movements in Central America, such as the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador. This policy ended with the resolution of Salvadoran civil war in the early 1990s.

### Counterinsurgency and Strategy

The circumstances for counterinsurgency arise as a result of problems that are frequently found in developing nations. These problems are often rooted in the gradual transition to modern social systems. In the initial stages of economic expansion, the process of industrialization and migration to urban centers replaces traditional forms of production such as subsistence agriculture. As certain segments of society benefit from economic growth before others, the resulting income inequality produces tensions between social classes. Many regimes in postcolonial nations have inherited weak institutions that are ill equipped to resolve disputes between competing interests. Therefore, discontent is often expressed outside of established political channels in the form of collective protests. More severe forms of internal uprisings take place where disenfranchised groups openly challenge the incumbent regime.

Insurgent movements in these countries are therefore fueled and motivated by political and economic conditions that seriously affect the quality of life of the average person in society. This assumes that a certain proportion of the population actively opposes the government and may be willing to take up arms to bring about a drastic change in the political system. Therefore, an effective counterinsurgency strategy must first attempt to determine the specific sources of popular discontent. The sole use of military force may reduce the immediate threat to stability but will not eliminate the primary causes of dissatisfaction that instigated the rebellion in the first place. Further,

an armed response may only reinforce resentment of the government's policies. Because the main goal of the insurgent group is to survive while garnering a social and material base of support, the regime is under increasing pressure to implement reform. On the other hand, if it pursues direct action against the insurgents without efforts toward improving the welfare of its citizens, it may only provoke a reaction that intensifies the conflict.

### The Future of Counterinsurgency

The importance of counterinsurgency in national security policy has declined significantly in the post-Cold War era, as the ideological struggles that inspired many insurgencies have gradually subsided and as numerous civil wars in the developing world have come to an end. In addition, the interventions and peacekeeping operations that took place during the 1990s typically did not involve insurgent movements. Yet, some domains of recent internal conflict have seen the persistence of counterinsurgency exercises, such as exemplified by offensives against the Revolutionary Armed Forces in Colombia, the Kurdish Worker's Party in Turkey, and the Maoists in Nepal. At the same time, combatants in different types of conflicts may resort to guerilla tactics even if they do not pursue the objectives of classical guerilla warfare. This describes the conditions presently faced by the coalition forces in postwar Iraq, in which opposition is directed at terrorizing citizens and officials of the interim administration rather than establishing a new government. The adaptation of counterinsurgency strategy to new types of warfare must include the investment of resources in the reconstruction of civil services to convince the Iraqi population that the new government represents its interests.

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## COUNTERTRADE

"Countertrade" is a term that covers a wide variety of commercial methods to engage in reciprocal trade. One partner may supply goods, services, and technology of economic value to the other partner for a return exchange of an agreed amount of goods and other things of value. Bartering is probably the oldest and best known example of countertrade. A formal definition of countertrade is given by Burnett (1999). This term also means a relationship between two trading partners that "counters" any imbalance in trade undertaken by them.

Countertrade is sometimes used as a form of currency exchange, to collect a debt or a means of finance. For example, as a form of currency exchange, a multinational corporation (MNC) may wish to sell breeding cattle stock to a local buyer with ¥ currency since the local buyer may not have US dollars (USD). The MNC can now buy sugar using ¥ currency and then sell the sugar to a food manufacturer for USD.

As a means of collecting a debt, the local buyer may have no USD to pay the MNC. The MNC, however, may accept payment in ¥ currency and then with the ¥ currency buy foreign goods and resell these goods in the MNC's own market for USD. As a means of finance, a local buyer may require the MNC to buy local goods as an offset to reduce or restrict the flow of scarce USD out of the local buyer's country. At the same time, the retained funds are used to finance the local industry's growth and development.

### Forms of Countertrade

"Barter transactions" involve the direct exchange of goods or services between the MNC and local buyer, and normally no exchange of money or the use of third parties is involved. "Pure" or "true barter" is a simple exchange of goods, whereas "valued barter" refers to some value put on the exchanged goods because of the inequality of values of goods and services being exchanged. However, it is sometimes difficult to deal with two parties who may have similar "wants." Barter arrangements for which suppliers of homogeneous goods, such as oil, exchange those

goods for mineral ores to save transport costs are called "swaps." Swaps are also used by countries in which both the government and the private sector face large debt burdens. In such cases, the arrangement involves the swapping of debt for something else, such as other debt, equity, products, nature preservation, and education.

"Counterpurchase" is the most common form of countertrade in which an MNC provides goods in one contract and undertakes to purchase goods for export from a local buyer in a second contract. These are two independent contracts. This reciprocal purchase or supply of goods and services is linked by a "universal" agreement. Two contracts are necessary because the delivery performance may depend on some future event, such as a crop harvest. Therefore, it is useful to have the timing of the performance of each of the contracts "unlinked." Since the goods are often not of equal value, some amount of cash is usually involved.

"Compensation" denotes partial exchange. An MNC receives payment either in full or in part from the local buyer in the form of goods to make up for the shortfall in value. Thus, a "buyback" or "reverse compensation" involves an MNC that provides industrial machinery to a partner in a foreign country with the commitment to purchase the goods produced by these machines. For example, the American clothing manufacturer Levi-Strauss sold equipment and know-how to a plant in Hungary and also agreed to buy a share of the production as payment. When the plant came into full production, Levi-Strauss took 60% of the plant's output. The terms "offtake" and "industrial cooperation" also describe such agreements. Another example could be the sale of a turnkey oil refinery that is paid for by the resultant refined oil. The word "turnkey" means literally the handing over of the keys to the refinery's local owners, who then begin production at the turn of the key. Most buyback terms often contain a most favoured customer (MFC) clause explaining that the local buyer will grant the MNC the most favoured price for the same goods when compared to another purchaser.

Arrangements called "offsets" are usually found in defense-related industries where the sales are frequently of high-priced items, such as aircraft and armaments. The arrangement is designed to "offset" the negative effects of the large purchases from abroad. It is also a feature of these arrangements to require that certain parts of the purchased product be produced or assembled in the purchasing country, called a "direct offset." The offset is "indirect" when the MNC invests in unrelated business, and a "mixed arrangement" refers to when there is a combination of direct and indirect offsets.

“Mixed agreements” include transactions known as “switch trading” or “clearing accounts.” It is a two-country trade-and-payment agreement. The value of goods exported from country A to B is not actually paid for but is credited to A on a clearing account and vice versa as goods are shipped from B to A. An account is “cleared” when traders owe nothing to each other. Usually, outstanding balances and interest payments are cleared or settled at the end of each accounting year. Where the goods have a readily accessible commodity market, such as for oil, the exporter may engage a dealer to sell the goods on behalf of the exporter. However, where no commodity markets exist for the countertraded goods, the MNC may be unable to obtain payment from the local buyer. This is because the buying country may not permit the transfer of hard currency that it is lacking or because such funds are “blocked” by the government. However, the local buyer’s country may have a trade surplus with a third country on a country-to-country clearing agreement. Hence, this credit surplus may be used as a way of paying the MNC for the goods.

“Switch” occurs after deliveries of the products begin. With commodities having no ready markets, discounts of up to 40% are given to trading houses or switch dealers. These trading companies maintain their own private networks that offer a market for discounted countertraded products. In general, switch trading and bartering have been used as legal methods to avoid currency controls and take advantage of bilateral trade arrangements between two countries.

## Rationales and Experiences

The trend toward countertrade has been spurred on not only by the rise of high trade protection caused by a decline in confidence in the world trading system but also by a growing debt crisis among less developed countries (LDCs), contracting exports, a decline in foreign exchange earnings, and an inability to service foreign debt commitments. In addition, countries need to maintain existing market shares as well as penetrate new markets.

Among LDCs, while the objective of sustainable growth is a necessary one, that of earning “hard” stable currency seems to be a better way to foster growth as much as to reduce trade deficits. In this way, the economy will be able to maintain or even increase employment, reduce the technology gap, and stabilize prices of export commodities. For developed countries, however, condoning countertrade will mean

the maintenance of sales volumes, market shares, and profit levels in international trade. To prevent LDCs from defaulting on their debts, developed countries may also assist LDCs to trade their way out of their financial problems by engaging in countertrade.

The experience of practitioners in Asia has suggested that countertrade may be a useful market development tactic rather than a problem to be avoided. Countertrade may be the answer to both cheaper imports and increased exports. It is unclear whether countertrade has led to an increase in business among developing countries. Rather, it seems that economic conditions may encourage growth in South–South trade through countertrade. This method of trade offers opportunities to enter new markets and to consolidate positions in old markets.

Commentators, however, are unsure of the long-term benefits of countertrading. Countertrade may put off the need by LDCs to correct poor export performance and may delay internal microeconomic and macroeconomic reforms. Countertrade also does not expand trade between developed and developing countries or make the economies more dynamic. Countertrade is backward in its return to bilateralism disguised as a modern system, in restricting choice, and compartmentalising markets. Countertrade is an inefficient form of trade. Many industrialized countries have condemned countertrade as a deviation from the true principles of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The restrictive clauses and conditions in countertrade contracts do not give LDCs any better control of their trade. When confronted with compensation agreements, MNCs may refuse rather than make offers to accept contract terms they are unable to fulfill.

Countertrade may work against attempts to modernize the economies of LDCs. It distorts the comparative advantage of countries that practice it, but at the same time it sustains and perpetuates inefficient and uncompetitive industries in countries that would otherwise perish. In enforcing a countertrade deal, a local buyer may quote unrealistically high prices for local goods, offer poor quality goods, or foist goods on the trade partner that are difficult to sell.

In prospect, countertrade is likely to be a longer term phenomenon than initially expected and will persist over the next few decades. Variations in defining countertrade and the scarcity of published data make it difficult to estimate the volume of countertrade. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and WTO estimate that only 5% of world trade comes within countertrade arrangements, whereas the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) puts it at 8% of world trade.

Whatever its commercial value, the upsurge in countertrade has not resulted from commercial advantage but rather as a pragmatic response of world commerce to the financial crises of LDCs. Importing activities may be sustained only by guaranteeing the replacement of hard currency within a relatively short time. Moreover, most LDCs use countertrade as a temporary means of protectionism.

### An Evaluation

Countertrade is a contradiction. Countertrade is in a state of evolution, and many governments are constantly reassessing their own programs. However, with the liquidity crisis in the world monetary system, the countertrade phenomenon may well continue into the twenty-first century given concerns over unemployment, poverty, and overpopulation. This form of trading seems to depend on the amount of natural resources that a country has at its disposal, its creditworthiness, nature of political system, and the policies of the government in using countertrade as a means of developing the country's economy.

It is recognised that countertrade may not be the most desirable form of international trade. Countertrade sits uneasily with the concept of an open, cash-based, and nondiscriminatory trading system that the WTO and OECD aim to promote. There are few laws in the United States that are specifically concerned with countertrade. The United Kingdom and Germany view countertrade as potentially distorting trade but have refrained from intervention in private sector decisions. On the other hand, France has actively intervened in countertrade.

The growth in international trade by way of barter and countertrade in the foreseeable future would depend on the price of major exports from LDCs and on the performance of the world economy. Where the price of LDCs major exports stabilize and there is growth in world trade, the consequent growth in foreign exchange reserves will enable many LDCs to return to their usual trading patterns. However, if the world economy were to be highly protected with continued recession and other adverse economic ills, then countertrade may expand. Whatever eventuates, countertrade will remain a permanent feature of international business transactions.

Countertrade is a deviation from the principles of the WTO system. This one-to-one trading is an antithesis to the multilateral (one-to-many) nondiscriminatory transaction of a free and liberalized trade regime. International trade based on most favoured nation (MFN) principles presumes a "level playing

field" in which parties trade on an equal footing. However, this principle is unworkable in the light of inherent inequalities in resources and economic development. Managed trade may be more realistic than simply relying on MFN principles. While countertrade may distort trade, it is used by developed and developing countries because its short-term benefits are more attractive than its long-term detriments. Countertrade, however, is not a solution to the systemic problems of international trade.

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**See also Free Market Economy; Trade Policies and Development; Trading Patterns, Global**

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## COUP D'ÉTAT

### The Coup d'État in Third World Politics

A "coup d'état" is a term that refers to the sudden and illegal transfer of political power from one individual or group to another. Specifically, it is brought about by the abrupt intervention of the armed forces in politics and the takeover of government conduct and national institutions by military elites. While most modern states employ a segment of their societies to defend their security against foreign or domestic threats, in certain political settings, armies have often abandoned their customary protective role. The interference of the military in politics has been a most frequent occurrence in developing nations of Third World countries and is an especially common characteristic of the political history of Africa and Latin

America. In some regions, *coups d'état* continue to represent the ongoing crisis of political development. Between the mid-1980s and the year 2001, there were a total of forty-one attempted and twenty-one successful coups in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa alone. Scholars who study military *coups d'état* seek to determine which factors lead to the transfer of political authority by force and under what circumstances military regimes endure or eventually return the reigns of government to civilian hands.

### Common Causes of the *Coup d'État*

Early studies that sought to identify the causes of *coups d'état* emphasized the characteristics of the military as an institution. This was based largely on the assumptions about Third World nations made by modernization theory. These authors argued that while the instruments of government in developing states were still in their primitive stages, militaries possessed a relatively high level of organization and efficiency that afforded greater degrees of influence and administrative capacity. Therefore, when formal political institutions were seen as weak or ineffectual in managing social and economic crises, military officers were provided with the necessary motivation to attempt to replace the civilian leadership. Some observers even suggested that *coups d'état* were a sign of progress, and they would take the place of traditional sources of authority and further the goals of development. However, subsequent analyses have demonstrated that the character or strength of the military alone does not adequately explain why *coups d'état* take place.

The causes of military coups have also been related to the overall political environments of countries. These theories have pointed to how the condition of a nation's political culture strongly influences the tendency of its military to challenge the existing order. This includes variables such as the degree of popular legitimacy enjoyed by the civilian regime, the size and scope of political parties, or the overall strength of civil society. Thus, the lower the level of stable representative government, the higher the likely incidence of successful *coups d'état*. Similarly, scholars have reasoned that political institutions in postcolonial societies are often unable to adequately channel or absorb the instability created by expanded participation and therefore require the resumption of strong centralized rule facilitated by the military.

More recent studies argue that despite their professional orientation, militaries possess corporate and pecuniary interests just as does any social

organization. The amount of pay or benefits received by the armed services give them a direct stake in decisions regarding budget allotments for defense and national security. Once in power, military regimes have often sought to increase salaries and spending for facilities and weapons procurement to enhance their prestige. At the same time, armies may possess different levels of influence over elite policy making that conditions their propensity to intervene in politics. Therefore, when the actions of the existing government threaten or impinge upon their basic needs or values, officers may seek to maneuver the outcome of political contests or interfere directly in the process to restore their position or status.

Above all, the single greatest precipitating factor for military intervention in the developing world has been prolonged economic downturn accompanied by inflation, widespread unemployment, and social unrest. In Latin America, mass opposition and the presence of the radical Left often instigated *coup d'état* attempts on the part of officers who feared the leveling of traditional society. In these circumstances, problems such as official corruption within civilian institutions or intense agitation by organized labor and dissident groups have presented military leaders with a justification to respond to their alleged threat to elite values or the national welfare.

### Political Development and Outcomes of *Coups d'État*

The primary concern in determining the impact of a *coup d'état* on a nation's political climate and economic welfare is whether militaries act as a moderating force in the service of traditional institutions or seek to entirely remake the social system. While some military regimes have successfully maintained their hold on power long after the conditions that inspired the coup have passed, other interventions have been short-lived, in which they simply facilitated a restoration of order through which civilian leaders quickly resumed control. The extent to which military regimes are able to govern effectively and the consequences for stability and economic development are dependent on both the goals and orientation of the military leaders. Officers who have led a *coup d'état* have often attempted to institutionalize their regimes over time by establishing an official political party and extending membership to the general population. These efforts at popular mobilization have also been accompanied by attempts at promoting an ideology that serves to legitimize their rule. Yet, the historical record indicates that



military leaderships often have a limited ability to effectively manage the tasks of government, particularly in the area of economic policy. While a few military regimes, such as in Chile, Indonesia, and South Korea, have presided over steady growth, the majority of African and Latin American *juntas* have failed to correct the economic ailments that they alleged to remedy. This is due not only because of the absence of technical expertise among the military leadership but also because of a general lack of experience with accommodation and compromise that is a necessary aspect of civilian administration. It is this problem that commonly leads to the eventual decision of *coup* leaders to step down and return to the barracks.

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## CROATIA

### Location

The Republic of Croatia lies in southeastern Europe and stretches in a peculiar arc in the northwest corner of the Balkan Peninsula. Open to the Mediterranean Sea, Croatia serves as a gateway to Central Europe.

With a land area of 35,133 square miles (56,542 square kilometers), Croatia is bordered by Slovenia (north), Hungary (northeast), Serbia-Montenegro (east and south), and Bosnia-Herzegovina (south) and opens to the Adriatic Sea (west). The population of 4,496,869 (July 2004) consists of Croats (89.6%), Serbs (4.5%), Bosniaks (0.5%), and Hungarians

(0.4%). Other minorities include those who are Slovene, Czech, Roma, Albanian, and Montenegrin (5%). The capital city of Zagreb has a population of 779,145 (2001).

### Land and Climate

Croatia is a country of contrasts. In the northeast, the Pannonian plain is the main farming region. The Dinaric Alps, an area of densely wooded mountains and highlands, runs northwest-southeast through the center. Finally, Dalmatia, a rugged coastal region along the Adriatic shore, includes 1,185 islands. Approximately one-third of Croatia is forested; timber is a major export. Croatia's main rivers are the Sava, Drava, and Danube.

A continental climate prevails inland and around Zagreb, with hot summers and cold, snowy winters. A Mediterranean climate with mild winters characterizes the Adriatic coast.

### History Until 1945

The Croats descend from Slavic tribes who settled in the Roman province of Pannonia during the seventh century. Early in the tenth century, the Croats developed a powerful *Triune Kingdom* that included Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, parts of Istria and Bosnia, and Hungary later in the century.

The Croatian territories were coveted by their powerful neighbors. In 1526, following the Battle of Mohacs, most of Croatia became Ottoman, while the northwestern part became Austrian. Following the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passowitz (1718), the Habsburg established its sovereignty over the country. In 1868, one year after the establishment of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Croatia-Slavonia became an autonomous Hungarian crown land.

With the collapse of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the Croatian territories were united in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and that region became Yugoslavia (1929). Serbs ruled the state in a heavily centralized manner, ignoring the Croatian's request for federalism. In 1939, the Yugoslav government allowed the formation of an autonomous entity comprising Croatia, Dalmatia, and part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1946, Croatia became one of the six republics that constituted the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

## Croatia's Developments After 1945

After 1945, Croatia was granted the status of a federal republic, and the Croatian people were recognized as one of the five constitutive peoples of the Yugoslav federation. Under Josip Broz Tito's leadership, the Yugoslav Communist Party ruled the country.

During the 1960s, two contradictory tendencies emerged as the Communist Party retained complete authority over the institutions while the Constitution of 1963 granted decentralization and economical reforms (self-management). Croatian intellectuals denounced the federal system as a centralized one in the hands of a single party. They also resented Serbia's decisive influence in the ruling of the state. In 1971, students organized a series of mass protests called the Croatian Spring. Intellectuals demanded recognition of a separate Croatian language and more control over Croatian affairs. Tito reacted firmly and ordered a crackdown.

At that time Croatia enjoyed a relative prosperity due to tourism along the Adriatic coast, a popular destination for travelers from all over Europe. However, around one-third of the Croatian state income was taken away to subsidize the development of the southern regions, such as in Macedonia and Kosovo. Furthermore, although 80% of Yugoslavia's foreign trade went through Croatian ports, Croatia itself received only a small share of this income.

The conjunction of relative wealth and frustrated national aspirations partly explain Croatia's leading role in the disintegration of Yugoslavia. In January 1990, the Croatian delegates followed the Slovenes and walked away from the Congress of the Communist Party, one of the pillars of the Yugoslav system. On June 25, 1991, Croatia proclaimed its independence. In 1992, it was recognized as independent by the European Union (EU) and was admitted to the United Nations (UN) the same year.

The development of Croatia since 1991 has been challenged by two issues. First, the authoritarian regime of Franco Tudjman (1990–1991) isolated and compromised Croatia. As former general and leader of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), Tudjman was elected president in 1990 following multiparty elections. Strongly nationalist, he exalted Croatia's past and enacted constitutional measures against the 12% Serbs minority who, with the military assistance from Belgrade, aggravated the already tense situation.

Second, the transition toward democracy was accomplished through two brutal wars (1991–1995). The Yugoslav National Army, following instructions of President Milošević, supported the Serbs of Croatia (region of Krainija). In 1992, the UN's

intervention froze the front, but Croatia lost more than 30% of its territory to the Serbs. Then, as war erupted in neighboring Bosnia, Tudjman's regime encouraged Bosnian Croats. In 1995, Tudjman, along with Milošević and President Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed the Dayton Agreement under United States' supervision. In 1998, the last Serb-held lands were reunited with lands of Croatia.

Tudjman's death in 1999 and the election of a moderate government in 2000 gave Croatia the chance for a new start. First, under the leadership of President Stipe Mesic (reelected in 2005), structural reforms have been undertaken, the powers of the presidency have been curtailed, and the parliament assumes greater responsibility. Civil rights, freedom of speech, and independent media are respected.

Second, Croatian foreign policy is driven by a major objective: integration within the EU, which it joined in 2004. Croatia is also a NATO aspirant and member of the Adriatic Charter signed with Albania, Macedonia, and the United States in 2003. It has participated in UN activities, including contributing troops to UN operations in Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, and Kashmir. In 2001, it also sent a military police unit to Afghanistan, though Croatia refused to send troops to Iraq in 2003.

Croatia, however, has to undo the tragic legacy of the 1991–1995 wars. The key issue has been the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, which was stalled by Tudjman's regime. Since 2000, the questions of refugee's return, restitution of property, and negotiations with the war tribunal in La Hague have progressed although results remain inconclusive. Regional cooperation is growing as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Serbia-Montenegro have reestablished close commercial ties, but borders issues remain unsolved.

## Current Economy

Croatia has an economy based on services (46.2% in 2002), while industry represents 25.4% and agriculture 13.2%. The country's major products include chemicals, petroleum, ships, and textiles, as well as cement and steel. Zagreb is the largest manufacturing center. The natural resources comprise oil, coal, and bauxite.

Like most post-Communist states, Croatia suffers from a "substantial gray economy" and corruption. The transition has been difficult and damaged by the wars (1991–1995). From 1989 to 1993, the gross domestic product (GDP) plunged 40.5%. After 1995, tourism, a key industry, rebounded and the economy

## CROATIA

briefly recovered, only to fall into a recession in 1999. A year later, the economy again rallied, growing 2.9% in 2000 to reach 5.2% in 2002. Industrial production shows a healthy growth of 3.9% (2004 est.) as does the GDP at 4.3% (2004 est.). Croatia's major trading partners are Italy, Germany, Austria, France, and Russia.

Croatia is facing several issues that include structural unemployment (19.5% in 2004) and an insufficient amount of economic reforms aggravated by public resistance from people who fear a cut of social benefits. The inefficient judiciary system also seems unable to resolve long-standing property rights issues. The main concern remains the country's rising foreign debt. Global debt at \$21.5 billion (US dollars) in November 2003 increased 40% from 2002 levels. The debt was expected to have further increased to \$23 billion for the end of 2004, equivalent to 75% of GDP.

Uneven economic growth and uncertainty about the future can explain why the nationalist Croatian Democratic Union won the November 2003 parliamentary elections. However, new Prime Minister Ivo Sanader claims that his party is now moderate and will pursue a policy of democratization and reforms.

NADINE AKHUND

**See also Bosnia and Herzegovina; Milošević, Slobodan; Montenegro; Serbia; Tito, Josip Broz (Marshall Tito); Tudjman, Franjo; Yugoslavia**

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## CUBAN REVOLUTION

One of the most significant events during the Cold War occurred ninety miles from the shores of the United States on the island of Cuba. In 1959, the Cuban Revolution threatened the ideological, political,

strategic, and economic hegemony of the United States in the Western Hemisphere by challenging the historical relationship existing between the island and the United States. This relationship primarily involved an economic nexus of dependent development that distorted the nation's internal political and social processes. The historical roots of this relationship for the twentieth century originated with the end of the Spanish–American War (1898).

After the war, US capital penetration of the lucrative sugar industry accelerated and intensified, continuing a process well underway by the end of the nineteenth century. Sugar became Cuba's primary export, with the US market its principal destination. Economic dependency on one export product not only contributed to the social dislocation experienced by Cuba's peasantry but also left the nation's political and social development exposed to the vagaries of the world market. Internal political, social, and economic development experienced frequent disruption coinciding with the boom/bust cycle of the dependent economy. The Platt Amendment, which was enacted in 1901 by the US Congress and subsequently incorporated into the first Cuban Constitution, allowed the United States to directly intervene militarily in the political life of the country to achieve stability and assure its citizens continued economic dominance.

While the Platt Amendment contributed to the development of Cuban nationalism, US capital penetration caused the Cuban elite to enter the political arena by frustrating their participation in the economy. Politics became a battleground for contending factions since the winners had access to government revenues. This situation contributed to instability, corruption, and repeated US interventions. The world depression of 1930 intensified the recurring internal political, social, and economic crises that the nation experienced since independence. While workers organized labor strikes that the government harshly repressed, the middle class and intellectuals also organized against the existing state of things. The government's inability to contain the increasing political instability and violence led to the loss of US support, which opened the door to the Revolution of 1933.

The revolutionary nationalist government quickly abrogated the Platt Amendment and instituted major political, social, and economic reforms for the benefit of the working class, peasants, women, and other previously neglected social groups. These measures not only alienated the entrenched conservative Cuban elite but, most importantly, its US political and economic allies. In 1934, the rapid unraveling of the revolutionary government created a power

vacuum that the military, led by Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, filled. Batista ruled the destiny of the island through puppet presidents from 1934 to 1940 and directly as president from 1940 to 1944. The United States, secure in its hegemony over the island, abrogated the Platt Amendment in 1934. In 1940, the government promulgated a new constitution that contained progressive political, social, and economic clauses that became standards for judging the performance of politicians and governments. The island's socioeconomic development continued to depend on sugar exports as World War II stimulated demand for the product. There was an uneven distribution of the wealth generated by sugar production and export as some sectors of the society benefited while others languished in poverty.

In 1944, Batista allowed elections to be held, which brought Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín and his *Auténtico* party to power. The *Auténtico* period, which lasted from 1944 to 1952, ushered in an episode of unparalleled political corruption. In 1947, the *Ortodoxo* party, which represented a radical nationalism and espoused a program of social and economic reform, emerged as a response to this corruption. Batista launched a *coup d'état* in 1952 against the *Auténticos*, which brought him to power a second time. Lacking popular support, various opposition groups emerged against his rule as corruption continued and the economy remained open to the vagaries of the boom/bust cycles associated with monoculture. In 1953, a young *Ortodoxo*, Fidel Castro, organized a revolt against the government. Although the raid on the Moncada Barracks on July 26 failed, it gave a name to the movement and brought Castro to national attention. His defense during his trial condemned the trajectory of Cuban national history and presented a reform program. In prison, Castro continued to plot the overthrow of Batista's government. Released during a general amnesty for all political prisoners in 1955, Castro left Cuba for Mexico and formally organized the July 26th Movement, which issued a manifesto calling for a revolution against Batista, and the Cuban Revolution was born.

In Mexico, Castro met Ernesto (Che) Guevara, with whom he planned the guerrilla struggle against Batista. Purchasing the yacht *Granma* in 1956, Castro, along with eighty-one men, left Mexico on November 25 to invade the island. On December 2, they landed in Oriente Province and, a few days later, had a disastrous encounter with the Cuban army in which all but twelve men were killed or captured. The small band headed for the Sierra Maestra, where they regrouped and organized the guerrilla movement. The numerous victories against government forces

bolstered the July 26th Movement's popularity as rural and urban opposition increased against Batista's rule. In February 1957, Castro had an important interview with Herbert Matthews, a *New York Times* reporter, which presented him to a US public while refuting the government's claim of his death. That same year, Batista had trouble maintaining power as junior naval officers revolted against him. He alienated the United States when he utilized US-supplied military equipment to crush the revolt.

In March 1958, the United States suspended arms shipments to the government. Batista lost the support of the middle class, and the Catholic Church called for a coalition government, but the general continued in his intransigence against the social forces engulfing the country. In April, a general strike called by the July 26th Movement failed, but the movement continued its success in the countryside. In May, Batista launched a general offensive against the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra, which met with stiff opposition and successes by Castro's forces. The US government saw this situation with alarm as it feared a victory by the July 26th Movement, which would bring Castro to power. The US embassy negotiated with Batista in an attempt to stave off this outcome. By December, the rebels were on the outskirts of Havana, and on January 1, 1959, Batista and his allies abandoned the island, seeking refuge in Miami. Castro's entrance into the capital one week later ushered in a new page in Cuban history as the Cuban Revolution triumphed over the corrupt and discredited social, political, and economic elite that had ruled the country since independence.

The triumph of the revolution, with its radical nationalist ideology, soon alienated Cuba's historical patron, the United States, during a period of heightened Cold War fears of the spread of communism into the Western Hemisphere. The revolution's leadership sought to remedy the nation's underdevelopment by concentrating on a radical land reform policy, codified in the Agrarian Reform Law of 1959, which expropriated the large landed estates that belonged to the traditional elite, allies of US political and economic interests. In the Cold War environment, this policy appeared to be a step toward communism, a fear further heightened by the subsequent nationalization of the economy in 1960. Although this nationalization had popular support, as US economic penetration had angered many, it polarized the business elite and sectors of the middle class and came up against US economic interests. The one event that symbolized the growing radicalization of the revolution was when the Cuban government demanded that Russian oil should be processed by US-owned oil refineries. When they

refused, the government confiscated the US-owned oil companies, creating a rift with the US government, which suspended the sugar quota. The Cuban government retaliated by seizing all US property and continuing its radical nationalization of numerous national and foreign industries. The Soviet Union stepped into the vacuum of deteriorating trade relationships between the United States and Cuba when it signed a trade agreement with Cuba, which not only provided credit to the nation but also ensured a market for the nation's sugar exports. Subsequently, the Soviet Union provided military and technical assistance as well as cultural missions to Cuba, further heightening tensions between the island nation and the United States, ultimately leading to a break in diplomatic relations in January 1961.

The Cuban revolutionary nationalists sought an alternative egalitarian society free from cultural, political, and economic dependence on the United States. To achieve their goals, the revolutionary government instituted a series of measures and reforms in education, health, housing, and labor relations. Mass mobilization of workers, peasants, students, and women contributed to the implementation of these measures and reforms. Perhaps the most successful campaign was the Literacy Campaign of 1961 that sought to eliminate illiteracy in the Cuban population. The radical direction of the revolution influenced the decision by many of the wealthy upper class and sectors of the middle class to flee to Miami, Florida. With the support and financial assistance of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), this group of expatriates soon coalesced into an opposition force that, in April 1961, invaded Cuba and met defeat at the Bay of Pigs. This invasion demonstrated that in the name of anti-communism, the United States intended to overthrow the Cuban Revolution, restore the traditional elite, and roll back its social, political, and economic gains. In the Cold War atmosphere, the Soviet Union stepped in to defend Cuban socialism by providing missiles to the government, leading to the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. Averting nuclear disaster, Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier, agreed to withdraw the missiles on the condition that the United States would not invade Cuba. President John F. Kennedy secretly agreed to this condition, but covert attacks against the revolution continued through the use of the exiled Cubans sponsored by the CIA.

With the continuation of the US trade embargo instituted by President Dwight Eisenhower, the Cuban government sought to diversify its economy and lessen its dependence on the monoculture production of sugar exports. In the initial years of the revolution, it took land out of sugar production

and turned it over to the production of previously imported agricultural commodities. The Cuban government also pursued a policy of industrialization during these early years. Both the attempts at agricultural diversification and industrialization ended in failure as a result of poor administration and the failure of central planning. Many skilled technocrats and workers had left Cuba during these years, and the revolutionaries had to improvise the transition to a socialist economy. In addition, for industrialization, the government needed foreign exchange earnings that only sugar exports could provide. By 1963, the government had abandoned its industrialization plans and shifted its focus on sugar production. It pledged a 10 million ton sugar harvest for 1970.

The Soviets had strongly advised the Cuban government to concentrate on its most lucrative export, sugar, and reverse its policy concerning industrialization. Although larger than the 1963 harvest of 3.8 million tons, the 1970 sugar harvest of 8.5 million tons proved to be disappointing for the nation and the government that had invested heavily in achieving this goal. Hoping to construct an alternative model to the competitive individualism that is the basis of capitalism, the revolution sought to create the "new socialist man," who was predicated on the creation of a new consciousness based on selfless dedication to the collective good. Although "Che" Guevara had resigned from his government position as a result of his failed economic and industrialization policy, his ideas continued to influence the direction of the Cuban Revolution during the 1960s.

In 1965, after resigning his Cuban citizenship, which was granted by the Cuban Council of Ministers after the revolution, "Che" traveled to Africa, Asia, and Latin America to promote revolution in these Third World countries, an idea supported by Castro and the revolutionary government. Hoping to foment revolution in Latin America, "Che" met his death in Bolivia on October 9, 1967, when he was captured by US-trained Bolivian Rangers. This event brought an end to the hope of exporting revolution abroad, a policy that the Soviet Union had never fully supported. Castro's support of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 signaled not only a rapprochement with the Soviet Union but also a return to revolutionary orthodoxy concerning the export of revolution to the Third World. Although Guevara's revolutionary internationalism was abandoned, the government continued proclaiming his revolutionary idealism and "Che's" selflessness in the name of revolution as a model for Cubans to follow in their construction of socialism and the "new socialist man."

The 1970s began with two major reversals for the Cuban Revolution, an abandonment of the policy of exporting revolution and the failure of reaching the 10 million ton sugar harvest, which contributed to a reassessment of revolutionary ideology and policy. After ten years, the revolution had not fulfilled many of the promises or satisfied the hopes of many Cubans. The immense emphasis on the 10 million ton target had drained other productive sectors of capital and labor, which caused a decline in consumer goods and basic agricultural products. There was also an increased economic dependence on the Soviet Union, which resembled the economic dependence that Cuba had with the United States in the past. Although the revolution demonstrated success in the areas of education, health, housing, nutrition, and literacy, even Castro had to admit that the revolution had failed the Cuban people.

On July 26, 1970, Castro admitted this failure and took full responsibility for it. His speech signaled a new direction for the Cuban Revolution. The initial revolutionary idealism gave way to revolutionary pragmatism as the government injected more orthodoxy into its economic policies. The increase in absenteeism during the 1960s caused the government to reevaluate its policy of preaching moral incentives to the workers to increase productivity. In a vast departure from the ideal of the "new socialist man," it reintroduced the profit motive and material incentives. In another reversal, it also abandoned the earlier policy of strict centralization in government planning. The 1970s was a period of new challenges as the Cuban Revolution reversed direction by attempting to follow the orthodox socialist model represented by the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

After the experimentation of the 1960s, the Cuban Revolution sought to institutionalize itself through the creation and reorganization of mass organizations. A trend toward personalism and autocracy had emerged after the Cuban Revolution as the Cuban Communist Party (PCC), as well as trade unions, had been severely weakened during the decade of experimentation. During Cuba's Revolutionary Offensive (1968–1969), Castro had invited numerous Marxist scholars to evaluate the direction of the revolution and make recommendations to remedy the ossification and bureaucratization of the revolution. They concluded that it was necessary to open the political process and institute a democratic and participatory type of socialism. The revolution's economic failure and its failed attempt to export revolution caused it to endorse these recommendations as evidenced by Castro's criticisms of the revolutionary process and proposals to correct the situation.

At the heart of the rectification of the revolutionary process were the continuation of the socialist path and the strengthening of the PCC. The PCC would be revitalized by allowing the politburo, secretariat, and central committee to meet regularly and increase the number of members that would represent more of a mass base. The PCC would be responsible for coordinating and supervising the administrative function. In a further move toward decentralization, the extreme diffusion that had characterized the relationship between the central administration, the party, and the army during the 1960s was rectified by prescribing a clear separation between these three important institutions. The number of military men in the party also decreased, while the number of workers increased. Although Castro had announced that a party congress was to be held in 1966 and 1969, this latter one was canceled on the grounds that all energies had to be focused on the 1970 sugar harvest; thus, the first party congress was held December 17–22, 1975, which demonstrated how far the Cuban Revolution had come to embrace Soviet orthodoxy by following the Soviet model to socialism.

The new direction of the Cuban Revolution in the 1970s also sought to champion the working class by revitalizing trade unions. During the 1960s, the trade union movement had declined as a result of the almost total identification of the unions and the government. In the late 1960s, a policy of concentrating on vanguard workers that embodied the self-sacrificing new socialist man diminished the number of workers in local unions. The unions had lost their ability to represent the workers' interests independently of government party policy. To rectify this situation, the Cuban Revolution pursued a policy of reconstituting the unions as mass organizations. With few members of the past reelected after elections based on a secret ballot (held November 9–December 9, 1970), the new membership represented the direction toward creating a mass base responsive to the defense of workers' rights. From 1970 to 1973, twenty-three new unions were also established in agriculture, industry, transportation, the military, and services. Although the government advocated a new direction for labor and Castro had announced in 1971 that the Thirteenth National Congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) would be held in 1972, the last Congress being held in 1966, the new trade union members caused some concern for the revolutionary leadership, so the government postponed the meeting until November 1973. The issues discussed revolved around the defense of workers' rights and how the unions could participate in the national decision-making process concerning productivity and labor discipline. With the abandonment of

the late 1960s' vanguardism, the revitalized trade union movement embraced its role as a mass organization through the 1970s and early 1980s under the direction of the Communist Party.

Since taking power, the Cuban Revolution had benefited previously neglected social groups, peasants, workers, and, especially, women. Since its inception, it has sought to incorporate women into all aspects of the revolutionary process. Passing legislation favorable to women's rights, especially regarding labor, education, and health, it exhorted women to defend the revolution and their place within it. The July 26th Movement had a women's affiliate organization, the Revolutionary Feminine Unity, that organized this mobilization during the early years of the revolution by including women in the agrarian reform and exhorting them to participate in the labor force. Women not only increased their numbers in production, especially during the late 1960s, but they were also incorporated into all levels of the educational system by the 1970s. Women working outside of the household created the need for child care centers that the government provided. In 1975, the government instituted a Family Code that emphasized gender equality at home and at work. The government also instituted reproductive policies favoring contraception, as well as making abortion readily available on demand during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. This shift in the role of women as active participants in the revolution created tensions within the patriarchal household, which was captured in two important films, *Lucía* (1969) and *Retrato de Teresa* (1979), from the creative revolutionary Cuban cinema. Even with the revolutionary government taking a conscious active posture in promoting and improving women's position in society, many inequalities continued, such as in hiring practices and being underrepresented in administrative positions in government and state enterprises. The Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), created in 1960 to promote women's participation in the revolution, was another mass organization that contributed to the institutionalization of the revolution in the 1970s.

The Cuban Revolution's foreign policy shifted from actively promoting guerrilla warfare in Latin America to searching to extend fraternal ties with other Latin American nations during the 1970s. A thaw occurred in the icy relations that Cuba had with the rest of Latin America when Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile in 1970. With this election, Castro found an ally in Allende, who invited him to visit the country in 1971. By 1975, Cuba had reestablished diplomatic relations with eight nations of Latin America and the Caribbean. Cuba continued its international relations with the Third World

through the Nonaligned Movement, with Castro participating personally in the 1973 Fourth Nonaligned Movement Summit in Algeria. Cuba's socioeconomic and military commitments to liberation movements and nations in Africa and the Middle East increased throughout the 1970s. The most well-known episode of this internationalism is the sending of thirty-six thousand Cuban troops to support the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in 1975 through 1976. In 1977, Cuba sent fifteen thousand troops to the aid of Ethiopia when Somalia invaded that country. Both of these African actions had the logistical support of the Soviet Union. Cuba also provided socioeconomic aid to other Third World nations in the form of doctors, technicians, agronomists, teachers, and construction workers. Foreign students from Latin America and Africa also came to the island to study in medical schools, universities, and technical schools. Cuba's relations with the United States were also improving by the mid-1970s; however, the sending of Cuban troops to Angola dampened these efforts at normalization. Although the United States looked askance at these efforts, especially the military ventures, the nations of the Nonaligned Movement approved of these actions as evidenced by the holding of the sixth summit in Havana in September 1979, with Castro serving as chair.

Cuba's position within the Nonaligned Movement soured with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a member of the Nonaligned Movement, in December 1979. Beholden to the Soviet Union for its economic support, Cuba took a tepid response regarding the condemnation of the invasion in the United Nations. As Cuba's fortunes declined within the Nonaligned Movement, since it was perceived to be acting as an extension of Soviet policy, its regional influence increased at the beginning of the 1980s. The Sandinista victory in Nicaragua in 1979 and the emergence of Maurice Bishop's government in Grenada in 1980 created new allies for Cuba. It also cultivated ties to other Latin American countries by championing their aspirations, such as Cuba's support for Panamanian control of the canal and its backing Argentina in the Malvinas–Falklands War in 1982.

Cuban/US relations improved under the presidential administration of Jimmy Carter from 1976 to 1980 as interests section was opened in Havana and Washington in 1977, which facilitated dialogue between the two nations. In 1980, relations that were already strained from Cuba's intervention in the Ethiopian–Somalian War further deteriorated with the Mariel boatlift; a total of 125,000 Cubans left the island for the United States, which demonstrated a large level of discontent with the achievements of

the Cuban Revolution. Ironically, the thawing relations between Cuba and the United States contributed to this discontent and frustration with the Cuban Revolution when Castro allowed 100 thousand US relatives laden with consumer goods to visit the island in 1979. Ronald Reagan's election as US president in 1980 progressively worsened US/Cuban relations. In 1983, the overthrow of Bishop in Grenada and the subsequent US invasion of the island eliminated that nation as an ally. The civil wars in Central America also stiffened US rhetoric against Cuba, which was blamed for fomenting the popular struggles in the region. The Cuban government mobilized against the threat of a possible US invasion of the island. The Reagan administration also prohibited travel to the island by US citizens and began radio transmission to Cuba via Radio Martí in 1985, which scuttled a 1984 immigration agreement between the two nations.

Internally, the Cuban economy grew during the first half of the 1980s as a result of a liberalization policy instituted by the government, which sought to improve economic performance through stimulating private initiative by allowing free peasants' markets. The introduction of the free peasants' markets in May 1980 helped to supplement the government rationing system, but they soon came under attack by consumers who charged that prices were too high, that there was illegal profiteering, and that there was an emergence of a black market. In 1987, the introduction of the Rectification Program signaled a government reversal regarding the free peasants' markets. Castro initiated the "rectification" period in April 1986 during the Third Party Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, and this period lasted from 1986 to 1990. The initiation of this period was a reaction toward the heightened individualism exhibited during the introduction of market mechanisms in the economy. The government reintroduced the ideas of an earlier period concerning *conciencia* (consciousness) based on moral incentives and social obligations rather than on economic motives.

A major internal incident exemplifying this shift toward the reaffirmation of *conciencia* occurred in 1989 with the trial of Division General Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez, a hero of the Angolan campaign, and other high-ranking military and security officers. Charged with corruption and drug trafficking, Ochoa and two other top officers were executed and the others given lengthy jail sentences. During this period, the United States had leveled charges that Cuba was involved in drug trafficking, so the government could not afford a showdown with the United States over the drug issue. Although some have characterized this incident as resulting from an internal power struggle,

the trial also demonstrated how no one, no matter his or her position, was above the law and that the revolution would not tolerate individualism and personal wealth acquisition that would threaten its existence and ideals.

The world economic crisis of the 1980s also affected Cuba by the end of the decade because there was a hard currency shortage caused by depressed sugar prices on the world market. The "rectification" period stressed a need for austerity, which meant reducing consumption and diverting economic production to exports for the acquiring of hard currency for the payment of foreign loans. Although the Soviet Union provided billions of dollars of aid and subsidies, Cuba also had borrowed heavily from the West. In 1986, Cuba defaulted on these loans. Cuba's trade relationship with the Soviet Union and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) began to disintegrate in the late 1980s with the adoption of the policy of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, a policy that Cuba did not follow. Castro denounced *perestroika* and *glasnost* as being inapplicable to Cuba's situation because it was so close to the United States and that its brand of socialism had emerged from a social revolution. In 1989, Cuba also began its withdrawal from Angola, which it completed in 1991.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union found Cuba increasingly isolated as it continued on the path toward socialism in the 1990s. To confront the economic crisis that emerged as a result of these international circumstances, Castro announced a "Special Period in a Time of Peace" in 1990 directed toward redoubling the nation's efforts to achieve socialism. Emergency austerity measures were introduced to counteract the disastrous economic consequences of the loss of the heavy subsidies that the Soviet Union had provided to Cuba. Imports of foodstuffs and fuel were heavily curtailed and a strict rationing system instituted. The government encouraged foreign investment and tourism to acquire hard currency for purchases on the world market. Economic reforms with a market orientation were also instituted, such as a policy of self-employment, the ability of citizens to hold dollars, the opening of "dollar stores," and the reintroduction of farmer's markets.

The United States decided to put economic pressure on Cuba during this period with the passage of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 (Torricelli Bill), which toughened the US embargo by punishing US subsidiaries in foreign countries trading with Cuba, along with Third World countries that traded with Cuba. This increased the economic hardship on Cuban citizens, many who left the island in 1994 when Castro allowed those who wanted to leave to



go, creating another migration problem for the United States. Subsequently, the United States and Cuba signed an immigration agreement to control the *balseros* (rafters or “boat people”) by allowing a legal immigration of twenty thousand Cubans per year. Cuban exiles continued engaging in hostile actions to discredit the Cuban Revolution, which led to a violent confrontation when Brothers to the Rescue, an anti-Cuban Revolution exile group, entered Cuban airspace in February 1996. The organization had previously been entering Cuban airspace to drop propaganda leaflets. Castro had warned Washington that deadly force would be used if these actions continued. The downing of two unarmed aircraft manned by the group led to a confrontation with the United States as President William Jefferson Clinton considered an air strike or a cruise-missile attack against Cuba. Dissuaded by his national security advisors from this course of action, Clinton sent a strongly worded secret missive warning Castro about a military retaliation if any more planes were shot down. The US Congress responded by passing the Helms-Burton Bill, which increased the sanctions against Cuba in a more aggressive manner by imposing US law on foreign nationals and companies trading with the island nation.

Although there was international condemnation of the Helms-Burton Bill, Cuba felt increasingly isolated by the end of the 1990s. In 1996, Cuba extended an invitation to Pope John Paul II to visit the island with the hope of getting a papal condemnation of the US embargo. During his visit to Cuba in January 1998, the pope not only resolutely condemned the US embargo but also criticized Castro by appealing for more political freedom, religious toleration, and concern for political prisoners. After the papal visit, Cuba released more than two hundred prisoners as a gesture of goodwill. The following year, in 1999, tensions increased again between the United States and Cuba over Elían Gonzáles, a young Cuban boy who became a cause célèbre for the exile anti-Cuban Revolution community in Miami. After his mother drowned when fleeing Cuba, the boy was adopted by his relatives in Miami. Elían became a symbol for both the exiled community and the Cuban Revolution as a heated confrontation exposing many old wounds played out in the law courts and in the media. In June 2000, the boy was returned to his father and became a symbol for the Cuban Revolution and its resistance against US imperialism. All of these events bolstered Castro’s support among the Cuban people for the revolution.

With the end of the Cold War, opinion began to change within the United States regarding the embargo among business and agricultural interests,

as well as among those Cubans who immigrated to United States in the 1980s and 1990s. This shift in public opinion was also reflected among public officials who criticized the embargo on medicine and food. In 2000, the embargo on the sale of food and medicine was lifted, but the law passed prohibited US government or private financing of such sales. Since 1991 the United Nations has also repeatedly condemned the US embargo on Cuba and called for its end.

President George W. Bush’s administration, starting in 2001, increased the pressure on the Cuban Revolution by declaring that it would continue the embargo regardless of growing calls for its relaxation or for ending it. Restrictions on US citizens traveling to Cuba were increased and those traveling through third countries would be especially targeted. Increased tensions between the United States and Cuba led to the arrest of Cuban dissidents in 2003. These dissidents were accused of working with US diplomats to undermine the Cuban Revolution. These arrests coincided with highly publicized hijackings of ships and aircrafts by Cubans attempting to leave the island for the United States. In 2003, President Bush announced the creation of a Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, which would outline the steps to help in the overthrow of the Cuban Revolution and contribute to the transition of a postrevolutionary Cuba. Presenting its five hundred-page report in May 2004, the commission’s conclusions included a restriction on the number of visits that Cuban Americans could make to the island, restricted the amount of dollars that a Cuban American could spend while on the island, and also curbed educational travel to Cuba. Cuban dissidents condemned the report, and the government saw it as a first step to a subsequent US military intervention to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. The US government instituted its new policy on Cuban Americans traveling to Cuba almost immediately, which divided the Cuban exile community between those who supported it by arguing that it deprived the revolution of vital tourist dollars and those who condemned it by stating that it would only hurt their family members on the island.

Castro continues to lead Cuba into a Socialist future and proudly proclaims the slogan of the Cuban Revolution: “Socialism or Death!” In comparison to other Latin American nations, the revolution has brought a level of education and health achievements that is not rivaled in the region. The Cuban people have access to free health and education. Literacy rates are higher than in many industrialized nations. The island’s medical schools and universities enroll students not only from Latin America but also from other developing countries. Cuba also

cooperates with other nations by exporting teachers and doctors for developmental goals. The Cuban Revolution's fortunes on the regional level have also improved with the election of Left-leaning presidents in Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela. Venezuela has helped Cuba meet some of its energy needs by providing oil under preferential terms. The Cuban Revolution has met many of its social goals even though its economy has been under assault from the US embargo and the subsequent demise of the Soviet Union. It continues working toward creating a socialist Cuba in which all of its citizens will have a future free of the want that created the conditions for the revolution in the first place.

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**See also 26th of July Movement; Batista y Zaldívar, Fulgencio; Castro, Fidel; Cuba; Guevara, Ernesto "Che"**

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## CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

### Culture and Development

There are three areas where the concept of culture is implicated in development. First, while predominantly associated with economic transition, the dominant development model and its associated policies and programs underpinned by modernization theory were specifically designed to induce change in every aspect of life. This includes the whole range of institutions, behaviors, and beliefs that constitute the culture of a community, including everyday practices, values, social organization and relationships, roles and rituals, knowledge and artistic production.

Second, theories of cultural imperialism argued that the development model itself was imbued with the cultural values and practices of the country from which it originated—mainly the United States or other Western powers. This led to claims that development was simply a continuation of colonialism. Last, local existing or surviving cultural practices and values are being used to underpin alternative discourses and projects in the development debate.

Processes of acculturation, that is, where elements of one culture are adopted, adapted, or assimilated into another, have occurred continuously throughout history as civilizations came into contact with one another through trade or conquest. Development, as a systematic process of inducing cultural change, is generally considered a post-World War II phenomenon, following the success of the US Marshall Plan in rebuilding Europe. Western states and international agencies embarked on a program to eradicate poverty worldwide, targeting Third World countries that had been designated as “underdeveloped,” that is, lacking a certain level of materialism. The point of comparison was the living standards of Western countries. There were also political imperatives as Cold War antagonists sought as much international influence as possible. Development aid became a potent political tool.

Consequently, it is argued that development was envisaged and constructed around beliefs and institutions that are valued in the West (Harrison 1988). The theoretical base for development is derived from two Western schools of thought: Socialist (centrally planned) and Capitalist (free market). It should be noted that these are broad definitions, and many differences exist between countries, in patterns of ownership, government regulation, and the scale of industrialization, for example.

Development under these circumstances is not homogeneous. However, there are important similarities. Both were ideologically driven with the end goal a “modern” society, industrial and urban, achieved through technological, financial, and administrative assistance. Progress was to be measured by economic growth. The nation-state became the unit for development, and it was necessary to ensure not only economic and political integration but also cultural integration, that is, the development of a single national identity.

With the end of the Cold War, it has been argued that only the Western model of development remains, overarched by cultural logics of mass production and mass consumption, individualism, and competition, together with the ideal liberal democratic state. This model was constructed from diverse sources: economic and political ideologies and sociological theories such as structural functionalism and systems theory. The idea was that as the systems and structures of the West were diffused into a traditional, generally agrarian, society, its progress would imitate the path of the West.

The classic concept of the modernization process that development policies attempted to replicate was that Third World societies could follow a linear path of change (Lerner 1958). The required economic, technical, and demographic conditions and appropriate social organization and value systems were outlined for agrarian societies to reach an economic “take off” point from which they could mature and enter an age of mass consumption (Rostow 1962).

What were deemed as deficiencies of a precolonial past were cited as the reason for initial economic failures. Those societies or producers that were deemed incapable of generating a flow of innovations or sustained economic growth were labeled “traditional,” which was now a pejorative, signaling stagnation. The traditional was viewed as inhibiting development. If Third World societies were to advance along the path taken by industrialized countries, attachments to these former cultural practices, values, and relationships had to be attenuated. The dichotomy of “developed and underdeveloped” was established during this period, growing out of a lack of recognition of what was positive in other cultures.

These theories have been critiqued since their dominance in the 1960s. It is doubtful that even economic change in the West occurred along the lines suggested. A major criticism of development, particularly from writers in the Third World, was that it established a cultural hegemony.

## Establishing Cultural Hegemony

Development in the form it was originally conceived, a universal cure for poverty and as a bulwark against communism, required a cultural hegemony in host countries to support the changes it proposed. During Europe’s period of rapid upheaval brought on by the industrial revolution, massive social dislocation occurred. Durkheim labeled the effect as *anomie*—the suspension of previously held beliefs or principles of certainty. The effect could also be put into a postmodern context with competing cultural values, with practices and relationships no longer providing a sense of security, certainty, or meaning.

A similar situation occurred with the implementation of development programs in the Third World. Critics argue that local cultures were often overwhelmed. Rather than a more evolutionary process, the frames of reference for everyday living were shifting in one generation with important stabilizing features, such as the system of governance, social organization, and religion completely removed or disregarded if these were seen as impeding the development process.

Societies had to integrate rapidly not only a new economic model but also an entirely new culture to sustain it, that is, a new set of values, practices, and social relationships. Crises instigated by increasing urbanization, bringing a population into a waged sector, rural migration and unemployment, the disruption of gender and family roles, and new forms of social differentiation, were exacerbated by a crisis of values as former cultural patterns were stigmatized as being of less value, even “backward.”

“Hegemony” can be defined as a form of domination whose legitimacy is based on a valued pattern of shared meanings (Friedman 1992). But it involves more than just physical coercion. It can be established in many ways, including the incorporation of oppositional ideas, the saturation of an ideology, or the control of material production matched by control over the production and dissemination of cultural symbols.

In the translocation of development models to the Third World, Western forms of knowledge were assuming preeminence to manage the conditions of the living. State and international agencies, bureaucracies, media, and academia attempted to establish a nexus between power and knowledge to influence indigenous institutions and attitudes (Foucault 1980). A regime of “truth” was created; that is, Western development was the only true model to follow if a country was to progress.

Wealthier countries not only had the resources and technology to secure their brand of progress internationally but also to dominate the research agenda, information flows, and even the language of the development discourse. Terms such as the gross national product (GNP), because of their association with, and emphasis on, economics and empirical formulae, are basic to the discourse of international bodies such as the International Money Fund (IMF), World Bank, and donor countries.

This internationally recognized vocabulary links development's administrative actors. Transnational corporations, diplomats, trade agencies, and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) all operate and understand these lexicons. The dominance of this language is critiqued for excluding other dialogues that speak of development as something that should be more mutually inclusive of all cultural aspects of people, not just the economic aspects (Escobar 1995).

### **Alternative Culture-Based Perspectives on Development**

Analyses of development programs began to reveal that the aim of eradicating poverty by restructuring a society had failed to improve material living conditions for many in the countries that underwent these programs. In some regions, poverty had even been exacerbated. There was, and continues to be, resistance in host countries to programs that local populations consider detrimental (protests against the Narmada Dam in India is an example).

In hindsight, trying to establish a uniform pattern of change throughout all countries whose cultural systems differed greatly was unlikely to succeed. Governments and international agencies began to look at new ideas such as sustainable development. Basic needs approaches were developed, although this was still problematic regarding how to define what is a "need" as opposed to a "want." The United Nations Development Program produced a new tool for measurement, the Human Development Index, which looked at development not only in terms of economic growth but also in terms of literacy, mortality rates, gender equality, and other such factors.

However, some writers, particularly from the Third World, began to advocate more radical approaches using alternative models based on existing cultural relationships. This included the strategic use of traditions and local knowledge, whose validity did not depend on Western regimes of truth, and

integrating cultural, spiritual, social, and economic dimensions (Sivaraksa 1990). Rather than large-scale development projects, such as dams or paper mills, small grassroots, community-based projects were seen to be more effective in implementing changes desired by local populations.

Deconstructions of the meaning of key terms such as poverty, underdevelopment, and modernity have taken place. They have become regarded as contestable cultural constructs. The broad, general term of "development" is now being paired with the words "self-reliant," "human scale," or "endogenous." Local terms avoid the use of development altogether: in Sri Lanka, *Gam Pubuduwa* means "awakening of the village." Assumptions about the role of technology and the nation-state have been challenged and new ideas put forward about the use of cultural heritage in the restoration of subjugated peoples, guided by new objectives, in other words, seeking ways of balancing tradition and modernity.

In many ways, these ideas are also utopian, and it is argued that Western governments, academics, and international agencies continue to dominate the development debate (Crush 1994). While Western agencies made attempts to redress the balance in the United Nations Decade of Culture and Development, 1988–1998, the relationship between Western development and the Third World is still one of tension and resistance.

Using local culture as a basis for resistance can be problematic in that tradition is not a manifest or solidified frame of reference. It is mobile and evolving. Traditions change and provide an insubstantial or unreliable source for a new dialogue if they ignore aspects of modernity that are beneficial, such as education or health. Local cultures are also being increasingly reappropriated by transnational corporations. A global marketing strategy of localization prevails that wraps global products in local cultural icons and meanings to better establish their product in that particular overseas market.

In the current era of globalization, some oppositional movements have tapped into cultural networks to harness identity politics and garner support, relying on cultural connections to bind them (the *Hindutva* movement in India is an example). This opposition is still articulated in the language of cultural imperialism. The fear is that local cultures will once more be overwhelmed by a homogenous Westernization. But the relationship between culture and development has shifted. It is now not a simple imposition but a more complex interaction between local and regional cultures and the global cultures, assisted by increased transnational flows of

## CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

goods, technology, finance, images, ideas, and people (Appadurai 1997).

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**See also Basic Human Needs; Colonialism: Legacies; Globalization: Impact on Development; Modernization**

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## CURRENCY DEVALUATIONS

### Definition

Currency devaluation (revaluation) is the deliberate decrease (increase) in the value of a country's currency in relation to currencies of its trading partners. For example, if one unit of country A's currency exchanges for one unit of country B's currency, and country A decides to alter that rate so that two units of its currency exchanges for one unit of B's, then A's currency has been devalued. By definition, currency devaluation takes place in a "fixed exchange rate" regime. This means that the government of the country would have set the rate at which its currency would exchange for another country's currency: hence, the exchange rate is official (official exchange rate); it is set by the government.

When a government fixes an exchange rate, it indicates to the world that it will take all necessary actions to ensure that its currency will not change value in relation to other countries' currencies. Actions that governments take to maintain the value of their currencies include the purchase and sale of their own currencies, and the imposition of exchange controls (selective access and outright bans to foreign money). When a government is unable or unwilling to maintain the fixed exchange rate it has set, and decides to lower the rate of exchange, a devaluation is said to have taken place. There is an important distinction to draw between "currency devaluation or revaluation" and a closely related concept: "currency depreciation or appreciation." When a country's exchange rate is determined in a competitive market, without any explicit commitment by the government to maintain any fixed rate, the country is said to have a flexible or floating exchange rate regime. The value of the country's currency depends on the forces of the market. If the supply of the domestic currency exceeds the demand for it, the domestic currency will have to exchange at a lower rate—it *depreciates* in value. Conversely, if the demand for the domestic currency exceeds the supply of it, its value *appreciates*. Currency depreciation or appreciation is therefore the result of the forces of supply and demand, whereas currency devaluation or revaluation is a deliberate policy action. It should be mentioned, though, that it is common for governments to try and influence the exchange rate even in a flexible exchange regime.

Currency devaluation takes place to correct what is termed a persistent external imbalance, usually trade deficits. When a country's currency is overvalued (its price is high), imports are relatively cheaper, and the country's exports are relatively more expensive. This leads to external deficits. In theory, when the currency is devalued, it reverses the situation. It makes imports more expensive and exports less expensive, thus encouraging exports, discouraging imports, and improving the external imbalance or trade deficit.

### How Does Devaluation Work: The Marshall-Lerner Conditions

For devaluation to work in the manner described in the previous paragraphs, there are some conditions that must be fulfilled. Economists refer to these conditions as the Marshall-Lerner conditions. The fact that imports have become relatively more expensive (as a result of the devaluation) does not necessarily

mean that citizens will reduce the volume of imports sufficiently enough to decrease expenditure on them. If the volume of imports decreases sufficiently enough to reduce expenditure on them, then, everything else remaining the same, there will be an improvement in the external imbalance (or trade deficit). The same devaluation makes the country's exports relatively cheaper to foreigners. Again, the fact that exports have become relatively cheaper does not necessarily mean that foreigners are going to increase their total expenditures. If, however, the volume of exports increases sufficiently enough to increase the revenue derived from them, then, everything else remaining the same, there will be an improvement in the external imbalance (or trade deficit). These two conditions jointly determine whether a devaluation would improve or not improve the imbalance a country faces. In the technical language of economists, *the sum of the price elasticities of demand for exports and imports must be greater than one*. It is not necessary for both conditions to be met at the same time. Expenditure on imports need not decrease; but if it does not, export proceeds must increase sufficiently to make up for it. Similarly, it is not necessary for exports proceeds to increase; but if they do not, expenditure on imports must decrease enough to make up for it. Several studies suggest that most countries meet this condition in the long run. For example, a study by Marquez (1990) suggests that the only country that did not meet the Marshall-Lerner conditions was the United Kingdom. This means that for most countries, devaluation would remove the trade deficit or least ameliorate it.

A possibility exists that in the immediate aftermath of devaluation, a country's external deficit deteriorates rather than improves. The reasons are as follows. With the price of imports now higher than before, if residents of the devaluing country are unable to reduce their imports and/or are unable to find less expensive substitutes, then they are forced to spend a lot more on imports after devaluation than before. If, at the same time, it takes a while for the county to increase its exports, then export revenues will fall because each unit of exports sells for less abroad. In the long run, however, as domestic residents find less expensive substitutes and domestic producers respond to the increased demand for their products, the external imbalance gets better.

The different responses of external imbalance to devaluation in the short run and long run trace a time path that looks like a *J*; thus, economists refer to it as The *J* Curve. The longer the time span, the more likely it is that devaluation will improve the external imbalance. A slightly more technical way of discussing this idea makes use of "currency-contract

period" and the "pass-through period." The currency-contract period is the period immediately following devaluation when previously negotiated contracts come due at the prices in effect before the devaluation. What happens to the devaluing country's trade balance depends on the currency in which previous contracts were negotiated. Assume that a developing country such as Nigeria devalues its currency (called the naira) so that more nairas now have to be given to obtain a unit of foreign money, such as the dollar. If importers in Nigeria have already negotiated to purchase certain items from abroad and such purchase agreements were written in dollars (as is often the case), with no protection for currency fluctuations (such as hedging), then the import bill goes up as a result of the devaluation. This deterioration in the balance of trade is the "currency-contract period effect." It may go away when old contracts expire and new ones are written at the new exchange rates. Sometimes, as a result of the need to protect sales, importers and exporters may sacrifice profits by absorbing the effects of the devaluation: they do not pass the increase or decrease in prices to buyers or may delay passing them on. If importers and exporters do not pass the price changes to buyers, then the devaluation would not have the desired effect on the balance of trade. The time it takes for importers and exporters to pass the price changes on to buyers produces the "pass-through period effect." A study by Catherine Mann (1986), for example, suggests that between 1977 and 1980, when the dollar was depreciating, the prices of imported goods did not increase because exporters absorbed the effects by reducing their profit margins. Similarly, she concludes that between 1980 and 1985, when the dollar was appreciating in value, prices of imports did not fall; rather, profit margins for exporters to the United States went up.

### Effects of Devaluation

Devaluation could worsen the well-being of a country's citizens. It has already been mentioned that in the short run, as a result of the inability to find less expensive substitutes, the citizens of the devaluing country may be forced to continue buying the now more expensive imports. Since at the same time the value of their exports would have gone down, the devaluing country will in essence be getting less for each unit of its exports. In the economics literature, this is referred to as a worsening in the "terms of trade." For example, whereas before devaluation, one bag of coffee may have been enough to acquire a sack of flour from abroad, once the currency is

devalued, two bags of coffee may be needed to acquire the same bag of flour; “real purchasing power” has therefore been reduced. Much more output is required to attain the same level of income and to maintain the same level of well-being. This side effect of devaluation often leads to increased pressure on governments by workers and the alleviation of erosion in living standards by enacting policies such as increases in minimum wages and in subsidies, which can counteract the effects of devaluation. At least one *coup d'état* in Ghana (General Kutu Acheampong's in the 1970s) was attributed in part to the high cost of living that resulted from devaluation. Ironically, though, the subsequent military government was itself forced to devalue the currency.

Additional complications in developing countries often defeat the impact of devaluation. Where governments come between domestic producers and international markets, domestic producers are often insulated from the variation in prices, and, as a result, incentives are not passed on. For example, in Ghana, whose main exports are cocoa, The Cocoa Marketing Board insulated growers by being the sole buyer and exporter of the crop. Currency devaluation under such circumstances does not necessarily affect the output of the main export crop of cocoa because it requires a separate action by the government to increase the price paid to farmers. More often than not, the government kept a substantial portion of the increased revenue. The inability or unwillingness of governments to pass the effects of devaluation on to farmers in this case jeopardizes improvements in the balance of trade deficits that the devaluation was meant to rectify.

When a country devalues its currency, it is essentially trying to switch expenditures by its citizens and its trading partners. It does so by reducing the prices of its goods relative to its trading partners. If the trading partners do not respond by also reducing their prices (devaluing), then the devaluing country could see improvements in its trade deficit. If the country's trading partners, however, also respond by devaluing, then the country could lose whatever improvements it gained initially. What is worse, the volume of trade declines for both the country and its trading partners. This tit-for-tat or “beggar-my-neighbor policy” was evident during the 1997 currency crisis in East Asia. The devaluation of the Thai baht, Thailand's currency (Gerber 1999), put exports from competing neighboring countries, such as Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, and South Korea, at a disadvantage, forcing them also to devalue; thus, the currency crisis spread to several other countries. Others date the crisis to the Chinese devaluation of 1994 that itself was a response to the depreciation in

the Japanese yen and that made Chinese exports less competitive. Regardless of where it started, the conclusion is quite clear: devaluation could produce a contagion that could affect the volume of trade and losses to all countries. Although the East Asian financial crisis is a perfect illustration of what could go wrong, some have argued that there were other problems that worsened the crisis.

If a government maintains a fixed exchange rate regime but pursues macroeconomic policies that lead speculators to believe that it cannot defend the currency, then the expectation of a devaluation could precipitate capital flight. The capital flight would make it even more difficult for the government to maintain the fixed exchange rate and would lead to the expected devaluation. Such were the cases in East Asia. For most of the small developing countries, a one-time devaluation to correct external imbalances is unlikely to produce such an impact.

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### CURRENCY REGIMES

Developing countries have usually big shares of state property, their government spending is a high percentage of their gross national product (GDP), and their financial markets are subject to heavy official control and are also limited in size. Their inflation rates are usually high because their Central Banks print money to finance their outlays and also to index public sector wages and pensions. The

exchange rate is set by their government rather than the foreign capital market, and the government also limits currency outflow for certain purposes. These practices, the capital control, and the use of different exchange rates for different transactions make the country's currency regime extremely vulnerable, as the East Asian and the subsequent Russian and Latin American crises had shown.

The question of which currency regime may be the most suitable for a developing country is hard to answer. Most people advocate the fixed exchange rate regime, meaning that domestic currency is exchanged at a fixed rate with respect to other foreign currencies, most notably to convertible hard currencies. This is thought to be necessary to slow down inflation and achieve macroeconomic stabilization. The problem is that while exchange rates are kept fixed, the public is expecting devaluation in case of poor macroeconomic performance. Thus, people would be willing to sell domestic currency assets, which will lead in turn to a balance of payment crisis. As devaluation takes place, the normal step for a Central Bank would be to increase its domestic interest rates to hedge the loss of confidence in the home currency. Otherwise, the demand for foreign currency will increase leading to capital flight. To counteract this trend and keep exchange rates fixed, the Central Bank has to sell foreign currency from its reserves, thus shrinking domestic money supply as it withdraws home currency from circulation. In extreme cases, the introduction of a currency board may be necessary. In that case, the money supply has to be backed completely by foreign hard currency reserves and gold. The chosen currency is usually one with great trading and investment significance on the world market (US dollars or the euro) or on regional markets (like the former German mark in Europe, the French franc in former French colonial Africa, or the British pound in the British Commonwealth countries). Pegging the domestic currency exchange rate to a foreign one under a currency board arrangement includes the recent examples of Argentina to the US dollar, Senegal to the franc, and smaller Yugoslavia to the German mark (DM). The DM was the strongest currency in Europe due to its stability characterized also by the lowest inflation rate the German economy exhibited through long periods.

Pegging a currency's exchange rate to another could also be risky since this may import inflation and have a contagion effect on the importing country's economy. In other words, what is good for a big country's currency may not be the best for the developing country's currency, especially if the reference currency's exchange rate fluctuates.

To mitigate the risks of pegging one's currency to a single one, most developing nations peg their rather to a basket of hard currencies. This basket and their Central Bank portfolio of foreign reserves are created according to the relative weights of their international trade in the component currencies. Thus, many developing countries, having initially a predominantly US dollar-based basket, are shifting gradually to a predominantly euro-denominated basket as the euro appreciates strongly.

Countries that have very intensive mutual trade may hedge their trade-related exchange rate risks by forming optimum currency areas, ranging from exchange rate unions to monetary unions. Thus, countries linked together closely by their trade and factor mobility (labor or capital) will join a fixed exchange rate area if benefits of macroeconomic stabilisation and the microeconomic efficiency gain from joining it will outweigh the losses from losing monetary policy flexibility. The Europe and the European exchange rate mechanism is a good example where the partner currencies fixed their exchange rates while allowing fluctuation with respect to non-member states' currencies. By joining less-developed countries, such as Greece and Portugal that were benefiting from the system, tempering high inflation rates were experienced at home and were caused by the lack of domestic fiscal and monetary discipline. By forming a currency or monetary union, the transaction costs of trade are reduced, but this also curtails the domestic governments' playing field with currency exchange rates and interest rates, forcing them to abandon independent monetary policies.

Although there are some possible advantages in forming a currency union, when it involves a very small country forming a "union" with a very large one, the previous one inevitably accepts the monetary policy of the latter one. This could be beneficial if the small country exhibits a poor inflation management, but it would be disadvantageous when domestic monetary policy has been reasonable. Handing the sovereignty over monetary policy to a different state inevitably entails the risk that the interest and exchange rates that are suitable for the large country will be quite inappropriate for the small one, as it happened when Ireland joined the European Monetary Union.

Fixing exchange rates can go as far as the total rejection of the home currency, if necessary. A complete "dollarisation" can be a long-term effect with much deeper impact than a domestic currency reform, like the introduction of a new domestic currency.

Besides its advantages, the fixed exchange rate regimes present considerable dangers, most notably that they are particularly susceptible to crises unless



backed by very strong political and institutional rules, as it happens in the case of currency boards.

### Free-Float Regime

An alternative to the fixed exchange rate would be the floating exchange rate system used by developed countries. The floating regime may be a “free-float,” meaning financial market forces are forming the exchange rate without any direct government intervention. A free-float may turn into a “dirty-float” if the home government secretly intervenes.

In case of free-float, Central Banks would not need to intervene in the currency markets for fixing their exchange rates, and countries would not import inflation or deflation from abroad. The system would ensure symmetry for all the participants and eliminate foreseeable speculations; thus, exchange rates would act as automatic balance of payment and economic stabilizers. In spite of these advantages, free-float was and is considered to be very risky by most of the developed countries. Only a few countries dared to use it as New Zealand did during the mid-1980s.

Advocates of free-float argue that this regime is least vulnerable to crisis than the pegged regime. This is argued because the exchange rate can adjust more quickly and more smoothly to real shocks. During the 1997–1998 East Asian crisis, both South Pacific dollars (New Zealand and Australian) exchange rates had adjusted promptly to new market realities by depreciations; this occurred in response to falling demand for the countries’ commodity exports due to the weakness of their target markets’ (East-Asian) currencies.

A second reason why floating rate regimes are less susceptible to crises is that domestic banks tend to hedge the currency risk of the foreign borrowing they undertake. If this is overlooked, for example, an undiversified and only US dollar-denominated debt portfolio of a country may cause a sharp depreciation of the national currency. This depreciation was the case of Thailand’s baht. Ironically, the debt had increased and its portfolio was maintained due to the expectations of keeping “the dollar peg.”

In the case of adopting free-float, the sharp depreciation of the currency produces no damages because banks have hedged all of their foreign currency exposure because of the lack of compulsory prudential regulations. By this hedging, most of the exchange rate risk is being carried by retail investors from the developed world, those that have invested in that currency. Another benefit of the floating-rate regime is that domestic corporations, mainly the exporters,

have been either hedged or net beneficiaries of the currency depreciation.

Third, free-float has a low susceptibility to crisis because of the Central Bank’s commitment to refrain from intervening in the foreign exchange market; big speculative plays will be made more difficult. Any speculator betting for an increase of the exchange rate can also find others acting inversely. Such reliance on the conviction that the Central Bank would not let down the domestic currency is the guarantee for the provision of the necessary liquidity, which will enable it to get out of from a speculative position. Thus, the currency may exhibit lower volatility because the free-float allows markets to act freely, and short-term volatility is probably not a real danger.

Arguments against free-float also abound. One of them is the “serious misalignment” argument. Some argue that free-floating currency regimes are particularly susceptible to serious misalignment as countries adopting it do not experience growth, in comparison with those (like India) that manage their currency heavily and maintain strong capital controls.

Another argument states that speculation could lead to money market disturbances and destabilize the foreign exchange markets. Imprevisible floating would harm both traders and investors. Free-float opens up world currency markets to harmful practices, destroying the discipline imposed by the Bretton-Woods system and will lead to uncoordinated economic policies.

Other arguments add that free-floating exchange rates tend to appreciate strongly with capital inflow; thus, they will squeeze export sectors and lead to a large balance of payment deficits. On the contrary, this latter point is of no concern if that capital is absorbed by the private sector.

The last argument against free-float concerns it leaving only an illusion of independence or greater autonomy because Central Banks would be forced to intervene often, and such currency regime, instead of providing more economic policy freedom, will rather increase chaos.

International experience has shown that the regime is neither a panacea nor an evil toy in the hands of official and private speculators. To yield better results, policy coordination failures between restrictive/nonrestrictive home and foreign monetary policies have to be avoided.

The most common currency regime of the twenty-first century is that of “managed float,” which allows the currency value to fluctuate within a band around the “pegged exchange rate.” This can be seen as a combination of a free-float and a fixed exchange rate regime. Having a managed float, the Central Bank

sells foreign reserves, thus supplying the increasing home demand for foreign currency, tempering the devaluation pressure on the home currency, and keeping exchange rates within the band. The bank buys back foreign currency when the domestic currency appreciates, replenishing its reserves and stopping future depreciation of the domestic currency.

In the case of managed float, if domestic and foreign bonds are imperfect substitutes, the Central Bank can control the money supply and also the exchange rates through sterilized intervention, which cancels in aggregate the effect of an earlier intervention. The reserve currency country's monetary policy maneuvers influences output at home as well as abroad. This asymmetry comes from the fact that the resource center has no obligations of financing its own balance of payments; asymmetry could be overcome only if all the countries fix their exchange rates, say, in terms of the gold reserves they have.

In developing countries, the fragile financial markets make the Central Bank the major player, which sets up the conditions for private transactions of the foreign currencies. These transactions are regulated and limited around a reference exchange rate declared by the state, leading to the emergence of a black market.

## The Crawling Peg Regime

Developing countries usually suffer from high inflation, so they cannot maintain their exchange rates fixed for long periods, even when using currency board arrangements, as Argentina had shown in the 1980s. Thus, these countries make use of a combined regime that fixes the exchange rate initially but also allows domestic currency to depreciate continuously. Thus, the price of the foreign currency crawls upward over time as home currency is devaluated continuously at a constant devaluation rate.

The advocates of the "crawling peg regime" suggest that such a crawling band is the best option, but its opponents consider this heavily managed float as being inherently more susceptible to serious misalignment problems. Fixing a currency to a larger, but still floating, currency does not seem to be a way of safely avoiding serious misalignment, as the very strong 45% real appreciation of Hong Kong's dollar and the 109% appreciation of Argentina's peso illustrate, in spite of their peg to the US dollar. Such strong appreciation of the domestic currency exerts considerable pressure on the export sector and was and still is a major contributing factor to the balance of payments deficit.

Developed countries have had similar experiences but with less dramatic effects. Colombia's 49% and Ecuador's 65% real exchange rate appreciations show that these processes do not characterise a particular type of currency regime. This contradicts those who consider that the strong appreciation of the real exchange rate can be avoided by pegging to a major currency or by "dollarising." Some suggest that capital controls like Chile's attempt may have had a beneficial effect on slowing down capital inflow at times of appreciation (at a rate of 45% in the 1990s), but Chile had also experienced a similar current account deficit as a proportion of its gross domestic product, as a country without any capital control.

Finally, it is assumed that crawling-pegs, in contrast to free-float, can be used to maintain a competitive real exchange rate, to the benefit of the country's balance of payments and growth rate. In reality, choosing a proper currency regime has to take into account many macroeconomic as well as regime-linked factors, such as the regime's susceptibility to crisis, to volatility, and to serious misalignment.

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**See also** Currency Devaluations

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**CYPRUS**

Cyprus is a small Mediterranean island, forty miles south of Turkey and some five hundred miles east of mainland Greece. Its population of 776,000 people is roughly 77% Greek and 18% Turkish, with Maronite Christians, Armenians, and other groups forming the remaining 5% .

Due to its strategic location, Cyprus was ruled by many successive empires throughout history. Most recent were the Venetians (up until 1571), the Ottomans (until 1878), and finally the British (until 1960). From 1930 onward, elements of the Greek Cypriot community began struggling against British rule and pushing for *enosis* (the union of Cyprus with Greece). The British responded with a colonial policy used effectively in most of their colonies: “divide and rule.” They turned to the Turkish Cypriot minority, many of whom were already nervous about *enosis*, for help. The Turkish Cypriots favoured either continued British rule or *Taksim* (partition of the island, handing over the halves to Greece and Turkey). Britain also encouraged Turkey to renew its claims on Cyprus, which it had abrogated in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. This would function as a counterweight to Greek claims upon the island.

The predictable outcome of such a climate in Cyprus was increasing tension and conflict between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, in addition to continuing anti-British agitation. By the late 1950s, the situation had become untenable for the British, and together with Greece and Turkey, the British negotiated independence for Cyprus. Three treaties resulted from the negotiations: the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, and the Treaty of Establishment. Among other things, the three treaties guaranteed the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus; forbade any actions that might lead to political or economic union with other states; pledged Britain, Turkey, and Greece to uphold the state of affairs on the island and intervene jointly or individually if necessary to uphold them; allowed Greece and Turkey to station 950 and 650 soldiers on the island, respectively; and created a *consociational* political structure, which is a system with many complex power-sharing arrangements between the two main Cypriot communities. This structure guaranteed a specific number of seats in the legislature, military, civil service, and other institutions to ethnic Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Unfortunately, the bi-communal constitution of the new republic was so complex and riddled with power-sharing arrangements that the government soon found itself deadlocked. Greek Cypriots complained that Turkish Cypriots had been allotted a

proportion of government posts greater than their percentage of the population warranted and that they used their position to veto crucial government policies and programs. Turkish Cypriots in turn feared that the Greek majority still wanted to sideline them and either completely Hellenise or unite the island with Greece. In 1963, Greek Cypriot leaders attempted to change the constitutional power-sharing arrangement, at which time the Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the government and began establishing their own system in the mostly Turkish north of the island. This led to a period of intercommunal violence in which the more vulnerable Turkish minority fared much worse than the Greek majority. During this period, which lasted up until 1974, Greek and Turkish Cypriots who spoke out in favour of reconciliation between the two communities were often targeted by extremist groups from their own communities, the EOKA (Greek) and the TMT (Turkish).

In 1974, the situation came to a boiling point, when the military *junta* that ruled Greece engineered the overthrow of the Cypriot president, Archbishop Makarios III, and replaced him with Nicos Sampson, a virulently pro-*enosis* EOKA militant. Turkey invaded the island seven days later, invoking the Treaty of Guarantee to justify its action (the Treaty of Guarantee gave Turkey, Greece, and Britain the right to intervene in Cyprus under certain conditions). Turkish forces killed hundreds of Greek Cypriots, both armed and civilian. At the end of the campaign, the island was effectively partitioned—the Turks had the northern 37%, including a majority of the island’s productive resources (farmland, water, and industry). Missing persons amounted to 1,619 Greek Cypriots and 503 Turkish Cypriots. The southern part of the island absorbed 160,000 Greek refugees from the north, and the northern Turkish-controlled area absorbed forty-five thousand Turkish refugees from the south. Roughly thirty-five thousand Turkish and three thousand Greek troops remain stationed on the island.

United Nations (UN) peacekeepers, present since the intercommunal strife of 1964, still in the twenty-first century maintain a tense buffer zone between the northern and southern Cypriot communities (Australia took over the Cyprus peacekeeping mission from Canada in 1994). The Turkish north declared itself the independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983 but was recognized only by Turkey. The TRNC continues to face international boycotts and is denied all the benefits of a recognized state, in contrast to the Greek Cypriots to the south (who continue to officially represent the

Republic of Cyprus). The TRNC is heavily dependent on Turkey, receiving \$100–\$200 million dollars of aid annually, in addition to military protection. In addition, approximately 100,000 settlers from Turkey have moved to the TRNC, altering the demographics of the island and even creating some tensions with Turkish Cypriots.

Lack of recognition by the international community has isolated northern Cyprus, preventing it from signing trade treaties, joining international institutions, receiving development aid (from countries other than Turkey), or having its citizens travel freely. By contrast, southern (or Greek) Cyprus, which continues to represent the entire island abroad as the Republic of Cyprus, has enjoyed more economic growth and development, especially due to tourism. Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in the Greek part of the Island was \$19,200 in 2003, compared to just \$5,600 in the Turkish north of Cyprus.

Negotiations between the two Cypriot communities aimed at reunifying the island have been frequent and universally unsuccessful. In April 2004, a UN-brokered plan to unite the island just before the ascension of the Republic of Cyprus to the European Union was presented to the population of both sides of island in a referendum. Although the referendum proposal passed in the Turkish north, it was rejected in the Greek south. A divided Cyprus then entered the European Union in May 2004, wherein all Cypriots are now considered European citizens, but only Greek Cyprus enjoys direct trade and other links to Europe.

The Greek Cypriot government continues to oppose the establishment of any international trade, cultural, or political dealings with northern Cyprus, in the hope that Turkish Cypriots continue to feel pressure to reunite the island and address problems stemming from the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Lack of foreign investment and aid (apart from that provided by Turkey) will therefore continue to bedevil northern Cyprus, and its economy can be expected to remain dependent on Turkey and much less developed than that of southern Cyprus. Because its quasi-state status removes it from most international treaties, regulations, and conventions, Turkish Cyprus also attracts an unusual amount of illegal economic activity, especially smuggling and money laundering. Greek Cyprus likewise suffers from underground market activity, including even piracy on occasion. The Greek Cypriot economy, although much more advanced than that of the north, nonetheless suffers from its vulnerability to external shocks, a problem shared by many small states dependent on

tourism and international trade. Cyprus's proximity to the Middle East also means that when political conditions there deteriorate, the tourism industry on the island also suffers. Insufficient fresh water resources throughout the island constitutes the most pressing environmental problem for Cyprus. Relative to most of the developing world, however, both northern and southern Cyprus score very high on indicators for literacy (above 95%), unemployment (3.4% in south Cyprus, 5.6% in north Cyprus), infant mortality rates (7.36 deaths per one thousand live births), and life expectancy (77.46 years).

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**See also Turkey**

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### CZECH REPUBLIC

The Czech Republic is a land-locked country with a population of 10.4 million and consists of the Czech Lands of Bohemia and Moravia and part of Silesia. Located in the heart of Europe, the Czech Republic is bordered by Poland to the north, Germany to the west, Austria to the south, and Slovakia to the east. The Czech Republic's 18,933 square miles encompass both the mountain-rimmed Bohemian Plateau in the west and the Moravian Lowland in the east. There is little climatic variation across the country; summers are hot and humid, and winters are cold.

## Political History

Czech historical development is best understood in terms of several phases from medieval to modern times. The initial phase, spanning the sixteenth through the early twentieth centuries, was its incorporation into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The second phase was the founding of an independent Republic of Czechoslovakia after World War I that lasted until World War II. Occupation by Nazi Germany constituted phase three. Phase four began with the Communist takeover shortly after World War II and lasted until the Velvet Revolution of late 1989. The fifth phase lasted from the transition from a restored free Czechoslovakian republic until the “velvet divorce” from Slovakia in 1992. The sixth, current phase is its integration into the parliamentary and pro-West European democracies.

After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in World War I, Czech philosopher Thomas G. Masaryk (1850–1937), who was married to an American and who identified with and was heavily influenced by the leadership model of Abraham Lincoln, visited the United States to proclaim the Republic of Czechoslovakia based on support from President Woodrow Wilson and the Allies. The new nation became the most industrialized and prosperous economy in Eastern Europe, tempting the ambitious Adolf Hitler after his rise to power in 1933.

Agitation in the Sudetenland, the area in northern Bohemia inhabited by about 3 million German-speaking people, offered Hitler an excuse to pressure the major European prime ministers to cede Czech land to him. At that time, Bohemia was the industrial center of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, due to rich coal deposits and a developed railway network. The remainder of Czechoslovakia was invaded in 1939, and the Nazis established a protectorate in Bohemia and Moravia. Thomas Masaryk’s son, Jan (1886–1948), served as the Czech government’s foreign minister from exile in London. After Nazi Germany’s defeat, the pre-1938 frontiers of Czechoslovakia were restored, and nearly all the German-speaking inhabitants were expelled.

Soon after World War II, the Communist Party gained control of Czechoslovakia, converting it into a rigid Stalinist state. After the death, in 1953, of Joseph Stalin, some political relaxation occurred, and in July 1960, it was renamed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Post-Stalin moderation was evident by January 1968 when Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992) became secretary of the party. Soon after, however, the more independent and moderate policies adopted during the Prague Spring of 1968

were terminated after the invasion of Warsaw Pact military forces. Gustav Husak replaced Dubcek and was the last head of Czechoslovakia during the final twenty years of its demise as a Soviet satellite regime.

Only one Prague Spring reform was retained. In January 1969, the Czechoslovak unitary state was transformed into a federation, an arrangement that allowed the Czech and Slovak republics to have separate local governments. At the same time, a national federal government was instituted, and the legislature was restructured into a bicameral body. Implementation of this single Prague Spring reform may be explained, in part, by the fact that both Dubcek and Husak were Slovaks and were sensitive to the underlying, persistent tension between the urban, industrial Czechs and the rural, agricultural Slovaks.

Both the 1989 fall of the Communist regime and the 1992 “velvet divorce” between what became the Czech Republic and Slovakia were accomplished rapidly. Demonstrations against the Communist government, triggered by reforms in the Soviet Union, began in 1988. The Velvet Revolution took place from November 17 to November 28, 1989. It signaled a dramatic, but largely peaceful, political change. Within a month, Vaclav Havel replaced Husak as the president of Czechoslovakia. Dubcek, who had been expelled from the Communist Party in 1975, was elected chair of the national parliament; the Communist Party lost its majority.

## Confrontation of Two Inexperienced Political Leaders

Almost as soon as the old Communist regime fell, fissures developed between the two emerging political leaders: Vaclav Klaus in Prague and Vladimir Meciar from Bratislava. Klaus represented the dominant Czech party called the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), which favored anti-communism and economic reform. Meciar represented his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), which favored retention of much of the previous economic framework from the Communist regime and promoted nationalism. Due to the political inexperience of both leaders, the collision of these two forces led to a so-called “velvet divorce” even in the absence of general public support for the split.

Vaclav Klaus, a former minister of finance, was a 1963 graduate of Prague’s School of Economics and did his graduate work in economics both in Italy and the United States, where he attended Cornell University in 1969. He admired the United States’s Milton

Friedman and viewed himself as the Margaret Thatcher of the Danube. He had been elected head of the anti-Communist Civic Forum in 1990 after it had grown more conservative, and he became the architect of Czechoslovakia's neoliberal economic program. At the same time, Klaus quickly earned a reputation for arrogance and an inability to accept criticism. By 1991, he was chair of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), a center-Right party advocating a free market economy and a limited role for the state.

If Klaus was the Margaret Thatcher of the Danube, then Meciar was its Huey Long. A former boxer, corporate lawyer, and an authoritarian populist, Meciar became the darling of the Slovak Nationalists and made it clear that he would not accept a federal state from Prague dictating political policies to Slovakia. Capitalizing on the persistent undercurrent of resentment and jealousy Slovaks felt for their more urban Czech rivals, Meciar escalated his populist demands to such a level that Klaus quickly decided to dissolve the Czechoslovakian state. In doing so, Klaus considered himself rid of what he saw as both a demagogue as well as the economic drain of the less well-off Slovaks.

### **Struggle Between the Prime Minister and the President**

No sooner had the velvet divorce been finalized that another internal struggle reemerged between the two Vaclavs: Vaclav Klaus, the first prime minister of the new Czech Republic from 1992–1997, and Vaclav Havel, the moral leader of the 1989 Velvet Revolution that had first freed Czechoslovakia from the Soviet bloc. Klaus, leader of one of the nation's two largest political parties, the ODS, began espousing a rapid change to free market economics, though advocating that the change be softened by major subsidies. Opposing his stance was Havel, the internationally renowned avant-garde playwright who was jailed repeatedly by the Communists in the 1970s and 1980s. Havel, born October 5, 1936, into an upper-middle class family, was instrumental in the proclamation of "Charter 77" that demanded respect of human rights. He became the best-known Czechoslovakian dissident against Communist repression, and in late 1989, Havel was selected as the president of Czechoslovakia. He was reconfirmed for another term in 1990, but he chose to resign his post two years later in an unsuccessful move to forestall the breakup of the seventy-four-year-old nation. Subsequently, on January 26, 1993, the new Czech

Republic parliament elected Havel as president. The occupant of that office, however, is not a member of a political party because the presidency is viewed as a ceremonial and moral role for the state that is above partisan political struggles. It was a fitting position for the dissident playwright who is a particular hero in the West.

Despite his ceremonial position, Havel has used the presidency as a platform to critique the materialistic values of Klaus. At the same time, he has championed greater regional representation, the new bicameral legislature, and a role for culture and religion in the Czech Republic. All are issues that continue to divide Havel from Klaus, who has attempted to undermine the constitutional position of the president. Havel also continues to be concerned with issues of human rights and justice. Like Thomas Masaryk, Havel quotes Abraham Lincoln. Like Lincoln, Havel has been willing to use the executive pardoning power, often acting contrary to public opinion. On January 20, 1998, Havel was reelected president. His term expired in 2003, at which time Vaclav Klaus replaced him on March 8, 2003.

### **A Contemporary Stalemate**

A campaign finance struggle within Vaclav Klaus's ODS in the late 1990s led to a minor party breach with dissidents splintering into new parties. Klaus was forced to resign as prime minister in late 1997 but continues as a dominant force in Czech politics. In 1998, he entered his party into a controversial "opposition agreement" with the other major party in the country, the Social Democratic Party (CSSD). The agreement allowed the CSSD to govern with support from the ODS in exchange for a key role in parliament along with policy concessions. This unusual but workable arrangement, intended to undermine the power of much smaller political parties, would be on the ballot in 2002.

While Klaus's power was being checked by campaign scandals, Havel suffered a decline in his health. Havel's popular wife, Oglá Havlova, died of cancer on January 27, 1996, and in December of that same year, Havel underwent surgery for removal of half of his right lung due to lung cancer. Havel had been a heavy smoker since his youth and statistically was at high risk for developing lung cancer since Czech males have the second highest rate for risk of death from lung cancer in the world. His eventual marriage to Dagmar Veskrnova, a Czech stage and screen actress seventeen years his junior, divided public opinion.

Despite these setbacks for Klaus and Havel, each continues in the early twenty-first century to exert leadership in the Czech Republic. A new generation of leaders has yet to emerge to challenge these dueling founders.

The new Czech government inherited a low level of external debt from the old Communist regime: a cushion of government subsidies facilitated the country's transition to a free economy. The economic slowdown since the 1990s notwithstanding, the Czech Republic enjoys one of the highest growth rates in the region, in part due to the high foreign and domestic investments that contributed to a 2.4% rise in the gross domestic product (GDP) in 2000. The combination of an educated workforce and its status as a regional high-tech zone contribute to the country's historic industrial and cultural tradition. It has a richer educational tradition than its neighbors. The first Czech Technical University, dating from the eighteenth century, is one of Europe's oldest. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Czechs had the highest literacy rate in Central Europe. In the twenty-first century, the republic has the second highest number of students enrolled in the sciences. A United Nations technology report ranks the Czech Republic as a "potential world leader" in applying technologic innovations. It enjoys one of the highest living standards in Europe.

The Czech Republic joined the European Union (EU) in 2004 while its GDP per capita was about 30% below the EU average. It is set to receive considerable funding from the EU from 2005 to 2013 (estimates range from \$16 billion to \$40 billion). Bilateral trade and foreign investment are expected to increase. Germany is its most important trading partner. Transparency International presently ranks the Czech Republic 54th out of 149 nations on its corruption index. Concerns about corruption should diminish as its laws are changed to EU standards.

The foreign affairs of the Czech Republic are similarly impressive. In 1999, it was among the first new Eastern European nations to become a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

WILLIAM D. PEDERSON

**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations**

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## **DA SILVA, LUIZ INÁCIO “LULA”**

See *Silva, Luiz Inácio “Lula” da*

## **DALITS**

See *Untouchables (Dalits)*

## **DAWN (DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES WITH WOMEN FOR A NEW ERA)**

DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) is a network of women scholars and activists from the South who engage in feminist research and analysis and are committed to working for economic justice, gender justice, and democracy. DAWN works globally and regionally in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Pacific on the following themes: the Political Economy of Globalization; Political Restructuring and Social Transformation; Sustainable Livelihoods; and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights. Its numerous partnerships with other global non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and networks have positioned DAWN as a central actor in feminist activism at the global level. In addition to women's organizations, DAWN also works in partnership with a number of development networks and organizations at both regional and global levels.

DAWN seeks to contribute to creating a world without inequality that is based on class, gender, and race, and where relationships among countries are founded on equal voice and respect. It considers basic needs to correspond to basic rights, and strives to find ways by which poverty and all forms of violence can be eliminated. To generate global change toward these goals, DAWN emphasizes the need to reorient the massive resources now used in the production of the “means of destruction” (arms and environmental pollution, among others) toward the areas where they can relieve oppression both inside and outside the home. This would mean, among other things, reforming institutions so that they become participatory democratic processes where women share in determining priorities and making decisions. This political environment would provide enabling social conditions that respect women's and men's physical integrity and the security of their persons in every dimension of their lives.

DAWN began in 1984, on the eve of the international conference marking the end of the UN Decade for Women launched in 1975. A group of feminists from the South with similar visions prepared a platform document for that event and held a number of workshops at the Forum of Non-Governmental Organizations, which took place in parallel to the United Nations' International Conference on Women, in Nairobi, Kenya. DAWN's platform document, entitled “Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives” and written by Gita Sen and Caren Grown (1987), was a feminist



critique of three decades of development. It highlighted the impacts of four interlinked and systemic global crises—famine, debt, militarism, and fundamentalism—on poor women of the South, and offered alternative visions.

The document made a significant impact at Nairobi, and for the first time put macroeconomic issues firmly on the agenda of the global women's movement. Since then, DAWN has continued to influence global debates on development by offering holistic analyses from a feminist perspective that are both grounded in women's experience and inspired by women's collective strategies and visions. DAWN's work at the regional level connects with the priorities of women's and civil society organizations in each region, and helps strengthen capacity to deal with issues arising from the impacts of globalization. One of the ways by which DAWN influences feminist activism in the South is through its Training Institute on gender justice. The inaugural session of the Institute was held in Bangalore, India, in 2003 and graduated twenty-eight young feminists from the South.

Much of DAWN's global advocacy work involves calling for a reform of international institutions through significant critiques of current institutions and proposals for designing new ones; participating in United Nations international conferences and review processes; monitoring state actions, policies, and laws to ensure that they live up to the commitments made in international conferences; and developing guidelines to mainstream gender in non-governmental organizations' advocacy initiatives. Some of DAWN's past advocacy work includes the campaign "Peoples' Health Before Patents"; a campaign for the implementation of the Tobin Tax as part of DAWN's monitoring of the Financing for Development Process at the United Nations; chairing the External Gender Consultative Group of the World Bank; and participating in the ICPD +10 (review process after ten years of the International Conference on Population and Development) and Beijing +10 (International Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995) processes.

DAWN's work is supported by the Ford Foundation, HIVOS (Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries), John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, and United Nations Development Programme. At the regional level, DAWN relies on the support of a number of established networks, organizations, and institutions, including REPEM (Red de Educación Popular Entre Mujeres de América Latina y el Caribe) and ABIA (Associação Brasileira Interdisciplinar de AIDS) in

Latin America, Girl Power Initiative in Anglophone Africa, WAGI (Women and Gender Institute of the University of the Philippines) in Southeast Asia, IIMB (Indian Institute of Management Bangalore) in South Asia, and CAFRA (Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action) in the Caribbean.

DAWN's governing council is its Steering Committee, which is made up of the present and immediate past general coordinators, regional coordinators, and research coordinators. The Steering Committee meets once a year. DAWN also has a number of research/advocacy focal points who are scholars and activists whose expertise and knowledge can be drawn upon to inform DAWN's work and assist its research and regional work agendas.

DAWN's Secretariat was first located at the Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST) in Bangalore, India, with Devaki Jain as the first general coordinator. In 1986, the Secretariat relocated to the Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ) in Brazil, when Neuma Aguiar became the general coordinator. In 1990, the Secretariat moved to the Women and Development Unit (WAND) at the University of the West Indies in Barbados when Peggy Antrobus assumed the general coordinator's position. In 1998, it shifted to Fiji at the University of the South Pacific, with Claire Slatter as general coordinator. Bene Magunagu, former regional coordinator for Anglophone Africa, was appointed general coordinator in 2004. As of this writing, the General Secretariat has moved to Calabar, Nigeria.

DAWN's founding members are from a diversity of countries such as Brazil (Carmen Barroso), Pakistan (Zubeida Ahmad), Norway (Tone Bleie), Morocco (Fatima Mernissi), Kenya (Achola Pala Okeyo), Malaysia (Noeleen Heyzer), and the US (Katharine McKee), among others.

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**See also Women: Legal Status; Women: Role in Development**

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## DE KLERK, FREDERIK W.

To understand how the white minority population (approximately 13%) accommodated to the inevitable transition to South African majority rule with a one-person, one-vote government, headed by Nelson Mandela and his African National Congress (ANC) party in 1994, an explanation is required. One of the key considerations is the essence of political leadership within the Nationalist Party (NP), which formalized apartheid (separate development of races) when it came to power in 1948 and governed as the last minority party before transition to majority (black) rule. Two further explanations include the escalating stakes and risk of civil war in the country, and the perceived shifts in the international environment as significant influences on South African governmental actions.

F. W. de Klerk served as the last Afrikaner president of the Republic of South Africa. In most respects he was an unlikely figure to guide a process that most white South Africans knew would lead unmistakably to negotiating themselves out of power, position, and privilege.

White domination of what later became the South African state began when the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station on the southern tip of Africa in 1652. This naval port of call proved useful for provision of fresh fruits and vegetables on the long voyage from Europe to Holland's premier source of raw materials in the East Indies. De Klerk's French Huguenot ancestors arrived in Capetown by ship in 1688, early forerunners of the white migration to this distant region. His family and political roots in the area are extensive. Three generations of Afrikaner family members were prominent in provincial and national politics. His great grandfather served five years in the Senate of the first Union of South Africa government in 1910. His namesake on his mother's side served on the Provincial Council of what was then known as the Orange Free State, one of two territories dominated by the Afrikaner people. His paternal grandfather twice ran for Parliament, unsuccessfully. An uncle served as prime minister. De Klerk's own father had been a veteran National Party organizer, served as general secretary of the

National Party in Transvaal Province, had stints as cabinet minister under three successive prime ministers, and culminated his political career as president of the Senate.

De Klerk was born March 8, 1936, in Johannesburg, South Africa. His family was deeply religious, adherents to the most conservative wing of the Dutch Reformed Church. His father had been a teacher, principal, and church elder, while he carried on most of his National Party work at night and on weekends, so he was often absent from the household. The family was of modest means, practiced an ethic of community service, and valued highly the intensity and inwardness of Afrikaner culture. A key part of this identity was acceptance of racial exclusivity, a cardinal tenet of Afrikaner culture since arriving in the region.

De Klerk graduated from the Hoerskool Monument secondary school in Krugersdorp and went on to pursue a conventional path for Afrikaner professionals. He went to Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, an Afrikans university known for its conservatism, and in 1958 graduated with a combined degree in arts and law. Poorly skilled in athletics and music, he found his talents in student government and in the Nationalist Party Student Youth League, a training ground for young party comers. His first trip outside the country was a six-week fellowship to England, which included a small group of both Afrikans and English-speaking university students.

He practiced law for a period from 1961–1972 in Vereeniging, and simultaneously served in various local government posts. He was first elected as a member of Parliament in 1972. Appointment to the national cabinet followed as minister of posts and telecommunications, and later he held successive cabinet posts in multiple governmental sectors. By 1982, he became Transvaal leader of the National Party, a significant national pedestal, and his arrival came at a critical time for the increasingly besieged government of South Africa.

F. W. de Klerk's roots in Transvaal province, the most Afrikans part of South Africa, gave him great credibility among both Nationalist Party leadership and the rank and file. Philosophically, politically, and religiously conservative, he was skilled at negotiating with the opposition parties.

The long-term, extended pattern of state violence against its own people had brought on world condemnation, political and economic sanctions, an arms embargo, and prohibition from participation in virtually any international sports competitions. South Africa had become a pariah state among the community of nations.

By the early 1980s, internally South Africa also had become a repressive police state. The successive white governments firmly and with brutal force regularly suppressed internal black opposition, including the ANC, the Pan African Congress (PAC), and the Inkatha Freedom Party. By the late 1980s, it was clear to the more pragmatic white political leadership that change would have to come. A quiet and secret dialogue began between governmental representatives and key black influentials. The four-decade-old apartheid state had begun to corrode from within, with absolutely no prospect of salvation without radical political change.

When the previous president, P.W. Botha, still recovering from a stroke, proved unwilling to continue the largely secretive dialogue with the ANC opposition, he defiantly resigned. De Klerk had been elected National Party leader in February 1989, and with Botha's surprise resignation, that same year and with no opposition candidates, the Parliament unanimously elected him president of the Republic of South Africa.

An emergent political pragmatist and a centrist in the Nationalist Party, de Klerk took little time to inaugurate change. In a surprising policy speech in February 1990, he rescinded the ban on the ANC, the PAC, and the South African Communist Party; released most political prisoners; repealed all apartheid laws; and announced the release of Mandela after twenty-seven years in jail. Despite a volatile atmosphere of multiracial distrust and frequent outbreaks of civil violence, de Klerk and Mandela together kept the moderate white and black coalition elements together and formally opened negotiations for a new constitution.

In December 1991, the NP government and opposition parties convened a Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), following two years of hard bargaining. The draft constitution secured universal adult suffrage, a bill of rights, an independent judiciary, and abolition of the segregated homeland governments. It was the widest cross-section of opposition groups ever to assemble. The far right Conservative party, the extremist right white opposition party, the PAC, and Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi of the Zulus chose not to participate. However, Buthelezi's party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, did participate. The middle of the white and black political spectrum stayed engaged.

De Klerk's subsequent decision to hold a whites-only national referendum in February 1992, to approve his continued negotiation with the ANC and Mandela, secured his reform initiative. The result, with 85% of the white electorate voting, was that 68% approved continued negotiations with Mandela's

ANC and other opposition parties. Although one result of the referendum was that many Afrikaners in the NP viewed de Klerk as a traitor, he successfully isolated his right-wing party opposition.

By December 1993, all but two major political parties endorsed a power-sharing agreement and the Parliament ratified an interim constitution. With the pivotal election of Mandela in April 1994, in which he won nearly 63% of the vote, the political transition was complete. De Klerk drew the second-largest number of popular votes, but the gap between the number of votes he and Mandela received was expansive. Nevertheless, it was enough for de Klerk to be named second deputy president. After nearly fifty years, apartheid as official state policy had ended. Thereafter, Western governments removed economic sanctions and the British Commonwealth restored membership to South Africa. It would only be the beginning of a much longer process of racial reconciliation and governmental transformation, a work in progress.

In retrospect, external changes also played a decisive role. In the fall of 1989, every Eastern European communist government was removed from power. By December 1991, the USSR as a state and empire had ceased to exist. The NP posture of rigid anti-Communism and its role as protector against the spread of that ideology into southern Africa had lost its rationale. The once highly touted threat and fear of Communist penetration into the region, used by previous white South African governments for Western support, proved hollow. Moreover, successful black independence movements in the wider southern African region already had isolated the white minority government in Capetown. After a seven-year civil war, the last white regime in Rhodesia had collapsed in 1980. Both Mozambique and Angola had achieved formal independence in 1975 despite ongoing civil wars. Finally, South Africa surrendered its old League of Nations mandate over Southwest Africa, and subsequently, Namibia became independent in 1990.

The de Klerk government also halted the state's nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs, became a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and signed the Chemical Weapons Convention. By the close of his presidency, the state had reestablished itself as a credible participant in the wider international community.

De Klerk resigned from office in 1996, and retired from politics in 1997. He and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 for their respective leading roles in bringing about the historic, and largely nonviolent, transition to universal suffrage. After his departure from politics, de Klerk

established a foundation in his name to work for peace in fractured societies.

Arguably, de Klerk's leadership of the NP may have gotten the best political prospect possible—permanent minority party status and opportunity for the white population to contribute as “backbenchers” to a multiracial political future. He tried to secure “group rights” for the white minority, but Mandela would have none of that. Politically, the drift toward one-man, one-vote rule appeared virtually inevitable, short of violent internal upheaval, which many critics thought likely. There was no credible nor viable alternative political strategy. The white minority was ultimately African and would try to make the best of their new circumstances. One could argue that heritage proved more compelling than race. F. W. de Klerk gradually, grudgingly, and skillfully moved his reluctant constituency to accept majority rule and the refashioning of the South African state after more than three centuries of white control and privilege.

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**See also Apartheid; Mandela, Nelson; South Africa**

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## DEBT: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

A large national debt, whether internal or external, is considered a major obstacle in achieving economic and subsequent social development. Many critics place the responsibility for the negative impacts of debt on the international financial institutions (IFIs), such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (IBRD), led by the wealthier developed countries. The IFIs design structural adjustment programs (SAPs) intended to adapt the country's economy to the challenges of the globalized market. These SAPs are designed for achieving macroeconomic stability and subsequent debt relief, but

critics believe that they often do not fit the specific needs of the countries where they are implemented, and thus contribute to poverty and inequality. Local program mismanagement, embezzlement, lack of experience in implementation, and political dependency of the central banks also cause problems with SAPs.

Some critics view globalization as an obstacle toward local development, as it increases cross-country financial linkages that amplify the effects of various economic shocks and transmit them more quickly across national borders. However, many feel that economies of scale, which spill over national boundaries, as well as the free flow of capital and resources, yield a better international allocation of these factors of production and thus a more efficient global economy. Globalization's critics draw attention to international geopolitical interests that lead to unequal exchange, thereby perverting the democratization processes in the developing countries.

Between 1972 and 1982, the overall debt of developing nations rose from \$130 billion to \$600 billion, resulting in the first major debt crisis in 1982. However, the net gain of lending countries between 1982 and 1990 is estimated at \$418 billion.

## Debt and Growth

Large debt slows down or stops economic growth. The savings rates of the Developing Countries (DCs) generally fall, as they are unable to secure sufficient investment capital. Frequently, this forces developing nations to abandon their development plans in favor of building social safety nets. The neglect of the domestic savings, as a source of development finance, increases the country's debt-to-gross domestic product (GDP) ratio, increasing the country's economic dependence on foreign loans. High levels of foreign debt compared to GDP makes domestic economy vulnerable to debt crisis. This induces sovereign default on loan reimbursement and subsequent capital flight.

The first major debt crisis was caused by the recession in the developed world. Therefore, it became more profitable to invest the petrodollars in the West, then recycle it through western banks by lending to DCs. Thus the DCs' source of financing their development programs was drying out, but their debt service costs increased dramatically due to interest rates pegged to the London Inter-Bank Offered Rate (LIBOR). The LIBOR, the rate at which London banks borrow money from each other, is the most commonly used reference point for short-term interest rates. Fluctuations in the LIBOR have triggered massive default on debt repayments, also

with a boomerang effect, causing recession worldwide. This has caused a -4% to -11% annual decrease of GDP, from Mexico to Yugoslavia, fostered also by the transition processes of the former communist countries to market economies. High levels of short-term debt and debt-to-reserves ratio, like Mexico's 5.2, Korea's 2.073, and Indonesia's 1.724 in 1994, signal long-term economic insecurity; in the case of East Asia, these ratios led to the 1997 financial crisis. The foreign debt-to-GDP ratios rose to 28% in Thailand and 21% in the Philippines, while exports shrank. The debt crisis's contagion effects spilled over Russia and Eastern Europe in 1998 and Brazil a year later. These reflect the higher instability of the interlinked, once attractive emerging capital markets of the developing world.

### Debt and Trade

Trade liberalization, mainly the abolition and reduction of import duties, was prescribed for debtors as a prerequisite for qualifying for new IFI loans. To increase export earnings, a country has to increase its currency's real exchange rate; however, at the beginning a substantial initial nominal devaluation is recommended in order to make export price competitive. This free trade opens the markets of the developing world, even though developed countries continue to protect their own agricultural and basic commodity markets—the exact markets in which DCs could be more competitive.

Another recommendation for the debtors is domestic price liberalization, but this leads to high inflation in order to balance their existing fiscal deficits. As developing nations rarely have funds for technological research, they must purchase technology from developed nations, which serves to widen the existing technological gap. Developing countries, as debtors, are constrained to cheap large-scale exports of raw materials, which leads to resource depletion, while the decreased level of domestic transactions causes a multiplier effect in their own economy. This is a partial reason for dependency and poverty, since basic commodity prices are subject to heavy competition on world markets, which causes them to fluctuate and remain mostly depressed. For instance, the price of cotton has dropped by half since 1995, affecting 1 billion people worldwide. In spite of increased outputs, it has led to decreased revenues and severely declining terms of trade for the exporting country. More than fifty developing countries have undiversified export structure, depending on three or fewer commodities for more than half of their export earnings.

Twenty such “single-commodity” countries are dependent on one or few commodities export for more than 90% of their total foreign exchange earnings.

Early trade liberalization for socially and economically unstable DCs forces these economies into price wars, which may become, in fact, a spiralling race to the bottom. Often, much of the population is left poorer and at the mercy of obscure market forces, also causing debt overhang. Once a country has fallen into poverty, it becomes more difficult to obtain contracts from the mega-retailers dominating the world trade, without severely cutting costs. To cut costs, many manufacturers resort to illegal and unsafe business practices such as child labour, lack of overtime pay, quotas, and less expensive but unsafe manufacturing practices. These in turn expose them to further trade sanctions, which reduces their competitiveness even more.

Forcing exports and stopping imports, like Romania did in the 1980s, condemns the country to backward development. This method neglects domestic markets, leading to supply shortages and inflation and decreasing living standards. Forced exports often lead to dumping, or selling goods in foreign markets for either less than they cost in the country of manufacture or less than the cost of producing the goods. Dumping then attracts protectionist countermeasures by foreign markets, which squeeze out DC products. As a response, international financial institutions initiate rescue plans that impose market-based pricing. Unfortunately, these plans often lead to increases in food and utility costs within developing nations.

### Debt and Domestic Industries

In order to decrease dependency on imports, most developing countries have created import substitution industries, which requires heavy investment and increases the demand for foreign exchange. This leads to an overvalued exchange rate, which in turn diminishes exports, while the restrictions on imports cause growth prospects to worsen. Existing large amounts or ratios of debt leave no place for industrial diversification, exporting industries must be heavily subsidized, and agriculture often remains neglected. After prescribed privatization, domestic plants are often closed down by the foreign purchasers. Privatization carried out for the sake of efficiency has in some cases increased dependency on imports in the basic commodity sectors, wiping out domestic production. This affects economic sovereignty in the long run, encouraging corruption as politicians consider these sell-offs a source of commissions.

## Debt and Monetary Policy

To overcome default all countries have to achieve macroeconomic stability, and in order to stop financing government deficits with seignorage and inflation tax (for example, Bolivia, Argentina, Yugoslavia), governments are required to fix their exchange rates or peg to their greatest lenders' currencies. Keeping the exchange rates stable and in favor of the lenders is costly, due to the high interest rates and reduced spending on domestic consumption. Governments then need to increase exports just to keep their currencies stable, which may not be sustainable, or appreciate them, which worsens their export terms, leading to growing deficits. In order to stop capital flight, DCs must raise interest rates to high levels to convince investors to return; however, this also fuels inflation further and can even discourage investment.

As an example, Russia fixed the ruble's exchange rate to the US dollar, attracting speculative foreign capital through the high interest rates offered on US dollar loans. The debt accumulated, and when short-term debt reached maturity, its overall size caused the collapse of the ruble's exchange rate and suppressed domestic growth. This had a boomerang effect on lender countries, causing recession in Germany, which had tried to support the Russian economy in gratitude for its stance during the German reunification. The excessive international mobility of capital shook domestic currencies. The \$90 billion capital flight in Mexico between 1979 and 1983 was greater than the entire Mexican debt at that time. Brazil, as another example, wanted to freeze prices and wages to stop inflation caused mainly by high debt ratios. It opted to introduce a new currency, which led to short-run results; however, inflation doubled later, because of the loose fiscal and wage indexation policy.

## Debt Service

Debt service becomes a burden in itself, hampering the development of most of the developing countries. For some it would have been even more advantageous to default on payments, but this alternative would block further lending, triggering the seizure of the country's assets abroad and a reduction of gains from international trade. If foreign lending possibilities are exhausted, governments return to domestic borrowing to a point where interest service on domestic governmental debt, as in Mexico, reaches 15% of GNP. This has led to a 50% increase in money supply

for internal debt service purposes. In reality, complete country default on reimbursement is not allowed, because that may cause the worldwide collapse of the banking systems. Debt can be repaid through massive expenditure cuts and/or tax increases, but these are often politically infeasible and can be hard on a country's population, particularly if the country was impoverished to begin with.

## Debt and Food

Debt obligations have driven the reorientation of agricultural production from meeting local needs, to production for export in highly skewed regional and global markets. This focus on export has decreased the self sufficiency of these countries, and increased their dependency on other nations for their food supplies. As developing nations have undertaken forced industrialization, investment sources for agriculture have dried out. In the 1950s, half of a typical developing country's GNP came from agriculture and 70–80% of its population was employed in that sector. Due to increased industrial labor demand, the workforce has migrated into urban areas, leaving labor-intensive agriculture without proper human capital, and leaving developing nations unable to produce their own food.

In the long run, improper heavy industry development strategies will exhaust the foreign credit opportunities, while failing to become competitive. So debt has to be repaid with whatever is left—agricultural products and raw materials, since these primary products' quality does not depend so much on technology. As an example, Argentina, once a world-class food exporter, has become a troubled country due to failed industrialization and its accompanying debt service, which triggered inflation of 3,000% in 1991 and led to food riots. As another example, Romanian communist dictator Ceausescu exported food, badly needed at home, to repay the country's \$21 billion in external debt. He introduced food rationing, which was often carried out inequitably.

Heavily indebted poor countries (HIPCs) have sometimes turned to illegal drug production and trade, or have cut back their food subsidies. Moving toward exportable cash crops, land is diverted away from meeting local and immediate needs, which also affects the survival of millions.

Less developed countries and HIPCs cannot achieve self sufficiency in food as the first prerequisite for a sound economic development, without the large-scale use of pesticides. Debt's chain reactions and related effects are enormous. The restructuring

of agricultural policies has led to the overuse of land, soil erosion, pollution, and deforestation. Wide-scale deforestation for extensive agriculture- and timber-exporting purposes causes local climate changes, contributing to global warming, severe drought, crop failure, famine, and the impossibility of sustainable development.

### Debt and Living Standards

When countries first start to borrow, living standards may also rise, like in Hungary, where foreign loans were used for consumption, aimed at stopping popular discontent with the suppression of the 1956 anti-Soviet revolution. After becoming indebted, living standards have often fallen, even to poverty level as real wages declined, such as during the 1980s in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru, where wages dropped 50–70%. The value of labor decreased as world market prices were faced with planned economy wages. Additionally, the need to meet debt-servicing requirements led to a decrease in social spending. By the 1990s, most African countries were spending more on foreign debt service than on national health-care or education. Half of Africa's population lacks basic health care. In 1997, it was estimated that sub-Saharan African governments spent four to five times more for debt service than for health care. Debt affects education also, as spending for schools is decreased in order to pay off debt. Even if schools are available, economic conditions often force young children to work.

### Debt and Social Change

Large debt contributed substantially to the fall of communism, predominantly in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Poland. Austerity programs led to a wave of strikes in Poland and a bloody revolution in Romania. Draconian measures aiming at debt servicing were used to justify totalitarianism. With debt repayment of developing nations to developed countries at the current rate, many argue that the world's poor are subsidizing the rich.

**See also Development History and Theory; Modernization**

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## DEBT: RELIEF EFFORTS

Mounting debt problems and crises ask for immediate action and also for careful balancing in deciding what are the best policies for alleviating existing indebtedness and counteracting potential financial crises. In the case of private borrowers, as those benefiting from commercial credit, or in the case of a possible default on repayment, creditors might look first to achieving debt consolidation with the debtor company's government. Consolidation of such debt is disadvantageous for the indebted developing country as foreign lenders want these governments to absorb privately contracted external debt, conditioning them with publicly contracted loan rescheduling. Thus the conversion of a foreign currency-denominated loan into domestic-currency state loans at reduced exchange rates, would, in fact, be used to subsidize the private borrowers, instead of financing the needs of the poor.

One of the first steps in alleviating the foreign debt crisis is the common action of the large banks, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and lender industrial country governments, called concerted lending. This provides for continuous lending, imposing the will of the major lenders on the smaller banks. The debtor country's government starts negotiating an agreement with an advisory committee of the largest banks that represent the cartel of lenders. The coordination of many instances of involuntary lending is necessary to force banks to contribute new funds in accordance with their loan exposure. This will be a framework that provides consistency and predictability to borrowing countries, as well as to those who invest in emerging-market debt. This has taken the forms of extension of credit or new loans to abridge the financing gap, or debt rescheduling, which means the transformation of short-term debt into a long-term one. This rescheduling postpones the

amortization of the principal, but additional interest charges may add up. In order to be able to repay maturing debt, first the country's current account deficit should be balanced with additional loans, in order to make possible a positive balance large enough to finance both interest and principal payment.

When an emerging-market country is threatened with a financial crisis, it faces the prospect of being forced to devalue its currency and default either on its government debt or on loans to the country's banks. There are two main options for avoiding these events: an IMF loan (a "bailout"), which, in fact, is also a creditor bailout, or debt restructuring (a "bail-in"). Even for restructuring purposes, countries borrow from the IMF and agree to its stabilization packages. Although the IMF loans are usually of a small size, they have a positive signaling effect for the international banking community.

Among the other goals of the IMF, it seeks to facilitate currency exchange in order to reach equilibrium for the whole economy. For that reason it established mechanisms to stabilize exchange rates. This was achieved by pegging a country's currency to the dollar and by the United States maintaining the dollar's full convertibility to gold on a fixed rate of \$35 per ounce. Countries joining the Fund have a quota of special drawing rights on the fund's resources, in accordance with their money contribution to the reserve pool. The IMF initially had a central role in coordinating bank lending, but starting from the Mexican crisis in 1982, the Fund conditioned the approval of its lending on the existence of a similar consensus among private lender banks, which in turn was seen as a solvency guaranty of the debtor.

Much of that vision, however, has never materialized. Instead the IMF took to offering loans based on strict conditions. These become known later as structural adjustment (SAP) or austerity measures, dictated largely by the most powerful member nations. The IMF loan conditions focus mostly on monetary and fiscal issues. They emphasize programs to tackle inflation and balance-of-payments problems, often requiring specific levels of cutbacks in total government spending levels. The IMF prescribes usually the same four-step programs aimed at the structural adjustment of the debtor's economy, namely monetary austerity, fiscal austerity, privatization, and domestic market liberalization.

The monetary austerity measure looks at tightening up the money supply, devaluation of the domestic currency, and increase of the internal interest rates to whatever heights are needed to stabilize the value of the currency. Devaluation, however, may decrease investor confidence and imposing capital controls may result in capital flight.

Fiscal austerity aims at increasing tax collections and reducing government spending dramatically. A decreasing fiscal deficit assumes that monetary contraction would follow, but this is also unfortunately procyclical in the case of a global slowdown in economic growth. Furthermore, this measure targets the reduction or elimination of subsidies, but this hampers foreign competitiveness, and trade imbalances occur in spite of the currency devaluation. Moreover, simultaneous devaluation by many competing countries will offset the benefits of a single action in one of them. Another goal is reducing spending targets by freezing public sector wages with the hope of causing the same effect in the private sector, although inflation rates remain high. Another consequence of this policy measure is that wage cuts would further decrease domestic demand, which would already be lowered in the foreign markets. Thus, falling domestic consumption accompanied by high inflation would accentuate the recession.

The privatization policy looks to increase state revenues through the sellout of public enterprises to the private sector. Accompanied by import restraints, a trade surplus may be achieved painfully as restructuring destroys much of the existing production capacity as well as social capital.

This forced export causes resource transfer, needed for debt servicing, which is equal to net inflows of capital minus interest payments. This has ranged from a +\$49.6 billion globally positive balance (+\$24.6 billion to Latin America) in 1981, to a globally negative one from 1983 onward with a negative peak of -\$59.1 billion in 1990. In Latin America the pattern of financing reversed even earlier, reaching -\$34.7 billion in 1985. Thus, capital formation at home ended with a debt crisis, and future growth prospects were decreased as investment funds were drained by the previous debt-dependent development strategy. Although debt-service ratio as a percentage of exports had fallen to 45% in 1987 with the outstanding interest-debt ratio falling from 72%, 6% of the continent's overall production was ceded to foreign creditors. Banks could have created reserves for dealing with debt defaults, but commercial banks instead had swapped debt into equity.

The fourth main issue is domestic liberalization, which imposes financial and price deregulations. Financial liberalization removes restrictions on the flow of international capital, as well as on the operations, purchasing, and ownership of foreign businesses including banks. Price liberalization introduces world-market prices and inevitably leads to high inflation. Experience shows that successful developing countries have relied more on economic and commercial planning than on chaotic domestic



half-free markets. Only when governments sign a “structural adjustment program” (SAP) agreement does the IMF agree to lend enough to prevent default on mature and unsustainable international loans. In addition, the IMF arranges a restructuring and rescheduling of the country’s debt among private international lenders that includes also a pledge of new loans.

In 1956, emerging debt problems in Argentina led to the establishment of the Paris Club as a forum for negotiations between debtor country officials and the country’s creditors under the supervision of a French treasury official. Paris Club principles impose equal treatment of all creditors during rescheduling talks. Prior to reaching an agreement, debtor countries sign an SAP conditional IMF loan contract aimed at enhancing the debtor’s balance of trade. Private lenders negotiate through the Club in order to reschedule the public debt of foreign countries.

Usually the IMF offers a “stand-by” agreement with a one-year upper limit for financing balance-of-payment deficits in the short run. In the 1970s, the IMF programs were criticized by leaders of developing nations and by dependency economists as causing recession and punishing debtor countries for trade shortages caused by external factors or those which were endemic to their development processes. Critics charged these policies with decimating social safety nets and worsening lax labor and environmental standards in developing countries.

In response, the Fund developed new special lending facilities dealing with the consequences of the external shocks (like the oil financing facility) and loosened its conditionality. In addition, it developed longer-term, Extended Fund facilities. In spite of these improvements, many developing nations still avoided the IMF, turning instead to private credit sources, thus avoiding adjustment as well as conditionality. Therefore, the fraction of Latin American countries operating under the IMF was two-thirds between 1966 and 1970, and at the turn of the decade, 1979–1981, it had dropped to one-third. As world liquidity rose due to petrodollar recycling, the role of the Fund declined, but this was reversed by the debt crisis of 1982. After the crisis, most of the Latin American countries fell under some IMF program, with increased conditionality, which imposed austerity, without concern for its political consequences.

Even before the debt crisis, private banks offered loans only after the approval of an IMF stabilization program, and even after such has been accepted they were reluctant to increase their debt exposure toward the developing countries. The IMF prevented the banks’ collective action in order to avoid a chain-default of the debtors. Thus, in the coming years, the

Fund organized a cartel of creditors to dictate macro-economic policy by conditioning its loan on other inflows of capital from international banks, becoming a “central planner” of the banking world. Unwittingly, the IMF crisis policy also enabled a class-oriented distribution toward local elites, because a high proportion (40% in Argentina and Mexico, 70% in Venezuela) of the interest payments to international financial institutions (IFIs) has returned to those elites as interest on earlier capital flight.

Another key international financial institution created for such scope is the World Bank (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or IBRD), which was initially designed to fund the rebuilding of the infrastructure in nations ravaged by World War II. The bank turned away from Europe after the mid-1950s, and began funding massive industrialization in the developing world. Critics have accused the bank of aggressive dealings with debtor nations, exacerbating the debt crisis and devastating many local ecologies and indigenous communities in the developing world.

The adjustment programs of the World Bank have broader views and focus more on the long term. But similar to those of the IMF, they highlight market liberalization and public sector reforms, and consider the best way of achieving growth to be through the expansion of cash crop exports. Despite these differences, World Bank and IMF adjustment programs reinforce each other, meaning that a government’s plans must first be approved by the IMF before qualifying for an adjustment loan from the World Bank—this decision process is called a “cross-conditionality.”

At first, debt-relief strategies made use of concerted lending. The method was seen as a temporary measure at the end of which countries would return to voluntary lending and the debtors would pay back their debt in full. In spite of some recovery shown in the early 1980s, the indebted developing countries have not been able to pay off their debts. The rising protectionism in the developed world has been named as a cause. This caused fluctuations in their terms of trade and caused a growing inability to service their debts.

The debt fatigue of developing countries became more evident as some countries limited their repayments to a certain percentage of their export revenues (Peru) or announced default (Brazil in 1987). As the chances of being repaid became slim, a secondary market for developing country loans emerged, where the price discount to face value reached 50% in 1987 and almost 70% in 1989. This reduced banks’ willingness to offer more loans almost to zero, and was accompanied by an increase in bad loan reserves and

fall of profits. These made necessary the adopting of an international, intergovernmental plan for debt relief. The Brady Plan abandoned the assumption of full repayment and created commercial bank syndication agreements, in order to share the banks' claims and losses and try to settle them with the debtors by lowering interest rates or forgiving the principal. The IMF was asked to lend for debt service reduction by providing new loans following a cash buyback of the debt on the secondary market. The plan also asked the IMF to stop its loan conditionality on third-party lenders' lending commitments. The Brady Plan has had only limited effects, especially on larger debtors, where it has reduced the face value of debt by only 4.7% to 18.8%. The 12% reduction in the case of Mexico was achieved through debt conversion into long-term maturity (30-year) bonds, covering face value with lower than initial debt interest rate, or lower (65%) face value with the same rate.

Notable success was registered only in small economies such as 47.1% reduction in Costa Rica, reaching 100% in Niger, which made debt cancellation a desirable target for most African countries. The supporters assert that full cancellation would enable African countries to tackle their social development challenges properly, and additional resources provided by the IFIs to support health and education programs should be conceived as public investment, not as new loans. It has been stated that the IMF and World Bank have ample resources to cancel all of the nearly \$18 billion of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries' (HIPCs') debt owed to them, without jeopardizing their normal operations or cutting further grants to HIPC countries. Cancellation of the multilateral debt would be financed through contributions by rich countries and the revaluation of the IMF gold stocks. As another example, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Uganda, between the years 2000 and 2015, would require about \$72 billion in financing, but they will only be able to raise \$12 billion domestically and therefore will depend on external sources, requiring that they pay more than \$3 billion in debt service. This amounts to 25% of the total domestic resources available to spend in order to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Total debt cancellation for HIPCs would release resources to fight poverty, hunger, and disease, but even combined with existing grant schemes will still not be enough to cover HIPCs' needs to meet contemporary goals. Therefore, additional grants will be needed, because new concession—or market—loans are not feasible options as they would lead to high debt-to-GDP ratios.

Debt cancellation poses the threat of existing debt revaluation and appreciation and therefore needs

intergovernmental coordination. Otherwise the incentives or coercion of collective action taken by the lenders is jeopardized, as individually no bank would voluntarily take the initiative when the possibility of cashing in the remaining debt by less generous lenders increases.

Debt relief can also be attained by trading the debt in the secondary market, where if sold it would mean a market-based reduction. If the debtor or a third party buys back its debt at a lower market rate, it runs the risk that the remaining debt will be overvalued by the market and thus the gains from the buyout would be outweighed by the costs, as happened in the case of Bolivia in 1988. The country had received a \$34 million rescue pack to pay back most of its \$53 million in debt. As a consequence of this transaction, the remaining debt of \$19 million was overvalued by the capital market to \$43.4 million, amidst growing investor confidence, thus the proceeds ended up in a large-fund giveaway to creditors.

In order to increase reaction efficiency to debt crises, it is debated that sovereign debt restructuring should be made less disorderly and costly by ranking debt according to a precise system of priorities, like in the case of non-sovereign debtors. This requires legal reforms, reducing the economic disruption that accompanies sovereign debt restructuring without upsetting the balance between the rights of creditors and debtors, in order to enable the sovereign debt market to work.

As of 2004, the external financing environment of the developing countries has improved, due to the continuous global growth experienced in 2003. As a result, prices for key commodities rose in general, especially that of oil in 2004, and financial markets have recovered, while interest rates in the developed world have remained at historically low levels. As a consequence, private capital flows to developing countries increased to \$200 billion—their highest level in the last five years, but much of the developing world still has difficulty accessing the international capital markets, many exhausting their bond-issuing capacities as well. International investment in developing-country infrastructure has declined dramatically since the financial crises of the late 1990s, and with the exception of trade finance, private capital flows remain heavily concentrated in specific emerging economies and regions. Former communist countries are still in a difficult position due to their great indebtedness and unfinished structural adjustment processes. Though the most developed have become EU members, many CIS countries struggle to achieve a functioning market economy status.

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See also **Debt: Impact on Development; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); International Monetary Fund (IMF); Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)**

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## DEFORESTATION

An ever-increasing demand for timber and land has led to a rapid and steady decline in the world's forest reserves. Almost half of the forests that once covered the Earth some 8,000 years ago have been lost. Deforestation, or the permanent loss of expansive areas of natural forest, occurs from the large-scale logging, burning, or damaging of trees. The world's remaining forested areas are evenly distributed between boreal and temperate-zone forests covering North America; Europe; the Commonwealth of Independent States and Central China; and tropical forests of South America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. This total area is estimated to be 3.6 billion hectares. However, the remaining total forest area does not fully convey the true nature of the world's forests. This measure includes plantations as well as fragmented, degraded, and restored forests of reduced ecological value. The destruction and degradation of

natural forests have enormous impact on both the local and global environment.

## Causes of Deforestation

Historically, forests have been cleared for agriculture, but with increasing world population the impact on forest reserves is no longer negligible. Forests are a renewable resource, but they are finite and rapidly diminishing under present conditions. Forests are cleared for farming and pastureland and logged, often illegally, for timber. Government policies have often worked to encourage the clearing of large areas of forest. Across the globe, agricultural subsidies have promoted land conversion and intensive farming. In South America, countries such as Brazil have rewarded city dwellers with negative interest rates in return for clearing Amazonian forests for farming and large-scale cattle ranching. In the United States, timber companies are compensated for road construction, reducing the cost of tree harvesting. In Asia, forests are cleared to establish large plantations of cash crops such as rubber and oil palm.

Timber is a highly valued commodity on both local and global markets. The substantial demand for wood and other forest products for construction material, paper, fuel, pulp, and other industrial uses drives commercial logging. This industry has the ability to rapidly clear large areas of forest using chainsaws and heavy machinery. Roads are cut into the forest for access, fragmenting adjacent forest and compacting and eroding the topsoil, making regeneration of the ecosystem difficult. After commercial logging has finished, patches of cleared land and abandoned access roads facilitate the migration of local farmers further into previously closed forest.

Subsistence shifting cultivation as traditionally practiced by indigenous forest dwellers in tropical forests was once sustainable. Small areas of trees are cut down and their trunks burnt, the released organic matter adding nutrients to the soil. This process is known as slash and burn. Crops are grown on this cleared land until the area is no longer viable, usually between three and five years. Soils in tropical forests are poor and the nutrients are rapidly depleted when used for intensive crop cultivation. The farmers then move on and the area is left fallow to regenerate naturally. However, increasing population and economic demands combined with the opening up of forests by logging, encourage new colonists into the forests. The fallow rotations are shortened and the forests have less time to recover. As a result, replacement, or secondary, forest

ecosystems are of a degraded quality, usually with less species diversity.

Fire sparked by lightning or spread from plantations and farms can be a crucial agent of deforestation. Forests can become degraded when only commercially viable trees are removed by selective logging. Secondary forests, forests fragmented by logging operations, and areas affected by agricultural expansion are more susceptible to fires than virgin forests. Wide gaps in the forest canopy open these forests up and they become more susceptible to drought. Flammable leaf litter on the forest floor provides fuel for fires that easily spread out of control. One example of fire-related deforestation was seen in the forest fires of Indonesia in 1997, where it is estimated that up to three hundred thousand hectares of primarily secondary forest were lost.

Another factor contributing to global deforestation is the rapid expansion of urban areas, particularly in South America, Africa, and Asia. Forests are cleared for cities and highways and flooded by reservoirs to supply drinking water. In the developed world, much of the deforestation associated with urbanisation occurred in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In temperate zones, there has been a net increase in forest cover in recent years as a result of reforestation programs. Today, much of the forest degradation in North America and Europe is due to air pollution. Fossil fuels are burnt for energy and the process releases toxic chemicals such as sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides into the atmosphere. These chemicals combine with water moisture in the air to produce acid rain. Exposure to acid rain has seen the destruction of 50–75% of Europe's remaining forests as trees die back in response. Regeneration of native species is prevented by the subsequent acidification of the soils.

## Environmental Effects of Deforestation

Forests perform a number of ecological functions that help keep Earth habitable. Forest ecosystems contain the richest diversity of plant and animal species on Earth. As well as wood, forests offer shelter, habitat for game, fruit, forage, dyes, barks for tanning, and ingredients for medicines. However, deforestation has caused the mass extinction of many forest plants and animals. Habitats are lost too rapidly for animals to migrate to other areas, even when suitable areas exist. Genetic diversity within species decreases as the breeding pool is reduced. Animals become more susceptible to disease and less able to adapt to ecosystem changes caused by fire or declining habitat quality.

Extinctions can also occur under extended pressure from reduced animal numbers. Plant species diversity is so rich in tropical rain forests that many species are being lost before being identified or studied by scientists. As plant diversity is reduced, the integrity of the internal forest structure becomes degraded. This may mean a great loss in potential medicines and cures. Ultimately, such a forest is unsustainable, as it is vulnerable to diseases, pests, and fire.

Forests protect the topsoil, sheltering it from the effects of sun, rain, and wind. When exposed to direct sunlight, tropical soils become sterile. Without the tree roots to bind the particles together into a solid soil structure, individual particles are easily eroded by wind and rain. Without the protection of the forest canopy, intense rainfall can cause flash flooding and landslides in large cleared areas. The topsoil consists of nutrients and organic matter, and in tropical soils this surface layer is shallow. Once removed, natural regeneration of vegetation and crop cultivation is almost impossible. Deterioration of tropical soils in particular is in many respects irreversible.

Forests cleared for modern agriculture or cattle ranching are often impossible to regenerate. Intensive farming rapidly depletes the soil of nutrients, leaving it infertile. Intensive grazing rapidly weakens the soil, particularly tropical soils ill-suited to pastureland. The hooves of livestock crush the unprotected soil, reducing it to a fine dust that is easily eroded. This process is called desertification. Without a fertile, solid soil structure, natural forests cannot regenerate.

Forests influence local and global climates through the regulation of water supplies. Trees collect, store, filter, and recirculate water from the land to the atmosphere through *evapotranspiration*. Water moisture is released from the leaves in the transpiration phase of this process, increasing the humidity in forest areas and influencing local rainfall. Different trees transpire at different rates, requiring varying amounts of water. Native Australian Eucalyptus trees depend on groundwater stored in the soil for their survival. As large areas of forest have been cleared, groundwater levels have risen because of the reduction in water demand. Minerals and salts naturally contained deep in Australian soils have dissolved in the groundwater as it has risen and salinity is now increasingly affecting agricultural land, rendering it infertile. Conversely, Eucalyptus trees were planted in areas of India as part of a reforestation program. These areas have experienced a rapid draining of the groundwater due to the high water requirements of this species.

Globally, forests significantly reduce the Earth's temperature by reflecting incoming solar radiation. In addition, the burning of forests releases carbon

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dioxide into the atmosphere. It is estimated that deforestation contributes 20–30% of carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere each year. Trees absorb carbon dioxide from the air and are considered to be carbon sinks. With the reduction in global forest reserves, less carbon dioxide can be absorbed. Potentially, the net effect of these processes is a significant increase in global warming and climate change.

### Movements to Counter Deforestation

Forests have aesthetic, recreational, spiritual, and intrinsic value and provide a home for many forest dwellers. The past several decades have seen many groups and organisations form, locally and globally, to oppose the ongoing destruction of forests. Non-governmental organisations such as Greenpeace, the World Wildlife Fund, and the Wilderness Society campaign to halt deforestation. These groups lobby governments to change legislation to protect more virgin forests and increase the use of plantation wood. They work to educate the public about the environmental effects of deforestation. They work with scientists and government agencies to improve understanding of forest functions, implement reforestation programs, and conserve old-growth and other endangered forests.

Other groups organise protests to physically halt the logging of trees. One example is the Chipko Movement. Created in 1973 in India to oppose deforestation of the Indian Himalayas and the devastating floods and landslides experienced as a result, local villagers protested by embracing trees to protect them from the saw. The word “Chipko” means “to hug.” A hunger strike in 1980 achieved a moratorium on the felling of green trees in the area. Importantly, this movement has had much success in their afforestation programs, achieving a sapling survival rate of up to 85% compared to the rate of 10–15% for government plantations.

Deforestation was formally recognised as an issue of international concern in 1992 at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil. The Convention on Biological Diversity and the Framework Convention on Climate Change were opened for signature at this conference. These two treaties recognise the importance of forests to the global environment. In 1990, the International Timber Organisation (ITTO) defined the criteria and indicators necessary to manage forests sustainably. Members are both timber-producing and -consuming countries. The ITTO set the goal

that all forest products are to come from sustainably managed forests by the year 2000. Whilst not fully achieved by 2000, the organisation has made considerable progress toward it. The Forest Stewardship Council is one nonprofit organisation that uses an internationally recognisable trademark so consumers can identify these products.

### The Economic and Political Debate

Collectively, countries in the developing world have amassed a foreign debt in excess of US\$1.3 trillion. The five countries containing the largest rainforest areas in the world are also those most heavily in debt. In order to finance debt repayments, developing countries cut and clear large areas of forests. In many cases, the money was originally borrowed from developed countries to finance environmentally destructive projects that can then only be repaid through further resource exploitation. The most productive land is devoted to earning export income through cash crops. Local subsistence farmers are forced onto marginal lands and into a cycle of land degradation and poverty.

In addition to international programs encouraging the sustainable management and trade of forest, there has also been recognition of the economic pressure on developing countries to log their remaining forests. The Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Convention on Climate Change, in 1997, established the concept of emissions trading. Carbon credits may be allocated to carbon sinks such as plantations, reforestation of cleared forests, and afforestation of areas where forests have never existed. This may allow developed countries to continue emitting carbon dioxide by purchasing carbon credits from countries with significant remaining forests. This will provide an economic incentive for developing countries to protect their forest resources. As yet, there is much debate as to the definition and measurement of carbon sinks and the details of a potential trading system are yet to be established.

Unless there is significant public demand for change, governments have no real incentive to implement long-term policies for forest preservation and protection. The short-term monetary benefits and job generation from the timber industry provide economic incentive for many governments to continue sanctioning forest clearing. Until the environmental impacts are factored into the cost of timber and other forest products or demand decreases, unsustainable forest clearing will continue.

ALISA KRASNOSTEIN

**See also Acid Precipitation; Biodiversity Conservation; Desertification; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Erosion, Land; Global Climate Change; Green Revolution; Pollution, Agricultural; Rain Forest, Destruction of**

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## DEMOCRATIZATION

The spread of, or transition to, democracy, or democratization, has been a seemingly unstoppable phenomenon, especially in the post-Cold War era. Many less developed and most former communist nations have been moving away from either right-wing authoritarian or left-wing totalitarian political regimes and moving toward embracing some form or degree of democracy, albeit at different speeds and under varying conditions. For instance, military dictatorships in Latin America have been replaced by elected civilian officials. Communism continues to be in retreat throughout most of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Many Caribbean and Pacific

Ocean nations have increased political freedom and civil liberties almost to the extent of the more developed nations. Some Arab and Islamic nations in North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia have begun to open and make more transparent their political systems. In addition, women have made some steps toward more political equality. Many African nations have moved away from military domination toward some semblance of civilian control over their polities. By and large, ethnic strife has diminished. Hence, democracy can be witnessed as the preferred form of government throughout most parts of the world regardless of national boundaries, levels of development, or cultures. The theoretical acceptance of democracy on a universal basis appears to be translated increasingly, although unevenly, into practice throughout the world.

Conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and practical issues surrounding democracy and democratization are ubiquitous throughout the social sciences. These issues are related to or intertwined with a litany of other concepts and practices: accountability, representativeness, legitimacy, independence, development, modernization, colonialism, imperialism, dependency, self-determination, civilization, civic and political culture, people empowerment, grassroots participation, localization, globalization, constitutional framework, individual rights, governmental restraints, regime type, party system, human rights, economic reform, ethnic conflict, militarism, terrorism, dictatorship, repression, statism, policy orientation, capitalism, liberalization, nationalism, regionalism, globalization, gender, race, and class, among others.

### Definition and Dimensions

The complexities and controversies involving democracy and democratization reflect the lack of intellectual or academic agreement as to their specific meanings. There is a general consensus, though, that democratization is a relative process leading to either a conditional or permanent state of democracy, thereby implying some goal or leading to some end point within or across societies. As such, democratization usually entails the incremental aggregation, articulation, and dissemination of democratic norms, rules, regimes, values, interests, institutions, processes, practices, and expectations in a society, regardless of national or cultural boundaries in the world. Furthermore, the amount of democracy necessary for a nation to be considered democratic is open to differing standards. In addition, the preference for a particular

type of democracy (for example, liberal, communitarian, social, popular, or majoritarian) varies according to divergent, even contending, value systems and ideological perspectives. Thus, there is no universally accepted ideal or typical model of democracy existing in the theoretical world of ideas. And, there is no unanimity as to the best empirical referents or examples that should be emulated by those societies wanting to democratize their polities within the perceptual world of the senses.

A liberal form or conception of democratization appears, however, to be the most widely accepted ideal throughout many parts of the world. At its core is the value of individual freedom and is the type of democracy preferred by more economically and politically developed nations, as well as by universities, organizations, and think-tanks based primarily within them. As such, liberal democratization is a process leading toward greater political freedom for more individuals in a society. A liberal political system might typically possess, at the minimum, an authoritative constitution, a legitimate state apparatus, limited governmental power, the promotion and protection of individual civil liberties and political rights, free and competitive elections with voting rights and multiple political parties, an open legislative process, and an independent judicial system. Although liberal democratization supports, in theory, a "one-person, one-vote" conception implying political equality, the latter is seldom a realistic goal in practice for any nation, regardless of the level of development. This is because an increase in political freedom does not always correspond with or generate an equal increase in political participation, especially among the majority of the masses who appear to be less informed, more apathetic, and very inconsistent when it comes even to voting in elections.

Democratization as a change-oriented process is related to other terms implying democratic movements: diffusions, transitions, consolidations, and, sometimes, revolutions. These movements can be reduced to two main empirical dimensions: (1) more extensive democratic growth or expansion across nations, and (2) more intensive democratic development or consolidation within nations. The first dimension has been more relevant for many developing and post-communist nations with little, if any, democratic experience. The second dimension has been more applicable to modern or more fully developed nations with some democratic tradition. The telescope versus microscope analogy might be a useful way in which to analyze these dimensions of democratization and democracy over time and space.

For certain, democratization has been an uneven developmental process, historically, implying waves

of expansion and contraction. Empirical research has produced contradictory results in assessing the causes, concomitants, and consequences of democracy. "Democratic deficits," "low-intensity democracy," lack of consolidation, and democratic reversals, all suggest that democratization is essentially a rather ambiguous and unpredictable phenomenon in a world of many nation-states, subnational and transnational regional organizations, and international institutions with varying ideological orientations and policy agendas.

### **Causes and Preconditions**

The causes of democratic transition, along with the necessary or sufficient preconditions to promote democratization, have been theorized and often supported by empirical research as being generic for all nations (that is, free-market capitalism, higher levels of economic development, growing wealth, a growing middle class with improved living standards, earlier date of independence, the existence of liberal cultural values, a Protestant religious orientation, and historical experiences including lessened political instability and violence, and civilian control over the military). Some studies have produced, however, evidence that indicates that the primary cause for democracy is specifically unique to each nation. And, that there is no guarantee that either national or global capitalism will, automatically or even eventually, produce a liberal society with an open, tolerant, and democratic political system in each and every nation, especially in the Third World.

### **Problems of Democratization**

Although the triumph of liberal capitalism over communism has apparently spurred democratization within and across these nations, evidence suggests that certain weaknesses in, and dilemmas confronting, contemporary democracy exist for many nations. That is, most of these democratizing nations possess relatively weak democratic institutions with very little democratic experience and stability. No doubt, democratic consolidation is a very complex and arduous task unless economic prosperity continues, ethnic conflict remains tempered, and interstate war is diverted. In addition, further democratization in the more developed nations does not appear to be forthcoming. In most instances, both the extension and the intensity of democracy in these nations have

come to a virtual standstill, if not eroded to some degree due to internal security problems, the failure of earlier political reforms, and, possibly, because the limits of liberal or procedural democracy may have been reached with what appears to be growing apathy and decreasing activism by citizens.

## Political Development

Political development is sometimes implied by democratization, a process of political change and, more explicitly, as the final part of the change process, namely democracy. Barrington Moore described and explained how a mode of production, when combined with unique historical experiences, could conceivably produce different modes of societal development, thereby determining social structure, political organization, and some forms of political behavior across societies. Therefore, economic and social development determines, in large measure, the degree and type of political development existing within societies. Seymour Martin Lipset suggested that economic wealth and political legitimacy would lead to democracy as a form of political development. Kenneth Bollen's quantitative analyses confirmed the hypothesis linking higher levels of economic development to democracy. O'Donnell found evidence to the contrary, such that higher levels of modernization, identified with liberalization and capitalism, tended to coincide with different types of authoritarianism in Latin America. He labeled this as "delayed dependent-development." Overall, contention revolves around defining which and at what levels nations should be considered politically developed, regardless of context.

## Concomitants and Consequences

Democratization as a form of political development is typically thought to bring forth a number of beneficial aspects to the citizens of a society. Democratization points to increased political participation, eventually leading to greater popular control, sovereignty, and self-determination. Democratization is also thought to possess important materialistic or utilitarian advantages via government social policies covering a larger number of citizens. Government benefits as well when it is legitimized by popular voting. Then, too, there are psychological benefits for the average citizen who feels more politically empowered through increased opportunities to participate in election and

legislative processes. It has also been suggested that democratization reduces class struggle and ethnic conflict, and may have a dampening effect on political violence and war. It may reflect the power of a larger and growing middle class exhibiting a higher quality of life. All in all, democratization is thought to lead to more personal freedom, psychological and material well-being, and peaceful relations.

## Democratization and Globalization

Over the course of centuries, democratic theory and theorists have taken the nation-state apparatus as an essential or generic given, assuming that democracies can only be understood within a heuristic framework of societal actors and forces that are defined, objectified, and restrained by land-based territorial boundaries. This assumption has been questioned by both proponents and opponents of liberal economic development, historically, and of capitalist globalization, currently. Today, any discussion on issues associated with democracy and democratization involves global economic concerns. More specifically, the nature of the relationship between democracy or democratization and economic liberalization or capitalism is open to discourse and research. The major research question confronting scholars here is: How and why do some societies make the transition away from autocracy, authoritarianism, or totalitarianism to democracy, or become more democratic through some democratization process? Underlying this question is an ideological contention among first those theorists who assert that both domestic and global capitalism produce greater democratization and second those theorists who postulate the opposite effect including authoritarianism, and third those theorists to be found somewhere in the middle, emphasizing low-level democracy or even reversing the direction of the causal relationship, from democratization to globalization.

## Clash of Civilizations

With the reunification of Germany, the freeing of Eastern Europe, and the dismantling of the Soviet Union, Samuel Huntington describes the "third wave" (that is, 1970–1990 and beyond) of democratization in the world during the late twentieth century. He defines a democratization wave as a group of highly diverse and ultra-complex transitions from non-democratic to democratic polities and regimes occurring within certain temporal and spatial parameters.



This wave is thought to be more dominant, both quantitatively and qualitatively, than transitions to non-democratic regimes and polities during the same time frame. His argument is that, although the first two waves (that is, 1828–1926 and 1943–1962) produced some reverse waves in which some regimes and polities digressed back to non-democratic practices, the third wave of democratization is likely to be different because of the intellectual influence of neoliberal ideas and the dynamic power of global capitalism. Such a bold prediction can be made due to the fact that these liberal capitalist causes or concomitants of democratization currently have very few, if any, challengers since fascism and communism have been defeated and are no longer viable threats to liberal democracy in the twenty-first century. In a later work, Huntington (1993) speculates about the increased probability for a “clash of civilization,” with world politics entering into a new phase where cultural differences will be the primary sources of international conflict, as was the case during the Crusades. According to Huntington, civilizations are differentiated from each other on the basis of culture including history, religion, language, and tradition. He posits that the new cleavages for conflict will be in the Middle East, the Balkans, and Central Asia because modern Western or Northern ideas and forces (for example, rationalism, secularism, materialism, capitalism, liberalism, and democracy) and traditional cultures or religions (for example, Islam and Confucianism) pointedly and rigidly intersect without much understanding and compromise, thus leading to competition and conflict.

### End of History

Francis Fukuyama posits the thesis that history and its internal spirit, represented by the long evolution of human endeavor with all its impediments, end with the creation of democracy as the final resting place for humankind. Modernization and modernity have reached their climatic zenith or finish with democracy as the essential part of the new human condition. Fukuyama goes on to establish a view that the triumph of liberal-capitalist democracy on a global level fulfills the human struggle or striving for a universal rational order. The end of the quest changes, once and for all, a substantial part of the human condition, possibly reducing many human afflictions, removing humans from the scourge of history and transmitting them to their future destiny within a single world, guided by a singular logic—global liberal capitalism.

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**See also Authoritarianism; Bureaucratic Authoritarianism; Constitutionalism, Definition; Dictatorships**

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### DENG XIAOPING

Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) assumed leadership of the People’s Republic of China following the momentous Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in December 1978. He was the chief proponent of the policy of openness and reform (*gaige kaifang*) that stimulated rapid economic growth and social development in China throughout the 1980s and early

1990s. Until his death in 1997, Deng continued successfully to promote Chinese economic development, while at the same time preserving the political predominance of the CCP in the face of major challenges to its authority.

Born in the village of Paifang, Guang'an County, Sichuan Province, China, on August 22, 1904, Deng rose through the ranks of the CCP during the course of a lengthy career of dedicated service to the Communist cause. His involvement in revolutionary politics began in the early 1920s when he became a leading member of the Communist Youth League while studying in France under a work-study program sponsored by the French government. In 1926, he relocated to Moscow where he studied for a year at Eastern University, newly established by the Third Communist International (Comintern).

Following his return to China in 1927, Deng served in the upper ranks of the CCP in the aftermath of the "April Massacre," when the Party's united front with the Guomindang (Nationalist Party) led by Chiang Kai-shek was brought to an abrupt and violent end following the reunification of China in the Northern Expedition. In July 1931, Deng was dispatched to the Jiangxi Province where Mao Zedong and other members of the Communist leadership had established a rural soviet. During the Party's narrow escape from Guomindang forces in the "Long March" of 1934–1935, he became one of Mao's most competent and trusted advisors, serving in the top leadership of the CCP as it built a new base of power in the remote village of Yanan in Shaanxi Province.

During most of World War II, Deng served as political commissar for the 129th division of the Eighth Route Army during its heroic struggle against the Japanese occupation of northern China. In the CCP–Guomindang civil war that followed (1946–1949), he continued as a top political commissar in the People's Liberation Army and achieved great renown for his outstanding successes in defeating Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces in northern China. In the years immediately following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Deng led the Southwest China Bureau that consolidated Communist control over Sichuan and surrounding regions.

Transferred to the central government at Beijing in 1952, Deng assumed a number of official titles before rising to the eminent rank of general secretary of the Politburo in 1956. Following the disastrous Great Leap Forward (1958–1960) and Mao Zedong's subsequent retirement from the frontline leadership, Deng and Liu Shaoqi emerged as China's top officials. Throughout the early 1960s, these two

men strove with considerable success to restore the country's agricultural and industrial economies.

Mao's great displeasure with the "right opportunist line" of the CCP under the leadership of Deng and Liu prompted him to initiate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. Banished from the capital by Mao's radical supporters in October 1969, Deng resided in Jiangxi Province until February 1973, when a series of bizarre shifts in Cultural Revolution politics led Mao to recommend his political rehabilitation. His return to the central leadership did not last long, however, and in April 1976, he once again ran afoul of the radicals and was forced from his position. But following the death of Mao in September 1976, and the subsequent arrest of Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, and the other extreme leftists that comprised the notorious "Gang of Four," he was welcomed once more into the ranks of the central leadership.

Following the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP in December 1978, Deng emerged as the most powerful leader in the Communist hierarchy and moved quickly to bring reform-minded supporters such as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang into the ruling Politburo. Adopting the slogan "practice is the sole criterion of truth," Deng condemned the leftist radicalism of the Cultural Revolution and vigorously promoted the "Four Modernizations" in the areas of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology.

Among the earliest innovations associated with the Four Modernizations was the establishment of "key universities" to train a new generation of scientists and technicians. In the countryside, peasants were permitted to engage in formerly forbidden "side-occupations," which included a wide range of private initiatives in growing, processing, and marketing agricultural commodities. The managers of state industries were allowed greater flexibility in rewarding individual productivity among their workers and in determining output on the basis of market considerations. In general, throughout China private incentives and market forces were allowed to function more freely as a stimulus to social and economic development.

Attention was also directed toward political reform, and major efforts were undertaken to combine "centralism" with "people's democracy," thus broadening the base of decision making within the ranks of the CCP. Measures were also taken to ensure judicial organizations greater independence and to reinforce the principle of equality of all people before the law. These political reforms and new legal protections did not, however, extend as far as many had hoped. Deng's harsh suppression of the Democracy Wall

movement in early 1979 following publicly posted appeals for a “fifth modernization,” or democracy, clearly demonstrated the limits of political change. While new freedoms would be allowed in the sphere of economic development, the Party led by Deng would tolerate no challenge to its political supremacy.

Throughout the 1980s, Deng’s policy of *gaige kaifang*, or “reform and openness,” was progressively expanded as new programs were implemented to stimulate growth in agriculture and industry. To promote foreign investment and develop China’s export industries, four “special economic zones” were created near major coastal cities. These zones served as the incubation quarters for a variety of new joint enterprises with foreign corporations. Improved political relations with Japan and the United States at this time opened the markets of these countries to Chinese goods, creating a favorable balance of trade and encouraging a greater flow of capital into China.

Unfortunately, the phenomenal economic growth of China in the 1980s also generated some negative consequences, such as high inflation, unemployment, and increased corruption among government officials. The hardships and uncertainty of the new economy, combined with a lack of democratic reform by the Communist government, led university students to take to the streets in protest, culminating in the tragic Tiananmen Square incident in the summer of 1989. Deng’s ruthless suppression of the mass demonstrations at Tiananmen effectively squashed political dissent and reasserted the authority of the CCP at a time when the Communist governments of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were rapidly collapsing.

Until his death in Beijing on February 19, 1997, Deng continued to promote modernization and economic expansion in China while handing the reins of political power over to a new generation of technocratic leadership represented by such men as Jiang Zemin (President, 1993–2004) and Zhu Rongji (Premier, 1998–2004). And while the CCP struggles to redefine its evolving ideology with slogans such as “socialism with Chinese characteristics,” the rapid emergence of China as an economic superpower in the 1990s provides abundant testimony to the effectiveness of Deng Xiaoping’s pragmatic, albeit authoritarian, political leadership.

MICHAEL C. LAZICH

**See also** *China, People’s Republic of; Chinese Communist Party; Communist Economic Model; Mao Zedong*

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## DESERTIFICATION

Desertification is the spread of desert-like conditions into previously nondesert areas. The process invariably impoverishes the terrestrial ecosystem and degrades the biological productivity of the soil, limiting its ability to support crops and livestock. Since the early 1970s, when the phenomenon gained attention in academic and public discourse, several other terms, including desertization, aridification, aridization, sahelization, and desert encroachment, have been proposed as substitutes for desertification. However, the latter has been much more utilized than any of its contenders over the years (Grainger 1990). Desertification is a broad concept, characterized by the degradation of soil and vegetation. It is neither drought nor soil erosion nor vegetation degradation, per se; it involves some combination of all these and much more (Verstraete 1986).

Deserts are situated in subtropical zones, mainly between latitudes 15° and 30° north and south of the equator, where the global wind circulation system limits rain-producing convection. While the places that are mostly affected are the desert margins, it is important to stress that, contrary to popular belief, the process can occur in any dryland area. Furthermore, desertification is not the desert expansion of popular imagination, for it does not proceed with a smooth, broad frontline; rather it develops like a subtle, insidious, patchy “rash,” and usually occurs far away from the desert fringes. However, as the random collection of desertified land grows and links up, it can eventually join with deserts, with the final result looking as though the desert itself had expanded.

Desertification is a primordial problem, but was brought into sharp public focus by the severe drought and famine that afflicted the Sahel region of Africa between 1968 and 1972. The Sahel is the semiarid

region lying just south of the Sahara. The drought resulted in about 250,000 human deaths, loss of millions of livestock, and the exodus of millions of people. This tragedy prompted the United Nations to organize a "Conference on the Human Environment" in Stockholm in 1972, culminating in the formation of the Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel; the Sahel Club; and the United Nations Saharo-Sahelian Office to coordinate combating strategies and aid to the drought-stricken countries. When the Sahelian drought reoccurred in 1975, the UN Conference on Desertification (UNCOD) was organized in Nairobi, Kenya, to explore ways to alleviate desertification. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) was founded in Nairobi to implement UNCOD's Programme of Activities to Combat Desertification (PACD).

Against this backdrop the available literature asserts that desertification is routinely associated with drought, famine, and underdevelopment. While the impact of desertification is far more dramatic in developing countries, the phenomenon is not limited to them; the infamous Dust Bowl that swept across the Great Plains of the United States during the 1930s attests to this. Today, the regions facing intense desertification are those along the fringes of existing deserts, especially countries bordering the southern margins of the Sahara Desert, where the rate of encroachment is estimated at seven kilometers per annum. Other prime regions flank the Gobi in China, Thar in India and Pakistan, and the Atacama Desert in the South American countries of Chile and Peru. Other specific countries that are affected by desertification include Mali, Niger, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mauritania, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, Australia, and the United States. Estimates of the global landmass impacted by desertification range from 20 million to 32 million square kilometers; some seventy thousand square kilometers of land (an area the size of Ireland) is desertified each year.

### Causes and Consequences

The causes of desertification are still in dispute. The relative importance of human activities vis-à-vis drought or climate change to the spread of desert-like conditions is still a matter of debate, mainly because of the acute lack of reliable scientific data on the phenomenon. Whereas some attribute desertification to short-term periods of intense drought, others believe it is caused by long-term climate change toward aridity. Some trace the phenomenon solely

to human activities, while others see it as a result of an intricate combination of poor land use and climate change. Presently, the favoured explanation among many scientists accords the causal primacy to human activities, with drought (or climate change) acting as a catalyst; thus, desertification can occur with or without drought, but it proceeds faster in the presence of drought (Grainger 1990).

Desertification is epitomized by the degradation of vegetation and soil, both of which are attributable to poor land use through processes such as overgrazing, overcultivation, deforestation, and poor irrigation. Even under the best of circumstances, cropping puts intense pressure on the land, as it normally requires the clearance of vegetation and the tilling of soil. With extensive fallow periods and innovative agricultural practices (such as, the use of mulches, manures, and fertilizers), soil capability is sustained over a protracted period. However, where overcropping is somehow necessitated by severe population pressure and a dire struggle for survival on marginal lands, soil degradation becomes inevitable.

Overgrazing is yet another practice that reduces the productive capacity of soil, as it exposes the land to climatic elements and ruins soil through intense stumping and trampling by livestock. As grazing animals pack the earth down with their hooves, it creates soil compaction, which, in turn, blocks the natural seepage of air and water through the soil. Under such circumstances, grass and other vegetation may be too disrupted to even reseed themselves. The eventual loss of vegetative cover renders the soil susceptible to erosion.

Trees play a crucial protective role in the dryland ecosystem, and their removal for timber and fuel supply increases the soil's vulnerability. However, the vast majority of people across the developing world still depend on wood as their main source of household fuel. In African countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Chad, fuelwood accounts for more than 75% of the total national energy consumption. Traditionally, fuelwood has been gathered from dead wood, but due to population pressure, many people are resorting to the wholesale cutting of trees for fuelwood. In places such as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, the shortage of fuelwood has forced many to rely on animal dung for fuel. But this is also robbing the farmlands of nutrients and organic matter.

Undoubtedly, one of the most resourceful mechanisms for cropping in drylands is irrigation. Not surprisingly, many governments and development organizations have supported irrigation schemes over the years. However, soil salinization resulting from the poor management of irrigation projects has led to waterlogging and the formation of salt crust on

dryland surfaces in many countries in Southwest Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa. Recently, human activities such as industrial mining; uncontrolled tourism; and military actions, including troop manoeuvres, testing of nuclear and strategic weaponry, and the use of biological and chemical weapons, have all been implicated in desertification (Babaev 1999).

While poor land practices such as overgrazing, overcultivation, and deforestation are the main culprits for desertification in the developing world, it is important to stress that these variables are intricately interwoven with the quintessential problems of mass poverty, economic deprivation, illiteracy, population pressure, and misguided government policies. To increase the production of cash crops in the face of severe population pressure, marginal lands are routinely brought under cultivation in many developing countries, with little regard to their carrying capacity. Several governments in the developing world are also supporting agricultural practices that replace sustainable traditional farming systems with cash-crop production under ill-conceived plantation and mechanization schemes.

A crucial factor in the dynamics of desertification in the developing world is population pressure. High population densities have put enormous stress on farmlands, and extended cropping into unsustainable arid and semi-arid environments in places such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Somalia, and Ethiopia. Yet, from the standpoint of many people in these countries, large families make splendid economic sense, as children are usually the prime source of farm labour and sometimes the only social security against old age and sickness. Indeed, high population, like desertification, is not only a result of underdevelopment, but also a potent explanatory variable of underdevelopment.

Desertification is a serious ecological hazard. Large parts of the dry areas of the world are being degraded, with serious consequences for the well-being of millions of people. While desertification anywhere has global repercussions, the human impact is by far the most damaging in and around drylands. Desertification is essentially a human problem, in the sense that both the main causes and effects are linked to humans. The most dramatic consequences of desertification are manifested in the economic hardships, land abandonment, famines, diseases, refugee crises, and premature deaths that are so common in the developing world. Apart from the physical hardships engendered by desertification, the process puts mammoth emotional stress on its victims. Those who are hard hit experience a deep sense of hopelessness, uncertainty, and apathy, stemming from

the customary loss of control and social status associated with the phenomenon.

### Combating Desertification

Over the years, several countries have embarked on programs to control desertification. In the Negev Desert of Israel, for instance, a desert reclamation program of tree planting and “drip or trickle irrigation,” involving the use of perforated plastic pipes to drip water into the soil directly, have been in place for years now. Similarly, in the United States an expensive system of subsurface irrigation, using perforated plastic, has been deployed extensively in California’s Imperial Valley. In both cases, the plastic acts as mulch to reduce evaporation, while the perforated holes drip precise amounts of water and fertilizer directly on plants to economise water and to alleviate salinization. Also, in the Australian arid outback, windbreaks of drought-resistant trees have been planted to slow the spread of desert. While some of these reclamation programs have been successful, others, especially in the developing world, have failed. For instance, China’s attempt to plant grasses and trees along the fringes of the Takla Makan and Gobi deserts proved a fiasco; so did efforts by African countries such as Algeria, Mauritania, and Mali to develop greenbelts along the Sahara. Libya’s attempt to halt the spread of sand dunes by spraying oil on them failed as well.

Limited financial resources and the lack of expertise and reliable data on desertification are among the key problems militating against desert reclamation programs worldwide. Remote sensing techniques such as satellite imagery and aerial photography are well-positioned to assist in this area. With the appropriate expertise and logistics, such tools can help monitor drylands to provide early warnings on the spread of desert-like conditions. The poor land practices that foster desertification are mediated by several socioeconomic factors, such as poverty and population pressure. Consequently, measures to combat desertification must not focus solely on technical, agricultural, environmental, and engineering approaches alone, but must also address the socioeconomic and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon. Moreover, because most of the farmers who till marginal lands tend to be poor, they usually have little or no choice but to make their living from such lands. Therefore, in addition to improving the agricultural practices of these farmers, combating policies should also include measures that favour low-income farmers.

More specifically, programs should be initiated to encourage the development and eventual substitution of other energy sources such as natural gas, electricity, and solar energy for fuelwood. Moreover, effort must be made to increase the productivity of rain-fed cropping on good land so as to limit the infiltration of farms into marginal lands. Tree planting and environmentally sound irrigation methods should be encouraged to restore the vegetative cover and to alleviate salinization, respectively. There is also the need to develop indigenous science and technology to monitor the spread of desert-like conditions in drylands. Finally, authorities need to expand local awareness of desertification and the skill with which to combat the phenomenon through mass educational campaigns. All the combating measures need to be contextual and flexible enough to encompass a wide range of local situations, as the affected areas vary in their environmental and socioeconomic settings. Desertification may be reversible, but the possibility and the speed of recovery will ultimately depend on the stage of deterioration reached, the regenerative power of the ecosystem, and the support of the local people.

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**See also Deforestation; Salinization; Sahel; United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**

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### DE-STALINIZATION (1953–1956)

De-Stalinization is the term commonly applied to the hesitant efforts by J. V. Stalin’s successors in the Soviet Union, and their counterparts in some other Communist states, to dissociate themselves from the tyrannical aspects of Stalin’s rule after his death on March 5, 1953. They began by de-emphasizing Stalin’s much-acclaimed achievements and silently abandoning the previous practice of citing his writings as authoritative in virtually every context. What was called the “cult of the individual” (sometimes translated as “cult of personality”) was repudiated in favour of “collective leadership” by members of the party Presidium. Paradoxically, the widely feared security chief, Lavrentii Beria, led the way in introducing reforms. These included an amnesty for criminal offenders and an exoneration of the eminent physicians who, in January 1953, had been charged with conspiring to kill party and government leaders (“doctors’ plot”). A cautious start was made on releasing and rehabilitating prominent political prisoners, among them the wife of Foreign Affairs Minister Viacheslav M. Molotov. In foreign policy a “new course” was proclaimed that involved removing minor irritants to diplomatic relations with the Western powers and furthering an armistice to end the Korean War. In a symbolic gesture the Kremlin was opened to tourists. In affairs, Beria signaled a readiness to appoint non-Russians to leading posts, while Georgii M. Malenkov, as chairman of the Council of Ministers, hinted at greater solicitude toward consumers’ needs.

These “liberal”-looking policies were unwelcome to Nikita Khrushchev, who had taken control of the party machinery. In June 1953, he staged a dramatic confrontation with Beria, who was arrested at a party Presidium meeting and subsequently (December 1953) shot, along with six other senior

security officials, after Stalinist-style pseudo-judicial proceedings. The party leader then consolidated his power by charging Malenkov with “errors” in agricultural policy (February 1955) and forcing him to yield his post as head of government to a Khrushchev associate, Nikolai A. Bulganin. Some months later Molotov was publicly humiliated by being made to acknowledge an ideological transgression.

In foreign and defense policy Khrushchev took a “hawkish” line that appealed to the military lobby. This implied priority for heavy industry, especially armaments, at the expense of consumer goods. But, simultaneously, Khrushchev pushed forward major reforms in agriculture. Collective farmers were paid higher prices for the produce they delivered and had their obligatory quotas reduced. However, restrictions on household plots were maintained, since they were seen as reprehensible islands of “bourgeois” individualism in a collectivist society. Rural residents gained less than workers or state employees from introduction of a minimum wage (1956) and improved pensions. Urban dwellers, whose share of the population was rising fast, earned higher incomes and benefited from a more balanced diet and better social services (education, health), as well as a boom in housing construction. Even so, Soviet living standards still lagged behind those in Eastern, let alone Western, Europe and the lot of working women with families was particularly harsh.

By 1956, a secret investigation had disclosed the massive scale of repression under Stalin. The information may have genuinely shocked Khrushchev; in any case he realized that a limited publicizing of the record would discredit those of his associates more deeply implicated in these crimes than he had been. On February 24–25, 1956, at a restricted session of the twentieth party congress, he revealed selective evidence of Stalin’s misdeeds: the torture and murder of countless innocent citizens, his failings as war leader, and his fraudulent claims to ideological correctness and scientific expertise. Khrushchev’s report made a tremendous impact on his listeners, many of whom were privately glad that the guilt was conveniently placed on the deceased leader, leaving them free to function much as before; Khrushchev explicitly denied that Leninist single-party rule was at fault and called on the faithful, not to examine their consciences, but to work even harder at “building communism.”

This was to overestimate people’s gullibility. The disclosures shattered the party’s moral authority and exposed it to challenges at home and abroad. Within the USSR expressions of discontent could be quelled easily, but in some satellite countries, where

Communist power was shakier, the ruling parties faced open resistance. In October 1956, when Polish Communists installed a new leadership under the moderate Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had been persecuted under Stalin, Moscow reluctantly concurred with the change. In Hungary, revolution broke out. Soviet forces were withdrawn only to return in force a few days later: the reformist leader Imre Nagy was seized and later killed; there were twenty-one thousand casualties and ten times as many Hungarians fled to freedom. Westerners who had deemed communism “progressive” were disillusioned. De-Stalinization also widened the breach between the USSR and the Chinese People’s Republic, where Mao Zedong—a dictator cast in a Stalinist mold—objected to what he saw as Khrushchev’s naiveté and treachery.

The Soviet leader was temporarily forced on the defensive but rebounded in early 1957, having secured support for his reformist course among party cadres. This proved decisive in defeating a plot by his colleagues to depose him (June). The members of this so-called anti-party group were demoted but not physically liquidated in Stalinist style, for the political climate had become more civilized. This was Khrushchev’s achievement. He reformed the judicial system and largely dismantled the vast network of forced-labor camps and settlements (gulags): by January 1959, the number of inmates stood at less than 1 million, as against more than 5 million six years earlier. Those released received minimal compensation for their sufferings and could not mention them publicly; yet in human terms this was the most significant result of de-Stalinization.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Russia**

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## DEVELOPMENT HISTORY AND THEORY

### The Idea of Development

From prior to the time of recorded history to well into the Common Era (CE), ideas of development and progress did not play a salient role in peoples' lives. For the many generations of humans who lived as hunter-gathers, for instance, the rhythms of the earth and the pattern of life suggested recurrent cycles and constancy. Each generation expected to live much the same as their parents and grandparents. Even with the advent of agriculture some twelve thousand years ago and the rise of recorded history, this basic view of life was manifested in philosophical and religious thought. Agriculture certainly reinforced the notion that cycles were the norm, and religious ideas and rituals emphasized such natural patterns. The classical historians duly recorded that entire peoples and empires would rise and fall in time, with no hope of escaping life's ineluctable pattern.

Around the seventeenth century, however, certain modes of thought began to draw attention to the potential of the human intellect and the power of knowledge. Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, Baruch Spinoza, and Isaac Newton, for example, fostered faith in the potential of science to unlock the mysteries of God's universe and a consequent pride in the achievements of human reason. As the world was explored and different, non-European peoples and cultures were encountered, there developed a greater openness to new ideas about the patterns of life.

By the eighteenth century, a host of powerful thinkers such as Locke, Montesquieu, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Kant had initiated a revolution in thought that would be labeled the Enlightenment. Increasingly, people began to believe that through the acquisition of knowledge and the application of Reason, an individual could expect improvement. Indeed, whole nations might progress in this manner. Ideas of progress and development began to take root and to flourish.

Among the first to apply these insights to the subject of development were economists Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Thomas Malthus, and Jean-Baptiste Say. In his seminal work, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Smith advocated a negative liberty for the individual ("freedom from" arbitrary government) and a minimum of restraints on the operations of the market. He viewed these as the keys to development as defined in economic terms. The state would provide only for national defense, for protection of

individual rights against invasion by other citizens, and for collective (public) goods, which could not be supplied through the autonomous workings of the market. The market would assign rewards and burdens according to the rules of supply and demand. This necessarily entailed inequality in the distribution of wealth, which was justified on the grounds that it reflected individual merit. That is, those were rewarded who displayed initiative and worked hard to efficiently satisfy consumer wants and demands.

An early emphasis on specifically material development was thus evident in the ideas of progress as elaborated by the classical political economists: production would contribute to the progress of society by generating abundance and wealth. This classical formulation gave rise to the doctrine of laissez faire economics while the emphasis on economic, or material, expansion would characterize much subsequent development thought. Economic historian Karl Polanyi's influential study, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (1944), detailed the process of industrialization followed by the European countries, and provided a model of economic growth for many subsequent economists. Though he offered a radical dissenting view, Karl Marx also assumed that development meant primarily industrialization and the accumulation of material wealth. Between Smith and Marx, a central dichotomy had been established in development theorizing: individual freedom defined in negative terms and reliance on the operations of the market to provide incentives for productivity and efficiency versus an active state embodying the collective will to promote equality and satisfy basic social needs.

Economists would not have a monopoly on development theory, however, in large part because the realities of development did not match the predictions. Soon voices representing various disciplines weighed in with their insights. Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and other anthropologists began to stress the cultural differences between countries, which they argued made each case distinct and different. The clear implication was that one model of development would not fit every country. Sociologists, including Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, and Seymour Martin Lipset, elaborated on the subtleties of different stages of development, factoring in modes of social operation previously overlooked by the economists. Parsons, for example, offered explanations for the ways in which religion, authority, leadership selection, organization of production, and community bonds functioned in traditional (underdeveloped) societies, as opposed to modern (industrialized) societies. Lipset and Karl Deutsch



illuminated the phenomenon of social mobilization. In sum, these thinkers suggested that sociocultural factors, rather than economic, drive development.

Political scientists would also challenge the assumption that economic development reflexively led to political development, usually meaning democratization. Samuel Huntington, Gabriel Almond, and others noted the failure of many states to develop politically in the wake of economic growth. They shifted their focus to political parties, interest groups, political socialization, public opinion, and the like. These, they reasoned, are the means through which policies of development are formulated and implemented. Between the economists, anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists, the concept of development was enriched if not made more consistent. Theorists and practitioners would have to operate with more subtle notions about the relevant factors and relations of development: simplicity would yield to growing complexity.

### **The Post-Colonial Context of Development**

It is perhaps an historical irony that at mid-twentieth century the industrialized countries of Europe and the United States, having just waged two horrific wars unprecedented in their scope over access to resources and markets, still viewed themselves as the models for world development. Paternalistically, they turned attention to the development of nations in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and the Caribbean, which formerly they had colonized. Excepting the United States, their physical capital was largely exhausted after years of struggle. The former colonial powers (including Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, The Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, and Japan) therefore necessarily, if gradually, relinquished direct control over their colonies as a wave of independence movements swept across the globe after World War II.

South America had been colonized earlier than other areas; most of its countries emerged from colonial rule by the 1830s. Nevertheless, they continued to operate under the close scrutiny and extensive influence of the United States in what some have characterized as a neo-colonial relationship. For about one hundred years, they were suppliers of raw materials and cheap labor to European countries and the United States. The Great Depression drastically impacted these countries so that they began to consider alternatives to their export-oriented economies. In the 1930s, many South American countries began to pursue a strategy of development called Import

Substitution Industrialization (ISI). An active state would either establish industrial firms of its own or provide incentives to private firms to produce goods for the domestic market in order to obviate the need for imports. Industrialization was still seen as the goal of development, but state protectionism ideally would allow nations to create the means to satisfy their own demands and insulate themselves from the vagaries of the world market, freeing them from dependence on first-world markets.

In the 1950s, the theoretical rationale for this strategy was fashioned retrospectively by Raul Prebisch, an Argentine economist who headed the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, and others (like Hans Singer) who argued that the developing countries had been consigned to an inferior position in the scheme of world trade and development. As suppliers of primary materials for the industrialized countries, they could expect to see the terms of trade steadily deteriorate. Over time, capital tends to concentrate and larger firms in the developed nations assert growing control over their markets, reducing competition and securing larger profit margins. Meanwhile, the primary suppliers remain in competitive environments, subject to lower profits. Under such conditions, the gap between rich and poor countries would increase. Accordingly, they concluded that the obstacles to development faced by the countries of Latin America were sown into the structure of world trade. Prebisch and like-minded social scientists, labeled structuralists, determined that it would take state-sponsored industrialization to correct the situation.

For a while, the nations of Latin America experienced some progress toward industrialization pursuing ISI policies. Over the long term, however, the strategy proved deficient: The gap between those employed in state-protected industries and the urban and rural underemployed or unemployed grew dramatically. Millions of people were marginalized. Government policies frequently resulted in favoritism and inefficiencies and led to heavy debts. The critical agricultural sector was neglected, or even compelled to subsidize industrialization in the cities, leading to depressed conditions, rural flight, and a growing urban underclass. Social tensions often led to military interventions and even dominance, thwarting healthy political development. Nor did dependency cease, especially as technology and other inputs used in production often had to be imported; so foreign capital and its influence significantly increased. By 1970, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) reported that ISI had negatively impacted those countries that adopted the strategy. The structuralist approach did not,

however, disappear, but would soon be reworked by dependency theorists.

After World War II, the sheer proliferation of states was bewildering. As a result primarily of decolonization over the several decades following the war, the total number of independent countries soared from about fifty to almost two hundred. Most countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and the Caribbean were at some time colonized, with the exceptions of China, Iran, and Thailand. (Ethiopia avoided colonization until late in the process when it fell prey to Italy's Mussolini.) These newly independent states faced serious problems, many stemming from their colonial legacies. As the former colonial powers retreated, they left behind national boundaries that often disregarded the natural divisions between peoples: racial, ethnic, tribal, linguistic, religious, cultural, historical, geographic, and other. Additionally, in every case the colonial relationship had rested on a centralized, authoritarian system of politics, more or less harsh, and on the economic and psychological subordination of indigenous groups. That is, the subjects in these colonies had generally been inured to patterns of hierarchy and dominance.

Sociopolitical systems of these countries therefore tended to reflect their colonial experiences: Western legal and political ideals were awkwardly cobbled together with traditional, indigenous modes and customs. By the standards of the industrialized West, these newly formed states were deemed to be underdeveloped in numerous respects. They were often independent in name only, continuing, in fact, to be dependent economically, politically, and militarily. They remained internally fragmented due largely to their arbitrary boundaries. The level of development of domestic industries and markets was generally very low. Moreover, the social indicators of development were correspondingly poor: per capita incomes; literacy rates; infant mortality and death rates; access to food, potable water, sanitation, and health care; and the like. In many of these former colonies, women especially had suffered a decline in their social status and their control over the resources that traditionally had sustained families.

### **Developmentalism, or Modernization Theory**

Scholars and policy makers subsequently transferred their focus from development in Western Europe and North America to development in the newly created, post-colonial states. Several factors help to account for this shift. The many problems associated with emergent countries naturally drew the attention of

development theorists, especially since the industrialized Western nations continued to rely heavily on raw materials and resources from these countries. This fact necessitated a degree of stability and infrastructure that was absent or fragile in most developing countries. Additionally, the proliferation of post-colonial countries coincided with the rise of tensions between the Western capitalist nations, or First World (especially the United States), and the so-called Communist countries, or Second World (particularly the Soviet Union). The Cold War therefore placed these post-colonial states at the center of a struggle for world dominance. Consequently, development theorists labeled as Third World the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which were in the field of contest.

The urgency of development problems was therefore recognized immediately in the wake of the Second World War. The United States and its allies acted quickly to shore up the developed countries of Western Europe and Japan through such programs as the Marshall Plan and the Bretton Woods System, under the auspices of which were created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (better known today as the World Bank). Authorized in 1944, these institutions aimed at stabilizing financial markets and exchange rates and at rebuilding infrastructures. In 1948, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was founded to augment them, with its goal of promoting trade. The World Trade Organization (WTO) supplanted GATT in 1995. Their institutional missions soon encompassed the post-colonial world. Additional programs to address social problems and to win hearts and minds in the developing countries were enacted in the 1960s, including the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development (AID). The growing Western focus on the problems of this large group of developing countries, representing almost three-quarters of the world's people, was also manifested in an increase of programs in higher education and of funding for scholarly research including the Fulbright Program; Ford, Rockefeller, and McArthur foundations; and Asian, African, and Latin American studies associations.

W. W. Rostow proffered, in 1960, a capitalist alternative to Marx's version of economic development in *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Yet his views shared with Marx some optimistic, basic assumptions: the fundamental equation of development with industrialization; a belief in the primacy of economic growth, which would then result in sociocultural development and political democratization; the belief that the European and US

experiences could serve as satisfactory models of development for all other countries; and the conviction that development flowed in a natural and rather orderly fashion from the accepted economic model. Dubbed modernization theory, Rostow and others, like Seymour Martin Lipset and Gabriel Almond, assumed that every underdeveloped country should emulate the Western-style industrial model. Given the organizational and other imperatives of industrialization, he thought this path would eventuate in a convergence of countries, economically, socially, culturally, politically, and ideologically. Increased trade and contact with the industrialized, Western nations would facilitate development in the poor, "backward" countries.

Modernization theory essentially defined the developing countries in terms of the elements they lacked, from the perspective of industrialized countries of the West. The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were generically classified as traditional, as opposed to modern: rural and agrarian rather than urban and industrial; clan-based, pre-literate, fatalistic, and religious as opposed to universalistic, literate, scientific, and secular in their outlooks. Modernization entailed overcoming these negative traits. Obviously, the poor countries faced a shortage of savings and capital, which an interventionist state in Keynesian-like fashion would correct. Worse, however, these countries were missing the cultural requisites of modern (Western) societies, like an achievement-oriented and entrepreneurial spirit. All these deficiencies would in time be remedied. Clearly, modernization theory equated development and modernization with industrialization and Westernization. Rostow posited five stages through which these societies would travel on their way to development, including the initial traditional stage. With the advance of science and technology, economic growth would become normal and social and political institutions would mature as measured by Western standards and values. Ultimately, these countries would become modern societies with mass consumption economies, as in the affluent West. Policy makers in the United States especially found Rostow's vision very appealing.

Scholars were less enamored. Harvard professor Samuel Huntington faulted modernization theorists for drawing upon a flawed, overly optimistic evolutionary tradition from sociology. Other critics claimed that Rostow's notion of traditional society was impoverished: It ignored elements of universalism, individualism, and orientation to achieve, which were indeed present in these countries. It thereby established a set of false dichotomies. In fact, the modernization development scenario failed to unfold

as predicted. The rich and poor countries did not converge over time, but rather the gap grew markedly. It became increasingly clear that development would entail neither an automatic nor a smooth process of transition. Subsequent global history has raised even more serious questions about the modernization thesis: Is there really any reason to believe that the advance of modernization goals (industrialization, literacy, secularization, and the like) results in democratization? Do such developments actually reduce conflicts based on religious or ethnic differences? Is there reason to think that they are linked to progress in social justice? That is, the facile linkage of development defined as modernization with democracy, social justice, and peace can no longer be assumed.

### Dependency Theory and Marxism

Largely in response to modernization theory as propounded mostly by Western and especially US scholars, theorists in the developing countries began to offer an alternative development analysis that would be labeled dependency theory. Many dependency theorists hailed from Latin America and had been influenced by the structuralist thought of Prebisch and Singer, and by strains of Marxist thought, sometimes commingled with Catholicism in the form of liberation theology, which focused on the needs of the poor and oppressed. Included in this group are (exceptional, neo-Marxist Westerners) Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy, Andre Gunder Frank, Fernando Cardoso, Theotonio Dos Santos, and Immanuel Wallerstein. Dependency theorists claimed that modernization theory was ethnocentric and insensitive to the variety of cultures and social arrangements manifested throughout the developing world and to their unique historical experiences. The critics charged that modernization theory was indeed ahistorical in that it failed even to consider the ways in which colonial experiences had affected these countries. It was the colonial experience, they asserted, that had instituted the fundamental, highly unfavorable conditions faced by developing countries. They observed that the global environment had changed since the Western countries underwent their process of development, so what worked before might not work under contemporary conditions. Rostow's stages thus displayed an inappropriate "one size fits all" assumption. In the opinion of some, such gross simplifications and misconceptions had led directly to the disastrous US policies culminating in the Vietnam War.

Dependency theorists vociferously denounced the growing gap in wealth, income, and power between rich and poor nations and chided modernization theorists for overlooking conditions of obvious exploitation inherent in the economic relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries—in trade, investment, and finance. Drawing on Marxist ideas of imperialism, class analysis, and economic surplus, Baran, Frank, and others distinguished between the *core*, rich and powerful capitalist countries of the West, and the *periphery*, so-called less developed countries (LDCs) from which resources, cheap labor, and wealth in general were being extracted by the core. Oligopoly control of markets by the multinational corporations (MNCs) of the core countries made this dominance possible, with the aid of compliant and corrupted local elites whose interests were married to those of the MNCs. These powerful corporations would bring in industry that crushed local businesses and reduced employment by replacing workers with technology, imposing highly unfavorable terms of trade (raw materials for manufactured goods) and repatriating their profits to the core. Baran viewed the world capitalist economy as a web entangling the countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America in a relationship that systematically distorted their development. In his analysis it would take an interventionist, socialist state to implement policies in the interests of the masses and to correct this situation.

With Sweezy, Baran analyzed the irrational waste of economic surpluses in developing countries, which they maintained reflected an attempt by the capitalist system to deal with its principle, recurrent problem: stagnation. Extensive spending on the military was one strategy that was easy to justify without provoking many questions about the use of resources or social justice. Elites squandered resources on luxuries rather than permitting these resources to be invested in ways that were genuinely, socially productive. Frank likewise counted underdevelopment as the product of a long-term process of exploitation: The capitalist powers of the metropolitan core continuously took economic surpluses from the world's vast majority for the enrichment of a small minority. Underdevelopment was, in effect, the byproduct of so-called development in the core. The result was a polarization of countries between core and periphery. In West Africa, scholar Samir Amin arrived at similar conclusions. These theorists described what has been called neo-colonialism (or neo-imperialism), an exploitative, colonial-like relationship but without formal governance by a colonizer. Though indirectly, the peripheral states were being dominated economically, politically, culturally, and (when deemed necessary) militarily.

For this reason, suggested Wallerstein, theorists of development must focus on the global system rather than on individual nations. Higher-level economic activities like manufacturing and finance were jealously preserved by the core countries; left to the periphery were the less profitable activities such as supplying raw materials. Wallerstein distinguished a middle group of countries, which he designated the semi-periphery, that engaged in somewhat more profitable trade and manufacturing. One unfortunate consequence was that this fragmentation of the peripheral countries helped the core to maintain its control. Correspondingly, the core countries had developed strong states, but in the periphery, states were weak, which limited their ability to deal with outside forces or to develop internally. So as long as a peripheral country remained linked with the core, meaningful, national development and political independence were precluded.

Many dependency theorists called for the general implementation of ISS policies by the LDCs; and in this spirit a *Group of 77* (G-77) developing nations enunciated, in 1974, a set of twenty principles designed to promote development. The New International Economic Order (NIEO) called for extensive reforms of world trade, aid, and financial arrangements to secure for the world's poor a greater share of resources. However, like those for whom they attempted to speak, dependency theorists remained largely marginalized. Policy makers seldom openly adopted political agendas in their name, Chile under Allende and Jamaica under Manley being two very brief exceptions. NIEO demands withered in the face of resistance from the Western countries, themselves facing economic problems. The theory met with a scornful barrage of criticism from Western and especially US ideologues on the political right. Even in the 1980s as the debt crisis became acute and very unpalatable structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were being imposed on LDCs by Western governments and international institutions, dependency theory nevertheless came under increasing attack and declined in influence.

### **Neo-Classical Liberalism, or the Washington Consensus**

With the oil shocks, stagflation, and the demise of the Bretton Woods System, as the financial costs of the Vietnam War caught up with the United States in the 1970s, development theory was thrown into disarray, any social-democratic consensus evaporated, and faith in state-led development waned.

Into this vacuum strode an emboldened New Right, with their faith in a free-market panacea. Offering a neo-classical version of laissez faire economics, and with the help of the wave of conservatism that swept into office both Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom, they seized the high ground of policy making in the 1980s. They rejected both the dominant Keynesianism of the modernization theorists and the more active, state-sponsored developmentalism espoused by dependency theorists. Their ideology, in fact, informed and guided the policies of the World Bank, the IMF, and the US State Department for at least a decade, which is why their policies have been labeled the Washington Consensus. With the end of the Cold War their confidence grew, and they expressed the view that liberalism and free-market capitalism had been established so securely that it amounted to the effective end of ideological debates.

Neo-classical liberals argued that LDCs were not being exploited by developed Western countries, but rather were victims of their own failings, including corrupt and inefficient governments and an inadequate commitment to market values and principles. In their estimation, economic development had been stunted in the LDCs due to an overextension of state authority: Disregarding comparative advantage and competitiveness, government subsidies, regulations, and controls had distorted markets, which led to an inefficient allocation of resources. State-sponsored developmentalism had permitted too much discretion, contributing to rampant corruption. Neo-classical liberals could also point to the 1970 report from the OECD, which concluded that ISI policies had overall negative economic consequences for the countries adopting them. As opposed to ISI, they advocated an export-oriented approach to development.

By reducing the role of government, claimed neo-classical liberals, LDCs could limit opportunities for corruption and mismanagement, and realize a more rational allocation of resources based on market forces. The mounting level of debt in the developing countries was used as leverage by Western policy makers to oblige these countries to adopt the elements of a neo-classical liberal agenda. Enforced through the World Bank, the IMF, and US State Department policies, SAPs usually entailed the following requirements: trade liberalization (reduction or elimination of tariffs, quotas, subsidies, and other barriers); privatization of government-run enterprises; a general deregulation of the economy, including labor and finance; devaluation of the currency (tight monetary policies to control inflation); opening domestic markets to entrepreneurs and investors and providing them incentives to stimulate an

entrepreneurial flourishing; and fiscal austerity with respect to social programs including education, subsidies for food and housing, and health care, which were deemed a drain on investments needed for private enterprise. Even falling wages due to labor deregulation, according to this view, would benefit society by attracting more investments and increasing the level of employment.

Again, the optimistic predictions of the theory proved to be overblown. Neo-classical liberals did not think in terms of the global conditions affecting development. Rather, as with modernization theory, they assumed that national economic growth and development would flow naturally from a proper application of the theory, in this case a free-market mantra. As well, they assumed that a fixed set of policies would fit all countries, whatever their situation. Not surprisingly, failure to consider the specific characteristics of each country undermined their goals. The posited rise of a dynamic entrepreneurial class did not materialize, as the theorists had underestimated the difficulty of cultivating such individuals. Corruption did not diminish, but took on new forms involving patronage and cronyism. Rather than improving, unemployment worsened; labor deregulation depressed wages and consumption, so domestic markets contracted. The gap between rich (those few who could take advantage of some of the policies) and poor (those who did not benefit) yawned dramatically. Cuts in social programs acutely affected the majority, and even future development was threatened by the withdrawal of investments in human capital. Nor had the theorists considered the possibility that some types of public spending might generate more economic activity than much of the private investment.

As the impacts of SAPs became more broadly recognized, they frequently met with widespread resistance or outright violence. Increasingly, many countries had to resort to military repression to implement the neo-classical liberal agenda. In many countries, years of development efforts were rolled back to the serious detriment of the general welfare. The harshest critics of neo-classical liberal theory have charged that it was little more than a veneer for the global aggrandizement of the MNCs and the elite minority that controls and benefits from them, and that it both undermined democratic institutions and sapped the strength and legitimacy of developing states. Whatever our assessment of the neo-classical liberal program, it indisputably recast the global development environment. Though it purported to remove government from the realm of economic planning, in fact, it selectively culled government programs and policies, leaving those that supported

corporate enterprise while deleting mostly the social commitments of states. Simultaneously, it removed from the sphere of public discourse many of the basic questions about the allocation of resources and transferred these to the private sphere (the marketplace where MNCs dominate) or to international organizations dominated by Western corporate capital, like the WTO.

### **Globalization and Trends in Development Theory**

Development theory has always been embedded contextually and simultaneously challenged by ongoing, complex changes. By its nature, then, it must be a dynamic theory. The vast intricacies of globalization, though, have presented theorists with perhaps more daunting challenges than ever before. With the demise of the Cold War, the Western sense of urgency about development in the LDCs has waned. In place of the previous bipolar dichotomy, we see a world system that is, depending on one's perspective, either unipolar (with a single superpower, the United States) or tripolar (with spheres of influence centered in the United States, Europe, and Pacific Asia). The last of these would include Japan, China and Hong Kong, the Asian Tigers (Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore), Australia, and New Zealand.

The putative success of the Asian Tigers, originally including Hong Kong (which has been reabsorbed into China), drew much attention and raised hopes of development theorists. Neo-classical liberals sought to claim these newly industrialized countries (NICs) as examples of the success of market-oriented development policies; but in truth these countries had active, interventionist governments and supportive cultures, and they invested heavily in human capital. Moreover, they developed at a particularly favorable time in history, and may not therefore serve as suitable models for future development. Chalmers Johnson and others at the Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex) have drawn lessons from the experiences of these NICs to create a model they call developmental state theory. An interventionist state would set development as its chief goal, and would encourage national savings while directing the flow of investments and spending heavily on human capital. The state would carefully regulate the economy and, though remaining committed to private property and markets, it would redistribute land, if expedient.

Clearly, altered global conditions demand new strategies. Diffuse strains of thought, not among the

more or less distinct schools identified so far and often dissenting from the mainstream views, have nevertheless enriched development theory and may be able to help us meet the challenges of the future. One unmistakable and hopeful trend in the theories has been a growing sensitivity to the definition of goals of development, and the use of measures more carefully tailored to those goals. Early economic thought, as previously noted, had fostered an emphasis on material measures. Critics complained that Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP), both measures of national outputs of goods and services, were too crude to really capture meaningful development. In response, and to get at issues of equity, the Gini index was developed. Then, in 1990, the United Nations (UN) adopted a more comprehensive gauge of development, the Human Development Index (HDI), which is a composite of measurements including life expectancy, real GDP per capita, literacy rates, access to education, and average years of schooling. Theorists had become aware that development is really about *human* development, and that beyond the basic needs, human flourishing requires access to things like education, employment, and participation in the life of a political community.

Equity and quality-of-life concerns have also been reflected in the growing body of literature focused on the plight and rights of women; and on the environment and sustainability. Half of the world's people, women, had been largely neglected in the mainstream theories of development. Without considering the place of women in society, it was increasingly obvious that the most critical global issues could not be effectively addressed: hunger and food production, health issues, pollution and the environment, population control, literacy and education, distribution of property, and human rights, among others. It had been widely assumed that the progress of industry would automatically entail an improvement in the situation of women. However, as with democracy, social justice, or peace and security, no such progressive evolution transpired. To improve the lot of women and, in turn, those who depend upon them—in effect, everyone else—women would have to be fully incorporated into any scheme of development. Such views have gained attention from the international community; for example, the 1995 *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* addressed women's issues and offered an action plan. Real progress, however, has so far been elusive.

Because women play the key role in developing countries in terms of providing for family health and nutrition, the plight of women is often intertwined in development thought with environmental issues, for

example, in ideas promulgated by physicist-turned-social-activist Vandana Shiva. Women in LDCs account for the majority of food production to meet family needs; the figure for Africa is about 70% of agricultural production. The condition of water, air, and soil therefore critically impacts women as chief stewards for the health and nutrition of their families and communities. In many cases, development defined as industrialization has eroded the quality of these essential life factors and made things harder for women while jeopardizing entire communities. Out of such concerns grew a focus on environmentalism and sustainability. Significantly, the UN-sponsored *Brundtland Report* (1987) posited a nexus between democratic participation and sustainable development. Some have been led to question both the feasibility and the moral-ethical desirability of global industrialization and development toward mass consumption-oriented societies (for example, E. F. Schumacher and Herman Daly). It is also noteworthy that one of the poorest states of India, Kerala, has achieved levels of human development surpassing those of many LDCs and some developed countries, but without a commensurate increase in GDP, industrialization, or consumption.

Sadly, despite the broad range of development thought and years of efforts, many LDCs are no better off today than they were at independence; and in some cases, most notably in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, the quality of life has actually deteriorated due to depletion of resources, increasing pollution, declining life expectancy and health (due especially to AIDS), growing economic and social disparities, and violence and strife. There is an urgent need to rethink development theory to address the grave problems affecting the peoples of the developing world and all humankind in our interwoven, global environment. Past experience suggests that no generally applicable development model is feasible. So there will be no shortage of challenges for development theorists in the years ahead.

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### DEVELOPMENT, MEASURES OF

Development is both a complex, multidimensional process and a term laden with emotional connotations. Any attempt to define and measure development is likely to be both arbitrary and inadequate, if not outright ethnocentric and ideologically biased.

First-world or Global North views emphasizing modernization and developmental theories can be said to form the "mainstream" perspective on development. It advocates both free-market capitalism and liberal democracy as the ideals that third-world and former second-world nations should attempt to reach. Such values or objectives as individual freedom in both the marketplace and the polity, limited government, economic openness, political transparency, entrepreneurialism, efficiency, legitimacy, and the protection of private property rights, among others, best reflect the mainstream conception of development in the political economy within and across nations. The economic strategies emphasized to accomplish development have varied over time: from import-substitution industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s to export-led industrialization in the 1970s and 1980s as practiced by some Latin American and South Asian nations, to neo-liberal policies and practices related to capitalist globalization in the 1990s, to the present encouraging of all nations to find their niches in the global economy. Throughout

the last fifty years or so, these economic strategies have tended to coincide with certain political objectives: initially promoting modern state-building and legitimate political stability by ending civil strife, later replacing state repression with political openness and accountability through reforms, and now increasing individual political freedom and civil liberties in the process of liberal democratization. This overarching view is likely to support social scientific research employing cross-national designs, quantitative data, and measures from capitalist international institutions and think-tanks in order to assess the progress made toward modernization or development. In sum, empirical measures of development are dependent on the type and definition of development employed by varying ideological perspectives.

Some third-world or Global South dependency and neo-Marxist imperialist and world-system theories can be said to form much of the “critical” perspective on development and underdevelopment. This view highlights the negative effects on third-world nations of colonialism, imperialism, dependency, and neo-colonial globalization emanating from first-world practices and processes. Third-world integration into and conditioning by the capitalist world-system produce consequences such as: “economic stagnation” (that is, some economic growth experienced but no real or meaningful economic development attained, especially in Africa), or “distorted development” (that is, establishing artificial, not natural, processes of development throughout most less-developed nations), or “uneven development” (that is, much greater development in a foreign enclave sector than in the rest of the native economy as with, for example, India, China, Egypt, and many Caribbean nations), or “associated-dependent development” (that is, economic development but with loss of national political and economic freedom such as in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile), or “delayed development” (that is, preventing the earlier fulfillment of political self-determination or national independence as with most non-Latin American third-world nations), “the development of underdevelopment” (that is, the simultaneous development of first-world nations at the expense of third-world underdevelopment as posited for most third-world nations, especially in Latin America), or “techno-bureaucratic authoritarianism” (that is, promoting institutionalized government that is politically repressive through high-technology means, particularly in South America), or “special relationship development” (that is, nations that have special relationships with the United States and are getting certain economic advantages, including Taiwan, South Korea, and Israel), or “special resource development” (that is, the oil-producing and -exporting

nations or members of OPEC, especially in the Middle East).

Foreign trade, direct foreign investment, foreign aid, and foreign debt measures, among others, are used, through interpretation, as causal factors producing many third-world afflictions including underdevelopment, dependency, inequality, and repression. For example, a mainstream measure thought to promote development, such as direct foreign investment per capita by multinational corporations, is deemed by the critical view to be a measure of foreign capital penetration, a violative act reflecting a relationship of dominance and dependency. Assessments of these causal linkages including conditions, attributes, and contexts often require the use of more qualitative methodologies such as either for case-study analysis (that is, a relationship between a first-world nation or an international institution and a third-world colony or nation) or for broad relations of production within the capitalist world-system (that is, core-semiperiphery-periphery relations).

Placed more neutrally within an historical context, any sizeable movement away from being poor, backward, or underdeveloped, toward developing, appears to be a meaningful change, thereby reducing abject or absolute poverty within a society. To move from being less or least developed to being more or most developed would be considered a major developmental improvement, as a form of convergence, thus reducing relative inequality among societies. Probably the most neutral and widely used, albeit an imperfect, aggregate indicator to detect an improvement in the human condition over time, space, and ideology continues to be per capita income. This empirical measure requires dividing the national income by the population for each year. Its use facilitates the detection of any long-term trends or patterns. Another indicator often used in empirical studies is energy consumption per capita or its natural log, involving either electricity or coal usage. The interpretation is that the greater the amount used, the higher the level of economic development. Other indicators that can be used and interpreted in the same direction include those related to the value added to goods and services during the production or servicing stages, or to the number of personal computers or Internet linkages per capita, among others.

There are at least four major kinds of development deemed to be desirable within a society: economic, political, social/human, and sustained. Although these types of development are widely thought to be highly interrelated, the empirical indicators used for their measurement tend to be different. For certain, the meanings and measures of each of these forms of development vary depending on the type of historical



analysis employed, or ideological perspective taken, across research agendas. Quantitative cross-national analysis requires the collection of data for empirical indicators in order to make comparative national and regional assessments, thereby permitting the creation of broad generalization. Qualitative case-study analysis attempts to identify specialized attributes or factors in order to detect developmental trends within a society, thus allowing for a comparison of key forces and factors over time for a single society in the detection of developmental trends. Whereas quantitative analysis often employs economic, political, and social-empirical indicators, qualitative analysis emphasizes cultural, religious, and historical aspects.

### **Economic Development**

Economic development implies a structural, presumably progressive and preferred, change in the economy, emphasizing economic growth and increased consumption. Two dimensions of economic development that can be measured are rates of change and levels attained. For example, economic development can often be observed when nations have relatively higher economic growth rates over a sustained time, as well as with the creation of leading economic sectors and the decline of noncompetitive ones, and/or the more efficient flow of factors of production from one sector to another sector in the economy. Economic development is also a particular level that has been attained consisting of both quantitative and qualitative attributes. These rates of economic growth and levels of economic development are, in turn, quite dependent on greater access to natural resources, higher capital formation, improved technical expertise, instilled entrepreneurialism, and the removal of structural rigidities and impediments in the economy.

Basic empirical indicators or quantifiable measures of economic development usually include: gross national product (GNP) as the total value of goods and services produced plus or minus the foreign trade sector during a year, or GNP per capita as the total yearly production value divided by the population, or the gross domestic product (GDP) as the value of goods and services produced in a society without including the foreign trade sector, or GDP per capita where the total value of domestic production and services is divided by the population. These measures can be used either for single-year points or in creating estimates of average annual growth rates of GNP or GDP per capita covering different periods, anywhere from five to twenty years. The World Bank's annual *World Development Report* provides useful

data and information covering both the process and the conditional state of economic development on primarily a comparative national basis. It also aggregates nations on the basis of region and level of economic development. Or, nations can be stratified and then ranked on the basis of the level of economic development attained at a specific point in time. Although economic growth rates for a single national economy generally vary over time, most relative rankings of national economies with respect to the level of economic development attained have remained largely consistent and stable.

Other measures used to gauge economic development include the percentages of either production value or workers employed within certain economic sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, industry, services, trade, and technology. It is commonly thought that if an economy moves its factors of production from one economic sector to the next, roughly in the order given above, thereby reflecting a different economic specialization over time, then it is likely reaching a qualitatively higher level of economic development. Still, an economy specializing predominately in neither industry nor high technology, with a relatively closed foreign trade sector, might be progressing toward greater economic development. For instance, if an economy is well-diversified and its sectors are highly integrated, then it might well represent a more desirable and secure balance across economic sectors, leaving a nation less vulnerable to the vicissitudes of domestic and world-market forces compared to one that is highly open and interdependent.

Economic development can also be witnessed when a smaller amount of the population or work force is involved in agriculture and, concomitantly, more people are involved in manufacturing, industry, services, trade, and high technology. Savings and investments are higher, stronger credit and marketing facilities and institutions exist, the infrastructure of the economy supports improved transportation and communication systems, and the satisfaction of basic human needs is almost assured.

### **Political Development**

Political development is both a process and an attained level presumed to be desirable and beneficial for individual nations or societies. One conception of political development is democratization leading to democracy. Empirical or quantifiable measures of (liberal) democracy often include the existence of a constitution with individual political rights and some

curb on governmental power; the continuous use of voting in competitive elections; maintenance of multiple parties; and the separation of powers in the form of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, among other measures.

A liberal conception of political development, as the dominant paradigm of political economy in the post-Cold War era, includes the process of democratization leading eventually to some end state, democracy. From 1972 to the present, Freedom House has done an annual comparative survey rating the degree of freedom for nations in the international system. The status of freedom within nations is determined by two sets of indicators: political rights and civil liberties. Political rights include whether or not the chief executive and legislature are elected by meaningful popular processes; free and fair elections exist; the distribution of political power reflects voter preferences, multiple parties meaningfully compete, a transference of power takes place after a change-oriented election, opposition votes are significant, military or foreign influences interfere with civilian-controlled political processes, self-determination of peoples proceeds, societal and governmental powers are decentralized, and consensual and opposition powers are fairly balanced. Civil liberties are determined by having: media protection from political censorship, open and free public discourse on salient political issues, freedom of assembly and demonstrations, freedom to organize politically, nondiscriminate application of the rule of law, freedom from political terror and repression, free trade unions and business associations, free professional organizations and religious institutions, and the right to personal and social privacy.

Institutionalization is another conception of political development that recognizes state-building and infrastructure formation as functional institutional processes. Societal institutions including the political structures of the state become formally established and functional. Those legitimate institutions of the state are expected to possess elements of authority and sovereignty. Those institutions in the broader society become political vehicles with rights, obligations, and powers. When these institutions combine, they perform functions including political socialization and recruitment, interest aggregation and articulation, political organization and communication, law-making, law-enforcing, and law-adjudicating. Modern political systems are more able and willing than their counterparts to use power capabilities to produce policies that are distributive, regulatory, redistributive, or extractive, in order to function and respond well to societal demands. A higher level of political development will be demonstrated by political systems that

are more differentiated, autonomous, secular, and decentralized in nature.

The date of institutionalization can be used to determine the nature and duration of political development or maturity. The assumption is that the earlier the date, the greater the likelihood of higher forms of political development, including national autonomy or independence, self-determination, and higher forms of political development. Hence, longevity can be translated more easily into stable, workable government. Measures of longevity can include the date of effective institutionalized government, the date of declared independence, the date of formal independence, the date of entrance into the United Nations or other universal organization, the date of the last major constitutional change, the date of the last political regime change, the date of either unification or reunification, or the date of the last revolution.

## Human Development

Human development is a broader term than either economic or political development. It is a people-centered concept that emphasizes human choices intended to promote a higher quality of life for as many people as possible. Human development is more observable when there have been improvements in the following areas: reducing fertility and infant mortality rates; promoting nutrition, health, sanitation, and education; as well as other factors that enhance the quality of life for more people, especially for the poor, minorities, women, and children. The main objectives are to reduce abject poverty and gross inequalities.

The United Nations Development Programme's annual *Human Development Report* has the following concepts and indices for understanding and measuring human development: life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, combined gross first-through-third levels of educational enrollment, real GDP per capita, adjusted real GDP per capita, a life expectancy index, an educational index, a human development index (HDI), and the real GDP per capita rank minus the HDI rank.

Two closely related aspects of human development are gender empowerment and human poverty, both containing multiple indicators to form separate indexes. Gender empowerment consists of the overall rank on a gender empowerment (GEM) index, the percentage of seats in parliament held by women, the percentage of female administrators and managers, the percentage of female professional and technical workers, the percentage of women's share of earned income, and the raw score of GEM values. Human

poverty is measured by: the overall human poverty index (HPI), percentage of people not expected to survive to age forty, adult literacy, population without access to safe water, population without access to health services, population without access to sanitation, percentage of underweight children under age five, children not reaching grade five, refugees by country of asylum, population below income poverty line of \$1 per day, population below income poverty line making up national poverty, as well as the raw scores for both real GDP per capita for the poorest 20% and real GDP per capita for the richest 20% of the population. The computing methods to form these indices are outlined in each report.

Other indicators, in the form of either percentages or ratios, have also been used to assess a wider domain of human development: women's access to education, child survival, health profiles, food security, government expenditures on education, labor conditions and benefits, access to information and communications as indicators of quality of life, political life, and military expenditures and resource imbalances, urbanization and population trends, social stress and change, and acceptance of human rights instruments and laws.

## Sustainable Development

Sustainable development, the broadest term related to development, requires balancing the fulfilling of basic human needs; promoting economic growth; and protecting the environment from excessive population growth, natural resource depletion, and environmental degradation in order to protect current and future generations. Within either a World Bank or United Nations agenda, sustainable development is concerned with "intergenerational equity," whereby all future generations have the same chances as the present one of succeeding in their developmental efforts. It also supports more equitable development in terms of resource distribution and use between wealthier and poorer nations. One way to assess sustainable development is to measure the stock of all capital assets for a nation. The overall stock should increase in size over time. The types of capital assets include manufactured (such as, computers, tractors, roads, and airports), human (such as, knowledge, skills, work ethic, and entrepreneurialism), social (such as, individual, group, class, and institutional relationships), and environmental (such as, forests, mountains, rivers, waterways, and coral reefs).

As a holistic concept, sustainable development recognizes that the broader environment contains

interdependencies among the physical, biological, and socio-psychological worlds. By impacting upon one of these, you affect the others over time and space. Resource use and consumption should be efficient, equitable, intelligent, and compatible with protecting the environment. The World Bank's measures of sustainable (environmental) development relate to land and water uses, agricultural use, deforestation, protected areas, energy use, and emissions: percentage of land under permanent crops, percentage of irrigated cropland, arable land as hectares per capita, agricultural machinery as tractors-per-thousand agricultural workers, agricultural productivity as value added per agricultural worker, a food production index with a base year, freshwater resources as cubic meters per capita, annual freshwater withdrawals as percentage breakdowns in agricultural and industrial uses, annual deforestation in terms of square kilometers and average annual percentage change, nationally protected areas in terms of thousands of square kilometers and percentage of total land areas, commercial energy use as kilograms of oil equivalent and average annual percentage growth, GDP per unit of energy use as dollar per kilogram, and carbon dioxide emissions as a total in terms of metric tons and per capita in metric tons. Exact calculations for each measure are described in detail. Hence, sustainable development is concerned with capturing as many factors as possible in order to assess and promote the quality of life for both present and future generations of people, specifically outlining men, women, and children, as well as other species, across the planet.

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## See also Development History and Theory

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## DICTATORSHIPS

Dictatorship is government without the consent of the governed. Dictatorships are established through military force or political manipulation. They dissolve or disempower elected assemblies, suspend elections, abolish political parties, or supplant independent legal systems. Dictatorships score low on the political freedom index (PFI) as calculated in 1994, based on the implementation of human rights and the likelihood of regular legitimate contests of ruling power. The developing nations of Cuba, Haiti, China, North Korea, Sudan, Zaire, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Iraq were among the countries with the lowest PFI in 1994 (Haynes 1996). Dictatorships are often justified as short-term emergency governments, but many survive for a long time. Kim Il Sung (North Korea, 1948–1994) holds the modern record of forty-six years, but more than twenty twentieth-century dictatorships have lasted twenty-five years or more.

Models have been developed to analyse dictatorship, but although they apply to some instances, none seems to hold true for all (Smith 1996). This is because nations’ varying histories; institutions; resources; combinations of bureaucratic, capitalist, and military power; and international relationships all affect the emergence, style and longevity of their dictatorships.

Dictatorships can be political, military, religious, or pragmatic (interested only in power). Ideals that have motivated dictatorships include the communism of Fidel Castro (Cuba, 1959– ) and Mao Zedong (China, 1949–1976), the anti-communism of Ernesto Geisel (Brazil, 1974–1979) and Augusto Pinochet (Chile, 1973–1989), and the Islamic fundamentalism of Ruhollah Khomeini (Iran, 1979–1989) and Mohammad Omar (Afghanistan, 1996–2001). Pragmatic

seekers after power have included Rafael Trujillo (Dominica, 1930–1938, 1943–1961); Papa Doc Duvalier (Haiti, 1957–1971); Alfredo Stroessner (Paraguay, 1954–1989); Sese Seko Mobutu (Zaire, 1965–1997); Idi Amin (Uganda, 1971–1979); and the notorious Jean-Bedel Bokassa (Central Africa, 1965–1979), who participated in the murder of his opponents, indulged in ritual cannibalism, and declared himself emperor in 1977.

Different people judge dictatorships in different ways. Liberals and democrats view them as temporary and undesirable systems to be replaced by representative and responsible government as soon as possible. Zealots view them as evil if they impose someone else’s ideology and benevolent if they impose their own. Marxists view them as an instrument of class domination if they have capitalist leanings, or as a way of regulating the struggle between the classes if they are communist or socialist.

International situations can modify ideological positions. The Cold War led to US support for favoured dictatorships including Fulgencio Batista (Cuba, 1940–1944, 1952–1958), Chiang Kai-shek (Taiwan 1949–1975), Carlos Armas (Guatemala, 1954–1963), Alfredo Stroessner (Paraguay, 1954–1989), Ngo Dinh Diem (South Vietnam, 1955–1963), Ferdinand Marcos (The Philippines, 1965–1986), and Augusto Pinochet (Chile, 1973–1989). The United States has supported other dictatorships because they maintained order and supported modernisation. These include Reza Pahlavi (Iran, 1941–1979), Haile Selassie (Ethiopia 1930–1935, 1940–1974), and Sese Soko Mobutu (Zaire, 1960, 1965–1997). Ex-colonial powers have felt licensed to intervene in their ex-colonies to support. The British supported the conservative Hastings Banda (Malawi, 1966–1994) and France supported pro-French capitalist, Félix Houphouët-Boigny (Ivory Coast, 1960–1993), and even Jean-Bedel Bokassa (Central Africa, 1965–1979) until he became an embarrassment; then they contributed to his overthrow.

## The Making of Dictatorships

The support of the army is an essential ingredient in the making of dictatorships. Sometimes the military themselves form the government; sometimes they install or support a civilian government. In The Philippines and Thailand, the military have played decisive roles in changing governments. In Argentina, the army paved the way for the nationalist and populist regime of Juan Perón (1943–1955). In Zaire, Sese Soko Mobutu (1960, 1965–1997) returned power to civilian politicians after his first coup, but his second

coup made him president. In Indonesia, the military installed and supported Suharto (1967–1998), who gave them a formal political as well as military role. In Iran, Reza Pahlavi (1941–1979) used the military to suppress opposition in 1963 and in 1977–1979.

The military often claim to have the national interest at heart, but this is not always so. In Nigeria, the coup leaders of 1966 claimed to be motivated by a desire to end tribalism, but, in fact, the coup was led by and favoured the Ibos, and subsequent divisions along tribal lines deteriorated into civil war. In Uganda, Idi Amin (1971–1979) exploited tribal divisions to remain in power. In Syria, division within the military forced President Hafiz Al-Assad (1971– ) to depend on support from his own clan and village (Randall and Theobald 1998).

The political route from democracy to dictatorship usually involves banning opposition parties. One-party states merge leader, party, and state so that disloyalty to any one is disloyalty to the others; party credentials become essential for state positions and the party bureaucracy helps the state bureaucracy to maintain power. Communist countries operate this way, but there have also been non-communist one-party dictatorships including those of Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana, 1960–1966), Habib Bourguiba (Tunisia, 1963–1981), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania, 1962–1985), and Daniel Moi (Kenya, 1978– ).

Many dictatorships are consolidated in response to “emergencies.” Ferdinand Marcos (The Philippines, 1965–1986) imposed martial law in 1972 when faced with Communist insurgents, Muslim separatists, and an economic crisis. Habib Bourguiba (Tunisia, 1957–1987) responded to left-wing protests with increased repression in 1976, 1977, and 1980. Failed coups led to the outlawing of opposition by Daniel Moi (Kenya, 1978– ) in 1982 and by Geydar Aliyev (Azerbaijan, 1968–1989, 1993– ) in 1995.

Once dictatorships are established, new dictators may take over an existing position. Reza Pahlavi (Iran, 1941–1979) succeeded to a throne that had been seized in 1924; Saddam Hussein (Iraq, 1979–2003) succeeded President al-Bakr, who had taken power after a 1968 coup; and Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier (Haiti, 1971–1986) inherited his dictatorship from his father.

### Factors Predisposing Developing Countries to Dictatorship

No single overriding factor predicts the emergence of a dictatorship. Poverty, absence of democratic experience, and political instability all play a role.

Of these, the absence of democratic experience may be the most significant. Stable parliamentary democracies, such as Botswana and Mauritius, have been built on sound economies, but also had experienced the working of Westminster-style constitutions. Botswana was a protectorate rather than a colony and had the advantage of British tutelage from 1885. Mauritius had eleven years of internal self-government before achieving full independence in 1968. It is also notable that India, which significantly engaged its indigenous people in political processes before independence, has not succumbed to post-colonial dictatorship. By contrast, in Madagascar and Ghana, the absence of established political institutions contributed to a series of emergency dictatorships.

In many ex-colonies, the years of colonial rule denied indigenous peoples access to legislatures, political parties, local councils, and other processes of accountable responsibility. Ingrained authoritarian habits resurfaced as many apparently democratic African ex-colonies transformed after only one election into personal or party dictatorships (Andreski 1992). In Tanzania the one-party state was seen as necessary for continued economic development, and in Kenya the people were said to be not yet ready for democracy (Smith 1996). In South America the absence of democratic tradition led to a series of dictatorships, briefly interrupted by democratic experiments. After initial post-colonial attempts to introduce constitutional government were thwarted by wealthy oligarchies, industrialisation created new industrial capitalist elites, who used established authoritarian patterns to curb post-war democratic and welfare experiments (Smith 1996; Andreski 1992). As a typical example, Guatemala, accustomed to brutal repression under Spanish colonisation, experienced only brief periods of liberalisation from 1944–1954 and from 1966–1970. Between 1964 and 1976, military dictatorships supplanted civilian governments in Brazil (Castelo Branco, 1964–1967), Uruguay (Juan Maria Bordaberry Arocena, 1972–1976; Aparicio Méndez Manfredini, 1976–1981), Chile (Augusto Pinochet, 1973–1989), and Argentina (Jorge Videla, 1976–1978; Roberto Viola, 1978–1981; Leopoldo Galtieri, 1981–1982).

People become accustomed to living under dictatorships and may even derive an odd sense of security from an authoritarian state. Revolutions often end up replacing one dictatorship with another, as was the case in Cuba where Fulgencio Batista (1940–1944, 1952–1958) was replaced by Fidel Castro (1959– ) and in Iran, where Reza Pahlavi (1941–1979) was replaced by Ruhollah Khomeini (1979–1989).

Instability, disunity, and poverty provide fertile ground for dictatorship. Because the boundaries of

developing countries were usually imposed by colonising powers, often disregarding ethnic and cultural distribution, they are prone to instability and fragmentation. Ethnic and religious fragmentation has had serious effects in Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Ivory Coast, Indonesia, Iran, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, The Philippines, Uganda, and Zaire (Haynes 1996).

Disunity leads to the formation of rival armies, and poverty encourages young people to fight for very small rewards. Thus, power is arbitrated through military victories (Andreski 1992). Between 1960 and 1980, three-quarters of Latin America, half of Asia, and more than half of Africa experienced coups. Through the 1980s there was at least one coup or attempted coup in a developing country each year. In the first half of the 1990s there were coups or attempted coups in Chad, Togo, Peru, Sierra Leone, Haiti, Guatemala, Nigeria, and Gambia (Smith 1996). Dictatorship is a way of counteracting this, an attempt by post-colonial states to maintain territorial integrity and unify populations, either by force or by apportioning ethnic representation through the dominant party (Andreski 1992; Smith 1996). Tribal conflict contributed to the coup of Idi Amin (Uganda, 1971–1979); Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe, 1980– ) justified bullying his opposition as preventing tribal fragmentation; Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia, 1945–1968) responded to fragmentation with an authoritarian constitution in 1957 and then in 1960 by establishing himself as dictator.

Mistrust of alternative groups that might gain power leads to widespread popular support for some military governments (Smith 1996). Sometimes “veto” coups (Randall and Theobald 1998) occur to prevent an unwanted government from even coming into power. In Pakistan an emerging middle class, threatened by the instability that followed partition, supported the coup that brought Ayub Khan to power in 1958. In Algeria the army established a military junta in 1992 to prevent the Islamic Salvation Front from winning an election.

One-party systems make countries less prone to military coups and often represent an attempt to provide stability and impose unity (Randall and Theobald 1998; Smith 1996). The strongest one-party governments occur where the party has a strong grass roots presence, as well as a national organisation. The resulting binding effect can be seen in the ideologically disparate examples of Kenya, Tanzania, and Cuba.

Pre-colonial political traditions also play a role in establishing dictatorships. Sukarno (Indonesia, 1945–1968) drew on the Javanese notion of consensus.

Leopold Senghor (Senegal, 1960–1980), and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania, 1962–1985) based one-party approaches on African traditions of consensus, unity, and egalitarianism. In China the regime rests its legitimacy on a strong tradition of centralised power and the Confucian doctrine of putting the national good above the interests of the individual (Sorensen 1991). In many nations, pre-colonial “clientelism,” meaning mutual obligation between the powerful and their dependents, contributes to the way dictatorships are sustained by rewarding loyal supporters through distribution of tasks and power (patrimonial bureaucracy). Armed forces that support and are supported by regimes rely upon patronage. Military dictatorships tend to arise when the absence of an influential and educated indigenous middle class makes the military the main source of organisational status and personal power, attracting politically ambitious people to military careers. One such person was Muammar Quaddafi (Libya, 1969– ), who led a bloodless coup against King Idris in 1969 and became virtual president of a one-party state.

In many developing countries, the impetus built up by fighting for independence gave individuals or organisations the momentum to carry them into dictatorial power. Marxist-Leninists took over after leading the independence movements of Indo-China, Angola, and Mozambique. Freedom fighters who became dictators include Kim Il Sung (North Korea, 1948–1994), Houari Boumédiène (Algeria, 1965–1978), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe, 1980– ), Félix Houphouët-Boigny (Ivory Coast, 1960–1993), and Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia, 1945–1968).

Although military dictatorships usually emerge in countries at peace (Andreski 1992), they can follow wars when military defeats are blamed on governments’ failure to modernise. Military action established the modernising dictatorships of Kemal Ataturk (Turkey, 1923–1938) and Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt, 1954–1970). Military dictatorships do not, however, always lead to modernisation in developing countries (Randall and Theobald 1998). The 1971 coup in Uganda resulted from the army opposing modernisation because it felt diminished by the power of the Westernised elite (Smith 1996).

## Development and Dictatorship

It is argued that strong dictatorship is good for economic development because it provides planning and political continuity, controls the strategic direction of investment, and suppresses opposition to foreign investment and the modernisation process (Andreski

1992; Sandschneider 1991; Smith 1996). These very qualities, however, mean that economic development under dictatorships often involves significant social and human cost (Sorensen 1991).

Socialist and Communist dictatorships manage the economy directly to encourage economic development. Public management also fills the vacuum in developing countries that lack significant privately owned capital, such as Tanzania (Smith 1996). Public management can be very effective. China's rate of post-war industrial growth, particularly since the 1970s, is among the highest in the developing world (Sorensen 1991).

Socialist and Communist dictatorships tend to combine economic with social goals, using authoritarian power to undermine existing elites and redistribute wealth (Sorensen 1991). In China social goals after the revolution extended to eliminating opium addiction, prostitution, and gambling, and taking steps toward the equality of women (Sorensen 1991). Deng Xiaoping (China, 1978–1997) even used his power to enforce environmental considerations. Subsequently, population control has been an area of concern and some success, although the one-child policy has affected the survival rate of female babies (Andreski 1992; Sorensen 1991).

The problem with centralist planned economies is that those in charge have no material incentive to promote efficiency or quality control, or to pursue innovation (Sorensen 1991). There is also a tendency to promote heavy rather than consumer industry, as there is no need to woo consumers. Furthermore, dictators' lack of accountability can mean economic devastation when a dictator gets a dysfunctional idea. In China two periods of economic improvement (1949–1956 and 1977– ) were interrupted by Mao's push for huge agro-industrial communes, which produced a famine that killed 20 million people. A similar catastrophe was perpetrated by Pol Pot (Cambodia, 1976–1978) when at least 15% of the population was wiped out in an attempt to achieve total collectivisation.

Capitalist dictatorships direct and control private-sector development. Through such initiatives, Chung Hee Park (South Korea, 1963–1979) achieved greater economic development than that achieved by the ideological dictatorship in China. Investors' greed is the incentive, but this also brings disadvantages. It is notable that the recent move toward capitalism in China has been accompanied by increasing corruption (Sorensen 1991). Capitalism without democracy has no incentive to pass on economic benefits to the people (Smith 1996). An exception is Taiwan. Perhaps because it has been dependent on, and shaped by, the support of the United States, it has

accompanied rapid capitalist industrial growth under dictatorship (Chiang Kai-shek, 1949–1975) with successful economic redistribution and improved welfare (Sorensen 1991).

Ultimately, dictatorships only enhance economic and social development if they want to do so. Some are ideologically opposed to development, others are too focused on personal aggrandisement. Islamic dictatorships, such as those of Ruhollah Khomeini (1979–1989) and Mohammad Omar and the Taliban (Afghanistan, 1996–2001), have reversed the process of modernisation and secularisation (Randall and Theobald 1998). "Predatory" dictatorships (Randall and Theobald 1998) damage rather than enhance national economic development through depleting resources to sustain their political position and to amass private wealth. Dictators such as Fulgencio Batista (Cuba, 1940–1944, 1952–1958) and Syngman Rhee (South Korea, 1948–1960) retard development through corruption and favouritism. Vast personal fortunes were amassed by Félix Houphouët-Boigny (Ivory Coast, 1960–1993), Hastings Banda (Malawi, 1966–1994), and Sese Soko Mobutu (Zaire, 1960, 1965–1997).

Development is also retarded when foreign aid is lost through dictatorships' policies. In the 1990s, both Britain and France made aid conditional on good records of democracy and human rights. Global aid agencies such as the World Bank have similarly tied aid to "good government." Dictatorships whose policies have stopped international aid include Saddam Hussein (Iraq, 1979–2003) and Mohammad Omar and the Taliban (Afghanistan, 1996–2001).

In the end, a dictatorship's success in promoting economic development depends upon intention, competence, resources, minimising internal disruption, and maintaining international support.

### Maintaining Dictatorships

Dictatorships depend on arbitrary use of power. When people do not know where the wrath or benevolence of the dictator will next descend, they become compliant through a mixture of fear and hope. Fear is generated through combinations of denial of human rights, suppression of women, environmental destruction, and ethnic and religious persecution. The same can also generate hope that one might be spared. In addition, corrupt practices can generate hopes of rewards for loyal supporters.

Maximum repression occurs where opposition is too weak or too oppressed to challenge the regime. Maintenance of dictatorship thus requires continual

suppression of opposition through outlawing political parties; repressing or co-opting trade unions; and purging, arresting, and/or executing leading citizens likely to oppose the regime. Kim Il Sung (North Korea, 1948–1994) established his power base by eliminating rival political factions. The 1993–1994 military regime in Nigeria purged the Provisional Ruling Council; imprisoned the president-elect (Abiola) for treason; arrested leading trade unionists, civil rights workers, and newspaper editors; and banned the courts from hearing cases that challenged its authority. Reza Pahlavi (Iran, 1941–1979) imprisoned opponents and abolished or suppressed hostile political parties. Hafez Al-Assad (Syria, 1971– ) ruthlessly repressed opposition, particularly religious extremism. Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir (Sudan, 1989–1999) based his regime on disappearances, torture, and arbitrary executions. Thojib Suharto (Indonesia, 1967–1998) purged his supporters, detained thousands of political prisoners, and ruthlessly put down regional unrest. After the 1965 coup in Indonesia, at least half a million “communists” were exterminated by the military. Public demonstrations of opposition are brutally put down, as in Mexico in 1968, at Kwangju in South Korea in 1979, and on Tiananmen Square in China in 1989.

Dictatorships often justify repression of opposition by vilifying it as a “subversive” threat to the national good as defined by the dictatorship (revolution in China, Vietnam, and North Korea; modernisation in Mali, Ghana, and South Vietnam; religious tradition in Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan).

Institutions where debate thrives are controlled or closed down. In Chile, Augusto Pinochet (1973–1989) starved education of funds and curbed freedom of thought. In Kenya, Daniel Moi (1978– ) recognising the danger of a politicised educated class, censored the media, and closed the universities temporarily whenever opposition was voiced. Programs of mass education can also be used to shore up a regime, for example, as in the government-sponsored literacy program in Brazil in the 1970s.

Dictatorships either colonise or undermine constitutions. Haile Selassie (Ethiopia, 1930–1935, 1940–1974), Reza Pahlavi (Iran, 1941–1979), and Ruhollah Khomeini (Iran, 1979–1989) implemented constitutions that ensured continuity of their personal power. Daniel Moi (Kenya, 1978– ) ruled through control of parliament, the judiciary, and many social organisations. When under international pressure to hold an election in 1992, he made constitutional changes to ensure his reelection. Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe, 1980– ) controlled a multi-party system until 1987 through bullying the opposition; he then became president and established one-party rule.

Alfredo Stroessner (Paraguay, 1954–1989) manipulated a parliament, political parties, and elections. Ferdinand Marcos (The Philippines, 1965–1986) and Thojib Suharto (Indonesia, 1967–1998) regularly won elections through fraud and intimidation.

Dictatorships often resort to state terror, in which the primary role of the police and the military is to coerce the civilian populations. Secret police, such as the “National Information Service” in Brazil or the “Security of the Revolution” in Sudan, with vast powers of interrogation and the right to torture, are put in place, loyal only to the regime, to which they owe their existence. Augusto Pinochet (Chile, 1973–1989) has been accused of two hundred thousand arrests and up to fifty thousand killings in his regime’s first ten years (Randall and Theobald 1998). Daniel Moi (Kenya, 1978– ) used security forces to enforce political detention without trial and implement systematic torture.

Personal dictatorships often build personality cults, which generate support through the symbolism of the father figure and rhetoric that claims unique wisdom and commitment to the nation’s welfare. Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia 1945–1967) expounded his “five principles” (*Pantjasila*) of nationalism, tolerance, democracy, social justice, and religious belief. Kim Il Sung (North Korea, 1948–1994) claimed that his genius was behind Korea’s economic miracle. Alfredo Stroessner (Paraguay, 1954–1989) took credit for “peace and progress.” Sese Soko Mobutu (Zaire, 1960, 1965–1997) launched a campaign of “African Authenticity,” even changing his country’s name from Congo to Zaire.

The attraction of a paternal protector is enhanced if he can claim to be protecting his people from an identifiable enemy. Kim Il Sung (North Korea, 1948–1994) had the US-backed South Korea as a permanent enemy. Saddam Hussein (Iraq, 1979–2003) has had a series of enemies from Iran in his early years to the United States and the West after the first Gulf War. Leopoldo Galtieri (Argentina, 1981–1982) attacked the Falklands in 1982 as a distraction from the deteriorating economy. Enemies are most effective if they are not actually engaged in battle. When military dictatorships fight wars, they tend to lose (Andreski 1992). Furthermore, the need to deploy troops at home against the civilian population means even sabre-rattling dictators prefer pacific foreign policies.

## Ending Dictatorships

When dictators cease to effectively contain, divert, or oppress opposition, they fall (Sandschneider 1991),



and personal dictators often come to violent ends on account of their lack of legitimacy (Colburn 1994). Some few such as Kim Il Sung (North Korea, 1948–1994) and Haiti’s Francois “Papa Doc” Duvalier (1957–1971) survive to die of natural causes. Some lose their effectiveness due to health reasons. Hastings Banda (Malawi, 1966–1994) lost power when he became senile and international pressure coupled with internal dissent forced multi-party elections. Most, however, come to violent ends.

Some dictators lose power through military overthrow or popular uprisings resulting from economic problems, social tension, or revelations of intolerable abuses of power, particularly squandering or misappropriating resources. Dictators displaced by military action include Stroessner (Paraguay, 1954–1989), Idi Amin (Uganda, 1971–1979), and Sese Soko Mobutu (Zaire, 1960, 1965–1997). Cases of civil rejection include Augusto Pinochet (Chile, 1973–1989), Ferdinand Marcos (The Philippines, 1965–1986), and Suharto (Indonesia, 1967–1998). Popular revolutions removed Fulgencio Batista (Cuba, 1940–1944, 1952–1958), Anastasio Somoza (Nicaragua, 1937–1947, 1950–1956), and Reza Pahlavi (Iran, 1941–1979). Assassination was the fate of Carlos Armas (Guatemala, 1954–1963), Ngo Dinh Diem (South Vietnam, 1955–1963), Haile Selassie (Ethiopia, 1930–1935, 1940–1974), Rafael Trujillo (Dominica, 1930–198, 1943–1961), and Chung Hee Park (South Korea, 1963–1979). Occasionally, legal processes bring dictators to justice. Jean-Bedel Bokassa (Central Africa, 1965–1979) was placed on trial and sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

Dictatorships may be modified through international pressure, as happened in Angola, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Nepal, and Zambia, and some dictators themselves move toward constitutional rule. In Guatemala, General Mejia Victores’ 1983 coup led to liberalisation, a constitution, and elections. In the Ivory Coast, Félix Houphouët-Boigny (1960–1993) called multi-party elections when democratisation hit Africa in 1989.

A dictatorship can end in civil war because it legitimizes illegitimate access to power and frustrates those who would like power but have no access to it. Paradoxically, civil strife then weakens civil society, making recurrence of dictatorships likely, as can be seen in Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia, and Zaire (Smith 1996).

Globalisation undermines dictatorships with the political intervention of powerful states or of international organisations such as the UN, NATO, or the European Union. Economically, major decisions are now made by transnational corporations.

Developments in communications technology make restriction of information and ideology increasingly difficult. Yet, even as dictatorships are undermined at the level of nation-states, there are growing possibilities for international dictatorships by powerful countries, international alliances, transnational corporations, or maverick groups and individuals.

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**See also Authoritarianism; Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism; Democratization**

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**DISASTER RELIEF**

One measure of a country’s level of development is its ability to cope with the effects of disasters. Highly developed countries are as likely to experience natural disasters as less-developed ones, but they are much more likely to be able to cope with the effects of disasters. Droughts in North America and Europe do not lead to disastrous famines. They may lead to severe local or regional dislocations, but not to widespread starvation. Earthquakes, hurricanes, and floods strike in all parts of the world, but in wealthier countries property is widely insured and logistical capacities are much better developed. Rarely do wealthy countries need large amounts of outside help to cope with damage from such natural disasters. Of the approximately sixty disasters that took more than a thousand lives in various parts of the world in the last three decades of the twentieth century, fewer than a half dozen involved developed countries. The most deadly disasters occur in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Disasters are often also associated with man-made phenomena, such as civil wars that disrupt

food production in developing countries. Political instability in the developing world thus exacerbates natural disasters when they do occur. International disaster assistance programs tend to be focused on disasters that occur in the developing world, while disasters that strike developed countries are normally addressed through their own national disaster response mechanisms.

## Disaster and Poverty

The association of disasters with poverty-stricken countries is significant. A distinction can be made between countries that are disaster-prone and those that are vulnerable to large loss of life. Disaster-prone countries, wealthy and poor alike, are situated in geographic or climatic zones where disasters such as earthquakes, various kinds of storms, or drought conditions are frequent occurrences. Poor countries are almost always more vulnerable to the effects of disasters than similarly situated wealthy countries. Poverty is closely related to loss of life in disasters for a number of reasons. First, in poor countries large percentages of the population settle in areas more prone to disasters, including low-land areas susceptible to floods and along mountainsides where poorly constructed housing is more susceptible to damage from earthquakes and mudslides. Second, food supplies in poor countries are often barely sufficient to meet domestic needs, even in normal times, and such countries subject to periodic drought are also highly vulnerable to famine. Third, poor countries generally lack the logistical and infrastructural capacity to respond effectively to disasters. Poor people generally cannot afford to locate and build residences that are safe, nor are they wealthy enough to ensure their property. These factors also contribute to the vulnerability of poor countries to disasters. Wealthier countries have sufficient resources to hedge against the most serious effects of disaster, and they are better able to weather them. By contrast, less-developed countries must often turn to the international community for assistance during times of natural disaster and national emergency. Fortunately, there are a number of governmental, intergovernmental, and non-governmental agencies that provide disaster aid.

## The International Disaster Assistance Network

When a country lacks the ability to provide for the medical, housing, and food needs of populations

adversely affected by disasters, it may turn to the wider international community for assistance and support. Many developed countries have governmental agencies tasked to respond to foreign disaster situations. Within the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), for instance, the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) is charged with assessing and responding to the emergency needs of countries struck by disaster. Many donor countries have similar agencies charged with provision of emergency and humanitarian assistance. These bodies may respond with bilateral assistance or cooperate with international agencies in a multilateral response to an emergency. For many years, the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization (UNDRO) served as the focal point of international responses to disaster situations. In 1992, the UN reorganized its disaster aid structure, forming a Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA), which was charged with coordinating the wide variety of UN agencies that performed disaster assistance functions, including the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which takes primary responsibility for provision of emergency assistance in refugee situations; the UN Development Program (UNDP), which coordinates emergency aid programs with the long-term development programming of host states; the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), which supplies emergency aid for the benefit of children; and the World Food Program (WFP), which supplies emergency food aid, among others. The DHA was later succeeded by a new body called the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), which now serves as the major coordinating body for international responses to disaster situations. UNOCHA is headed by the Emergency Relief Coordinator who also serves as the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) of UNOCHA coordinates emergency responses of UN agencies to emerging disasters, performs needs assessments, encourages the consolidation of agency financial appeals during disasters, and attempts to coordinate disaster assistance activities in affected countries.

In addition to governments and to a variety of UN agencies that supply emergency relief, there are large numbers of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are actively engaged in disaster-related assistance activities. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which is the oldest disaster response organization in existence, coupled with its cousin, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), has served the needs of populations caught in the cross-fire of

international and civil wars, which are often complicated by natural disasters, droughts, and famine. The ICRC is today charged with assistance and protection functions for civilian populations adversely affected by civil conflict. The IFRC is a coordinating body of various national chapters of the Red Cross, which routinely offer disaster assistance within their respective countries.

Dozens of additional NGOs that have consultative status with the United Nations are also actively involved in the provision of disaster or emergency assistance activities on behalf of displaced persons and refugees. Agencies such as Africare, Catholic Relief Services, CARE, Church World Service, Food for the Hungry, Doctors Without Borders, Lutheran World Federation, Oxfam, Salvation Army, Save the Children, and World Vision, to name but a few, are regular participants in the provision of disaster and emergency relief assistance throughout the world. In the United States, many NGOs are members of Interaction, an umbrella organization through which they maintain contact, communication, and collaboration in the assistance activities. The International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) provides another focal point for international NGO communication with the host of UN agencies headquartered in Geneva. In Europe, the European Union (EU) maintains ties with European NGOs through the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) and a liaison office for NGOs. These bodies in turn deal with a consortium of European NGOs known as the Voluntary Organizations in Cooperation in Emergencies (VOICE).

The International Disaster Assistance network consists of a wide range of agencies and organizations. Efforts to coordinate this wide array of governmental, non-governmental, and intergovernmental agencies are complicated by the sheer number of bodies that take an interest in the provision of disaster aid, and by the often differing political and ideological motives such groups hold dear. Disaster aid is both about logistical efficiency and about politics. Coherence and efficiency are not easily achieved, but given the rather recent rise of such humanitarian bodies, largely in the latter half of the twentieth century, the system does offer hope and consolation and material assistance to people adversely affected by disasters throughout the world.

### **Early Warning**

Relief during disasters is essential. Food supplies, medicine, and shelter are often needed in large

amounts over short periods. Depending on the type of disaster, logistical support, search teams, and technical assistance may be needed in the aftermath of floods, hurricanes, and earthquakes. For creeping disasters, such as drought and famine, agricultural assistance, water supply, reforestation programs, and the like may be necessary. Whatever the circumstances of the disaster, there is a growing awareness that early warning of disasters is critical to minimizing the loss of life. Weather-related disasters can be mitigated through sharing of meteorological data. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) tracks dangerous storms and disseminates weather information to governments so that preparations for evacuation of vulnerable coastal areas can be effected. The WMO's computer-based information network, or CLICOM, is linked into the UNOCHA's early warning system, which attempts to identify emerging disaster situations. UNOCHA maintains a Humanitarian Early Warning System, which is an extensive database that tracks a variety of factors likely to precipitate disasters in various countries. In addition to threats from disease and natural disasters, assessments are made pertaining to potential violent uprisings and conflict. Considered are such factors as genocide, human rights violations, regime failure, refugees, environmental crises, and food shortages. UNOCHA has also established a variety of regional bodies, including the Integrated Regional Information Network in Nairobi, Kenya, which tracks the Great Lakes region of Africa, and a similar program in Abidjan to monitor humanitarian emergencies in West Africa.

Good advance information and warning is critical to avoiding massive loss of life in disaster situations. However, ultimately, governments and agencies must be willing to act on the information received, by prepositioning logistical support and assistance or readying emergency relief mechanisms for swift action. This requires that governments be willing to risk stimulating flows of refugees and displaced persons by the very acts of prepositioning assistance. Countries are not always ready to risk precipitating population movements that might otherwise be avoided.

Disasters are mitigated not only by good data predicting potential disaster occurrences, but also by long-term policy responses by governments to enforce building codes in earthquake-prone areas, build up food storage capacities, improve basic transportation infrastructure, and develop a capacity within the government to manage disaster-relief activities. By developing disaster-planning abilities and taking steps to improve early warning, governments contribute to the development of their nations.

## Disasters and Development

The connection between disaster and development is a two-way street. Disasters hamper development and development mitigates disaster. Because of this reality, disaster-relief organizations and development agencies both need to take an interest in the work of their counterparts, so that disaster-relief agencies supply forms of disaster aid in ways that will foster rather than inhibit development. Similarly, development agencies must consider how a country's long-term development strategy can help to insulate a country's economy, its infrastructure, and its population from the most egregious and harmful effects of disasters. Good disaster-relief policy should enhance the ability of a country to recuperate and good development policy should help countries develop disaster prevention and mitigation strategies, so that future disasters can be weathered with fewer negative consequences for the country's long-term development situation.

Disaster-relief agencies need to consider how their emergency assistance activities can potentially harm long-term development policy in a country. This is especially true of droughts and famines, the "creeping disasters" that develop over time, often producing substantial population movements as starving populations stream into neighboring regions or even cross international boundaries. Clearly, it is necessary under such circumstances for food and medical assistance to be provided on a priority basis, just to preserve life. But the way the food is acquired and delivered makes a difference. If external food aid is dumped into a developing country's economy, local grain prices will drop with the sudden surge of supply in free grains. This gives local farmers in the affected country no incentive to increase production. If less grain is planted, domestic food production and supplies could be permanently depressed as the country comes to rely on external food aid, leading to an unhealthy dependency. However, if disaster-relief agencies first purchase local supplies of grain, reducing local stocks and only supplementing them with external assistance when local stocks are exhausted, incentives for further local food production can be sustained to the benefit of local peasant populations, and to the overall benefit of food self-reliance in the aid-receiving country, allowing it to spend precious foreign currency reserves on other national needs.

Disaster-relief agencies must also be careful about putting disaster victims, displaced persons, and refugees in situations of personal dependency on external charity. In all cases, the object should be to restore disaster victims to a condition of self-reliance. This means paying attention that aid be delivered to

disaster victims in such a way as to promote their attainment of work, of new skills, and of opportunities for settlement where their skills can be put to productive use. Foreign disaster-relief agencies also need to work with their domestic counterparts in such a way as to ensure that the latter, together with the larger beneficiary population, are involved in the emergency-assistance planning and implementation. The development of the local managerial capacity is a central feature to the healthy and long-term restoration of a society.

Development agencies have a part to play in this process, even though their outlook emphasizes long-term planning horizons, rather than the emergency aid approach that must by necessity focus on immediate needs. But just as disaster agencies need to be aware of how immediate needs can be addressed without compromising long-term development, so development agencies need to think about how the long-term development strategy addresses the ability of the beneficiary country to cope with disasters. For example, in countries prone to earthquakes or floods, is there a comprehensive national strategy regulating the placement and construction of buildings and neighborhoods? In countries prone to drought, is agricultural policy adequately focused on the establishment of self-sufficiency in the production of cereal grains and other foods for domestic consumption? Has the country developed adequate programs to minimize post-harvest loss of grain and to ensure adequate food storage facilities? Have the national transportation networks, especially the road networks in rural areas, been adequately maintained and developed to ensure better integration and supply from farm to market? Have drought mitigation strategies been adequately explored? Do adequate livestock and agricultural extension facilities exist in the country to promote a healthier rural economy? These are but a few examples of the many ways in which national development policy can be made to strengthen a country's capacity to cope with disasters and mount more effective domestic mechanisms for disaster response.

## Interdependence, Globalization, and Cooperation

Disasters in one part of the world inevitably have effects not only in the country immediately affected, but in neighboring countries and regions. Natural disasters cannot be eliminated. But governments can take steps to minimize the adverse effects of natural disasters. Disasters that are the result of civil war,

human interactions with the environment, and short-sighted national policies could, in a perfect world, be eliminated. Since it is unlikely that perfection will be attained by human political and social institutions, we can probably expect man-made disasters to continue, often alongside of their natural counterparts. Still, whether disasters take the form of natural or human-caused events, there is much that can be done to anticipate them, respond to them, and minimize their adverse effects.

This is first and foremost a matter of national and local policy making. But where countries lack the resources and capacities to develop strong disaster prevention, mitigation, and response programs, the international community is in a position to assist. A wide array of agencies and organizations, many of them already mentioned, have been established by governments to encourage swift and effective disaster responses throughout the world. Governments needing international assistance need only seek it. Developed countries have both humanitarian and economic motives for assisting countries in need. The increased economic interdependence and globalization that has marked the progress of the international economic relations in the latter half of the twentieth century, coupled with the speed of international communication and transportation, have made rapid disaster responses throughout the globe possible for the first time in human history. The effectiveness of international coordination to this end is not always perfect and is often fraught with difficulty, but the very existence of a global response capability must be accounted a major advance in a world where adverse effects of national disasters and instabilities are felt in neighboring countries and regions, attracting the concern of the wider international community. This increased global awareness guarantees that future attention to disasters and disaster-relief coordination will continue to be a matter of great and ongoing international concern.

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**See also CARE; Doctors Without Borders/Médecins sans Frontières; Humanitarian Relief Projects; International Committee of the Red Cross; Natural Disasters; OXFAM; Salvation Army; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**

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### DJIBOUTI

The Republic of Djibouti (*Jumhuriyya Djibouti*) is a small East African country located on the Horn of Africa at the western end of the Gulf of Aden. The country is bordered to the west by Ethiopia, by Eritrea in the north, and by Somalia to the southeast. The northeast part of the country is the western boundary of the Bab al Mendeb waterway, which leads to the Red Sea; across from this is the country of Yemen, the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula. The capital of Djibouti, also called Djibouti, is located on the mouth of the Bay of Tadjoura, approximately twenty kilometers from the border with Somalia.

Because of its lack of natural resources, the region had no independent identity until the partitioning of Africa by the Europeans. The city of Djibouti was built by the French to consolidate trading, and was identified as the region's capital in 1891. Prior to that time the regional capital had been the city of Obok (*Obok*).

Prior to adopting its present name, this region was known as French Somaliland until 1967, when it became the French Territory of the Afars and Issas until 1977. The Afar tribe is indigenous to modern-day Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Djibouti, while the Issa (*Esa*) clan exists primarily in northern Somalia. The Afars still make up more than half the population of Djibouti, while the Issa and other Somali clans make up about a third of the population. French and Arabic are recognized as the official languages of

Djibouti, with the traditional Afar and Somali languages used to a lesser extent.

France actually led the other European powers in its colonization of the Horn of Africa, before Great Britain and Italy established British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland, respectively. In 1862, a relative of the Sultan of Tadjoura ceded the city of Obock and surrounding coastal regions to France. This foothold in the region became substantially more important when the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought shipping traffic from the Mediterranean into the region. In particular, the availability of a port in Djibouti enabled France to tend to its colonies in Southeast Asia.

While the late nineteenth century was marked by French and British competition in the region, the early years of the twentieth century brought competition between the colonial holdings of France and Italy in the Horn. A railroad from the city of Djibouti to Addis Ababa in Italian Ethiopia had been completed during World War I, expediting shipment of materials formerly carried by caravan, but Italy also established a railroad from Addis Ababa to the port of Assab in Eritrea, which would compete with the trade from Djibouti. The Italian government began pressuring France for concessions in its territories, and this competition for territory (along with the interruption of commerce it was causing) led French interests to reinforce the military garrisons in French Somaliland. This set the stage for the realignment of the European powers seen in World War II: France and Great Britain, the former competitors, were allied against the Axis powers, which included Italy.

The French capitulation to Germany in June 1940 put French Somaliland in the difficult position of formally being under the control of the Vichy government but not actually under Axis control, while many French in Djibouti still resented the idea of cooperation with the British. While the British were able to defeat the Italians to the north, Djibouti itself was blockaded until the governor surrendered to the British in December 1942, and French Somaliland came under control of the Free French.

Following World War II, the government of French Somaliland was changed, creating a council with two representative bodies, one made up of French citizens and the other chosen from the native population. Some degree of home rule (in minor matters) was permitted, and this council provided representation to the French Republican Assembly and the *Conseil de la République*. Local procedures differed from France's other African colonies, and in particular Muslim courts (*sha'ria* courts) were permitted.

Also following World War II, most of the French military presence was removed from the colony. By the 1960s the French Foreign Legion was brought in to keep the public order if necessary.

In 1967, the people of French Somaliland voted to remain a part of France, but on different terms. The government was reorganized to expand local rule, with five regional districts, or *cercles*, being established, of which Djibouti was the largest. However, the new government faced challenges including a terrorist kidnapping of a busload of school children by members of *le Front de la Libération de la Côte des Somalis* (FLCS) in February 1976. This precipitated a new view of the territory in the French government, and in May 1977, a vote on independence was permitted. The voters of the territory overwhelmingly chose independence and France lost its last colony in Africa.

The recent history of Djibouti is the result of decisions made decades ago. As was the case with many European colonies in Africa, the artificial boundaries established by the Europeans resulted in the groupings (and division) of tribes in the colonies. The result of such groupings and divisions leads to ethnic unrest, as evidenced by the division of Ethiopia (creating Eritrea) in the year 2000. In particular, the Afars and Issas were at odds because the Issas had been accused by their neighbors of intruding into regions used by the Afars for grazing their animals. The new leader of Djibouti chosen in 1977 was Hassan Gouled, an Issa, and he favored his own ethnic group over the Afars. This led to conflict between the groups in the 1990s, and a subsequent agreement on government gives the post of president to a member of the Issa clan while the prime minister is an Afar.

Djibouti's economy is based primarily on its location, its port facilities, and its status as a free trade zone. Other than commercial trade, very little local industry exists.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa**

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## DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS/ MÉDECINS SANS FRONTIÈRES

*Médecins Sans Frontières* (MSF) is a private, non-profit international humanitarian aid organisation that provides emergency medical assistance to populations in danger in the field, most of the time following a humanitarian crisis. MSF was born out of the exasperation of a group of French doctors working in desperate conditions in the Biafra War in Africa in the early seventies. One of the founders was Bernard Kouchner (who later had a political career in France and was health minister in 1993, and special representative of the secretary general of the United Nations/head of the United Nations mission in Kosovo in 1999–2001). This group of doctors believed that all people have the right to medical care regardless of race, religion, creed, or political affiliation and that the needs of these people supersede respect for national borders. They were determined to create a movement to deliver independent humanitarian aid wherever it was needed, particularly one that would speak out about the plight of the victims it helped. MSF was created in 1971, and started the movement of “French Doctors”—non-governmental organisations that provide humanitarian assistance on the ground in an impartial and independent manner. “French Doctors” refers to organisations such as *Médecins du Monde* (Doctors of the World), Handicap International, and *Action Contre la Faim* (Action Against Hunger). MSF was the first non-governmental organization to both provide emergency medical assistance and publicly bear witness to the plight of the populations they served. It remains the world’s largest independent international medical relief agency.

MSF has developed to its current position as an international humanitarian movement with offices in eighteen countries and ongoing activities in Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia, and Europe. The success of MSF in France captured the imagination of other doctors across Europe. Operational “sections” of MSF sprang up in Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Spain. This expansion continued with the creation of support sections in Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Germany, United Arab Emirates, the United States, and the UK. Each year, more than 2,500 volunteer doctors, nurses, other medical professionals, logistics experts, water/sanitation engineers, and administrators join fifteen thousand locally hired staff to provide medical aid in more than eighty countries.

To be able to speak and act freely, MSF remains independent of any political, religious, or economic

powers. The majority of all MSF activities are paid for with private donations. Other sources of funding are provided by the European Union (Office of Humanitarian Affairs), national governments, and international organisations such as the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. In 2002, the total income of *Médecins Sans Frontières*, for all its national sections, was estimated at 366 million Euros (approximately \$450 million USD), of which more than 80% was from private income.

The organisation intervenes in a variety of humanitarian crises such as armed conflicts, epidemics, and natural and man-made disasters. Interventions are also undertaken with populations that are particularly marginalised and vulnerable due to social or geographical isolation (such as inmates, women in prostitution, street children, ethnic minorities, and the elderly). The organisation brings health care to remote, isolated areas where resources and training are limited. The type of programmes run by MSF include assistance to people affected by armed conflicts, assistance for refugees and displaced population, medical assistance to victims of violence, and food and nutrition assistance. MSF works in the rehabilitation of hospitals and dispensaries, vaccination programmes, and water and sanitation projects. MSF is also active in remote health care centres and slum areas, and provides training of local personnel. In countries where health structures are insufficient or even nonexistent, MSF cooperates with authorities such as the Ministry of Health to provide assistance. MSF provides primary health care, performs surgery, rehabilitates hospitals and clinics, runs nutrition and sanitation programs, trains local medical personnel, and provides mental health care. Through longer-term programs, MSF treats chronic diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, sleeping sickness, and AIDS. In 1999 *Médecins Sans Frontières* received the Nobel Peace Prize for its actions.

In carrying out humanitarian assistance, MSF seeks also to raise awareness of crisis situations; MSF acts as a witness and will speak out, either in private or in public, about the plight of populations in danger for whom MSF works.

MSF offices worldwide facilitate the organisation of gatherings for individuals and groups who want to speak in their home communities. MSF also mounts exhibitions and, from time to time, releases publications with the aim of raising awareness. In some instances MSF has decided to denounce abuses and misuse of humanitarian relief in the field, and has even withdrawn from countries when it considered that it could not provide assistance in situations that were satisfactory. In June 2004, following the murder

of five of its staff, *Médecins Sans Frontières* became the first major aid agency to quit Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban. The reason for this withdrawal was that the Afghan government failed to act on evidence that local warlords were behind the murders and MSF considered that the framework for independent humanitarian action in Afghanistan had ceased to exist.

It is part of MSF's work to address any violations of basic human rights encountered by field teams, whether perpetrated or sustained by political actors. It does so by confronting the responsible actors themselves, by putting pressure on them through the mobilisation of the international community, and by issuing information publicly. In order to prevent compromise or manipulation of MSF's relief activities, MSF maintains neutrality and independence from individual governments.

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**See also Health Care; Humanitarian Relief Projects; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); World Health Organization (WHO)**

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### DOI MOI

During the late 1980s, the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam began to pursue *doi moi*, a development strategy that moved the country's economy away from a Soviet-style, centralized system toward one featuring decentralized markets. Three fundamental factors compelled Vietnam's leadership, including high-ranking officials in the Communist

Party of Vietnam, to choose a capitalist-oriented course of action even though many thought that it was ideologically distasteful to do so and that the approach was fraught with risks. First, during the 1980s, Vietnam's economic partners (the former Soviet Union, the former German Democratic Republic, the former Yugoslavia, and the former Czechoslovakia) were experiencing persistent economic failures and were facing national disintegration. With them Vietnam held membership in the progressively more dysfunctional Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), and this meant isolating their economy from the broader global economy contacts. The Vietnamese dong remained convertible only into the *globally non-convertible* Soviet ruble and this further isolated the country's economy.

Second, Vietnam's Southeast Asian neighbors were experiencing widespread and rapid economic growth accompanied by political stability, and their collective response to Vietnam was to create the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and bar the Vietnamese from participating in it. Third, Vietnam's economy was failing as per capita income was declining annually, incidences of poverty and deprivation were growing, the infrastructure was deteriorating, prices were soaring annually (including for rice and other agricultural output), and needed goods and services were in short supply. Capital stocks were eroding as annual private and public investments fell sharply, causing both production and employment levels to decline.

These factors convinced Vietnam's socialist planners, who were also members of the Communist Party, that clinging to the status quo was intolerable. They began to examine both Vietnam's economic failures and those of its CMEA partners, as well as the successes of its organized regional neighbors. The examination convinced both the National Assembly and the Office of the Prime Minister to escape ideological boundaries and seek practical ways of moving toward an economic structure that would be guided by socialist principles while the market system was introduced. The Sixth Party Congress of the Communist Party voted to accept the principles of *doi moi* at its 1987 meeting, thereby ending decades of isolation and beginning the road toward economic reform.

*Doi moi* not only introduced the market mechanism but it also legitimized private property, privatized state-owned enterprises (SOEs), and struggled to put into place a supportive legal system. Macroeconomic management was improved on both the monetary and fiscal fronts; reforms opened Vietnam to the outside world; and all of this spurred the development of basic legal, tax, and regulatory infrastructure changes. The reforms presented the country's



leadership with enormous administrative tasks and, consequently, *doi moi* proceeded slowly but without reversal. Externally, the dong was made convertible with the Singapore dollar, the Thai baht, the Japanese yen, and both the Australian and United States dollars. Internally, reforms began to relax legal and administrative impediments to trade, and then government took steps to welcome foreign investment and financial capital transfers.

The government's reform agenda was ambitious and unambiguous, and one of its key foci was on integration with the world economy by maintaining relationships to "big countries and neighboring countries" while giving special attention to "traditional ties and the non-aligned movement." Past associations would remain important, but the ultimate direction of the reform agenda would be Vietnam's integration with the global economic system. The government was determined to continue implementing open-door trading policies and has mapped out the road to honor its commitments to global and regional trading initiatives. The fact that this has meant making economic sectors more competitive is proving a major challenge as the country integrates into the global economy. Making economic sectors more competitive requires finding ways to blend the attributes of Vietnam's workforce and physical environment with physical and financial capital and industrial technology obtained from global markets and allocate them to the production of exports, import substitutes, and non-traded goods. This process could lead to a problem if gaining competitive edges creates economic enclaves that give rise to dysfunctional relations among Vietnamese who are separated by culture, ethnicity, and economic class. Exacerbating cleavages and inequalities among Vietnamese is a serious matter, and it's one that foreign economic interests may be neither willing nor able to understand and confront.

Externally, *doi moi* included membership in both ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) because of four factors. First, external integration facilitates the development of comparative advantage, promotes the international division of labor, and enables participating countries to benefit from reasonable international resource allocations that harness the capacity of productive resources. Second, liberalization of trade in goods and services and investment, lower tariff barriers, simplification of procedures, and reduction of administrative controls combine to promote investment, raise output, reduce unemployment, and serve consumer interests. Third, global linkages create new investment opportunities, accelerate the flow of capital and industrial technology, and enhance efficiency that improves investment

climates by reducing the risk of commercial failure. Fourth, global integration, beyond promoting investment, leads to the transfer of management and other skills, as well as making available critically important knowledge and information about production and distribution processes.

Vietnam also assumed risks, and one was inherent in the persistent instability in world financial markets wherein unstable financial capital flows can adversely affect a country such as Vietnam. The reason centers on the main difference between direct foreign investment and financial capital. Direct foreign investors, once they have disbursed their funds to build factories and purchase equipment, cannot undo their investment quickly. But portfolio investors have more flexibility due to the high degree of transferability of security purchases and the short-term nature of bank loans. Financial capital is unequally distributed globally and centers in large industrial and financial countries. In good times, capital flows from these centers to developing countries such as Vietnam, but when signs of instability begin to emerge, that is, when the flow of financial capital begins to reverse, it quickly begins to be repatriated by capital centers domiciled in developed countries.

*Doi moi* has remained the intellectual cornerstone to post-war Vietnam's pursuit of economic growth and development. Despite the risks, government and party leaders remain convinced that the benefits derived from reform and reformation clearly outweigh them.

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## DOMINICA

Dominica, an island of 750 square kilometers (290 sq. miles), is approximately the size of St. Louis, Missouri. Its population of more than seventy thousand people approximates that of Cheyenne, Wyoming. Its economy relies chiefly on the export of bananas and emerging tourism.

Dominica lies midway in an arc of islands known as the Lesser Antilles, facing eastward to the Atlantic Ocean and westward to the Caribbean Sea. It was under French control until the mid-eighteenth century, when it passed by treaty to the British. Therefore, three-fourths of the population is Roman Catholic, the remainder adhering to several Protestant sects. While English is the dominant language, much of the population also speaks a local patois or Creole version of French.

Dominica is a tropical island with a singularly rugged terrain marked by steep mountains reaching heights of well over a thousand meters (nearly four thousand feet). The island is riven with narrow valleys, gorges, and cliffs, and wrapped in thick tropical forest and hazy mists. Of volcanic origin, the island has sizable thermal lakes lying in dormant craters. Its features are more formidable than other islands in the Caribbean because it is of relatively more recent volcanic origin (some 25 million years ago); Dominica has not been as worn and smoothed down by time as the others.

The challenging physical dimensions of the island have directly affected its economic, social, and cultural character. Discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493, the island was named "Dominica" since he set foot on it on a Sunday. The Carib Indians on the island successfully resisted Spanish occupation. They had reacted against the Spanish elsewhere among the islands but had been defeated. On Dominica, however, they had the advantage of a uniquely mountainous and forested terrain that provided abundant favorable locations for attack and defense. The profusion of tropical vegetation, rising and falling over Dominica's rich volcanic soil, has earned it the title, "Nature Island of the Caribbean."

For nearly two centuries no European power controlled Dominica, and it remained a surviving remnant of the original Carib inhabitants of the Caribbean. By the seventeenth century, however, due to repeated foreign incursions and diseases that devastated the indigenous population, the French began to settle on Dominica. The island did not have extensive flat land for large-scale agriculture. Where such a terrain did appear, however, the French laid out sugar plantations. For labor, they imported African slaves, establishing the large black and

mixed-blood population of the island today. Such a pattern of land occupation and labor employment recalled the French development of Haiti.

The broken, uneven terrain discouraged a dominant pattern of plantations controlled by large landowners. Therefore a small, anomalous pattern of peasant farmers emerged who cultivated fragments of land for subsistence and market farming. Although Dominica was not exceptional economically, the absence of an overwhelmingly dominant planter class was unusual. Unusual, too, was the survival of a portion of the native Carib population, which otherwise had disappeared throughout the rest of the Caribbean. Much of this population survived based on subsistence farming.

Together with the white planter group, there was a small, mixed white and black peasant class. The mass of inhabitants was the enslaved black population. The island had sufficient commercial activity to allow some slaves to acquire income from small-scale agricultural marketing. Accumulating sufficient funds to buy their freedom, some of these freedmen acquired plantations and slaves themselves.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the French ceded Dominica to the British. The most lasting consequence of French influence was the Roman Catholic religion to which most Dominicans adhere. The entry of the British continued the plantation agricultural focus of the Dominican economy. However, slavery was abolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A population of liberated slaves without property or education determined a pattern of low-wage labor, social unrest, and political disenfranchisement that long characterized the island.

Acquiring independence from Britain in 1978, the island only achieved a measure of political stability with the much-admired government of Prime Minister Maria Eugenia Charles. The first woman to govern a Caribbean nation, she was in office from 1980 to 1995. Although the island's primary source of export income is bananas, both the conditions and the market for this product are unstable. While agriculture is still the main area of employment, Dominica is steadily developing its services sector, which now produces most of its income. The gross domestic product (GDP) is slightly more than a third of a billion dollars. The per capita GDP amounts to approximately \$5,000 per year and the annual per capita income is just under \$3,000. A third of the population lives in poverty. Population growth is negative due to the rate of emigration. The median age of the population is just under thirty.

Tourism is the principal service activity, but it is not the typical Caribbean tourism. The island does not possess areas of wide beaches for luxury resorts.

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Its special terrain and vegetation, however, allow it to offer ecotourism. For the ecologically conscious tourist it presents a breathtaking tropical environment. Dominica's Morne Trois Pitons National Park is a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Another objective for economic development is to establish Dominica as a center for offshore banking and financial operations. This, however, requires appropriate social capital. Dominicans have a high rate of literacy, more than 90%, but limited access to technical or higher education. Moreover, for foreign financial interests, the country does not have a long record of stable political and administrative continuity. An oil refinery base has also been considered, possibly on the model of the Dutch Caribbean island of Curaçao. However, this project must be carefully weighed in relation to the priorities for ecological and environmental balance.

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**See also Association of Caribbean States (ACS); Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations**

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## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Dominican Republic occupies the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola. In 1821, Spanish-speaking colonists declared themselves independent, but they were conquered by neighboring Haiti in the following year and did not regain independence until 1844. From 1844 until 1930, the Dominican Republic experienced internal war, foreign intervention, and incompetent and corrupt governments.

In 1930, Rafael Leonidis Trujillo Molina, the leader of the US-created National Guard, overthrew the government and established an authoritarian dictatorship that lasted for over three decades. Ruthlessly suppressing all opposition to his regime, during the Great Depression Trujillo was faced with governing a poverty-stricken nation with an empty treasury, a huge foreign debt, and a capital city destroyed by a hurricane. Within two decades, Trujillo had paid off the nation's foreign debts, developed a national infrastructure, and laid the groundwork for economic development by promoting industrialization. Sugar exports accounted for the majority of government revenue. In the process, he accumulated a personal fortune worth almost \$1 billion (USD).

The cost of fiscal solvency during the Era of Trujillo was the complete loss of personal freedom of the Dominican people. Trujillo's seven intelligence agencies enabled the dictator to establish one of Latin America's most brutal authoritarian dictatorships. One of Trujillo's most notorious acts was the massacre of twelve thousand Haitians in the northern border region in 1937. To deflect criticism of his regime, Trujillo offered sanctuary to one hundred thousand Jewish refugees from Europe. By the end of the 1950s, Trujillo had managed to lose the support of the nation's elites, the Roman Catholic Church, and the US government. Trujillo's failed attempt to assassinate Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt in 1960 convinced the United States that continued support of the Trujillo dictatorship could damage US hegemony in the Caribbean region. The murder of three elite sisters—Minerva, Patria, and Maria Teresa Mirabal—on November 25, 1960, motivated the Dominican population to increase anti-Trujillo activities. On the evening of May 30, 1961, Trujillo was assassinated by a group of conspirators who had been both accomplices to and victims of the dictatorship. The conspirators, armed with weapons provided by the United States, assassinated Trujillo as he was preparing to visit one of his numerous mistresses. Attempts by Trujillo's son Ramfis to continue the dictatorship were futile and the entire Trujillo family fled the island by the end of 1961.

In December 1962, the Dominican people began their first experience with democratic government. In US-supervised elections, Juan Bosch, a chain-smoking poet who had lived in exile for most of the Era of Trujillo, was elected president with 60% of the vote. Initially hailed by the Kennedy administration as a potential showcase for democracy, the Bosch administration soon lost the support of the nation's military and the United States. When Bosch attempted to limit the power of the Dominican military, he was ousted from office in September 1963.

A new regime, dominated by Donald Reid Cabral, a former car salesman, lasted until April 1965 when pro-Bosch military officers, led by Francisco Caamaño Deñó, staged a revolt to return the exiled Bosch to power. As the death toll in the civil war mounted, and it became increasingly apparent that Caamaño Deñó's Constitutionals were taking control of the capital city of Santo Domingo, US President Lyndon Johnson ordered twenty-three thousand Marines to invade the Dominican Republic. Although the Organization of American States (OAS) eventually sanctioned the intervention by agreeing to send in additional troops, this was the first overt use of US military forces in Latin America since the Marines were withdrawn from Haiti in 1934. Ostensibly sent to protect lives and prevent the establishment of a pro-Castro government, the OAS forces supervised democratic elections in 1966, which were won by Joaquín Balaguer, who had been the titular president at the time of Trujillo's assassination. During Balaguer's tenure in office from 1966 to 1978, the Dominican Republic experienced the most spectacular growth of any Latin American nation during the 1970s. The nation's economic boom was made possible by political stability and a revitalized sugar industry.

High inflation and unemployment undermined Balaguer's hold on power during his third term. In 1978, Balaguer lost the presidential elections to the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD). Although Antonio Guzmán's administration implemented numerous health and education projects, by 1980, the economy had fallen into a recession. Plagued by the rising cost of oil imports, a sharp decline in the profits from sugar exports, and accusations that his daughter Sonia was involved in corrupt activities, Guzmán, a wealthy cattle rancher, decided not to run for reelection in 1982. The 1982 elections were won by PRD candidate Salvador Jorge Blanco. The day before he would have left office, President Guzmán committed suicide. Jorge Blanco's administration experienced a tremendous loss of popularity and legitimacy when it implemented International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity measures in May of 1984. A series of violent riots broke out, which led to the death of dozens of Dominican citizens. Jorge Blanco was found guilty in a court of law of massive corruption and misappropriation of government funds and sentenced to twenty years in prison. Given the poor performance of the PRD governments, Balaguer returned to office in 1986. Balaguer won subsequent elections in 1990 and 1994. Acknowledging that there were voting irregularities in the 1994 election, Balaguer agreed to step down from the presidency in 1996 and hold new presidential elections.

The 1996 elections pitted José Francisco Peña Gómez (PRD) against Bosch protégé Leonel Fernández, who represented the Partido de Liberación Dominicana (PLD). Fernández, a young lawyer who had grown up in New York City, initiated a series of reforms designed to modernize the political economy and infrastructure. Sugar exports no longer represented a substantial component of Dominican revenue. Instead, tourism, mining (especially nickel), and remittances from Dominicans living abroad, primarily in the United States, accounted for the majority of Dominican revenue. Attempts were made to convert the sugar-growing lands to the production of other agricultural crops, such as pineapples, for export. Fernández was barred by the Constitution from running for reelection in 2000. PRD candidate Hipólito Mejía won the 2000 presidential elections. Mejía's administration has been characterized by excessive corruption, rising inflation, and a greatly devaluated national currency. The 2004 presidential elections were won by Fernández, who promised to reinvestigate the Dominican economy.

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**See also Haiti; Trujillo, Rafael Leonidas**

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#### DOMINO THEORY

The domino theory, or domino effect, was made famous by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1961), who, in order to justify US commitment to South Vietnam in 1954, compared the nations of Southeast Asia to a row of dominoes: if the Communist guerrillas were victorious in Vietnam, the rest of Indochina, and then the rest of Asia, would also eventually fall to Communism. The rapid advent of Communist regimes in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and

Yugoslavia following the end of World War II was used as evidence to support this premise.

By the same token, the demise of Communism in the Soviet Union would affect all Eastern European countries one after another, much like a chain reaction. It was hence popularly assumed to be a case of domino effect. This view overlooked that the Soviet bloc and its satellites represented a highly centralized system held together by an overarching ideology. Once the center and ideology could not hold, the periphery had no other choice but to loosen. Socialist countries were not so much independent entities prone to one another's influence, as parts of a single unified framework.

The metaphor evoked by the falling dominoes is used in both social and exact sciences, where several competing permutations can be found with slightly different meanings: chain reaction, forest fire models, avalanche dynamics, branching process, and so on. Moreover, the theoretical setup is based on medical-biological assumptions of "contagion," "disease," "viruses," and similar epidemiological jargon.

The concept reached its peak of influence during the Cold War, but continued to be applied to various international events in the aftermath of epochal changes. Even before the official end of the Cold War (marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall, in 1989), the concept was used to describe the possible spread of nationalism. The theory was adopted by both liberals and conservatives in the United States.

The concept's heuristic validity is complicated by its partisan political use. Indeed, the ghost of a domino effect has been used by various regimes in order to hamper broader democratic reform, while curtailing ethnic dissent. This was particularly the case among several developing countries during and after the Cold War. In the early 1990s, a long series of human rights violations by Asian states was dictated by fear of a hypothetical nationalist domino effect caused by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, including: China's stepping up of repression in Tibet and Sinkiang; Burma's refusal to allow democratic reforms in fear of civil war; Indonesia's uneasiness about revelations of mass slaughter in East Timor, Aceh, and West Papua; India's stranglehold on Assam, Punjab, Kashmir, and other restless areas; Pakistan's repression of the Sindh minority; Sri Lanka's offensive against Tamil separatism; Georgia's move to autocratic rule; Turkey's confrontation with the Kurdish insurgency; and Iran's resort to radicalism in the face of occasional tensions in border areas. In Africa, the fear of a domino effect was amplified by Eritrea's independence and the separation of northern Somaliland. In Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), Mali, and Nigeria,

thousands died in ethnic clashes, often linked to the central governments' refusal to come to terms with ethnic demands. Finally, Iraq's decision to invade Kuwait in 1990 can be seen as a classic case of "externalization" of internal tensions resulting from a fear of contagion of both political Islam and ethno-national tensions.

All these cases were related to a worldwide concern about the inevitable dissolution of multinational states. The ghost of "balkanization" was raised as a tangible threat. Although threats from political opposition were sometimes tangible, they often became only a pretext to eliminate internal dissidence. Indeed, the same illiberal trend has pervaded the domestic and foreign policy of most multinational states, with the possible exceptions of federations like Canada and the European Union—the latter through the elasticity of Brussels' accommodating politics.

Although the theory had initially some strategic validity, the fear of a domino effect was, and will remain, at the roots of catastrophic choices in foreign policy. It was this fear that impelled Western elites to support Saddam Hussein's totalitarian regime in his war against Iran (1980–1988). The consequences of this decision, causing over a million deaths, will probably carry through for decades. The tragic blunder stemmed from the conviction that, following Iran's Islamic revolution, the fall of the Shah (1979) would be the first domino to tip other autocratic states in the Middle East toward Islamic rule. A panic-struck Western world reacted by supporting Iraq's Ba'athist regime with massive input of weapons and cash.

The danger of expanding Communism was certainly vivid in the aftermath of the Korean War (1950–1953). However, the theory's more recent adaptations rely mostly on a paranoid vision of the world and are rather characteristic of nationalist or imperial *geopolitics* (*Geopolitik* in German). The latter discipline was associated with the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904) and his theory of the organic nature of the State. Geopolitics was easily appropriated by the Nazi expansionist state, with its idea of *Lebensraum* ("Living space") as "essential" for the survival of the German race.

The domino theory has been particularly influential among US foreign policy and security experts, as an exemplification of what Richard Hofstadter called "*The Paranoid Style in American Politics*": "The exponents [of the] . . . paranoid style . . . regard a 'vast' or 'gigantic' conspiracy as the motive force in historical events. . . The paranoid spokesman sees the fate of this conspiracy in apocalyptic terms—he traffics in the birth and death of whole worlds, whole political orders, whole systems of human

values. He is always manning the barricades of civilization” (1996, p. 29).

A more “assertive,” less defensive, version of the theory was adopted by the interventionist hawks in President George W. Bush’s administration: They argued that Saddam Hussein’s fall would be followed by the quasi-automatic embrace of democracy by other Arab states in the region.

There is often some confusion between the factual image of falling dominoes and the ideological influence the theory may exert in action. The phrase “domino effect” refers to a movement of possible structural and international changes brought about by the emulation of successful political movements. It can be considered the subcategory of a more general demonstration effect: the latter refers to the reshaping of ideological orientation within political movements across frontiers as stimulated by international events. The domino effect is a more restricted concept, insofar as it is only a particular kind of demonstration effect with immediate implications in real political alignments: “domino” is about supposed or feared political change at the regime level, whereas “demonstration” is about ideologies and putative models at the grassroots level. Various assumptions underlie this approach, often defined as “ideological diffusionism,” mostly that ideologies spread in a parallel outward and top-down process. That is, ideas are disseminated horizontally from an ideological centre to the periphery, and vertically from the elites to the masses, both in a non-reciprocal way.

Given the domino theory’s incapacity to adequately explain, let alone predict, changes at the regime level, it remains at best an illusion, especially when accounting for non-institutionalized political movements. In particular, non-state nationalism and political Islam are often too vague, pervasive, malleable, and unpredictable a force to be prognosticated on the grounds of the diffusion of immanent forces.

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### DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

In an effort to specify and ensure greater respect for the rights of indigenous people to lands traditionally utilized by them, as well as to ensure their access to resources and the protection of their languages and cultures, the formation of a United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was first proposed in 1985 by a series of resolutions submitted by the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. A Working Group on Indigenous Populations was formed to prepare the Draft Declaration, taking into account the comments and suggestions of participants in sessions composed of representatives of both indigenous peoples and governments. In July 1993, the Working Group agreed on a final text for the draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and submitted it to the Sub-Commission. The Draft has been under review by the Inter-Sessional Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights, who hoped to have it approved by 2004, the close of the United Nations’ International Decade of the World’s Indigenous Populations.

Although the Working Group within the Commission on Human Rights held annual meetings with participation from government representatives and indigenous organizations each year between 1995 and 2004, no consensus was reached. Significant polarization between indigenous and state positions characterized the Working Group from the start, particularly surrounding the issues of self-determination, collective rights, and territorial rights. As the year 2004 came to a close, several drafts had been proposed but none had been agreed upon. Hunger strikes (called spiritual fasting) by indigenous peoples delegates and an Appeal of Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations Palais des Nations in Geneva, expressed the concern that the mandate of the Working Group would not be extended or that critical principles would be weakened in negotiations. The strike was ended when the Office of the Commission on Human Rights agreed to recommend to the General Assembly a second International Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples, to follow the conclusion of the present International Decade in December 2004.

Although disagreements remain between indigenous representatives and governments, and the amount of power to be accorded each in the process is still contested, the process of debate can be seen as contributing to awareness about indigenous rights within communities, among government representatives, and within supranational decision-making bodies. It has created a space for indigenous participation within the United Nations and altered some

of the fundamental regulations for participation in UN discourse by non-governmental parties. The ongoing initiatives of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, the International Decade of Indigenous Peoples, and the deliberations within the Working Group to arrive at a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, have established cooperation between indigenous peoples and the United Nations. A Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples would be a substantial advance. The Declaration would be the first international instrument on human rights and fundamental freedoms to promote and protect the rights of indigenous peoples.

JANET M. CHERNELA

## DRUG TRADE

The term “drug trade” has two commonly understood meanings. The first is the focus of this article, but both will be briefly described.

The first concerns the illegal or illicit production, distribution, and trafficking (sale and profit-making) of drugs that are banned as narcotics internationally or nationally. It also describes the distribution and sale of drugs such as tobacco or alcohol, on which local taxes have not been paid (not really a significant problem in developing countries). The second meaning relates to the national and international production, distribution, sale, and prescription of medical drugs and pharmaceuticals. In both instances, the developing countries of the world are variously involved at all points in the cycle of supply and demand. The fact that both meanings exist in the English language often leads to confusion and misinterpretation. There is also an overlap between the two categories, when pharmaceutical, synthetic drugs such as amphetamines are sold for non-medical use.

In both instances, there have been significant economic and social effects from the existence of the drug trade, and the legislative, political, and even military efforts to eradicate or control supply in entire countries and sometimes continents. The related problems affect both developed and developing nations, but the impact of the drug trade itself and strategies to control it are not simple to assess. Indeed, they are at the heart of much controversy and global disagreement among governments, politicians, and professional and lay commentators.

## The War on Drugs

This concept of the world being engaged in a war against drugs in the last quarter of the twentieth

century and into the new millennium is a direct successor to the USA’s attempt at the internal prohibition of alcohol from 1920 to 1933. The contrary claims for and against strategies that are aimed at cutting off the supply of drugs and criminalizing the production, use, or trade in drugs, are now quite well-known and irreconcilable. The zero-tolerance prohibitionist stance is aimed at all elements in the drug trade: primary producers, traffickers and distributors, and drug users.

Prohibitionists argue that the drug trade causes:

- Potentially chronic health problems for users, and social and economic problems for themselves, their families, friends, and relatives;
- The escalation of violence, crime, and corruption linked to production and trade in illegal drugs;
- The deterioration of law and order and social functioning of communities, particularly in inner-urban areas, with resultant degeneracy and social decay;
- Many rural developing nations to become dependent upon drug crop income as primary producers;
- Other developing countries to become centres of drug-trafficking on the principal drug trade routes into the United States and Western Europe; and
- The creation of a criminal economy, with international money laundering based on the illicit income of violent gangs and drug traffickers.

Opponents of this view argue that ever-more stringent drugs-control strategies have already been shown to be a failure. There is a growing divide between drug experts in much of Europe and in the United States, with the Europeans stressing the need for a reevaluation of strategic policy on illegal drugs and to refocus resources on harm-reduction measures and demand reduction through education and treatment.

Opponents of the war on drugs argue that it has:

- Failed to decrease supply or production, while demand has if anything increased;
- Created an illegal international market worth US\$400 billion, and local illegal economies, which in turn have nurtured much of the associated violence and criminality;
- Criminalized producers and users; and
- Been a waste of money and resources as illegal drugs have tended to become cheaper and qualitatively purer.

The United Nations had traditionally occupied something of a middle ground between these points of view. The UN’s “balanced approach” to drugs

control shifted in 1998 following the appointment of Pino Arlacchi, who had previously worked against organized crime in Italy, to the Executive Directorship of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP). Arlacchi's uncompromising approach to target the countries where drugs are grown has proved popular with prohibitionists, but has led to abuses of human rights, such as the \$250 million the UNDCP pledged in 1997 to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan to stop opium production. The UNDCP has also attempted to change the types of crops grown by farmers in countries such as Bolivia and Colombia, where peasant farmers often cultivate the coca bush and opium poppies. However, in many instances the alternative crops do not produce the same revenue returns and often the farmers operate with the protection of rebel groups, such as FARC in Colombia, to continue growing illegal crops while accepting government handouts for the "new" crops. This is sometimes called "parallel development" rather than "alternative development."

For the farmers in developing countries to forgo the production of illegal cash crops requires that socioeconomic standards improve enough to guarantee economic stability for all, independently of drugs-control policies. This has occurred in Turkey and Thailand, but many commentators have argued that the drug trade in these countries moved to trafficking rather than production, which simply moved it to their neighbours, Iran and Burma.

## Legislation

As the total market value of illegal drugs matches oil or arms at about 8% of the entire world economy, international action against the drug trade has also become an increasingly global affair. The legislative base for these actions is primarily the United Nations. In 1961, the UN passed its first agreement among UN countries to work together to control illicit drugs. By 1988, psychotropic substances were added to the UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Substances and Psychotropic Substances. This convention is still the bedrock of more recent UN-led actions such as the 1998 drug summit, with its ten-year plan proposed by Pino Arlacchi to "create a drug-free twenty-first century," with targets for all 150 member countries. The declaration adopted by the summit targeted money-laundering operations and illicit crop cultivation.

However, despite this legislative base, it is often pragmatism—the "carrots" (aid) and "sticks" (sanctions) of international cooperation—that determine

the actual operation of local policies on enforcement. Economic sanctions and international aid are two determinants of the degree to which countries work against the drug trade. Developing countries, with fragile agricultural economies and often unstable governance, are often insufficiently consulted regarding implementation of these international actions. For example, the use of aerial crop spraying of coca and opium with virulent herbicides such as tebuthiuron has had a negative impact on the land. In addition to the environmental impact, this does not inhibit production as crop growers in countries such as Colombia just move on from the denuded, sprayed land and grow crops somewhere else.

## Production

The figures and trends indicated in the *World Drug Report 2000* (UNDCP 2000) are treated optimistically by their authors, who suggest that significant progress has been made in controlling the production and trafficking of cocaine and heroin.

However, cannabis, which has been effectively de-criminalized in countries like the Netherlands, is grown in at least 112 countries, both developed and developing, and the UNDCP estimates that cannabis production adds up to about thirty thousand tonnes per year—perhaps ten times the total of coca and opium crop production taken together. Developing countries have also pointed to the fact that the eighteen main anti-drug trade operations of the 1990s have targeted the urban poor in the United States and the economically disadvantaged producers and traffickers, rather than the wealthy and well-armed networks and kingpins in the developing worlds. Comparatively, there has been little action taken against the producers and traffickers of drugs such as ecstasy (MDMA), amphetamines, and cannabis, which are spread much more widely across the world, with production and distribution centres in European countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium, and the UK. There are also moves toward legal cannabis production centers, such as the underground Sunless City of Flin Flon in Manitoba, Canada. There, three thousand plants are being cultivated under strict security, to be prescribed for Canadian citizens suffering from acute pain.

## Trafficking

The UNDCP defines trafficking as the distribution process for illicit drugs; therefore figures reflect the



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rates for the apprehension of drugs. UNDCP perceives the success rate for the seizure/production of opiates to be 15% and 39% for cocaine, but others have estimated that interceptions may be as low or lower than 10% of the drugs actually being distributed. The UNDCP (2001) offers the following observations:

- Combined global heroin and morphine seizures amounted to 61 tonnes in 1999. Trafficking in those two substances continues to be concentrated in Asia (71% of all seizures in 1999);
- Trafficking increased in southwest Asia and declined in the southeast; and
- The seizures of synthetic drugs more than doubled in 1999 from a year earlier; seizures of cannabis herb rose by a third and opiates by 14%; cocaine seizures fell by 6%.

### Medicinal Drugs

Developing countries have often found it difficult to obtain affordable medicines for the treatment of disease and illness. One problem relates to patent laws that prevent cheap drugs being traded to these countries. These patent laws have been established World Trade Organization agreements, specifically the 1995 TRIPS (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) Agreement, which preserve the industrial patents for twenty years. There has been a recent movement, initiated with the Doha Declaration at the 2001 WTO ministerial conference, to relax or abandon altogether patent laws on drugs for diseases such as HIV/AIDS, which has reached epidemic proportions in Africa. Several countries, such as Zambia, South Africa, Guatemala, and Brazil, have repealed or defied their domestic patent laws, as well as international trade agreements, in order to produce generic versions of drugs necessary to combat major threats to public health; other countries with production capability, such as Canada, have amended their own laws in order to facilitate export of low-cost drugs to developing nations. Additionally, some organizations, such as Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders, have engaged in civil disobedience and illegally imported generic drugs to countries suffering from epidemics but whose patent laws prohibit the distribution of drugs by anyone except the company, usually the manufacturer, which holds the patent.

The World Health Organization (WHO) has identified that, “irrational prescribing, dispensing and consumption of medicines remains widespread” in

the developing countries. Since the 1985 WHO Conference on the Rational Use of Drugs, held in Nairobi, WHO has run annual courses in Asia and Africa for health professionals to try and deal with the problem. Meanwhile, poverty makes the purchasing of appropriate medicines acutely difficult, accentuated by improper prescribing based too often on drug promotion by pharmaceutical companies.

Two further problems are the dumping of medical drugs that are not licensed in the USA or Europe on the market in developing countries, and the growing resistance to common antibiotics such as penicillin in many developing countries, which makes diseases like meningitis, tuberculosis, and gonorrhoea far more serious and harder to treat effectively.

As the history of the drug trade, with its various facets, unfolds into the twenty-first century, it is uncertain whether international policy will continue to back the prohibitionist stance. Since much of the criminality surrounding drugs use is related to the trading of illicit drugs, many feel that freeing that market would be part of the solution. However, the international “jury” of policy makers and experts is still far from certain as to whether a gradual de-criminalizing or legalisation of drugs would be part of the answer.

ALAN DEARLING

### See also Drug Use

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## DRUG USE

The meaning of “drug” can be very different depending upon the cultural, social, and geographical context in which the term is being used. In reality there are many thousands of drugs available in the world. The taxonomy (classification) of a drug is problematic, so any list of drugs, description, or the use of the term may have an ideological and interpretive element. Similarly, the use of drugs and their effects is highly dependent upon *set* (the mood of the user) and the *setting* (where and with whom they are used).

Traditionally, the source of most drugs has been the plants, shrubs, and trees growing wild in the fields and forests of the world. However, with scientific and pharmaceutical preparation, many drugs are now synthesised—produced in some sort of laboratory—manufactured into medicines and treatments for illness, or for illegal use. Finally, there are a variety of drugs such as tobacco, alcohol, and caffeine-based drinks that are prepared for consumption by humans for relaxation or recreation. The legality or otherwise of specific drugs is a societally determined issue.

According to the United Nations International Drugs Control Program (2001), 180 million people worldwide—4.2% of people aged fifteen years and older—were consuming drugs in the late 1990s, including cannabis (144m), amphetamine-type stimulants (29m), cocaine (14m) and opiates (13.5m including 9m addicted to heroin). However, figures at a worldwide level are approximates, as many countries, especially in the developing world, do not collect drug use data. Also, much of what is known is based on the perceptions of authorities in the various countries and international organizations and will reflect such sources as police statistics, drug seizures, reports from social welfare organizations, and even media reportage.

The problems associated with drug use (or abuse) are given different prominence according to particular commentators' personal, political, or organisational convictions. These problems fall into a number of categories. Principally these are identified as:

- Health and social problems caused by use, especially when the user is a habitual or addicted user;
- Problems of criminality associated with the use of drugs, for instance, violent behaviour to others, self abuse, or theft and robbery; and
- Secondary problems such as those experienced in developing countries where intravenous use of drugs without an available needle exchange has abetted the spread of the number of people who have AIDs, hepatitis C, or who are HIV-positive.

There are also problems of corruption, intimidation, and extreme violence connected with the drug trade, particularly in predominantly peasant, agricultural economies where illegal drugs constitute the major cash crops and source of overseas income, such as Colombia and Bolivia (coca and opium) and Afghanistan and Iran (opium). This problem has also spread over into countries on the supply routes such as Jamaica, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, and Turkey. In the past fifteen years, the specific countries involved in production and trafficking have continued

to change, usually in response to interventions by outside countries and international organisations.

Today, the world's politicians, criminologists, and drug and health experts are divided on how to respond to these problems and what policies regarding supply and demand are effective. These range from prohibition and zero tolerance to legalisation and harm minimisation.

## An Historical Perspective

During the evolution of mankind through the second millennium CE, most of the world's inhabitants lived close to nature. With an existence based on hunting and gathering, the indigenous inhabitants' knowledge and understanding of plants and natural preparations was far greater than currently exists. Indeed, many scientists and pharmacologists are only now beginning to collect and examine the properties of plants in the remaining rainforests of the world.

Historically, drug use has played a major part in everyday life, providing natural sources of food, a means of relaxation, mind-altering experiences, and medication. Ginseng is an Asian plant, which has an ancient history in Chinese medicine, but which has recently been rediscovered by the West as a drug made from ginseng roots for alleviating headaches, exhaustion, and possibly kidney disorders. Cannabis Sativa, now banned in many countries, was the main analgesic used in the United States in the nineteenth century and until 1937 was recommended in the American Pharmacopoeia as being useful in curing more than one hundred illnesses. Sigmund Freud called cocaine, extracted from coca leaves, a "wonder drug." It was used as an anti-depressant before amphetamines became widely available in the 1930s. Opium-based medicines were freely available even to children in nineteenth-century Europe and the United States, and laudanum—opium in an alcohol solution—was commonly prescribed as medication.

However, it must be noted that it is hard to generalise from any analysis of drugs made from fresh or dried plants, since each one has unique properties and potency, affected by soil conditions, propagation, location, sunlight, and many other variable factors. Similarly, it has been found in analysis that the active ingredient of a drug, usually an alkaloid, may weaken quickly or may not have much efficacy when separated from the rest of the plant's constituents. Synthetic drugs, on the other hand, can be standardized through manufacturing techniques.

Herbal drugs, which reached their height of popularity during the seventeenth century, were the

precursors of modern pharmacology, but their association with astrology, magic, and the arcane left their legacy largely discredited until recently. It is possible to trace drug use in different cultures and at different times through a pattern of use in magical rites, religion, science, hedonism, and recreation. These patterns of use are called “socially situated” or “socially created” realities, which must be seen in the context of specific societies, their ethnicity, beliefs, cultural lives, and often the age and gender of the users.

Many tribes throughout the world have used plant extracts as a means of intoxication. One of the most common is the chewing of betel nuts, which are actually the seeds of the areca palm. This habit is practised by up to a tenth of the world’s population, in a broad range of countries stretching from Tanzania across the Indian subcontinent to the western Pacific islands. Despite its common usage, the exact effects of the nine alkaloids present in the betel/lime mix are not precisely known, but they include creating a sense of well-being and euphoria, suppression of hunger, and in heavy users, some hallucinations. Arecoline is believed to be the most active alkaloid.

Other common drugs have a much stronger connection with ritual and initiation rights. Peyote and kava are two well-documented psychotropics. Ritual kava use was particularly widespread across Melanesia in the western Pacific, and especially in New Guinea. Kava is a species of pepper plant that grows up to four metres tall. Women and children traditionally chewed the roots and lower stems and spat the residue into a large bowl into which water was added. The resulting infusion was then drunk by elite men, the elders or initiates of the tribe, as part of their rites, usually in conjunction with a ritual regime of fasting, dancing, and chanting. It is still available by mail order in many parts of the developed world as a “legal high.” Peyote and the closely related mescal derived from cactus plants (*lophophora williamsii*) in Mexico and South America are, along with magic mushrooms (including *amanita muscaria*/fly agaric), probably the best known of the ritual hallucinogens used in the celebration of shamanistic religion and more recently as a route to mind-altering states in urban areas. The use of peyote in religious ritual amongst the Huichol Indians of Mexico, who believe that the plant has a soul, pre-dates the Spanish Inquisition’s arrival in Mexico in 1571. Members of the Native American Church can still legally use peyote in rituals in many American states. In the Andean region of South America, chewing coca leaves, again coated with a lime paste to release the active alkaloids, is used as a stimulant, and the average daily intake by the Indian population is estimated to be two ounces of dried leaves (about 0.5 grams). The use of

coca is seen as an essential part of the Andean cultural heritage, for social and medicinal purposes, not to be confused with the patterns of use of cocaine in Western nations.

The perception of different drugs and their uses continues to change with each century, especially in the new age of globalisation.

## The Legality and Use of Drugs

The earliest recorded prohibition of drugs was probably made by the prophet Mohammed in the seventh century CE, who forbade his followers to use alcohol, because of its centrality in Christianity, where wine represents the blood of Christ in the sacrament. This prohibition still exists in many Islamic states. In more recent times, Christian missionaries brought alcohol, along with a new religion, to many indigenous cultures including the Native Americans, the Aborigines of Australia, and the Maoris of New Zealand. Some indigenous religions did survive, such as the Bwiti cult around the Gabon in West Africa. They make ritual use of the iboga plant, whose active element is ibogaine, from the dogabne family. Iboga is an hallucinogenic that many doctors and others in the West believe possesses extraordinary medicinal properties.

The world’s developing nations are both consumers of a variety of drugs and the major producers/primary supply sources of many drugs—both those deemed illegal and legal. Industrialised nations have frequently looked to apportion the blame for the problem of drugs on producers, traffickers, and users. Inevitably this has meant that much of the “war” on drugs has been focused on the developing nations. It has also caused huge disparities of opinion over whether prohibition and regulation of drug use actually have a positive effect on the people of the world, either in terms of whole countries that may produce banned drugs as primary crops, or individuals who can be criminalized as well as potentially suffering from ill health through their use of drugs.

## Drug Use in Developing Countries

Developing countries that are involved in the production and trafficking of drugs are the most affected with the problems associated with illegal drug use. The World Bank (1997) has compiled a great deal of information about the prevalence of drug use in developing countries. There are some caveats to this data, as it comes from many sources over a period

of approximately ten years. It is likely that much of the data consists of estimates, as some countries have not undertaken research on issues such as the prevalence of injecting drug use. However, the World Bank data remains one of the best indicators for ascertaining the patterns of use in developing countries.

According to this source, injecting drug use has been spreading globally and is especially prevalent in Thailand, Argentina, Puerto Rico, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and some parts of India. Heroin is the main drug injected in Asia, and cocaine is the main drug in South America. The availability of cheap, relatively pure, refined heroin or cocaine in areas of primary production and along trafficking routes appears to coincide with centers of drug use. The move from smoking unrefined brown sugar heroin in India and China to injecting refined heroin again mirrors the changes in the production, though smoking is still more common in areas close to the poppy fields such as in Myanmar. It is also thought that because injection is a more efficient form of administration, this may have led poorer users to utilise the most economic means of use.

Law enforcement programs against drugs around the world have caused considerable displacements of both primary suppliers and traffic routes. Thailand began an aggressive law enforcement program against opium and heroin production, and initiated crop-replacement programs for farmers who relied on these as cash crops. Production took a corresponding downturn; trafficking, however, did not.

Drug users in the developing countries are typified as being more than 75% male and relatively young, mostly from twenty to forty years old. Information has mostly come from drug clinics in urban areas, therefore it may not reflect rural drug use. As might be expected, the social and economic characteristics of injecting drug users varies from country to country. In Manipur, India, more than 70% are employed, whereas users in Brazil are mostly classified as “deprived” and unemployed. In relation to the potential spread of AIDs through infected needles, there is evidence that 72% of the users in both Rio de Janeiro and Bangkok have shared needles.

## The Future

The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, based in Lisbon, Portugal, has noted an increase in the use of more synthetic drugs such as ecstasy, LSD, ketamine, and amphetamines in the West. Meanwhile, cannabis is still the most used drug in developed countries. The popularity of

synthetic drugs in part reflects the rave culture of the 1990s and the subsequent move of many of its aspects, from music to dress to drugs, to the mainstream. But it has also probably resulted from shifts in production, since it is easier for laboratories to be set up close to demand centres. Most synthetic drugs are simple to produce, which has resulted in cheap supplies of such drugs, particularly in the Netherlands, Belgium, and the UK. Whether these drugs will also become the focus of production and use in the developing countries, it is too early to speculate.

ALAN DEARLING

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## DRUZE

The term *Druze* refers to both an Islam-based sectarian belief system and its adherents. Within the global Islamic community, the Druze are not generally regarded as true Muslims. This attitude toward the Druze is directed at the faith’s divergence from the main body of Islam and many of its core beliefs.

## Druze Origins

The Druze faith was established during the eleventh century CE in Cairo under the reign of the Fatimid

Caliphate. It began as an Islamic reform movement. Among the reforms advocated were the abolition of both slavery and polygamy, as well as the introduction of a form of secularism in terms of religious and governmental separation. Other sectarian Islamic groups also adopted and instituted these ideas, while mainstream Islam did not.

The early history of the Druze faith centers around three figures in particular, the first of which is Hakim, the sixth caliph in the Fatimid succession and the individual regarded as the founder of the Druze faith. The second important figure is Hamza, a religious writer, teacher, and leader appointed by Caliph Hakim. Many of the Druze manuscripts and records of the teachings of Hakim are attributed to Hamza. The third figure is that of Darazi, from whom the faith takes its popular name, though most Druze prefer to be collectively known as *Muwahedin*, or monotheists. Darazi was an underling of Hamza who sought to rise through the ranks to surpass his master. Darazi began twisting the faith to help meet his ends and became branded as a heretic. He was most likely ordered put to death by Hakim and Hamza in 1019.

## Druze Beliefs

The belief system of the Druze is Islam-based, and also respects the traditions of Judaism and Christianity. The Druze find both metaphorical and literal messages in the Qur'an, the Bible, and the Torah. While the Druze regard the texts of the three Abrahamic faiths as messages from God, they have their own scriptures, in the form of various manuscripts, most of which were written between 1017 and 1043 CE.

The Druze believe that God is beyond the comprehension of the human mind. While the Druze faith is an offshoot of Islam, its beliefs deviate from Islam considerably. One such belief is that of reincarnation, which is not contained in any of the three Abrahamic faiths. The motivation behind this belief is that humans are imperfect; therefore, they cannot attain the level of equality to be united with God. Hence, humans are forced to repeat the cycle of life until reaching either Heaven or Hell. Reaching either destination, humans no longer endure the reincarnation process. According to Druze doctrine, God's presence is not limited to the caliph. Elements of God can also be found in a hierarchical system of leadership ranging from clerics down to community leaders. Another difference between the Druze faith and that of the Sunni and Shi'a is the place of religious observance. The Druze do have mosques, but they also

have the *khalwa*, which serves a purpose similar to that of a monastery. The *khalwa* is usually located on top of a hill outside a city, and serves as a place of seclusion for the learned of the Druze faith.

## Druze Society

The basic structure of Druze society is a division between the *uqqal*, or wise, and the *juhhal*, or ignorant. Both men and women may be initiated as *uqqal*. The *uqqal* are those members of the faith understanding its specifics and adhering to its doctrine and demonstrating piety, while the *juhhal* are the majority of the population and understand only the basics of the faith. A member of the *juhhal* is able to become *uqqal*. A further division exists within the *uqqal*. The best of the best are known as *ajawid*, and they are the decision makers and leaders within Druze society. Despite the divisions, a sense of communalism and unity prevails among the Druze. Family is also an important aspect of Druze society, with individuals often remaining close to their family members.

## The Druze in History

Upon the conquering of the Levant by the Ottoman Turks in 1516, the Druze were able to maintain their air of independence and resistance in their mountain strongholds, while the neighboring Arabs were forced to submit and become part of the Muslim empire.

Druze communities exist in Lebanon, Syria, Israel, and Jordan. The Druze have often been in conflict with their host governments, especially when control over Druze communities by the host governments has been strong. On the other hand, because the Druze have been excluded from the power structure in some countries, the Druze have enjoyed some autonomy in their isolation. The Druze have made their presence known to the outside world at various times in history. Conflict between the Druze and the Maronite Christians in Lebanon led to European intervention, on the part of France and England, during the 1800s. The Europeans helped the Ottomans restore order, but the Ottomans engaged in playing the Druze and Maronites against each other, which led to a major civil war in 1860. Over the course of four weeks, the Druze killed around twelve thousand Maronites, and the Maronites forced around one hundred thousand Druze from their villages. With an interest in protecting their fellow Christians, France and England landed troops at Beirut and invaded Damascus.

The two European powers then forced the Ottomans to establish the autonomous province of Mount Lebanon with Christian leadership.

At the end of the First World War, the Sykes-Picot Agreement between the British and the French, reinforced by the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, allowed for the establishment of semi-independent Arab states in the Ottoman territories under French and British mandates. In effect, this was colonialism, and was not viewed with favor by the Druze communities falling under the new French administration. By 1925, the French had a Druze revolt on their hands in Syria, which took some effort to quell. The leaders of the revolt were arrested and exiled to Palmyra, in the northwestern part of Syria. The European mandates in the Near East lasted relatively briefly, with Iraq gaining its independence in 1932, Lebanon in 1943, Syria and Transjordan in 1946, and Palestine in 1948. At the end of the British Mandate in Palestine was the war for Israeli independence, which began immediately. When France relinquished Lebanon, they left it with a hierarchical power structure with the Christians at the top, then the Sunni, then Shi'a, with the other minority groups including the Druze in exclusion. Problems emerged in the power balance in 1958, and a civil war ensued only to be silenced months later. This was an attempt at wresting power from the hands of the Lebanese Christians to unite the country with the newly formed United Arab Republic, composed of Egypt and Syria.

Some of the Druze in Israel serve in the Israeli Defense Force (IDF), which has led to further resentment from much of the Islamic world. More Druze communities were added to Israeli jurisdiction in 1967, when Israel was able to seize the Golan Heights from Syria. Though these Druze were offered Israeli citizenship when Israel annexed the Golan Heights in 1981, many chose to resist. Some of these communities have rebelled against Israeli authority, but not to an extreme. Despite all the effects of warfare and changes in political geography, the Druze have been able to maintain their beliefs and sense of independence for more than one thousand years. The Druze of Lebanon experienced some difficulties in displacement and stability from the 1975–1990 civil war in that country.

Today, the Druze number more than six hundred thousand worldwide. The Druze communities remain somewhat isolated, although many within the various communities have abandoned subsistence agriculture in favor of capitalist ventures. The Druze are one of the least studied and most misunderstood groups in the Levant and the Near East.

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**See also Arab Nationalism; Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Islam; Lebanon;**

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### DUBCEK, ALEXANDER

Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992) was born in Uhrovec, Czechoslovakia (existed 1919–1992; now part of the Slovak Republic), on November 27, 1921. Both of his parents were dedicated communists. He grew up in Slovakia but moved to Kirghizia (today Kyrgyzstan) when his father answered the call of the Soviet Communist Party to "build socialism in one nation [Soviet Union]." The Dubcek family returned to Slovakia in the spring of 1938, and that summer Alexander formally joined the Slovak Communist Party (SCP), which was illegal at the time.

In September 1938, following the Munich Conference, Nazi German forces occupied the Sudetenland (western Czechoslovakia) and, the next spring, all of Czechoslovakia. Over the next six years, Dubcek fought German occupation forces both as a partisan soldier and as an underground political activist for the Slovak National Uprising.

Since the communists played a leading role in the resistance, they were in a strong political position within Czechoslovakia after the war. In 1948, they took power with Soviet support. Dubcek rose rapidly through the Party ranks, gaining membership on the Central Committee of the SCP in 1951. In 1955, SCP leaders sent him to the Moscow Political College, from where he graduated with honors in 1958. Upon his return he joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CCP) and by 1962, he had become a full member of the SCP and CCP Central Committees.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, the Czech economy, suffering from the ravages of World War II and

CCP mismanagement, languished. They lacked capital to rebuild the nation's business and industrial base as well as its infrastructure. In addition, Slovaks began to chafe at their second-class status in a nation run by Czechs from the old Bohemian capital of Prague. Perhaps most unsettling was the apparent easing of Soviet controls brought on by the de-Stalinization process begun by Soviet Communist Party First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev (1956–1964) in 1956. In spite of the Soviet repression of Hungarian and Polish reform movements, by the early 1960s, many Czech and Slovak Party intellectuals believed the time was ripe for liberal reforms in their parties and nation.

During a Central Committee meeting in October 1967, Party reformers, led by Dubcek, openly challenged the policies of First Party Secretary Antonin Novotny (1957–1967). Opposition to Soviet-style communism and the rise of an anti-Novotny coalition within the CCP led to the confrontation. In December 1967, the failure of the Soviet Party's First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to support Novotny helped lead to the latter's fall from power. The resulting Party shakeup made Dubcek First Party Secretary of the CCP on January 5, 1968. The whole world waited to see what Dubcek would do and how the Warsaw Pact would react.

From March to August 1968 (known as the "Prague Spring") Dubcek attempted to "liberalize" and "democratize" both the Party and the state. Providing what he called "socialism with a human face," his political reforms made Czechs and Slovaks, communists and noncommunists, politically and legally equal. Economic reforms attempted to open the nation to Western trade and investment.

However, the Prague Spring caused great consternation among the Eastern Bloc states (mostly Poland and East Germany) and the Soviet Union. Throughout, Dubcek sought to reassure his communist brethren that his nation was still communist and loyal to Moscow. He argued that the reforms were an internal matter that should not affect Soviet–Czech relations. As tensions mounted, a series of meetings ensued, which Dubcek hoped would placate the Soviets. They did not!

On August 21, 1968, Soviet and Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Prague. Dubcek and other reformers were seized and taken to Moscow where they were forced to rescind all their reforms and accede to Soviet demands to "fall into line." The citizenry resisted with large public nonviolent protests. They even renamed towns and villages names such as Dubcekovo ("belonging to Dubcek") to confuse the occupiers and demonstrate support for their leader. Their efforts failed. On August 27, with tears

streaming down his face, Dubcek told the nation that all their efforts at reform had been thwarted.

While Dubcek was temporarily allowed to stay in the government and the Party, slowly but surely his authority was eroded, at the behest of the Soviets. By April 1969, he had been expelled from all Central Committee posts. He served as ambassador to Turkey from 1969 to 1970, but was soon expelled from the CCP and sent into internal exile as a "forestry official." He was not permitted to speak to anyone outside of his family without government consent.

Dubcek survived, and when the Soviet Union began to fall apart and its grip on Eastern Europe relaxed, he returned to abet the so-called Velvet Revolution of November 1989. He made a stirring speech to a deliriously happy throng of Slovaks in Bratislava. Later, standing on the balcony of the Presidential Palace overlooking Wenceslas Square with newly elected President Vaclav Havel, he received cheers and accolades as a national hero from thousands of Czechs and Slovaks. On December 28, he was elected Chair of the National Assembly and was reelected a year later.

Dubcek also found time to write about his and his nation's struggle for independence and democracy. In November 1992, he published his memoirs, *Hope Dies Last*. Sadly, only one month later he died, on December 7, from massive injuries suffered in an automobile accident.

Dubcek's legacy is one of a national political, social, and economic reformer. In many ways, in 1968, his vision of his nation's future formed the foundation of relative prosperity, democracy, and freedom that both the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic enjoy today. In the 1990s, not only did both peoples prosper but they also demonstrated that even major disagreements can be peacefully settled. The best example of this was the dissolution of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic on December 31, 1992. Indeed, the two neighbors continue to enjoy good commercial relations and open political interaction. As such, one can reasonably say that Alexander Dubcek is the modern father of both nations.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Czech Republic; Slovakia**

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## DUVALIER, FRANÇOIS

President of Haiti from 1957 to 1971 and sometimes known as Papa Doc, François Duvalier was born in the capital city of Port-au-Prince. One of his early teachers was Dumarsais Estimé, known as a champion of the underprivileged Black majority and later was to become president of Haiti. Another of his teachers was Jean Price-Mars, whose writings romanticized voodoo and the Haitian peasantry. Duvalier went on to medical school in Haiti, and later became involved in a successful campaign against malaria and yaws. He practiced medicine in a village just south of Port-au-Prince and would later claim to have gained an intimate knowledge of rural Haiti from his work there.

He developed the traditional color model of Haitian politics into the notion that all the progressive heroes, notably Estimé, were Black, and that the mulatto elite had always blocked reform.

In 1946, Estimé became president, and his government introduced many progressive reforms, leading to what some have called the Social Revolution of 1946. Duvalier saw himself as the intellectual and political heir to this revolution.

Four years later the army ousted Estimé, and a former colonel, Paul E. Magloire, became president. Enjoying the support of the mulatto elite, as well as the USA, Magloire tried to reverse the reforms of Estimé. Duvalier, who had risen through various government posts to become the secretary of Labor and Public Health, left public life to help organize the opposition to Magloire. In 1956, Magloire fled into exile, the army once again took over, and after several provisional governments, Duvalier emerged as the primary proponent of the Estimé social revolution and won the presidency.

Inaugurated on October 22, 1957, Duvalier promised to continue the social revolution by raising the standard of living primarily through stabilizing the economy and increasing the literacy rate. After facing several invasions and insurrections early in his presidency, however, he became obsessed with the perpetuation of his rule. His ruthless suppression of all opposition became legend. After an attempt on the life of his children in April 1963, he became increasingly isolated, never traveling outside Haiti and rarely leaving the National Palace. The Haitian treasury was treated as the family budget, and aid monies were funneled to the first family and Duvalier cronies. Meanwhile, political opponents were tortured and executed, professionals left the country in large numbers, the economy deteriorated, the Duvaliers invested their stolen monies abroad, and foreign investment evaporated. In 1963, US President John F. Kennedy canceled most of the aid from the United States. Over the years the government of Duvalier provided very few services to the general public, and agricultural development in what is essentially an agricultural country was almost totally ignored.

During the last years of Duvalier's life the economy was somewhat bolstered by the establishment of some small industries attracted by the cheap labor, but the living standard for most of the population remained immeasurably low.

During the night of April 21, 1971, Papa Doc Duvalier died, and his nineteen-year-old son Jean-Claude was proclaimed president-for-life the next day.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations**

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## **EAST AFRICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Conceivably one of the most diverse in Africa, the nucleus of this region is best viewed as consisting of the *East African Plateau* and the *Ethiopian Highlands*, which are both intersected by the *Great Rift Valley*. This spectacular geological fault that began forming approximately 20 million years ago was named by the nineteenth century Scottish explorer John Walter Gregory. Stretching approximately four thousand miles, it actually begins in Jordan and follows the course of the Jordan River into the Dead Sea. From there it passes through the Gulf of Aqabah and follows along the Red Sea entering Eritrea at the Danakil Depression. From there the valley slices through Ethiopia and splits near the Kenya border. The eastern branch enters Kenya at Lake Turkana and then proceeds southward into Tanzania at Lake Natron. The western branch of the valley follows the border between Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Zaire and includes lakes Albert, Edward, Kivu, and Tanganyika. The two branches of the Rift Valley reunite at Lake Rukwa in Tanzania, where it continues through Malawi to the Indian Ocean coast near Beira in Mozambique.

Although most of the countries of this region are geographically heterogeneous, extensive portions of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, and Tanzania are comprised of highlands, whereas most of Somalia, Djibouti, and the Sudan tend to be relatively low. When the land on both sides of the Rift Valley erupted, a series of volcanic peaks were

created. These include Africa's highest mountain, Mt. Kilimanjaro in Tanzania (19,321 feet), as well as Mt. Kenya (17,007 feet), Mt. Meru in Tanzania (14,955 feet), Mt. Elgon in Kenya (14,152 feet), and the Virunga Volcanoes, comprised of eight mountains ranging from ten thousand to over fourteen thousand feet elevation on the border of Uganda, Rwanda, and Democratic Republic of Congo. The valley floor gradually sank into a low and flat plain which varies in width from thirty to forty miles and in elevation from 1,300 feet below sea level in the Dead Sea to about 6,000 feet above sea level in parts of Kenya.

East Africa's active geological processes have also generated a series of lakes. Though not technically in either branch of the Rift Valley, nonetheless *Lake Victoria*, which borders Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, is Africa's largest lake (26,830 square miles) and the world's second largest freshwater body. Its fisheries provide sustenance for millions of people in the three countries it borders. The ultimate source of the world's longest river, the Nile, is located in Jinja, Uganda, near Lake Victoria. The Rift Valley's western sector contains smaller lakes, such as Albert, Edward, and Kivu. It also holds *Lake Tanganyika*, on the borders of Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zambia, and Burundi, which is Africa's second largest lake (12,471 square miles) and the world's second deepest (4,700 feet). *Lake Malawi*, which borders Malawi, Mozambique, and Tanzania, is Africa's third largest lake (2,471 square miles) and essentially lies at the end of the Rift Valley. *Lake Turkana* (2,703 square miles), on Kenya's northern border with

Ethiopia, has no outlet; hence water is lost mainly through evaporation and is therefore highly alkaline. It does manage to sustain ample stocks of both fish (especially Nile Perch and Tilapia) and crocodiles. In fact a number of smaller Rift Valley lakes tend to be shallow and have a high mineral content, specifically sodium carbonate, as the evaporation of water leaves these salts behind. This creates an ideal scenario for breeding blue-green algae, and these so-called “soda lakes”—Nakuru, Elementaita, Magadi, and Bogoria in Kenya, Natron, and Eyasi in Tanzania, and Ziway, Langanu, Abiyatta, and Shalla in Ethiopia—are famous for attracting a huge number of flamingoes.

If the African continent is the birthplace of humanity, then East Africa is surely the cradle of the human species, and a majority of paleoanthropologists believe that the Rift Valley holds most of the clues to our past. The earliest known *hominid*<sup>1</sup> fossils date from between four to five million years ago (MYA) and come from parts of the Rift Valley situated in what is now Ethiopia. These include specimens that presumably represent species such as *Ardipithecus ramidus* (4.4 MYA), *Australopithecus anamensis* (4 MYA), and *Australopithecus afarensis* (3.5 MYA). Certainly the most famous hominid fossil is *Lucy*, a 3.2-million-year-old example of *A. afarensis* found by Donald Johanson and Tim White in Hadar, Ethiopia, in 1974. This was where our ancestors took their first great strides—especially bipedal locomotion. The 3.4-million-year-old footprints found in Laetoli, Tanzania, by Mary Leakey and Tim White provided corroborating evidence of bipedalism around the same time period. Sometime between two and two and a half million years ago hominids named *Homo habilis* began making and using stone tools. In addition to their use as digging implements, these stone tools might have enabled *H. habilis* to scrape meat off scavenged carcasses and extract protein-rich marrow from animal bones. Ample evidence of tool manufacture was first uncovered by Louis and Mary Leakey at sites such as Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania. Tool making and fire use would later enable members of several subsequent species—*Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens*—to emanate outward to other parts of Africa, as well as the Middle East, Asia, Europe, Australia, and eventually the New World. Every year ongoing discoveries by paleoanthropologists either push back the date for the earliest hominid or refine the proposed evolutionary sequence, but none alter the certainty that East Africa holds the ultimate key to understanding our species’ past.

Historically, two cultural factors—the Swahili language and the Islamic religion—have acted to partially integrate segments of this vast region. *Kiswahili*, the Swahili language, is spoken over a large part of East Africa, principally in Kenya and Tanzania, but also in portions of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, although to lesser degrees. Kiswahili is an indigenous African language of the Bantu sub-family of the Niger-Congo language family, but it is also heavily infused with words borrowed from Arabic and Persian. It arose along the coastal portion of East Africa in a specific social niche where Arab traders mixed with Africans to create the *Swahili people*, language, and culture. In the eighth century, the Swahili and neighboring peoples adopted Islam along the coast. Many scholars think because it contributed to the atmosphere of trust and security that was necessary to sustain such a far-flung trading network with links not only to the Arabian peninsula but also the Indian sub-continent, Malaysia, Indonesia, and China. A Greek mariner’s account from the first century AD, known as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, refers to the well-established East African trading routes and export of commodities such as ivory, tortoise shell, coconut oil, and rhinoceros horn. For centuries a wide range of goods, including gold from the southern African kingdom of Great Zimbabwe as well as slaves taken from the interior, were exported and imported by the Swahili merchants, who acted as middlemen between the Arab traders who sailed *dhow*s (sailing vessels with unique triangular sails) down from the Arabian peninsula and then back according to the prevailing monsoon winds. The arrival of the Portuguese on the East African coast in the fifteenth century interrupted the hegemony of the independent Swahili city-states, of which there were perhaps as many as forty. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Portuguese influence waned and the Swahili city-states came under the control of the Sultans of Oman. In 1840, Sayyid Said relocated his court from Muscat to Zanzibar island, off the coast of what is now Tanzania. His influence continued until the European intrusion in the late nineteenth century.

Most of the countries which constitute this region today, and indeed most of Africa, derive from the workings of European minds rather than from any types of indigenous political boundaries. This recognition is absolutely critical for understanding the roots of East Africa’s contemporary problems. Initial European contacts with Africa were chiefly commercial in nature and usually conducted by trading companies. For example, the German East Africa

<sup>1</sup> Modern humans and our immediate ancestral species.

Company and Imperial British East Africa Company were licensed by their home governments and, hence, were more or less given free reign. As Europeans began to discern the African continent's substantial economic potential, what came to be known as *the scramble for Africa* ensued. Economic competition was fueled by the inter-European political rivalries, particularly between the British and the French. In a conference sponsored by Chancellor Bismarck of Germany and held in Berlin from December 1884 to April 1885, European powers began the act of formally partitioning the African continent. In the process, East Africa was divided between Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, and Britain, although by far the latter exerted the strongest influence over the region. The mood of the time is embodied in the much quoted remark of King Leopold of Belgium, who declared at the Berlin Conference, "I am determined to get my share of this magnificent African cake."

The boundaries laid down over the ensuing decades have, by and large, remained untouched into the twenty-first century. By the end of World War I, when Germany's colonies were assumed by Britain, the political map of Africa was largely completed. When these nations, as well as all the other African states, gained their independence from their European colonial overlords, they consciously made decisions to retain the political borders drawn by outsiders. The ramifications have been enormous—members of some ethnic groups were divided artificially by political borders, while in other cases members of groups which have long been mutually hostile were forced into close proximity and association. Then there was the famous colonial strategy of divide and rule to consider, whereby Europeans deliberately accentuated "tribal" differences among Africans in order to play one group off against another. Many East African tribal amalgamations are in fact not primordial, but are rather the result of twentieth century colonial rule.

**Ethiopia** (471,776 square miles) was exceptional for being one of only two African countries—the other being Liberia—to escape colonization by European powers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both the Ethiopian monarchy and Orthodox Christianity have long and rich histories. Although it did manage to avoid initial colonization, Italian forces, from 1935 to 1941, occupied Ethiopia, along with part of Somalia. Many Pan-Africanists considered Italy's act of aggression to be highly inflammatory, and the Italian occupation of Ethiopia is widely considered to have been the major catalyst for the incipient nationalist movements around the continent. After returning to power Emperor Haile Selassie ruled until 1974 when he was ousted in a Marxist

coup d'état. **Eritrea** (46,718 square miles) was established as an Italian colony in 1890 and subsequently transferred to British control in 1941. It was henceforth incorporated into Ethiopia in 1962 and later attained independence in 1993 after a prolonged armed struggle between the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Movement and the Ethiopian government. **Djibouti** (8,494 square miles), the smallest country in this region, evolved in 1977 out of the colony known as French Somaliland which itself was established out of France's desire to control the entrance to the Red Sea. **Somalia** (246,201 square miles) was declared a British Protectorate in 1886. Around the same time Italy had established a colony in southern regions, but this was relinquished to the British in 1941. From 1950 to 1960, Italian Somaliland was a United Nations Trust Territory. British Somaliland became independent in June 1960 and in July of the same year it united with Italian Somaliland to become the Somali Republic.

Most Americans are probably unaware that the *Cold War* was not fought just in Europe and Asia—it was also played out on African soil. Although the best-known examples come from southern Africa, for example Angola and Mozambique, of particular relevance for East Africa were Ethiopia and Somalia—both lying in the strategic Horn of Africa and the sea route between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. The United States and the Soviet Union each sought an active presence in the region. Until 1974, the US backed Emperor Haile Selassie's government in Ethiopia, while the Soviets had provided military equipment and training to Somalia. After the Marxist coup in Ethiopia, the superpowers exchanged spheres of influence as the Soviet Union proceeded to back the regime of Major Mengistu Hailie Mariam, while the US supported the Somali strongman, Mohamed Siad Barre. With the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, assistance to both countries dried up. This quickly led to major political changes: in the case of Somalia the government disintegrated as Mohamed Siad Barre fled while rival warlords fought for supremacy; in Ethiopia it meant another coup, this time with Mengistu being removed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and EPRDF chairman Meles Zanawi.

**Sudan** (967,493 square miles) is Africa's largest country at over one quarter the size of the continental United States. It was once the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, created by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium of 1899. Prior to that date and for most of the nineteenth century, Egypt had actually exerted control over most of Sudan. In reality neither Egyptian nor British rule sought to do what was best for the Sudanese people nor heal the tremendous cultural and religious rifts

between the peoples of the northern and southern parts of this enormous country. In 1953, Britain and Egypt signed an agreement to grant independence to the Sudan, which came in 1956. Since then the country continues to be divided along cultural and religious lines, as the government has been dominated by the Muslim peoples of the north, who treat the Africans living in the south as second-class citizens. Forming the *Sudanese People's Liberation Army* (SPLA), these southerners, led by Colonel John Garang until his death in 2005, are mostly adherents of Christianity and animist religions. They have been waging a civil war against the northern-dominated government since 1972. Several rival rebel groups formed in the early 1990s. The *Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development* (IGAAD) was organized in 1993 under the chairmanship of President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, comprising heads of state and ministers from other neighboring countries—Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda. Under the assumption that the Sudanese civil war was a *regional* rather than national conflict, IGAAD began mediation efforts to try and find a framework for peace in Sudan. The civil war has most definitely impeded the Sudan's economic development and fostered political instability, thereby perpetuating a cycle of fragile military and civilian governments. Large oil fields that have recently been discovered in southern Sudan now complicate things even further.

In the early part of the twentieth century, **Kenya** (224,959 square miles) became a white settler colony largely as an afterthought. When it was declared a Protectorate in 1895 Britain's first priority was to build a railway to **Uganda**, which was coveted primarily to ensure control over the headwaters of the Nile. Only after completion of the railway did the British realize the agricultural potential of the central and western highlands of Kenya, thereby leading Lord Delamere, in 1905, to declare it "white man's country." White settlers came to these fertile highlands and displaced tens of thousands of Africans, mainly Kikuyu, for large coffee plantations. Of course this would later come back to haunt them as it was primarily Kikuyu, Kenya's largest ethnic group, who comprised the so-called *Mau Mau* (who actually called themselves the *Land and Freedom Movement*). Although the settlers and the colonial government assumed him to be the mastermind behind Mau Mau, Jomo Kenyatta was hardly involved in this violent guerilla resistance organization, which itself was widely misunderstood by whites. Nonetheless, Kenyatta was arrested and subsequently convicted of treason. After serving eight years in prison he was released and in 1963 went on to become independent Kenya's first prime minister, and then president. For

much of the 1960s and into the 1970s, Kenya was regarded as a miracle of free market capitalist development (Bates 1989). Moreover, the successive governments of Jomo Kenyatta (1963–1978) followed by Daniel arap Moi (1978–present), have been exceptionally stable for Africa as a whole and East Africa in particular. However, this political stability may have come at a high price, as both the Kenyatta and Moi governments were accused of massive human rights violations. Additionally, the economic growth has all but halted and corruption has become rampant in all levels of government. As with other African governments, the IMF has taken a firm stance with Kenya and withheld loans for much of the 1990s. In December 1991, Moi's government finally succumbed to pressure for the introduction of multi-party politics. Open elections were held in 1992 and 1997. The *Kenya African National Union* (KANU), the ruling party, won both times amid allegations of massive irregularities. Additionally, both times the process was preceded by ethnic clashes, which many observers claimed were government sponsored.

What was originally designated **Tanganyika**, and taken by Chancellor Bismarck at the Conference of Berlin, was later ceded to Britain after Germany's defeat in World War I. Unlike her northern neighbor, Kenya, Tanganyika never became as popular a destination for white settlers. Consequently, independence came much easier and without the bloody struggle of Mau Mau in Kenya. It attained independence in 1961 and in 1964 was united with the newly independent island of Zanzibar to become **Tanzania** (364,899 square miles). Under its first President, **Julius Nyerere**—affectionately referred to as *Mwalimu*, Kiswahili for "teacher"—Tanzania embarked on a very different course from her capitalist neighbor, Kenya. Nyerere's socialist policies aimed at wedding the best of traditional African values with the teachings of Marx. A major thrust of development was the creation of centralized villages, ostensibly to better facilitate provision of basic needs, such as health care and education. He collectivized village farmlands, carried out mass literacy campaigns and instituted free and universal education. He referred to these forced settlements as *ujamaa* ("familyhood") villages. Although later criticized for his overreliance on socialism, thereby leading to the failure of the Tanzanian economy, nevertheless Nyerere's *ujamaa* policy and his promotion of *Kiswahili* as a cultural and linguistic unifying force helped Tanzania avoid many of tribal/ethnic problems of her neighbors. Throughout the 1980s, it became clear that socialist economics was not working. In 1985, Nyerere succumbed to pressure and stepped down, paving the way for his two successors—first Ali Hassan Mwinyi and then the current President,

Benjamin Mkapa. Nyerere remained head of the ruling party until 1990. Over the course of the 1990s Tanzania's economic fortunes have moderately improved, and the country has held several multi-party elections, although *Chama Cha Mapinduzi*, the ruling party, won both.

**Uganda** (91,135 square miles), dubbed "the pearl of Africa" by Winston Churchill, comprises a number of indigenous states, such as Buganda, from which the country's name is derived. Others include Bunyoro, Basogo, Banyankore, Batoro, and Bagisu. The British declared Buganda a protectorate in 1894 and gradually extended control over the other areas by 1914. Unlike Kenya, however, Uganda never became popular with white settlers. Since independence in 1962, Uganda has been racked by political instability. Considerable strain emerged out of the federation of four autonomous regions—Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro, and Toro—under Buganda King Mutesa II acting as non-executive president. In February 1966, Milton Obote staged a coup by suspending the constitution and deposing the president. Soon thereafter, in April 1966, Obote withdrew regional autonomy and introduced an executive presidency, filled by himself. The new constitution, adopted in September 1967, abolished traditional leadership and established a unitary republic. In 1971, Field Marshall Idi Amin Dada seized power while Obote was out of the country. The following year, 1972, Amin expelled all non-citizen Asians and seized British companies. Untold thousands of Ugandan civilians lost their lives under Amin's brutal regime in the 1970s. Amin's tyranny continued until 1979 when the Tanzanian army, aided by the *Ugandan National Liberation Army*, invaded and took Kampala in April. Troubles were far from over for the people of Uganda since in the 1980 elections the Uganda People's Congress won and thus Milton Obote was selected to serve a second term. Instability again took over as various guerilla factions sought to oust Obote, who spent the first half of the 1980s trying to subdue the rebels. In 1985, he was overthrown in a military coup, led by Brigadier General Okello. Rebel activity continued until January 1986 when the *National Resistance Movement* took Kampala. Yoweri Museveni became president and formed a *National Resistance Council* made up of both military and civilians. In spite of attempts at reconciliation, Museveni's government continues to be plagued by rebel activity in the north and west. On the other hand, as a result of agreeing to comply with the structural adjustment policies mandated by the IMF and World Bank, Museveni became a favorite of the IMF, much like former President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana. Both implemented many of the tough austerity policies required as conditions for

continued loans, and as a result, the economies of both nations grew substantially more than their neighbors in the 1990s. Additionally, Uganda under Museveni has made substantial progress in dealing with the AIDS epidemic, and the openness with which the Ugandan government has faced this challenge is unparalleled in Africa.

**Rwanda** (10,170 square miles) and **Burundi** (10,745 square miles) are nearly identical in physical size, ethnic composition of their populations, and tragic experiences. In many ways their situations illustrate the impact of the brief yet potent European colonial period, from the late nineteenth to mid twentieth centuries. They are two of the most densely populated countries in Africa, both about the size of Maryland and both are composed of about 85% Hutu, 14% Tutsi, and 1% Twa. Traditionally these people are said to have been farmers, pastoralists, and hunters, respectively. The Tutsi herders, supposedly of Hamitic origin, are said to have entered the region in the fifteenth century, establishing a monarchy headed by a king and a feudal hierarchy of Tutsi nobles and gentry, who dominated the serf-like Hutu farmers. These farmers were said to have made a contract to pledge their services and those of their descendants to a Tutsi lord in return for cattle loans and use of land for grazing and farming. Rene Lemarchand has seriously questioned this simplistic view. While certainly not denying the clientage that historically existed between Tutsi and Hutu, he asserts that the seeds of twentieth century conflicts between the Hutu and Tutsi were really sown by the Germans during their occupation and then the Belgians during their colonial tenure. Germany added Burundi and Rwanda to German East Africa in 1899, but both were turned over to Belgium under the League of Nations Mandate of 1916. Belgium continued the German approach of using indirect rule, favoring the Tutsi "elite" and thereby solidifying the ethnic cleavage between Hutu and Tutsi. Since independence was achieved in 1962 there have been a series of genocidal massacres, with Hutu and Tutsi exchanging roles as victims and perpetrators. Perhaps the most prominent was in Rwanda in 1994 when perhaps eight hundred thousand people were killed, primarily Tutsi by Hutu. The ensuing exodus of refugees into neighboring countries has contributed to their further destabilization, for example the rebels, based in the eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Today both Rwanda and Burundi remain in a tense state of existence as both governments battle rebels, while the United Nations tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania, tries to sort out responsibility for the genocidal attacks of the 1990s.

Thus, in the post-independence era, East Africa has clearly experienced some of the continent's worst

calamities. Partial regional interaction has always been present to some degree, and in the past several years the *East African Community* (EAC), comprising Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, has been resurrected. It will be interesting to see if the EAC will be able to follow the lead of the European Union (EU) in terms of regional economic integration. The numerous political and military setbacks have substantially delayed the course of economic development and the growth of civil society in East Africa. It is important to acknowledge that these have been primarily man-made disasters: the Ethiopian famine of 1984–1985; the recurring Hutu-Tutsi rivalry and genocidal outbursts in Rwanda and Burundi; the ongoing twenty-five-year-old civil war in Sudan; the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea; the dictatorial regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote in Uganda during the 1970s and early 1980s; and the steady disintegration of civil society in Somalia under Mohammed Siad Barre, culminating in the chaos of the 1990s. Once again, in order to fully comprehend the frequency and magnitude of these misfortunes, it is absolutely vital to situate these problems in the larger historical context of European colonial rule and its aftermath. Of course this does not absolve post independence African leadership of culpability but that, in fact, could be the subject of another entire essay.

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**See also Amin, Idi; East Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa; Kenyatta, Jomo; Mau Mau; Nyerere, Julius; Obote, Milton; Okello, John; Selassie, Emperor Haile; Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs).**

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## EAST AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### Defining East Africa

The area of East Africa or Eastern Africa is located in the eastern part of the African continent and comprises the *East Africa Zone*, the *Northeast Zone*, and a country, *Sudan*. The East Africa Zone includes the following countries: Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Tanzania and occupies a surface of 727,176 square miles with a population of about 97.3 million, of which 29% is urban. The Northeast Zone comprises Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia, with a surface of 801,201 square miles and 75.2 million inhabitants, of which 21% are urban. The tenth state member of the area, Sudan, is the most extensive country, with a surface of 1,002,325 square miles and is often included within the Northern Africa or Central Africa countries. Sudan will be included among the Eastern Africa countries due to the strong and steady relations this country maintains with the rest of the eastern countries.

The East Africa area is mainly rural, as the East African countries' economies are all based on agriculture. Unlike Southern and Western Africa, the Eastern countries don't have great amounts of mineral resources. As for natural resources such as petroleum, chromium, zinc, and iron, Sudan is the wealthiest country. Tanzania has gold and platinum and Ethiopia also has gold. Kenya and Uganda have some zones rich in wood. Within this area is situated the Nile Basin, which is shared by several countries in arid or semi-arid areas.

This area presents very low living standards. All countries previously named, with the exception of Kenya, are listed among the poorest countries in the world, according to the Human Development Index established by the United Nations (UN).

Food shortages have reached alarming levels throughout the region. In Somalia, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea this situation is of extreme urgency. The climate conditions, the lack of means to develop agriculture, the displacements, refugees, and

acquired immunity deficiency syndrome (AIDS) are factors that contribute to worsen this situation.

The spread of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) in the region is quite high. In addition to this, public health conditions are inadequate. Hospitals are lacking or non-existent and the public expenditure on health (percent of the GDP) is low.

Another of the problems that faces the region is the constant loss of biodiversity and the threat to the ecosystem and the environment. International organizations consider environmental conservation in East Africa as a high priority because of the outstanding richness in wildlife and the variety of ecosystems. Recently, the East African countries have begun to work together to maintain cooperation policies on environmental issues.

The distribution of East African territory among the colonial powers occurred during the twentieth century. As a consequence, during the 1960s, several new States emerged whose main characteristic, besides having little experience in the exercise of their sovereignty, was clear political instability. This has resulted in large numbers of refugees; displaced, deprived, and marginalized people; economic crises; famines; and disease.

The borders of many African states weren't originally established as borders between independent states, but as territorial dividing lines belonging to the great powers in the years of imperialism. Like in Central Asia, the borders of the countries were established in an artificial and arbitrary way, without regard for the demographics of ethnic or religious groups. The division of these groups into arbitrarily delineated territories and nations has given rise to territorial, ethnic, tribal, and religious disputes. Often ethnic identity and religious fanaticism are encouraged and exploited by political and military elites who want to monopolize the access to power and resources by excluding the members of other ethnicities or religions.

There are also several areas with potential conflicts due to natural-resource reserves. These disputes are usually described as ethnic wars or political rivalries, though the real interest is focused on the natural resources.

Two other factors tend to increase the internal climate of constant conflicts. The socioeconomic crisis, which is also a consequence of the wars, and the sale of weapons, which helps to maintain the existing conflicts or to create new ones in other countries, both lead to further conflicts. Additionally, these conflicts are not only the result of internal causes but also a consequence of the interaction between internal dynamics and external influences, which often worsen the internal factors.

## International Conflicts and Development

*Ethiopia–Eritrea Conflict:* Ethiopia is one of Africa's oldest countries. On the contrary, Eritrea is quite new, emerging from Italy's occupation. In 1952, an agreement was signed and both countries formed a federation. However, ten years later Ethiopia annexed Eritrea as one of her provinces, causing the beginning of a series of guerrilla wars. In 1991, a provisional government was established in Eritrea, accepted by the United States, with the condition of conducting a referendum on its independence in 1993. That same year Eritrea obtained regional and international recognition.

*Somalia–Eritrea Conflict:* Somalia used to claim the Ogaden region, inhabited in most parts by Somali ethnic groups. During the conflict with Eritrea, Ethiopia had controlled almost the whole of the Ogaden region. In 1988, after eleven years of constant confrontation, Ethiopia retired the troops of the border with Somalia, reestablished diplomatic relations and signed a peace treaty. Ethiopia and Somalia have always had aspirations over the territory of Djibouti, Ethiopia desiring access to the sea and Somalia the reunification of its territory.

*The Nile Basin:* the Nile River runs through nine states: Egypt, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Sudan, Kenya, Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Congo. In spite of that, Egypt is the country that makes the most profit of its water flow. Recently, the countries through which the river flows have not been able to divert the water flow because of the constant conflicts. The shortage of and demand for fresh water in addition to the population increase in the region have become serious problems.

During the Cold War, many African political leaders resorted to American or Soviet aid. The Soviet Union helped Ethiopia during her conflict with Eritrea; Kenya became allied with the United States. In Somalia, Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre proclaimed his adhesion to the Soviet Union, but soon after breaking relations with this country, the United States began supporting Barre's government. But then, as Barre intended to normalize his relations with the Soviet Union, his government was frozen.

By the end of the Cold War era, the United States had a strong influence over the different countries, directly or through its several organizations and allied countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda, Burundi, and some factions in Sudan. The United States, together with Great Britain, France, and Belgium, exerted influence in African conflicts, providing the allied group's political, financing, and



military support to defend their economic, political, and strategic interests in the area. In East Africa several disputes arose, many of which still exist. The constant corruption and climate of insecurity and instability have been a major setback for investments and foreign capital flow. The short-term governments have been more concerned with maintaining power than improving people's living standards.

### **Economic Bloc Formation, Trade, and Development**

During the 1990s, the African countries abandoned their exclusive bilateral policy with the superpowers or former colonialist countries. However, this has also caused them to be more vulnerable. Despite their opposition to neo-colonialism and efforts to work as a bloc in the global market, these countries still depend economically on their relations with the Western world. They have opened their economies, and also agreements have been made to form regional organizations. Often these organizations have faced financial difficulties along with other conflicts derived from the region itself.

Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have formed the East African Community (EAC); Burundi and Rwanda are associated with the states of Central Africa in the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and also with the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, and Sudan are members of the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), established in 1998. Somalia, Sudan, and Djibouti belong to the Arab League.

Except Tanzania and Somalia, the rest of the states of East Africa belong to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). All countries in this study belong to the African-Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group, a trade agreement between African members and European Union countries, to the African Development Bank and also to the African Union. In spite of these efforts to improve their economies by forming blocs, the participation of these countries in the world economy remains marginal and dependent.

Most countries located in East Africa do not have commercial relations with each other or even with other African countries but with extra-continental countries instead. Uganda and Kenya constitute an exception, as these two countries maintain regular exchange trade relations. However, countries like Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Tanzania have trade relations

with countries like China, Saudi Arabia, the United States, Malaysia, and Italy, among others, but not with other African countries. Other nations such as Somalia, Rwanda, or Djibouti are more commercially connected with East Africa countries, although they also have trade with extra-continental nations.

This general trend of East Africa countries to be so dependent on trade with extra-African partners has not been helpful for the area's development, as most countries do not work together towards a shared objective but work alone. Therefore, in spite of the bloc they have formed, their economies still are very fragmented.

Lack of monetary resources has delayed development throughout East Africa. International financing organizations have demanded adjustment and budget-cut policies in the region. Kenya, for instance, has carried out a liberalization policy based on the decrease of public expenditure and the privatization of state companies, along with the disappearance of exchange control, with the purpose of attracting investors. These policies were rewarded with loans given by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Other countries followed these trends. Sudan and Tanzania adapted their government policies to the aims set by these international organizations. Although the IMF praised Tanzania, the country's social development hasn't improved. In Uganda, the government established similar measures. Though the number of foreign investments increased, the cuts in the budget worsened the situation of most people, who live in an alarming situation of poverty.

### **International Conflicts After the End of the Cold War**

The fall of the bipolar system destroyed the east-west alignments. The retirement of the Soviet Bloc began in December 1988 with the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola and later with the withdrawal of American troops from Somalia.

Although the continent seemed to lose strategic interest for the central superpowers, some conflicts remained and new ones arose. The countries found neighbouring countries who acted like partners, but also as rivals.

In 1991, relations between Uganda and Kenya, which had been tense since 1987, worsened. Kenya's and Sudan's governments accused each other of protecting rebel groups that operated in each neighbour's territory.

In Somalia, in 1991, Ali Mahdi Mohammed deposed the government, while the capital city, Mogadishu, was in the hands of Mohamed Farad Aidid, both belonging to different clans. The National Somali Movement formed its own government in the ancient territory of British Somalia, establishing the Republic of Somaliland. In 1992, the UN sent a group of observers, and soon the United States began a military operation in Somalia. However the arrival of a foreign army provoked further conflicts, and in response the UN Security Council approved the dispatch of UN forces to support American troops. It was the first time the UN used military intervention in the internal affairs of another state without that state's consent. Despite the interventions, hostilities continued, and in 1994 the United States announced the withdrawal of the troops, without any foreseen solution to the conflict. Somalia still lacked a central government, and a large part of its territory was subject to civil conflicts.

The fall of the Somali state caused a serious situation of regional and international insecurity together with a flow of refugees and internal displaced persons. In 1998, a new government was created in northeastern Somalia, Puntland.

In February 1999, tensions between Somalia and Ethiopia increased, and Ethiopia's troops invaded Somalia's frontier. This conflict ended in October 1999 when Ethiopia withdrew the troops from Somalia. However, in January 2001 relations between them got tense again.

In 1994, the governments of Sudan and Uganda accused each other of supporting rival guerrilla groups and in 1995 Uganda broke off diplomatic relations with its neighbour. Although negotiations to solve their differences began in 2001, Uganda deployed its troops in the north of the country.

In 1997, the relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea worsened after the latter adopted a new currency, which meant an economic downturn in both countries. In May 1998, war broke out between these two countries after each accused the other of encroaching on the country's territory. After several failures on behalf of international organizations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in June 2000, a peace treaty was signed, committing both countries to cease-fire and to accept a future demarcation of a security zone in the frontier of both countries established by the United Nations.

Relations between Eritrea and Sudan deteriorated in 1994 and diplomatic relations were broken off. In 1997, Sudan accused Eritrea of launching attacks against its troops in the frontiers.

In 1993 the United Nations sent a mission to Rwanda (MINUAR) with the purpose of decreasing

the violence, but did not engage in combat. Since the first interethnic violence outbreak, Rwanda has suffered continuous bursts of varying intensity.

The conflict in Sudan seems to be improving, as in January 2005 a peace treaty was signed. In Tanzania, in spite of internal instability, a peace agreement was celebrated in October 2001 between the two most influential political parties of Tanzania and Zanzibar.

### **East Africa: A New Strategic Location and Future Development Opportunities**

At the end of the Cold War, a new strategic geography arose. In the old formulation, conflicts had an ideological-political bias; now, however, control of resources was more important than ideologies. Therefore some countries that had not historically been attractive for the superpowers began to occupy a prominent place in the political and strategic planning of the United States and other European powers.

From 1997 on, in the G7 and Russia meeting in Denver, Colorado, the necessity of encouraging the integration of African countries in the world economy as well as the need to facilitate their social and political development was discussed. Several multinational companies have been permitted to interfere with reserves of African natural resources, in many cases taking advantage of the conflicts in the region. In East Africa these corporations have allied countries, some of which have benefited economically from the conflict in other countries. Rwanda and Uganda are countries important to the interests of companies settled in Africa. A 2002 United Nations Report charges both of these governments with obtaining profits from the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Both countries export diamonds and coltan—minerals that are imported from the Congo. Neither Rwanda nor Uganda have such minerals. Often the economic exploitation of these resources does not foster the countries and people's development, but instead only provides companies with large profits.

However, the strategic interest of the region is not only *economic* but also *military*. When the United States became the most important power in the global arena, the enemy was no longer communism but terrorism and the groups who support it.

The instability in East Africa has been to the advantage of terrorist organizations. Al Qaeda has concentrated its operations in East Africa. In 1998 Tanzania and Kenya suffered terrorist attacks, Sudan was accused of promoting international

terrorism, and the United States bombed installations in Sudan's capital.

The United States has created a special fund of about \$100 million to fight terrorism, intended to form security personnel in Djibouti, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, the American concept of security changed completely and so did its strategy in foreign policy. Africa was designated as a confluence point for terrorist organizations, and the United States considers East Africa as the most dangerous region of the African continent.

Somalia has been described as the next US military target, after the Afghanistan operation, as it is believed to be a possible shelter for al Qaeda members. American troops have settled in Djibouti.

All this information suggests that in the forthcoming years East Africa will remain a conflict-ridden area and a source of profit for Western companies. The threats of terrorism, ethnic tensions, and other sources of conflict are likely to continue, furthering violence in the region. Until these conflicts are resolved, development will be made impossible.

DIEGO I. MURGUÍA AND VERÓNICA M. ZILIOU

**See also Amin, Idi; Burundi; Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); Djibouti; East Africa: East African Community; East African Development Bank (EADB); History and Economic Development; Eritrea; Ethiopia; Ethnic Conflicts: Kenya; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Refugees; Rwanda; Siad Barre, Mohammed; Somalia; Sudan; Tanzania; Uganda; War and Development.**

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### EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

In East Africa, the very first steps of sub-regional cooperation spread over a period of nearly fifty years, that is, from 1900 to 1947. In Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika (after 1914), the colonizing power was Britain. In order to effectively exploit the resources of these territories, in their interest, the British introduced services that accelerated the rate of this exploitation. These services included customs, civil aviation, income tax, posts, and telegraphy, etc. These services were under the umbrella of the East African Common Service Organisation.

After Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya achieved their independence, their leaders, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Apolo Milton Obote of Uganda, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya signed the Treaty for East African Cooperation on June 6, 1967. The mission and goals of the East African Community (EAC) were the fostering and promotion of economic cooperation in the sub-region.

Because the EAC ushered a common market in East Africa with the goals of ensuring economic development in the sub-region, the numerous trade restrictions that had existed previously were lessened. In trade circles, two vital principles were cultivated, namely, maximum limits on tariffs and non-discrimination. The headquarters of the EAC organs were distributed, with Kenya retaining East African Airways and East African Railways. Uganda acquired East African Posts and Telecommunications and the East African Development Bank, while Tanzania took the EAC Headquarters and Harbours Corporation. In addition, Uganda and Tanzania were allowed to apply a predetermined transfer tax on certain Kenyan goods to foster location of new industries there. This is because Kenya was clearly more developed than both Uganda and Tanzania as the result of British colonial policies. Thus, one of the goals of the EAC was to foster even development in East Africa.

Despite the new effort by the post-colonial East African states to create an economic community, this effort lasted ten years only. By 1977, the common services had disintegrated. A multiplicity of factors contributed to the demise of the EAC. They are summarized under five headings. First, there was the polarization and perception of unequal

gains among the three states. Kenya, the most favoured by British colonialism, continued to gain more from the EAC arrangement. Uganda and Tanzania, the ready market for Kenyan products, had fewer and less efficient industries, and thus, could hardly compete with Kenya. Indeed, foreign companies continued to establish more and more industries in Kenya rather than in either Uganda or Tanzania. Such companies preferred Kenya because it already had a broad manufacturing base and a better infrastructure.

Both Tanzania and Uganda, but especially the latter, ran into serious trade deficits between 1967 and 1976; the share of manufactured goods in both countries' exports declined, while that of Kenya rose. The demise of the EAC was partly due to perceived and objective inequitable distribution of small benefits.

The second factor in the collapse of the EAC had to do with lack of effective compensatory and corrective measures. There were no measures for collecting and sharing of customs revenue in accordance with a pre-negotiated formula which favoured the disadvantaged; neither was there effective transfer tax which provided revenue and protected infant industries in both Uganda and Tanzania. Moreover, the principle of the free movement of goods within East Africa failed and the aim of discouraging duplication of inefficient industries in order to realize economies of scale was also lost partially.

Relocating the headquarters of common services, decentralizing some of its operations, and subsidizing different parts of the services and different areas—none of these worked effectively. Indeed, some services, such as the airways corporation, the railways corporation, and the road networks, became Kenyan-dominated.

The third factor was the problem of personalizing the decision-making process due to inadequate governmental institutions. The EAC lacked a relatively autonomous and a democratically established decision-making body. This increased the danger of instability and of transforming personal rivalries into national and intra-sub-regional conflicts. Personalization of power and the decision-making process enabled each head of state to determine the fate of the EAC. Nyerere's refusal to convene a meeting of the Authority due to his dislike of Idi Amin of Uganda can only be explained in such terms.

The fourth factor had to do with ideological differences and economic nationalism. By the time of the collapse of the EAC, there was an intense ideological rift among the partner-states. While the Kenyan leadership (the ruling and dominant class) became increasingly dominated by foreign monopoly capital,

the Tanzanian leadership became increasingly radical and the Ugandan leadership (before the Amin coup in 1971) became increasingly opposed to foreign domination. Whereas Kenya's stronger economic base and stable capitalist system enabled it to attract external investment and to exploit the opportunities which the EAC offered, Tanzania's weaker economic base and socialist system had the opposite effect.

The economic gap widened and domestic stresses were explained in ideological terms. As Tanzania ridiculed Kenya's growth as based on a "man-eat-man" philosophy, Kenya retaliated by labeling Tanzanian socialism as founded on the principle of "man-eat-nothing". Tanzania then took steps that were meant to prevent the intrusion of what it saw as Kenya's bourgeois capitalist values and decadence. It also sought to eliminate Kenyan exploitation of the Tanzania market. It took measures to protect its people from the affluence of the Kenyan bourgeoisie, which was already causing large-scale smuggling of currency, coffee, and other consumer items and thus jeopardizing its socialist programmes. In brief, the increasing degree of mutual hostility culminated in the border closure—a move that precipitated a series of reactions which were punctuated by the collapse of the EAC.

The final factor was external: A multiplicity of multinational corporations and their subsidiaries extracted generous concessions and further foreign investment and then made efforts to service the sub-regional market from plants in Kenya. There emerged close links with such foreign partners as Britain, the US, and West Germany. These relationships were far more lucrative than the EAC arrangements. Tanzania developed a relationship with the then Eastern bloc, especially with China, while simultaneously maintaining links with the Western bloc. Thus, competition developed for foreign partners and markets. This impeded the coordination and harmonization of national development plans vis-à-vis external resource procurement, which was vital for pan-African and sub-regional economic integration.

In 1977, the EAC disintegrated.

However, a new EAC was launched on January 15, 2001. In the new EAC, the three member-states are pursuing the same socio-economic policies. They are all market-led and emphasize private sector development, and all are working within the structural adjustment programmes negotiated within the framework of the Bretton Woods institutions. The goal is regional over national cooperation, and thus the new EAC depends on the three member-states' proven ability to coordinate security, taxation, foreign policies and diplomacy, conflict management, etc.

The old EAC collapsed without resistance from the public. The contemporary EAC, however, has seen positive public reaction to integration.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations**

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## EAST ASIA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For the purposes of this essay, East Asia comprises Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, China, and North Korea. The post-war development of the region has generally been very successful, especially in the economic realm. With the exception of North Korea after the 1950s, the region has generated remarkable levels of economic growth, reductions in poverty and improvements in education, health, life expectancy, infant mortality, and most other indices of social development. Political development has been uneven. Democratization has taken remarkable strides in South Korea and Taiwan since the 1970s but North Korea and China remain one-party communist states. Hong Kong was a British colony until 1997, when it became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) within China; but as a SAR it retains substantial autonomy in many areas—the notable exceptions are foreign affairs and defence.

In terms of geography and population China has always been the giant of East Asia. Along with the other four countries of the region, it lies between 53° and 18° N and 73° and 134° E. China's landmass

is over 3.7 million square miles and the population is approaching 1.3 billion (of whom approximately 80% still live in rural areas and are engaged primarily in agricultural production). In China the climate of the populous south and southeast is generally temperate but the north is extremely cold in the winter. In the west and northwest, desert conditions inhibit development. The other four countries of the region are located along China's east coast. The Korean peninsula lies between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. The Yalu River marks North Korea's northern border with China. The island of Taiwan lies off the coast of China's Fujian province and Hong Kong is further south adjacent to Guangdong province. In terms of both landmass and population, all four are very small compared to China. East Asians other than the Chinese and to a lesser extent the North Koreans are now substantially urbanised, and only a minority engage in agriculture and fishing; in Hong Kong, this is a tiny minority. Hong Kong and Taiwan are densely populated with a small landmass and mountainous terrain; the mountains also make much of the land unsuitable for industrial or agricultural use. The harsh climate on the Korean peninsula, especially in the north, combined with a lack of arable land, means that large quantities of food have to be imported. Geographical proximity has long enhanced economic and other contacts between the countries of East Asia and also, most importantly, with Japan. However, political differences have at certain times severely curtailed these relations, especially those that arose out of the Cold War. Other factors that also contribute somewhat to the definition of the region are ethnicity and culture.

The ethnic composition of China and Hong Kong is predominantly Chinese, as were the anti-communists who fled the mainland for Taiwan after the 1949 Communist victory. This group came to dominate the politics and economy of the island, and it is only recently that native Taiwanese have started to take prominent political positions. In both North and South Korea over 99% of the people are ethnically Korean; there are tiny minorities of Chinese, Japanese, and other foreigners. Chinese characters are used and understood throughout most of the region, but in Korea governments have actively promoted the use of the Native Korean alphabet, *hangul*.

Of more significance than ethnicity *per se* have been the Confucian values and ideals that some scholars argue have functioned throughout the region as a fundamental spur to economic development in a way similar to the Protestant ethic in Western Europe after the Reformation.

## Features of Development

The East Asian region, with the exception of North Korea, has generally experienced remarkable levels of economic growth since 1945. The 1950s was essentially a decade of recovery from the ravages of war and preparation for modernization. However, even during the 1950s Taiwan and Hong Kong began to show tangible signs of economic vitality. The process was somewhat delayed in South Korea by the effects of the Korean War (1950–1953), but from the 1960s to the first half of the 1990s all three countries achieved annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates approaching 10%. For the region as a whole GDP growth during the four decades from 1960 averaged over 7%. The mid-1980s witnessed extraordinary growth rates. In 1986, for example, Taiwan's GDP grew by 18%, South Korea's by 13%, and Hong Kong's by 12%. However, there were marked disparities within the region. This can be illustrated most vividly by comparing North and South Korea.

The North Korean economy grew strongly during the 1950s due to vigorous industrial development, but its economy has generally stagnated since then, and especially since the early 1990s. South Korea depended heavily on American aid and technical assistance to recover from the devastation of the Pacific and Korean Wars. By 1960 the GDP of both North and South was less than \$5 billion. From the 1960s onwards, however, the North Korean performance faltered due to its inward-looking policies and excessive defence expenditure. Its problems were aggravated further by several severe floods and droughts in the mid-1990s that curtailed agricultural production and even resulted in large-scale famines. The end of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s was followed by reduced aid and trade. North Korea remains a poor country with low growth and a generally isolationist communist party which has taken only tentative steps in the direction of China's comprehensive economic reforms. In stark contrast, South Korea embarked on an ambitious export drive in the 1960s. High levels of American aid initially supported this, but in the following decades investment and technology from the USA and Japan and easy access to foreign markets, especially that of the United States, have accounted substantially for the rapid growth of the South Korean economy. In 1999, North Korea's GDP was \$22 billion, compared with \$625 billion in the South.

China's sustained economic boom began after the post-Mao reforms started to take effect in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The enormous potential of China was highlighted in 1984–1985 when GDP

growth rates approached 25%; they have averaged 10% over the last twenty-five years.

The pattern of regional post-war growth has broadly followed that set by Japan. The first stage involved the use of cheap labor in textile and simple manufactures, most of which were exported to the West, with the US being the major export market. This was followed by the development of heavy industries such as ship building and petrochemicals. Thirdly was the venture into more sophisticated manufacturing such as automobiles and complex machinery. Finally, there have most recently been moves into advanced areas like biotechnology, computers, and information technology. Of the East Asians, South Korea and Taiwan followed this model about a decade behind Japan and did so quite closely; Hong Kong has not been able to pursue the more ambitious industrial visions due to economies of scale; North Korea's abiding insularity has meant that its progress has been minimal and slow; and finally, China's opening up since the demise of Mao has been so profound and aggressive that all of these steps have been hastened and condensed such that there have been many achievements on all these fronts at the same time.

Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea are the three capitalist countries in the region. In general, their economic, political, and social development began before China's and North Korea's and has generally been more consistently sustained. Nevertheless, within the capitalist and communist 'blocs' there are significant differences. Hong Kong remained a British colony until 1997 when sovereignty reverted to China but under a 'one country, two systems' formula according to which Hong Kong will retain a *laissez-faire* economy until 2047. The belated democratic reforms of the British in the early 1990s were reversed by Peking after July 1997, but the importance of Hong Kong as a financial center and entrepot suggest that the CCP will be reluctant to interfere with the island's economy. Taiwan and South Korea gained independence from Japanese colonialism shortly after the war and have remained pro-Western and capitalist since then. However, both had authoritarian right-wing governments until the 1980s; their strong economic growth from the 1960s onwards was accompanied by frequent abuses of human rights and the repression of political dissidents. China and North Korea became one-party communist states shortly after the Pacific War and remain so to this day. Challenges to the status quo such as the Hundred Flowers Campaign in 1956 and the mass protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989 were harshly suppressed.

With the exception of South Korea, the region was largely insulated from the effects of the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Nevertheless, it brought the regional

average growth rate for the 1990s down to 5%. The currency crisis that started in Thailand in July 1997 affected South Korea profoundly due to the combination of the following: exposure to high levels of very nervous short-term foreign debt, productive overcapacity, an overvalued currency that reduced the competitiveness of its exports, and a financial system that lacked transparency. This combination of factors existed in no other country in the region. China maintained controls on the outward movement of foreign capital and had not linked the *yuan* to the appreciating US dollar. China has continued with very strong growth, broadening and deepening its relations with the rest of the world especially in the areas of trade, investment, finance, technology, and education, and there has also been a modest degree of social liberalization. Capitalist East Asia has recently had good but not outstanding growth, substantial democratisation, and far-reaching regional and global integration. Along with the growth of the middle class and the end of cheap labor, these factors suggest that South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong have become mature economies where sustained high growth can no longer be expected.

There has been significant social development throughout the region. Despite substantial population growth over the last fifty years, there have been large reductions in poverty levels. This has been especially notable in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea, and over the last two decades, in the vibrant coastal regions of southern China. The whole region has seen remarkable improvements in educational opportunities and attainments, including literacy and numeracy. Access to and success in higher education has also improved; these have enhanced the quality of life of individuals as well as contributing to overall economic development. Progress has also been made with population control. More educational and occupational opportunities for females have resulted in later marriage and lower fertility. The rights of women have been widely promoted although laws protecting these rights are often not adequately enforced.

The speed of the region's transformation has had negative side-effects. Modernisation, and especially industrialisation, required rapid urbanisation to bring workers from rural areas to the cities to work in factories and offices. This has been accompanied by many different forms of pollution, the breakdown of traditional support structures, and the *anomie* and stress characteristic of modern city life. Death from overwork has long been noted in Japan along with very severe psychological problems in increasing numbers of school children due to the competitive pressures to succeed. Some argue that these are the

inevitable costs of progress. Such problems have also started to appear throughout East Asia. For example, fifty-five hour working weeks are not at all unusual in South Korea. Although the burgeoning middle class has been important in demanding political reforms from the region's authoritarian governments, this class's high levels of consumption have aggravated problems of urban congestion and environmental pollution. This vignette illustrates the more general point that the great achievements of East Asian development have been accompanied by problems and dangers whose severity and incidence have been exacerbated by the very fast pace of economic development.

### Explaining East Asian Development

Understanding and explaining the successes and failures of East Asia has not been easy. Different scholars highlight different aspects of the East Asian experience and this leads to a host of divergent explanatory models. Some but by no means all of these aspects are the high quality of the political leadership, cooperation between government and business, commitment to free market economics and cultural features such as Confucianism, and the values and attitudes it has promoted. As each model has at least some merit, consideration will be given to all of these factors. Scholars will continue to dispute the relative weight of these factors.

The following discussion highlights the major factors but also the fact that their importance varied in different parts of the region. Moreover, there are often close connections between different kinds of factors. For example, the propensity to save, (arguably a Confucian value) rather than consume, was reinforced by government policies to encourage high levels of domestic saving. These funds were often made available at very low interest rates to firms—usually very large firms—that governments had decided to support. This example suggests how economics, politics, and culture have been closely interwoven in East Asian development.

The whole region suffered from the effects of colonialism and imperialism. The British colonised Hong Kong during the nineteenth century and Japan did the same in Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910). From the demise of the Qing dynasty in 1911 until the end of the Pacific War, China was wracked by civil conflict and foreign intervention. After victory in the 1895 Sino-Japanese war, Japan increasingly exploited the Chinese. With the substantial exception of mainland China, the colonial legacy was mixed. In Hong

Kong the British promoted educational opportunities and trade and established systems of law and public administration that encouraged the emergence of a flourishing entrepot. The industrialization of Taiwan and the Korean peninsula began when they were colonies of the Japanese. For example, essential infrastructure including roads, railways, electricity, and irrigation systems were built and educational and work opportunities expanded. Japanese rule also destroyed the aura of both Western invincibility and of the indigenous, landed elites, and this paved the way for multi-faceted post-colonial changes. Although the British and Japanese rulers were the main beneficiaries of colonialism their contribution to the framework of postcolonial development was significant. The Pacific War itself (1941–1945) caused enormous damage and suffering, yet it also propitiously hastened the end of colonialism in East Asia.

North Korea inherited the vast bulk of the modern infrastructure built up during Japanese rule as well as most of the peninsula's mineral and energy resources. These benefits provided a solid foundation for its strong growth performance during the 1950s but they could not compensate in the long term for the institutional weaknesses and policy mistakes that increasingly afflicted the country from the 1970s onward.

In China, both Koreas, and Taiwan, radical land reform programs were implemented in the early post-war years. Broadly speaking this resulted in either expropriation of land or its purchase at low prices from the wealthy, traditional landlords. This broke the power of the backward-looking traditional elites, whose role was taken over by new rulers who aspired to achieve development through modernisation. These new governments were therefore much freer to pursue modernising programs. These reforms also led to more equitable distributions of wealth and income and this in turn contributed to the defusion of rural discontent and the legitimacy of the post-war authoritarian governments. The introduction of modern machinery and farming techniques reduced the demand for rural labor. This surplus labor could at least partly alleviate the labor shortages that soon arose with the incipient industrial boom in the large cities and urban centers.

Under the 1950 Agrarian Reform Law in China, land owned by the gentry and rich landlords was expropriated and distributed amongst poor peasants. Gains in productivity were marginal however as the average size of holdings of the 300 million peasants was one-third of an acre. The next step involved the collectivisation of agriculture; this proved to be a disaster. As there were no incentives for individuals to work hard, people chose to do the bare minimum

required and productivity plummeted as a result. In the early 1960s, collectivisation also resulted in terrible famines. Collectivisation was only reversed as a part of the post-Mao reforms, so that farmers can now grow produce and sell it on open markets after providing a certain amount to the state as taxation.

Land reform was associated with endeavours to increase the productivity of agricultural labor, through mechanisation for example. The drop in demand for rural labor meant that many peasants moved to the cities to work in the newly burgeoning factories where incomes were often higher and more reliable.

In the early post-war years low-cost labor gave East Asia a strong competitive advantage over many other countries. Cheap labor drew in investment capital from the US, Europe, and, later, Japan. However, not only was labor cheap, it was also highly disciplined, flexible, enthusiastic, and well-trained. It was really the combination of all of these factors and not just the low cost of labor that made East Asia successful in both industrial and post-industrial development but also made the region so attractive to foreign investors. This also meant that in the early stages priority was given to labor- rather than capital-intensive industries. As both government and private savings and capital increased, so did the capacity to purchase sophisticated technologies and machinery from abroad. These gradually came to contribute increasingly to the economic power of the region, a process that was encouraged by the energy and drive to succeed of workers, management, government, and investors. However, the development process resulted in wage rises—in both absolute and relative terms—so that now China alone clearly remains a low-wage country. The fact that regional productivity and competitiveness has been so strong has nevertheless substantially offset the effects of higher wages.

The Cold War was the overarching international conflict that provided the broad framework within which East Asian development occurred up to the 1970s, and in a more diluted sense, up to the end of the 1980s. The West, and most importantly the US, regarded Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong as bulwarks in Asia against communist expansion. The colonial British government retained control of and responsibility for Hong Kong until 1997. On the other hand, the Soviet Union saw China and North Korea as bastions of communism in Asia.

The Americans tried to ensure that their allies in the region would not succumb to communist influence or force and various steps were taken to this end. Troops were stationed in South Korea and Taiwan to protect these countries from attack by communist aggressors; substantial amounts of foreign aid were



provided to South Korea and Taiwan during the 1950s; land reform was encouraged to defuse rural discontent and promote a fairer distribution of income and wealth; American markets were opened up to exports from the region; and American investment, technologies, and management skills were also readily made available. These measures collectively provided an enormous boost to capitalist East Asia, especially in the early post-war years. Most South Koreans, Taiwanese, and Hong Kong people were anti-communist, so they willingly accepted assistance from the West in the effort to contain communism. The Vietnam War provided a significant boost to East Asian industries as they provided many of the goods, materials, and services needed by the American military during that decade-long conflict.

Both China and North Korea were supported in different ways by the Soviet Union in the early post-war years. Soviet technicians and scientists were sent to China to help with heavy industrial projects and Chinese efforts to develop nuclear weapons. This support was substantially reduced due to the Sino-Soviet dispute of the early 1960s. Support from China and the USSR contributed to North Korea's good growth performance during the 1950s. However, the warming of relations between the US and China in the early 1970s, the reforms of the post-Mao era from the late 1970s, and especially the demise of the Soviet Union ten years later eroded the military, financial, and technical support provided to North Korea by the two communist giants.

Although North Korea and China have substantial natural resources that have contributed to their development, the opposite is true of the rest of the region. For this reason South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong had to rely upon the skills, knowledge, initiative, and nous of their people as the keys to survival and growth. Huge sums of money were invested in education and training programs so that a skilled labor force was created that could supply goods and services to overseas markets to earn the money necessary to buy the food, raw materials, and energy that could not be produced domestically.

Strong political leadership and effective, intelligent bureaucrats have made important contributions to economic growth. This leadership has taken different forms. Until the 1980s, all of the East Asian governments were authoritarian at best and dictatorial at worst. In Hong Kong until 1997, the British colonial government ruled with little internal opposition and few demands for democratic reform from the commercially oriented population. Pro-Western military rulers dominated in South Korea until the 1980s and the right-wing Kuomintang dominated Taiwan's political scene for most of the post-war period. China's

communist party has retained a solid hold on political power since 1949 but it has presided over pro-Western and pro-market reforms since the late 1970s.

Development depends upon the existence of a reasonable level of political stability. In capitalist East Asia up to the late 1970s, this has been provided by authoritarian governments (or the British colonial government in the case of Hong Kong). Some scholars have argued that before these countries could aspire to achieve democracy and vibrant civil societies, a reasonably high level of economic development and welfare was essential. The apparent acquiescence of most of the public in these countries in the first three post-war decades supports this notion. East Asian authoritarian governments were not just strong. Unlike authoritarian governments in most of the developing world, the governments in East Asia were effective and remarkably free of corruption. The ever-present if usually latent threats from China and North Korea have also contributed to the apparent acceptance of authoritarian rule in capitalist East Asia.

A high level of co-operation between government and big business was apparent in most of East Asia; the partial exception to this was Hong Kong. South Korea, following the model set by Japan, created institutions in which planning and consultation for economic development were pursued jointly by government and business. This meant that time and effort were not wasted in the resolution of disputes between the two and that each was committed to a broad common vision as long as this did not conflict with the basic interests of each side. Consultation and discussion generally ensured that this common vision and co-incidence of interests was achieved. However, even though governments had the stronger hand in these institutions and often gently directed policy through 'administrative guidance' measures, politicians knew that taking a confrontational position in dealing with business could ultimately be to their own detriment as well as adversely affecting development generally. There were two distinguishing features of the East Asian situation. First, businesses were generally not protected from market forces, and in particular, they could not ignore international price signals. Second, in general governments did not allow or encourage the creation of monopolies. The main exception to this was if a vital national interest was seen to override the economic benefits of competition. Both of these features ensured that competitive pressures and market forces ensured the maintenance of efficiency, profitability, and productivity.

South Korea came to build up and rely on a small number of very large industrial conglomerates known

as *chaebols*. Political and business leaders realised that in many lucrative activities large size was essential to achieve economies of scale. As a result there was a high level of consultation and cooperation between government, the bureaucracy, and business in setting and achieving the goals involved in industrial development.

East Asian governments created meritocratic bureaucracies that were very effective in implementing government policies and plans. These bureaucracies had the considerable advantage of being largely insulated from public scrutiny and criticism and the demands of narrowly based interest groups. Unlike the situation in many Western countries, the civil service was highly respected and many of the top university graduates moved into its most powerful and important parts. Not only were these graduates socially respected and quite highly paid, they also saw themselves as important players in their countries' nation-building projects. For all of these reasons the selfless pursuit of the public interest was very common in East Asia, unlike much of the rest of the developing world, where corruption was rampant. Meritocracy also was the main principle in the education system.

However, the growth of the middle class and increasingly well-educated populations that had travelled abroad and witnessed the achievements of Europe and the US meant that the depoliticisation of the public could not be sustained in the long term. This is certainly the case in South Korea and Taiwan; the ruling communist parties in North Korea and China look very strong at present but the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 show that challenges are possible.

Macroeconomic stability has been a significant factor in East Asian economic growth. The maintenance of low inflation and sustainable levels of debt, and especially foreign debt, have distinguished East Asia from most of the developing world. Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong have been the most successful in this; their large foreign exchange reserves helped to protect them from the worst effects of the 1997 Asian financial crisis. In contrast, South Korea had to be rescued by the IMF due to its inability to pay its foreign creditors when very large short-term loans were called in as the 'contagion' of the crisis began to spread. North Korea has been in states of stagnation or crisis over the last two decades partly because it has not been able to achieve the kind of macroeconomic stability that has characterised most of the region.

In the early post-war period, policies of import replacement and protection of local industry were implemented to nurture economies that were

recovering from war and civil turmoil and that were struggling to establish economic and political stability. South and North Korea and China relied heavily on such policies. The greater success of more open and less restricted countries such as Hong Kong and Taiwan led eventually to the phasing out of import replacement along with tariffs and quotas to protect local industry. The worst effect of the latter policies was that protection made improvements in competitiveness and productivity very hard to achieve, so that consumers often paid high prices by international standards for goods produced in protected sectors.

Export-led growth from the early 1960s followed the short period of import replacement after the war. South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong took advantage of open foreign markets, especially that of the US. All had relatively small domestic markets and a paucity of natural resources—in order to buy essential imports a successful export strategy was vital. China also gave increasing attention to the importance of exports from the late 1970s, and its continuing commitment to open trade was indicated by its recent admission to the WTO.

Traditionally civil society and the protection of individual human rights have been weak compared with the power of the state in East Asia. This weakness was reflected in the priority given to social and group interests over those of individuals and the ready acceptance of and respect for social hierarchy and the structures of rule and subordination that these embodied. The emergence of a docile and obedient labor force during the post-war years was made much easier by strength of these values and mores. From the 1950s to the 1970s, the workforce was usually willing to endure comparatively low wages, poor work conditions, and long hours to ensure the success of businesses, the competitiveness of their products on world markets, and the promotion of the national interest. Thrift and financial prudence are also often regarded as Confucian values that have promoted the high domestic savings rates that characterise East Asian societies.

Scholars such as Peter Berger argue that Confucian values, including respect for authority, collective solidarity, diligence, thrift, respect for education and learning, and meritocracy, contributed to the remarkable successes of East Asian development. Berger argues that the region provides a *sui generis* developmental model that is quite distinct from the Western pattern. A contrasting argument is that institutional structures and good policymaking and implementation are far more significant than cultural values and norms. Furthermore, China's development was retarded by its adherence to collectivism and state

control until the late 1970s, and this remains the case in North Korea. Max Weber argued that Confucianism was backward looking and too contemptuous of trade and commerce to spur economic activity in a way similar to the Protestant ethic in the West. However, the significance of all cultural phenomena including bodies of thought like Confucianism changes over time. It is very likely that there was a substantial consonance between Confucian values and the institutions and policies that help to account for East Asia's successes. These values provided the motivation on both individual and social levels for many of the economic, social, and political achievements of East Asia. This remains the case even if the religious foundation for the values disintegrates or is combined with other sources. For example, Christianity became very influential in South Korea after the war but its people remained extremely hard-working and conscientious.

East Asia faces enormous challenges. Economic growth must be maintained to achieve reasonable living standards but it is also essential to protect the natural and human environment. Over the last fifty years the extent of environmental degradation of the air, rivers, seas, and land and the loss of biodiversity in the region indicates a lack of balance, planning, and comprehensive vision in the development process. The welfare of future generations within the region and beyond it depends upon the prompt and substantial rectification of these shortcomings.

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**See also China, People's Republic of; East Asia: International Relations; Hong Kong; Korea, North; Korea, South; Taiwan**

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## EAST ASIA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

While economic interdependence can serve as a catalyst for reshaping international relations in East Asia, unresolved border disputes, confrontations on the Korean peninsula, fears of an arms race, national self-interests, lingering historical animosities, sharp inequalities, and a difference in economic systems are rendered obstacles to regional cooperation. At the same time the region increasingly grapples with such issues as environmental pollution, human rights abuses, and repression of ethnic minorities.

### Regional Order

In the Northeast Asian security complex comprising the United States, China, Russia, Japan, and a divided Korea and Taiwan, the interests of major powers have long been interwoven. The pendulum has swayed between good and poor relationships in the bilateral and multilateral interactions with elements of rivalry and cooperation. As cyclical patterns of amity and enmity forge new alliances within the region, relative power balances have been changing in the evolving international environment.

Whereas international relations in East Asia during the Cold War period were heavily influenced by the US-Soviet dynamic, the post-Cold War transformation has shifted towards intra-regional relations with reduction in the layering of conflict involving outside powers. Intra-regional tension has been focused on the Korean peninsula and China-Taiwan. Political complexity presented by two divided states affects political and strategic calculations of major powers.

Once the weight of US-Soviet rivalry was lifted, a more diversified set of cooperative and competitive relations shaped multidirectional patterns of North-east Asian geopolitics. The Sino-Russian border

demarcation process created a new environment for regional cooperation in 1991–1992 (following a series of high-level contacts, starting with the Sino-Russian summit). On the other hand, disputes over the Kuril Islands and adjacent territories still linger over Russo-Japanese relations, although they are mostly symbolic and historical, without much strategic and economic significance. Political relations in the sub-region are still viewed as volatile and unbalanced. Increasing Chinese military posture and force projection capabilities are seen as threats by other regional powers. The nationalist views of Japanese politicians and their military build-up provoke historic fears of Japanese militarism in East Asia.

In the absence of international peace agreements in the Korean peninsula, North Korea has been left out of diplomatic relations in Northeast Asia following the demise of the Soviet Union and Chinese recognition of South Korea without the reciprocal recognition of Pyongyang by the United States and Japan. Differences remain between North Korea and the United States on the issues of long-range missiles and nuclear weapons. North Korea's long-range missile development programs have become part of the Asia Pacific security equation since the August 1998 launching test of a three-stage Taepodong missile over Japan generated discussion about missile proliferation. The US/North Korean tension was somewhat eased with North Korea's agreement to dismantle its existing nuclear programs, but the agreement has to be implemented through the establishment of a formalized mechanism such as the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization.

The trans-Pacific axis has been complementing multidirectional intra-Asian relationships. American preparedness is affected by the shift in the balance of power in Northeast Asia brought about by a series of Chinese initiatives to modernize its military forces. A United States balancing role would be required because of the fear of dominant powers such as China and Russia along with high levels of conflict in the Korean peninsula and the Taiwan Strait.

With the presence of American military bases in Far East Asia, Japan maintains a strategic relationship with the United States while recasting priorities in exerting its influence in Asia. In the absence of any collective defense mechanism like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Japan and the Republic of Korea have maintained their respective bilateral alliances with the United States for the past five decades without developing trilateral alliance among the three. The dominance of the United States in the region obviated the need for multilateral military cooperation.

As the United States continues to remain involved in the region, Sino-American political relations can be complicated by various factors. A variety of outstanding political and economic disputes would not be solved in the year ahead despite the United States agreement with China's World Trade Organization (WTO) entry in November 1999. The question of human rights casts a dark cloud over the prospects for improved relations.

US/China relations can also be thought of in terms of their triangular relationships with Japan. The United States and Japan are cooperating for missile defense technology research and development despite being opposed by China. The debates in the United States to offer Taiwan more defense commitment increase tension in the China/US relationship. The emergence of a hegemonic alliance in Northeast Asia can generate Chinese fear of being isolated.

### The Strategic Environment

In uncertain alliance relationships, a strategic environment is beset by suspicion and distrust. The military build-up has been driven by uncertainty instead of concrete threats. Any increase in the military capabilities of one country is viewed as a potential threat by its neighbors and rivals, often prompting them to build up their own forces as well. The strategic environment in East Asia is complicated by a lack of regional arms control or disarmament pacts. We are witnessing the emergence of significant arms races in the Asia-Pacific region.

Despite the general relaxation of military tensions in many areas of the world with the end of the Cold War, military spending by East Asian countries has significantly increased across the board. Global military spending was falling from a peak of \$1.3 trillion in 1987 to \$840 billion in 1994; contrary to this trend, across the region of East Asia, military expenditures went up from an average of \$126 billion per year in the 1984–1988 period to \$142 billion annually in 1992–1994. These increased military allocations were devoted to strengthening and modernizing the existing armed forces and to acquiring new capabilities for power projection as well as building up domestic capabilities to manufacture modern weapons.

The rise in military spending in East Asia (made possible by increased wealth with success of their exports) is, in part, related to the persistence of regional disputes. These arms races could pose a substantial threat to both regional and international security. Promoting mutual security requires transparency measures such as provision of conventional

arms data, regular meetings of defense officials, and exchange of visits of military personnel.

East Asia lacks the deeply rooted security institutions (for example, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) which provide a multilateral framework to resolve regional disputes. Regional security can be undermined by disagreements over the control of offshore territories in the East and South China Seas. China and South Korea both claim a continental shelf with unresolved boundaries involving basins with good petroleum potential. There is a new need for rules, codes of conduct, and harmonization of domestic practices to deal with the sovereignty disputes over Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs).

Northeast Asian countries have started a bilateral security dialogue at the fringes of the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum and other multilateral meetings. Despite the stress on broader regional dialogues at private levels, a complex web of bilateral alliances and diplomatic arrangements has not been aggregated into multilateral structures. China has been traditionally skeptical of multilateral approaches to security, preferring bilateral interaction with its neighbors which allows them to take an advantage of one-on-one negotiation. On the other hand, Russia is more enthusiastic with Northeast Asia multilateral security dialogues, being concerned about its exclusion from the Asia-Pacific security discourse.

Main impediments to sub-regional cooperation include nationalist jockeying for geopolitical advantage. Other forces involved in the division of the region encompass different political systems and levels of economic development as well as inadequate efforts to overcome the past legacy. A regional identity, shared senses of the past and future destiny, and transnational civil society have not yet emerged.

### **Economic Cooperation**

The region has exhibited an economic dynamism even with the experience of slow growth rates of recent years resulting from the Asian financial crisis of 1997–1999. National income has risen in recent decades as a result of their success in promoting economic growth through export-oriented industrialization. Economic interdependence has been a major trend in the post–Cold War Asia-Pacific region, with a dramatic increase in trade between China and Japan, and between Korea and Taiwan. While the United States serves as the biggest market for consumer goods manufactured in Asia, Japan has provided loans, technology, and investment. The region's economy has been dominated by Japan's trade surplus with other

countries in the region, far exceeding that with other countries.

Russia has been cultivating relations with China and South Korea, since Western aid has not been enough to draw Russia out of its economic slump. Hopes of fruitful integration of the periphery economies of the Far East region with the Pacific Rim arise from the opening of the Sino-Russian border to trade and investment. Russia retains control over natural resources and Soviet-era industries while depending on the East Asian Pacific Rim for food and consumer goods. Economic cooperation in the border areas of North Korea, Russia, and China was discussed through the Tumen River Area Development Plan (1992–1994) and its successor, the Tumen River Economic Development Area (1994).

Significance in the economic realm has an impact on the political dimensions of major power relations. Most Northeast Asian governments now accord a higher priority to maximizing wealth, and their increasing economic interdependence makes outright conflict too costly. Economic considerations (e.g., the operation of East Asian capitalist markets) can result in a more predictable and less antagonistic foreign policy behavior.

The sub-region has discussed numerous ideas for multilateral measures, including a regional development bank, an economic development zone, energy and environmental cooperation. While most people agree that the flourishing commerce in the region provides a further potential of growing into more formal cooperation in the future, Northeast Asia has not yet espoused economic and political integration comparable to the magnitude of the European Union and the creation of regional institutions and interactions along the Southeast Asia lines. Shared interests in regional cooperation have not been translated into reality due to political differences and a lack of infrastructure. Regionalism most strongly manifests in the economic realm with the decline of ideology offset by diverging values and perceptions along with the emerging nationalism.

### **China's Economic Rise**

The size of China's market and the rate of economic expansion put the country in a strong position to change the regional economic dynamics. China's development strategy combines market forces and an oppressive authoritarian government with the promise of private wealth. China has gone through transition from a socialist, planned economy to development of private economic sectors and markets.

High growth has been made possible by cheap docile labor and a high level of foreign investment. In competition for investments, China received the lion's share of the total investments poured into East Asia.

China has great advantages in labor-intensive exports through cheap labor with the repression of any attempts for organizing trade unions. China's low-cost production exerted a tremendous pressure on export industries of neighboring countries in an international market. Southeast Asian countries engaged in the garment-exporting industry and other light industries have steadily lost out in the competition. The competitive economic threat from China is expected to have an impact on more industrially advanced countries, in particular, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, as China plans to move beyond the exports of toys, clothes, and other low-tech products. Such products as electronics, cars, ships, chemicals, and steel can erode manufacturing bases of the neighboring countries. Countries which do not have technical prowess are, in particular, vulnerable to China, which is a much lower-cost producer. While China is regarded as a major competitor, it is also seen as a source of joint ventures and as a partner in regional growth. In a show of tripartite economic cooperation, Korea, China, and Japan developed formal forums for trade and finance ministers as well as a business forum to be attended by key business organizations and industrialists from the three countries. It deals with such issues as trade promotion and monetary and other macroeconomic policy coordination. China plans to expand its influence in Southeast Asia through creating a regional free trade area within the decade. As one of the largest trading countries, China entered the World Trade Organization (WTO) following fifteen years of participating in free trade negotiations. The difficult negotiations reflect concerns with its poor treatment of labor, including unpaid prison labor and forbidding organization of unions.

Since low wages and poor labor protection have driven China's surge as an export power, many countries regard poor treatment of Chinese labor as unfair advantage. Undertaking all the obligations to comply with WTO rules and disciplines means opening up China's market to international competition, lowering its industrial and agricultural tariffs, limiting subsidies, and liberalizing foreign investment norms in telecommunications, insurance, and banking services. There is a general hope that the labor standard would improve with the system of international regulations governing free trade. In addition, some argue that the onset of a domestic free market could release the momentum for the democratization of Chinese society as well as free economic entrepreneurship.

## Human Rights Conditions

The worst human rights conditions are reported in China and North Korea, which were accused of arbitrary detention, torture, and executions. The authorities in those countries have carried out a serious crackdown on peaceful dissent. According to various international human rights reports, arbitrary detention and torture of criminal suspects and convicted prisoners are common and widespread across the country. Most executions take place after sentencing rallies in front of massive crowds in sports stadiums and public squares. Prisoners are also paraded through the streets past thousands of people on the way to execution by firing squad in nearby fields or courtyards.

In the case of China, economic reform in China moved ahead without concurrent liberalization of a political process. Profound social and economic changes in the past twenty years have not made any impact on civil and political freedoms. Social divisions and alienation caused by continuing restrictions on basic rights stunt economic progress. Beijing signed two key international human rights conventions on political, civic, social, and economic rights in 1997 and 1998, but a broad range of people who seek their rights to freedom of expression or association were sentenced to long prison terms for subversion under sweeping national security provisions introduced in 1997.

Only a handful of tiny NGOs are allowed to exist, but they are kept on a tight rein. Ordinary citizens are not organized to provide any credible challenges to the government. The Chinese government routinely blocks websites of Western media outlets, human rights groups, Tibetan exiles, and other sources of information it deems politically sensitive or harmful. While promoting the Internet for commercial purposes, the government tries to control its political content.

There is no sign of any relaxation of the crackdown on fundamental freedoms nor a promise for improvement in the human rights situation, which has seriously deteriorated. Years have passed since the brutal killing of hundreds of unarmed citizens in Beijing who participated in the 1989 Tiananmen Square pro-democracy protests. The Chinese government still refers to the crackdown as a 'political incident' and argues (faced with the campaigns of the relatives of those killed for justice) that a 'counter-revolutionary riot' had to be crushed.

According to Amnesty International, the authorities have turned the clock backwards and created a new generation of prisoners of conscience, including

those who raised a new range of issues, such as labor, the environment, and religious freedom. Many individuals are currently imprisoned solely for organizing free trade unions or strikes and simply for speaking out for livelihood issues. Some have been sent for re-education through labor camps or forcibly detained in psychiatric hospitals. Officials must approve religious practice; otherwise it is considered counter-revolutionary. More people are executed every year in China than in the rest of the world put together. For those sentenced during the 'Strike Hard' campaign, punishment was swift and ruthless. It was justified to tackle the serious economic crime situation before entry to WTO and the challenge of globalization.

### **Minority Issues in China**

China includes fifty-five minority groups, amounting to 120 million inhabitants (almost ten percent of the population). Ethnic minorities, in particular, were subject to brutal suppression, with the common practice of torture and summary trials of political suspects. In particular, China's Islamic minorities have been almost invisible behind centuries of repression. Many political prisoners in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region have been executed, accused of separatism, religious activities, and a range of alleged violent crimes.

In Xinjiang, the Turkic-speaking Muslim Uighurs, identified strongly with their neighbors across the steppe, seek autonomy from Beijing. Since the region was annexed to China in 1950, it experienced ethnic brawling. Owing to its rich minerals, with one-third of China's oil resources, the government wanted to have a tight control over the region. Nuclear testing at Lop Nor, in 1964, by the Chinese government resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths. For the recent years, the repression has been more severe, with the outlawing of Koranic schools since 1998.

The Beijing government has established a state of virtual apartheid; the industrial, bureaucratic, or top-level employment is overwhelmingly held by Han Chinese, while the Uighurs are concentrated in the agrarian sector. In addition, the state-sponsored policy for the relocation of Han Chinese into Xinjiang has dramatically changed the population mix, with the Uighur population shrinking from approximately 70% in 1950 to just 49% today. The situation is even bleaker with the planned migration of displaced Han Chinese after the Three Gorges Dam Project.

The international community has been silent about the crushing of Uighur independence aspirations due to Islamic association. The annual Shanghai

Five summit organized in 1996 by China, Russia, and three secular Central Asian states (Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgystan) supported Beijing's position on national separatism and religious movements in Xinjiang. Due to repression, the prospect of peace in Xinjiang looks less likely than ever. The international 'war on terrorism' provided some justification for Beijing's eight-year crackdown on separatist Muslim movements.

### **The Status of Tibet and Mongolia**

Chinese occupation of self-governing Tibet traces back to October 1950 with the dispatch of units of the Chinese army, but a complete control of Tibet by Beijing accompanied crushing the 1957 peaceful Tibetan revolt and flight of the Dalai Lama to India. Prior to the exile of the Tibetan leadership in Lhasa under the Dalai Lama, Beijing signed a seventeen-point agreement in May 1951. In the document, the Chinese leadership originally promised the preservation of the Buddhist religion, Tibetan lifestyles and traditional polity as well as its authorities, headed by the Dalai Lama and his Cabinet of Ministers. The past four decades observed the increasing integration of the territory and its people into Chinese political, economic, military, and demographic control with the influx of bureaucratic cadres, technical personnel, and troops along with Han Chinese settlers. In addition, Beijing closely regulates and monitors monastic activities and religious worship in Tibet. There is the real fear that Tibetan culture and religion will be obliterated by Chinese immigration.

In order to keep alive their hopes of returning to a freed homeland, Tibetans in exile, together with their Western supporters, have promoted the internationalization of the Chinese occupation of Tibet. These activities include lobbying, fund-raising events, concerts, and publication of books on Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. Other activities involve the organization of meetings between the Dalai Lama and Western parliamentarians, as well as US presidents and congressional leaders.

While encouraging civil disobedience in response to oppression, the Tibetan government-in-exile has pursued political discussions with representatives of the Chinese government. The Dalai Lama already signaled his willingness to accept Chinese control over the defense and foreign relations of Tibet in exchange for a guarantee of basic human rights and genuine autonomy for the territory's people. The Chinese leadership did not respond to the proposal

for limited authority, insisting that it is not genuine but a strategy for seeking independence.

Mongolia was fortunate to avoid Chinese annexation since the end of World War II, and has been successful in its struggle to keep its independence. In order to attract Western recognition and support, Mongolia adopted a conscious strategy of promoting democracy and human welfare in the post-Cold War international order. The Mongolian government carried out the country's first free elections in April 1990 replacing the unraveling of the old communist system. Mongolia began to attend regional forums on political and confidence building measures as part of efforts to circumvent Beijing's growing diplomatic influence and represent its security interests.

Mongolia is also seeking extended relations with Japan and South Korea through trade, investment, and aid while strengthening cultural, educational, and economic ties with Taiwan. At the same time, it has cultivated military ties with the United States, while being careful to manage nonalignment and balanced relations with its two immediate neighbors, Russia and China. In addition, the encroachment of mainstream Chinese culture and its increasing materialism is counteracted by actively enhancing local, native consciousness through a revival of its traditional Tibetan Lamaist faith and reverence for Genghis Khan.

## Taiwanese Sovereignty

China-Taiwan remains a recurrent source of tension, international as well as domestic. Whereas most Taiwanese want to keep the statehood, China wants to pursue the path of the island's forcible integration into the mainland. Taiwan became a genuinely democratic country, surviving despite its diplomatic isolation. China regards Taiwan as an internal affair, but its attempts for coercive integration will provoke international legal, political, and moral opposition.

Although Taiwan's status in the international state system is ambiguous, it has been maintaining *de facto* statehood. Its international legal status was undermined with the successful diplomatic campaign of Beijing. Taiwan's diplomatic relations are limited to about thirty countries, mostly small states, although its cultural and economic relations are extensive. Taiwan began to lose its international status following Kissinger's grand strategic bargain to counterbalance the Soviet Union with mainland China in the early 1970s. During the Carter administration (more specifically, the end of 1978), the United States severed all formal diplomatic ties, "derecognizing" the

Taiwan-based government and accepting Beijing in its place as "the sole legal government of China."

Since then, Taiwan has embarked on the path of democratization to ameliorate political discontent in the middle class and help Taiwan break out of its increasing isolation after its exit from the United Nations (UN). In order to win international support needed to stand up to mainland China, Taiwan consolidated democratization through constitutional changes. Political liberalization not only enhanced the protection of human rights, but also guaranteed freedom of speech and press in Taiwan. Ethnic Taiwanese were actively recruited into the government and the Kuomintang Party, which used to be controlled mainly by those who fled from mainland Communist China in the late 1940s.

The cross-strait dialogue between Beijing and Taipei has not been easy, since the Taiwanese are not interested in unification with China in accordance with the One Country, Two Systems model insisted on by Beijing. The Chinese leadership has even threatened to invade Taiwan if the Taiwanese authorities continue to refuse to be reintegrated with the mainland and seek for the recognition of statehood. Beijing's determination has been supported by rising Chinese nationalism. The mainland grew increasingly aggressive in its efforts to force Taiwan to submit to its rule. In response to a visit by high-level politicians to the United States (such as the attendance of President Lee Teng-Hui at his graduate-school class reunion at Cornell University in 1995), Beijing reacted with furious denunciations followed by firing missiles into Taiwan's coastal waters. The same menacing gesture was also exhibited as the island's voters were preparing to go to the polls for the presidential election in the spring of 1996.

In response to the latter event, Washington was compelled to send two carrier battle groups as a token of United States disapproval and a warning against even more forceful Chinese action. The United States has helped the Taiwanese government develop a well-equipped military to reduce the gap with the mainland's largest standing army in the world. However, Taiwan's efforts to improve its relations with the United States were hampered by the Clinton administration's policy for a strategic partnership with Beijing.

In the foreseeable future, the isolation of Taiwan is likely to continue, and it would be difficult to regain *de jure* independence status. There are not enough votes in the UN to push for Taiwan's readmission in the world body. In spite of its occasional tiffs with China, the United States maintains a one-China policy by recognizing Beijing as the only government representing China and does not acknowledge Taiwan



as a separate political entity. On the other hand, it has expressed a desire to see the issue of Taiwan resolved peacefully.

Taiwan may search for various ways to coexist with the mainland government. Taiwanese might be open to the idea of a federal China comprising the mainland, Taiwan, Tibet, and Hong Kong in a democratic structure with some common foreign and defense policies, but with complete internal autonomy and separately elected governments. However, the Chinese government has not accepted diversity and considers itself an integrated state entity.

The political identity of the Taiwanese people has moved away from that of China's mainland populace with the election of President Chen Shui-Bian in March 2000. The election ended the fifty-year rule of the Kuomintang Party (KMT), whose principal identity has been associated with a unified China. While the new president made relatively conciliatory gestures toward the mainland in order to avert an immediate crisis, his Democratic Progressive Party charter contains a commitment to Taiwanese independence.

A campaign for independent identity is represented by the reconceptualization of Taiwanese culture as having its own "pluralist, indigenous, and international" characteristics. Teaching Chinese history as a foreign subject is advocated along with the increase in teaching local Taiwanese languages in elementary school. It is in total contrast with the suppression of Taiwanese consciousness with the prohibition of local and aboriginal languages in schools and the showing of movies in any language other than the official Mandarin Chinese during KMT rule following the 1947 massacre of Taiwanese demonstrators.

The mobilization of Taiwanese consciousness is reflected in such concept as the "New Taiwanese." Taiwan is searching for a common identity transcending the traditional divide between native Taiwanese and mainlanders by encouraging people to identify with Taiwan. More importantly, the "New Taiwanese" concept underlines the emergence of a Taiwan identity separate from that of China and closely associated with Taiwan's homegrown democratic system. The democratic system in Taiwan is not negotiable, as it is a fundamental part of Taiwan's identity.

### Japan's Legacy

Japan has not given serious thought to what can be done toward reconciliation with its neighbors while the resentment of Japan's past occupation lies deep

below the surface in formal relations. Japan has not fully apologized for mistreating the neighboring populations under their occupation prior to the end of World War II. Occasional diplomatic tension was created by Japanese justification of destruction of neighboring countries. Relations between Japan and South Korea (most seriously affected by Japanese war campaigns) are at the lowest ebb, with the Japanese government's approval of history textbooks that omitted any mention of war crimes committed against the Korean population as well as Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo (a symbol of Japan's imperial past).

In particular, it remains an international issue to compensate and make an apology to the "comfort women" who were victims of the Japanese military's highly organized system of sexual slavery throughout its occupied territories in the 1930s and 1940s. Of the two hundred thousand so-called comfort women, only a quarter survived their ordeal; many died of injuries, disease, madness, and suicide soon after they were forced into sex with Japanese troops. For years the ones who survived stayed silent with their marginal lives. Beginning in 1991, however, hundreds of elderly women from Korea, China, Taiwan, and the Philippines came forward demanding the Japanese government's acknowledgment of its responsibility, an apology, and reparations.

Despite a vigorous campaign of international protest following mass demonstrations in Korea and Taiwan, Japan has not officially accepted the responsibility, though the Japanese prime minister offered unofficial apologies in 1995. A small fund to be financed on a voluntary basis by business was set up to help the women, but the Hiroshima high court overturned a modest award to three Korean women later. In addition, a popular comic-book history of Japan alleges that the comfort women were volunteers. Any mention of the government's role in the comfort-woman program has been widely ignored by the Japanese public.

### The Inter-Korean Talks

The relations between North and South Korea have been affected by the legacy of the Korean War. The country was originally divided by American and Russian troops occupying the peninsula following World War II. The situation on the Korean peninsula has been affected by the nature of bilateral relationships with neighboring powers. Currently, thirty-seven thousand United States military troops are stationed in South Korea to help thwart any possible military

action from the North. South Korea, Japan, and the United States have coordinated their policies toward North Korea.

The *Sunshine Policy* of reconciliation promoted by South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung represents efforts for a gradual easing of tensions with Pyongyang. South/North Korea relations have been improving following a historic visit of the South Korean President to the North in June 2000. Based on the Inter-Korean Joint Declaration, limited family visits were allowed, and there have been indications of more restrained military behavior from Pyongyang. In addition to further discussions about the reunion of divided families, meetings of the inter-Korean economic cooperation committee along with inter-Korean ministerial talks were held to search for closer economic ties.

The North-South Korean peace process produced a joint pledge to resume building a railway to join the two halves of the divided peninsula through the direct route across the 38th parallel, closed for fifty years. Work financed by the South will also start on an industrial zone in Kaesong near the South Korean border. Hyundai's tourism project involving ship cruises to the North's scenic Kumgang Mountains was encouraged by the government. The North also recently made a request for electricity needed to revive its crippled economy.

Such events as the inter-Korean summit of June 2000 clearly stimulated joint efforts for forward movement in the stalled inter-Korean relations. The younger generation of North Korean leadership following the death of Kim Il Sung has pursued more pragmatic approaches. However, Pyongyang is reluctant to quickly implement an early reunion for separated families at a certain permanent facility and free exchange of letters owing to concerns for their political implications. Inter-Korean talks for reconciliation and exchanges have not resulted in a dramatic breakthrough in the security arenas, and concrete actions have not been taken to replace the current armistice system on the Korean peninsula. Given lingering suspicion, North-South Korea talks have been slow, and a reciprocal visit to South Korea by the North Korean President has not been yet scheduled.

The conditions for reconciliation have further deteriorated due to the reluctance of the United States administration to be engaged in a dialogue with North Korea, reversing a high-level contact between the United States and North Korea during the Clinton administration. While a peaceful reunification is desirable, a sudden collapse of North Korea would place new financial and social strains on the country just when it has to concentrate on overcoming the global economic challenge.

## Future Challenges

East Asia is a part of the globe destined to shape the twenty-first century economically, politically, and strategically. In this coming decade, dramatic changes are expected with the re-establishment of the international order in East Asia. National economies have been integrated into international production networks and widely exposed to market trends abroad. While old borders come down with economic integration, social fragmentation creates new ones.

The Chinese leadership is not open yet to political reform which allows a peaceful transfer of power. In addition, Chinese leaders have to pursue structural reform, which has to be accompanied by its entry into WTO. The Chinese leadership will continue to confront the status of Taiwan, demands for autonomy by Muslims, Tibetans, and other minorities, and face criticisms against human rights abuses and environmental pollution.

Environmental problems have become acute recently. The phenomenal expansion over the past several years of the national economy has made China the largest producer of carbon dioxide among newly industrializing countries. Whereas the country is now responsible for about ten percent of all the greenhouse gas emissions directly contributing to heat waves and floods on the planet, China is expected to emit more carbon dioxide, at its current pace of development, by 2025 than the present total of North America and Japan combined.

Following its miraculous economic growth, Japan has been in deep recession since the early 1990s. The ruling Liberal Democrat Party failed to reverse years of economic stagnation despite spending tens of billions of dollars on public infrastructure. There is pressure on Japan to tackle structural weaknesses in the financial system, in particular, attributed to Japan's fragile banking system burdened by massive debts. The efforts to revive the economy have not yet produced any visible outcome.

The United States' role in East Asia will be determined by interpretations of the degree of preparedness by the American government to meet with the shift in balance of power in East Asia. In the short term, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001, have resulted in support for a United States-run international campaign. While South Korea and Japan provide logistical support for humanitarian operations in Afghanistan, North Korea joined treaties on anti-terrorism as a gesture to improve relations with the US government.

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**See also China, People's Republic of; East Asia: History and Economic Development; Hong Kong; Korea, North; Korea, South; Taiwan**

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## EAST TIMOR

East Timor is the eastern half of the island of Timor, including the enclave of Oecussi surrounded by Indonesian West Timor. Similar to nearby Indonesian islands, its climate is dry, with a rainy season roughly from November to February. It is mountainous, although there are some plains and littoral regions. There are at least a dozen distinct languages native to East Timor, with dozens more dialects, although Tetum is a lingua franca, as is Indonesian, and some speak Portuguese and English. The population is predominantly Malay with sizable Austronesian and Melanesian populations, as well as ethnic Chinese and Arab populations, and a large mestiço population due to the Portuguese colonial period.

Portuguese traders and missionaries arrived in the early sixteenth century. The colonial period was marked by the "benign neglect" experienced by other Portuguese colonies; the Portuguese were interested mainly in the region's sandalwood. When the vast stands of sandalwood had been depleted by the early twentieth century, the Portuguese turned to coffee and copra production.

As it did most of Southeast Asia, Japan took over East Timor during World War II, and approximately sixty thousand East Timorese perished during the course of the war, representing over one-tenth of the population. As nationalist movements agitated for independence throughout Southeast Asia following the war, East Timor reverted back to colonial rule due to the lack of a strong, united nationalist front because of the low level of education in the region

(although sporadic small-scale rebellions against the Portuguese flared, usually easily and brutally repressed). A Catholic seminary was built in the 1950s in Dare in order to train an indigenous clergy and provide secondary education for elites. Nationalist leaders such as José Ramos Horta and Mari Alkatiri were educated there, and nationalists were often influenced during periods of exile in other Portuguese colonies with more developed movements, such as Mozambique.

Following the 1974 "Revolution of the Carnations" in Lisbon, Portuguese decolonization began throughout the Lusophone empire. Three main political parties emerged in East Timor, the Timorese Democratic Union, Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN), and the People's Democratic Association of East Timor. FRETILIN commanded the largest support by far. After months of Indonesian subterfuge in East Timor, including cross-border excursions, FRETILIN unilaterally declared independence on November 28, 1975, hoping for international recognition in order to prevent an invasion.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded, with approval from the West. Within a few months sixty thousand East Timorese had perished, and within five years that number had increased to approximately two hundred thousand, representing around one-third of the population. The Indonesian occupation was marked by widespread campaigns of terror, rape, forced sterilization, torture, and disappearances. The armed wing of FRETILIN, FALANTIL, maintained a guerrilla war, bolstered by popular support.

By the mid-1980s, after securing most of the territory, the Indonesian administration began development projects in East Timor, such as roads, telecommunications, electricity, and other infrastructure projects. Although this work aided the East Timorese economy, it also helped facilitate Indonesian consolidation of control. In 1986, the University of East Timor opened, with a focus on agriculture and vocational training. Much of the profit of development in East Timor went to the Indonesian military elite and bureaucrats stationed in East Timor; many industries, such as road construction and coffee, were monopolies owned by Indonesian generals. Throughout the occupation, East Timor remained one of the least developed regions in Indonesia, although the vast reserves of oil in the Timor Sea made it potentially one of its richest. During the occupation the conversion rate to Catholicism skyrocketed, as a reaction to the invaders' belief in Islam, and East Timor is around 95% nominally Catholic today.

The integration of East Timor was viewed by most as a *fait accompli*, yet following the Santa Cruz Massacre of November 11, 1991, caught on film and

broadcast globally, solidarity movements emerged worldwide calling for self-determination. The movement was heartened in 1996 when Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo shared the Nobel Peace Prize with resistance leader Ramos Horta.

Following the 1998–1999 economic and political crisis that engulfed Indonesia, President Suharto's successor, B.J. Habibie, agreed to a referendum in the long-suffering territory. Despite widespread intimidation by militia groups supported by the Indonesian military, 98% of those registered voted, and 78.5% chose independence. After the results were announced on September 4, 1998, East Timor erupted in a militia-led spasm of violence. Within two weeks the unarmed UN force had evacuated, contrary to their guarantees, allowing the militias and Indonesian military to carry out their scorched earth campaign. When UN peacekeepers arrived on September 20, East Timor lay in ruins. Over seventy percent of all buildings were destroyed, water, electricity, and telephone services were dismantled, systematic killing and rape had occurred, and nearly half the population had been displaced, many sent at gunpoint to West Timor or other areas in Indonesia. The Indonesian military and militias retreated, and the task of rebuilding fell to the United Nations Transitional Authority for East Timor (UNTAET).

UNTAET faced a myriad of problems. Education under Indonesia was poor, and in the period before the referendum, almost all of the teachers, who were Indonesian, left. Schools and the university were destroyed. To stave off famine and disease, UNTAET and NGOs organized food relief, temporary housing, and medical facilities, and UNTAET engineers began rebuilding the shattered infrastructure. Few UNTAET jobs were filled by East Timorese, however, justified by a lack of English skills or training, and unemployment remained around eighty percent since the referendum, causing resentment. The UNTAET presence led to a clearly bifurcated economy, with UNTAET and most aid workers occupying the top tier, and most East Timorese stagnating in poverty. There has been surprisingly little violence, however, including toward returning former militia members, who are being reintegrated into society.

On May 20, 2002, East Timor was granted full independence, recognized by the United Nations, with former FALANTIL commander and Indonesian prisoner José Alexandre “Xanana” Gusmão becoming the country's first elected president. Ramos Horta became the country's Minister of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Alkatiri Prime Minister. East Timor has begun establishing economic and diplomatic relations with its neighbors, including

Indonesia. Per capita income is around \$450 US dollars, unemployment remains high, and the country relies on foreign aid and profits from coffee exports. East Timor has not experienced economic growth; its growth rate was estimated at –3% in 2003. A windfall is expected as soon as the oil in the Timor Sea can be exploited; however, maritime boundaries and the rights to the oil remain in dispute between Australia and East Timor. Challenges that remain in East Timor include establishing a modern education system, rebuilding the shattered infrastructure, and establishing a viable economy that can alleviate the high rates of unemployment. Non-governmental organizations have spread and continue to add to a lively civil society, including continuing their calls for justice in the form of an international tribunal for those responsible for the tragedy of the Indonesian occupation. The East Timorese leadership, however, including Gusmão and Ramos Horta, have taken a more politically pragmatic approach, denying the need for a tribunal and citing the importance of strong political and economic ties to Indonesia, its major trading partner. An Indonesian tribunal with very limited scope exonerated most of those brought before the court, but was widely viewed as illegitimate by outside observers.

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### See also Indonesia

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## ECONOMIC AND CUSTOMS UNION OF CENTRAL AFRICA (ECUCA)

Popularly identified by its French acronym, UDEAC (the Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale), ECUCA is a regional grouping that was meant to promote cooperation and integration among the Central African states with a view to fostering sub-regional development. This was to be done through the harmonization of its fiscal policy and customs duties, the coordination of its industrialization programs, and the free circulation of the factors of production as well as produce. It was created on December 8, 1964, and in 1974 the Treaty was revised, with the members pledging to work to form an economic union. Initially, it had five members: Cameroon, the Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, the Republic of the Congo, and Gabon. Chad and CAR withdrew in 1968, though CAR later rejoined that same year. Chad did not renew its membership until 1985, when Equatorial Guinea also became a member. Commonalities among them such as the French language (except for Equatorial Guinea, where the official language is Spanish) and a common currency, the CFA (Communautaire financière africaine, or the African Financial Community), as well as cultural affinities were expected to have a synergistic effect on the Union. Cumulatively, it covers a geographical area of 3,020,561 square kilometers, that is, about one and a half times the size of the European Community in 1990. The combined population of its six members was 22 million, that is, a tenth of the inhabitants of Europe (Mouafo 1991). As such the grouping began to provide an answer to the economies-of-scale problem that had dogged its individual members, who were considered micro-states. Other factors, however, could still decrease its attractiveness value to potential investors. In 1987, their total GDP was about \$18 million US dollars, that is, about a tenth that of Holland (Kitchen 1992). And this has fallen over time, causing most of the states to sign Structural Adjustment Programs with the World Bank. *Prima facie*, this can be seen as evidence of ECUCA's failure to provide a new impetus to development in the sub-region. The requisite political will was also in short supply among the contracting parties.

Though it was endowed with several instruments, the Common External Tariff (CET) stood out because it was trade driven, as well as its *Droit de Douane* (single custom duty), a Single Tax, and a *taxe complémentaire* (complementary tax [CT]). The CET applicable to non-member states comprises a common external customs duty, a *taxe d'entrée* (entry tax), and a *taxe sur le chiffre d'affaires à l'importation* (turnover tax). The CT, designed to compensate the states'

revenue losses suffered as a result of the application of the CET, is determined by the various member-states. Initially conceived to cover a transitional period of twenty-five years, it has become permanent because of its revenue generating capacity. The *Single Tax*, which seeks to promote *intra-UDEAC* trade in the manufacturing sector, is a preferential tax granted to companies upon application. Beneficiaries have a lighter tax burden than the CET plus the CT. However, its tendency to vary from state to state undermines both the CET and the principle of fair competition. The members shared a common central bank, the Banque des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale (BEAC), as well as a common development bank, the Banque de Développement des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale (BDEAC). Noteworthy, however, is the fact that powers of decision-making were vested in the Council of the Heads of State and Ministers that met once a year; its Secretary General had only administrative functions.

Despite the incentives, trade creation was negligible, as demonstrated by the sluggish growth in *intra-UDEAC* trade as a percentage of the overall volume of trade. It oscillated between 1.6% in 1960 and 2.0% in 1983 (the year in which the secretariat stopped collecting data) after hitting a high of 4.1% in 1980 (Kitchen, 1992). Most of its inter-African trade is carried out with the members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Historical trade patterns have continued, as France remains the principal trading partner of these countries. Granted, these figures were skewed by the high levels of contraband and unofficial trade in UDEAC. Two groups of products dominate official *intra-UDEAC* trade: energy products and manufactures. Trade in the latter is hindered because most of these economies have identical industries.

Trade in Single Tax products was largely to the benefit of the more developed states where most of these industries are located. To redress any prejudice that this may cause the poorer states, the redistribution of the proceeds of this tax was based on the level of a state's consumption of the Single Tax products. Because of this, the amounts varied, a trend that was exacerbated by the fact that variable rates were applied during a six-year transition period, and the 1974 treaty simply stipulated that the rates for the same products should be reduced progressively.

Confidence-building measures, such as the creation of regional industries with a view to fostering the deepening process, were aborted. Plans for creating the "Société Equatoriale de Raffinage" (Equatorial Refining Company) to refine crude oil suffered when states such as Gabon reneged on their initial

commitment to participate and withdrew their investments. This produced a domino effect. In the textile sector, for instance, a decision to locate a communal textile factory in Congo aborted as states simply built their own factories. It is noteworthy that the creation of forward and backward linkages was not a factor in the decision allocating these regional industries. Even BDEAC failed to devote up to 50% of its credit to the creation of regional industries as stipulated in the 1974 treaty. Rather, it was more exposed to the more developed states in the Union (Jua 1986). Against this backdrop, lesser developed UDEAC members saw payments from the Solidarity Fund as only budgetary compensations, which could not help to reduce the asymmetry in levels of development.

Though factors such as investment shortfalls and a historical bias to reinforce the umbilical cord between France and its member states account for UDEAC's mitigated results, a deficit, if not lack of political will among the various states, was also crucial. Its secretariat, tasked with implementing the agenda, was hobbled by a lack of funds as member states failed to pay their dues. Because leadership in the various states privileged national over a sub-regional focus, rhetoric diverged from reality. For example, despite the commitment to benefiting from the economies of scale as showcased in the regional agenda, constraints to free movement of people became stronger and nationals of other states were even expelled. Contradictions seem to abound for expulsions are being carried out simultaneously with the creation of instruments meant to foster integration. To this end, it has signed a protocol of understanding for transport, *Transport Inter-Etat des Pays d'Afrique Centrale* (TIPAC). To tear down barriers in other sectors, it created the Commission Bancaire d'Afrique Centrale (COBAC) in January 1993 that would adopt a common code for banking in the region and the Conférence Interafricaine des Marchés d'Assurance (CIMA) for insurance in July 1992 as well as the integration of their business laws under the auspices of l'Organisation pour l'harmonization en Afrique du Droits des Affaires of the Organization for Commercial Code Harmonization (OHADA) entered into by Francophone African countries, notably West African Economic and Monetary Union (the l'Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA)) in 1995.

Following this phase of "integration of regulations," the states committed themselves to adopting coherent macro-economic policies and common sectoral policies. This was achieved with the signing in 1994 of the treaty for the Central African Economic and Monetary Union (CEMAC), ratified in 1999. Replacing UDEAC, its objective was to promote

economic integration among its members. To this end, intra-regional trade would be regulated by the value added tax. Significantly, this reform brings about the end of most of the quantitative restrictions and simplifies most customs procedures. CEMAC also provided for the setting up of a Court of Justice which includes a judicial chamber (*chambre judiciaire*) and an auditing court (*chambre des comptes*) for the settlement of disputes arising as a result of these provisions. Cooperation from donors is also important in realizing integration. The World Bank and other developed countries assuaged the fears of the lesser developed states by pledging financial aid to compensate them for any financial prejudice they may suffer consequent to this reform. Under the Lomé IV Convention, the EU set aside ECU 84 million for Regional Indicative Programs. Some of this money has been given to the TIPAC project and is being used to develop a number of regional transit routes such as the Bertoua-Garoua-Boulai-Bangui road to link Cameroon and the CAR, and Garoua Boulai-Ngoundere with a view to facilitating transport between Cameroon and Chad. Similarly the World Bank, which identified the easing of transport regulations as one of the key objectives of its Regional Program, pledged financial aid of \$340,000 to help strengthen the Institutional Development facility. Disbursement of this fund was contingent on, *inter alia*, participants becoming more responsible for the maintenance of their road transport patrimony. Notable also is its contribution to other projects that have a federating impact such as the Chad-Cameroon pipeline, one of the biggest private investments undertaken in sub-Saharan Africa, which was inaugurated in October 2003. Consciousness raising in the World Bank vis-à-vis sub-regional projects was prompted by the UDEAC secretariat, which on the heels of its adoption of its "New Economic and Social Integration Strategy" noted the failure of SAPs to promote regional projects.

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**See also Central Africa: History and Economic Development; Central Africa: International Relations**

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## ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA (ECA)

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) is the regional arm of the United Nations (UN) in Africa. It was established in 1958 with the mandate of fostering economic and social development of its fifty-three member states. Headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, under the leadership of its Executive Secretary, the ECA is one of five such regional economic commissions created by the United Nations to serve different parts of the world. It reports to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECONOC) through the Joint Conference of African Finance, Planning, and Economic Development Ministers.

For administrative and operational purposes, ECA has divided Africa into five sub-regions, with each having its own head office, which caters to the needs of the countries under its jurisdiction and also provides vital links between the ECA headquarters, the various regional economic blocs, and the individual member states. These sub-regions include (a) Central Africa (head office in Yaoundé, Cameroon), with seven members: Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Central African Republic, Sao Tome, and Principe; (b) East Africa (head office in Kigali, Rwanda), with thirteen members: Burundi, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Madagascar, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Tanzania, and Uganda; (c) North Africa, (head office in Tangier, Morocco), with seven members: Algeria; Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia; (d) Southern Africa (head office in Lusaka, Zambia), with eleven members: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius,

Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe; and (e) West Africa (head office in Niamey, Niger), with fifteen members: Burkina Faso, Benin, Cape-Verde, Côte d’Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

Informed by, and cognizant of, the limitations wrought by the acute lack of technical know-how on Africa’s development, the ECA for the most part pursues its mandate through the development and dissemination of culturally sensitive, research-based knowledge and best practices on such matters as good governance, poverty reduction, the empowerment of women, conflict prevention and resolution, and regional cooperation among African countries. Thus, research projects and publications, workshops and conferences, and the provision of library and technical information services—through CD-ROMs, audiovisual materials, printed media, and databases—constitute the bedrock of ECA’s development endeavors. Some of the noteworthy ECA publications are the *Economic Report on Africa* (an annual publication), which reviews the continent’s economic performance and short-term prospects; the *Africa Governance Report*, an annual publication first released in 2004, to identify the best practice in governance for peer learning, to identify gaps in theory and practices, and to make recommendations for improvement; and the *Cartographic and Remote Sensing Bulletin*, which provides valuable information on research, advocacy, and policy analysis on remote sensing technologies and spatial and mapping information pertaining to Africa. Other important publications of the ECA are the *Africa Statistical Yearbook*; *Compendium of Environmental Statistics*; *Compendium of Intra-African and Related Foreign Trade Statistics*; and *African Index*.

## Program Divisions

The ECA is organized around six main program divisions. First—not in any particular order, though—there is the Development and Policy Management Division (DPMD), whose goal is to enhance institutional capacity of African governments by establishing baseline measures on the nature and quality of institutions, by advising African governments on best practices, and by strengthening civil society organizations on the continent. This division is premised on the conviction that no meaningful social and economic development can be accomplished without effective, transparent, and accountable institutions. Secondly, the ECA has an Economic and Social

Policy Division (ESPD) which provides pertinent research on economic and social policies to African governments and non-governmental institutions. Its operations are generally focused on such themes as social and economic policy, trade and finance, and poverty reduction. The third major division is the Development Information Services Division (DISD), which publishes and disseminates ECA's research outputs to all of its members.

Another important ECA program division is the Gender and Development Division, which works in conjunction with the African Center for Gender and Development (ACGD), to promote gender equity, which invariably connotes the advancement or empowerment of women, given the high level of patriarchy across Africa. The ECA also has a Sustainable Development Division, with which it seeks to enhance African governments' capabilities in the use of scientific and technological innovations in achieving environmentally sustainable development; to improve their stewardship of the natural environment; and to strengthen their ability to design and implement development policies that reflect and reinforce the intricate, dialectical nexus between food security, population, and environment sustainability. Finally, the ECA has a Trade and Regional Integration Division (TRID), which promotes regional cooperation and economic integration across Africa, focusing mainly on policy issues and infrastructure development. This division also works to strengthen the capacity of African countries to engage in substantive trade negotiations in the global arena, especially within the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements and initiatives. In addition to the preceding six divisions, the ECA has a number of subsidiary organs or committees—e.g., Committees of Regional Integration; on Development Information; on Sustainable Development; on Women and Development; on Human Development and Civil Society; on Industry and Private Sector Development—which provide expertise in their respective areas in pursuance of the ECA's mandate.

## Accomplishments

The ECA has made remarkable, and, indeed, commendable, contribution to Africa's social and economic development over the nearly fifty years of its existence. Among other things, it has been instrumental in the establishment of several national, sub-regional, and regional development-related technical institutions, encompassing such fields as technology, remote sensing, finance and banking, and

planning and management. The African Development Bank, headquartered in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire; the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI), headquartered in Arusha, Tanzania; and the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP) located in Dakar, Senegal, are just a handful of African institutions which owe much of their foundation to the efforts of the ECA.

Likewise, over the years, the ECA has facilitated the creation and sustenance of a number of sub-regional economic blocs in Africa. For instance, in 1965, it was the ECA that initiated the Lusaka meeting of the newly independent Eastern and Southern African states, which culminated in the formation of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) in the sub-region, and ultimately led to the establishment of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 1994. Similarly, the first major effort to bring Francophone and Anglophone West African nations toward the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was made by the ECA, through resolutions passed at its Seventh Session in Nairobi in February 1965. With its Trade and Regional Integration Division (TRID), the ECA continues to be instrumental in the operations of sub-regional blocs in Africa, providing them with technical support in such areas as multilateral trade promotion and negotiations and infrastructure development. The ECA sees sub-regional economic integration bodies as the building blocks for the eventual integration and self-sufficiency of Africa as a whole.

The ECA has been a major player in the negotiations and articulations of nearly all the major Pan-African development strategies, initiatives, and declarations, including the Monrovia Declaration of Commitment of the Heads of States and Governments of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), signed in 1979; the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa and the Final Act of Lagos, signed in the second Extraordinary Session of the OAU in 1980; the African Charter for Popular Participation for Development, signed in 1990; the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) formally adopted by the OAU in July 2001; and the recent negotiations that led to the transformation of the OAU into the African Union (AU) in July 2002.

As the African arm of the United Nations, ECA plays a significant role in advocating for Africa's development interest within the UN system, mostly by coordinating various national, sub-regional, and regional UN programs across Africa in furtherance of the continent's social and economic development goals. Of special importance here is the ECA's role



in the implementation of the UN System-wide Special Initiative on Africa, which was launched in March 1996 to help accomplish the UN's New Agenda for the Development of Africa, launched in 1991. Indeed, ECA routinely discusses strategies with, and advocates for, African governments in various global forums and trade, finance, and debt relief negotiations, especially those involving such multilateral organizations as the WTO and the Bretton Woods institutions. Also, ECA participates in, and follows up on, global initiatives and Conferences such as the UN International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994); the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference; and the Washington DC-based Global Development Network's annual Global Development Conferences.

Given the acute dearth of reliable development-related data across Africa, it is hardly surprising that the ECA has put considerable energy into strengthening the capacity of African nations to collect, process, and analyze data in support of their respective development policies and programs. Through a number of workshops, conferences, and expert group meetings over the years, the ECA has identified and disseminated best practices in the development of macroeconomic-, poverty-, and gender-related indicators across Africa. The ECA's African Gender and Development Index (AGDI), launched in 2002, deserves a special mention in this regard. With this index, the ECA was able to compile (in 2003) gender profiles for all of its fifty-three member states, based on the following six indicators: women in decision-making positions; educational enrollment ratios; health and HIV/AIDS; women's access to credit; women's participation in the labour market; and human rights of women and girls. Plans are also under way at the ECA secretariat to develop similar indicators for measuring the extent of food sufficiency and security among African countries.

Working with a number of UN agencies and the African Development Bank, the ECA is also striving to improve access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation across Africa; a Pan-African Implementation and Partnership Conference on Water (PANAFCO) was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 2003, under the auspices of the ECA and the African Ministerial Council on Water (AMCOW) to facilitate this process. The extent to which the lack of good sanitation and safe drinking water impacts the human condition in Africa arguably demands no further elucidation, not even to the most cursory observer of the continent's development imperatives.

To help bridge the infamous digital divide between Africa and the rest of the world, the ECA, with the support of the government of Canada, has recently set

up the African regional node of the Global Electronic Policy Resource Network (ePol-NET) to coordinate the demands of African institutions and governments seeking guidance and support on such matters as electronic commerce, Internet policies, and telecommunication regulations.

As the regional arm of the UN, the ECA, unlike many other regional development organizations in Africa, is not financially incapacitated. Additionally, the ECA has for the most part benefited from a very insightful and dedicated leadership, in the likes of the renowned Nigerian economist Adebayo Adedeji (who led the organization from 1975 to 1991) and the influential Ghanaian-born development economist K.Y. Amoako (the current executive secretary of ECA). Still, the organization faces a number of daunting problems, having to deal with African governments, many of whom lack the necessary technical personnel, political will, and, to some extent, insight and foresight to support many of the development initiatives of ECA, not to mention having to work on a continent gripped by perennial geopolitical conflicts and ethnic violence, extreme poverty, and the scourge of AIDS and many other devastating diseases.

JOSEPH MENSAH

**See also African Development Bank (ADB); Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); Organization of African Unity (OAU); Southern African Development Community (SADC); United Nations Economic and Social Council; World Trade Organization (WTO)**

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## **ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (ECCAS)**

The treaty instituting the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) was signed on October 18, 1983, and came into force on January 1, 1985. It consists of eleven member states and was a fusion of Union Douanière des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale (UDEAC) (Cameroon, Central Africa, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon) and the Economic Community of the Great Lakes (CEPGL) (Burundi, Rwanda, and the then Zaire) as well as Sao Tome and Principe. Angola remained an observer until 1999, when it became a full member. Initially, it sought to "promote and strengthen harmonious cooperation and a balanced and self-sustained development in the industrial, transport and communications, energy, agricultural, and natural resource sectors." Though constituting one of the smaller sub-regions of the continent from the point of view of demographics, with only 68 million inhabitants, occupying circa 6.7 million square kilometers that spreads from the equatorial forests to the Sahel, it is endowed with many and varied natural resources. It has one of the remaining rain forests of the world while some of its members are world leaders in diamond production and almost all of them have large oil deposits. Seen from a regional level, ECCAS was to constitute one of the building blocks of the African Common Market envisaged in the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action. However, there was no formal contact between ECCAS and the African Economic Community until October 1999, when they signed the Protocol on Relations.

To contribute to the realization of this project, the Treaty created the following structures: the Conference of Heads of State and Government as its supreme organ, the Council of Ministers, the Secretariat General (one secretary-general elected for four years and three assistant secretaries-general), a Court of Justice, and a Consultative Commission. Confering all decision-making powers in the juridical division of powers on heads of state and government who cling to their political sovereignty in a regional integration scheme was counterintuitive and perforce had to be counterproductive. Unlike the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), it was not endowed with formal structures. Meetings at the technical and ministerial levels have been infrequent. The effect of this lacuna was exacerbated by what the secretary-general of ECCAS described in a June 1999 report as "the double language" of the officials who speak in favor of integration but avoid implementing the Community's

regulations. Palpable proof of this lack of political will was their failure to pay membership fees between 1992 and 1998, a situation that paralyzed and provoked the dormancy of ECCAS. Because of this, the timelines prescribed in the Treaty could not be met.

Its Article Six, for instance, provides that the Customs Union would be achieved after a twelve-year period or not more than twenty years from the date of the entry into force of the Treaty and would be preceded by two stages. The first stage, a study to determine the timetable for the progressive removal of tariffs and non-tariff barriers to intra-Community trade as well as for the increases or decreases in the customs tariffs of member states with a view to adopting a common external tariff. Stage two consists of the establishment of a free trade area by applying the timetable for the progressive elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers to intra-Community trade. However, the likelihood of meeting these timelines were problematic because of the safeguard clauses and escape windows provided for in Article 34, which allows states to impose quantitative restrictions or non-tariff barriers per Article Two of Annex II on goods originating from other member states for the purpose of redressing their balance of payments and protecting strategic infant industries. Arguably, these derogations have stifled intra-Community trade, as shown by the fact that it ranks ninth out of thirteen groups studied by the Economic Commission for Africa.

Measures to reverse this trend, such as the freedom of movement of the factors of production contained in the Treaty, have not been respected. Article Two of Annex VII of the Treaty provided for the free movement of nationals of the member states four years after the Treaty entered into force, and workers could accept employment in any state and continue to reside there even after the end of the employment. The reality has been different. The Cameroonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs lists Gabon (and France) as the countries where the social integration of their nationals is most problematic, even after they have paid for the visas and acquired the residential permits, which cost circa \$450 US dollars each and are renewable after two years at \$200 US dollars. Chadians have similarly complained against "unfriendly treatment and the violation of diplomatic rules by Cameroonian forces." Expulsions, engendered by reciprocity considerations, are commonplace, and in some cases even workers are affected by these measures with "the confiscation of their property." Structural hurdles such as the lack of good roads already hamper social communication among ordinary citizens in the region.

The Community's Court of Justice is given the competence to settle questions of interpretation of the Treaty per Article 16. Though its decisions are binding on member states and institutions of the Community, it is hobbled by the fact that this is just an advisory opinion. Furthermore, only the Conference of the Heads of State and Government as the Council of Ministers can bring matters before this Court. The secretary-general, the Consultative Commission, the Technical Committees, and all above individuals who may suffer a prejudice or whose rights may be violated are not so empowered.

Despite these structural/textual deficiencies, the heads of state and government identify the lack of confidence engendered by tensions and conflicts as the main cause of the stagnation and paralysis of integration. Ideological competition in the sub-region early into the postcolonial era, exemplified by the Congo crisis served to promote local proxy wars. Apartheid South Africa exacerbated this situation as it recruited client states in the region in a bid to build its constellation of states with a view to protecting and promoting the white redoubt. Of course, prebendalism and other exclusionary practices and the tendency of intra-state conflict mutating into inter-state conflict also led to the normalization of war. Because of this, the region served as the theater for what has been dubbed Africa's First World War, and most of the states for variable periods of time have virtually failed. The end of conflicts has not ushered in peace as the region is awash with light weapons and small arms that have a long shelf life because of that require little maintenance. They are now used for social wars that blight these states.

To overcome this, they turned to the United Nations (UN), and on their initiative Resolution 46/37 B was adopted in December 1991, in implementation of which the secretary-general of the United Nations established the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa in May 1992. It seeks to assist the states to develop confidence-building measures, and in disarmament with a view to benefiting from the peace dividend. Thus, the Standing Advisory Committee has engaged in the development of preventive diplomacy, peace-making, and peace-building. To this end, it has been involved in training the personnel of its member states in peacekeeping activities. Above all, the Standing Committee prepared a non-aggression pact that was signed at the heads of state summit in July 1996 at Yaounde, Cameroon, by nine states. Significantly, Angola and Rwanda were not signatories. And at the February 1999 summit of the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee that was held in Yaounde, the member states decided to

create an organization for the promotion, maintenance, and consolidation of peace and security in Central Africa, which would be called Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX). Coming on its heels, Gabon hosted a regional peacekeeping exercise, "Gabon 2000," whose goal was to increase the capacity of ECCAS states in the fields of peace keeping, conflict prevention, and management. This direction represented a direct application of the French RECAMP concept (reinforcement of African peacekeeping capacities).

Because of the premium that the heads of state and government placed on confidence building measures, COPAX was established at the June 1999 summit in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon. It was supposed to foster sub-regional cooperation in the realms of defense and security. Another pact for mutual assistance between the eleven member states was also signed. To enable the realization of these goals, the Summit provided for the creation of a Central African Multinational Force, a Central African early-warning mechanism, and the Defense and Security Commission. This skewed focus on peace and security has caused some to posit that the sole aim of COPAX is to "save heads of state in distress." Sustaining this assertion is regime instability that inheres from their status, in the words of the State Failure Task Force, as "partial democracies."

However, other measures that seek to empower the population of the sub-region have also been undertaken. Notable among them is the establishment of the Sub-regional Center for Human Rights and Democracy as well as the creation of a network of Central African parliamentarians, as a prelude to the establishment of a Community Parliament. Arguably, this should provide an opportunity for the conversion of the peoples of the sub-region into federators.

Measures were also taken with a view to giving a new impulse to integration. Notable among them was the establishment of an autonomous financing mechanism for ECCAS and integration activities. To enable this, a tax of 0.7% of custom duty on all goods imported from third parties was introduced. A Council of Ministers meeting also decided that all outstanding arrears in contributions from member states would be paid on a trimester basis over a two-year period by an automatic debit, and pledged in the future to guarantee all contributions are secured to ECCAS, even if this be by an automatic debiting of the accounts of member states in their respective central banks. A fund for development and sub-regional solidarity was also created. At the heads of state and government conference at Brazzaville, Congo, in January 2004, it was decided that all member states would levy a special tax for this purpose.

ECCAS failed to spur trade creation. Failure of macroeconomic harmonization was arguably due to the fact that the economies of its members are competitive rather than complementary. With a view to jump-starting this, a scheme for the liberalization of intra-Community trade and the free movement of persons and goods was to be launched per Decision No. 03/CCEG/VI/90. A recommendation for the studies on harmonization of customs and tax legislation was tabled only at the January 2003 meeting of Council of Ministers of Economy and Finance and is proof that ECCAS had failed dismally to meet the timelines prescribed in 1983 for sectoral integration in the realm of trade. It was only at the Brazzaville summit that it was finally conceded that a free trade zone would become operational in June 2004. A new consciousness also seemed to emerge on the need for partnership in this endeavor. Political will that was in short supply is now becoming more manifest, as demonstrated by a decision at the Brazzaville summit to grant the right of free circulation to businessmen, students, religious, tourists, researchers, and university professors. Several missing links mitigate the growth of intra-ECCAS trade. Notable among them is the lack of a viable road network. The only significant road link is between Kigali and Bujumbura. Inadequate infrastructure and physical integration helps to increase overhead costs, thereby adding to the high costs of doing business at the intra-ECCAS level. To begin to reverse this situation, ECCAS has adopted a realistic policy, as in accepting external actors such as the European Union to aid in the building of road infrastructure.

Whereas cooperation in sectors that are normally given priority in regional integration schemes has been slow, ECCAS has taken new initiatives in cooperating in new areas such as combating poverty and the anti-drug campaign. Though this may contribute to alleviate the quality of life of its population, it would not necessarily move the integration process forward. It is evidence of a lack of political will. Seemingly, this is more manifest in the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) that replaced UDEAC in 1994. Though the AEC confirmed the importance of ECCAS as the major community in Central Africa because of its comprehensive nature at the third preparatory meeting of its Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in June 1999, CEMAC still seems to be privileged in the sub-region. This may be attributable to the cultural affinity of its member states, which are all Francophone, use of a common currency, the franc CFA, and fear of the viral effect of conflict from the CEPGL zone. Admittedly, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome, and Principe (after the 2004 Brazzaville summit) have acceded to this organization. Plausibly, because of lack of confidence

ECCAS has caused the leaders to focus their attention in integration in CEMAC. Thus, despite COPAX, they signed a mutual non-aggression and solidarity pact at the January 2004 Brazzaville summit.

On the whole, even the functionalist approach to integration adopted by the ECCAS member states has had a limited payoff. Essentially, due to a lack of political will, this situation has not been challenged because integration was conceived by the leaders and has not been people-centered so far. Its failure to impact on the everyday life of the common man, for whom space remains bounded, preempts it from serving as a catalyst for integration. On the whole ECCAS remains a work in progress.

NANTANG JUA

**See also Central Africa: History and Economic Development**

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## ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

### Origin

The idea of regional integration has a long-standing history in West Africa. Indeed, many of the African

leaders who opposed Kwame Nkrumah's ambitious attempt to create a union of African states during the peak of the Pan-African movement in the late 1950s opted for various forms of integration at the sub-regional level. President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia, for instance, forged a free trade agreement between Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, and Sierra Leone in 1965. However, the scheme, like many others in West Africa at the time, failed primarily because of hesitations and power struggles among its members. Further, with the support of France, many francophone nations in West Africa established a variety of economic unions in the early post-independence period. Notable examples include the West African Custom Union or Union Douaniere de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (UDAO)—which was formed in 1959 and replaced in 1966 by the West African Economic Union or Union Douaniere et Economique de l'Africa de l'Ouest (UDEAO)—and the West African Economic Community or Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO) formed in 1973.

Unlike their francophone counterparts, anglophone West African countries did not pursue much economic integration in the immediate post-independence era, as the British administrative structure accorded little sense of economic unity among its colonies. While most of the exclusively francophone unions were successful, the few attempts made to integrate francophone and anglophone nations, including the Burkina Faso–Ghana union and the Ghana-Guinea-Mali experiment failed, mainly because of the inability of most West African nations to break their colonial ties during the immediate post-independence period (Asante 1986).

The first major attempt towards the formation of an economic union embracing all West African nations was made by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) through two main resolutions, 142 (VIII) and 145 (VII), passed at its seventh session in Nairobi in February 1965 (Ezenwe 1983). Notwithstanding the enormous institutional and financial support given by the ECA, it took a decade for West African nations to finally come together to form ECOWAS in 1975. The indecisiveness that thwarted the ECA efforts stemmed from several factors, not the least of which were attempts by France, Britain, and Portugal to preserve their economic ties with their respective former colonies, through various incentives and preferential arrangements; the existence of several competing economic unions in the sub-region; and the uncertainties created by the 1967–1970 Biafra war in Nigeria.

A 1972 meeting in Lomé between General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria and President Gnassingbé Eyadéma of Togo culminated in a communiqué which many analysts (e.g., Asante 1986; Ezenwe

1982; Onyemelukwe and Filani 1983) consider as the “embryo” of ECOWAS. A series of bilateral and multilateral meetings on the viability of an economic union, spearheaded by these two leaders, led to the signing of the ECOWAS treaty on May 28, 1975, in Lagos. The original signatories were fifteen West African nations: Benin, Burkina Faso, Code d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. Cape Verde joined in 1977, bringing the membership to the current total of sixteen. A revised ECOWAS treaty, designed to accelerate economic integration and to increase political cooperation, was signed in July 1993.

## Objectives

The ECOWAS treaty has as its prime objective to:

[P]romote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its people, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Members States and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent (Article 3).

To accomplish this broad objective, ECOWAS, *inter alia*, seeks to eliminate custom duties among member states; adopt a common external tariff and trade policies towards non-members; remove barrier to the movement of goods, services, and people; and harmonize trade, agricultural, energy, and environmental policies of its members. The treaty also makes provisions for the synchronization of investment codes and standards, and the establishment of a special fund for sub-regional cooperation and development, paying attention to the special needs of the ‘poor,’ landlocked, and small member states. The underlying values of ECOWAS, according to Article Four of the treaty, include adherence to the principles of equality, solidarity, accountability, non-aggression, maintenance of peace, and the promotion of democratic system of government in each member state. The Treaty permits ECOWAS members to join other regional and sub-regional associations, as long as such concurrent memberships do not conflict with the spirit and purpose of ECOWAS.

## Institutions

The official duties of ECOWAS are undertaken through its institutions, the most powerful of which

is the Authority of Heads of States and Governments. This supreme body, made up of all the leaders of the member states, meets at least once a year under a rotated chairpersonship. Next in importance is the Council of Ministers, which is responsible for monitoring the activities of ECOWAS, and for making recommendations to the Authority of Heads of States and Governments for the attainment of ECOWAS goals. This council comprises two ministers from each member state; it meets at least twice in a year. Another important institution is the Executive Secretariat, headed by the Executive Secretary, who performs the main administrative and executive duties of ECOWAS and coordinates the activities of all other institutions. The Executive Secretary is appointed by the Authority of Heads of States and Governments for a four-year term, renewable only once for another four years. Other notable ECOWAS institutions are the Community Parliament; the Economic and Social Council; the Community Court of Justice; and the Fund for Co-operation, Compensation and Development. ECOWAS has five main Specialized and Technical Commissions, including those of Trade, Customs, Immigration, Monetary and Payments; Transport, Telecommunication, and Energy; Agriculture and Natural Resources; Administration and Finance; and Social and Cultural Affairs. ECOWAS is headquartered in Abuja, Nigeria, where it has its own buildings and administrative staff.

### **Contributions to Development**

The main goal of ECOWAS is to enhance the collective self-sufficiency of West African nations, through economic integration and cooperation. The organization was founded on the premise that the domestic markets of the individual members were too small to be competitive in a global economy characterized by large trading blocks such as the European Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). With a potential single market of about 210 million people, ECOWAS expects to promote specialization and large-scale industrialization; enhance job opportunities and wealth creation; and limit the sub-region's dependence on foreign market.

It bears stressing from the outset that the concrete achievements of ECOWAS to date are modest. Yet, given the wide ethno-cultural diversity in West Africa, the mere fact that these nations were able to come together is an epic feat; at the very least, ECOWAS has fostered intra-regional understanding and cooperation and alleviated the tensions and suspicions that characterized intergovernmental relations in

West Africa. More substantively, ECOWAS has facilitated the free movement of people within the region; improved transportation and telecommunication links between member states; and helped maintain peace and security in West Africa. It has also made remarkable advances in the agriculture and energy sectors, and forged reputable coalitions with international organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Commission on Africa (ECA), and the World Bank. ECOWAS citizens can now enter and reside in any member state for ninety days without visas or entry permits, as long as they have valid passports or travel certificates and international vaccination certificates. ECOWAS has introduced its own travel certificate, which is currently in circulation in such countries as Burkina Faso, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Niger, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. With this document, ECOWAS travelers are, in theory, exempted from filling out any immigration papers in member states; however, it is worth noting that, in practice, many countries still require ECOWAS travelers to fill immigration forms, and nearly all member states have road checkpoints at which police and immigration agents routinely subject travelers to harassment and extortion.

Through its Trade Liberalization Scheme, ECOWAS seeks to establish a custom union and to eliminate tariffs among its members; the original timeframe was to remove tariffs on unprocessed goods by 1990, and on industrial goods by 2000. While many members (e.g., Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, and Benin) have eliminated their tariffs on unprocessed goods, only Benin has so far lifted tariffs on industrial goods. The persistence of tariffs and other trade restrictions among members continue to undermine intra-ECOWAS trade, which now account for a mere 11% of members' total trade, valued at some \$3.6 billion US dollars.

Economic integration invariably entails easy access to each member's market, which, in turn, requires the development of adequate transportation and telecommunication systems. However, such systems are scanty, patchy, and poorly developed across West Africa. Further, while the bulk of the goods traded among ECOWAS members is transported by sea, most of the shipping companies in the sub-region are non-African. Likewise, most of the sub-regional air travel and telecommunication transactions are done through non-African companies. ECOWAS is currently building inter-state highways from Lagos to Nouakchott, Mauritania; and from Dakar, Senegal, to N'djamena, Chad, to improve spatial interaction among its members. ECOWAS also has proposals

under way to establish an airline company, ECOAIR; to strengthen the railway networks in the sub-region; and to improve the telecommunication facilities in the sub-region, through its INTELCOM I and INTELCOM II projects, initiated in 1979 and 1992, respectively.

In the energy front, ECOWAS has a master plan to develop hydroelectric power in several countries, including Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Mali, and Togo. Plans are also under way to develop about 5,600 kilometers of electricity lines connecting various segments of national grids; establish a “power pool” to facilitate the exchange of electrical energy between members; and diversify the energy capabilities of members into biomass, solar, and other renewable energy sources. Similarly, the organization has programs to improve the sub-region’s agriculture: In 1982, an Agricultural Development Strategy, which included plans for selecting seeds and cattle species and called for solidarity among members during international commodity negotiations, was adopted.

Concerns for peace and security have long been on ECOWAS’ radar screen: In 1978 ECOWAS adopted a non-aggression protocol. This was followed with a defence assistance protocol in 1981; the creation of an ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in 1990; and a declaration of democratic political principles in 1991—the latter condemns the seizure of power by force of arms in any member state. Perhaps, the most important accomplishment of ECOWAS regarding regional peace is the decisive role played by ECOMOG in ending the Liberian war.

Despite these achievements, ECOWAS continues to struggle with its primary objective of trade liberalization and market integration, mainly because of the limited potential that exist for trade between its members: Since they are all primary producers, with agriculture accounting for the bulk of their respective GDPs, the demand for their exports and the supply of their imports invariably emanate from advanced nations outside the sub-region. The existence of other rival integration schemes—e.g., the West African Economic Community (or the Communauté Economique de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (CEAO)) and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (the l’Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA))—also creates unhealthy competition, duplication, and conflicts of interest among some ECOWAS members. The limited financial resources of member states is yet another daunting drawback that undermines ECOWAS’ effectiveness. Indeed, several members are incapable of meeting their financial commitments to ECOWAS, forcing it to depend more and more on the financial support of foreign governments and organizations. Notwithstanding

these difficulties, recent trends in the sub-region point to a promising future for ECOWAS: Among these are the increasing prevalence of democratic governance; the move towards privatization and liberalization of national markets; and the increasing cooperation between ECOWAS and other international organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the African Development Bank (ADB), and the European Union (EU). Still, for ECOWAS to thrive, the need for the unflinching support of political leaders and citizens of West Africa for its programs cannot be gainsaid.

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**See also Economic Commission for Africa (ECA); West African Monetary Union (WAMU)**

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## **ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION (ECO)**

Original roots of this group can be traced to 1964, when it was established as a regional political entity to promote greater political and military consultations and cooperation among its members. The Economic Cooperation Organization was established in its current form in 1985 with its headquarters in Tehran. Initially it included Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey.

In the new environment the ECO intended to promote regional economic cooperation especially in such fields as regional trade and development of regional transportation and communication infrastructure. In 1992, the newly independent Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan were invited to join the organization. After expansion the member countries sought to promote intraregional trade and to gradually establish a common market or trade economic zone similar to the European Union (EU). They also planned to develop new transportation routes for Central Asian gas and oil and for their other natural resources to international markets. The Central Asian governments also hoped that trade with ECO partners would reduce their dependency on the Russian and Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) markets. Almost immediately after the ECO membership grew to ten, the organization declared that it was "directed against no country or group of countries," since there were concerns expressed by India, Russia, and some other international players about the nature of the grouping.

At present the total population of the ECO members is about 340 million and their territories cover over six million square kilometers (twice the size of India). Its members control about 15% of the world's proven reserves of oil and about 10% of the world's proven reserves of natural gas as well as significant resources of the hydroelectric power. The ECO members also produce a significant proportion of cotton for exports to international market. The principle working bodies of the ECO are as follows: the Council of Ministers, the Regional Planning

Council, the Council of Permanent Representatives, and the Secretariat.

The Council of Ministers is the highest policy-making organ of the ECO and it consists of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States. The Council meets at least once a year in different locations each year on a rotating basis. The Regional Planning Council consists of the Heads of the Planning Organization or the equivalent ministry of the Member States. Its members meet at least once a year prior to the annual meeting of the Council of Ministers. The Council of Permanent Representatives is composed of Ambassadors from the Member states and its members meet as often as needed.

The Secretariat of the ECO's permanent working institution initiates, coordinates, and monitors the implementation of ECO activities.

In addition the ECO created several other agencies that coordinate works in specific fields. The Directorate of Energy, Minerals, and Environment monitors and coordinates efficient utilization of regional natural resources and facilitates cooperation in environmental protection. The Directorate of Trade and Investment promotes intra-regional and supra-regional trade, trade liberalization. The Directorate of Agriculture, Industry, and Health promotes cooperation in the agricultural sector, including such issues as food safety, new technologies, and desertification. The Directorate of Transport and Communications promotes development of a regional road and railway networks in the region. The Directorate of Economic Research and Statistics assesses development projects, studies perspectives for the regional economic cooperation, and facilitates information and statistical exchange. The Directorate of Project Research focuses on inter-sectoral coordination among various departments of the ECO Secretariat, organizes meetings, and prepares reports and documents. The Coordination and International Relations plays a key role in facilitating relationships with major regional and international organizations including those within the United Nations (UN) system.

Since the 1990s, the ECO has organized regular meetings at ministerial level and discussed simplification of the cross-border transit of goods and investments, simplification, and unification of the taxation code and some other measures. The ECO adopted the Quetta Plan of Action (February 1993), the Istanbul Declaration (ECO Long Term Perspectives) (July 1993), the Almaty Outline Plan for the Development of the Transport Sector in the ECO Region (October 1993), the Ashgabat Declaration of 1997, the Program of Action for the ECO Decade of Transport and Communications (March 1998), and the Transit Transport Framework Agreement.



Among the major projects sponsored or supported by the ECO was the Tejen-Mashhad-Serakhs railway line (1996), which opened up railway traffic on the northern line of the Trans-Asian Railway of the "East-West" Transport Corridor, and on the "North-South" Transport Corridor linking Central Asian Republics with the ports of the Persian Gulf; and the development of an infrastructure for the "East-West" (including "Europe-Caucasus-Asia") and "North-South" Transport Corridors. According to ECO statistics, in 1998 there were a total of 52,882.2 kilometers of railways in the region compared with 48,496.6 kilometers in 1994. In 2002, the ECO members announced completion of several projects, including the opening of a container route Kazakhstan-Turkmenistan-Turkey (Istanbul) through the Trans-Asian Railway route, international passenger route Almaty-Tashkent-Tehran-Istanbul, and Almaty-Tashkent-Turkmenabat-Istanbul. In March 2004, the ECO Council of Heads of Customs Administrations (CHCA) discussed the establishment of a Data Bank on Smuggling and Customs Offenses; and the Transit Trade Committee discussed the Transit Trade Agreement. The experts discussed measures to simplify and harmonize customs procedures for the development of trade among ECO member states.

Memoranda of Understanding were signed between the ECO and following agencies: UNDP, UNODC, UNESCAP, UNIDO, UNFPA, FAO, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNECE, UNCTAD, UIC, ITC, OIC, IDB, OSJD, ICARDA, WCO, and Colombo Plan.

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**See also Afghanistan; Azerbaijan; Iran; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Pakistan; Tajikistan; Turkey; Turkmenistan; Uzbekistan**

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### ECOTOURISM

Ecotourism is tourism which: uses the natural environment as the primary attraction; is actively managed to minimise impacts on the natural environment; actively teaches tourists about the natural environment; and contributes to conservation of the natural environment. Cultural aspects, particularly indigenous cultures, may also be included. The term is sometimes misused to refer to nature-based tourism more broadly, irrespective of impacts, but this is a misnomer. Such misuse has caused extensive conflicts between tourism developers and operators, community and environmental groups, and government agencies in many countries. From a tourism market perspective, ecotourism is one component of the broader nature, eco, and adventure tourism (NEAT) sector. Ecotourism can be significant for developing countries because it can bring hard currencies from relatively wealthy tourists, both foreign and domestic, directly to relatively impoverished regions, communities, and national parks agencies; creating an industry sector which uses the plant, animal, scenic, and sometimes cultural wealth of developing nations with far less impact than primary industries such as logging, farming, or mining.

Ecotourism ventures can be either small- or medium-scale, and there are successful examples of each, though the former are currently more common. There do not as yet appear to be any examples of ecotourism at the scale of mega-resorts or holiday towns, but there are individual ecotourism enterprises which operate dozens of individual facilities across several developing countries, employ over one thousand people, and turn over many millions of dollars per year. Internationally, there are ecotourism companies which offer only a single product but generate annual revenue of over \$10 million US. Many of these rely on capital-intensive infrastructure, such as large ocean-going vessels. In most developing countries, however, the focus of ecotourism development is on large numbers of small developments. There has also been a strong emphasis on involving local communities, either as owner-operator of an ecotourism venture, or as partner and beneficiary. Whoever owns the company, local involvement avoids local antagonism. Equally, however, for financial viability, any ecotourism

venture needs skills in tourism management and marketing; and for an upmarket international clientele, an upmarket international standard of hospitality.

The economic and social significance of ecotourism can be considerable. For most developing nations, it is nature, culture, and adventure which are the primary tourism attractions: that is, the bulk of the country's tourism industry lies at least within the broader NEAT sector. For example, Kenya and Botswana each received over 1 million international visitors in 1997, and Zimbabwe over 1.5 million. Ecuador and Peru each received over half a million international visitors. For comparison the global total for that year was over 600 million, and over 50% were within Europe. Whilst globally, tourism accounts for a little over 10% of worldwide economic activity, in some smaller countries it can contribute a far higher proportion—up to 83% in the Maldives, for example. Much of this money, however, is used immediately to buy imports, in a pattern known as economic leakage (q.v.). In some countries, a significant proportion of tourism revenue is retained by central governments, either through direct taxes, through differential pricing for foreigners, or through foreign exchange conversion requirements and systems. At a national scale, very little of the tourist income generated by natural assets is reinvested in conserving those assets. In Costa Rica, a country which advertises itself internationally as a leader in ecotourism, the proportion is still only around 1%. The proportion is similar, incidentally, in developed nations such as Australia. Even where national parks and other public land management agencies collect fees from visitors or tour operators, the agency may not be allowed to keep the funds collected. Private ecotourism ventures in developing countries, therefore, often emphasise direct local reinvestment.

These social and economic issues are critical to the success of ecotourism in developing countries. If the ecotourism sector is small, it may have little significance, and may be swamped by mainstream tourism and other industry sectors. As it gets larger, its environmental and social impacts increase, and it may also lose market appeal. Unless it yields benefits to local communities it faces local antagonism which may lead to loss of land access; but unless it also provides gains to people with national political power, it may lose its natural assets to other industry sectors such as logging or agriculture.

Developing nations may have both advantages and disadvantages as ecotourism destinations. For all forms of tourism, their main advantages are that they are simply different, and therefore interesting; and that their currencies are often weaker than those of the countries where most international tourists

originate. The price advantage does not necessarily apply for the NEAT sector, especially for the low-volume high-yield product which many developed countries now aim for, and especially since many prices are now set in US dollars. Where developing countries have their principal competitive advantage is in the diversity of plants and animals, and the opportunity to watch them; i.e., specifically in the ecotourism sector. Comparable wildlife viewing opportunities in the developed world, for example, are generally available only in sparsely populated areas such as parts of Alaska, the Arctic, sub-Arctic and sub-Antarctic, and protected areas in North America, Australia, and Russia. Many developing nations also attract tourists through their scenery, climates, and cultures. These appeal to a broader market, but the comparative advantage is less than for animals and plants.

One of the principal distinguishing features of ecotourism is the deliberate attempt to minimise impacts on the natural and cultural environment, but even with such precautions, ecotourism can produce substantial impacts. Since many ecotourism destinations are in areas of high conservation significance, such as national parks or other pristine or protected areas where there is little human impact other than tourism, the ecological impacts of ecotourism are disproportionately significant. Some of these impacts are immediately apparent but usually quite localised, such as soil erosion and vegetation trampling along tracks, trails, and campsites. Others are less obvious but potentially much more significant ecologically, such as the introduction of weeds into national parks, contamination of water with pathogens, and disturbance to rare or endangered wildlife. Different activities produce different impacts in different ecosystems, and different management tools can be used to control them. Promoting tourism as a tool to protect the biological wealth of developing nations from other forms of exploitation always carries the risk of impacts from tourism itself, and ecotourism attempts to maximise the environmental benefits and minimise the environmental costs.

Similar considerations apply for cultural impacts. Where any indigenous or ethnic group uses traditional culture as part of a tourism product, then the more successful their tourism business, the more their culture will be changed. If the host culture changes too much, however, it will no longer be a tourist attraction. The usual outcome is so-called staged authenticity, where hosts carry out traditional activities using traditional artifacts solely for tourists, and no longer as part of their own day-to-day life. Strictly, this commoditisation of culture is associated with cultural tourism rather than ecotourism but in practice many holiday packages combine both.

Similarly, other commonplace social impacts, such as widening inequities between those members of a host community who benefit from tourism and those who do not, apply to all types of tourism. The same applies to the argument, sometimes made by politicians and social commentators, that tourism to developing countries is a form of cultural neo-imperialism. These issues are significant for ecotourism businesses in developing countries because they influence community attitudes, which in turn affect both land access and customer satisfaction. Ecotourism ventures worldwide have therefore tried a variety of community participation models. Different models are appropriate in different countries, depending on land tenure arrangements, social traditions of mutual assistance or individual entrepreneurship, and established structures for community leadership or group action.

Ecotourism has developed along different pathways in different continents and regions, reflecting their different environments, societies, infrastructures, and tourism development histories. Private game reserves, lodges, and safaris in southern and eastern Africa, for example, have made significant contributions to the conservation of endangered wildlife species and to local community development, as well as the tourism economies of the countries concerned. In central and south America, the mountain scenery of the Andes and the national parks of the far south have for many decades attracted trekkers and mountaineers, supporting a wide range of small-scale tourist accommodation, guides, and tour operators. Some of this is based in national parks and some at small privately owned lodges. In some areas there is also a cultural tourism industry based largely on ancient buildings; and an adventure tourism sector which includes, e.g., diving in the Caribbean, whitewater rafting and kayaking, and mountaineering on the high peaks of the Andes.

In the Himalayas, longstanding mountaineering and trekking tourism has been expanded in recent decades by a large whitewater industry, wildlife tours in limited areas, and most recently a high-altitude heliski operation. Throughout the larger developing nations of southern and eastern Asia, the emphasis historically has been primarily on cultural attractions, but tourists also visit nature-based attractions such as the deserts of the southwest and centre and the mountains and forests of the southeast and far north. Some of these areas have attracted travelers for many millennia, and the majority of their modern visitors are still domestic tourists. Similar growth in the NEAT sector has occurred in southeast Asia, with forests, wildlife, and adventure now increasingly important attractions for Western visitors. For tourists

from developed eastern nations, shopping and golf probably still remain paramount, but this may be changing with new generations. Finally, the small-island developing states (SIDS) of the Indo-Pacific region deserve particular mention as destinations for a growing marine ecotourism market.

In all these regions, ecotourism is at risk from other land uses and industry sectors, both legal and illegal. The whalewatching and marine mammal industry is threatened by commercial fishing practices, and the dive tourism sector by dynamite fishing. Ecotourism opportunities in developing countries worldwide are threatened by industrial logging and by clearance for industrial agricultural plantations. In many areas this is happening on a very large scale and at a very high rate, e. g., in Cameroon and Gabon in West Africa, Sumatra and the Solomon Islands in the Indo-Pacific, and in the Amazon basin in South America. In many of these areas there is also extensive clearance for small subsistence agriculture. Many of the larger animals which provide the mainstay for wildlife tourism are also subject to poaching, both for the illegal wildlife trade and for subsistence bush meat, or are killed when they move into agricultural areas. Well-known examples include elephant, rhino, and mountain gorilla in Africa; tiger, snowleopard, sunbear, and orangutan in Asia; and jaguar and many forest species in South America.

In some countries, ecotourism opportunities have been lost through water pollution from mining, manufacturing, pulp mills, processing, and power plants. Lake Baikal is a famous example, but there are many more throughout developing and indeed developed nations worldwide. Additionally, in developing countries, many large-scale industrial projects are financed by bilateral or multilateral aid funds. These same agencies or their subsidiaries may also finance small-scale ecotourism projects but rarely consider how these will be affected by other industries.

The potential advantages of ecotourism for economy, community, and environment in developing nations have been widely promoted, and there are indeed some outstanding examples of success. Equally, however, there are many examples where developing-country governments have given lip service to ecotourism whilst simultaneously promoting conflicting industry sectors or high-impact mass tourism developments. There are also many examples where despite hard work and the best of intentions, new ecotourism ventures have never grown large enough to have much effect.

To overcome these difficulties, ecotourism practitioners and proponents in many developing nations have now established local ecotourism associations.

Some developing-country governments have also prepared national ecotourism strategies, often with assistance from international non-government organisations such as the World Conservation Union (IUCN), the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF), and intergovernmental agencies such as the United Nations Environment Program and the World Tourism Organisation. The International Year of Ecotourism and World Ecotourism Summit in 2002 provided an opportunity to improve international cooperation between all these organisations.

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### See also Environment: Government Policies

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## ECUADOR

Ecuador is a South American republic located on the west coast between Colombia on the north and Peru on the south and east; encompassing an area of 109,000 square miles with a population of approximately twelve million in 2001. Ecuador's ethnic makeup consists of indigenous 25%, mestizo 55%, caucasian 10%, and African 10%. A white elite dominated the political life of the country until the latter half of the twentieth century, when the mestizo population became more assertive. Recently the indigenous populations have formed coalitions and are participating more and more in the political life of the country. Although small in area, Ecuador has varied geographical features including lush tropical coastal lowlands, temperate highland valleys, rain forests, arid deserts, and numerous active volcanoes. The

famous Galápagos Islands are also part of Ecuador. Ecuador's exotic and rugged geographical features have inhibited its development throughout history. Until recently transportation has been difficult and many Ecuadorians seldom ventured beyond the immediate milieu of their villages and hamlets. The Andes separate the political and economic life of the nation into two competing zones: the Costa, centered at Guayaquil; the bustling, tropical, Pacific port; and the Sierra, dominated by Quito, the sedate colonial capital. Natural resources include petroleum, fish, shrimp, timber, and gold while the agricultural sector produces bananas, seafood, flowers, coffee, cacao, sugar, corn, rice, and livestock. The gross domestic product (GDP) in 2002 was \$24.3 billion. Ecuador's largest export market (41%) is the United States. Ecuador has made great strides in social development (literacy rate 90%, life expectancy 70.8 years, infant mortality 19 per 1,000) but still lags behind much of Latin America.

In the last three decades of the twentieth century Ecuador's most vexing international problem was a territorial dispute with Peru. In 1941, Ecuador was involved in a short but disastrous war with Peru that resulted in the temporary relinquishment of its claim to a vast territory in the Amazon. This "loss" of territory would also hinder Ecuador's development, as populists would use the issue to inflame public opinion, and the armed forces would demand a larger share of the budget in the name of national security. In January 1995, war again erupted in the disputed upper Cenapa Valley. A cease-fire brokered by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States led to serious negotiations. On October 16, 1998, a comprehensive agreement was reached, ending the dispute that began in 1830.

New petroleum fields were discovered in Ecuador's Oriente region in 1967. A surge in petroleum exports resulted in favorable foreign exchange earnings that climbed from \$43 million in 1971 to over \$350 million by 1974. The GDP increased at an annual rate of 9% in the period 1970–1977, raising Ecuador to the status of a lower-middle-income country. However, the oil boom proved to be a mixed blessing, as a period of inflation eroded many of the gains. Moreover, governments used oil earnings as collateral for international loans and the external debt soared from \$324 million in 1974 to \$4.5 billion by 1979. Inflation continued to plague the economy throughout the remaining decades of the twentieth century. In March 2000, Ecuador adopted the US dollar as its national currency in the hopes of curbing inflation.

During much of the oil boom, several military governments that attempted structural reforms ruled Ecuador. The first junta, headed by General

Guillermo Rodríguez Lara, took power in a bloodless coup on February 15, 1972, promising to boost development. This, and a subsequent military regime, did make infrastructure improvements, including highways, hydroelectric projects, oil refineries, and the establishment of the Ecuadorian State Petroleum Company (CEPE). In 1973, Ecuador joined the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Nations. However, oil exports did not keep pace with imports and inflation soon eroded many of the gains. Disillusioned with the difficulties of governing, the military returned the country to civilian rule in 1979.

For fifteen years Ecuador experienced relative political stability, alternating between moderate leftist-oriented governments (Jamie Roldós and Osvaldo Hurtado 1979–1984, Rodrigo Borja 1988–1992), and conservative neo-liberal administrations (León Febres Cordero 1984–1988, Sixto Durán Ballén 1992–1996). Despite constitutional rule, internal wrangling, corruption, and a 1995 war stalled Ecuador's development with Peru over the long-standing border dispute. In 1996, Abdalá Bucaram, a charismatic populist, won the presidency and promised economic and social policies that would end the power of the elite and redistribute the wealth of the nation to the masses. But Bucaram's administration was marred by corruption, and Congress removed him in February 1997. In 1998, Jamil Mahuad, the competent mayor of Quito, was elected president. Mahuad resolved Ecuador's vexing international problem by negotiating a peace agreement with Peru that was accepted by the Ecuadorian public as a just settlement. Unfortunately, Mahuad did not reap the reward of this peace dividend. His plan to replace Ecuador's currency, the sucre, with the US dollar met with opposition. Mahuad was forced to leave office after popular demonstrations against his economic proposals led to the military announcing plans to take over the country and establish a junta. In the end, Ecuador's vice president Gustavo Noboa assumed the presidency. Noboa was able to implement dollarization and obtained private funding for a much needed second oil pipeline. Noboa returned Ecuador to a measure of stability and in January 2003 turned over the government to the newly elected president, Lucio Gutiérrez, a former army colonel who had played a key role in Mahuad's ouster.

Gutiérrez's policies have proven to be surprisingly moderate, and he has negotiated with international lending and development agencies to restructure Ecuador's debt. As a result, foreign investment reached a record high, inflation was held to 6%, and the GDP grew by 2.7% in 2003. Ecuador's future development hinges on the resolution of the nation's historic problems of class and regional cleavages,

corruption, overreliance on one commodity, and episodes of political chaos, problems that are not easily remedied in the best of circumstances.

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### EDUCATION

The provision of education in developing countries is essentially a political issue. It can serve the ruling classes or overthrow governments; build or undermine democracy; contribute to modernisation, conservation, or reactionary outcomes; serve the whole community or a dominant elite. Many questions must be addressed. Should the priority be political empowerment, economic development, or social improvement? Is it most effectively driven by international aid, government action, or community initiatives? Is the most effective elementary education achieved through schooling children or adult literacy campaigns? Are traditional Western schools the most appropriate institutions for third world needs? How should limited resources be distributed between elementary education and higher education? How can sufficient teaching resources be provided? Is technology a way of increasing access to teaching resources, or does it only increase the gap between rich and poor?

The West values the potential of education to contribute to the growth of democracy in developing countries. This led the United Nations (UN) to promulgate the right to an education "directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (Declaration of Human Rights article 26) and literacy to promote peace and security as the goal of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) founded in 1946. UNESCO launched the World Experimental Literacy Program in eight countries in 1963. This idea of education, however, runs counter to many nations' ideological positions. Education cannot promote human rights if the accompanying social and political climate is unfavourable. Where education

systems are affected by economic rationalism and/or right-wing politics, they are limited to providing utilitarian instruction, training, and/or indoctrination. The lower socio-economic groups get poorer schools and less qualified teachers; girls are much less likely than boys to receive formal education, particularly secondary and above; and discrimination rises at each level of the educational ladder.

Under the impact of economic rationalism, the West's vision of education as a contribution to modernisation becomes narrowly focused on the economic aspect of modernisation. International support for education increasingly focuses on 'development' as defined by international capital, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), concerned with developing human resources for profit. Since the 1980s, the impact of economic rationalism, demanding reduced public sector spending, has harmed poor nations; both school attendance and adult literacy have fallen and have been predicted to fall further over the next decades (Welch 2000). In Jamaica IMF-induced economic restructuring meant spending on health and education declined by over a third (Hickling-Hudson 2000).

Conversely, when the social and political climate is favourable, education becomes a tool for social improvement. In Granada the socialist revolution of 1979 attempted to equalise access to education, including experiments in non-formal adult education, and in Chile the 1989 return of democracy led to the Program for the Improvement of Equity and Quality of Education. India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Korea, and the Philippines all use education programs to tackle their desperate need for fertility control, described as "among the most significant curriculum innovations of our time" (Bishop 1986).

Where education is provided and controlled by the state, its priority can become the political goal of promoting national unity. This idea is strong in ex-colonies which have inherited it from their erstwhile masters. In Malaysia, with at least ten different indigenous peoples, education is used to counteract cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity; a centrally administered system imposes the official language, Bahasa Malaysia, and behavioural conformity is encouraged through Muslim study of Islam and non-Muslim study of 'Moral Education'. In many countries, including Azerbaijan, China, Cuba, Georgia, Iran, Nicaragua, and Tajikistan, state education enforces the dominant ideology. To counter the dominance of ruling elites, non-government agencies such as trade unions, churches, or community groups run non-formal education programs for disadvantaged adults such as the 'popular education' movements in Latin America.

In addition to politics, a nation's wealth is an important factor in determining its levels of education; there is a strong correlation between the gross national product per head (GNP) and the adult literacy rate of a nation. Wealth is, however, also modified by politics; there has to be a strong national commitment to education. The GNPs of Djibouti, Liberia, Mauritania, Morocco, and Senegal are higher than in many developing countries, but adult literacy is below 50%. By way of contrast, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Tajikistan, and Vietnam have literacy rates above 90% in spite of a low GNP. In South Asia, primary school enrollment is much higher than it is in sub-Saharan Africa in spite of a lower GNP. In Malaysia, because schooling has been considered important, the adult literacy rates are better than in wealthier, similarly Islamic, countries of the Middle East and North Africa (UNICEF 1988).

Political stability is also an important element. In countries with stronger economies, political instability can jeopardise education. In Chile a right-wing coup in 1973 reduced the education budget from 4.3% of national income to 2.6% and education was increasingly privatised, including selling off state schools (Quinteros 1999); in Nicaragua the revolution in 1978 led to a drop in education and health expenditure from 50% of the national budget to 25%, and privatisation of education removed it further from the grasp of the poor (Arnové 2000; Hickling-Hudson 2000); in Bolivia expenditure on education declined by 42% over five years following the military coup of 1980 (Arnové 2000).

International aid is seen as a good way to encourage countries to invest in education, but external aid is not always tailored to the specific needs of a situation. The internationally recognised value of education has led international aid agencies to take a significant role in education programs in developing countries, but they may lack understanding of the needs of communities and can offer simplistic and technocratic solutions. Externally funded projects can fail through lack of maintenance and/or because they are placed in areas of great need, but with insufficient resources to maintain them (Bishop 1986). Programs can turn out to be one-off funded showcases without long-term benefits, such as the doomed instructional television station that UNESCO helped to build in Senegal, or the Niger instructional television project.

Government-sponsored programs are also seen to be effective, but they can also fail if they do not maintain momentum. In 1970, the Brazilian Government combined the federal administrative network and municipal involvement to set up the Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização (MOBRAL) literacy

foundation aimed at the fifteen to thirty-five age group (Bishop 1986). Although every municipality in the country was engaged, within a few years the enthusiasm disappeared. Ninety percent of the people who participated in the courses remained functionally illiterate in the long term (Luis 2001). MOBREAL ended in 1985, and subsequent projects to teach adults basic literacy have had little success, so resources have reverted to basic schooling of children.

Government-initiated programs are most likely to succeed where the stakeholders are involved in their creation and at least some authority is devolved to the communities and the schools involved (Ahlawat and Billeh 1997; Reimers 1997). An example is Project Impact, launched in the Philippines and Indonesia in 1974, which engaged the parents, community, and teachers. It added programmed self-instruction to traditional formal schooling and invited community members into the school to share their skills with the students. It was augmented by adult-oriented learning centres in the villages (Bishop 1986). Sometimes bottom-up action is effective. Also in the Philippines, communities themselves initiated action under the Barrio Village Education Movement, setting up local high schools by using available resources and facilities and enabling students to meet their school expenses through paid work in the community-centred and rurally oriented vocational school curriculum (Bishop 1986).

The strong correlation between literacy, GNP, and life expectancy suggests that mass literacy is both a means and a symbol of economic and social development. Mass education includes both traditional elementary schooling for children and literacy campaigns targeted at adults. Adult literacy campaigns have been favoured as cheaper than, but at least as effective as, school education for enhancing mass literacy and as promoting equality by reaching those who missed adequate schooling. In China and Cuba resources have been released for non-formal education, particularly of the rural poor, by allowing only those destined for professional careers to access more than ten years schooling.

Both measures of mass education are included in the Human Development Index devised by the United Nations Development Program in 1990: adult literacy (two-thirds weighting) and average years of schooling (one-third weighting). These are not, however, as simple as they seem. In the case of literacy, claims may not match realities. In Nicaragua a national literacy campaign in the 1980s was claimed to have reduced illiteracy from 50% to 13%, but a 1992 study by the University of Nicaragua found that one-third of five hundred women who claimed to be literate could not read or write a basic sentence (Arnové 2000). School

attendance is also an inadequate indicator, as quantity of schooling does not equate with quality. In Jamaica up to 50% of children who completed primary school were still functionally illiterate (Hickling-Hudson 2000). Jordan achieved rapid expansion of mass education between 1959 and 1993, but at the expense of quality (Ahlawat and Billeh 1997).

While spending more time at school does not necessarily increase learning, spending less time at school does not necessarily decrease learning. UNESCO has found that four years is sufficient for long term effectiveness, and that extending the number of school hours per day beyond a minimum (five hours a day three times a week) does not enhance student achievement. Indeed, smaller classes for shorter periods can be more effective than larger classes for longer periods (Bishop 1986).

National governments may legislate and provide for education, but they cannot ensure that appropriate institutions will be developed, that children will attend, or children will learn. Brazilian law provides for at least eight years basic education, but there are not enough programs for street children, and only 33% of students who enter first grade stay in school until the end of eighth grade (Welch 2000; Luis 2001). In Latin America and Africa more than 50% of students leave before they finish primary school (Bishop 1986). Child labour, which can contribute up to 30% of family income, interferes with schooling in countries as diverse as Brazil and Iran (Welch 2000).

Furthermore, Western-style schools may not be the most appropriate instruments for educating children in developing countries. The value of Western-style institutional schooling has been questioned from both right- and left-wing perspectives. From the right, with its focus on economic development, the World Bank reported in 1974 that Western-style education systems had been "irrelevant to the needs of developing countries for the past two decades" (cited in Bishop 1986). From the left, with a focus on social justice, Hickling-Hudson (2000) predicted that under such education systems "poverty and dependence are likely to increase rather than decrease."

Because of the problems inherent in the traditional Western model of schooling, some developing nations have extended or adapted it, often combining generalist with vocational education. The Basic Education and Life Skills (BELS) program, begun in 1993 by UNESCO and transferred to the University of the South Pacific in 1995, combined in-service of teachers, community involvement, planning, management, and agricultural curriculum development (Townsend and Vakaotia 1999). A number of African countries have experimented to make education more relevant to

indigenous needs, including vocational training and community involvement. Such experiments have included continuation schools in Ghana, the Brigade Movement in Botswana, rural primary schools in the Cameroons, the Bunumbu project in Sierra Leone, and the village polytechnic movement in Kenya (Bishop 1986).

The Western model is also unsuitable where families do not remain for long in the same place. Nomadic communities in places as diverse as Iran and Northern Kenya have a particular problem because education is offered in a fixed location. There are also increasing numbers of people affected by forced migration and asylum seeking. Attempts to establish mobile schools have been frustrated by the reluctance of trained teachers to take on a nomadic lifestyle. This was tackled in Iran in 1957 by the establishment of a Tribal Teacher Training School offering twelve months training to tribal youths, who would then return to their tribes. In 1976, this was augmented with a boarding school for tribal children who wanted to go on to secondary education (Bishop 1986).

Adequate provision of education requires not only mass elementary education, but also increased access to higher education produces indigenous technicians and professionals, who, unlike contracted foreign experts, bring cultural awareness, continuity, and commitment.

Politics determines how education budgets are distributed between elementary education and higher education, to what extent the provision of higher education comes at the expense of elementary education. The South East Asian Centre for Educational Innovation and Technology has suggested spreading resources by reducing the basic curriculum to an essential minimum (Bishop 1986). In South America and Africa, some countries, including Nicaragua, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Zaire have moved towards skilling the elite by reducing resourcing of mass education of the poor (Bacchus 1987; Arnove 2000). Others attempt an integrated balance. In the Cameroons, rural primary schools have offered the foundations for secondary education for an elite, while preparing the majority for rural and agricultural work. It is important to get the balance right for a nation's stage of development. In Sri Lanka increased access to higher education resulted in a highly educated unemployed and inflated qualifications for even basic jobs (Little 2000).

All attempts to extend education are dependent on adequate teaching resources. The cost and supply of teachers are major problems for developing nations. For governments on restricted budgets, reduction of teaching becomes a goal as teachers' salaries comprise

up to 90% of recurrent education budgets. Thus class sizes have been increased, with studies in Brazil, Chile, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela suggesting that variations between twenty and forty make little difference to outcomes (Bishop 1986). Multi-grade teaching has been tried in the Philippines (Miguel 1997). Programmed instruction, albeit often handicapped by lack of good instructional materials, has reduced demands on teachers in Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka (Bishop 1986; Lee 1997).

Teacher competence is as much of a problem as teacher costs. In developing countries, as few as half of the teachers are properly trained (Townsend and Vakaotia 1999). A variety of programs have addressed this. A Chilean Program for the Improvement of Equity and Quality of Education focused on new teaching methods and improving the training and status of teachers (Quinteros 1999). In Papua New Guinea teacher training was enhanced in the 1990s through government initiatives that engaged the Association for Teacher Education, the teachers' colleges, the Queensland University of Technology and the University of Papua New Guinea (Avalos 1997). Some countries, including India, Sri Lanka, and Botswana, have turned to correspondence education for teacher education. This overcomes problems of distance and allows teachers to be trained without removing them from their schools (Bishop 1986).

Correspondence programs are also more generally used to overcome the problems of higher education for dispersed populations. The University of the South Pacific and the University of the West Indies cater to archipelago nations through extensive correspondence education. Other developing countries draw on the resources of universities in the developed world through correspondence courses. These are often augmented by short periods of intensive face to face teaching by visiting lecturers.

Recently, technology has provided alternative teaching resources and been seen as an economic way to increase access to education. Radio programs for schools have been broadcast in countries as diverse as Thailand, Pakistan, Kenya, and Botswana. The Mauritius College of the Air has gone further, offering in-service to teachers, who then support children in correspondence and radio based education (Bishop 1986). Radio broadcasts have also offered community education for over half a century. Colombia began broadcasts offering basic education, life, and vocational skills in 1947. Radio Togo and Radio Sanata Maria in the Dominican Republic began radio literacy projects in 1964. In 1970, Tanzania instituted radio broadcasts for community development. In Guatemala the Basic Village Education



project has been offering agricultural education to farmers by radio since 1978. In Brazil regionally broadcast evening courses have reached over fifteen thousand village radio schools. Combinations of techniques include All-India Radio combining broadcasts with print and study groups, the Dominican Republic combining radio with work sheets and locally recruited mentors, and the Republic of Niger combining radio with visual stimuli.

Since 1970, UNESCO has also been promoting television as an educational tool. In the Ivory Coast television has been helping to reorient primary education towards rural development; in Niger it has been offering beginner instruction in a range of subjects; in Mexico and El Salvador it has been extending access to secondary education (Bishop 1986). Access to television is, however, more limited than access to radio in developing countries, because, while transistor radios are relatively widespread, television requires electricity and many developing countries do not have a stable power supply. Television also requires new attitudes to incorporate it in education. In Brazil equipment provided through a TV-school plan ended up unused due to lack of interest and training (Luis 2001).

More recently, computers have also been increasingly used to augment teaching resources. In 1984, Brazil began a national program to computerise education. Subsequently, the Education Ministry has invested \$480 million to put one hundred thousand computers into six thousand secondary schools and to train teachers to use the equipment (Luis 2001).

Connecting computers to the Internet is the latest technological aid to education. Since the 1990s, it has had an impact in many parts of the developing world, including the initiatives of the Chinese academic network (CERNET); the Red Hemisférica Inter-Universitaria de Información Científica y Tecnológica sponsored by the United States in Latin America; the Caribbean Academic Scientific and Technologic Network; the World Bank initiated African Virtual University; and the Association of African Universities.

The Internet, however, requires not only computers and electricity, but also a telephone connection. Eighty percent of the world's population has no telephone line; 70% of Africans live in remote, rural areas that need satellites for Internet services. Of the countries with full Internet connectivity, only six have local dial-up facilities outside the major cities and some capital cities do not have full connectivity. Even where the Internet is available, connection costs rule out access for the majority of people. Besides the issues of connection, computers and modems cost more of an average weekly wage in the

developing than in the industrialised world (World News 2001).

Another Internet issue is content. The Internet remains largely an English-language medium, dominated by the commercial interests of large Western service providers, with the information flow running from industrialised countries to developing countries. There is a need for more local, relevant content, such as produced through the InfoDev program creating secondary school material in South Africa, and for more initiatives that harness existing relevant resources, such as UNESCO's project of transferring printed material in African libraries onto the Net.

Information technology may turn out to be as much of a problem as it is a solution, because it increases the gap between rich and poor. In the developing world, mostly only private universities serving the rich minority can afford the necessary infrastructure. At the other end of the scale, Internet access is not an option for people who are not yet literate, too hungry or sick to learn, or in schools too poor to even afford books.

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## EGYPT

Egypt is located in the northeast region of the African continent with a size of approximately one million square kilometers (or the landmass of the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado combined). The country is broken up into four major regions to include the Nile Valley and Delta, where about 99% of Egypt’s 76 million population resides; the Western Desert; the Eastern Desert; and the Sinai Peninsula.

The three most important aspects about Egypt are water, location, and history. Regarding water, Egypt is the northernmost country along the Nile River, the longest river in the world at 6,500 kilometers. Evidence of civilization along the Nile dates back over six thousand years. The river provides over 90% of Egypt’s water. Hence, Egypt has often been called “the gift of the Nile.” Because of the importance of the Nile to its very existence, Egypt has officially warned the states to the south not to affect the flow of the river in any way. Historically, summer monsoons in central Africa caused the Nile to flood every year bringing rich, dark soil to the valleys of Egypt and to the delta at the Mediterranean Sea. It was this soil and water from the Nile that allowed early civilizations to flourish. In the late 1950s, Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser envisioned a dam near Aswan to control the annual flooding and provide a reservoir of water for national emergencies such as droughts. With the financial and technical assistance

of the Soviet Union, the Aswan High Dam ten-year national project was completed in 1970 and dedicated by President Anwar as Sadat.

The other water aspect of note for Egypt is the Suez Canal, which connects the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea, and subsequently to the Indian Ocean. The idea of a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean dated back to ancient times. The first attempt at digging such a canal was in the sixth century BCE. After a period of time, the rudimentary canal fell into disrepair. It was neglected until Roman Emperor Trajan had it re-dug to promote Roman trade. It was once again abandoned with the discovery of the trade route around Africa. Finally, the French Emperor Napoleon revived the idea of a shorter trade route to India using the canal. After ten years of Egyptian labor and French expertise and financing, the 160-kilometer Suez Canal was again open to navigation in 1869. The Suez Canal is Egypt’s third major source of foreign exchange, bringing in well over \$1 billion US dollars every year from passage tolls (assessed at around 6.5% of a ship’s tonnage).

Egypt occupies a geographic focal point bridging Africa with the Middle East on land, and with Europe by sea. Unfortunately, this strategic location also made Egypt susceptible to numerous conquests, including those of the Romans, Greeks, Arabs, Ottomans, French, and British. The British granted Egypt partial independence in 1922, but only withdrew completely in 1954 as a result of an Egyptian military uprising led by Nassar. Of these foreign rules, the Arab Muslim rule had the greatest impact on Egyptian life and culture, to where today Egypt is considered both an Arab and an Islamic country (the vast majority of Egyptians are Sunni Muslim). Hence, Egypt is simultaneously an African, an Arab, and a Muslim nation. While it has the second most number of people on the African continent (see Nigeria) and the most in the Arab world, with around 75 million, it does not have the most Muslims living in it (see Indonesia).

With civilization along the Nile River dating back over six millennia and with so many foreign conquests of the area, Egypt has a very rich history to fashion its unique identity and culture. Egyptian ancient history is hard to date because the only accurate records kept consisted of tracking the rule of Egypt’s pharaohs. Unfortunately, some pharaohs fell into disrepute and were excised from history. As well, many of the existing pharaonic lists are in disrepair, hence, are missing names and dates. Finally, many of the pharaohs took several different names causing more uncertainty among Egyptian historians.

One of the most important historical events in Egyptian history was the unification of Upper and

Lower Egypt by King Menes sometime in the third millennium BCE. As a result, King Menes became the first Egyptian pharaoh ruling over the planet's first organized society. The Arab conquest by Amr ibn al-As in 641 CE was another important historical event as it spread Islam throughout the land as well as Arab language and culture (which endure to this day). It was during Arab rule that Cairo was established as the permanent capital of Egypt. Another significant historical event occurred in 1260 when the Egyptian ruler, Qutuz, and his forces stopped the Mogul advance across the Arab world in Palestine. In 1517, Egypt was conquered by Sultan Selim I and absorbed into the Ottoman Empire until 1882 when the British began its occupation of Egypt.

Egypt's pharaonic history, to include its numerous pyramids, temples, and tombs, draws in tourists from all over the world. They come primarily to see the three great pyramids at Giza (a suburb of Cairo) built over four thousand years ago. The Great Pyramid of Khufu is considered one of mankind's greatest structures, consisting of approximately two million blocks of stones, each weighing more than two tons. The Khufu Pyramid ranked as the tallest structure on Earth for more than forty-three centuries at 137 meters high. About 350 meters from this pyramid rests the Great Sphinx. It is seventy-three meters long and represents a lion with a human head to stand guard over the pyramids. Its worn appearance today reflects the effects of thousands of years of severe blowing sand and gravity.

Other significant tourist sites from Egypt's pharaonic past include the Karnak Temple at Luxor, the largest temple supported by columns and among the largest temples in size in the world. Luxor itself was known in the past as Thebes, the capital of the Egyptian Kingdom during the Memphis era. In the mountains near Luxor, there are many small valleys of which the Valley of the Kings is most famous. Many pharaohs, beginning with Tutmose I, decided to be buried there, secluded from possible poachers. However, the history of this valley is one long story of pillaging and plundering. Less than two kilometers away is the Valley of the Queens. Eighty tombs have been discovered there to date, all badly damaged. One queen not buried there was Queen Hatshepsut, daughter of Pharaoh Tutmose I. She had a funerary monument built for herself near Luxor. Unfortunately, it was the site of a mass terrorist attack in which sixty-eight tourists were gunned down on November 17, 1997. In Cairo, tourists often visit the Mohammad Ali Mosque and the National Museum, built by the French. The museum was opened in 1902 and consists of one hundred exhibition rooms occupying

two floors. It contains the impressive relics of King Tutankhamon's burial tomb, which was discovered in 1922. (In September 1997, nine tourists were killed by terrorists in front of this museum.) Finally, tourists often visit the large temple of Abu Simbel, 320 kilometers from Aswan in Nubia. This temple, consisting of four twenty-meter-high statues, was the source of one of the greatest monumental movements in history beginning in 1965, as the Aswan Dam when completed was projected to permanently flood the area where it stood.

Egypt receives most of its revenue not from tourism, which accounts for over \$3 billion US dollars each year, but from remittances sent back by Egyptians working in foreign countries. Before the US-led military operations against Iraq in 1991 and 2003, Egypt had over three million of its citizens working abroad and sending as much as \$18 billion US dollars back to Egypt every year. (It is difficult to estimate the exact amount of remittances because workers often remit earnings directly to their families and not through official banking channels.)

Petroleum and gas are the second highest source of income for the Egyptian economy. Crude oil production in 2001 was over eight hundred thousand barrels per day, with proven reserves estimated at over 3 billion barrels.

Because survival in this region required strict management of the Nile river water, Egypt has always had a strong ruler, beginning with the pharaohs and ending with the constitutional dictatorship in place today. The primary reason for a strong central authority in recent times is to overcome and counter foreign threats to Egypt's independence. As a result, all of Egypt's presidents since the 1952 Revolution have been military officers. Lieutenant Colonel Nasser led the nationalist-reform movement to finally overthrow British rule, and promptly instituted land reform, social welfare, and a nationalist foreign policy. He destroyed the political and economic power of the old feudal, landowning class. Women were encouraged to get an education and were given the right to vote. Nasser's government fixed the exchange rate of the Egyptian pound, began development planning, controlled foreign trade, and nationalized numerous foreign businesses, to include the Suez Canal. This property grab led to the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956 where British, French, and Israeli military forces moved on Egypt to secure the canal. The military operation failed due to lack of international political support led by the United States.

The 1956 and 1971 Egyptian constitutions largely reinforced authoritarian traditions, with the president at the center of power. Nasser was a charismatic leader who was able to balance off the elites

against each other while using his popular support to curb them as needed. Sadat did not have the charisma that Nasser had nor the support of the masses. He gained support from the elite through a tacit social contract in which he curbed the traditional presidential arbitrary use of power. Finally, President Hosni Mubarak has maintained the authoritarian presidency, although he is even less of a dominant figure than either Nasser or Sadat. Mubarak lacked the military comrades of Nasser and the upper-class patronage of Sadat. He never sought to reshape Egypt, only to maintain stability while making incremental changes. The Egyptian constitution calls for a vice president to become president following the death of the president, which occurred following the deaths of both Nasser and Sadat. To date, Mubarak has decided not to appoint a vice president due to concerns about a possible rival once a person was identified. As such, Egypt faces a succession crisis if something were to happen to President Mubarak.

Egypt was the leading Arab country in the numerous conflicts with Israel beginning in 1948 with its declaration of independence. In each of the four major conflicts fought involving Israel (1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973), Egypt ended up losing. Wanting to regain the Sinai Peninsula lost in the 1973 war and to quell domestic disturbances, Sadat decided to accept an invitation by Israel Prime Minister Menachem Begin to begin a road to peace. On November 19, 1977, Sadat flew to Jerusalem to address the Israeli Knesset. Once peace talks stalled in September 1978, US President Jimmy Carter invited both delegations to Camp David to work out the problems. The result was the Camp David Accords and the signing of the Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty on March 26, 1979. Israel then withdrew from the Sinai, while diplomatic and economic relations were established between the two countries, and Israeli ships were authorized to use the Suez Canal. Unfortunately, while Sadat was a hero in the West, he was vilified in the Arab world. The Camp David Accords brought peace to Egypt, but not prosperity, though the US has given over \$1 billion US dollars every year to Egypt since 1979 for signing the Accords. Eventually, Sadat paid for this brave and bold move with his life, when religious conspirators in the army assassinated him in 1981. However, without Egypt's military power and strategic location, no Arab state or combination of states could effectively confront Israel.

Finally, Egypt's Armed Forces consist of 448,000 personnel, most being draftees serving for three years, and four services—the army, navy, air force, and air defense force. The defense budget runs around 10% of Egypt's GNP. Egypt is one of the major military

powers in the Middle East, and its senior officers play an influential role in the nation's affairs.

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## 807 INDUSTRIES

As used today, the term “807 industries” is an informal reference to a provision in the US tariff code that allows US goods, produced by certain industries, to be shipped to another country and returned with import taxes placed only on the value that has been added to the goods while out of the country. For the US firm, a major advantage of this process is access to lower labor rates for unskilled work in other countries.

Since the early 1980s, this provision has been used in combination with other US government programs, such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which are designed to promote economic growth in developing countries. Long-run strategic benefits include increased employment, political stability, and the development of markets for US products.

Technically, the term “807” refers to a classification found in the Tariff Schedule of the United States (TSUS), which was implemented in 1963 and replaced in January of 1989 by classification “9802” of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (HTS). The HTS is administered by the US International Trade Commission (formerly the US Tariff Commission). The founding legislation for this provision is the Tariff Act of 1930 (Hawley–Smoot), which is currently included as Chapter 4 of Title 19 (Customs Duties) of the Code of the United States of America.

### Regional Impacts of the 807 (9802) Provision

Latin America and Asia are the most heavily affected by this trade provision, combining for approximately 68% of the dollar amounts of all imports under the 9802 HTS category in 2001. Mexico alone accounted for 23%, and Japan accounted for 29%.

Four other Latin American nations (Dominican Republic, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica) accounted for 8%, and four other Asian nations (Philippines, Malaysia, China, and Korea) also accounted for 8%. Sixty-two other nations accounted for the remaining 32% of all imports under the 9802 HTS classification. A second and more revealing statistic is the percent of US content contained in the imported goods. US imports from Mexico under HTS 9802 contained 50% US content, whereas US imports from Japan under HTS 9802 contained only 4% US content. Goods imported by four other Latin American nations (Dominican Republic, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica) contained 70% US content and imports from four other Asian nations (Philippines, Malaysia, China, and Korea) contained 25% US content. US imports from each of sixty-two other nations contained an average of 8% US content.

These statistics make clear that, in 2001, the amount of US imports from Latin America under HTS 9802 was disproportionately large in that, even though they accounted for 31% of the total amount of such imported goods, the content of those goods originated primarily from the US. This was not the case for other regions of the world. Since tariffs rates under HTS 9802 are based on the percentage of foreign content, the major beneficiaries of the 9802 provision have been the economies of Latin America and those US manufacturers of goods that are shipped to Latin America for assembly under the 9802 provision. Further, among Latin American nations, Mexico and the Dominican Republic were the largest exporters to the United States under the provision. The top twenty items imported under 9802 from Mexico in 2003 consisted of various types of clothing, electronic equipment, and medical equipment. Specifically, \$6.8 billion in customs value was imported under 9802 from Mexico: \$1.5 billion (men's and women's trousers, short stockings, t-shirts, and sweaters); \$1.5 billion (electronic connectors, motors, switches, wires, televisions, and other cathode-ray tube machines), and \$0.3 billion (medical instruments and appliances). The top twenty items imported under 9802 from the Dominican Republic in 2003 consisted of various types clothing, electronic equipment, medical equipment, plastics, and articles made from precious metals. Specifically, \$1.4 billion in customs value was imported under 9802 from the Dominican Republic: \$0.75 billion (men's and women's trousers, shorts stockings, t-shirts, underwear, coats and sweaters), \$0.15 billion (electronic circuit breakers, switches and connectors), \$0.07 billion (medical instruments and appliances), \$0.07 billion (plastics), and \$0.02 billion (articles made from precious metals).

## **The Caribbean Basin Initiative and the 807 (9802) Provision**

The 807 (9802) tariff code provision is one of three major duty-free or duty-reduction programs available for US imports from the Caribbean (Schoepfle 2002). The other two programs are the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) and the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). During a speech to congress on February 24, 1982, President Reagan described his vision for trade relations between the United States and the Caribbean that would provide for free or reduced tariffs on a wide range of goods. This general vision became known as the Caribbean Basin Initiative and has been implemented through time in the form of three federal statutes: The Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act of 1983 (CBERA), The Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Expansion Act of 1990 (CBERA Expansion Act), and The US–Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act of 2000 (CBTPA).

The original political purpose of the CBI was to enable economic development of the Caribbean region, which, in turn, was to provide greater political stability and closer relationships with the United States. At the time, the region had recently witnessed a successful revolution in Nicaragua, active insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and coups in Grenada and Suriname. These events had resulted in the establishment of leftist regimes that were perceived as being opposed to the interests of the United States. These dramatic political changes, coupled with an international economic crisis characterized by high oil prices, unprecedented interest rates, and declining commodity prices, rekindled the interest of the United States policymakers in the region (Haggerty 1991). The hope was that economic assistance and closer business relationships with certain nations of the region would help to balance increased political antagonism of others.

In 1987, in an attempt to expand economic growth and US influence through “free trade and free markets” in the Caribbean region, President Reagan implemented a CBI companion program called the Special Access Program (SAP). The SAP had been drafted earlier by the American Caribbean Trade Association and focused on expanding Caribbean clothing assembly and exporting activity under TSUS 807. Specifically, the SAP resulted in the establishment of opportunities for Caribbean nations to enter into bilateral agreements with the United States for Guaranteed Access Levels (GALs). These GALs essentially consisted of unlimited quotas for textile products and were incorporated into the tariff code

under the special provision classification “807A.” This 807A provision, which was informally referred to as the “Super 807,” incorporated very specific rules of origin, that required that textile material used in manufacturing clothing in Caribbean factories had to have been “formed and cut” in the United States (Rosen 2002). Through the SAP, the 807 provision became closely aligned with the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

### **Controversial Aspects of the 807 (9802) Provision**

Surrounding the 807 (9802) provision and related programs are several controversial issues. These issues relate to consequences which critics argue are outside of the stated objectives of the provision and which have damaging effects on the Caribbean, the United States, and Asia. Three such issues have been hotly debated:

1. The development of undesirable “sweatshop” working conditions in the Caribbean;
2. Restriction on free trade with Japan and other Asian nations; and
3. The “exporting” of jobs held by US workers to other nations.

At the center of the criticisms stemming from these issues are the related beliefs that US firms have used the 807 provision to benefit their own profitability at the expense of Caribbean workers, US workers, and US consumers, and that the original objectives of fostering economic development of other nations and providing markets for US goods have not been met.

Concerning the first issue, a “sweatshop” is typically defined as working conditions that do not meet US standards such as those prescribed by the US Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938, as amended, and the US Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1970, as amended. These statutes cover such items as minimum wages, overtime pay, child labor restrictions, and safety and health standards. The general criticism aimed toward foreign firms that participate in the 807 program with US firms is that they do not meet these standards, and thus, US business and the policy itself are encouraging the violation of generally held ethical and moral workplace values. Concerning the second issue, while it was the intention to foster economic development in the Caribbean, especially through the 807A special access program, one clear consequence has been the reduction of US imports from Asia. As a response, Asian firms moved

operations to Latin America and gradually became the beneficiaries of the 807 trade program through the establishment of manufacturing firms that employed Caribbean workers, which in turn reduced employment opportunities for Asian workers. Concerning the third issue, a clear trend in the United States has been the growing gap between wages paid to skilled versus unskilled workers. One source of this gap has been the outsourcing of unskilled work to other nations, with the resulting painful unemployment and underemployment experienced by displaced workers.

Countering these positions are the following views:

1. While working conditions in Caribbean 807 firms are below those of the United States, they are generally higher than typical for Caribbean nations hence a net benefit to the foreign workers.
2. US and Japanese workers who have been displaced through the 807 and related programs are being retrained for more sophisticated jobs that provide higher wages (Feenstra, Hanson, and Swenson 2002).
3. US consumers enjoy a wide range of alternative products from Japan and other non-Caribbean nations, such as electronics and automobiles as well as products produced in the Caribbean by US and Japanese firms through the 807 (9802) provision.

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**See also Caribbean Basin Initiative; Caribbean: History and Economic Development**

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## EL SALVADOR

El Salvador is located on the Pacific coast of Central America, nestled between Guatemala to the northwest, Honduras to the northeast, and the Gulf of Fonseca to the southeast. Lying on top of the infamous Ring of Fire of seismic and volcanic activity, the country has experienced disastrous earthquakes (four significant ones in 2001 alone), leading to thousands of deaths and billions of dollars in damage. The northeastern region of the country was devastated by Hurricane Mitch in 1998, as was most of Central America. Despite a number of beautiful lakes, volcanoes, and beaches, uncontrolled deforestation in the last two decades has led to a near collapse of the country's riverbeds, droughts, and overall water scarcity. Along with Haiti and Paraguay, El Salvador is one of three Latin American countries with no remaining large tracts of undisturbed, biologically-intact forests. The country's generally comfortable tropical climate ranges between 70°F and 80°F, its beaches becoming a regular destination for regional tourists. The smallest and most densely populated Central American nation, El Salvador's geography and topography have brought significant challenges for the country's development. More than any other natural resource, land has historically been at the center of struggles over development, growth, private profit, and the well-being of the majority. The official population estimate for 2001 was 6.3 million.

Following independence from Spain in 1821, El Salvador became part of the United Provinces of Central America from 1823 to 1839, thereafter becoming a fully independent political state. From the beginning export agriculture dominated economic life, with communally held indigenous lands also dotting large regions of the country. These communal holdings prioritized subsistence agriculture. When the world demand for indigo collapsed in the 1860s, coffee became the new dominant export cash crop, displacing traditional systems of food production. In 1882, three quarters of all land passed into the private ownership of a small elite class when the government abolished all common lands. This single

decree concentrated the country's most abundant natural resource in the hands of an estimated 2% of the population, and set in motion an historical and still ongoing battle over access to land. This tiny elite class, popularly known as the "Fourteen Families," held all control over the state, the land, and national capital. The country became an oligarchy despite formally proclaiming a constitutional republican government. With land, economy, and political life serving the private interests of these few, large segments of El Salvador's impoverished laboring class organized themselves into protest. Labor unrest and protest included the growth of the Communist Party in the 1920s, largely repressed through the infamous Hernández Martínez government massacre of roughly thirty thousand indigenous and mestizo peasants of 1932, known as *la matanza*.

El Salvador's economy did not develop significantly until after World War II, and especially with the creation of the Central American Common Market (CACM). Entrepreneurial capitalists, some national but mostly foreign, benefited from a growing industrialization in this period. The creation and expansion of a regional Central American internal market, the first of its kind in the hemisphere, was the single most important factor in the relative modernization of the country's industries. The construction of the country's first dam in 1950 on River Lempa increased geothermal and hydroelectric power, potentially lessening its dependence on imported petroleum. Along with coffee and cotton, sugar became another important export cash crop in the twentieth century. The commercial fishing industry too expanded following the war, and especially in the 1960s, along with manufacturing and the production of tobacco, textiles, and beverages. Despite relative economic growth, gross inequalities were evident throughout. The extreme polarity between a wealthy elite class and a poor, largely rural but increasingly urban majority grew further in the postwar period.

Those benefiting the most from the growth of Salvadoran manufacturing and industrialization after 1960 were foreigners, and those affiliated with them. Of the fifty-five foreign investments established in El Salvador after 1960, forty-one were joint ventures between foreigners and nationals. The CACM favored transnational corporations' interests in the region rather than the development of Central American productive forces. The profits from growth, thus, did not translate into overall national development. That which remained in the country went to the few elite, while the largest portion actually left the country. Those suffering the most from growing industrialization and economic activity were the laboring class. Between 1970 and 1980, the change in real

wages for workers in the manufacturing industry was a  $-7\%$ ; for those in agriculture it was a  $-15\%$ .

These labor and social conditions in the postwar period were at the root of growing 1970s protest and organizing among peasants, students, teachers, and workers. With increased political repression of this civil unrest, organized political and armed protest eventually took the form of a coalition of five guerrilla forces under the name of the FMLN (Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation). With a 1979 military coup, an armed twelve-year-long civil war began, eventually claiming the lives of over eighty thousand civilians and combatants. An additional one-third of the country's population was displaced internally or forced into economic or political exile, having additional negative effects on the national economy. Despite population growth, the production of basic foodstuffs decreased between 1980 and 1993, a year after the signing of peace accords that brought the war to an end. More recently in the 1990s, the growth of *maquiladoras*, or large sweatshop garment industry plants, has led to creation of thousands of jobs, though offering economic wages insufficient for procuring a basic standard of living. Unfair wage practices and reports of abuse have also brought international attention to these mostly foreign-owned *maquiladoras*. Today, it is the transnational Salvadoran community that is most responsible for keeping the national economy from collapsing. There are critical economic ties between hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans in the United States and those remaining in El Salvador. It is estimated that in 2000, Salvadorans abroad sent over \$1.6 billion in remittances to their friends and families. Less a form of national development, this economic reality makes of El Salvador a truly transnational experiment dependent on the global traffic of workers and goods. That the US dollar became legal tender alongside the national *colón* effective January 1, 2001, marks further this tie to globalization.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations; Export-Oriented Economies; Mexico: History and Economic Development; Mexico: International Relations**

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## ELECTIONS

Elections are a procedure for selecting officials to fill decision-making positions in the political system, or to settle issues concerning policy. Elections are an important component of the overall process of decision making within the democratic political system.

### History of Elections

The earliest historical data about elections come from the ancient Greek polities in the fifth and sixth centuries BC. Local general assemblies that included free male citizens were widely used to approve appointments for public offices.

During the Middle Ages, the church preserved the tradition of elections. Passing through a complicated and controversial process of institutional development, national assemblies, or parliaments, gradually began to acquire more jurisdictions. Part of this process was extending the active participation in the process of decision making. A significant political advancement during the bourgeois revolutions of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries was enforcement of the assumed powers of the parliaments, as well as putting their members up for elections. Initially, a very limited share of the population was eligible to vote and to be elected. The right of citizens to participate in elections was limited by a wide variety of prerequisites—property qualifications, and religious, sex, or age requirements. Equality of influence of the vote was additionally limited by diversity in the ratio of population to elect representatives in different constituencies. Other inequities resulted from some traditional patterns of representation—e.g., granting some persons more than one vote. Countries



dominated by estate interests kept traditional oral voting well into the twentieth century—Denmark until 1901, Prussia until 1918, and Hungary until the 1930s. The tendency since the nineteenth century has been toward broadening the suffrage, suspension of multiple voting, adjusting constituency representation ratios, and lowering the voting age. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the evolution of electoral systems throughout most of the world was marked by three important trends: (1) expansion of the right to vote to nearly all mature population; (2) approximation of the foundations of representative government; and (3) adoption of standard electoral procedures.

This steady expansion of the electorate invoked some organizations to bring substantial numbers of voters at the constituency level to permit winning the elections. Most of the European countries as well as the overseas territories of France, Great Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands had by the end of World War I more or less full males suffrage. Extension of the vote to women was delayed. The United States adopted universal female suffrage in 1920, and the Scandinavian countries between 1906 and 1921. British women were given limited voting rights in 1918, and completely in 1928; women in Russia could vote by the Revolution in 1917. Democratic countries that achieved independence after World War II generally provided for universal male and female suffrage.

Voter equality was also enhanced by the advancement toward greater uniformity in population–representation ratios. Equal districting in the United States was not enforced until after the 1962 Supreme Court decision of *Baker v. Carr*. Extensive redistricting thereafter brought the basis of electoral representation much closer to the principle of “one person, one vote.”

Increasing standardization of administrative procedures in all phases of the electoral process was the third major trend having great impact for shaping modern electoral systems. This includes registration, balloting, tabulation of votes, and corroboration of winners. Most of these measures became essential with the involvement in the elections of earlier-excluded social, economic, ethnic, racial, confessional, and gender groups. Among the crucial innovations was the secret ballot. By 1946, most countries had voting rights extended to all capable citizens beyond the age of twenty-one, and a trend toward lowering the voting age continued. Today most of the countries comply with eighteen years as the age of voting rights. The United States established this voting age for all elections by passage of the 1970 Voting Rights Act extension and the 26th Amendment (1971).

## Functions of Elections

Elections serve a variety of functions within the political system. This is the formal procedure to fill public offices or specific policy actions to be adopted. Elections decide the contest in the countries, where two or more candidates compete for the same office. As much as competing candidates may advocate substantial discrepancies in the policy options, elections may deeply affect the governmental public policy choices.

In many countries elections have also symbolic function. Participation in the selection of their governmental leaders involves citizens in the democratic governmental process. On the other hand, choosing of leaders through established and sanctioned election procedures definitely grants the government a base of support and legitimacy among the mass public.

The fundamental challenge for elections is whether there exists a working competition between opposing candidates. This is most often the case with the democratic countries, while under oppressive regimes such competition is absent. In countries with autocratic, totalitarian, and dictatorial regimes, elections are only a prevaricated pageant. Typically, 99%–100% of the votes are cast for the official party candidates. By contrast, in democratic countries, the allotment of the winning vote is normally less than 55% of the total.

Formally, elections in non-democratic countries comply with some of the above mentioned functions. They provide for the regular filling of public offices, and, through vast participation in voting (often obligatory or pending chastisement in case of abstention), they may serve as a proof for the regime popular support. Actually, in these countries elections never allow a genuine contest, or choice, between competing groups of office seekers. As a rule, in the communist, quasi-Marxist, and fascist-type regimes, the leader exercises power until his death, or until he is deposed in a *coup d'état*. Most other personal changes are decided in a narrow circle of senior cadre of the ruling party, while certain positions may be voted at party plenary sessions, congresses, or conventions.

The British pattern of parliamentary government is followed in the most countries of Western Europe and the Commonwealth of Nations. Some of the post-communist countries also adopted such a system. There, voters elect members of the legislative body, who, in turn, elect a prime minister—usually the leader of the majority in the legislature. The prime minister chooses his team to serve as ministers, and they all constitute the executive branch.

Under the congressional system of government in the United States, where terms are fixed, elections for the president and members of Congress are held in even-numbered years: every two years for all members of the House of Representatives and for one third of the Senate, and every four years for president (and vice president). In countries having a parliamentary system there is usually a requirement that legislative elections be held within a set period of time. A government may also be forced to call a general election if it loses a vote in parliament on a major issue.

## Types of Elections

There exist several different types of elections, depending on the office or policy issue that is to be settled.

### *General Elections*

Most often, a general election is actually the last stage of a number of elections, held simultaneously throughout a country, to make the final choice among candidates for all public offices that are pending for filling. In some cases, nominating procedures may require primary elections as a prerequisite to the general election. In some countries voters may also vote directly on policy issues or constitutional amendments at the time of the general election. However, in some countries a national general election may also be held to fill only the office of the chief executive.

### *Primary Elections*

Typical mainly in the United States, these are held prior to the general election in order to permit voters to directly select party candidates, who will then run for public office. Generally, the turnout in the primary is much lower than in the general election.

### *Run-off Elections*

Where no candidate in the general election secures a clear majority, a run-off election may be held between the two candidates (rarely three) who have received the most votes. Run-off elections are held in many countries both for legislative and presidential elections, while in the United States there is no provision for a run-off for president. If the electoral college fails

to produce a majority, the House of Representatives may arrange a vote for president.

### *Special Elections*

Where a public office is vacated by the incumbent before the term has expired through death or retirement, a special election may be held. In the United States this refers to the seats in the House of Representatives and state legislatures. In Britain, elections to fill vacated seats in Commons are called by-elections. Often in this case the turnout of voters in one and the same constituency is lower than when general elections are held.

### *Local Elections*

On the local level, elections are used for filling a wide variety of offices—mayors, governors (where they are elected and not appointed), members of local or municipal legislatures (councils), etc. Elections are held also to decide issues of local policy. Local elections may coincide with statewide or national elections or be called separately.

### *Direct and Indirect Elections*

In a direct election each member of the electorate votes directly for the candidate of his or her choice, and, depending on the appropriate rules, the candidate with a plurality or a majority of the popular vote is certified as the winner. Indirect elections are decided by vote of a special electoral body. In the Fifth French Republic an electoral college composed of members of the National Assembly, the members of the departmental assemblies, and representatives of the municipal councils elects members of the Senate. In the United States people vote for a special electoral college that in due time elects the president. The electoral college's power of independent judgment is, however, promptly restricted, after the political parties erect slates of electors bound explicitly to one or another presidential nominee.

## Election Procedures

The *initiative* is a procedure by which a legally designated number of eligible voters may induce a popular vote to be summoned on a draft legislation, amendment, enforcement, or other public policy question, or

## ELECTIONS

to force the legislators to ponder a certain action. The *referendum*, used most often in Switzerland, but also in many other countries, is a kind of election where an issue is submitted directly to a popular vote. In some countries—especially when majority vote is implemented—a number (designated by law) of eligible voters may initiate a removal of a public official, or a *recall* election, usually by petition and collection of signatures. In such cases, special, or partial, elections are held to replace the removed official.

### The Electoral Process

All procedures and rules for the conduct of elections are specified by law.

#### *Apportionment and Districting*

Apportionment is the way in which representation (i.e., the seats in the legislative body) is distributed among established territorial or other units vested with representation in a political jurisdiction. Districting is the process by which are established exact geographical boundaries of territorial constituencies. Some parties may enjoy the convenience of having their representatives elected by fewer votes than others.

#### *Single-Member and Multiple-Member Districts and Proportional Representation*

Additional factors that affect the nature of a country's electoral system are the type of district—single- or multiple-member—in which representatives are elected, and whether the system requires proportional representation or the plurality method of establishing the winning candidates. The United Kingdom and many of the countries in the Commonwealth use single-member constituencies, where the winner is the candidate who redeems the greatest number of votes. In the United States, both types of districts apply in the state legislatures' elections. In most of the world's democracies, including France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Israel, and Japan, multiple-member constituencies with proportional representation are mostly the case. Under the common version of proportional representation, the list system, voters cast their ballots for a party rather than for specific candidates. Seats are assigned to the parties according to their proportion of the total vote. This system is criticized as strengthening the party leaders' dominance. Many experts argue that the single-member

constituency–plurality election system, where a minor party may get many popular votes but not enough to elect a candidate, tends to maintain the two-party system. However, miscellaneous other factors also contribute for the prevalence of two major parties. Further, proportional representation appears to foster certain minor parties by warranting their representation in the legislative body. In order to qualify for proportional representation, the party must transcend the required percentage of the total popular vote. Some countries combine both systems.

#### *Nominations*

A vital element in the total electoral process is the procedure by which candidates are nominated by political parties. In Britain and continental Europe this nominating function is frequently performed by a relatively small group of activists in individual constituencies, party conventions, or conferences, or by national political leaders. In the United States, nominating procedures have evolved to the party convention, which in turn gave way to the direct primary in many states by the early twentieth century. The convention system is still used to nominate presidential candidates, but states increasingly are selecting delegates by primary elections.

#### *Election Campaigns*

Political campaigns are ubiquitously conducted differently from country to country. In the totalitarian states, election campaigns are used as a propaganda venture to advertise ruling party's "monumental" successes. Some countries with competitive elections strive to promptly restrain campaign costs and media involvement. In the United States, campaign expenditures grow dramatically with each new election. Typical sources for funding of political parties, such as party dues and profits from party publications, have proved to be insufficient to meet these rising costs. Quite generous public subsidies are available in Germany, while public financing in the United States is restricted. Traditional techniques for campaigning—newspaper coverage, circulation of leaflets, rallies and social gatherings, lectures to civic groups, door-to-door solicitation—are still in use in developing countries with large uneducated and illiterate constituencies.

Campaigns differ also when an incumbent or a challenger is involved or the candidate is from the majority or minority party. Public opinion polls have an important role in political campaigning. Relying

on commissioned polls, candidates and their parties devise their strategy, checking categories of the electorate that support them, are against them, or hesitate in their attitudes. Media publicize opinion polls, and often the likely winner is known well in advance. This may induce some voters to refrain from going to the polling stations, considering their individual vote as making no difference. Observers differ in their surmise about the educative or manipulative significance of the polls, and some countries impose restrictions on conducting polls and publishing their results. Clearly, ratings of various parties and candidates attract or thwart financial support.

Administration and formal setting of elections relate to the requirements for registering and voting, the time of the year and day of the week when elections are assigned, the hours polling stations are open, the opportunities for absentee voting, and others. The administration of elections can be of significant impact on the turnout and even the outcomes.

In many countries elections are administered by a particularly designated body, an election commission; in others they are administered by a central or local government official.

### ***Registration***

The procedure of registration verifies that given person qualifies to vote. The list of eligible voters is displayed in advance of any election. In most cases this procedure does not demand any action from the prospective voter. In most states of the United States, however, the individual citizen usually must take the initiative. US Blacks as well as minority groups in other countries often need additional incentives to register.

### ***Casting Votes***

Most commonly, voting is exercised by paper ballot listing only candidates' names. In some countries ballots are different for each candidate—white or colored. In Turkey, India, and most of Africa parties use specific logos, for example, in the form of animals, to facilitate identification by illiterate or undereducated voters. A more sophisticated method is use of mechanical or digital voting machines, computer punch cards, or insertion of a marked ballot into an optical scanning device. Recent expansion of computer technology increases pressure for introducing distant voting, but especially in the underdeveloped countries this is curbed by the low availability of access to computers.

### ***Absentee Voting***

Provisions for absentee voting by mail have spread during the last decades, and the United States has the most advanced system. Most other countries provide voting places for their nationals abroad in the diplomatic missions.

### ***Observation and Monitoring of Elections***

In order to prevent abuses and forgery, political parties and independent organizations may provide observers in the polling stations to monitor the whole process, and especially tabulation of votes. In the new democracies opposition often invites foreign observers, including respected political figures, to further ensure fairness of the elections.

### ***Calculating, Reporting, and Verifying Outcomes***

Election officials at the precinct polling places, often in the presence of authorized party workers, usually count votes. In some countries ballot boxes are taken to a central place in each constituency for counting. In most of the cases local election officials report their official election figures to the regional or central designated officials. This process may take days or even weeks, especially in countries with poor infrastructure. Major election competitions attract extensive television and newspaper coverage, and they report unofficial vote totals early after closure of poll stations. By analyzing the results in sample constituencies, or through the exit-poll technique, expert pollsters forecast the probable distribution of seats.

Authorized public officials, or a special election board, certify election outcomes and winners. A recount may be demanded if the initial vote count is very close.

### ***Voter Turnout***

In Europe, Denmark and Germany demonstrate an especially high voter turnout, while the percentage of voter participation is lower in the United States than in Britain, the Commonwealth, and much of Europe (where the average is closer to 60%). On average, only half of all Americans eligible to vote are registered, and less than half of the registered participate in a given election.

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**See also Authoritarianism; Bureaucratic Authoritarianism; Civic Education; Civil Society; Constitutionalism; Democratization; Dictatorships; Legal Systems; Marxism; Monarchic Government; Political Culture; Single-Party States; Totalitarianism**

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## ENERGY: ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

### The Importance of Renewable Energy

Human society cannot survive without continuous use, and hence supply, of energy. Modern economies

are energy dependent, and one of the major problems for their existence and further development is the sufficient energy supply. The world's increasing energy demands and rapidly diminishing reserves of oil, natural gas, and coal have led to developing strategies and plans for using alternative energy sources. Dependence on fossil-fueled power plants to produce electricity has an adverse impact on public health and environment. Burning of coal or natural gas emits substantial amounts of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides into the atmosphere. Sulfuric acids and nitric acids are formed when these gases combine with atmospheric water vapor. These acids form acidic precipitation which has an adverse effect on public health, flora and fauna, and building constructions. The combustion of fossil fuels also releases carbon dioxide. The content of this gas in the atmosphere has risen in the last century because of the high consumption of coal, oil, and natural gas. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) identified emissions of carbon dioxide as the chief contributor to global warming. World scientists identify the threats of global warming as the greatest challenge to the future generations. It presents unprecedented hazards of rising oceans, flooding and inundation of coastal zones, agricultural disruption, loss of biodiversity, and climate changes. Global warming can be effectively addressed if significant steps are taken that reduce adverse environmental impacts and hazards. Overreliance on fossil-fuel electricity generation has also other negative impacts on consumers and economy. As fossil fuel reserves are increasingly depleted in the future, the price of fossil-fuel electricity will continue to grow up.

Alternative development of energy resources and efforts to find clean energy options are among the key issues not only in global warming discussions but also when suggesting sustainable development paths. Against the environmental and economic backdrop faced when there is reliance on fossil fuels, there are many compelling reasons for countries to seek to increase their use of renewable energy. Nowadays there are a lot of programs promoting renewable energy technologies with the objective to reduce fossil-fuel consumption. One of the most advanced technologies is based on fusion processes. In this reaction deuterium and tritium (hydrogen isotopes) are used as fuels. Deuterium is obtained from water, while tritium results in the processes run into the fusion reactor. It is considered that one gram of fusion fuel can produce as much energy as nine thousand liters of oil. Unlike fossil fuels, fusion does not cause environmental pollution. Herewith fusion will not be discussed further because of its complex character and way of operation. Rather it should be considered as an

advanced means for energy development and an alternative to nuclear energy and fossil fuels.

Renewable energy resources hold great promise for meeting the energy and development needs of countries throughout the world. Renewables include a considerable number of proven and emerging technologies, which permit the execution of needed tasks presently performed by use of fossil fuels. Renewable resources vary widely in technical and economic characteristics. They play a crucial role for developing countries. Some renewable resources, such as solar energy, wind, geothermal, biomass, and small hydroelectric energy are widely spread and accessible throughout the world. They offer both environmental and economic advantages. The present article will discuss the previously mentioned renewable resources, but it will exclude nuclear energy, large hydroelectric dams, and waste to energy power plants as alternatives to energy production. Nuclear energy is excluded because of the problems related to proliferation and nuclear waste disposal. Moreover, it requires high capital and operating costs. Large hydroelectric dams are not presently considered because of the environmental damages they can cause and expenses for their construction and maintenance. Waste to energy power plants is also excluded because it is highly polluting.

## Solar Energy

Solar energy presents great development opportunities. It is an attractive energy resource because of its nonpolluting character and inexhaustible supply opportunities. Solar energy is the radiation from the sun capable of producing heat, causing chemical reactions, or generating electricity. The sunlight that reaches the Earth consists of nearly 50% visible light, 45% infrared radiation, and the rest forms of ultraviolet light and other forms of electromagnetic radiation. Solar radiation can be converted to heat and mechanical or electrical power. The former conversion is easier to accomplish.

Solar energy is captured and converted by two main types of collectors: flat-plate collectors and concentrating collectors. Both types of collectors should have large area because of the low intensity of solar radiation reaching the Earth's surface. Flat-plate collectors are commonly used for hot-water heating and house heating. This system can supply a household with hot water drawn from an insulated storage tank, or it can provide space heating when warm water runs through tubes inserted in floors and/or ceilings. The temperatures that can be reached when flat-plate

collectors are used vary between 66°C and 93°C (150°F and 200°F). When higher temperatures are needed, then a concentrating collector is used.

Solar radiation can be converted into electricity by photovoltaic cells. Electrical voltage is generated when light strikes the junction between a metal and a semiconductor (for instance silicon) or a junction between two different semiconductors. Solar technologies provide environmentally clean options for energy production. Although based on an inexhaustible primary energy resource, the costs for solar energy production, collection, conservation, and storage limit its exploitation.

## Wind Energy

Wind energy is a pollution-free technology. It derives from wind turbines that can be situated either on-shore or off-shore. Wind electric systems have siting problems such as wind exposure, aesthetic impacts, danger to birds that fly into the blades, and noise. On-shore wind energy is extensively deployed and commercially developed technology. Off-shore wind is a less developed source, but potentially has a better future. It usually provides better exposure to wind resources and allows bigger turbines than those sited on shore. However, off-shore turbines are poorly accessible and require higher maintenance costs (e.g., linking to the power grid).

The utilization of wind energy systems grew in the last decade. In Europe, Denmark started the use of wind energy for electricity generation. The country is a leader in turbine technologies. Extensive wind applications are applied also in Germany and Spain. The successful experiences, combined with proper siting of wind turbines, can be a model for alternative energy resource for developing countries as well.

## Biomass

Biomass resources are used for deriving ethanol (ethyl alcohol, grain alcohol) and methanol, which are the two alcohols commonly considered for fuel use. Ethanol is produced by yeast fermentation of hexose sugars (such as those derived from cereal grains, sugar cane, or sugar bean) and subsequent separation from the aqueous solution by distillation. Methanol can be produced from cellulose products such as wood or crop residues by gasification.

Alcohol fuels can be used in different ways. The best-known fuel use for alcohol is as a substitute for

gasoline. They can also be used in heating and lighting, in simple wick lamps or heaters, or in pressure stoves and lanterns. They are clean and comparatively safe fuels, which unlike petroleum are miscible with water. The growth and conversion of various plant species to fuels can be an alternative to petroleum use in many countries worldwide, and especially those with favorable climate conditions. Brazil has pioneered the growth of biomass for producing alcohol fuels. In 1979, the country imported more than 80% of its petroleum. A combination of factors—availability of land and labor, favorable climate, a need for liquid fuels—has resulted in ambitious alcohol fuel programs. This led to halving country's oil imports. Argentina, Costa Rica, and the Philippines are among the countries where biomass is used on a large scale as an alternative energy resource.

A widely feared social consequence of large-scale alcohol fuel production is that it will limit food staples. This will have a negative impact especially in poor regions where the need for liquid fuels will be satisfied at the expense of food production. Another argument against large-scale alcohol fuel production is that it will lead to soil erosion and depletion, or that widespread monocultural crop production will make large areas vulnerable to pests or diseases. All of these limitations must be considered before applying large-scale activities for alcohol fuel production.

### Geothermal Energy

Geothermal energy is the energy generated and stored in the core, mantle, and crust of the Earth. However, this energy source can be tapped in relatively restricted zones, where heat can be extracted in the form of hot water or steam. It can be used for electricity generation, heating, drying, or freezing. Locating proper geothermal sources depends on finding a suitable heat source and the presence of a suitable medium for transferring the heat. Geothermal exploration is a complicated activity as it involves methods from geology, geophysics and geochemistry.

The geothermal fields used to produce electricity are associated with young igneous intrusions. The latter are situated on three types of plate boundaries: constructive, destructive, and transform faults. Constructive boundaries are those which occur where two plates move apart and a new plate is formed on the ocean floor. These types of boundaries are located in Iceland, the Gulf of California, and the Red Sea. Destructive boundaries are where two plates collide and one remains under the other (Japan, Indonesia,

New Zealand, and the Philippines). Transform faults occur where two plates slide past each other (for instance, California and Hawaii).

Geothermal energy has been known for centuries, but not until the beginning of the twentieth century was geothermal water used to heat houses in Iceland. In 1904 at Lardello, Italy first used it to produce electric power. Water and steam hotter than 356°F (180°C) are generally required for electric-power generation. Among the world's largest users of this alternative energy source are Japan, Iceland, Italy, the United States, Italy, and New Zealand. Other countries that are generating 10%–20% of their electricity through geothermal are Costa Rica, El Salvador, Kenya, and Nicaragua.

The development of geothermal resources has become increasingly attractive owing to the rising cost of petroleum and the nonpolluting character of geothermal energy production. However, it is arguable if geothermal energy constitutes a renewable energy resource. Generally, over time, the pressure in the fields where hot water or steam is found declines. The lifetime of a field can vary. One of the applied measures that ensure longer operations at the site is reinjection with geothermal fluid that can help to maintain the pressure.

### Tidal Power

Tidal power can be used also for electricity generation. This is achieved through turbines that are run by tidal flows. One of the plants that produce electricity using tidal power is the Rance power plant in the Gulf of Saint-Malo, Brittany, France. Another tidal plant was also constructed in 1969 in the ex-Soviet Union on the White Sea. Despite the large amounts of power available from the tides in favorable locations, this power is intermittent and varies with the seasons.

### Hydroelectricity Generation

One of the possible means of electricity generation is through generators driven by water turbines that convert the potential energy of falling water or fast-flowing water to mechanical energy. Hydroelectric power plants are usually placed in dams that impound rivers, thereby raising the water level behind the dam. Nowadays it is believed that large dams create environmental problems, as well as displacing people and agriculture. Because of this, small dams are

considered an environmentally harmful form of hydroelectric power production.

Falling water is one of the three principal sources of energy used to generate electric power; the other two being fossil fuels and nuclear fuels. It has advantages over the other two. It is constantly renewable owing to the recurring nature of the hydrologic cycle; and it does not produce either thermal or particulate pollution. Some countries, such as Sweden, Canada, and Norway, rely heavily on hydroelectricity.

## Hydrogen

Hydrogen is the most promising alternative fuel for the future. It currently is produced from photovoltaic or wind-powered electrolysis, from separating hydrogen from water, from some seawater algae, and from natural gas. Hydrogen is considered to be an alternative fuel that can power vehicles. Its combustion is pollution free (resulting in water). The challenges to wide use of hydrogen are to reduce the cost of hydrogen production and construct the proper infrastructure to transport the hydrogen.

## Conclusion

Despite the many advantages of renewable energy use, the renewable energy to produce electricity is extremely low, especially of renewable resources other than non-large hydro. There are a number of economic, regulatory, and political barriers to increase the percentage of applied renewable energy resources. These obstacles are tackled with various policy tools. The European Union has set a target of achieving 22% of renewables as part of Europe's electricity by 2010. India has proposed that 10% of annual additions to electric capacity come from renewables by 2012. The promising future of renewables is revealed by scenarios that point to 20%–50% of renewable energy supplies in the second half of the twenty-first century.

All of these policy measures are possible because renewable energy sources hold enormous potential. They enhance diversity in energy supply markets, sustain energy supplies, and reduce environmental pollution. They provide attractive options to meet specific needs for energy services, and this is particularly important for developing countries and rural areas. Most renewable technologies are still at an early stage of their development and implementation. This requires further research, development, and

public awareness for the benefits of the renewable resources.

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**See also Energy: Impact on Development; Sustainable Development**

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## ENERGY: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

Energy is arguably one of the most important aspects of developing a modern society. By nature, energy resources are unevenly distributed across the globe. Control of energy resources is therefore one of the most important strategic issues in international relations. Energy resources are at the heart of much of the conflict in the Middle East, a hotbed for conflict after World War II. The importance of the region for outside interests is directly tied to the preponderance of petroleum supplies there. For that reason, US, Japanese, and European foreign policy have historically been willing to overlook their democratic and human rights values in dealing with despotic regimes in the region. While most international trade and investment occur in the developed world, with the exception of China, the dependency on external supplies of fuel is the Achilles' heel of Western economies. This vulnerability has, in recent years, raised questions as to whether the heightened strength of oil exporters can change the dynamic of relations between the developed and developing world. Within countries, such as Nigeria, regions with energy



endowments have become the source of conflict, including issues such as levels of autonomy and fair and efficient distribution of the revenues from the resources.

Energy has also had profound effects upon the trajectories of developing countries. The key to energy is not only the existence or lack thereof of natural resources, but also the types and quality of resources that are available. For example, petroleum, as perhaps the most valuable energy commodity, is concentrated in some areas of the globe, leading to a situation of differing levels of development. While countries with such resources enjoy high standards of living, in some cases well above the average of Northern countries, other developing countries without such resources have been at a severe disadvantage in terms of their energy costs and vulnerability to outside economic shocks (sudden changes in energy prices). Moreover, because of the strategic importance of energy, developing country governments steadily increased control through expropriations, nationalizations, and the formation of state-owned enterprises through most of the latter part of the twentieth century.

Last but not least, energy has been at the center of discussions of “sustainable development.” Sustainable development is a broad concept often used to convey the idea that the development process should not create long-lasting or permanent damage to the natural environment. Since energy used as a fuel for transportation and manufacturing is one of the primary sources of pollution, finding ways to create sustainable energy sources and consumption systems has become a focal point for research and policy discussion. This conversation has also translated into North–South dimensions, in terms of the levels and types of responsibility polluters have at different levels of output and different stages of development.

### **Profile of Energy in Development: Energy Sources and Uses**

There are a few primary sources of energy, based on historical (technological) development and on the costs for producing energy. Historically, the modern machines of industry, transport, and household comforts grew hand-in-hand with the development of fossil fuel sources. Fossil fuels include coal, petroleum and its derivatives, and natural gas. More recently, hydroelectricity has become an important source of energy in countries endowed with fast moving and high volume water flows. We should note that having

some resources is considerably different from having abundant resources that can be extracted at a reasonable price.

The most primary fuel used may be wood. Burning wood is an obvious choice for ease of use and the low level of technology needed to use it for cooking or heating. While not all areas of the globe have forested areas, they tend to be relatively common. However, wood tends to burn energy fast, and creates high levels of pollutants. In addition, wood can not easily be stored, as it is heavy to transport and can rot over time if it becomes moist. Because of the ease of use, wood is still used in many poor rural areas in the developing world as a primary source of fuel. This has led to strong concerns about deforestation and soil erosion as rapid population growth have led to an “overuse” of forests. A related fuel source is biomass, which is essentially the burning of organic matter, such as animal waste. While the cost is relatively low, the fuel output of biomass is also relatively inefficient, and transportation and storage difficult. The growing use of biomass in the developing world and the health and environmental problems thereby created are growing concerns.

Coal is one of the most abundant energy sources naturally available and has a long history of use. Coal, in its various forms, is found naturally in often large mineral deposits in a wide variety of locations globally. Coal has long been used as a source of heating, and at the turn of the century, was an important fuel for transportation (fueling steam engines) and industrial uses as well. Because of its heavy weight, coal is often transported upon railway cars. In recent decades, coal has become less important as a fuel source because of growing awareness of the high levels of air pollution emissions. The consequences of coal-created emissions upon human and natural health, including “acid rain,” have led to policies designed to reduce its use.

Petroleum is also a fossil fuel that is naturally found, but abundant and easily accessible sources tend to be more concentrated geographically. Technology for finding, developing, and refining petroleum is capital-intensive and highly sophisticated. Petroleum exploration and drilling now occur offshore as well as in remote areas where it can be found. Unlike coal, petroleum can be transported through pipelines and so transportation costs tend to be considerably lower. Petroleum is also a fast burning fuel, ignitable at a low temperature, that delivers a very high energy output. In other words, petroleum is a very efficient energy source considering the costs of supply versus the energy output. Petroleum has a very wide variety of uses besides energy, including the creation of synthetic fibers and plastics

as well as lubricants and medicinal purposes, that reinforce its strategic importance. While diesel fuel derived from petroleum is sometimes used to make electricity, the most important use is as the source for almost all global vehicles' fuel, gasoline. However, in recent years, natural gas, a related fuel that is usually found along with petroleum, has become the fastest growing fuel of choice for both heating and electricity generation, because of its clean burning properties. For all these reasons, petroleum will remain an important part of developed and developing societies.

The other major energy source internationally is hydroelectricity, which is created by the natural movement of water from a higher place to a lower one. Some of the largest man-made projects are dams designed to capture this natural source of energy through turbines. While hydroelectricity is the most clean-burning fuel (as nothing is burned), it is not without its disadvantages. Hydroelectric fuel sources depend on the presence of strong and consistent volumes of strong water flow. These sources are not always close to population centers, and exist only in limited quantities globally. In addition, dams must be designed and located strategically both so that energy production is maximized and to ensure safe water supplies. Concerns about the flooding created by dams and the effects of dams on local fauna and flora have created strong resistance globally to large new projects. One of the few to have recently been created is the Three Gorges dam project in China, which sparked international controversy.

Finally, nuclear energy, based upon the energy released when radioactive atoms are split under pressure, remains an option for developing countries without abundant fossil fuels. Great concern surrounds the nuclear energy industry, however, for a number of reasons. The most obvious is that the nuclear energy industry can be used to develop nuclear weapons as well, which may increase its attractiveness for states interested in increasing their strategic power. Secondly, while nuclear energy is relatively

efficient and clean burning, the high levels of radioactivity from spent fuel, which can persist for thousands of years, in combination with the complex technical aspects of its operation, creates a major public health hazard. The question remains open as to where spent nuclear fuel can be safely stored. The near disaster of the Three Mile Island plant in the United States and the continuing health effects of the Chernobyl meltdown in Russia continue to haunt the industry. Activists in the North have been successful in slowing the spread of new nuclear reactors, and, in some cases, in shutting others down. Therefore, nuclear energy remains a small and stagnant portion of most developing countries' energy portfolio.

As previously discussed, there are several basic categories of energy use: heating, cooking, transportation, industrial, and electricity generation. Electricity, while it relies upon the fuel sources previously discussed, has all of the other uses of fuel sources. If we define development as the creation of an advanced industrial economy with standards of living comparable to those in Northern society today, we can see that the use of energy will continue to increase over time. In addition, the development of a Western lifestyle means the continual development of new technology and modes of consumption, so that even in the North, energy use is continuing to accelerate. This also suggests that the types of use for energy will change over time, with more fuel being used proportionally for services, including transportation and household appliances, as incomes rise.

As can be seen from Table 1, the North consumes the lion's share of total and relative amounts of energy consumed in the world. We also see some striking differences by region in terms of the types of energy used. In part, the differences reflect natural resource endowments, such as high oil usage in the Middle East, the fact that high quality coal in Latin America is scarce and abundant in Asia, and that Latin America has, by contrast, an abundance of hydroelectric sources. However, usage by fuel sources also reflects

Table 1: Energy usage by region and fuel type, 2001 (percent of world total)

Region	Energy usage	Crude oil production	Coal	Hydroelectricity	Nuclear
OECD	53.2	28.4	37.1	48.9	86.3
China	11.5	4.8	34.6	10.5	<0.1
Asia	11.5	4.9	12.5	6.6	2.2
Former USSR	9.3	13.1	8.3	9.1	8.5
Middle East	3.9	28.5	<0.1	0.6	<0.1
Latin America	3.7	9.5	1.5	19.5	<0.1
Africa	3.5	10.6	5.9	3	<0.1
non-OECD Europe	1.0	0.2	0.1	1.8	1.1

Source: International Energy Agency, *Key World Energy Statistics*, 2003.

Table 2: Top CO<sub>2</sub> polluting countries (in cubic feet)

Country	1999
United States	1,519.89
China	668.73
Russia	400.09
Japan	306.65
India	243.28
Germany	229.93
United Kingdom	152.39
Canada	150.90
Italy	121.28
France	108.59
Korea, South	107.49
Ukraine	104.30
Mexico	100.56
South Africa	99.45
Australia	93.90
Brazil	88.90

Source: US Energy Information Agency.

levels of internal conflict and state and technological capacity. Africa is much poorer in both relative and absolute levels of consumption in part for the inability to develop large local energy projects. Hydro projects, in particular, by their geographic nature, often require high levels of international cooperation. What is not highlighted in the table is the fact that developing countries have been rapidly increasing their relative share and absolute levels of energy consumption. However, the levels of increase tend to be quite unevenly distributed, with larger and more rapidly developing nations such as China and Mexico increasing their share while smaller nations have not, as reflected in Table 2.

Table 1 does not adequately demonstrate the huge levels of inequity in terms of access to modern energy sources. According to the International Energy Agency (IEA), about one fourth of the world's population does not have access to electricity. The majority of these are in Africa, and South and Southeast Asia. Moreover, even where available, basic energy tariffs remain well beyond the reach of large numbers of the poor.

## The Rise of OPEC

In the early 1970s, petroleum supply nations acted upon long-standing dreams and created an oil cartel for the first time. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, or OPEC (see entry for further details), created an important change in the international

history of energy. With OPEC, for the first time, the developing countries were able to act in concerted fashion to attempt to reshape the relations of international exchange between the North and the South. OPEC gave rise to a lively debate in the 1970s about these terms, leading the South to request a number of changes, capped by discussions of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) (see entry).

OPEC created a sense of optimism that other developing countries attempted to follow through the creation of cartels based on other commodities, such as coffee, nickel, and tin. However, the general optimism that OPEC marked created a turning point in North–South relations for the benefit of the latter, and the idea that a number of commodity cartels could be created to turn the North's supposed dependency on the South against it proved short-lived. There are a number of reasons for this, but our previous discussion suggests a few. The first is the strategic value and dependency on petroleum is much greater than for any other commodity. While demand continues to increase internationally for oil, supplies are both limited and concentrated. This brings us to the second point, which is that a commodity like rubber or coffee, as a plant-based product, can have an “elastic supply” function, meaning that if the price goes up, farmers can simply plant more. Given the costs and difficulties as well as the finite nature of petroleum, it is much harder for suppliers to respond to price increases in the short to medium term. Third, some of the largest concentrations of petroleum exporters are in the Middle East. Key producing states such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have had fairly low population bases, making it easier for them to lead cutbacks on supply in order to bolster prices. More importantly, developing countries that have a large population and seek development are also dependent upon fuel supplies. Thus, when OPEC raised oil prices, they directly slowed down the development of large importers, such as India and Egypt. In many cases, developing countries who were energy *importers* borrowed money in order to pay for this increase in prices, leading to the debt-recession spiral of the 1980s throughout the developing world.

For better or worse, 1979 appears to be the last year when OPEC was able to act in a concerted fashion to create a major oil price shock. While OPEC continues to work in a concerted fashion, its relative level of influence has dropped considerably from the heyday of the 1970s. The key reasons for this include the unexpected elasticity of supply, and political turmoil internationally. While there were major shortages in the North in the 1970s due to the oil price increases, by the early 1980s, the price increases

had actually spurred on the development of new petroleum suppliers, some of whom are not OPEC members, such as Mexico, the North Sea finds off the United Kingdom's coast, and Norway. In addition, major importing countries such as Brazil have been motivated to develop their own sources of petroleum and other fuels. Meanwhile the Iran–Iraq war of the 1980s in particular led to the breakdown of internal cohesion within OPEC. Later in the 1980s, the breakup of the Soviet Union led to Russia entering the international market as a major new supplier, along with its former colonies in the Caucasus and Central Asia. The re-taking of Kuwait in the 1990s Gulf War and the more recent invasion of Iraq by the United States are all related to the desire to ensure an abundant supply of petroleum. At the same time, the growing population base and needs of oil exporters such as Iran, Mexico, and Saudi Arabia have made supply cutbacks by key exporters difficult. In sum, while the demand side of the world energy has not really adjusted to reduce OPEC's power, a number of supply side factors have.

Even among the developing countries that have become active exporters, the results have often been less than hoped for. Terry Karl points out in her book *The Paradox of Plenty* that much of the development of Venezuela's vast oil wealth has been accompanied by the inability to diversify the economy and particularly exports; a growing consumptive lifestyle, including dependence on previously produced goods, such as food; and huge concentrations of wealth and corruption that do not raise the standards of large portions of the population. While there are some partial exceptions in the cases of Indonesia, which for a time was able to diversify its exports, and Libya, which has some basic social welfare services, many petro-states, such as Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea do seem to fall into the trap described by Karl. Karl points out that it is not just the concentration of revenue flows from the industry, but the fact that states that lack well-developed institutions, political cohesion, and long-term visions for their development will naturally have difficulty in handling a sudden gush of new revenues. As institutions and politics develop around the control of these resources, it becomes difficult to move back to a more egalitarian and merit-based form political and economic decision-making.

## Energy Markets

Given the strategic importance of fuels for the economy and national security, there has long been a high

level of state intervention in the energy sector. National and government-supported energy companies, such as Petro-Canada and British Petroleum were the norm for many years. While many of these companies have been privatized and energy sectors deregulated, energy remains an area where governments remain active. The reason goes beyond the overall importance of energy to the nature of the energy sector itself. Coal mining, like other types of mining enterprises, requires heavy doses of skilled labor. As a result, large coal mining states, such as Britain until recent decades, experienced important political influence from labor unions of miners. In some developing countries, such as Bolivia and Chile, miners have become key political actors in development decision-making. Petroleum and natural gas as well as large hydroelectric dams, meanwhile, require vast amounts of capital investment, and high levels of risk in developing potential new deposits and the flooding of areas respectively. In turn, they require a large number of readily available and technologically up-to-date engineers. Therefore, the state has an important role in terms of providing financial human capital and/or managing deals with foreign companies and governments who provide these resources in exchange for supplies and financial returns. As a result of these market characteristics, energy markets tend towards natural monopolies or oligopolies (markets in which there is only one or a few main suppliers). Moreover, since state defensive capabilities rely upon a stable source of fuel, governments see energy as a key sector that must be nurtured and protected.

For all these reasons, the recent turn towards deregulated and privatized energy markets has been accompanied by strong pressures towards state guidance, if not direct intervention. The move towards deregulation and privatization in the electricity sector the developing world began in the early 1980s, with Chile being one of the first to experiment internationally with creating a free market. From the 1980s until the present, the pace of privatization and deregulation has continued to spread across the developing world. The timing of this movement can be directly linked with the debt crisis of the 1980s and the rise of neoliberal thinking on economic development. Because of the debt crisis, developing country governments could no longer afford to hold on to state-owned enterprises, which in many cases were losing money due to large numbers of employees and corruption related to the company being run for political as well as economic and financial reasons. Even in the cases where state-owned enterprises were making money, the demographic explosion and rising incomes (at least in some segments of the population), have led to

increasing demands for energy consumption. These demands require heavy investments of capital at a time when local capital markets are generally weak, governments broke, and the local private sector lacks the financial and technological capability to undertake major new investments. Therefore, privatization and deregulation of the energy sector have been accompanied by a growing relationship and renewed dependence upon foreign multinational companies for new investment. In addition to the risks inherent in developing new sources of fuel, energy tends to be a “network” industry in terms of getting supplies to the consumer, whether that is through gas pipelines or electricity transmission lines. Therefore, deregulation designers have struggled with this “public good” aspect of the need for private producers to share the main transmission lines or pipelines while maintaining a healthy and fair competitive market. Secondly, designers have struggled in terms of finding funds and/or incentives to entice private companies to invest in remote, rural, and low income areas. The deregulatory and privatization process is being questioned internationally after recent fiascos such as the complete gridlock of the California power system and a major blackout in Eastern North America. In both cases, the lack of incentives for new investment figured prominently. In the developing world, these design problems have been accompanied both in energy and other basic services, such as water, with a more nationalistic reaction to maintain local control. While scandals of major international energy companies such as Enron in 2002 reflect a volatile market and some reasons for state intervention, critics have yet to propose an alternative method to procure the growing energy investment needs of developing countries.

### Energy and the Environment: Alternatives?

As seen in Table 2 on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, the North also produces the lion’s share of world pollution, with the US economy certainly the largest producer. However, the table also demonstrates that large developing countries, such as India and China, have been rapidly increasing their pollution levels.

Public policy and activist groups have been concerned with the pollution created by energy development and consumption since at least the 1970s. Their efforts have led to important policy changes in the North, such as the requirements for the use of unleaded gasoline, coal emission limits, and the virtual stagnation of the nuclear energy industry, as discussed previously. Energy conservation programs

and incentives for alternative sources and ways to use fuel have also become an important part of policy experiments internationally. Of particular concern is the exponential increase in automobile usage internationally, particularly in rapidly developing countries. Given the devastating effects of the oil crisis upon importing countries as described previously, many countries began to look for alternative sources of fuel.

A number of alternative energy sources are parts of important experiments. These include the development of solar energy, windmills, tidal-based, and geo-thermal sources. In addition, major efforts have been made to develop non-gasoline-based cars to reduce emissions and dependency on foreign oil imports. Brazil has had some success in producing a sugar-cane-fired gasohol (mixture of sugar cane and gasoline) vehicle, for instance, and the attempt to develop natural gas-based and hydrogen-based (fuel cell) cars continues. However, so far none of these sources has proven either economically viable on a large-scale, which relates in part to the fact that our technology was developed with fossil fuels, or available in a form that would be acceptable for the modern middle- or upper-class consumer. Though there are significant variations by area, in general the modern consumer expects energy on demand at any time of day or night, without delay, and in a form that allows for individual consumption (i.e., such as a car as opposed to shared transportation). The most important technological hurdle has therefore been the lack of an adequate and economical technology for storing electricity. Because electricity cannot be economically stored, due to the present state of battery technology, even if economically viable, solar, tidal, and windmill energy would not be consistently available. Moreover, there is a cost in lost energy as well as expense to transport energy from one location to another. All of this has led a number of observers to wonder if the problem is not so much one of inadequate technology, but rather of unsustainable consumption choices.

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## ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Entrepreneurship is the act of establishing a new business to take advantage of an opportunity identified for the first time. Although it is often thought to require an important innovation or invention, entrepreneurship can flourish even with very small changes or improvements to existing businesses. For example, opening a new food stall very similar to those already present in an area but located close to a new office block to meet new demand is an example of entrepreneurship, as too would be providing a bundle of goods or services together rather than individually (e.g., hamburgers and noodles in one shop). In economic thought, the role of the entrepreneur (or businessperson) was considered by the influential writer Joseph Schumpeter to be central to the growth of capital and hence economic development. He observed that the entrepreneur was often also directly responsible for the addition of technology to capital forming activities and that this was another critical activity determining overall growth. This has been hotly contested, and it is difficult to identify specifically in history exactly where and when entrepreneurial ability has represented a significant aspect of the wealth creation process. When something is difficult to measure, it is difficult to find the conditions necessary to replicate it. Certainly those organising the university courses that try to foster entrepreneurship in students have generally accepted that while some knowledge and skills can be taught, there is a fundamental aspect that seems to be either innately present or not within people. However, focusing on specifics such as innovation management can have practically applicable results.

### Implications of Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship may originally have developed from the practice of organising stage and theatre shows but it is now very closely linked with small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), which generally have fewer significant investments in plant or machinery and so can more easily switch production or marketing methods. SMEs are considered crucial to an economy's health because they are the firms that

tend to adapt to new technology or opportunities first. SMEs are generally defined as being business enterprises with between 20 and 250 employees. However, many smaller businesses—known as micro-businesses—can also be crucial for the entrepreneurial ability of an economy. As the tendency for firms to have fewer core employees and more contracted freelancers and part-time or portfolio workers increases, then the more importance micro-businesses will have.

Entrepreneurship has a negative side in that it can also lead people into undesirable or ultimately unproductive activities, which nevertheless offer short-term profit. Selling individual cigarettes outside schools or illegal narcotics are examples of profitable but undesirable entrepreneurship. It is also true that most entrepreneurs fail far more often than they succeed: it is a frequently quoted statistic that 80% of all businesses fail within two years but it is essentially a true one and it means that even the world's most successful entrepreneurs (e.g., Bill Gates, Richard Branson, and Thaksin Shinawatra) can have a series of bankruptcies or other failures behind them. More successful entrepreneurs emerge from countries such as the United States, therefore, where the implications of bankruptcy are very minor, compared with those of the United Kingdom, where implications remain punitive. Failure can often result not from the inability of the entrepreneur or the business idea but rather poor timing, poor location, or just bad luck. It is reported that Colonel Sanders knocked on more than one hundred restaurant doors before he could find someone willing to try his fried chicken recipe and profit-sharing concept.

### Entrepreneurship in the Developing World

As a result of their general inability to gain maximum value from their existing assets, developing world entrepreneurs suffer particularly from the problems that beset SMEs and micro-businesses around the world: inability to obtain capital funding for investment, lack of managerial skills and knowledge, lack of time to develop human capital, and general lack of access to resources.

To overcome some of these difficulties, micro-finance schemes have been successfully established in some locations. Following the example of Bangladesh's Grameen Bank scheme, micro-finance schemes offer very small loans at preferential interest rates primarily to rural villagers but also to urban residents. The potential recipient is generally expected to demonstrate a potential entrepreneurial opportunity that is currently impossible to exploit because of

lack of capital. Eligible schemes include such ideas as buying a cow to provide milk and ultimately meat, purchase of a bicycle to make a food hawker stall become mobile, or paying an outside worker to enable a child to attend school. Experience suggests that these schemes are often of particular use to and benefit of women, who are considered more apt at identifying very small scale opportunities without becoming too ambitious and also more disciplined in using the funds for the purpose for which they are intended. However, like all stereotypes, this is a simplification of reality. Nevertheless, the model has spread with some success to countries in Africa, Latin America, and other parts of Asia.

However, important as empowering local people can be, a more powerful force for entrepreneurship in the modern world is the impact of globalisation—that is, the increased ability of individuals and firms to organise business activities around the world, taking if necessary only temporary advantage of cheaper inputs or other locational benefits. As a result, factories utilizing low-cost, low-skilled labour have been established in countries such as Indonesia, Vietnam, and China, exporting some manufacturing jobs from the developed world and creating some in the developing world. It is of great importance for hosting governments to ensure that any capital, skills, or competencies gained by the national labour market by means of such activities are retained and harnessed in the effort to establish home-owned businesses.

### Stimulating Entrepreneurship

Government attempts to stimulate entrepreneurial activity have generally received only mixed success. This is not just because of the opportunity for rent-seeking activities (i.e., cheating the system) but because not everyone has the desire or ability to become a successful entrepreneur and, just as importantly, often very small differences in circumstances can make the difference between success and failure. In a business with tiny profit margins, a short illness or a minor accident can represent a disaster. Similarly, many entrepreneurs profit from short-term trends and fashions which are almost impossible to predict or influence.

Nevertheless, it appears that some cultures or ethnic groups tend to display greater levels of entrepreneurial desire and ability than others. For example, immigrants from South Asia to the United Kingdom have demonstrated entrepreneurship in such fields as retailing and distribution, which have in turn led to large internationalised businesses. Entrepreneurial

ability can be stimulated by historical or cultural factors—for example, in much of pre-modern Europe Jewish people were forbidden to own land and so had to turn to finance to make a living. In other countries, such as China and some parts of Britain, entrepreneurial ability, just like all forms of commercial ability, was looked down upon and considered a lower-class act. While merchants might therefore obtain great wealth and popular prestige, they were generally precluded from participating in the highest levels of government, although they might from time to time be called upon to finance it. This situation changed to some extent during the twentieth century and, especially, its second half and in the developed world. While the United States had historically welcomed new blood into the ranks of decision-makers, this was not the case in more traditionally feudal-based societies such as many in Europe and also in Japan. There, the exhausting rigors of constant warfare and social change led to the often involuntary acceptance that entrepreneurs were representatives of a new social order in which possession of capital was deemed a social good no matter how it was obtained.

### Conclusion

Entrepreneurs offer great benefits to society insofar as their ability to recognise and exploit new business opportunities provides not just wealth for those individuals but also employment opportunities and the adoption and adaptation of valuable skills and knowledge. States can best stimulate this activity by providing a stable economic environment with good property rights, while also providing the highest possible quality of education and access to required capital and other inputs. They also need to provide a suitable information technology infrastructure to try to ensure that new skills and knowledge are available to everyone in the country.

JOHN WALSH

**See also Capitalist Economic Model; Marxism; Socialist Economic Model; State-Directed Economy**

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## ENVIRONMENT: GOVERNMENT POLICIES

### The Environmental Division: Developed Versus Developing Countries

When considering environmental policies and the environmental degradation in developing countries, a series of variables and factors play an important role. Concern for the environment first appeared as a dichotomy between environment and development. After World War II, the term *development* was often used to refer to the process of growth and to the introduction of technological innovations as a whole. In the 1950s, the debate began on consumption patterns and the lifestyle of industrialized countries' inhabitants.

During the 1970s, the idea of development held two decades before was severely criticized, especially by many of the "third world" authors, that is, by authors whose nationality was not European, North American, or Russian. These social scientists of the "third world," with many Latin Americans among them like Fernando H. Cardoso, said that developing countries were not just going through a phase that would later lead to development but that, instead, that their situation as non-developed countries was structural and would remain so. This structural dependency situation was characterized like the Dependence Theory, disseminated by authors like Cardoso, André Gunder Frank, or more recently Brazilian Teodonio Dos Santos. During the 1970s, the idea was also put forth that low levels of development contributed to the degradation of the environment, an idea that has since been criticized from a number of angles.

In 1972, the Club of Rome, a Germany-based non-governmental organization (NGO) focused on global issues, released a report entitled *The Limits to Growth*. Known as the Meadows Report after its lead authors, it put forth the idea that the growth as a whole, but especially in a demographic sense, shouldn't be unlimited. The report claimed that by the year 2000, if

the growth rhythms weren't changed, the Earth would suffer a collapse. Although this report criticized the lavishing economies and the consumption culture of the western countries, the solution it proposed to avoid the collapse was the *zero growth*, that meant the annulment of any kind of growth, be it of population or economies. This conclusion was criticized by the *Bariloche Foundation*, an Argentina-based NGO focusing on climate change, which pointed out that the major troubles of the modern world were not physical, meaning about resources, but socio-political instead and based on the asymmetrical distribution of the power both in an international as well as in a national level. This perspective provoked a debate between developed and developing nations.

More recently, in 1987 the concept of sustainable development appeared linked with the satisfaction of present needs without compromising the capacity of future generations to satisfy their own. This concept first came into existence in 1987 by a report by the World Commission on Human Medium and Development titled "Our Common Future," also known as the Brundtland Report after the Commission's chair, Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. The Brundtland Report constituted a groundbreaking contribution to the debate. It suggested a new kind of development, including a reorientation of the industrial nations and also an international reorganization of the north-south relations.

### Environmental Problems in Developing Countries

In the so-called third world countries, there are socio-economic pressures that affect the environment, namely the poverty, the income differences, the non-sustainable development of activities like agriculture, industry and tourism, and the population growth. The environmental degradation problems that face the whole world are similar but the social degradation problems are different between developed countries, where most of inhabitants satisfy their basic needs, and developing countries, where basic human needs are often not met.

One major difference between northern and southern countries is that, in spite of the fact that developing countries possess most of the natural resources reserves, they are not the ones who use and consume them most. It is most often the developed nations who consume such resources, often in non-sustainable ways. Latin America, the Caribbean area, Pacific Asia, and Africa possess most of the natural resources



reserves of the whole world. In the case of petroleum, Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf countries are also important. But despite their many natural resources and reserves, these countries continue to face severe environmental problems.

On the one hand, in most developing countries the utilization of natural resources is still characterized by a non-sustainable and overexploitation that leads in the long run to exhaustion of them. For instance, the vast areas of cultivable land that these countries possess are constantly threatened by desertification provoked by deforestation and the degradation of soil.

On the other hand, the intensification of agricultural activities has caused a noticeable increase in the toxicity levels of the environment due to the use of agrochemicals. The overexploitation of forests, mining, and fishing resources propels an increasing loss of species, vegetal cover and the deteriorations of marine and terrestrial ecosystems.

In spite of the fact that some developing countries have a great hydraulic potential, the water reserves in many African and Middle East countries have been reduced. Moreover, there are regions that have already exceeded their environmental limits and are consuming their underground aquifers.

Another of the major problems for developing countries is the fresh water shortage. The United Nations estimates that around fifty percent of the fresh water supply systems in developing countries is being lost due to an inadequate maintenance and the lack of investments.

At the same time, these countries are the ones that use less resources, while developed countries consume resources in excess. For instance, in Canada the average use of water for a typical family is of 91 gallons a day, in Europe the average is of around 42.9 gallons a day while in Africa is of around 5.2 gallons a day.

Another of the great environmental issues of developing countries is related to the urban environment. Especially in Latin America, most people live in huge cities where the air and the water are usually contaminated which becomes a permanent threat to their health. Developing countries have also historically lacked demographic planning that helps them distribute their populations in a more balanced way. This concentration of millions of persons in a large metropolis causes a great pressure on the environment and often the deterioration of metropolitan coastal areas (such as in Rio de Janeiro and New York City), together with a lowering of the water quality. Also, the lack of urban planning has permitted massive urban sprawl in the major cities of developing nations. The creation of these suburbs often lacks the provision of basic infrastructure such as water supply,

sewage, electricity, and exerts even more pressure on the environment. Another potential impact that affects these countries are the consequences of the climate change around the world.

### **International Environmental Institutions and Policies**

During the last decades, the concerns over environmental issues have caused the outburst of pressures to fight the environmental degradation process in the international and local levels. The cornerstones of these processes were the 1972 Stockholm Declaration over the Human Environment, the 1982 World Nature Letter, and the 1992 Rio Declaration on the Environment and the Development. In 1972, environmental problems were linked to underdevelopment, a fact that encouraged underdeveloped countries to develop themselves but taking into account the environment. Also environmental problems were associated with the industrialized countries, the industrialization and the technological development. In this same Declaration there was a general claim to obtain the so-called “shared responsibility” and the cooperation between nations.

In the 1992 Rio Convention, there was a strong advancement towards an international and national commitment to achieve a sustainable and balanced development. To accomplish that, the Declaration generated an Action Plan, the so-called Agenda XXI signed by a hundred and seventy countries, which then gave birth to the local Agenda XXI.

These forums and conventions encouraged the establishment of a series of global environmental institutions and multilateral agreements and also provided a new approach to the north–south relations. They have also contributed to the creation or modification of national laws related to environmental issues, to the creation of new institutions, and regional policies adopting in all cases the new sustainable development concept. Their role was also important in the generation of a new set of preventive regulations and rules as well as in the creation of territorial planning disposals, environmental impact evaluations, and diverse sanctions that have helped the strengthening of environmental policies. Important regional meetings play a fundamental role in the development of environmental regional policies and in the maintenance of common positions of the regions facing environmental issues in the international Agenda. National, regional, and local policies and programs have been carried out to protect the biodiversity in areas like the Amazonas, Asian, or African regions, which possess

the biggest biodiversity in the whole planet, and also to protect endangered species.

Governments and international organizations have also established policies against desertification and the misuse of soil, to improve the living standards of the population in relation with their sanitation conditions, their accessibility to fresh and potable water. Conservation and reforestation programs have been fulfilled in order to work as coal drains while the certification, environmental audits, and eco-labeling processes peak.

Regional and international organizations that collaborate with the national states perform most of these actions. The development of reports, evaluations, and studies over the state of the environment provide assistance to different organizations in the elaboration of politics, programs, and projects at all levels (international, regional, or local).

The establishment of such policies and programs have been performed with a series of instruments like the international technical cooperation through specific programs and funds destined exclusively for environmental issues. Technical cooperation includes the design and the strengthening of those institutions that are in charge of the formulation and execution of environmental policies. Bilateral cooperation relationships are common, among which we find the following agencies: the German GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit or German Society for the Technical Cooperation) or the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Besides, there are multilateral organizations like the United Nations, the Organization of American States (OAS), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), among others. At its beginning the technological cooperation occurred in a vertical way, meaning that there was one steady direction: from rich countries to poor countries or from international organizations to developing countries. However, the new way combines the vertical way with a horizontal one in which local technologies and cultures are valued.

International cooperation is financed in several ways. In general, international finance institutions, such as the World Bank or the IADB, have the funds to do so. But as for environmental issues, we find the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the Multilateral Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol or the Fund of the Americas, financed by the United States.

Although many African countries are working to put into action new national and multilateral environmental policies, their effectiveness is often low due to lack of adequate staff, expertise, funds,

and equipment for implementation and enforcement. The same happens in many Latin American countries and Caribbean ones. In Africa environmental policies are mainly based on regulatory instruments but some countries have begun to consider a broader range, including economic incentives implemented through different tax systems. There is a growing recognition that national environmental policies are more likely to be effectively implemented if an informed and involved public supports them.

In most Asian countries the high densities of population are becoming a problem in the same way as the fresh water supply. In this sense domestic investment in environmental issues is increasing. Environment funds have also been established in many countries and have contributed to the prominent role that non-governmental organizations now play in environmental action. Many countries are in favor of public participation, and in some this is now required by law. However, education and awareness levels amongst the public are often low, and the environmental information base in the region is weak, the same as it happens in Latin America and mostly in the Caribbean region.

### **Present Environmental Situation as a Result of Environmental Policies**

In spite of the previously mentioned actions, policies, and the established changes, there still have not been considerable improvements in the environmental management of most developing countries. The policies and institutions created and performed in developing countries have encountered serious difficulties. By one or another reason they have always been left as a secondary mission instead of becoming a priority. The reasons are:

1. The lack of adequate financing to fulfil their projects and programs. It is estimated that developing countries would need US\$70 million in addition to the help they are receiving, to be able to afford new efficient environmental programs.
2. The absence of adequate technology, training, and personnel.
3. The lack of specific institutional structures.
4. The existence of inconsistent and/or inconclusive legal framework for environmental issues.
5. Difficulties in the transference of "clean" technologies from developed countries to developing ones.

6. The growth of the exporting sector and the entry of foreign capital are still a fundamental axis in the economic agenda of developing countries and go beyond the consequences for the environment. Therefore these economic policies do not take into account the environmental costs.
7. Although in the last decades new democratic governments have appeared in the international scene, militarism is still very much present in Latin America, Central America, Middle East, Africa, and Asia. This situation has catastrophic consequences for the society and the environment since a large part of the national budget goes to defense rather than social and environmental programs.
8. In most developing countries environmental problems are treated sectorially and not as a whole. Environmental policies lack strategic planning that enables governments to develop these policies as integrated ones. Besides, due to the large scale privatization and deregulation that occurred in the 1990s as a result of the transition to capitalism or conditionality of foreign aid, state environmental policies have lost some of their strength.
9. During the 1980s and 1990s, developing countries have become more and more dependant on international organizations due to their huge external debts. Many developing nations must use their economic resources to pay off debt rather than promote strategies of sustainable development.

### Recommendations to Overcome the Environmental Crisis

The environmental crisis the developing countries face is an eco-political one since it is connected with the institutional and power-related systems that control and regulate the property, distribution, and use of the resources. The environment is no longer just an “environmental problem” and becomes a problem concerned with the use and distribution of natural resources, with the way in which decisions are made, who take them and to the benefit of whom, who wins and who loses with political decisions. The possible solutions for this problem can only be found within the own social system since the development models are linked with the social organization ones. The governments of developing countries also face the

challenge of guaranteeing the existence of a transparent and participative process in decision-making.

DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Cardoso, Fernando Henrique; Deforestation; Desertification; Ecotourism; Environmentalism; Erosion, Land; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); Pollution, Agricultural; Pollution, Industrial; Rain Forest, Destruction of; Sustainable Development; Third World; Underdevelopment**

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### ENVIRONMENTALISM

In the period since the World War II, “environmentalism” has become the umbrella term used to describe the growing movement of green consciousness. However, environmentalism covers an almost unlimited range of meanings and nuances, particularly since it is used to describe the activities and lifestyle options taken by individuals: the actions and campaigns of non-governmental organisations such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, and Earth First! to combat both localised and global environmental problems, and international and governmental initiatives that have attempted to take a lead in the conservation of the world’s environment.

The environment and environmentalism also have very different meanings for people in the Northern and the Southern hemispheres. In the largely industrialised North, large-scale environmental problems are frequently perceived as being located in Eastern Europe and the developing countries in the South: problems such as deforestation and desertification. More localized problems of the North are focused on issues such as genetically modified crops and traffic pollution. Combating environmental problems has therefore often become part of a new form of neo-colonialism, with the developed countries setting environmental policy targets for the developing nations without addressing the results of past industrialization and economic development. For people in the more rural South, such as India, environmental problems are perceived as global pollution and waste caused by the rich, developed countries. In developing countries, overcoming poverty and attaining a faster rate of economic development are the major objectives and their attainment can be contradictory to environmental protection.

### What Is the Environment?

In what he termed the “Gaia theory,” James Lovelock argued that we live on a complex ‘living planet’ and all our actions cause reactions. Environmentalism at its most holistic seeks to preserve and nurture these biosystems (also referred to as ecosystems) and to preserve the rich biodiversity of life forms on the planet. Gaia theory also presupposes that these biosystems are self-regulating, and will if necessary deal with the *problem of humans* by making us extinct.

Before looking at ways in which environmentalism is being actioned locally and globally, it is important to grasp the fact that environmentalism is not just concerned with the protection of the natural world. It is equally concerned with people’s cultural, economic, and social activities, and in developing an understanding of the nation, world, and universe which they inhabit. The environment also includes ‘us’—the way we live, issues such as commuting, the built environment, poverty and illiteracy, as well as global problems in the larger world, which can often be too abstract for many people to comprehend.

One model for seeing individual people and communities as part of the global environment was developed by the artist and eco-dwellings designer Friedensreich Hundertwasser. Hundertwasser developed a pictorial metaphor to describe every person’s power over, and relationship with, the other essential elements in the environment. He called these our five

skins, and maintained that people have a responsibility to show ecological commitment in the way that they ‘wear’ them. This picture of people as individuals actively choosing their identity through their body, their clothes, their dwelling, their friends or people with whom they interrelate, and their interaction with the global environment, provides us with a model depicting the ‘five skins’ of environmentalism.

### The Confusing State of Environmental Debate

Governments of developing nations are aware of the increase of global environmental problems, but they are often not prepared to delay or retard economic development to support what they see as interference by the energy guzzling, polluting developed countries of the world. The developing nations have their own forum at conferences held under the banner of the Group of 77 (G77), where there are now 133 countries represented. Together they are the largest coalition of what are often referred to as the “Third World” nation states.

In Delhi in 1989, the G77 concluded that they supported careful management of the atmosphere in principle, but that for their countries, development should have priority over environmental concerns. The Group of 8 (G8, which includes Canada, United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan), however, at their Genoa conference in 2001, concluded that they would continue progress towards providing debt relief for the poorest nations of the world, while cutting greenhouse emissions (largely carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide) in order to curb global warming. Historically, fossil fuels have been a major component of the economic development of the industrial countries. Private transport and waste are also major sources of pollution, particularly in Australia, the United States, and Canada. However, scientific speculation is intense and variable about the effects, location, and rate of change to temperature (perhaps a 1°C–3.5°C rise over the next one hundred years); drought and desertification; melting of the polar ice caps; and increased rainfall in some areas.

### The Recent History of World Environmentalism

In 1987, the first World Commission on the Environment and Development, chaired by the then

Norwegian prime minister, Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland, produced the influential Brundtland Report. This built on the work of the earlier environmentalists, including Rachel Carson (*Silent Spring*) and E.F. Schumacher whose book *Small is Beautiful* became one of the most important in raising people's consciousness about the environment and consumption. The Brundtland Report, published as *Our Common Future*, proclaimed sustainable development as the route away from global environmental catastrophe. It stated that sustainability offers "development that meets the needs of the future without compromising ability of future generations to meet their own needs." The United Nations (UN) Framework Convention on Climate Change was drawn up during the Earth Summit meeting that took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. That meeting has acted as a launch pad for much of the subsequent environmental activity, including the wide range of sustainable development activities for local and global action called Agenda 21 and Rio plus 10 in Johannesburg 2002.

It also led directly to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol which aimed to reduce the average emissions of greenhouse gases across the planet by 5% by the years 2008–2012. It attempted to get different countries to agree to differential targets, so while Portugal was allowed a 27% increase, Luxembourg was expected to reduce emissions by 28%. The developing nations of the world were expected to observe limits in the growth of their emissions, while the European Union as a whole was given a target of an 8% cut. However, the United States, one of the major producers of greenhouse gases, has refused to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, claiming that it would impede the nation's economic development. Additionally, many developing countries do not wish to use more expensive fuel technologies when fossil fuels, which may exist as native natural resources, are abundant and cheaper than alternatives. They see this as interference by the developed nations in their chances to industrialise and gain economic development. The protestors against globalization also see these mandates by the rich developed countries as the cornerstones of a form of new corporate colonialism. On the other side of the opposition, a number of scientists, particularly from industry, see environmentalism as a threat to future economic growth.

### Possible Action

Effective sustainable environmental action depends, among other things, upon the current world leaders

of the developed countries to take appropriate action on:

- Reducing emissions and other forms of pollution and waste;
- Giving developing countries appropriate financial and technological aid to assist their sustainable economic development;
- The development of sustainable agricultural policies and practices in developing countries;
- The development of alternative technologies and supporting their use in all countries;
- Proactive actions, such as supporting the planting of more trees, the reduction of deforestation and the protection of vulnerable habitats such as the wetlands and the oceans;
- Stabilising global population growth; and
- Reduction of the indebtedness of the developing countries.

Among the actions individuals may take to help preserve the environment are:

- Reducing consumption, especially of goods not sourced locally;
- Using public transport and car pools to reducing car use;
- Recycling waste materials and re-using materials;
- Energy efficiency in the home and consumption of less water and electricity;
- Living in homes which have a lower impact on and are more harmonious with the natural environment;
- Using sustainable energy sources such as wind, water, and solar power;
- Producing more of their own food, especially using organic principles; and
- Voting for policies and officials who support corporate accountability for environmental impact.

### The Problems Remain

Many developing nations feel that the industrialized countries became wealthy by doing precisely what the developing nations wish to do now—only now the industrialized nations are attempting to hold back other countries from taking these same steps towards development. Many in the developing world feel that it should be the responsibility of industrialized nations to provide the means for sustainable development, as it was the industrialized nations that contributed to the present environmental damage.

For many environmentalists, especially those of 'deep green' persuasion—those who use only plants indigenous to the region—even this is not at the heart of the matter. They point to what the Dalai Lama called the ethical responsibility of mankind to examine what we have inherited, what we are responsible for, and what we will pass on (Porritt 1991).

ALAN DEARLING

**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Environment: Government Policies; Global Climate Change**

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## EQUATORIAL GUINEA

At the end of the eighteenth century, Portugal ceded to Spain two islands in the Bay of Biafra in West Africa, and in the late nineteenth century Spain was able to acquire a small piece of the African mainland known as Rio Muni, between German Cameroon to the north and French Gabon to the south and east. The three areas then constituted Spanish Guinea, which was ruled from Santa Isabel (today Malabo) on the main island, Fernando Po. Lying close to the equator, both Fernando Po, which the local Bubi people knew as Bioko, and Rio Muni were extremely hot and malaria-plagued. Fang people from the mainland were used to help suppress Bubi resistance to Spanish rule, which was brutal and exploitative.

Cocoa was the main export; attempts to find commercially viable oil deposits were unsuccessful. After the nearby countries had become independent by the early 1960s, the Franco regime in Madrid decided to cut its losses and grant its colony first self-government and then independence. At independence on October 12, 1968, the country had no tertiary educational institution and social services were extremely rudimentary.

In elections held before independence the Fang leader, Francisco Macias Nguema, also known as El Glalo Rojo (the Red Rooster), won an overwhelming victory, but few Bubi participated and they remained alienated from the new government. Most Spaniards left soon after independence, and Macias Nguema then ruled the country in an extremely brutal and despotic manner. When his deputy president seemed to pose a challenge, he was murdered, as were tens of thousands of others. In this reign of terror, professional people and intellectuals were targeted, and those who were not killed fled the country. Cocoa production collapsed and Equatorial Guinea sank ever deeper into poverty, as such businesses were owned by the ruling clique.

In August 1979, Macias Nguema was overthrown in a palace revolution led by his nephew Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasongo, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. After Macias Nguema was executed, Obiang Nguema was sworn in as president and de facto dictator. Using Moroccan guards for his personal security, he foiled a number of attempted coups in the decades that followed, and consolidated his grip on power. The international community largely forgot the country, though in 1985 the French African franc became its official currency and some Spanish investors returned to rehabilitate cocoa production. In 1989, Obiang Nguema was elected president unopposed, and from the early 1990s, in the new international climate after the Cold War, some pretence at competitive democracy was permitted, but Obiang Nguema so regulated the process in his favour that his political opponents rejected the elections that were held as neither free nor fair. In the 1996 presidential election, he received 99.2% of the vote; in December 2002, he received 97%. In the face of his brutal rule, many of his political opponents fled into exile, mainly to Spain. The most prominent of these was Severo Moto, who styled himself president-in-exile. In 2004, he denied being involved in an attempt to topple Nguema, but those who devised the plot intended to put him into power. They hoped to do this by using a detachment of mercenaries from South Africa, but news of the planned coup spread and the South African authorities warned their Equatorial Guinean counterparts. The

mercenaries were then arrested, some in Malabo and others when their plane landed in Harare, Zimbabwe, to pick up arms, before the coup attempt could be launched.

The fortunes of Equatorial Guinea had changed dramatically and fundamentally in 1996, when oil production began in the waters off Bioko Island. Until then, the country had been a decaying backwater: the production of cocoa, the main crop of Bioko, fell very sharply after independence and then stagnated, as did production of coffee, the country's third most important agricultural export. The most important was timber from the mainland province of Rio Muni, and by the mid-1990s the only new road to have been built since independence was from the interior to the port of Bata, though which the timber was exported. In the 1990s, the over-exploitation of the forest, especially close to easily accessible areas, gave rise to doubts about the sustainability of the industry, as the country began losing an ever-larger amount of forest. By then timber was no longer so important as an export earner, for thanks to oil the country had the potential to become the Kuwait of Africa. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, it had become Africa's fastest growing economy and the continent's third-largest oil producer after Nigeria and Libya. Production soared to four hundred thousand barrels a day and was expected to increase further when the vast oil reserves under the sea off the islands were tapped. United States companies led the way in exploiting the oil, and the United States, which reopened its embassy in Malabo in December 2001, saw Equatorial Guinea as a major new supplier. But the country's human rights record, which included routine extra-judicial punishments such as torture and summary executions, continued to be denounced by organisations such as Amnesty International. While most of the country's half million inhabitants continued to live in poverty, the president and his family arranged that most of the massive new revenues from oil revenues were paid into overseas bank accounts. In mid-2004 it was revealed that \$300 million of oil money had gone into a New York bank account controlled by Obiang Nguema. Yet it was then that the South African government announced that it was to open an embassy in Malabo, and Obiang Nguema paid a number of visits to South Africa before and after the mercenaries were arrested in Malabo and Harare, suggesting that a deal was being put together to allow South Africa to obtain a share of the oil. Meanwhile, the mercenaries arrested in Malabo were put on trial. Though the state asked for the death sentence for their leader, Nick du Toit, who was a former member of South Africa's Special Forces, was given a thirty-four-year prison sentence

instead. It emerged that funding for the attempted coup had come from a number of wealthy Britons, including Sir Mark Thatcher, son of the former British Prime Minister, but the Equatorial Guinea authorities were unable to secure the extradition of Thatcher from South Africa, where he had been arrested, or any of the others alleged to have been involved. There was some hope, however, that the international exposure brought by the attempted coup might help ameliorate some of the worst features of the Nguema regime.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## ERITREA

Eritrea, the newest independent country in Africa in 2004, lies along the western shores of the Red Sea in Northeast Africa. It is one of the five countries (the others are Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan) that constitute the region known as the Horn of Africa and has an area of approximately 121,000 square kilometers, slightly larger than the state of Pennsylvania. It borders Sudan on the west, Ethiopia on the south, Djibouti on the southeast, and the Red Sea on the East, with a coastline almost one thousand kilometers long. Like Ethiopia, its neighbor to the south, Eritrea is a land of extreme contrasts, both in terms of its topography and climate. Its mountains and highlands extend from north to south, with the lowlands on the western and eastern flanks. The lowlands in the west extend to Sudan and those in the east to the Red Sea. The highlands have a moderate climate with temperatures ranging from near freezing to as much as 30°C, while the temperature in the lowlands varies from 30°C to 50°C, occasionally reaching 60°C in the Danakil Depression.

The rainy season in the highlands extends from June to August, while the lowlands in western Eritrea

are semi-arid with much less rainfall. There is almost no rainfall in the eastern lowlands bordering the Red Sea, especially in Dankalia. The population of Eritrea was estimated at 4.14 million in 2000, almost half of which are Christians and the other half Muslims. The Christians live mostly in the highlands and are sedentary farmers, while the Muslims live mostly in the lowlands and are agro-pastoralists. Because of their common experience and struggle against outside powers, the cohesion of the various ethnic and religious groups has been remarkably strong.

Eritrea is the only country in Africa to successfully break away from another African country. It was part of Ethiopia for almost forty years and only became independent in 1993. Like Ethiopia, Eritrea has a long history and was part of the ancient Kingdom of Axum. In fact, located in Eritrea and now in ruins, Adulis served as the main seaport of the Kingdom. The Eritrean people, therefore, had established contacts with much of the Near East and the Greeks in the distant past. After the advent of Islam, parts of Eritrea, and especially the lowlands bordering the Red Sea and Sudan, had been occupied by the Turks and Egyptians, and towards the end of the nineteenth century, by the Italians. Present-day Eritrea, as a political unit, however, came with the advent of Italian colonialism in 1890. The Italians were defeated in 1941 and the British provisionally administered Eritrea until 1952, when, despite the wishes of the majority of its peoples, it was federated with Ethiopia. The status of Eritrea as a federal unit ended in 1962 after Ethiopia dissolved the federal system and absorbed Eritrea as one of its administrative units.

Appeals to the United Nations (UN) by various Eritrean groups to reverse the absorption did not succeed, and the Eritreans started a thirty-year-long armed struggle for self-determination in 1960. The independence movement, first started by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), continued earnestly with Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which became dominant in the latter half of the 1970s and the 1980s. The EPLF had split from the ELF around 1970 apparently because of the sectarian tendencies of the latter. Although both movements unquestionably stood for Eritrean independence, the ELF was seen as Muslim-dominated, Arab-influenced, and more sectarian compared with the EPLF, which was seen as uncompromisingly independent and autonomous, more secular and, in its early days, more Marxist-oriented. The war of independence waged by both groups against Ethiopia progressively became more intense, especially after Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was overthrown in 1974.

Consequently, much of the infrastructure laid during Italian colonization had been destroyed. Indeed,

the Italians had invested heavily in Eritrea in the early 1900s to help in their 1935 war against a much larger Ethiopia. However, Ethiopia, itself economically underdeveloped and politically under an absolute monarchist rule, was not in a position to undertake both economic and political development in Eritrea. On the contrary, with the conflict between Ethiopia and the two Eritrean nationalist movements escalating, the hitherto existing infrastructure had been destroyed, including the railway system that once ran from the seaport of Massawa to Akordat in western Eritrea. Massawa itself declined because most of Ethiopia's import-export trade passed through Assab on the southern tip of Eritrea. Thus, Eritrea regressed in the fifty years that preceded independence in 1993.

With relative peace since then, however, Eritrea has been able to register significant progress in terms of infrastructure development. Most of the roads, either neglected or destroyed during the thirty-year-long war, including the asphalted road linking Asmara, the capital city, and the port city of Massawa, have been rehabilitated; a new road between Asmara and Assab on the southern tip of the Red Sea has been constructed; a new medical school has been established, various bridges deliberately destroyed by the conflicting parties to disrupt the supply lines of the opponent have been rebuilt, and new water diversion schemes in western Eritrea have become operational. Despite these, Eritrea remains one of the least developed nations, with gross domestic product (GDP)—calculated in terms of the value of all final goods and services produced within Eritrea, and computed on the basis of purchasing power parity (PPP)—estimated at \$2.5 billion in 1998, and GDP per capita estimated at \$660.

In the political realm, Eritrea is a unitary state currently ruled by the victorious EPLF, now renamed People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ). Other political organizations remain illegal. However, the constitution, ratified in 1997, includes provisions for multi-party democracy. Despite this, the government has remained reluctant to implement the constitution and continues to insist that the time is not right for competitive party elections. Thus, although the PFDJ may still have significant popular support among the population, Eritrea remains as one of a few countries without an elected government and no legal political party except, of course, the PFDJ. Recently, however, there were calls from within the leadership of the PFDJ to open the political system and allow the opposition to compete.

Similarly, there are no independent civic organizations and the few that exist, such as women, youth, and labor organizations, are all government-affiliated. The few independent newspapers founded in the



early 1990s have closed, and there remain only government-owned and/or controlled news outlets. Recently, however, the government has come under enormous pressure to open the political system. Also, there are calls for the establishment of independent civic organizations in Eritrea, especially from the Diaspora, who have recently established various independent Eritrean civic organizations in their countries of residence. The government has so far resisted such demands on the grounds that the conflict with Ethiopia has to be comprehensively resolved first.

The recent Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict (1998–2000) has had a deep and negative impact on the remarkable unity of its people. With the end of the conflict and the impending demarcation of the border in 2004, hopes for a more open and transparent political system are running high.

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### ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT (ELF)

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) is the smaller faction in the Eritrean struggle for independence from Ethiopia, overshadowed by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

After the Second World War, the former Italian colony of Eritrea was under British occupation. Britain pressed for a partition of Eritrea between Ethiopia and Sudan, the so-called Bevin-Sforza Plan. The United States threw its support behind

Emperor Haile Selassie's ambitions to secure the whole of Eritrea and Ethiopian access to the Red Sea. For the United States, Christian Ethiopia represented a strategic ally on the edge of the oil-rich Muslim Middle East. The Eritreans were divided; many Christian Eritreans supported closed union with Ethiopia, while many Muslim Eritreans and the small western-educated elite favoured independence.

A United Nations (UN) commission of inquiry was divided. The United States opposed a referendum and used its influence in the UN to pass General Assembly Resolution 390-A(V) in 1950, federating Eritrea with Ethiopia. The Resolution called for 'full autonomy for the Eritrean government in all domestic affairs,' and 'a democratic regime in Eritrea with all its requisites and safeguards: respect for human rights and fundamental liberties, and government of the people by the people.' Emperor Haile Selassie opposed Eritrean autonomy as a threat to his autocracy and set out to undermine the elected Eritrean Assembly.

The ELF was founded in Cairo in 1960 by a loose confederation of Muslim Eritreans opposed to federation with Ethiopia. It was not the first Eritrean nationalist group: the clandestine Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) had been established some years earlier, hoping to undermine Ethiopian rule by plotting a police coup. The Islamic ELF viewed the secular, socialist ELM with suspicion. The ELM was unable to effectively counter ELF accusations of being both a communist front and unwilling to use 'armed struggle'. ELF denunciation exposed the ELM to the Ethiopian authorities, who repressed the ELM, banned trade union, and suppressed independent newspapers. Meanwhile the ELF successfully recruited former ELM sympathizers, including a number of key figures who had escaped the Ethiopian dragnet. In 1962, under Ethiopian armed coercion, the autonomous Eritrean Assembly voted itself out of existence and Eritrea was annexed as a province of Ethiopia.

The ELF built a network within Eritrea through the Islamic brotherhoods, and diplomatic contacts with Islamic states in the Middle East and Somalia, who supplied arms and training for the Eritrean Liberation Army (ELA). The major weaknesses of the ELF were its lack of organization, divisive personality politics, and sectarian and ethnic rivalries.

ELF president and former president of the Eritrean Assembly, Idris Adem, secretary Idris Galadewos and Osman Saleh Sabbe constituted a supreme council in Cairo, directing diplomatic activities but with loose control over the military operations in the field. The ELA was divided into regional, essentially ethnic and religious, 'zones,' with little coordination of command. There were tensions between the illiterate Muslim peasant soldiers and, following the demise

of the ELM, better-educated Christian recruits. The religiosity of Eritrean Orthodox Christians and their allegiance to Emperor Haile Selassie also led to attacks on Christian villagers by Muslim factions within the ELA. When the Christian Wolde Kahasi defected, Muslim soldiers murdered a number of Christian recruits.

When, in 1967, the so-called ESLAH reformed movement of younger officers tried to lessen ethnic and religious tensions in the ELA and introduce wider discussion within the ELF, they were blocked by Islamic hardliners and the supreme council, who saw such moves as a threat to their personal power.

A further attempt at reconciliation and reorganisation by ESLAH officers floundered in 1969, and was followed by renewed attacks on Christian recruits and the assassination of several prominent Christian ELF personalities, including Wolfe Ghiday and Kidane Kinfu. The ELF began to break up with numerous Christians defecting to an emergent radical sub-group linked to Osman Saleh Sabbe and led by Mohamed Nur and Isaias Afwerki. The majority of Muslim recruits remained loyal to Idris Adem.

In 1970, the Adem faction established urban guerrilla units and adopted hit-and-run tactics. They blew up bridges and trains in Eritrea, as well as attacks on Ethiopian Airline planes. While raising the ELF's international profile, such acts facilitated Emperor Haile Selassie declaring a state of emergency, abrogating the few remaining civil rights. Ethiopia also obtained increased military assistance from America and Israel, while Haile Selassie's personal diplomacy increasingly isolated the ELF from Middle Eastern leaders and even China's Mao Tse-tung. Thousands of Eritreans fled as refugees into the Sudan.

In 1971, the ELF held its first National Congress, ostensibly to restructure the political and military organisation, but it was a fragile coalition. Meanwhile the faction allied to Osman Saleh Sabbe joined with remnants of the ELM and former soldiers of the ELA Zone Three command to form the People's Liberation Front (PLF). From 1972, the liberation forces were locked in a civil war, as much as the struggle against Ethiopia. The ELF-PLF was formed in 1972 as a result of a merger of Sabbe's followers with several radical secular factions led the Mohammed Nur and Isaias Afwerki, in opposition to the old ELF. Gradually the radical reformers took over the ELF-PLF, sidelining Sabbe. The civil war, which erupted between the ELF and EPLF in 1972, ostensibly ended with a 1974 accord.

The Second ELF National Congress in 1975 saw the removal of Idris Adem and many older Muslim traditionalist, but Christians were barred from full membership. The new leadership struck a deal with

Sabbe, a conservative Muslim anti-communist, to bring the ELF-PLF back into the fold, but Sabbe was denounced by the field commanders who went on to form the EPLF.

At the time, the ELF was the larger force, but lacked discipline, organisation, and a clear set of policies, in contrast to the EPLF. Further purges of Christians within the ranks of the ELF in the late 1970s only led to increasing numbers joining the EPLF. The ELF also suffered the brunt of the Ethiopian offensive in 1978–1979.

The ELF leadership under Ahmed Nasser then tried to broker a deal with the Ethiopian Revolutionary Derg, through Arab and Soviet intermediaries, at the same time order ELF troops to withdraw into the Sudan. It was a military, political, and diplomatic disaster.

Whereas the ELF maintained a significant profile in the Islamic world, it was soon overshadowed on the domestic front and in the Western media by the propaganda of the EPLF. On the battlefield, the ELF was also eclipsed by the EPLF as a fighting force.

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**See also East Africa: International Relations; Eritrea; Ethiopia**

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### EROSION, LAND

Land erosion is the natural process by which the Earth's surface is gradually worn away. Over millions of years, the weathering effects of wind and flowing water break down the Earth's rock surface and carry

away the resulting rock fragments and soil. Today's landscapes were created through the combination of these processes. Along the coast, the impact of ocean waves constantly hitting the shore slowly wears away the rock and collects loose particles. The slow but abrasive movement of glaciers detaches loose rocks in their path. Wind transports the sand of deserts and beaches to other areas.

Land, or more specifically soil erosion, has become an environmental concern because human manipulation of the environment has accelerated these processes. Current global loss of productive land due to soil erosion is estimated by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations to be between 5 and 7 million hectares per year.

### Soil Composition and Erosion

Soils are formed from the broken down mineral material of rocks and the decomposition of organic matter. Their composition can vary greatly: from deep and fertile to shallow and unproductive. The mineral, or parent, material forms the skeleton structure of the soil and provides much of the nutrients required by plants for growth.

Nutrients are also provided by the decay of organic matter, such as leaf litter, in the topsoil. Humus, a by-product of this breakdown of plant tissue, can help protect the soil from erosion as it is cohesive and binds individual soil particles together. Clay particles, weathered from the parent material, can also group together to form larger particles. These strengthen the general soil structure and improve its resistance to erosion.

Material is continually lost from the soil profile and because the organic-rich topsoil layer is exposed, it is eroded first. Wind, or aeolian, erosion blows the smaller particles off the surface. Soil particles are scattered by the impact of raindrops, or rainsplash, falling onto the exposed soil surface. Soil particle displacement increases with the force of the rain. Water, or fluvial, erosion occurs through the movement of surface runoff, generated when the amount of rain falling on an area exceeds the total amount of water evaporated, intercepted by vegetation and infiltrated into the soil. Fluvial erosion occurs on a larger scale than rainsplash. Runoff tends to subdivide into rills, which are networks of shallow channels. Gullies are formed when these channels are deepened by further water erosion and a permanent drainage network is established. These three mechanisms funnel surface runoff, increasing the speed of water flow and thus increasing its ability to erode and transport soil particles.

### Factors Influencing Erosion

Increases in wind or water speed and slope increase the potential for soil erosion. However, the amount of soil eroded depends on the nature of particles present on the surface. Vegetation protects the soil by reducing the impacts of wind and rain. Complex vegetation stands of diverse plant species create a multi-story canopy and slow down the flow of wind and surface runoff. As the runoff is slowed, a greater proportion of it can infiltrate the soil surface, decreasing fluvial erosion. The canopy intercepts rainfall, reducing the force of individual raindrops. Plants also provide further structure to the soil because soil particles bind to their root systems. When vegetation is cleared, there is no longer a continuous supply of organic matter to the soil. The humus layer is no longer replenished, and eventually the mineral particles are exposed and are far more easily eroded. Vegetation around wetlands and along riverbanks acts as a buffer. Plants in these areas, such as reeds, have dense foliage and are low to the ground. Soil particles transported from eroded areas in surface runoff are therefore trapped before reaching the lake, stream, or river.

Soil erosion has been accelerated across the globe mainly through the large-scale clearing of trees and vegetation. Globally, it is estimated that 500 million hectares or more of land have been degraded since 1950. Protective vegetation cover has been lost through deforestation, agricultural clearing, mining, fire, and urbanisation. In addition, agricultural practices such as ploughing, tilling, irrigation, and grazing have caused the soil to lose its structure and cohesion. Other factors such as the planting of monoculture crops and the ploughing and farming of marginal lands unsuitable for crop cultivation allow the topsoil to be washed and blown away. As agricultural land becomes increasingly degraded, and less productive, farmers apply fertilisers to the soil to replace the nutrients lost to erosion. Subsequent intensive agriculture only causes further soil degradation. The dust storms experienced in the 1930s in the midwest of the United States, which then became known as the 'Dust Bowl,' are one of the most famous examples of the devastating impact of land erosion.

Overgrazing on fragile soils is a significant issue for one third of the world, which is now threatened by desertification. Erosion has affected 413 million hectares of land in Africa due to increases in livestock on productive land. This includes 65% of the sub-Saharan, which has been degraded by both wind and water erosion. In Asia, 663 million hectares of land have experienced erosion. One-third of the land in Latin America has been degraded, largely due to water

erosion. In South and Central America, the figures are 165 million hectares and 51 hectares of land degraded through erosion, respectively. Once the soil structure has been destroyed and the topsoil removed, agricultural land can no longer sustain crops or vegetation. Desertification is very difficult, often impossible, to reverse.

## Effects of Erosion

Erosion is a form of soil degradation. It changes and weakens soil structure, quality, and texture, in turn reducing its fertility and water-holding capacity. Drier soils are more susceptible to droughts and wind erosion. Wind erosion is the dominant form of erosion in arid zones of the world, causing 60% of land degradation. Particles picked up by the wind can remain suspended in the air and add to the atmospheric dust load. If severe enough, this dust pollution can decrease visibility and become a health hazard, particularly affecting people with respiratory diseases.

Water erosion is the dominant form of erosion in semi-arid and dry sub-humid regions of the world, contributing up to 51% of the land degradation. Soil lost to erosion can destabilise riverbanks and increase the potential for flash flooding and landslides. The disposal of the eroded material is also a serious issue. It may be dumped downslope, burying seeds and seedlings and lowering their survival rate. More likely, sediment deposits will be washed or blown into rivers and streams, reducing the water quality downstream, degrading aquatic wildlife habitats and fish spawning areas. In still waters, like reservoirs, silt can drop out of the water column and settle on the floor. In sufficient amounts, this sedimentation reduces the water storage capacity and life of the impoundment and eventually may lead to increased water treatment costs for drinking water. When sedimentation occurs in channels, expensive dredging may be required to keep the waterway deep enough for water and barge traffic. Suspended material in rivers and streams flows downstream and is eventually transported out to the ocean and lost.

Agricultural areas affected by topsoil erosion become less productive and more vulnerable to weeds. The loss of soil nutrients results in poor crop growth and a reduction in crop yield. Fertilisers are usually added to the soil to replace missing nutrients while poisons and pesticides are sprayed to combat weed infestation. These pesticides and fertilisers will be transported with any subsequent soil erosion and are often washed into waterways. Pesticides can be

poisonous to aquatic life and pose a health hazard for downstream drinking water sources. Excess nutrients in water bodies can exacerbate algal blooms.

## Combating Soil Erosion

Loss of topsoil and reduction in crop productivity has increased global awareness and concern for soil erosion. The impacts of erosion reach further than environmental degradation. Soil erosion can have grave effects on the economy, impacting sectors such as energy and water supply. Commercially, many developing countries rely heavily on the export income provided by cash crops. Ongoing land degradation translates to a significant economic loss of agricultural income. Perhaps more importantly, reduced crop productivity threatens the global food supply and security. Africa, for example, has become very reliant on food imports and aid. With an ever-increasing global population, there is a real incentive not only to conserve current fertile lands but also to increase crop yields.

Declining food per capita and increases in poverty have led to impacts on health in the developing world. For example, the number of undernourished people in Africa has doubled from the 1960s to 200 million in the late 1990s. In many developing countries the combined pressures of poverty, landlessness, and increasing population force local farmers to continue environmentally destructive farming practices. Population pressures force subsistence farmers to use illegally cleared forests and marginal lands to survive. Once an area is depleted of nutrients, they move on. Soil conservation techniques require time and energy. Many farmers in developing countries struggle with severe poverty and cannot afford the resources required to implement these measures. Often, there is no incentive for these farmers to conserve the topsoil because they do not own the land that they cultivate. Mismanagement of these areas leads to further degradation.

The problem of erosion is being tackled, to varying degrees, around the world. Progress is hampered by the lack of training, basic information, and funding for rehabilitation and land reclamation projects. However, an increasing number of countries in the developing world are making progress. Agricultural methods aimed specifically at soil conservation are increasingly being implemented. Techniques such as horizontal ploughing and hillside ditches slow and redirect surface runoff while planting hedgerows reduce the impact of wind. Planting cover crops provides a more complex system and protects the cash

crops below from the effects of wind and rain. Tilling crop residues into the soil replenishes nutrients through the addition of organic matter. Degraded land is being rehabilitated through the natural regeneration of trees and the planting of a rich diversity of other vegetation. In the Upper Niger River Valley Zone, farmers have begun to use fertilizer and improved seed varieties that have been engineered to grow in harsh conditions on fields that have been built up organic matter. In Niger's Majjia Valley, farmers are planting windbreaks of tall trees to combat the effects of wind on the soil. In Burkina Faso, farmers are using rocks and other debris as barriers along contours to reduce the intensity of surface runoff. In Thailand and the Philippines, farmers are planting tall, deep-rooted perennial grasses for the same effect. No-till farming, where the previous crop is left in the ground and seeds for the new crop are planted via holes in the ground made without ploughing, is gaining popularity across South America and Africa.

Forests are being replanted in Argentina and Mozambique, stimulating the economy by both employing jobless young people and generating income from forest products from previous degraded lands. Agroforestry is also being promoted in the developing world as another method of combating erosion. Plant and tree species are encouraged to be left or planted in fields as resources in their own right. In the Sahel region, selected trees are being grown amongst the crops and pastures. The trees lessen the effects of the wind and torrential rains on sandy soils as well as improving soil fertility and offer additional resources such as timber, firewood, leaf litter, seeds, oils, fruits, and gums. In China and Vietnam, land tenure reform has seen land reallocated to individuals and families. This has had a positive impact on land management, with production increases and more trees being planted than cut down.

The importance of soil conservation and the need to encourage and assist developing countries with this issue was internationally recognised at the Earth Summit, formally known as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. A plan of action concerning the planning and management of land resources, combating deforestation, and sustainable agriculture and rural development was agreed upon. Responsibility for the development and implementation of this plan was given to the Food and Agriculture Organisation. This organisation assists governments with advice for incentives to encourage and reward sustainable land use and continues to develop indicators and guidelines for sustainable agricultural practices.

Although topsoil is still being lost at an alarming rate, soil erosion is now accepted as a significant issue worldwide. Its potential to impact on food supply and export income in particular has caused many countries to implement specific environmental policies to regulate agriculture and land practices. However, while such policies are valuable, the real change in practice must occur at a grassroots level. The work of agencies, such as the Peacecorps and the Initiative for the Social Action and Renewal in Eurasia, with communities and local non-government organisations to educate and to improve land use practice may ultimately determine whether soil erosion can be managed effectively.

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**See also Deforestation; Desertification; Pollution, Agricultural**

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## ESTONIA

The Republic of Estonia is one of the Baltic Republics and a part of the former Soviet Union. Estonia borders Russia, Finland, Latvia, and the Baltic Sea. The total area of the country is 45,266 square kilometers and with its population of about 1.4 million Estonia is among the smallest European countries.

Estonia first gained its independence in 1918, but in 1940 was incorporated into the Soviet Union. The country gained its independence again in 1991 at the collapse of the Soviet Union. Estonia is a highly urbanized country and about three quarters of the population lives in towns and cities. Its capital is Tallinn, an old medieval city. The second largest city is Tartu, a significant academic center in Eastern Europe. Other cities are Narva and Pärnu. The native people of Estonia are Finno-Ugric. All ethnic groups include Estonian 65.3%, Russian 28.1%, Ukrainian 2.5%, Belarusian 1.5%, Finn 1%, and other 1.6%. The official language is Estonian (family of Baltic languages).

Generally, the terrain of the country is flat in the north and hilly in the south. There are about 1,500 small islands on the Baltic that remain Estonian territory. The region is boggy, and it contains swamps, rivers, wetlands, and more than one thousand lakes. Forests cover most of the country's area. The elevation is above sea level with the highest point Suur Munamägi reaching 317 meters above sea level. Because of the proximity of the sea, the climate of Estonia is milder than on the rest of the continent. The maritime climate provides wet moderate winters and cold summers. Because of the geographic location summer days are long and winter days last for only several hours. Nights are not very dark from May until July. The temperature in Estonia is unpredictable and might change within a day by about 20°C. Average summer temperature is 15°C–18°C, while average winter temperature is –4–5°C. Winters are usually snowy. Days are often cloudy and frequently rainy (annual precipitation is 750 millimeters).

The Estonian ecosystem also consists of several species of animals, among which the most numerous are large mammals like deer, elk, and boar, but also beaver, lynx, wolf, brown bear, and gray and ringed seals in coastal waters. There are about 333 species of

birds; among them are the black stork and eagle. About 10% of the country area is under environmental protection, namely seashore wetlands and some woodland areas. The Estonian ecosystem is not destroyed like in most of Europe.

Culturally, Estonia is divided into lowlands and highlands, and such division relates to the economic activities and accumulation of wealth. Highland people were predominantly agricultural while the lowland populations subsisted on fishing. Estonian prehistory is not well known, but the archaeological record confirms that the first inhabitants were foragers and fishermen of the Mesolithic period. The first farmers inhabited the region about four thousand years ago. Although some remarks on the region can be found in the Roman sources, or Scandinavian sagas, Estonian history starts in the twelfth century with the introduction of Christianity and feudalism. Several powers occupied the present-day Estonia in the past, among them Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. About 1170, the Holy See tried to establish its province there. The earliest historic source on the land is the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia which describes thirteenth century Estonia. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, German and Danish military expeditions entered the regions of present-day Estonia. First parishes were established in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Three significant periods in Estonian history shaped its culture: the introduction of Christianity, class society, and urbanization throughout the thirteenth century led by German and Danish rulers; the Reformation period when the Estonian language was introduced to liturgy, schooling, and administration; and modernization of the society after 1860 linked to the industrialization of the Baltic region. Estonia gained independence in 1918, but lost it in 1940 when it was incorporated into the Soviet Union. It regained independence on August 20, 1991, at the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union and that date was proclaimed as a national holiday. On March 29, 2004, Estonia joined North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and a month later, on May 1, 2004, it became a member of the European Union. Despite a long period of colonization, Estonian culture prevailed and the Estonian language is still spoken. It contains many words borrowed from other languages, namely German, Swedish, Russian, Finnish, but also French and English.

Estonia has limited natural resources, mostly oil, shale, peat, clay, limestone, and timber. Because of the lack of economically significant natural resources, the Estonian economy is based on services, like tourism, which attracts about 2–3 million people a year, trade, and banking. Various service-based

industries provide about 65% of Estonian gross domestic product (GDP). The rest is provided by light industries, like fishing, timber, paper, and textiles. Other branches of industry include: mechanical engineering, electronics, wood and wood products, textile industry, information technology, and telecommunications. The labor force by occupation includes: agriculture 11%, industry 20%, and services 69%. Forests are among the most significant natural resources providing timber for the paper industries. Electronics and engineering industries are developing. The chemical industry after difficult times during the 1990s is presently recuperating and developing. Tourism is one of the most significant economic sectors. Every year 2–3 million tourists visit Estonia (this includes shopping tourism from neighboring countries, especially Finland).

Estonian arable land covers 16.04% of the area. Agriculture employs only about five percent of the workforce and consists mostly of small farms and corporations. The main agricultural products are dairy products, poultry, meat (beef and pork), potatoes, and cereals. Many foodstuffs are organic. Agriculture also includes fisheries, cattle breeding, and honey bee keeping.

The Estonian economy is one of the best among countries that joined the European Union recently. The economy attracts many foreign investors with its fast and stable growth. Most significant trade partners are Finland and Sweden. Its export commodities include: machinery and equipment 33%, wood and paper 15%, textiles 14%, food products 8%, furniture 7%, metals, and chemical products. Its export partners include: Finland 21.9%, Sweden 12.5%, Russia 11.4%, Germany 8.4%, Latvia 7.4%, Lithuania 4% (2003). Its import commodities include: machinery and equipment 33.5%, chemical products 11.6%, textiles 10.3%, foodstuffs 9.4%, transportation equipment 8.9% (2001). Its import partners include: Finland 15.9%, Germany 11.1%, Russia 10.2%, Sweden 7.7%, Ukraine 4.3%, China 4.2%, Japan 4.1%.

The official Estonian currency is the kroon. Estonia, as a new member of the World Trade Organization, is steadily moving toward a modern market economy with increasing ties to the West, including the pegging of its currency to the euro. The economy benefits from strong electronics and telecommunications sectors. Estonia joined the European Union in May 2004. The economy is greatly influenced by developments in Finland, Sweden, Russia, and Germany, four major trading partners. The high current account deficit remains a concern. However, the state budget enjoyed a surplus of \$130 million in 2003.

Estonia is a parliamentary republic with a 101-seat parliament. The parliament selects a president for a

five-year term. The president can serve only two terms. The president is the head of state, and leader of the government. There are several political parties which have 5% votes, a condition to be represented in the Parliament. A party that collects the most votes has the right to form the government.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations**

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## ETHIOPIA

Situated in the region known as the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia has an area of approximately 1.27 million square kilometers, slightly smaller than twice the area of Texas. It borders Eritrea on the north and northeast, Djibouti on the east, Somalia on the east and southeast, Kenya on the south, and Sudan on the west. It occupies a significant portion of the Horn of Africa landmass and extends almost 1,640 kilometers from east to west and 1,580 kilometers from north to south. Ethiopia is a land of extreme contrasts, both in terms of its topography and climate. It is mountainous in the northern and central regions, some with elevations as high as 4,617 meters above sea level, and has vast stretches of lowlands in the eastern and southeastern regions, some of which lay as much as 116 meters below sea level. An important feature of the Ethiopian landscape is the Great Rift Valley, running roughly from north to south, essentially dividing the country into two.

The temperature in the highland areas runs from near freezing to as much as 30°C, and in the lowlands from 30°C–50°C, occasionally reaching 60°C. The rainy season in the highlands extends from June to August, while there is not much rain in the eastern lowland regions of the country. Most of the population, estimated in 2000 at 61 million, professes Christianity or Islam. In general, Christians, who constitute about 43% of the population, live in the highland areas and are sedentary farmers; the Moslems, who comprise nearly 48% of the population, live

in the lowlands and are generally agro-pastoralists. Although Ethiopia is associated more with the Tigray and Amhara national groups of the north and north-central parts of the country, the largest group, about 40% of the population, is the Oromo national group. This population group lives in the western, southern, and south-central parts of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is one of the two countries in Africa (the other is Liberia) that was never colonized, or briefly colonized (1936–1941), by a European power. Ethiopians, or more appropriately Abyssinians, extend their history as a nation to pre-Christian times when the powerful Kingdom of Axum flourished in northern Ethiopia, circa 300 BC. The kings of Axum adopted Christianity as their official religion in the fourth century and this made the people one of the earliest to practice Christianity officially. The Kingdom of Axum, however, declined around the seventh century, and highland Ethiopians, unable to maintain trade and cultural links with the outside world, were cut off for about a millennium until the middle of the nineteenth century. With minimal outside contact, the economic, social, and cultural system had remained frozen in time. This is particularly true of the Ethiopian Tewahdo Orthodox Church, which still continues to practice elements of ancient Judaic traditions.

Ethiopia came out of its isolation around 1855, when Emperor Tewodros established a relatively unified but a much smaller Ethiopia as compared with the present. The emperors who followed him, including Yohannes IV, Menelik II, and Haile Selassie I, successively enlarged and established a more centralized Ethiopia. Thus, traditional Ethiopia, by incorporating the areas in the periphery, became a multi-cultural state whose peoples differed in religion, ethnicity, and psychological outlook. Although apparently successful in pacifying the peoples of the newly incorporated regions initially, the “question of nationalities” became an important variable in the political, economic, and social development of contemporary Ethiopia. This and issues related to poor governance and limits on the powers of the emperor are taken as causal factors for the attempted coup d’etat in 1960.

As a result of its history, the nature and foundation of the Ethiopian state became a hotly contested issue from the 1960s onward. Emperor Haile Selassie, the last of the Ethiopian monarchs, was unable to resolve the ethnic disputes and other issues of development, and was overthrown in 1974 by the military. The military government, which assumed power with the promise to resolve the problem of ethnicity, also failed in its endeavor. Consequently, various ethnic-based armed opposition movements in various parts

of the country emerged to press their demands for more communal rights. Unable to address communal grievances, both political and economic, the military government was likewise overthrown in 1991. For almost thirty years (1962–1991), therefore, Ethiopia had a disproportionate share of political violence, first in Eritrea and later in other parts of the country. Partly because of these issues and partly because of its long isolation, Ethiopia remained under-developed both politically and economically.

Politically, Ethiopia remained an absolute monarchy until 1974, and under a military dictatorship until 1991. Hence, Ethiopia had no tradition of a government accountable to the people, no peaceful competition for power by political parties, and no civil society to speak of. Since 1991, however, Ethiopia has been a federal republic of ethnic-based territories ruled by the Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Similarly, EPRDF-allied parties control regional governments. There are also many opposition parties, some of which are legal. However, they have not been able to break the monopoly of the EPRDF, as the results of the elections held in 1995 and 2000 show. EPRDF handily won because many opposition parties had boycotted these elections. Among the illegal political movements are the Oromo Liberation Front and Ogaden National Liberation Front, both of which have resorted to arms to force the government to agree to a full measure of self-determination for Oromia and the Ogaden, respectively.

Although there is debate as to whether or not the present government is democratic, the political environment now is far more open compared with the pre-1991 period. Indeed, the present constitution gives ethnic groups the right to decide their future, and this theoretically includes the right to secession. The Ethiopian constitution is the only one in the world today that explicitly includes constitutional provisions for secession. Also, since 1991, independent civic organizations have flourished. They include, among others, the Ethiopian Teachers’ Association, the Ethiopian Women’s Lawyers Association, the Ethiopian Free Press Journalists Association and the Ethiopian Human Rights Council. Many independent civic organizations in the Diaspora are also actively involved in the political, social, and human rights issues affecting Ethiopia.

In the realm of economics, Ethiopia remains one of the least developed countries. The gross domestic product (GDP)—calculated in terms of the value of all final goods and services produced within Ethiopia, and computed on the basis of purchasing power parity (PPP)—is about \$33 billion, with GDP per capita of about \$560. Coffee accounts for about 60% of export earnings. With such an overwhelming



dependence on a single commodity and the inevitable fluctuations and ever-decreasing price of coffee, Ethiopia has a long way to go before experiencing sustained growth, especially because its economy is based on small-holder and rain-fed agriculture susceptible to the periodic drought the country faces. There were, however, positive signs in the last ten years. The economy grew by an average of 6% for most of the 1990s and early 2000s because of a combination of many factors. These include the adoption of market-oriented economy, the implementation of International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustments Programs, and relative political stability. There are renewed hopes of a more accelerated economic growth.

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### ETHNIC CONFLICTS: CARIBBEAN

The scenario of ethnic relations and conflicts in the Caribbean reflects the staggering complexity of the regional panorama of nationalities, languages, and religions. In addition to English, Spanish, and French, other major languages are spoken in the numerous islands that comprise the Greater and Lesser

Antilles, including Chinese, Hindi, and Arabic. There are also communities of worship for all major world religions as well as uniquely Caribbean religious traditions, like Santería in Cuba and Voodoo in Haiti.

The Antilles, to which the expeditions of Columbus and others arrived from Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, found an ethnically diversified native population, with various groups of Ciboney, Arawak, and Carib stock. The greatest part of this indigenous population disappeared after the ravages of war, disease, and forced labor and was soon being replaced by black Africans brought as slaves over the Atlantic.

Resting on the bedrock of the three institutions of the plantation, slavery system, and colonialism, the modern Caribbean is a scenario where ethnicity, that is the identification of a certain group with real or imagined cultural links to an ancestral past, with language and religion (Baronov and Yelvington 2003) is a crucial element. The historical background is important not only as a tool for a better understanding but also as a main element in the very constitution of this ethnicity. The distinctiveness of the Carib as an ethnic group, for instance, has much to do with the circumstances of early colonial rule, when resistance to Spanish hegemonism stimulated their militarism. Soon after, the Caribs found it convenient to make alliances and agreements with colonial powers of later arrival. In that manner, they obtained trade privileges, confirmation of authority, merchandise, and ceremonial staves from the Dutch, English, and French. Thus, trade and ethnic soldiering was an important factor in the establishment of solidarities, oppositions and adversarial identities. This insight corrects an earlier interpretation of the conflicts between Caribs and Arawaks that have been seen as the continuation of pre-Columbian rivalries (Whitehead 1990).

Today, there are some three thousand Caribs living in villages of what is called the Carib Territory on the East coast of Dominica. There are also descendants of Arawak and Carib Indians in the island of Aruba, where the population also includes groups of Dutch, Spanish, and African provenance.

The predominance of inhabitants with black ancestry reflects the massive proportions of the slave trade. Between 1662 and 1867, almost 10 million Africans were exported as slaves to America; Jamaica only received 662,400 (Mintz 1985).

This population brought along much of its culture, its religion, its means of expression. Orality had here a central significance and from the crucible of Afro-American orality, in the forced submission and pain of the plantation, rebellion transformed oral tradition into a folklore of fugitive rebels. Creole languages

that developed as a basic part of runaway slave culture facilitated communication. Escaped slaves coming together to form small communities had a need to create a common language that would overcome cultural diversity and resist isolation. Creole was a synthesis of West African languages, fused together with loaned words from English and Spanish. In the island of Aruba, the official language is Dutch but the common language used is Papiamentu, a Creole that evolved mainly from Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch.

Later, with the end of slavery, indentured laborers were taken to the Caribbean in great quantities. More than 125,000 Chinese came to Cuba, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad. More than 100,000 East Indians arrived to Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad. The end of slavery resulted then in the formation of one of the most ethnically diversified regions of the world (Baronov and Yelvington 2003).

Traditionally, ethnicity was anchored in the indigenous *bohio*, a hut with thatched roof. Today, ethnic identity can be said to be rooted in the private space of the urban tenement yard, and by the tenants themselves, the yardies. These ghettos, for instance in Kingston, Jamaica, are enclaves whose ethnicity is simply their poverty (Chevannes 2001). This intimacy of the household was translated into a carefully managed system of racial discrimination in the public sphere. In the late eighteenth century there were in the French colony of St. Domingue, today's Haiti, nine possible racial categories between a pure white and a pure black. Today, those harsh and clear-cut tokens of discrimination have been replaced, at least in more public arenas, by a code tinted with what Isar Godreau, for the case of Puerto Rico, calls a slippery semantics, *semántica fugitiva*, by which one refers to racial types by mentioning various degrees of rainfall (Baronov and Yelvington 2003).

This aspect of indeterminacy in the negotiation of notions of ethnic and racial identity stands in clear contrast to at least two ways of asserting an identity, one silent and exclusive, the other vociferous and inclusive. The first one can be seen in the sense of exclusiveness present in elite groups like the white Creole elite of Martinique. There, 150 patronymic names could in the 1970s trace their ancestry in such ways that race, class, and a sense of great historical role in the island formed the pillars of their ethnocentrism. The sacred duty of this group is then to maintain the purity of the stock by following the norms of endogamy (Maingot 1996). The second, and opposite, manner of assertiveness is the deeply felt sense of ethnic identification and urge of revindication that is characteristically expressed in popular music and lyrics throughout the region. In Cuba, the sacred drummers of Lucumí ancestry are the collective

sound of an African presence that refuses to disappear (Benkomo 2000). To the east, the songs of bitterness of the *bachata* are also known as the Dominican blues. Derived from the classic *bolero*, the *bachata* has become a form of protest Latin rock, combining Dominican folk motifs, Jamaican reggae, and layers of Zairian guitar. Also, the soul of Trinidad and Tobago can be summarised in the steel drum or pan, paraded in defiant street festivals. Originally, African skin drums were used until banned in the 1880s by the British authorities who feared that the drummers transmitted coded messages that could possibly lead to rebellion (Meschino 2002). Panorama, the annual steel band competition with its uproarious atmosphere, is one of the most anticipated events of Carnival.

The two constants of Caribbean Africanness, words and drums, and their common core, rhythm, are elements that remain essential in the emergence of a literature of cultural revindication. This can be seen in the poetry of Martinican Aimé Césaire (b. 1913) and of the Puerto Rican Luis Palés Matos (1898–1959), himself a white. In the poem *Black Majesty* by Palés Matos, the sense of defiant urgency expressed by the rows of Congo blacks dancing rumba and macumba to the rhythms of their bongo drums, while they follow their glorious queen *Temblandumba de la Quimbamba*, is expressed in the sound of the words themselves. In the poem *Ñañigo Al Cielo*, *The Ñañigo Comes to Heaven*, also by Palés Matos, a member of the *Ñañiga*, the Cuban secret society also known as *Abakuá*, confers to the celestial court his own brand of bandit blessing when he and God embrace in a smelly cloud of intoxicating Antillean rum.

Considering then that not even the most exalted realms seem to be beyond the scope of this sense of defiance it is perhaps not surprising that fear and suspicion is ever present throughout the region. It was this terror that in Jamaica led to the ruthless repression of the Morant Bay rebellion of 1867. Not only were five hundred blacks executed, self-government was also suspended and direct Crown Colony rule was implemented (Maingot 1996).

The basic premise seems to be “not another Haiti.” St. Domingue was by the time of the French Revolution the most prosperous colony in the Antilles, where a mere 32,000 whites owned 550,000 black slaves. The revolution in what was to become Haiti, a milestone in the history of the region, was in many ways precipitated by the agitation caused by the group of some thirty thousand black freedmen, *affranchis*, many of them slave owners themselves. Their demands were for a larger share in the benefits of plantation slavery and better access to the benefits of French culture

(Mintz 1974). The armed conflict began in August 1791 and ten years later the military leader Toussaint-Louverture, a former slave, became governor only to be imprisoned after coming to terms with a French expeditionary force sent by Napoleon to restore the old colonial regime. Finally, the forces of Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henry Christophe defeated the French in November 3, 1803.

Haiti was far from unique. Slave revolts were numerous, and escaped slaves, known as maroons, were the living testimony that resistance to slavery was always a latent factor (Randall 2003). Thus, the specter of a new Haiti, known in Cuba as *El Gran Susto*, *the Great Fear*, has been an ever present menace. This was experienced most critically in 1844, when the serious rebellion of *La Escalera* occurred (Maingot 1996).

A precise assessment of many regional conflicts is often not an easy task. There is a long struggle, extending back to 1830, of the peasantry in Cuba fighting against the evictions and usurpations of expanding sugar-cane corporations. In the following generations, then are the Mambises, peasants fighting in the wars against Spain in 1868 and 1891. By 1905, after American intervention had increased noticeably, there were thirteen thousand American properties in Cuba, covering 10% of the total surface of the country. Many peasants had been evicted in the process, and as a result of this, massive mobilizations took place, like in Caujeri and Camagüey in 1923 (Huizer 1977). The question is, to what extent is this long story of peasant struggle in Cuba to be understood in terms of class or ethnic struggle? This and other cases are a reminder of the provisional character of our analytical constructs.

The ethnic African referent rooted in the past has its modern counterpart in the contemporary process of the Caribbean diaspora. By the last decade of the twentieth century, for instance, 43% of Puerto Ricans were living in the United States, 23% of the population of the Dutch Antilles in the Netherlands, and about 50% of Jamaicans in the United Kingdom and United States. Forging new identities in their adopted countries, these vast communities abroad often take on a heightened meaning of nationalism and ethnicity, while maintaining linkages with their homelands (Baronov and Yelvington 2003).

Also the original inhabitants of the Caribbean have been increasingly reasserting their presence, demanding recognition of their political and territorial rights. After being declared extinct centuries ago, it is now well known that thousands of Taino-Arawak descendants are alive and well, not only in Cuba but in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Many are also living in Florida, in other parts of the United States,

and even Spain. Since 1997, Taino Indians have been reunited annually with their relatives of the diaspora at a conference held in Baracoa, eastern Cuba. The meetings have opened up to the world the reality of the continued existence of this group and although the Cuban government has not formally recognized them as an indigenous people, it has pledged support and protection. Other Taino living in the diaspora now visit their ancestral lands in Boriken, Puerto Rico.

It seems that in the multicultural societies of the Caribbean there is an integrative Creole model that in spite of all tensions and rivalries, allows for the relative absence of ethnic and racial violence in modern times (Hillman and Serbin 2003). When attempting a comprehensive understanding of this ever-changing scenario where, in a perennial combination of assertiveness and indeterminacy, notions of identity, class, and nationality are constantly being negotiated and contested, terms like “ethnic” and “racial,” even when confusing and misleading, seem still useful.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: CENTRAL AFRICA

### Cameroon

Although Cameroon has strong ethnic rivalries, particularly between the Muslim north and the Christian south, it has not faced the ethnic violence common to many of its neighbors. There are also political tensions between the French speaking and English speaking portions of the population. (Cameroon is a merger of two former colonies, one English and one French.)

### Central African Republic

Although divided into more than eighty ethnic groups, ethnic violence is not a major problem in the Central African Republic. The two largest ethnic groups, making up about 50% of the country's population, are the Baya and Banda.

### Chad

Chad, like its neighbor Sudan, has a north-south ethnic divide. Northern Chad identifies with the Arab Islamic world which it borders, even though intermarriage has led to a population not dissimilar in appearance to that of the south. Many northerners consider themselves Arab and speak Arabic as either a first or second language. Southern Chad is Christian and animist and is dominated by the ethnic groups Sara, Toubouri, and Masa.

In the early years after its independence, granted by the French in 1960, Chad was dominated by southerners, not surprising given the south's larger population. In 1965, however, a northern revolt backed by Libya attempted to change this. After seventeen years of fighting, a northerner, Hissène Habré, finally took power. Habré, despite his Muslim background, supported a fairly broadly based coalition. His main opposition, moreover, came from Libya, which had formerly supported him but which now had ambitions to annex part of northern Chad. Despite

his attempts to maintain alliances with southerners, Habré faced widespread resistance in the south and used violence against southerners to maintain himself in power. In late 1990, Idriss Deby, another northerner, replaced Habré.

Deby also targeted southerners who were perceived as resisting his regime with violence, and southerners have responded in kind. Nevertheless, compared with neighboring Sudan, a country with a similar north-south division, Chad is relatively peaceful. The numbers killed in ethnic conflicts remain in the thousands rather than in the tens or hundreds of thousands.

### Republic of Congo

The Republic of Congo is the Democratic Republic of Congo's far smaller neighbor, with a population of about 3 million. Congo is divided between three major ethnic groups, the Bakongo, who make up almost half the population, the Batéké, who make up 20%, and the M'Boshi, who constitute 15%.

Although the Batéké are the largest group, the M'Boshi have had a disproportionate influence on politics, dominated the countries post-independence leadership as well as its military. Ethnic tensions are fanned by the fact that all three major ethnic groups maintain their own militias in the country's capital.

### The Democratic Republic of Congo

With a population approaching 50 million, the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly called Zaire) is the largest state in Central Africa and the one with the bloodiest history of conflict. Congo's modern history of ethnic conflicts begins with the Belgian conquest in the 1870s. Belgium's rule over Congo was one of the bloodiest in Africa's colonial history, leaving the country with a legacy of bitterness and misrule. (Some of the horror of this period is depicted in Joseph Conrad's fictional masterpiece, *Heart of Darkness*.) Belgian troops and administrators killed millions.

Independence was granted in 1960, but the situation in Congo did not improve. Belgium had trained almost no local administrators and upon independence essentially abandoned the country to its internal ethnic conflicts, which were many.

There are hundreds of ethnic groups in Congo and nothing had been done during Belgian's period of misrule to meld them into a single nation. Congo's first post-colonial ruler, Patrice Lumumba, fought a series of conflicts with regional strong-men who based their power on local ethnic groups. The most

powerful of these was Moise Tshombe based in Katanga province (since renamed Shaba).

Led by Tshombe, the Katangese fought for three years to maintain their independence. They were eventually defeated when a new strong-man, Joseph Mobutu, came to power. A United Nations (UN) force that intervened in his defense helped Mobutu. The UN supported a unified Congo and so opposed the desires of the Katangese. The Katangese were defeated and Mobutu ruled Congo (which he renamed Zaire) until 1996. However, he was only partially able to suppress ethnic unrest. Insurrections occurred in Shaba on a regular basis. Mobutu also faced ethnic in other parts of the country, particularly Upper Zaire. He responded by packing his administration with members of his own ethnic group, the Ngande.

The 1994 genocide in next-door Rwanda was the occasion for further ethnic conflict, as well as the partial cause of Mobutu's downfall. Ethnic Hutu in Rwanda had created a dictatorship that attempted to wipe out the ethnic Tutsi, Rwanda's main minority. When a Rwanda army based in Uganda was able to overthrow the Hutu regime, hundreds of thousands of Hutu fled from Rwanda into Zaire in the summer of 1994. Hutu refugee camps became bases from which Hutu extremists hoped to retake Rwanda. Hutu extremists also attacked ethnic Banyarwanda, who were ethnic cousins to the Tutsi.

To defend their borders, as well as aid the Banyarwanda of Zaire, Rwanda supported local Banyarwanda militias against the Hutu and the local Zairian military, which had supported the anti-Banyarwanda attacks. Mobutu responded by expelling some Banyarwanda from Kinhasa, the capital. Despite these efforts, or perhaps accelerated by them, Mobutu's corrupt regime quickly began to collapse and the local war became a general revolution. An alliance of anti-Mobutu groups was created, and, led by Laurent Kabila, was able to force Mobutu from the country and take power in 1997. Upon capturing Kinhasa, Kabila renamed the country Congo.

Kabila's accession to power did not end ethnic violence in Congo. Unable to maintain control over much of the country, and often using ethnic rivalries to his own advantage, Kabila was unable or unwilling to stop the fighting. Various ethnic groups continued to be supported by outside military intervention by Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, and Zimbabwe. The widespread fighting has led to the deaths of millions as well as widespread rape, the use of child soldiers, and the creation of a refugee problem numbering in the millions. Kabila himself was assassinated in 2001 and replaced by his son, Joseph Kabila, who was equally unable to solve Congo's ethnic violence.

Although the original Rwandan intervention was in the name of self defense as well as defense of the Banyarwanda minority, most of the interventions, including Rwanda's, have since taken on the appearance of a power grab, with all parties intent on looting as much as they can of Congo's extensive natural resources. There have been widespread reports of massacres committed by all sides in Congo's many-sided conflict. Among those massacred are many Hutu refugees, and among those supporting their killing are the Tutsi who had been victims of massacres in neighboring Rwanda.

The result of this ongoing violence, some of the worst in Africa, is to leave most of the country impoverished. This despite the fact that Congo is extremely rich in natural resources ranging from diamonds to rubber. The total death toll of the conflict cannot be accurately stated but certainly numbers at least 3 million.

## Gabon

Gabon, a small country with a population of under 2 million, has more than fifty ethnic groups. The largest of these is the Fang, who make up some thirty percent of the population. Despite this plurality, the Fang have long been kept from power by coalitions of rival ethnic factions. President Omar Bongo, who has ruled the country since 1967, comes from the Batéké ethnic group and has favored this group in government jobs and patronage.

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**See also Cameroon; Central Africa: History and Economic Development; Central Africa: International Relations; Central African Republic; Chad; Congo, Democratic Republic of; Congo, Republic of; Gabon**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Ethnic conflict is an international experience. The elimination of colonial powers, the dissolution of strong central governments, and a multiplicity of other factors have all contributed to tensions and

outright conflicts between ethnic groups. Gurr and Harff, in their book *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*, describe a typology of ethnic conflict that includes ethnonationalists who desire to establish or reestablish their own state, indigenous peoples who wish to preserve their traditional culture and environment, communal contenders interested in sharing political power among competing ethnic groups, and ethno-classes who want equal rights and opportunities to make up for past discrimination. In and around these five groups are religious minorities who define themselves in terms of their religious beliefs.

There are many reasons for the initiation or increase of ethnic conflict in a region. These involve actions and behaviors that include persisting cleavages between ethnic groups, the uneven treatment by elites of different ethnic groups within society, a history of elite reliance on suppression as a means of maintaining power, sudden political upheaval, and the targeting of a minority group as expendable or as the cause of recent upheaval or economic problems. In Central Europe the primary reasons for the current ethnic conflict are the historical persistence of ethnic cleavages and sudden political and economic upheaval.

Most of the ethnic groups within Central Europe fall in the communal contenders category, with some in the ethnonationalist category. The sudden collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite communist systems overturned what were relatively stable social and political hierarchies. The dissolution of the imposed stability of the Soviet system provided an opening for various groups to begin asserting their rights as political and economic constituencies. Different ethnic groups found themselves in competition with each other for scarce economic and political resources. All of these groups are competing for a share of political power within their respective states. Most do not want to secede and form separate states but would rather share power with the current majority group. The multiplicity of ethnic groups in Central Europe includes Russians in the Baltics, Hungarians in Romania, Romanians in Hungary, Germans in the Czech Republic, Muslims in Bosnia, Roma (gypsies) in Hungary, Romania, and the Czech Republic, Poles in Lithuania, Germans in Poland, Turks in Bulgaria, and Jews in all states.

Ethnic conflict in Central Europe is not a new phenomenon. Central European history is replete with attempts by different groups to assert their control over other groups through language suppression, religious suppression, and/or legal discrimination against various ethnic and religious groups in society. European history in general is rife with wars started and fought on the grounds of ethnic superiority. The

post-1989 period of transition and democratic consolidation in Central Europe has often been compared to the post-World War I era. At the end of World War I, many states seized the opportunity to declare their independence from previous empires and dominant states. Free from the forced integration of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Hohenzollern empire, and Russian domination, the political parties in the newly independent states emphasized the uniqueness of their language, culture, and nation. The concurrent rise in nationalism has been credited with the subsequent downfall of those independent states as they were unable to come together to resist Nazi and Russian aggression. At the end of the Cold War, these same states experienced a similar rise in nationalism and a similar birth of political parties with the same message of nationalism, and in some cases outright xenophobia.

### 1945–1989

Ethnicity was a dominant force in the rise of communism in Central Europe. It has been suggested that numerically weak groups with traditional or ethnic ties to Russia found a great deal of appeal in the communist ideology, while those groups with no ties to Russia, despite their numerical weakness, were less attracted to communism. Despite the egregious example of nationalism run amok found in Nazism, other groups had taken advantage of the chaos of war to attempt to create states based on single nationalities or ethnicities. Eastern European communists pointed to the Soviet claim that the USSR had successfully overcome ethnic divisions with the imposition of a communist political system. The implication was clear; Eastern Europe could solve its ethnic dilemmas if communism was embraced.

At the end of World War II, international borders were recreated according to the occupation zones of the Allied forces. This resulted in eastern parts of Germany being handed back to Poland, while western areas of Poland were given to the Soviet Union; these actions stranded many people in what was considered a foreign country. Cultural Germans found themselves in Poland and Poles found themselves now considered to be Russian in citizenship if not in culture. In addition, a large German minority became a part of Czechoslovakia, and parts of Romania became Hungarian. Over all of this were the difficulties faced by the small remaining Jewish population and the Roma (gypsy) population.

It is true that during the communist period, there was very little overt ethnic conflict in Central Europe.

This was less because all groups had embraced the ideology, and more because the communist governments moved to stamp out all forms of independent expression and non-state sponsored institutions. This resulted in the atomization of society to such a degree it appeared that all ethnic conflict in the region had finally been eliminated. The imposition of Soviet control over the Baltics resulted in a Russian suppression of Baltic cultures and languages. The official language in all three Baltic States was Russian; Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian were not taught in schools and were not utilized outside of private life. In the Balkans, Tito managed to suppress ages-old ethnic conflict by the simple expedient of using the Yugoslav army to crack down on any overt ethnic conflicts.

Soviet takeover of the Baltics led to the forced migration of thousands of Russians into the Baltics and the beginning of a program of Russification of the Baltic nationalities. As sovereign states within the Soviet sphere of influence, the other Central European states were not subject to this type of forced cultural assimilation, although many forms of cultural expression were illegal under communist control. Communism operated on the premise that national aspirations were to be secondary to the international interests of the proletarian state. Ethnic and national disputes within the Soviet bloc were not resolved but rather suppressed.

### *Jews Under Communism*

The imposition of communism and its ideology of atheism caused a great deal of trouble for what remained of the region's Jewish population. From over 5.5 million people, the Jewish population of Central Europe had been reduced to about 150,000. Those that did not emigrate to Israel or other western states found themselves caught between official party pressure to renounce Judaism and local anti-Semitism that blocked efforts to assimilate into the new communist society. Unlike the Soviet Union, the governments of the satellite states did not implement the practice of registering Jews as a separate nationality. Jews were free to define themselves as Czechs, Poles, etc.; however, any attempts to train children in language or culture immediately denied them entry to schools or party organizations. All of these state actions were compounded by the trauma of surviving the Holocaust and attempts to rebuild their lives.

Until 1950–1951, hundreds of thousands of Jews were allowed to leave the region, and did so, moving to Israel and the United States, but many preferred to remain. Romania was left with a large Jewish population that did not wish to emigrate, nor did it

wish to assimilate. In Hungary, many Jews embraced communist ideology or were deeply attached to the country and the culture. Those few Jews that remained in Poland were deeply committed to renouncing their heritage or were bent on establishing what Charles Hoffman terms a “Jewish Communist” culture based on Yiddish. In Bulgaria, a majority of Jews who survived the war departed en masse for Israel leaving behind only those who were committed to creating a “Jewish Communist” culture in that country.

### **1989–present**

The communist system had ignored ethnic differences in its quest to create the socialist citizen. The disintegration of the communist political system in 1989 left a political and ideological vacuum in Central Europe. The increased economic and political uncertainty led people to come together over what they did have in common, their ethnic identity. The sudden ability of nationalist ethnic groups (i.e., Lithuanians, Latvians, or Estonians) to define for themselves their state and its legal framework led to the Baltic opposite of the old Soviet Russification program. Ethnic Russians were denied citizenship in the newly independent states; language requirements were implemented for some jobs, etc. In Central Europe, minority ethnic groups began agitating for collective rights for their particular groups. Hungarians in Romania looked to the Hungarian government to press their case with the Romanian government while Romanians in Hungary pursued the same path with respect to their position.

It was expected that with the transition from communism to democracy, the old problems of nationalism and ethnicity could be controlled or avoided through rapid transitional political and economic reform programs. Once the lid of communist control was lifted, however, a rash of apparently long-simmering ethnic conflicts surfaced. Perhaps the most obvious conflict arose in Yugoslavia, with Serbian aggression into Bosnia-Herzegovina and the accompanying campaign of “ethnic cleansing” carried out in the name of regional stability. A large proportion of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina is Muslim, a legacy of the domination of the Ottoman Empire, and the Yugoslav conflict had both ethnic and religious overtones.

By 1992 Czechoslovakia had undergone the “velvet divorce,” which was partly justified by the ethnic and national differences between Czechs and Slovaks. In Poland, a resurgence of anti-Semitism has been

particularly troubling, and there have been incidences of violence against the Roma, or gypsies, in all of the Central European countries. In addition, the Yugoslav conflicts have contributed to a rising number of refugees from the Balkans adding to the difficulties of controlling ethnic tensions. Finally, there have been tensions between Hungary and many of its neighbors over Hungarian minorities in Slovakia, Transylvania (Romania), Ukraine, and Vojvodina (Serbia).

The issue of Hungarian communities outside of Hungary has been one of the more problematic challenges facing Central Europe. The largest concentrations of Hungarians outside of Hungary reside in Transylvania, southern Slovakia, and Vojvodina. These clusters of Hungarians are a legacy of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War I. The 1920 Trianon Peace Treaty, by redrawing international boundaries, made one-third of the Hungarian population citizens of other countries. Almost immediately these minority groups became engaged in what would turn out to be a decades-long struggle to achieve educational and cultural rights in their new countries. With the end of the Cold War the Hungarian government began drawing the world's attention to these communities and began campaigns to formalize their rights within the CSCE and through bilateral agreements with the respective countries.

Throughout Central Europe tensions between majority groups and the Roma minority only recently became an item on the states' agendas. As a condition of their admission in 2004 to the European Union, the Central European states created and implemented policies designed to protect the rights of Roma citizens. The Roma have long been the target of ethnic violence and often legalized discrimination in jobs and housing.

The Holocaust and the questions of remaining anti-Semitism have troubled Central Europe for a long time. Increased anti-Semitism in the wake of the collapse of communism has raised the specter of a renewal of increased tensions in the region. Some states, like Poland, are experiencing very little public anti-Semitism primarily because the Polish Jewish population was among the hardest hit by the Holocaust.

Membership in the European Union, achieved in 2004, sped up the passage and implementation of anti-discrimination legislation in the Central European states. The argument has been made that the stability of the new democracies is jeopardized by continued ethnic conflict. However, despite gloomy predictions of a return to the extreme nationalism and ethnic conflicts that characterized the period between World Wars I and II, Central Europe

appears to be finding solutions to old and new sources of ethnic conflict.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations**

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### ETHNIC CONFLICTS: CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia has long been a kaleidoscope of many religions, ethnicities, and national groups. As a result, national identification and ethnic boundaries among the people of Central Asia have always been fluid and manipulated by the state. In fact, one of the most salient features of contemporary Central Asia has been the expansion of the role of the state as an independent variable in shaping the balance of societal forces, including managing competing political, social, and economic claims of ethnic and nationality groups. Many Central Asian countries, which until recently had exercised at best spasmodic control over their own people, have now expanded the reach of the state in order to impose, *inter alia*, a rigid definition of their own "pure" national identities. At the same time, the range of governmental interference has expanded beyond the concern with raising revenues and maintaining order.

Furthermore, the challenge of globalization has accelerated the need to incorporate an ever-increasing number of citizenry, irrespective of one's ethnicity, into the labor pool. One unintended consequence of



globalization in Central Asia has been the rise of socioeconomic demands for ethnic equality and fairness. This, in part, has led to ethnic conflicts among sub-national groups and between the state and various nationalities in almost every country in Central Asia. However, we need to be cautious about overgeneralizing the dangers of ethnic conflicts and chaos in the post-Cold War Central Asia. Complicating the matter is the issue of overlapping identities which, for the most part, reflects the Soviet influence in the region. The Soviet Union traditionally promoted ethnic rivalries and even fostered primordial identities among Central Asia's diverse ethnic groups to advance Moscow's domestic and foreign policy objectives.

We can appreciate the complexities of the current inter- and intra-ethnic conflicts in Central Asia by analyzing some concrete examples. Today, almost 45% of the population of Tajikistan is under the age of fifteen and over 75% of the country's total population lives in rural areas. Since most European-descended residents of Tajikistan live in urban areas, buttressed by large numbers of Uzbek and Kyrgyz urban dwellers, the proportion of native Tajiks residing in rural areas exceeds 80%. According to the 1989 census, some 918,000 Tajiks lived in neighboring Uzbekistan and 72,000 resided in neighboring Kyrgyzstan. This fact alone has created a fluid cultural boundary between Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Kyrgyzs.

Furthermore, Tajikistan may be divided into five distinct regions in terms of socioeconomic development, topography, and to some extent, culture, religion, language, and ethnicity. The regional differences and loyalties have played a decisive role in political strife and regional turmoil in which the country has been involved. The most distinct region, the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast located in southeast Tajikistan in the Pamir mountain range, is, in many ways, the least developed area. Its inhabitants regard themselves as Pamirs, not Tajiks. They speak six languages or dialects belonging to the eastern Iranian linguistic family as distinct from the western Iranian variety spoken by most Tajiks. Unlike the Sunni Tajiks, the Pamirs generally belong to the Ismaili branch of Shia Islam.

The second region, the Leninabad or Khojand district, is the most developed area of Tajikistan and contains a significant Uzbek community. The Dushanbe region and its western Hissar area, the third geographic subdivision, are relatively developed and also contain some Uzbek people. The fourth part, the Garm valley northeast of Dushanbe, is mountainous and agricultural. Religiously, it is the most traditional part of Tajikistan and one of the most conservative

areas in Central Asia. The southern oblasts of Kulab and Kurgan-Teppe, now joined in the Khalton Oblast (the fifth region), are also traditionalists.

Given their configuration, Tajik ethnicity is not well defined. In recent years, some Western and Russian scholars have sought to construct a Tajik identity based on a combination of language and religion. According to this concept, a Tajik is any Sunni Muslim Persian speaker. This definition helps to distinguish Iran's predominantly Shia inhabitants from their Persian-speaking counterparts in Tajikistan, but it fails to pose a clear and cohesive definition of Tajik ethnic identity. Some 8 million people in Afghanistan fit this definition of Tajik identity but have shown little inclination to identify with their brethren to the north politically. Generally, the difficulty of establishing a Tajik identity is the principal obstacle to developing a strong sense of Tajik nationalism among Tajikistan's population. In many respects, this also explains the persistence of a strong regional loyalty that has bedeviled the nation-building process in post-Soviet Tajikistan and elsewhere in Central Asia.

In some respects, many groups in today's Central Asia are victims of Stalin's nationality policy that sought to create distinct ethnic groups based on a presumed common history, language, and territory. Stalin's nationality policy was designed to restructure age-old complex identities that had been formed in Central Asia in order to allow the state to manage conflict between Russian and non-Russian nationalities. Stalin ignored the fact that Central Asia was a multiethnic region with shared overlapping ethnic identities and common Turkic and Persian cultures, especially in literary, academic, and administrative domains. The vast majority of Central Asian people lacked a territorially-based national or ethnic identity. Stalin's policy of artificially creating this type of attachment failed in Tajikistan, partly because he deliberately excluded important parts of Persian-speaking and Tajik-inhabited areas from the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. Two important centers of Persian culture, the cities of Samarkand and Bukara, emerged as parts of Uzbekistan. The isolated capital city of Dushanbe, once the site of a small market, had little attraction for Tajik intellectuals whose absence severely hampered the subsequent development of Tajikistan and contributed to the Tajik-Uzbek tension for years to come.

On the other hand, Uzbeks constitute over 23% of Tajikistan's total population. Owing to a long history of miscegenation, many families have Tajik and Uzbek identities. It is common for some members of a nuclear family to identify themselves as Tajiks and others as Uzbeks. This partly explains the

sensitivities of Uzbekistan to political developments in Tajikistan, and why the Uzbek government has sought to create a friendly protectorate in Tajikistan. We see the same pattern of shifting identities in other places in Central Asia. In Kazakhstan, for example, the large Russian minority has intermingled with the local Kazakhs for decades leading to the creation of a dual Russian-Kazakh ethnicity. Of all the Central Asian countries, Uzbekistan has been the most active practitioner of using its ethnic brethren to advance its influence in other parts of the region. In the case of Kyrgyzstan, the government has provided incentives to its Russian-origin population to reverse their out-migration in order to balance the influence of Uzbek's population in the country.

Islam, especially political Islam, has also been a major source of ethnic conflict in Central Asia. Most Central Asians are Sunni Muslims with varying degrees of religiosity. Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, more than twenty-five thousand mosques functioned in Central Asia. Beginning in 1928, the Soviet government destroyed the overwhelming majority of these mosques. World War II temporarily halted the Soviet destruction of mosques and other houses of worship. In fact, during the War, some mosques were allowed to reopen as Stalin sought to appease the Muslims of Central Asia. From 1959 to 1964, Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, launched the second major concerted assault against Islam in Soviet Central Asia. Despite its brief duration, this period left more devastation than the earlier attacks, as nearly all village mosques throughout the Soviet Union were eliminated. Beginning in 1978, a new rapprochement between the Soviet government and Islam resulted in new mosques being built and a certain revival of Islam permitted in Central Asia. Mikhail Gorbachev's accession meant the onset of *glasnost*, and religious revival as a form of the reassertion of cultural and ethnic identity received a new boost. Throughout these periods, Islam and Islamic identity remained vivid in Central Asia, especially in rural areas.

The vitality of Islam and its persistence as a part of people's identity in Central Asia was partly traceable to the existence of a "parallel" or "nonofficial Islam" in the region. In 1941, the Soviet Union installed an "official clergy" to control the religious activities of its Muslims and to formally recognize their spiritual needs. The disintegration of the Soviet Union led to the demise of the official religious hierarchy and institutions, and many of the Soviet era Muslim religious officials lost their authority. However, some members of the official clergy were able to reassert their authority and reinvent themselves as champions of their national or ethnic communities. For example,

Haji Akbar Turojonzade, the young *Qazi Kalan*, or Grand Qazi, in Dushanbe at the time of Gorbachev's *glasnost*, revived his source of authority independent of the state apparatus, and became one of the influential religious personages in Tajikistan. Turojonzade later emerged as an important member of the political opposition and led the United Tajik Opposition delegation in its negotiations with the government of Tajikistan from 1994 to 1997. Shortly after returning to Dushanbe in February 1998, Turojonzade joined the government as first vice prime minister in charge of Tajikistan's cooperation with the Commonwealth of Independent States, the loosely organized entity that binds the former union republics of the Soviet Union. Tajikistan represents a good example of how political Islam has served as a vehicle for ethnic conflict management by providing the country's diverse groups an inclusive umbrella to resolve their differences. Uzbekistan, on the contrary, has instituted an iron fist policy against the country's religious elements and has suppressed dissent. Thus, political Islam in Uzbekistan has been forced to operate underground and has become radicalized to the detriment of inter-ethnic harmony in the region.

Perhaps the unintended consequence of combating political Islam in Central Asia has been the revival of seemingly nonpolitical Islam in the region. A good example of this development is the popularity of the various Sufi mystical brotherhoods throughout contemporary Central Asia. Two Sufi *tariqa* (brotherhoods)—the Naqshbandi and Qadiri orders—dominated Soviet Islam in Central Asia and the Caucasus. The former was founded in Bukhara in the fourteenth century, while the latter was a twelfth century Baghdad-based order but became important in the Caucasus after the nineteenth century. The Naqshbandi *tariqa* had a long tradition of opposition to Soviet control, and the Sufi masters, or *murshids*, were highly revered by their followers and the general populace. Although these "parallel" Islamic movements are now generally apolitical and socially conservative, they nevertheless have a potential of developing into opponents of Central Asian governments, especially the most repressive ones. Also, since the base of support of these movements is regional, rather than being focused in one country, they can serve as a lightning rod for ethnically based political movements throughout Central Asia.

In general, Central Asia has fared better than many other parts of the so-called Soviet bloc in managing its ethnic conflicts. Notwithstanding its ethnic diversity, its regional rivalries, and its relative underdevelopment, various nationalities, and ethnic communities in the region have coexisted peacefully for the most part. This is largely due to the region's

common history, its tradition of accepting outsiders and outside influences, and accommodating them to their own unique circumstances.

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**See also Afghanistan; Bangladesh; Bhutan; Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Commonwealth of Independent States; India; Iran; Kashmir Dispute; Maldives; Nepal; Pakistan; Sri Lanka; Sufism**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

Stalin's celebrated formula—nationalist in form, socialist in content—seemed to many of his followers (as well as to some who were not) a brilliantly successful solution to the problems posed by nationalities in conflict. In the USSR, Soviet identity came to take precedence over any other. This seemed true to such a

seamless degree that when Mikhail Gorbachev (1985–1991) initiated Perestroika he was genuinely taken aback by the irruption of nationalism which took place on home ground as well as in Eastern Europe. The evolution of socialist society had made such manifestations redundant, or so it was thought. Even more unexpected was the emergence of interethnic hatred, a phenomenon last witnessed during the Second World War.

To Gorbachev's astonishment it reappeared in February 1988. This is when the Armenians in High Karabakh (a mountainous enclave of less than two hundred thousand people inside Azerbaijan) declared its borders (drawn up artificially under Stalin) as invalid. Their intent to make the territory a part of Armenia was greeted by a fury of killings by both Azeris and Armenians, which began in the industrial town of Sumgait near the Caspian Sea. In the next two years, the bloodshed turned into something between an insurgency and war. Azerbaijan refused to surrender High Karabakh, and turned against Moscow too when Soviet troops fired on nationalist crowds in Baku early in 1990. Moscow was thought to favor the Armenians because they were fellow-Christians: Armenians for their part tended to believe that Moscow surreptitiously supported the Azeris because of their oil.

Georgians, although Orthodox Christian too, were also tempted to remember ancient wrongs, particularly the way in which the Red Army at Stalin's urging stamped out their independence at the end of the Civil War in 1921. In April 1989, strikes and demonstrations in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital, called for a return to the country's independent status and were promptly broken up with shovels wielded lethally by the security forces. More than a dozen Georgians were killed, their bodies being laid out on the capital's main street and covered solemnly with flowers.

In the same year, there were riots in Central Asia, when Uzbek gangs assaulted and killed Meshketian Turks of Georgia, who had been deported to Uzbekistan in 1944, the year in which Stalin had several nationalities in the Caucasus rounded up by Beria and Abakumov. In 1990, a massacre of Uzbeks by Kirgiz occurred in and near Osh, the second city of Kirgizia; but the Russia Federation's most serious locus of ethnic strife turned out to be Chechnya.

### The First Chechen War

The tiny Autonomous Republic of Chechnya-Ingushetia was formed in 1934, and by the 1990s had a population of about nine hundred thousand

indigenous people as well as about three hundred thousand Slavs, most of them Russians. Chechens could not forget or forgive the treatment they received at the hands of the NKVD (Soviet Secret Police) at the end of the Second World War. Accused of collaborating with the German occupying forces, male Chechens were dispatched in freight wagons to eastern islets of the Gulag Archipelago, where their courageous conduct in standing up to the brutality and indignities of the camp guards was praised by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his famous book.

The moment for revenge dawned under the charismatic leadership of General Jokhar Dudaev (1949–1991), a Chechen who served in the Soviet strategic Air Command. While stationed in Estonia, Dudaev came to admire the Estonian struggle for independence, and in 1991–1992 he declared separation from the new Russia of Boris Yeltsin (1991–1999) as well as from Ingushetia. Dudaev's nationalism did not take the Baltic form. The street names in downtown Grozny, the Chechen capital, retained their Cyrillic nomenclature, but Dudaev did assert his new-found Islamic identity. So did most of his comrades who had previously been considered Soviet and therefore free of religious contagion.

Yeltsin for his part (when he ousted Gorbachev from power at the end of December 1991) had allowed the union republics to fall away from the USSR, inviting them in a generous moment, to help themselves to sovereignty. The Commonwealth of Independent States that replaced the Soviet Union was seen as a free association of ex-Soviet republics with few spelled out commitments; but Yeltsin's view of the Russian Federation over which he presided was very different. The 1992 Federation Treaty (which Chechnya and Tatarstan did not sign) bound together eighty-nine territorial units. Of these fifty-seven were largely Russian provinces and other units and thirty-two autonomous republics and regions.

Given this complex patchwork, Yeltsin feared an unraveling effect on the so-called autonomous republics within the Federation if he allowed Chechnya to secede. He sent in airborne units to quell separatism; and when this did not work, he tried negotiation and other tactics. In December 1994, the distrust and mutual provocations turned into the First Chechen War.

Forty thousand troops entered Chechnya through Ingushetia, and the bombing and battering received by the towns and villages reminded television viewers of the horrors of the Second World War. Although the capital was captured in January 1995, the "uprising" could not be crushed. Chechens fought a guerrilla war they believed in on familiar terrain. Russian troops, on the other hand, were largely conscripts

whose conventional tactics and poor pay and training resulted in the loss of some eighty thousand to one hundred thousand lives. This is four times the number of losses the USSR sustained in the Afghan war. What made the Chechen war even more bitter was the fact that the massacres and atrocities were not confined to Chechnya itself. In 1995 Chechens kidnapped about one hundred hostages in the south Russian town of Budennovsk. A Chechen raid on Russian-held Kizlyar followed this in 1996.

In light of all these reverses and casualties it is not surprising that the Duma passed a no-confidence motion on Yeltsin, and even officers who had earlier supported the war joined the anti-war chorus. On the Chechen side the greatest loss was the death of General Dudaev in April 1996, when a Russian missile homed in on his cell phone. In August General Alexander Lebed (who had supported Yeltsin during the attempted Communist coup three years earlier) was dramatically sent off to Chechnya to work out a peace treaty with Dudaev's feuding successors. It was finally agreed to postpone the insoluble issue of Chechen independence for another five years. But the legacy of hatred and suspicion failed to fade away, being kept alive in Moscow by the presence of Chechen crime gangs. In 1999, the war broke out anew, this time under the aegis of a young president in whose favor Boris Yeltsin had resigned at the end of that year.

## The Second Chechen War

The second Chechen war began in September, and it seemed at first to boost President Vladimir Putin's popularity. After an eight-week siege, Russian Federation forces were able to occupy the Chechen capital again, but in the process Grozny was largely destroyed. Among the casualties were the city's remaining Russian-speaking inhabitants who, unlike the Chechens, were unable to escape to the hills. Their timely evacuation was not—or could not be—considered. Putin's prosecution of the war (which he was told by his advisers would quickly end) had substantial backing. At the beginning of the year 2000, close to a quarter of the public supported it. But in the following year this slipped to 7%.

What seemed like a victorious war, won by impressive conventional onslaughts with artillery, tanks, and air power, soon came to remind the public of Afghanistan. There too a conventional Soviet war had turned into an insurgency which the Red Army was not trained to fight. President Putin's refusal to abandon Chechnya, however, is not difficult to

explain since it reflected Yeltsin's earlier fear of the "Yugoslavization" of Russia. With the flame of Moslem fundamentalism ignited in the Caucasus, it could catch fire on the Volga and pass on to Tatarstan, the worst-case scenario being the fragmentation of the Russian Federation into independent and belligerent republics of which Chechnya would be the first.

### **Chechnya and September 11, 2001**

Putin was convinced that the bombing of Moscow apartment houses in 1999 was carried out by Chechen terrorists (and not, as some Muscovites believed, by Russian security forces, doing their utmost to justify a new war). These convictions of Putin's were instrumental in shaping his attitude to the events of September 11, 2001. The Russian president was the first foreign leader to call President George W. Bush to express his sympathy and condolences. On September 22, he went further still by meeting the leaders of his armed forces on the Black Sea, where he won their support for America's war on terrorism. At Putin's behest Russian air space was opened to US airplanes in prosecuting that war, and he used Russian influence in the Central Asian republics to permit American use of the Russian Federation's facilities in pursuit of American anti-terrorist aims in Afghanistan.

As a result of all this, the Chechen war came to be seen in a different light in the United States. Putin had all along claimed that the Chechen conflict was inspired not by a quasi-legitimate national movement for independence (as most Europeans believed) but by traditional banditry and barbarism, sustained by Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism.

The US government, given its own experiences in the second war with Saddam Hussein's Iraq, came to be far more sympathetic to this view, as a result of which American media coverage of the conflict in the Caucasus (for the most part unfavorable to Moscow) changed. In fact, atrocities continued to be committed on both sides.

Nor did international organizations cease their criticism of Russian military and security forces for their human rights violations. Hostage taking, abductions, torture, executions of both civilians and military or quasi-military personnel as well as of journalists, and looting became regular features of the conflict, marked too by the daily disappearance of Chechens suspected by Russian officers of working with the terrorists. The election in October 2003 of Ahmed Kadyrov as Chechen president, who enjoyed Putin's backing and formed his own militia to protect

his supporters, did little to put a stop to this violence. Indeed, half a year later Kadyrov was assassinated in a bomb attack which demonstrated again that despite the detention camps and massive Russian outlays in munitions and armaments, not only was Chechnya ungovernable, but the insurgency had developed ties with Islamic terrorism which could not be controlled.

Some such realization first dawned on Muscovites in 2000 and 2001 when bombs were set off in a subway station and then in a pedestrian tunnel, killing eight people and injuring twenty. Then, in October 2002, at a Moscow theater staging a popular musical, a large group of Chechen men was joined by "black widows"—a female contingent who had come to avenge their missing relatives. The entire audience was taken hostage.

The Chechens promised to start killing their hostages at the end of three days. To prevent this, special forces surprised both the Chechens and the hostages by pumping a gas into the auditorium. This certainly disabled the Chechens, some of whom were finished off by commandos in gas masks who stormed the theatre. But due to the effects of the gas—the name of which was kept secret from the medical personnel called in to help—many more hostages died than Chechens, i.e., more than a hundred.

The horrors continued. In July 2003, also in Moscow, two "black widows" blew up seventeen young people at a rock concert (as well as themselves). At the end of the year, another "black widow" blew herself up in front of the National Hotel, which faces the Kremlin. Five other people were killed. In February 2004, there was a suicide bombing inside a crowded subway car. Some forty people were killed and more than a hundred injured.

The most savage killing occurred not far from Chechnya's borders in September 2004, at an Ossetian school in Beslan. With the help of an Ingush carpenter who had helped hide explosives inside the school during the summer, Chechen terrorists blew up the school gymnasium in response (so it was claimed) to an emotional incursion by fathers trying to save their sons and daughters. Of the more than three hundred and fifty people who died, more than half were children. Millions witnessed this particular horror. Television cameramen were at the scene from almost the beginning of the gruesome crisis.

Yet despite the atrocities of the Chechen conflict, the breakup of the Soviet Union, which resulted in the appearance of fifteen independent states, was surprisingly peaceful. The inter-republic wars many had predicted did not occur. Nor is it likely that Ukraine's Orange Revolution of January 2005 will bring that prospect closer. The Chechen wars, the roots of which

can be traced to tsarist colonial expansion in the nineteenth century, represent a struggle within the Russian Federation itself rather than one between the Federation and another newly created republic. It is also worth noting that Russian troops—except in the case of Chechnya—have not played a major role in any of the ethnic conflicts previously described. In the fighting between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh Gorbachev tried to be fair to both sides. Nor is the more recent (and successful) rebellion of the Abkhazians against Georgia one in which the presence of Russian troops decided the outcome. Russian interventions have been marginal and are in the future more likely to be economic in nature, rather than military (as in the Chechen case).

VALENTIN BOSS

**See also Armenia; Azerbaijan; Belarus; Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations; Georgia; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Moldova; Russia; Tajikistan; Turkmenistan; Ukraine; Uzbekistan**

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#### ETHNIC CONFLICTS: EAST AFRICA

East Africa is usually considered the area between the Indian ocean and Central Africa, bordering with Somalia, Ethiopia, and Sudan on the north, Great Lakes in the west, and Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia on the south. There we see a variety of languages, cultures, and historical experiences. Probably

the only reliable criterion to detach the region is the spread of the Swahili (or Kiswahili—a form mixed with the Arab language) group of languages. Included within the linguistic rubric of Swahili is an entire diverse and heterogeneous region. Swahili is both the native tongue of a specific people—“the Swahili”—and a lingua franca spoken by more than 50 million people throughout the region. This language is one the few lingua francas among the more than one thousand languages spoken on the African continent, and therefore one of the most widely used. Countries that primarily make up the Swahili-speaking region are Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. The Swahili-speaking area also extends into southern Somalia, eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, and parts of northern Mozambique as well as the Comoros Islands. Geographically, the region is prominent with its magnificent physical features—the two highest mountains in Africa, Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya, the biggest lake in Africa, Nyanza—also known as Lake Victoria—the source of the longest river in Africa—Nile. The region is also famous for its wildlife reserves, located at the Serengeti and Ngorongoro crater in Tanzania and Masai Mara in Kenya. Instability and clashes, however, not only reduces prospects for international tourism, but seriously endangers these natural treasures. Many anthropologists locate here one of the primary sources of the human civilization over 2 million years ago.

Pre-colonial East Africa has been politically important with the several large kingdoms dominating regional affairs. Two of them—the Kingdoms of Uganda, and of Rwanda—now constitute the core of the modern nation-states, respectively, of Uganda and Rwanda. The coastal regions' powerful city-states brokered trade between the interior and the Indian Ocean. Extensive trade networks penetrated the region and linked together various people, reaching deeply inside of Central Africa and eastward across ocean as far as India. At various times the esteemed trade items were gold, ivory, gems, slaves, salt, and foodstuffs, especially spices grown in Zanzibar. Swahili and Arabic-speaking merchants were interacting for at least one thousand years, and thus Islam was brought to the shores of East Africa. Politically, the region is known for its arrangements that generally prevented well known elsewhere in Africa military coups d'état and military regimes. Kenya and Tanzania created relatively stable polities that survived shakings following the departure of historical leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta and J. K. Nyerere. African socialism Ujamaa system created by Mwalimu Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, avoided extremities and rigidity of the Soviet- and Maoist-based quasi communist regimes.

This region also became known for its hospitality to refugees and other politically deprived. It was known for its involvement in the fight against apartheid in South Africa and for providing refugee facilities for freedom fighters from Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola. More recently it has appreciated refugees from Rwanda, the Sudan, and Somalia.

In the same time East Africa was the stage of the one of largest-scale wars in the post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, that between Tanzania and Uganda. It was not spared of sparkling ethnic conflicts. Scarce and unequal access to natural resources and power, inadequate state structures, ethnic mistrust and ethnocentrism, border tensions and proliferation of illicit arms into the hands of tribal chiefs, warlords, and fellow tribesmen are among the causes of many other inter-ethnic conflicts in the region. Among the other, East Africa endured within less than a century change of several colonial powers—Belgian, British, German, as well as the Portuguese and Italian. As elsewhere in Africa, these colonial powers have settled borders between colonies—inherited later by the independent states there—without reference to the distribution of territory among local tribes and ethnicities. This left a potential for territorial disputes and clashes.

Cattle rustling and land clashes are the main, often underestimated, manifestation of conflicts in Kenya, Tanzania, and other countries in the region. In response to the cattle rustling menace that has ravaged the vast and rugged region, indigenous communities have elaborated and institutionalized mechanisms of resolving intra- and inter-community conflicts whether. The elders in the involved communities form a dominant component of these traditional mechanisms of conflict management. They command authority that makes them effective in maintaining peaceful relationships and community way of life. They control resources, marital relations, and networks that go beyond the clan boundaries, ethnic identity, and generations. The elders are believed to hold and control supernatural powers reinforced by belief in superstitions and witchcraft. This shapes basis of the legitimacy of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms amongst the pastoralists.

Such traditional structures are, however, considered as archaic, barbarian, and thus they lack a place in the modernity. As a result, governments fail to appreciate, collaborate, and complement the traditional methods of resolving conflicts. Instead, there should be enhanced collaboration and networking between the government and customary institutions of governance. Official authorities should recognize and support how customary courts enforce their

rulings. The elders should be trained in modern methods of arbitration and at minimum, traditional mechanisms of conflict management should be more sensitive to the universally accepted principles of human rights.

The regional problem of illicit arms that has scaled up the severity and frequency of cattle raids should be addressed by the governments in the region. These arms have also sneaked in the veiled aspect of commercialization of cattle raids in the region. Pastoralists are no longer raiding to replenish their stocks especially after periods of severe drought and animal diseases, but are increasingly raiding to enrich themselves by engaging in trade of stolen livestock. This aspect has overwhelmed traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and should be addressed.

This region already knows a relatively brief, but devastating war between Uganda and Tanzania in 1978–1979. During the eight years of his rule, Ugandan dictatorial president-for-life, Idi Amin, expelled all Asians, killed thousands of tribespeople and Christians, and excessively built up his army. As a result of defections and executions, by 1978 Amin's circle of close associates narrowed significantly. Hoping to divert attention from his internal troubles, in October 1978, Amin sent troops still loyal to him to invade Tanzanian territory. He accused his perennial enemy, Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere, of waging war against Uganda. President Nyerere reacted with sending an army, reinforced by Ugandan exiles who had fled their homeland to escape Amin's tyrannical rule, and united as the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), across the border into Uganda. The Ugandan Army retreated steadily, expending much of its energy by looting along the way. Tanzania and the UNLA surrounded the Ugandan capital of Kampala, but were halted briefly by a three thousand-strong Libyan force that had come to fellow Muslim Amin's aid. Kampala was captured in April 1979, and Amin fled by air, first to Libya and later to a permanent exile at Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, leaving behind an impoverished Uganda and a brutalized people. The war cost Tanzania an estimated \$1 million US dollars per day.

The bloodiest among ethnic conflicts in the region is the one between the Tutsi (known also as Batutsi or Vatusi) and Hutu. Ethnic tension between the Hutu and Tutsi tribal groups has centuries old record. A pre-colonial feud between the Hutu and Tutsi was based principally on a basic contradiction between the agriculture and cattle-breeding, and social interchanges between the two groups remained uncongealed. The Hutu are generally shorter than the Tutsi, have darker skin and tend to be farmers, while the Tutsi are generally herdsmen. Both the German and Belgian colonial rulers favored the

Tutsis for positions of local power. This severely prompted processes of increasing ethnic distrust, anxiety, and hatred. The Hutu “revolt” of 1959 led to Rwandan independence in 1962, which, however, led to further divisions, ethnic segregation, and discrimination. Existing ethnic rifts were then exacerbated by such significant factors as the scarcity of land, the civil war, structural alignments, decline of the coffee prices at world markets, Rwanda’s position as a landlocked country with limited prospects for economic diversification, and an implicated and hostile governmental regime. Ethnic rivalries in the mountains of East Africa have claimed the lives of millions of Africans. When Rwanda’s and Burundi’s Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira died in a plane crash in the skies above Kigali on April 6, 1994, this triggered violence that had clutched the country for the past more than three years. Many experts in the region now believe a Hutu extremist shot down the plane. A French investigation points at the current President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, as directly involved in the plot. Between April and August of 1994, this accumulated tension turned into one of the most terrible acts of genocide of the twentieth century. More than 1 million people, primarily Tutsi, were killed, and 2 million forced into exile. The roots of this tragedy are exceptionally complicated, involving environmental scarcity, overpopulation, poverty, victimization, and ineffective, corrupt governmental policies. However, the inherited burden of severe ethnic cleavage and animosity certainly played a meaningful role. Ethnic tensions in the region continue, though most Hutu and Tutsis had returned to their homes by 1997.

One of the most important questions that has been asked frequently since the resultant genocide is, “Could this tragedy have been prevented?” Most atrocities seem impossible to imagine until they actually happen. Nevertheless, there might be warning signals that should be acknowledged and acted upon in the interests of preventing the eruption of similar conflicts and tragedies in the future.

Renewed fighting in 2004–2005 among various groups in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo in areas close to the border with Uganda, has triggered new influx of refugees. Fighting in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo is cleaving open a bloody front in a long-standing ethnic conflict in Africa’s Great Lakes region. The battle for Bukavu implicate politicised disputes over a national Congolese army formed under a peace deal to end one of Africa’s worst ever wars. The renewed fighting is essentially an extension of the ethnic struggle between Hutus and Tutsis. This conflict covers already four neighbor states—Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda. The bitterest

national enmity is between Congo and Rwanda’s Tutsi-led government, which twice invaded its massive neighbor, in 1996 and 1998, accusing Congo of not doing enough to control Hutu militia known as Interahamwe who fled to eastern Congo’s mountains and jungles after leading the 1994 genocide. Years of warfare polarized the two governments on opposite sides of the Great Lakes ethnic fault line, with both supporting proxy fighting forces in the conflict in eastern Congo, where local ethnic Tutsis are known as Banyamulenge.

Rwanda backed Congo’s main rebel movement in a five-year war, leaving 3 million people dead, mainly from hunger and disease. Congolese President Joseph Kabila accused Rwanda of helping the renegades. Rwanda denied the accusation, but warned that it would “play its role in opposing genocide.” This recent fighting in North Kivu between former rebels-turned-government soldiers and former Mayi-Mayi militias, integrated into the Congolese national army, proved once again that tension in the region continues. Analysts say mineral riches, which include gold and diamonds, are a major draw for containing forces in the war, complicating any conflict in the area.

An additional aspect that proves to be a menace for the region are crucial aspects of political change, ethnic conflict, and conflict regulation in the larger region around the Horn of Africa, with the interplay of ethno-regionalism, religious identity, and elite power politics in the context of growing international or global pressures (political, economic, and cultural) furnishes such concomitant factor. It comes with another source of refugees from war-torn areas in southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, arms smuggling, and armed gangs’ proliferation. This complicates situation in Eastern Africa and puts under severe ordeal otherwise resource-poor capacity of the region to cope with challenges.

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**See also African Development Bank; African Monetary Fund (AfMF); Amin, Idi; Burundi; Congo, Democratic Republic of; Congo, Republic of the; East African Community; East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Ethiopia; Ethnicity: Impact on Politics and Society; Kenya; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Rwanda; Sudan; Tanzania; Uganda**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: EAST ASIA

### Historical Background

In terms of geopolitics, one of the most important developments in continental eastern Asia in recent centuries was the expansion of China at the expense of several other countries. During the last ethnically Chinese dynasty (the Ming, 1368–1644), China was confined to what we might call “China Proper,” that is the ethnic Han (Chinese) areas. When the Manchus swept down from their homeland north of Korea and overran China Proper in 1644, they then kept marching until several other countries were incorporated into their empire. The Republic of China (founded in 1912) laid claim to most of the old Manchu-controlled territories. However, it was able to directly control few of the non-Han lands, and was forced to give up its claim to Mongolia Proper (“Outer Mongolia”), retaining only Inner Mongolia.

### China Under Communism

The People’s Republic of China (PRC, established in 1949) was able to realize control over virtually all of the territory that the old Republic had claimed, except

Taiwan (where the Republic was perpetuated). The non-Han areas have been administered according to a variant version of Leninist ethnic principles. That is, the state is structured in such a way as to give these territories nominal autonomy, but the Chinese Communist Party (in which the real power usually resides) has been strictly centralized and dominated by Hans.

Altogether, on Mainland China there are fifty-four officially recognized minorities, with a population of over one hundred million people, occupying about 60% of the PRC. Sometimes, ethnic designations were created precisely to permit the Chinese to handle ethnic issues their way. Thus, China’s largest ethnic minority, the Zhuang, is essentially an artificial construct. Some minorities have never been officially recognized. In a few cases, the Chinese have practiced divide-and-rule. Thus, for example, more than half of ethnographic Tibet was carved off and assigned to various Chinese provinces. Although the Chinese have been able to hold all of this together, the system they created has given rise to tremendous tensions.

Depending on the political winds, ethnic groups are usually granted some *cultural* autonomy. (There is no meaningful *political* autonomy, and self-determination is out of the question.) But even cultural autonomy has its limits. Many of the ethnic groups are deeply religious, which sets up an immediate contradiction with the atheistic Communist rulers. Although certain “patriotic” religious groups are officially permitted, members of the Communist Party are required to eschew religion. In the case of devoutly Buddhist Tibet, during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) Red Guards and others ran roughshod, destroying the vast majority of temples, and killing many people. Today the Tibetans comprise an occupied nation, with virtually everyone longing for the return of their exiled leader, the Dalai Lama.

Ten of China’s ethnic groups adhere to Islam: Hui, Uyghur, Kazakh, Donxiang, Salar, Bonan, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Uzbek, and Tatar. Aside from the issue of religion, the Hui are closest to the Chinese in language and culture. Most speak Chinese and are scattered around the PRC; they often live in harmony with the Hans. However, the Hui comprise a complex mosaic, and ethnic conflicts are not uncommon. For example, in 2004, in Henan Province fighting, sparked by a motor vehicle accident, broke out between Hans and Hui, the latter soon aided by brethren from other parts of the country. Unofficial reports of the number killed ranged from a dozen to 150. Ten thousand anti-riot and military police were required to restore an uneasy peace. The event was widely reported abroad, but there was no mention of it in the Chinese media, which is tightly controlled, especially when it comes to sensitive ethnic issues.

Uyghur-Han relations are even more problematic. The Turkic Uyghurs occupy a discrete territory, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which some would prefer to call Eastern Turkestan. Since 1949, there have been at least ten serious clashes, and more than a hundred minor ones. Those who would be rid of Han domination are deemed criminally subversive. In 1994, the authorities variously identified sixty counterrevolutionary Uyghur organizations, and in 1999, there were said to be sixty-eight underground organizations. When caught, such dissidents are subject to long prison terms and sometimes are executed. Some independence advocates have sought asylum abroad (especially in Turkey, Germany, North America, and the countries of the former Soviet Union), where they continue to press their cause. The “cause,” for moderates, means achieving genuine autonomy within, and for radicals it means to emulate the world’s other seven Turkic countries as a sovereign state, theirs to be based on Muslim law and traditions.

Even though birth control policies are somewhat more relaxed for ethnic minorities like the Uyghurs compared to Hans, demographics do not favor ethnic minorities such as the Uyghurs. Pursuant to China’s “Go West” campaign, there is a continuing influx of Hans into Xinjiang from other parts of the PRC. Uyghurs now comprise only 47% of Xinjiang’s population, down from about 90% in the 1940s. This is a trend that breeds considerable resentment. However, the international “war on terror” has provided China some cover in waging its own struggle against China’s Uyghurs and other Moslem militants.

The half of greater Mongolia that is not part of the Republic of Mongolia (the designation dates from 1992) is comprised of a truncated version of Inner Mongolia, known officially as the “Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region” of China. Although the area now appears relatively stable, during China’s Cultural Revolution it saw worse interracial carnage than any place else in the PRC. Inner Mongols were caught up in the conflict between China and the then pro-Soviet Mongol People’s Republic. Their loyalty was often doubted, and people were subject to systematic screening. By official reckoning, sixteen thousand Inner Mongols lost their lives. Following the Cultural Revolution, Han-Mongol conflict continued, and 1981 saw large-scale protests over such issues as Han immigration. Following the democratization of Outer Mongolia in 1990, several nationalist-democratic movements sprang up in Inner Mongolia, only to be repressed by the Chinese. With the recent conversion of “leagues” to “municipalities,” many Inner Mongols appear to be losing even nominal autonomy.

In the various ethnic regions, Hans, though usually a minority of the local population, occupies key

positions. Party secretaries have almost always been Han, though the government is sprinkled with token ethnics. Hans also tend to obtain the best jobs. For example, in the television station in Xinjiang’s capital, more than 90% of the employees have been Hans. Furthermore, upward mobility for indigenous peoples is generally dependent upon their proficiency in Mandarin. Local cultures tend to atrophy under such circumstances.

Most non-Hans do not receive a Chinese education, and those who do not tend to end up in poverty. Twenty of China’s twenty-five poorest counties are in Xinjiang. Much of Tibet is also impoverished, and child malnutrition is a serious problem. Often, these areas are rich in natural resources, but the locals derive little benefit from their exploitation. Furthermore, China’s notorious corruption is especially prevalent in non-Han areas; Hans appear to be the beneficiaries. All of these factors breed consternation and fuel inter-ethnic hostility.

The quality of life and people’s incomes have been adversely affected by environmental degradation. This is not entirely the fault of the Han, though they are the ones in a position to institute better stewardship of the land. In Inner Mongolia, grassland degradation has caused serious sandstorms and fodder shortages. The Chinese response has been to close numerous pastures so that they can recover ecologically. Hundreds of thousands of Mongol herders have been resettled in suburban areas, much to their resentment. In Xinjiang, Qinghai, and western Inner Mongolia, atomic weapons programs appear to have negatively impacted the health of the locals. The same may be true of China’s Xinjiang-based experiments in bacteriological weapons. Ethnic minorities resent these harmful activities, which they believe the Hans would never carry out in their own areas.

The history of these regions is usually written by Hans, who adhere closely to ethnocentric Chinese interpretations. According to this view, these were all backward peoples who were liberated by the Chinese around 1949, and any progress since is due to the Communist Party. Non-Han scholars and journalists suggest other interpretations at their peril. Many Uyghur books have been banned and destroyed. In Tibet, entry to the Tibetan Department of the main university was suspended for two years in 1995 so that all textbooks could be reissued with less emphasis on religion and especially on the Dalai Lama. Since 2002, several books, including a major encyclopedia of Tibetan history and culture, have been banned for such reasons as having failed to properly convey the Party’s policy on religion and nationalities, and overstating Tibet’s cultural distinctiveness.

Resistance in Xinjiang tends to be violent. An incident typically begins with a shooting or bombing, attributed to a Uyghur. Then there is a crackdown by the Chinese, with many arrests and some executions. For example, after one incident in 2004, fifty people were sentenced to death for “separatist” and “terrorist” activities. Sometimes retribution is even more swift, with indiscriminate shootings of demonstrators and bystanders, and extra-judicial executions.

By comparison, since the mid-1970s, resistance in Tibet has generally been non-violent. The Chinese reaction has been more targeted, with the arrest and long-term imprisonment of dissidents (usually monks and nuns). Resistance has often taken the form of political ritual (the “circle of protest” around the main temple in Lhasa), that earns it considerable legitimacy in the eyes of the international community, where the Tibetan diaspora calls attention to the Tibetans’ cause.

Still, it should be said that not all ethnic minorities are dissatisfied with their situation. The ethnic Koreans in the Northeast, for example, have a higher standard of living and education level than the Hans, and are hardly sorry that fate did not render them citizens of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK). To be sure, during the Cultural Revolution they often faced persecution (and some even fled to the DPRK). But today, the main Korean victims of Chinese repression are the undocumented refugees from North Korea.

### Taiwan, Korea, and Mongolia

Taiwan has an aboriginal minority (about 2% of the population) comprising twelve different tribes, all of Austronesian origin. They often live in the mountainous area of eastern Taiwan. The Hans themselves, depending on one’s interpretation of the situation, may be deemed to be comprised of different ethnic groups. The “native Taiwanese” (who came from China centuries ago but speak the language of southern Fujian province) are in the majority; they were once discriminated against, and sometimes brutally repressed, by the Mainlanders, who ruled the island after 1945. There has been a debate about whether the Taiwanese are the same ethnic group as the Hans, or whether cultural factors and the fact that many have some aboriginal blood make a difference. With the advent of democracy in the early 1990s, relations among the various groups have improved, but the Taiwanese and Mainlanders tend to vote for different parties. Among the indisputable Hans, there is a Hakka minority, who have had considerable success

in gaining recognition and legitimacy for their distinct culture. Virtually all islanders speak Mandarin in addition to any native tongues. Thus, Taiwan today enjoys reasonably harmonious inter-ethnic relations, except, of course, when it comes to the cross-straits relationship.

Korea is mono-ethnic. The tensions on the peninsula are between north and south, with ethnicity not a fundamental problem. Still, the thousands of North Korean refugees who have managed to immigrate to South Korea find themselves in an alien culture, and few are able to make the adjustment to life in the South. The even larger (but unknown) number of Korean Chinese there, though sometimes targets of discrimination, are somewhat more able to adjust. They are often in the country illegally, though there has been pressure from them and from many South Koreans to grant them citizenship. Unlike Korean Chinese, Koreans who left South Korea after 1948 (usually to go to the United States) have virtually the same rights as Korean citizens. The courts have ruled that this form of discrimination is unconstitutional. However, discrimination against Korean Chinese continues, and the legal distinction between older and newer migrants has yet to be resolved.

The Republic of Mongolia comprises only about half of Greater Mongolia. Greater Mongolia actually has numerous ethnic Mongol subgroups, mainly the Halh (who predominate in the Republic), Buryats and Kalmyks (in Russia), groups falling under the rubric of Övör Mongol (Inner Mongolia), and various other Oirat groups elsewhere in China (Xinjiang and Qinghai). To some extent these designations have long cultural roots, but to an even larger extent they have been defined by great-nation geopolitics and socialist experimentation. Although today these sub-ethnic distinctions have strong emotive force (centering on the issue of Mongolian authenticity), they give rise to little outright intra-Mongol conflict, as most Mongols are more concerned with protecting their identity as Mongols vis à vis the Russians or Chinese.

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**See also Buddhism; East Asia: History and Economic Development; East Asia: International Relations; Hong Kong; Islam; Macao; Mao Zedong; Minorities/Discrimination; Mongolia; Self-Determination; Taiwan; Terrorism; Tibet**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

As a result of the Spanish Conquest in the sixteenth century, the Indian population of the Americas was greatly diminished: from 80 million in 1492 to 3.5 million in 1750. Genocide against Indians is continued today, e.g., in Paraguay, Guatemala, and Brazil. Indians were also subjected to slavery and forced submission.

Some Mexican Indian groups, mainly in the South, were able to maintain pre-conquest self-government. In Central America, where the subjugation was concentrated on the more accessible lands along the western coast, indigenous groups on the Caribbean side either remained out of reach for the Spanish colonizers or resisted them.

### Amerindian Struggles for Autonomy, Recognition, and Social Justice

There were several cases of armed ethnic conflict in Mexico and Central America: The Kuna in Panama in 1927, the Miskitu and Sumu in Nicaragua 1981–1987, the indigenous peoples of Chiapas beginning in 1994, the Popular Revolutionary Army EPR-EZLN in Guerrero and Oaxaca since June 1996, and the URNG (1960–1996). All of these groups attained some degree of autonomy, recognition, or political reforms.

The organic mixture of ethno-nationalist and Indian issues with left-wing politics is characteristic for most of these movements. The ethnic conflict of the Indian vs. Hispanic oligarchy and state is also a class conflict: the Indian population is synonymous with

the most impoverished and suppressed section of the population. The main aim of the EZLN, URNG, and EPR was to do away with the absolute power of the small class of (land) owners. The low level of support for the political and institutional system among the Indians reflects the humiliation and general neglect they continue to suffer.

### Root Causes of Conflict, Hybrid Identity, and Racism

The root cause of conflict is the (neo-) colonial mission of spreading *Hispanidad*, a hybrid European-type of civilization. It included the idea of centralizing power and aimed at erecting homogenous nation states, based on assimilation of non-Hispanic groups. But in reality there is no single homogenous nation-state existing in Central America. Recognizing multiplicity would consequently lead to a relationship of mutual respect between Ladinos, Indians, and Blacks in Latin America. But instead the endless search for a so-called “national identity” became the permanent project of the ruling classes in Latin America.

Structural and institutionalized racism in Central American states and in Mexico is based on a doctrine of Ladino superiority and “Indio” inferiority. The militarization of state and society was a strategic objective which was defined, planned, and executed institutionally by the security forces (in Guatemala) or jointly with paramilitary gangs (Mexico). In Guatemala indigenous populations suffered genocidal politics exercised by the small ruling oligarchy through the armed forces, regardless of the form of governance (military or civilian).

### Guatemalan Genocide Against the Mayans 1962–1996

Counter-insurgency against leftist guerrilla forces (EGP, Rebel Armed Forces [FAR], Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms [ORPA], URNG) imposed “total war” on the Indian peoples. Mayan Indians made up a large part of the guerrilla force. In 1996, after internal armed conflict for thirty-six years, the guerrillas signed a peace accord after a long negotiation process. But the accomplishments of the accords remained very limited. Despite the documentation in the 1999 report of the Guatemalan Truth Commission of atrocities committed by the armed forces 1962–1996, the gravity of the abuses suffered by Indian people has yet to become part of

the national consciousness. Massacres eliminated entire Mayan rural communities as well as the urban political opposition; Ladinos were also oppressed, though to a lesser extent. During the final period, 1986–1996, repressive action affected the Mayan and Ladino population to a similar extent. One of the chief organizers of the Guatemalan genocide, general Rios Montt, became president of parliament and so far enjoys impunity.

### Minority and Majority Indian Populations at the Edge

Population numbers for non-Mestizos depend on who is counting them and based on what criteria. Governments tend to minimize numbers while some indigenous organizations inflate them. Mexico has by far the largest Amerindian population in the Americas, with forty-eight indigenous groups numbering 30 million of its total population of over 100 million.

Within the seven Central American states of Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama are over fifty indigenous nations and nationalities with a population of 9 million people. In Guatemala, native nations (Maya-Quiché peoples) constitute a 50% majority of the 14-million population. The other five countries have a combined population of 25 million people of which 2 million are Amerindians and 1.5 million are Afro-Americans.

The majority of the Indian peoples of Mesoamerica are **Mayan**, who are mostly small-scale peasants. Their epicentre is Southern Mexico and the *altiplano* of Guatemala, but Mayan peoples live throughout Mexico and Guatemala as well as Belize, El Salvador, and Honduras. The single largest Indian group in Mexico is the Aztec in central and Southern Mexico, numbering 1.2 million people. Other major peoples include the Zapotec, Otomi, Mixtec, Totonac, and Mazatec, all numbering between two hundred thousand and five hundred thousand.

**Pipil** and **Lenca** (probably 20% of El Salvador's population) have suffered very high casualties in the war between Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrilla and the US-supported regime. State security and death squads systematically caused "Peasant disappearances." Pipil lands were expropriated by "land reforms."

**Garifuna** (Black Caribs) were relocated by the British to the island of Roatán some three hundred years ago. They now live along the Caribbean in Creole-ruled Belize (40,000), Honduras (150,000), and Nicaragua (5,000). They have suffered racial

discrimination and were used as cheap labour force. In Honduras, the Garifuna, Tawahka Sumu, Miskitu, Petch (Payas), Sikakes (Stolopán), and Lenca recently formed the *Confederación de los Pueblos Autóctonos de Honduras* (CONPAH).

Arbitrary boundaries of today's American states often cut across the homelands of Indian peoples. The **Ngobe** or **Guaymies** (120,000) live in western Panama (2,500 in Coast Rica). The delimitations of the proposed autonomous area (*comarca*) are still under negotiation (since the 1980s); Latin settlers have invaded a part of their lands. Some Ngobe (Guaymi) work on banana plantations of United Brands, a US-based transnational corporation. The **Kuna** (70,000) live along the Caribbean of southeastern Panama. An armed uprising in 1925 forced the new state of Panama to recognize the first autonomous Indian area (*Comarca San Blas*) in Latin America. The state of Panama has developed a reasonably successful nationality policy for its indigenous peoples (15% of Panamá's population) since the 1960s and several more autonomous areas (*comarcas*) have been created.

### Afro-Americans Look to the Caribbean

Afro-Americans (Blacks and Creoles) live along the Caribbean from Belize to Columbia, with the largest numbers in Panama and Honduras. With a total population of 120 million (which includes 35 million in the United States), Afro-Americans are third largest ethnic group in the Americas, next to 360 million Ladinos, and 230 million white Europeans.

Afro-Americans dominate demographically and/or rule in twelve smaller states of the Caribbean region. Black rule exists mainly on the islands (Haiti, Jamaica, most Caribbean micro-states) rather than the continent (Belize, one of three Guyanas). Blacks have large numbers in a several Ladino-dominated states such as Brazil (over 40 million), Colombia, and Ecuador.

### White Rule in All but One Country—Indians Nowhere

Even though indigenous Americans are the majority of the citizens in four of twenty Latin American states, they rule nowhere. **European descendants** continue to exert almost total hegemony on the Americas; although Whites are only a majority in one Central American country (Costa Rica) they rule in all but tiny Belize.

Regionally, there has been some progress towards indigenous control: in May 1990, the very first Indian government took an oath in Bilwi, capital of Yapti Tasba, Eastern Nicaragua.

### **Autonomy and Self-Rule as Conflict Resolution**

Many Indian territories are rich in natural resources, and the states that contain them are reluctant to give them up. Issues of (collective) ownership of land by indigenous peoples and access to natural resources, were the subject of political debate in Nicaragua and also externally, within the framework of the international Indian movement. In the case of Mosquitia, the land issue was one of the factors that directly contributed to the outbreak of war. In the autonomy law issued in 1987, it has been agreed that revenues from natural resources will be distributed 'in just proportion.'

### **Nicaragua: Autonomy for the Caribbean Regions**

Nicaragua's scheme of regional autonomy for its two Caribbean areas (Región Autónoma Atlántico Norte: RAAN, and Región Autónoma Atlántico Sur: RAAS) embraces almost 50% of the national territory but only 9.5% of the population. The division into two regions precludes dominance by one ethnic group (the *Mestizos*). The two regions are multicultural in composition, comprising four indigenous communities, an African diaspora (mainly in RAAS), and a number of *Mestizos*. Autonomy in the two Caribbean regions has existed on paper since September 1987 and in concrete shape in a few pilot projects. The provisions delineate the indigenous settlement-areas but afford them no further legal protection against *Mestizo* immigrants. In practice, the agricultural border is being constantly shifted eastwards as a result of immigration by impoverished *campesinos*.

The rights and guarantees set out in Nicaragua are the confirmation of the multi-ethnic, pluricultural, and multilingual character of the *costeños* (coastal inhabitants) and stipulation of non-discrimination against them, with cultural rights (bilingualism in education and administration); the recognition of the communal property of the indigenous communities, including the land, waters, and forests; the establishment of two autonomous regions

independently administered by elected regional parliaments with elements of a presidential system, since not only a *junta ejecutiva* but also a *coordinador* is elected; and the right to self-identification. The system is based on a balancing and combination of demographic representation and the formal principle of equality. The aim was to reduce inter-ethnic tensions and protect the rights of the small ethnic groups (Sumu, Rama, and Garifuna) against the disproportionate influence of the Hispanic *Mestizos* in the West and the Afro-American Creoles in the South and the Miskitu Indians in the North.

The full implementation of the autonomy law was hampered by political conflicts from 1990 onwards. The political struggles between Sandinistas and the right parties in Managua are continuing in eastern Nicaragua. Conservatives in central government regard the autonomy arrangement as too drastic. The Indian movement has also suffered from internal conflicts.

The Nicaraguan autonomy law is undoubtedly imperfect, but qualitatively speaking it is the best so far produced in Latin America; how much influence it will have, however, depends on whether and to what extent it is ignored or dismantled by Managua. The weak-point lies in the area of regional council control over territory and resources: neither the respective competencies nor the share of revenues between regional and central government is clearly laid down.

### **Panama: the Comarca System**

Panama is regarded as progressive when it comes to recognition of certain Indian rights and the granting of cultural autonomy (though not bilingual education). Territorial self-governance existed for years for the Kuna and Emberá Choco, but not for the more numerous Ngobe (Guaymí) Indians, whose area—due to be designated a *comarca*—has been overrun by *Mestizo* settlers and banana companies.

The best-known area is Kuna Yala, the 'land of the Kuna' (official name Comarca San Blas), a territory extending from El Porvenir up to the Colombian border and including some four hundred Caribbean coral islands. In Kuna Yala, too, penetration by *Mestizo* settlers, loggers, and drug dealers (from Colombia) is difficult to halt. The Kuna largely manage their own affairs. However, the school system is currently run in Spanish. Thanks to their being relatively sealed off from the outside world, their socio-cultural community has survived. However, the economy is partly dependent on external factors, and unequal bartering goes on.

Native inhabitants have guaranteed representation in the Panamanian parliament; this applies to the Kuna and Ngobe (Guaymí). However, the *caciques/congreso* system of internal Indian organization has its shortcomings. Where necessary, it can be manipulated more easily by the authorities than can an elected representative body (such as those in Mosquitia in Nicaragua); on the other hand, it keeps traditions alive.

In the case of the Ngobe (Guaymí) Indians, the authorities have dragged their feet over autonomy negotiations in a series of protracted conflicts over land and administrative rights and roles. Contributing factors have included the size of the territory claimed, which extends over several provinces as well as the disunity, poor organization, and lack of militancy among the Ngobe. However, to combat the government's 'divide and rule' policy, the various Indian congresses in Panama formed a union.

### Mexico: Response to the 1994 Indian Revolt

In the Mexican state of Chiapas, cattle ranchers use an estimated 45% of the territory as pastureland. In contrast, a large number of campesinos work on small plots of generally unfertile land. The constitution of 1917 promised *ejidos*, pieces of the communal farming land, to the peasants, but in Chiapas much less land was redistributed than in the rest of the country. In the 1960s, the struggle for land became violent.

In 1994, the primarily indigenous Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) staged an armed uprising in Chiapas. Six municipalities around San Cristóbal de las Casas were taken by the rebels. After two weeks of heavy fighting with high casualties a cease-fire was declared. Direct talks between the EZLN and the federal government in January 1995, moderated by San Cristóbal's bishop, reached an agreement to twenty-four demands of the EZLN but excluded political issues on a national level. However, the following month, arrest warrants were issued for EZLN leaders, and the Mexican government launched a large military operation against the EZLN, which fled, along with some twenty thousand indigenous supporters, into the mountains. The Mexican government was never able to find the EZLN leaders, and in March 1995, the Mexican Congress approved dialogue with EZLN. From fall 1995, talks started in San Andrés Sacamch'en de los Pobres (Larrainzar), a Tzotzil Zapatista community in the highlands north of San Cristóbal, but were suspended in August 1996. Militarization

once again replaced dialogue. About 30% of the national army (sixty thousand soldiers) is based in Chiapas.

After winning the 2000 presidential election, Vicente Fox admitted international observers and ordered the withdrawal of Mexican Army. The EZLN accepted to resume negotiations for peace and indigenous rights. They reached some agreement on the rights of indigenous communities and in April 2001 the Mexican Congress approved a constitutional reform on indigenous rights and culture. However, the EZLN rejected the reform, saying it went behind the agreement reached in San Andrés and does not answer the demands of the Indian peoples.

EZLN raised the awareness of indigenous rights and culture throughout the country and internationally. It is noteworthy that the Zapatistas do not want independence from Mexico, but rather to be equal citizens without giving up their indigenous identity.

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**See also Belize; Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations; Costa Rica; El Salvador; Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN); Guatemala; Honduras; Menchú Túm, Rigoberta; Mexico: History and Economic Development; Mexico: International Relations; Nicaragua; Panama; Zapatista National Revolutionary Army (EZLN)**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: MIDDLE EAST

According to J. Milton Yinger in *Ethnicity*, an ethnic group can be defined as one whose members share a common origin, whether real or perceived, and share a common culture, including, but not limited to, characteristics such as language, religion, race, and ancestral homeland. An ethnic group may be defined by the larger society around it, or by its own self-perception. All of these characteristics define ethnic, religious, and nationalist groups in the Middle East.

There are competing views of the importance of ethnic identity in creating conflict in the Middle East. Some view conflict to be driven by the deeply-entrenched, hereditary nature of ethnic, sectarian, and religious identities of communities. Others view political conditions to be a stronger factor in manipulating identity-based kinship networks. Identity only becomes politicized when access to resources or power is unevenly distributed between various groups, and membership in a particular group becomes a driving factor in determining that access to political power. Thus, while the Middle East is diverse and multiethnic, ethnic conflict is not inherently caused by this diversity.

Ethnic conflict in the Middle East encompasses ethnic, religious, and political groups engaged in nationalist struggles in the post-WWII era. For example, since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict centers around competing claims for a separate national homeland for the Palestinian and Jewish peoples. Another case is that of Kurdish nationalists who are seeking political autonomy in the form of an independent Kurdistan in the area encompassing parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. In Lebanon, competition for political power among Christian Maronites, Sunni, Shia, and Druze led to a breakdown of the political system and to civil war in 1975.

There are several different factors which have led to ethnic conflict in the Middle East. Primary among these is the impact of British and French colonialism

in the region. Colonial policies favored particular minority groups over others in an attempt to create ethnic or religious divisions within the local population and to weaken potential resistance to colonial power. The historical legacy of this divide and rule policy was political instability which erupted into outright conflict once the colonial power withdrew. Lebanon, Syria, and present-day Israel are examples of countries where colonial legacy has exacerbated political tensions between different ethnic groups.

The following subsections highlight the main conflicts in the region, demonstrating the interplay between colonial legacy, nationalist struggle, and ineffective political systems which resulted in competition for political power among the different ethnic religious groups.

### Israeli–Palestinian Conflict

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been ongoing for most of the twentieth century. The historical roots of the conflict can be traced back to the British Mandate over Palestine. Both the Arabs living in Palestine and Jewish Zionists seeking a national homeland wanted national independence and self-determination granted to them by the British colonial power. In 1948, the British withdrew from Palestine without resolving the ongoing civil conflict between the two groups. After the state of Israel was created in 1948, Israel annexed more surrounding territory in two subsequent Arab–Israeli wars in 1967 and 1973.

While religious identity is important in defining the foundation of the Jewish state, it is not the only factor in the current Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Primarily the issue is over ownership of territory, and the competing rights to national self-determination between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

One of the outcomes of this conflict is the massive displacement of the Palestinian population into refugee camps in surrounding Lebanon and Jordan, as well as the Israeli-occupied territories. Palestinians in Jordan and Lebanon have caused political tensions in those countries. In the Lebanese case, Palestinian presence exacerbated the Lebanese civil war in the early 1970s. After the second intifada of 2000, the relationship of Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza with Israel remains tense and violence-ridden.

### Alawis in Syria

In Syria, the French colonialists divided the country into separate administrative units, stressing the status



of two minority groups, the Alawi and the Druze, as distinct from the rest of the Sunni Muslim population by placing them each in their own administrative unit in opposite ends of Syria. In the meantime, the urban Sunni Muslim population in Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, and Homs became the class that forged nationalist policies and shaped the eventual political future of Syria.

When Syria became independent in 1946, the new political state had to contend with the outcome of these colonial policies. The Alawi made up about ten percent of the population. Post-independence, they inherited a marginalized status in Syrian society, which was dominated by Sunni Muslims. Many Alawi families sent their sons into the military for the opportunities it afforded them. One of these was the Syrian dictator, Hafez al-Assad, who ruled the country from 1963 to 1999. After he took power in 1963, he consolidated his regime by creating an inner circle of Baath party loyalists who shared the same Alawi background. A regime composed of a religious minority ruling over a majority Sunni population created tensions. The result of this was a stronger, authoritarian style of government which effectively suppressed any and all opposition.

### **Sectarian Politics in Lebanon**

French colonial policies of divide and rule in Lebanon are the roots of political conflict between ethnic and religious minorities after independence. French colonialists deliberately emphasized these differences within the local population in order to prevent them from banding together and effectively challenging French power. France favored the Christian (Catholic) Maronites of Mount Lebanon, on the grounds that it was part of France's religious and moral duty to protect Christian communities of the region. This preference alienated the Muslim majority, an alienation that intensified over time due to other political factors.

Confessional politics became a mainstay of the Lebanese political system after its independence in 1946. The 1932 census, in which Christian Maronites outnumbered Muslims six to five, became the basis of the National Pact of 1943. The pact set up a power-sharing arrangement between the four main communities, based on proportional representation on the basis of demographics. Since the Maronites were the majority in 1932, they took the presidency, a position elected by the Chamber of Deputies. The position of prime minister went to the Sunnis. The Shia community was underrepresented in the power structure, due

to their low numbers. In theory, the system prevented any single group from gaining a monopoly on power. In practice, the executive held more power than the parliament. Since the system was based on sectarian identity, this exacerbated any tensions within the government and the population.

Though the demographics of the population changed over the next few decades, the political system did not adapt in line with these realities. In particular, the Shia population outstripped the Christian Maronites in numbers, and yet the Shia remained the most underrepresented in the political structure. This grievance placed a strain on the confessional political structure, which was already beginning to feel pressure from other factors.

The rise of armed militias based on sectarian identity was a contributing factor to the Lebanese civil war. Among these militias were the Christian Maronite Phalange and the Lebanese National Movement, led by the Druze political leader Kamal Jumblatt. Militant Shia organizations, Amal and Hizballah, also joined the conflict.

The conflict lasted for fifteen years, from 1975 to 1990. In 1989, the Taif Accord succeeded in resolving this conflict by negotiating a more equitable system of representation in the political system, based on current population demographics instead of an outdated census.

### **Kurdish Nationalist Struggle**

The Kurds are the fourth largest ethnic group in the Middle East, after the Arabs, Turks, and Persians. They have their own cultural and linguistic identities. The Kurds reside in an area that encompasses portions of present-day Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Although the Kurds are the largest stateless minority in the Middle East, their numbers are not concentrated in any single country among these four. Thus, their status as a minority remains precarious and subject to government policies of each country.

The Kurdish struggle for self-determination dates from the end of World War I. The Kurds were granted partial autonomy according to the Treaty of Sevres, but without the military or financial assistance of the Allies, Kurdistan never became a reality.

Since then, the Kurdish nationalist movement, represented by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), has called for the creation of an independent Kurdistan carved out of present-day Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. The PKK is known for engaging in guerilla tactics to further its goals. However, the Kurdish struggle for self-determination has been

challenged and suppressed by state power in each country.

Iraq and Turkey have seen the greatest violence and confrontation between the state and Kurdish nationalist groups. Turkey has historically refused to recognize Kurds as a distinct ethnic group and has actively suppressed them. In 1984, the PKK launched an attack on the Turkish military, and throughout much of the 1990s, there was active violence and conflict between the Turkish military and Kurdish nationalists. Turkey has since given limited recognition of their cultural and linguistic rights to the Kurds.

Kurds enjoyed limited autonomy in northern Iraq under Saddam Hussain's regime. However, they were also subject to military action by the government. In 1988, after the end of the Iran-Iraq war, the regime gassed the Kurdish village of Halabja, killing the entire population. A Kurdish revolt at the end of the Gulf War in 1991 also met with a similar violent reaction from the government. It was brutally repressed, and many Kurds fled as refugees to neighboring Turkey and Iran. After the war, a UN-protected zone was created for them in northern Iraq. After the fall of Saddam Hussain's regime in 2003, the future of the Kurdish communities in the north remains undecided.

The Kurds have also been used as pawns in regional conflicts. For example, during the Iran-Iraq war, which lasted from 1980 to 1988, the Kurds were used as pawns by both sides. Kurdish villages on both sides of the border were destroyed, and many killed. Kurdish resistance groups in each country were given clandestine support by the opposing side at various points during the war.

The current Kurdish drive for national self-determination needs to be viewed as a result of a historical demarcation of borders by European colonial powers. The division of land left the Kurds marginalized as a distinct ethnic community. While they have a historic connection to a particular territory, they remain stateless. Their minority status in each country has been exploited by regional governments, and continues to affect their struggle for political autonomy and self-determination today.

## Conclusion

The changing configurations of political power between various communities inevitably results in power imbalances between dominant and minority groups. Whether these groups are defined by ethnicity or religion, or combination of factors, it does not

matter as much as the fact that access to political power, or the lack thereof, is a contributing factor to political ethnic conflicts in the Middle East. In some cases, as previously demonstrated, British and French colonial policies exacerbated these identity-based differences and shaped the power structures that countries such as Lebanon and Syria inherited.

UZMA JAMIL

**See also Arab-Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Arab Nationalism; Druze; Iran; Iraq; Iran-Iraq War, 1980–1988; Kurds; Lebanon; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Palestinian Diaspora; Syria; Turkey**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: NORTH AFRICA

### Ethnic Conflict in its North African Regional Context

North Africa is a geographic region comprising five independent states: Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. The region may be viewed as having a predominantly Arabo-Islamic identity, but it is by no means homogeneous. Distinctions in spoken Arabic exist and while the population is overwhelmingly Sunni Muslim, religious diversity is manifested in the many religious brotherhoods and more recently, the resurgence of a militant fundamentalist Islamism reacting to the region's recent modernization and secularization.

Within the region, vestiges of ethnic groups exist that pre-date the Arab-Islamic dominance. These include the Christian Copts in Egypt, the Berbers in the Maghrib states, and Jewish communities in each of the states. Most of the Jewish population has emigrated to Israel or Europe. In contrast, significant Coptic and Berber populations are part of North

Africa today. While some cultural differences persist between Arabs and Berbers, centuries of acculturation, intermarriage, and socialization have blurred sharp distinctions.

The region has experienced two patterns of ethnic conflict since 1945. The first involved nationalist movements moving against European imperial domination and the second, ethnic tensions within the newly independent states. During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries, each of these countries was under some form of colonization. The year 1945 saw the end of World War II, the founding of the United Nations (UN), and the growth of indigenous nationalist stirrings on the Asian and African continents. In less than two decades, each of the North African states succeeded in emerging from foreign domination. Running through the process of independence is a basic ethnic clash between the indigenous Arabo-Muslim way of life and the modernizing force of Christian European culture.

### The Anti-Imperialist Phase of Ethnic Conflict

Egypt was nominally an independent constitutional monarchy since 1922, but through military treaty arrangements the country was under British hegemony. Anti-British nationalist agitation led to the formation of the Liberation Movement under the leadership of a small Free Officers Group. In 1952, it engineered a bloodless coup and dethroned the “puppet” King Farouk. Egypt emerged fully from under British domination in 1956 when President Gamal Abdul Nasser expelled the British from the Suez Canal. The ensuing Suez War of 1956 in which Egypt withstood the Anglo-French attack on its territory represents a distinct form of ethnic conflict—the resistance of an indigenous population to imperialist domination. Accentuating the ethnic character of the revolution was the declaration in the new constitution that Egypt was an Islamic Arab Republic, in contrast to the constitutional monarchy which followed the British monarchical structure.

Libya, an Italian colony, came under British administration during World War II following the defeat of the Axis in the Libyan Desert. The seeds of nationalist opposition to Italian rule and for independence were planted in the 1920s but it did not grow into a nationalist movement while the country was under military occupation. Independence came to Libya, not as a result of nationalist pressure within the country but by a United Nations resolution that came about because of pressure from the then small number of independent Muslim states in the General

Assembly. Their persistence and bargaining power constituted an exercise of *diplomatic ethnicity*.

The nationalist ethnic conflicts in the three states of French North Africa were more intense and bloodier. The conflicts between the nationalist movements to French rule in the Maghrib contain an important ethnic dimension, i.e., religion and culture—but as classic colonial situations they also contain class, economic, and political aspects. Most leaders of the nationalist movements were Westernized intellectual elites. They spoke and wrote in French. They were conversant with international ideological trends such as democracy, capitalism, socialism, and communism. At the same time, Islamic reformers emerged who deplored the French *mission civilisatrice*, which they associated with Christianity and the presence of French settlers, *colons*. Together, these two strands of nationalism built nationalist movements that challenged French policy over favoritism towards the *colons* and discriminatory practices towards the indigenous Maghrib populations. Islam became one of the most potent factors in the spread of nationalism in the Maghrib.

The post-World War II ethnic nationalist conflict in the Maghrib can be traced back to the beginnings of colonization, particularly in Algeria and Morocco where France met with armed resistance that took decades to overcome. Although the Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian nationalist movements share much in common, not the least of which were a common adversary, separate nationalist movements developed due to basic differences in historical background and political status. Algeria was juridically “an integral part of France” where the French *colons*, about a twelfth of the population, occupied a privileged position. Tunisia and Morocco, by contrast, were nominally sovereign states but were French protectorates. In the protectorates, the percentage of *colons* was smaller than in Algeria but they all but ran the country.

Nationalist pressure was first felt in the protectorates, Tunisia and Morocco. As the nationalists put forward demands for reform, aiming at eventual independence, they were met by counteractions by the *colon* element. French policy in both protectorates promoted a policy that would establish a permanent status for the *colons*, which was rejected by the nationalists. The *colons* were French citizens and as nationalist agitation mounted, the French authorities pushed hard to introduce co-sovereignty which would undermine the nationalists demands. Encouraged by the United Nations role in Libya, the nationalists appealed to the world body for support. The French staved off this effort but tension was mounting, marked by native boycotts of French products and

the outbreaks of mass demonstrations and violence. As part of their strategy, the French played a “Berber Card” in Morocco—a “divide and rule” tactic designed to undermine the nationalist movement. The Berber Dahir of 1931, whereby Berbers were to be governed by their traditional law rather than by Islamic law, the *Sharia*, represented the boldest effort of this policy. This policy proved to be a wake-up call for the Arabo-Islamic religious community. In 1951, the French artificially created a “Berber Revolt” against Sultan Mohammed V who was balking at the demand of the French government to denounce the *Istiqlal* (independence) Party, the leading nationalist party. Thousands of Berber tribesmen suddenly appeared in Rabat and surrounded the palace. Although the Sultan capitulated after two hours to an ultimatum, the tactic proved a fiasco and only further encouraged the nationalists. It drew attention to the *Istiqlal* and helped catapult the Sultan to the forefront of the struggle against French rule. The French embarked on a program to force the Sultan to share his sovereignty with them. Mohammed V refused to acquiesce to this demand and he was exiled to Madagascar in 1952 and a more amenable settler-controlled Sultan installed. This touched off a period of unrest. On the second anniversary of Mohammed V’s deposition, a chain of violence blazed across Morocco. Nearly two thousand persons lost their lives and scores of villages and towns were razed. Berber tribesmen were leading participants in the disturbances. The situation was finally resolved in 1957, when Mohammed V was restored to his throne and Morocco achieved independence the following year. A variation of this scenario was played out in Tunisia, where the local sovereign, Moncef Bey, also was deposed when he resisted French demands that he disavow the leading nationalist party, the *Neo-Destour* (Constitution). Intricate negotiations on reform and the creation of an elected legislature broke down over the issue of “co-sovereignty.” Tunisia also experienced provocative street demonstrations and intermittent low-level violence. The situation was diffused in July 1954, when French Premier Pierre Mendès-France granted Tunisia “internal autonomy.” Within two years, Tunisia was granted full independence.

Algeria’s war of national independence, 1954–1962, was the longest and most fiercely fought struggle in the era of post-war decolonization. The French invasion of Algeria in 1830 was met with dogged resistance, which lasted for several decades. This early rejection of French colonial rule provided a historical precursor for the ultimate emergence of Algerian nationalism. French colonial policy effectively undermined the traditional Algerian social

structure but a strong attachment to Islam persisted. At the same time strong assimilationist tendencies and flirtations with Marxism appeared and were reflected in the several Algerian nationalist parties that emerged between the end of World War I and 1954. On November 1, 1954, a group of younger dissidents calling themselves the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) issued a proclamation calling Algerians to rebel, and launched an attack on French positions in five provinces. These initial steps of the Algerian revolution were hardly auspicious, as the guerrillas were small in number and poorly armed. Their most successful operation was in the Aurès mountains, a Kabyle (Algerian Berber) region. Within two years the insurrection gathered momentum, fueled in part by the repressive measures, including torture, taken by the French army and police. Ultimately, France committed some five hundred thousand troops, many of them conscripts, to the war. As the war dragged on, the fighting, which had been waged primarily in the hinterland and the mountain regions took on a new course when the FLN, in 1956, launched a clandestine network of terror in the Battle of Algiers. While the French military, resorting to torture, was succeeding in containing the urban terrorists, repercussions of these tactics created a groundswell in France for an end to the war, even if it meant granting independence to Algeria. This did not sit well with the *colons* or with certain elements of the French army. *Colon* extremists organized, with some disaffected French generals, the *Organisation armée secrète* (OAS) to carry out a putsch against the French government, headed by General Charles de Gaulle. Their failure was the last gasp of the ethnic conflict waged by the settlers. De Gaulle had signaled the end of the old regime in Algeria, gradually accommodating to the idea of Algerian independence by coming out in favor of an *Algérie algérien*, and an eventual Algerian Republic.

### Ethnic Conflicts After Independence

In the nationalist conflict with European imperialism, a broadly perceived Arabo-Islamic culture emerged, the product of Islamisation and Arabisation. The two are intimately interconnected but by no means identical. Thus, Egypt has been totally Arabicized, but not Islamicized, while the Maghrib states have been totally Islamicized but not Arabicized. Under the overarching North African Arabo-Islamic tent, there exists significant religious, linguistic, and cultural diversity. The constitution of each independent modern national North Africa state establishes Islam as its official religion and Arabic, its official language.

Despite this uniformity, local customs and traditions persisted and in many instances were reinvigorated. Relations between centralized authority and various ethnic groups were marked by fluidity and diversity. However, the states of North Africa are free of disintegrative tendencies, prevalent elsewhere among groups of ethnic minorities. Neither the Copts in Egypt nor the Berbers in Algeria and Morocco have pressed for political separateness or autonomy. Each in their own way seeks recognition and acceptance within their respective states. But the existence of these ethnic minorities constitutes a source of ever-present tensions which have the potential of local outbreaks of violence.

The Christian Copts, representing about 6% of the population, call themselves the "Original Egyptians." They are the vestiges of the Egyptian population that was not Islamicized following the Arab conquest of the seventh century. Though they do not tend to intermarry with Muslims, they are linguistically Arabicized. The Copts have always identified themselves with Egyptian nationalism, particularly its Arab dimension, but an ingrained religious antipathy exists between Muslims and Copts. Intermittent clashes between the two groups, sometimes leading to communal riots are part of the Egyptian political scene. The resurgence of Islamic militancy has exacerbated the situation. Anti-Coptic sentiments were spread by Muslim fundamentalists who were implicated in the bombing of Coptic Churches in Alexandria and anti-Coptic marches by thousands of Muslim militants in downtown Cairo. In 1981, President Anwar el-Sadat, under severe attack by the Islamic fundamentalists for his peace treaty with Israel, retaliated by conducting a purge to stifle religious dissent. In a strange twist, Sadat's crackdown also included deposing the Coptic patriarch, Pope Shenuda III. Some 1,500 Muslim clergyman, Coptic priests, journalists and academicians were arrested and charged with "sectarian sedition." The Copts have been caught in the power struggle over Islamic fundamentalism within the majority Egyptian community. Provocation by Islamic fundamentalists has usually evoked responses from Copts, fueling the tension between them.

The other manifestation of ethnic tension in independent North Africa concerns the Berbers in the Maghrib. Unlike the Copts in Egypt, they cannot be referred to as an ethnic minority, since the entire population of the Maghrib is of mixed Arab and Berber stock, yet the concept of "Berber ethnicity" exists, as does intra-ethnic tension between Berberism and Arabism. The tension is primarily over language and traditions. A Berber language is the mother tongue of many inhabitants of the Atlas mountains

of Morocco and the Algerian Aurès and Kabyle mountains. With the intent to displace French as the dominant language of education and literacy, the newly independent states of the Maghrib proclaimed Arabic as their official language. An unintended consequence was to undercut the use of Berber tongues, particularly in local assemblies, rural schools, and the mass media. This did not sit well with Berbers, whose resentment has led to demand changes that would help preserve Berber identity. The direction of ethnic conflict over Berberism is still unfolding. Berbers participated in the nationalist struggle against French colonialism and continue to participate in the contemporary body politic. There is no thought of secession or of "Berber Nationalism." There is no single Berber language, but a group of closely related spoken languages. The notion of "Berberland" is a most unlikely thought, since the Berber population does not live in a contiguous area. Berber enclaves exist in rural and mountainous regions, but a good portion is integrated urban dwellers. But, the potential for ethnic conflict exists, since an activist Berber segment of Moroccan and Algerian society is dedicated to the preservation of Berber uniqueness, and believes in countering "Arab colonialism" by pressing for the recognition of Tamazight, the main Berber language, as an official state language, its more prevalent use in media and communities, and the removal of discriminatory treatment of Berbers. The seeds for inter-ethnic conflict over Berberism exist but it must be considered within the context of broader challenges of Islamist fundamentalism and the chronic problems of economic and development facing the Maghrib states.

BENJAMIN RIVLIN

**See also Algeria; Berbers; Coptic Church (Copts); Egypt; Ethnicity: Impact on Politics and Society; Libya; Maghrib Peoples; Morocco; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICT IN OCEANIA

Oceania is a huge region that consists of the islands of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia, as well as New Zealand, Australia, and Hawaii. As a geographical entity, Oceania contains metropolitan states, colonial territories (e.g., New Caledonia and French Polynesia) and independent developing nations. Ethnic conflict takes place in all these social formations. This article focuses on major ethnic strife in the developing nations of Oceania, the island countries of the South Pacific. The viability of three Pacific Island states, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Fiji, has been seriously undermined by ethnic violence. Each country was a colonial creation, a cobbling together of disparate peoples, cultures, and traditional societies. The difficulties of building nations out of such colonies are always great. This is especially so when issues having to do with development reinforce ethnic differences as they have in these three cases.

The longest and most bloody fighting in contemporary Oceania occurred on the island of Bougainville, a province of Papua New Guinea. It is estimated that approximately ten thousand people died because of the conflict.

### Bougainville

Far from the rest of Papua New Guinea—about one thousand kilometres from the capital, Port

Moresby—the island of Bougainville is a short launch ride to the Solomon Islands. The island has an area of about 5,400 square miles and a population of 170,000. Like the rest of Melanesia, it is inhabited by a diverse group of people who live in small autonomous villages. Colonization and incorporation into Papua New Guinea sowed the seeds of a wider Bougainvillean identity. Bougainvilleans came to see themselves, and be seen by other Papua New Guineans to be more like their near neighbors than like people from the mainland. Known in the local vernacular as “Buka” (crows) because of their dark skin, they call other Papua New Guineans “Redskins”.

The development of a mining project at Panguna both accentuated this sense of difference and transformed it into one of grievance. Exploration in the 1960s uncovered large deposits of copper and gold. Open cast mining operations began in the early 1970s. The resultant alienation of land and damage to the environment greatly disrupted the lives of local people. The pit alone covered four hundred hectares and generated a billion metric tons of waste. People were generally unhappy with the amount of compensation they received. The uneven distribution of the costs and benefits from the project also led to disputes and divisions on the local level.

Revenue from the mine provided the central government with almost half its foreign exchange earnings. However, little of this came back to large parts of an island lacking economic and educational opportunities for its people. The need for labour at the mine site stimulated an influx of workers who migrated from other parts of Papua New Guinea. This influx of “foreign natives” brought with it problems of urbanization and attendant troubles with law and order that Bougainville had not seen before.

In 1988, young men from local groups attacked the mine, demanding its closure and adequate compensation for damage caused to local lands. The central government deployed forces to control the situation but their heavy-handedness caused the violence to escalate into a full-scale uprising. The mine ceased operations in 1989. Although the central government withdrew its troops as part of a cease-fire arrangement, the Bougainville Revolutionary Army declared independence in 1990. The Papua New Guinea government responded by imposing a blockade that had severe consequences. The embargo of medical supplies in particular caused a significant number of the overall casualties of the conflict. The control of tropical diseases broke down and other facilities, like schools and roads, deteriorated.

The situation inside Bougainville became increasingly violent and chaotic. The Bougainville Revolutionary Army was, in reality, a loose coalition of

groups of young men from heterogeneous societies who had a variety of agendas. With the mine shut down and the remaining non-Bougainvilleans brutalised, local elements began fighting amongst themselves. Leaders on small outlying islands requested government intervention. After establishing themselves on Buka, Papua New Guinean troops began to push onto the main island. After years of continued fighting, and failed cease-fires, the government hired mercenaries to assist its own troops in a final effort to defeat the rebels and occupy the mine. However, the commander of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force refused to work with the mercenaries, the mission was aborted and the Prime Minister resigned his post in 1997.

The situation today is much improved. Tired of war and unable to achieve their aims by violence the opposing forces began signaling a willingness to negotiate. New Zealand took on an essential role in facilitating a truce. Meetings near Christchurch in 1997 established a procedure for negotiations and the deployment of an unarmed Truce Monitoring Force. Questions of Bougainville's future status were subordinated to establishing a cease-fire and the withdrawal of Papua New Guinean forces. A peace agreement was signed in 2001 that promises Bougainville autonomy, development aid, and an eventual referendum on independence.

## The Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands are a Melanesian Island chain—with a population of four hundred thousand—that lies just south of Bougainville. The main island, Guadalcanal, site of the capital city Honiara (population forty-nine thousand), has attracted a steady stream of migrants from other parts of the country, especially Malaita. As was the case in Bougainville, this influx created resentment amongst the indigenous population. The migrants were perceived as a threat to the people and culture of Guadalcanal, taking land and jobs in a declining economy. In late 1998, groups of men seized weapons from a police armoury. They attacked Malaitans living in rural areas. About one hundred people were killed and twenty thousand fled to Honiara or back to their home island. People from Guadalcanal began to leave Honiara for their home villages and the capital became a Malaitan stronghold cut off from the rest of the island.

In June 2000, Malaitan militants also stole weapons from a police post and successfully counter attacked Guadalcanal fighters. They staged a coup, seized the Prime Minister, and forced him to resign.

The formation of a new government and the arrival of naval vessels from Australia and New Zealand led to the signing of a peace treaty in Townsville, Australia, in October 2000. Unfortunately, the accord did not rectify the situation. Roving gangs continued to operate unopposed on Guadalcanal because the Solomon Islands had no national army that could deal effectively with them.

Sponsored by the United Nations, a group of people with extensive knowledge of the Solomons met in Brisbane Australia to suggest ways to effectively implement the peace treaty. Dr. John Roughan, of the Solomon Island Development Trust, noted that an economic downturn, urban-based development, and a large population of disaffected youth sparked the conflict. Undoubtedly, the Guadalcanal militants were also influenced by events in Bougainville, which had sent thousands of migrants to Guadalcanal. The similarities in culture and situation between the Bougainvilleans and people of Guadalcanal, and the fact that Bougainvilleans succeeded in driving out the foreigners, helped spark local actions.

The Brisbane meeting noted that restoring normalcy to the Solomons requires a series of fundamental changes. Development should be de-centralized and based on the rural activities that occupy most of the population. Benefits must be shared more equally, with a special emphasis on opportunities for young people and women. The country's economy and infrastructure needed rebuilding. Solomon Islanders also need to value their country's cultural diversity.

In July 2003, a force of over two thousand police and military personnel from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, Kiribati, and the Cook Islands arrived in the Solomons at the invitation of the government to restore order in the country. RAMSI, Regional Assistance Mission Solomon Islands, has been well received by the local population. It has arrested 2,800 individuals, disarmed militants, and re-established a large measure of security. Although these accomplishments are important milestones, stabilizing the Solomon Islands will require a great deal more work. The necessary improvements in communications, infrastructure, economic development, and political reform may prove more difficult to implement than peace and security. RAMSI has, however, established the conditions necessary to begin the task of constructing a viable Solomon Islands state.

## Fiji

Like Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, Fiji (population 180,000) consists of many islands

scattered over a wide area. The country is also a former British colony. When the Colonial Sugar Refining Company originally set up operations it imported indentured laborers from India rather than local people to work the plantations. Fiji developed into a classic plural society with different cultural groups dominating separate spheres of the economy and having few social ties to each other.

Prior to independence in 1970, the British attempted to preserve what they saw as the traditional chiefly nature of Fijian society. In Fiji's constitution were clauses protecting native land and granting chiefs' special powers in regard to indigenous affairs. When their indenture period ended, Indian agricultural workers were prohibited from buying land, and could only lease it from Fijians. More Indians migrated to Fiji from Gujarat, settling in the cities where they dominate retail trade. Big businesses like banks and resorts tend to be controlled by Europeans.

When Fiji became independent, the indigenous population retained control of the political system and Indo-Fijian leaseholders were granted security of tenure. Public service jobs were shared between the two groups, but indigenous Fijians controlled the armed forces. This system of accommodation broke down by the 1980s. Native Fijians migrated to Suva and class differences developed among them. Tensions emerged between chiefs in the eastern and western parts of the country, and the Indo-Fijians came to outnumber indigenous people.

When a bipartisan labor coalition defeated the chiefly dominated Alliance Party, the military launched a coup to preserve indigenous political domination. New constitutional clauses guaranteed that an indigenous Prime Minister would head a government that controlled thirty-seven of the sixty-four seats in Parliament. Mobile Indo-Fijians left the country, taking their skills, businesses, and jobs with them.

Expulsion from the Commonwealth and other sanctions led to the adoption of a new non-racist constitution in 1997. The party of the coup leader, Sitiveni Rabuka, lost the next election to a coalition led by Mehendra Chaudhry, who became Fiji's first Prime Minister of Indian descent. In May 2000, his government was toppled by another coup led by a group of armed civilians. Although the Army generally controlled the ensuing civil unrest, nevertheless it proved very disruptive. Indo-Fijians were often intimidated by unruly elements. Another 4,500 people, mostly skilled, left the country. Tourism suffered, sugar production dropped by 30%, and thousands of jobs were lost in the textile industry.

The most recent election, held in August 2001, was characterised by voting along racial lines. Although the results were accepted as democratic, the British

Commonwealth and the New Zealand government will not yet remove their sanctions against Fiji because the new Prime Minister is violating the constitution by refusing to give cabinet posts to members of Chaudhry's Labour party. Indo-Fijians, who now make up 44% of the population, still face sporadic intimidation and an uncertain future.

## Conclusion

These three conflicts in Oceania provide examples of how ethnic differences become foci of violence when ethnicity becomes attached to issues such as land and economic inequality. In all three cases, armed indigenous groups acted to defend what they perceived to be their rights. Weak central governments were unable to respond to social change in a positive way and lacked effective institutions to control the violence. In Fiji, the site of the Pacific's only military coup, the Army was at least able to prevent the levels of bloodshed and disruption that emerged in the more anarchic situations on Bougainville and the Solomon Islands.

Relatively quiet at present, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Fiji have not solved the underlying problems that led to violent ethnic conflict. Each country faces several daunting tasks. They need to build stronger governments that can maintain order and promote national unity. They also require economies that can advance the legitimate aspirations of their heterogeneous, mobile, youthful populations. No doubt, they will require politicians of exceptional integrity and considerable external assistance to achieve these goals.

HAL LEVINE

**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: SOUTHEAST ASIA

One of the legacies of European and American colonialism in Southeast Asia, as in other parts of the world such as Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, is the creation of borders, generally made through agreements between the colonizers, which often bisected ethnic groups (although Thailand was never formally colonized, its borders were as much a direct result of this as were those that were colonized). Prior to colonialism, Southeast Asia was for the most part ruled by local kings, rajas, sultans, etc., with the occasional empire emerging (such as Majapahit, Sri Vijaya, Angkor, Pagan, etc.) which controlled and consolidated large areas of land. Distinct borders, however, were non-existent, in part because they were viscous and constantly shifting in relation to the exercise of power, but also because the nation-state, and its requirement of sovereign territoriality, was still foreign to Southeast Asia. Furthermore, most minorities were little affected by the earlier indigenous rulers; power generally circulated outward from the center, and the farther one was from the center the less one felt the influence of a ruler. A distinction must be made among ethnic groups in Southeast Asia to clarify this point: most majority populations (Tai, Burman, Khmer, Lao, etc.) are lowland dwellers, occupying coastal lands and concentrated around river deltas or occupying fertile river valleys and plains in which rice cultivation allowed for the creation of surplus (and later capital), which in turn allowed for these communities to thrive and multiply. Most ethnic minorities, however, are upland dwellers; in Southeast Asia the vast majority of ethnic diversity is found in the hills and

hinterlands. Because of their location they remained, for the most part, outside the reach of the lowland kingdoms. Furthermore, their cultivation methods were (and are) generally swidden (slash and burn) agriculture, which meant that these minorities did not produce much surplus, and were much more spread out, as swidden agriculture requires large parcels of land in order to rotate areas of cultivation.

As colonialism advanced and firm borders were drawn up, little thought was given to these minority populations. Yet once these borders were established, all of those who fell within the boundaries became subjects first of the colony, and later citizens of the nation-state following independence, and the problem arose of how to consolidate the colony (and later nation-state) through the inclusion of these minorities. In the colonial period, colonizers were also interested in exploiting the resources of these upland or peripheral areas, including forest products, mineral, gems, and metals. They were also interested in proselytizing, which often served the functions of bringing minorities to the support of the colonizers, and allowing for the colonizers to use minorities in colonial armies (and in other capacities), often pitting ethnic groups against each other. Throughout the colonial period, however, many minorities were relatively untouched by these processes, as they required too much effort and expense. As the wave of decolonization following World War II spread throughout Southeast Asia, and colonies became nation-states, the inclusion, or consolidation, of these minorities became part of the nation-state building process.

Due to the histories of these minorities, and the attempts to include them, many ethnic minorities are suffering persecution or discrimination, and some are fighting the nation-state in which they have been subsumed. Similar to other regions in the world, ethnic conflict in Southeast Asia is inseparable from conflicts concerning religion, resources, and rights. One would be hard-pressed to find a purely ethnic conflict without one or more of the other elements.

The most explosive ethnic conflicts, which also have strong bases in religion, are Aceh and the Moluccas in Indonesia, the Karen of Burma, the Malays of southern Thailand, and the Moros of southern Philippines. Aceh, at the northern tip of Sumatra and an entrance to the Strait of Malacca, has a long history of independence and prominence dating back to the sixteenth century. Aceh has historically been a deeply Muslim area, and was known as the doorway to Mecca for pilgrims making the Haj from other parts of Southeast Asia. In the early nineteenth century, the Acehnese forged a trading alliance with the British, but as the Acehnese expanded their rule southward and the Dutch moved northward, the

two finally clashed. Britain ceded its claim to any part of Sumatra in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1871, and the Acehnese perceived this a declaration of war. The Aceh War (1871–1913) was history’s longest colonial war, and perhaps most bloody, and although the Dutch gained control of the larger urban areas, resistance continued throughout the colonial period. Since Indonesian independence, Aceh has been considered a special autonomous region (except from 1950–1957) but there has always been conflict between the Acehnese and the central government, over religious issues (the Acehnese support Shariah Law, and were finally allowed to implement it in 2002), and over resources. Although Aceh is the site of some of the richest oil and natural gas fields in Indonesia, it is also among the poorest and least developed regions. Aceh supported the Darul Islam rebellion (1953–1957) against the central government, but widespread overt resistance to the central government ceased until the founding of the Free Aceh Movement (*Gerekan Aceh Merdeka*, or *GAM*) in the early 1970s. Since then, GAM has been fighting the central government as a separatist movement. Since 1999, Indonesia has granted some measure of autonomy, but development remains low, and the conflict has been escalating. In the Maluccas (or Maluku), conflict has raged between Christians and Muslims since 1999. The central government’s policy of transmigration, moving people from more populated islands such as Java, Bali, and Madura, to less populated ones has exacerbated tension by diluting the majority Christian population. There is much speculation as to how the violence was sparked and why, as the region had been relatively peaceful up until 1999, but following the outbreak of violence, both sides have recruited members from other regions, with the central government, and some sectors in the military, supporting the Muslims. The Southern Moluccas (Ambon) has a history of separatism that dates back to the founding of Indonesia, and is related to its colonial history. There, the Dutch converted much of the population to Christianity, and used Christian Ambonese in the colonial army to suppress rebellion elsewhere in the Indies. The Republic of the South Moluccas has had a government in exile, located in Holland, since 1949.

The Karen of Burma (Myanmar) are fighting a conflict in which a hill tribe minority, many of whom have been converted to Christianity, are fighting a Buddhist central government over rights and autonomy. Similar to the Moluccans, the Karen were drafted into the colonial army and fought the majority Burmans, most notably choosing the British side over the Japanese-allied Burmans during World War II. Promises of greater autonomy, such as those promised in the Panglong Agreement of 1947, have

never materialized. More recently, the Hmong of Laos have been facing persecution at the hands of the Lao central government for their role in aiding the United States against the communist Pathet Lao during the Vietnam conflict. In southern Thailand, Malays (who are Muslim) are fighting the Thai central government, with various goals that range from greater autonomy and development to full-fledged separatism. The four southernmost provinces, Songkhla, Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat are, despite being large rice producers, comparatively underdeveloped and persecuted by the ethnic Tai and Buddhist majority. In southern Philippines, Muslims (Moros) have been fighting the Christian majority since Spanish colonialism and the mass conversion of the north. Southern Philippines is also home to vast natural resources, but is among the least developed regions of the Philippines.

Resources and rights are two other exacerbating factors in ethnic conflict in Southeast Asia. West Papua (formerly Irian Jaya), Indonesia, is an egregious example. West Papua was formally integrated into Indonesia in 1969 after eight years of occupation (and the ousting of the Dutch, who did not cede control of West Papua with the rest of the Indies in 1949) through the “act of Free Choice,” a United Nations referendum that was viewed at the time as a sham, a mere formality to give Indonesia’s seizure of the territory *de jure* recognition. Some eight hundred West Papuans, most of them hand-picked by the Indonesian government and under coercion, out of a population of around 1 million, voted unanimously to integrate with Indonesia. Cold War considerations must be taken into account (this was just four years after the Indonesian purge of communists began, President Suharto had firmly allied with the West, and the Vietnam conflict was raging). It was also known that West Papua held vast mineral deposits, as well as virgin tropical forest, oil, and natural gas. President Suharto had reopened Indonesia to foreign investment (after Soekarno had banned it) and one of the first to take advantage of the opening was Freeport McMoran, an American mining multinational corporation. West Papua is home to the largest gold reserve, and the mine is the second largest open pit copper mine in the world. Moving inhabitants off of their traditional land has facilitated mining operations, and the operation is responsible for tremendous environmental degradation. Since Indonesia’s annexation of the territory, the Free Papua Movement (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, or *OPM*) has been waging a low-level guerrilla war against the central government, with a goal of separation. West Papua is among the least developed regions in Indonesia, but among the richest in resources, and despite promises of autonomy, little

## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: SOUTHEAST ASIA

has been done to alleviate the terrible poverty and lack of rights of the West Papuans.

Another major area of ethnic conflict is ethnic Chinese (or overseas Chinese) in Southeast Asia. Every nation-state in Southeast Asia has an ethnic Chinese minority (except for Singapore, in which the majority of the population is ethnic Chinese), although their treatment varies widely from country to country. Most ethnic Chinese came to Southeast Asia in the twentieth century, generally as coolies for the European overseers and in an attempt to save money in order to return to China, but Chinese trade and settlement in Southeast Asia predates European colonialism. In some societies, ethnic Chinese have been incorporated without significant problems, including in Vietnam (long influenced by China), Laos, and Thailand. Ethnic Chinese are relatively well integrated into Philippine culture as well, but some resentment remains due to their disproportionate wealth. This resentment has led to a recent rash of kidnappings of ethnic Chinese, with the kidnappers often in league with Filipino police or military. In Malaysia, ethnic Chinese are not clearly integrated, retaining much of their Chinese culture. After serious ethnic conflict in the 1950s and 1960s, however, and perhaps due to the strong-handed influence of the central government in combination with affirmative action programs for ethnic Malays, there have been few incidents of serious violence against ethnic Chinese. In Indonesia, however, ethnic Chinese have been used as a scapegoat since independence. Similar to other countries in Southeast Asia, ethnic Chinese control a disproportionate amount of wealth, which fuels resentment. Ethnic Chinese are often scapegoated in order to draw attention away from other problems, the most recent manifestation of this being the anti-Chinese riots of May 1998, in the aftermath of widespread student demonstrations and the shooting of several student activists in Jakarta. Ethnic Chinese businesses in Jakarta were targeted for burning and looting, rape was committed against ethnic Chinese women, and acts of violence including murder were perpetrated against the ethnic Chinese community in general in Jakarta, and few perpetrators were prosecuted. Exacerbating the conflict is the fact that most ethnic Chinese are Christian or Buddhist, adding a religious element, and included in the turmoil of 1998–1999 was a rash of church burnings throughout Java.

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**See also Brunei; Cambodia; Indonesia; Laos; Malaysia; Myanmar; Philippines; Singapore; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations; Thailand; Vietnam**

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: SOUTHERN AFRICA

Because ethnicity and race are pivotal within Southern Africa's social and economic framework, racial and ethnic struggles tend to be central drivers of the region's politics. The region's core racial markers originally evolved in the Cape Colony and Natal but were spread regionally by the British Empire's expansion. In Southern Africa skin colour tends to be a marker of 'race,' while home language is a marker of 'ethnicity.' Although both race and ethnicity have been the sources of conflict, inter-ethnic conflicts have been more common.

## Sources of Ethnic Conflict

Five key sources of ethnic conflict can be identified in Southern Africa.

*Political boundaries* are a colonial legacy. Colonial boundary-makers generally ignored existing ethnic boundaries. Hence, most Southern African states incorporate a number of different ethnic groups, often speaking mutually unintelligible languages. (South African's eleven languages, ranked from the most to

least spoken, are: Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Pedi, English, Tswana, Sotho, Tsonga, Swazi, Venda, and Ndebele). Often the groups placed into the same state were historically antagonistic towards one another. Only two Southern African states (Lesotho and Swaziland) are ethnically homogeneous. However, over 50% of Swazis and Sothos live outside Lesotho and Swaziland because of how the colonial boundaries were drawn.

*New racial and ethnic groups* were planted into the region during the colonial era. Dutch, Anglo, and Portuguese colonials settled in the region. In South Africa and Namibia, this European settlement has apparently created permanent white populations who have substantively indigenized themselves. This is especially true of the Afrikaner group. The colonial settlements (especially the Cape Colony) also produced mixed race populations called coloureds. South African and Namibian coloureds are a mix of Khoi (Hottentot), San (Bushmen), Dutch, Indonesian, and some black. In South Africa and Namibia most coloureds speak Afrikaans and share many cultural practices with white Afrikaners. The Angolan colonial period produced a *mestizos* population of mixed Portuguese/black ancestry and *assimilados* (Portuguesized-blacks). Further, the colonial period saw Indians brought to Natal as indentured labourers. Many Indians subsequently migrated to Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Zimbabwe. In a number of Southern African states, tension (and even conflict) has often characterized the relationships between the 'new' and indigenous groups.

Within Southern Africa the following definitions of 'race' have been normalized —'black' means someone of 'pure' (Bantu) African ancestry; 'white' someone of 'pure' European ancestry; 'coloured' someone of mixed ancestry. 'Indian' means someone of Indian or Pakistani ancestry. These four racial categories continue to be very powerful markers of status, life chances, identity, and conflict within Southern Africa.

A *racial-ranking system* was introduced into the region by the British. Donald Horowitz has called this race-ranking system 'positional psychology.' This colonial race/class system created an Empire-wide social hierarchy (to 'justify' English-rule over an Empire of lesser human-types). In Southern Africa the ranking from top/'advanced' to bottom/'backward' was: British-born Anglos, colonial-born Anglos, Afrikaners Indians, coloureds, Westernized-blacks, and traditional-blacks. Some black groups (e.g., Zulu) were ranked higher than others (e.g., Shona) because the British ascribed higher status to 'warrior groups' that fought back. Within this colonial race/class system, individual worth was ascribed according to the ethnic group one was born into. This

affected one's economic life chances, and one's perceived worth. Exclusion from the 'advanced' group produced feelings of envy, insecurity and deprivation, which were to have profound effects on subsequent socio-political developments in South Africa because it produced 'catch-up nationalism'—for example, Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism were born of groups trying to re-rank themselves upwards.

*The use of majoritarianism against minority groups* has ensued. Post-colonial Southern African states have political systems based upon the principle of majoritarianism. This has generally meant larger ethnic groups secure a permanent (and unchallengeable?) position of dominance, e.g., Shona in Zimbabwe; Bemba in Zambia; and Ovambo in Namibia. For a number of Southern African minority groups majoritarianism has bred resentment because they believe themselves to be disadvantaged and disempowered, e.g., Matabele in Zimbabwe; whites, coloureds, and Indians in South Africa; Nama, Basters and San in Namibia; Shona in Mozambique; and San in Botswana.

*Historical animosities* born of past conflicts have often been carried into the present where they negatively impact on inter-group relations. Many Southern African ethnic groups have been involved in armed conflict, which has necessarily left legacies of animosity, mistrust, and resentment of 'old enemies.'

### South African Conflicts: Historical Legacies

The nineteenth century was an especially violent period in South Africa which left residues of inter-ethnic animosity that have subsequently negatively impacted upon inter-group relationships. Four sets of conflicts were especially important in this regard.

*The Mfecane* ("the great upheaval") in the early nineteenth century was a period of intense instability and conflict born of Shaka's violent expansion of his Zulu kingdom. This produced a chain reaction of conflict, conquest, and economic devastation across southeast Africa, with the Sotho tribes being especially badly affected. Most Sotho fled into the mountains of Lesotho (forming a new state); the mountains of the northern Transvaal; and to western Zambia. This emptied large areas of the Highveld and Natal of people. Waves of refugees also destabilized neighbouring areas. Regional instability worsened when some of Shaka's generals broke away and launched conquests of their own—Mzilikazi's conquered the Tswana and built a Matabele state on the Highveld. Soshangane conquered the Tsonga in Mozambique and built the Gaza state. Other Ngoni breakaway groups spread the *Mfecane* to Malawi and Tanzania.

The *Mfecane* left much bitterness towards the Zulu especially amongst the Sotho, Tswana, Pedi, and Xhosa. This bitterness was exacerbated by an ongoing Zulu's attitude of superiority born of their belief that their conquests under Shaka made them the natural rulers of the region.

The *Great Trek* of the 1830s saw Afrikaners migrate inland to escape British rule. (The British annexed the Cape Colony in 1806). Afrikaner *voortrekkers* moved to areas of the Highveld and Natal depopulated by the *Mfecane*, which created conflict with the Matabele and Zulus. When the Matabele were defeated most migrated northwards. This transferred hegemony over the Tswana, Pedi, and Sotho from the Matabele to Afrikaners. A series of wars established a border between the Boer republics and Moshoeshoe's Lesotho kingdom. Afrikaners enforced their Highveld hegemony through an alliance with Swazis. The Matabele eventually settled in western Zimbabwe, violently imposing their hegemony over the Shona. Defeating the Zulus transferred hegemony of much of southeast Africa from the Zulus to Afrikaners. However, the British, concerned at this expanding Afrikaner hegemony, annexed Natal.

The Great Trek saw an Afrikaner hegemony violently imposed over South Africa's Highveld interior. Subjugated black tribes became labourers within a neo-feudal agricultural economy (pastoralism and grain) geared to serve Afrikaner needs. This produced a legacy of black resentment towards Afrikaners (born of conquest and subjugation).

*British subjugation of black tribes* took place throughout the nineteenth century. The 1870s saw the British army defeat the Zulu, Pedi, and Xhosa, which effectively secured white hegemony over South Africa for the next century. As a result black people lost large swathes of their land and lost their traditional way of life/economy. Defeat saw black people forced into a labor market governed by the practices of racial-capitalism (wherein blacks were at the bottom of the race-ranking system). This necessarily produced resentments born of defeat, subjugation, and economic exploitation.

### ***The Boer War***

The end of the nineteenth century saw the British launch a war against Afrikaner Highveld states in order to seize the newly discovered Johannesburg goldfields. To defeat Afrikaner guerrillas, the British burned all Afrikaner farming-homesteads and crops and placed women and children into concentration camps. By 1902, the Afrikaners were defeated and British hegemony was extended over the whole of

South Africa. Defeat generated an Afrikaner lumpen-proletariate underclass of ex-farmers disposed after the war. A program of enforced Anglicization of Afrikaners was also attempted. Post-war poverty and the Anglicization program produced Afrikaner nationalism.

The Boer War generated a legacy of Afrikaner resentment towards Anglos, born of defeat, concentration camp memories, fear of Anglicization, and Afrikaner impoverishment within Anglo-run capitalism. For their part, Anglos generally stereotyped Afrikaners in ways reminiscent of Anglo attitudes towards the Irish. Hence, twentieth-century Anglo-Afrikaner relationships have often been characterized by a mutual antipathy.

### **Apartheid and Its Legacies**

Afrikaner nationalism (which grew out of the Boer War defeat) had two main objectives: to rank Afrikaners upwards (and overcome Afrikaner poverty); and create an "autonomous space" for Afrikaners where they would be culturally protected from both Anglicization and from being swamped by a black majority. Apartheid (called "separate development" by Afrikaner nationalists) aimed to create "separate spaces" for all ethnic groups along the lines of the Dutch *verzuiling* principle. In the process of implementing this policy, Afrikaners used violence to resettle blacks into separate ethnic territories and violence to maintain exploitative economic relations (which promoted Afrikaner welfare at the expense of black and coloured workers). This gave rise to a 1980s civil war between anti- and pro-apartheid forces. Both sides in this civil war drew supporters from every ethnic group in the country. However, the anti-apartheid side drew most support from urban blacks, coloureds, and Indians, while the pro-apartheid side attracted most support from Afrikaners and Anglos. However, anti-apartheid forces also found themselves opposed by Zulus led by Buthelezi.

Apartheid left a legacy of black resentments and the civil war a legacy of bitterness. As a consequence, the black nationalist-led post-apartheid government actively promotes "black empowerment" policies (aimed at re-ranking the old racial hierarchies), and insists on a strong unitary state that eschews the promotion of cultural distinctness (because granting too much latitude for ethnic groups to exercise 'cultural autonomy' is now equated with apartheid). This has produced a post-apartheid anti-government alliance of minorities (whites, coloureds, and Indians)

based upon a fear of 'black domination' and growing pressures towards cultural and economic 'Africanisation.' In Cape Town, Muslim coloureds launched a terror-war against the post-apartheid government.

### Zimbabwe: Ethnic Conflicts

Zimbabwe has experienced two sets of ethnic animosities. Tension between Shona and Matabele date back to the mid-nineteenth century when the Matabele fled South Africa. The Matabele settled in western Zimbabwe on land seized from the Shona and violently extended their hegemony over wide swathes of the Shona lands. The Shona were treated with contempt ("Shona" is derived from the Matabele word for 'dog'). When Zimbabwe became independent in 1980 the new Shona-rulers launched a genocidal campaign of state-terror against the Matabele and, until the present, the Matabele are regarded as foes of Zimbabwe's Shona-led government.

The second ethnic animosity is between blacks and whites. White (mostly Anglo) settlers violently subjugated the Shona and Matabele at the end of the nineteenth century. As a result black people lost large swathes of their land and were forced into an exploitative labor market wherein blacks were at the bottom of the race-ranking system. A 1970s civil war brought a Shona-dominated government to power. Black-white tensions reemerged at the start of the twenty-first century when the Zimbabwe-government encouraged its supporters to violently drive white settlers off their farms.

### Namibia: Ethnic Conflicts

Animosity between blacks and whites began with nineteenth century German colonial repression of black resistance (when the Herero were subjected to genocidal treatment). Afrikaner settlers arrived in the twentieth century, and black people lost large swathes of their land and were forced into an exploitative labor market wherein blacks were at the bottom of the race-ranking system. A 1970–1980s guerrilla war necessarily heightened black-white tensions. Namibian independence brought to power an Ovambo-dominated government. Since independence, ethnic groups—e.g., the San, Nama, and Basters—who were seen to have supported the white forces against the guerrillas, have faced government policies unsympathetic to their interests.

### Mozambique: Ethnic Conflicts

With the end of Portuguese rule, nearly all white settlers fled, removing the conditions for continued white-black ethnic tension inside Mozambique. At independence Mozambique was peopled by three main ethnic groups, namely the Makua-Lomwe (the largest ethnic group), Shona, and Tsonga. During the 1970–1980s, a guerrilla group drawing its support from the Shona (a minority group feeling excluded from power) launched a destructive war against the Mozambiquean government. They received support from Portuguese settlers who had migrated to Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as white Rhodesians and South Africans.

### Angola: Ethnic Conflicts

The end of Portuguese rule saw most white-settlers flee Angola. However, a large population of *mestizos* and *assimilados* remained in urban areas like Luanda. An on-going civil war has raged since the Portuguese left. On one side is the Luanda-based government dominated by *assimilados* and *mestizos* in alliance with the Mbundu, an ethnic group with a long history of contact with the Portuguese. On the other side is a guerrilla group operating in southeast and central Angola, which draws support from Angola's largest ethnic group, the Ovimbundu. The Ovimbundu are more rural and less Westernized, and regard their war as an 'African heroic' struggle against the 'less African' nature of their *assimilados/mestizos* opposition.

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**See also** Angola; Apartheid; FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique); Mozambique; Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA); South Africa; Zimbabwe

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## ETHNIC CONFLICTS: SOUTHERN CONE (LATIN AMERICA)

Ethnic conflicts throughout South America are in part related to an increased level of ethnic awareness and in part the consequence of worsened living conditions among many indigenous groups. In other words, at the same time that these groups see themselves increasingly threatened by global processes they do not control, they are increasingly refusing to be "Victims of Progress" to use Bodley's expression (1990), and assuming an expanded role in market economies as well as the active management of their own political agendas.

The various theoretical perspectives of the concept of ethnicity notwithstanding and focusing on the Southern region of the continent, it seems useful to start with a definition of indigenous groups such as the one formulated by the Asociación Indígena de la República Argentina:

Indigenous is the original population of a certain place, that sharing a common past, present and future, are aware of being indigenous and speak or have spoken the language of their forebears. They preserve their values, norms and cultural heritage, and are recognised as such by other members of the group and by outsiders. (AIRA 1986)

In Brazil, the expansion of settlers, prospectors, loggers as well as missionary and government agents into the most remote regions of the Amazon has caused considerable disruption to tribal societies. The Amazonian basin has been the scene of major population displacements since early colonial times. Many of the so-called "primitive" tribes are descendants of groups that were forced to migrate as far away as possible from forced labor or outright persecution. While FUNAI, Brazil's National Indian Foundation, has on paper designated millions of hectares as Indigenous Areas, such as Jaú, Vale do Javari, Mundurucú and others, no serious effort has been made to prevent the invasion of these areas by local or multinational development interests. In 1952, for example, eighty-five thousand square kilometers in the state of Matto Grosso were designated off limits to colonisation. However, before the area had been properly delimited, the local government ceded 75% of it to land speculators. In Rio Grande do Sul,

tribal lands that in 1913 amounted to eighty-one thousand hectares, had by 1967 diminished to thirty-two thousand (Bodley 1990).

The protracted conflicts in the Yanomami area in the border with Venezuela, which contain the familiar elements such as loss of territory, epidemics, and a general loss of integrity, have received much international attention. Developments in the Kayapó Indigenous Area, in central Amazon, represent on the other hand a case in which a tribal group, in this case the Kayapó, has retained territorial and social integrity by using revenues obtained from timber and gold mining to employ modern equipment such as radios and airplanes. With these means, foreign encroachment has been largely avoided. In 1989, the Kayapó were also able to successfully oppose the projected building by the government of a series of hydroelectric dams along the Xingú River.

Contrary to popular belief, the indigenous population of Brazil, of about three hundred thousand, represent a mere 0.03% of the total population in the country. However, the Brazilian Amazon has been a testing ground for processes by which local and tribal groups have become connected to a greater world, establishing a significant political presence (Conklin 2002).

At the same time, ethnic conflicts are closely related to conflicts of race and social class. In Brazil, for many of the upper- and middle-classes, Indians, Blacks, and poor people are just different varieties of "problematic others" who bring about a variety of social evils. The envisaged solution to these perceived evils is assimilation or extinction, and not seldom, expressed in a jocular vein that veils deep-felt emotions, outright extermination (Scheper-Hughes 1992).

A striking feature in Argentina, a country with a predominantly white and mestizo population, is the growing movement of ethnic revivification present among an indigenous population that represents about 1.4% of a total population of 38 million inhabitants. There are approximately sixteen different ethnic groups in the country, from the Guaraní groups in the Chaco lowlands of the north to the Ona (Selknam) of Tierra del Fuego. In the face of nationally inspired projects of integration and assimilation, many of these small groups have to fight for the very recognition of their condition of indigenous peoples. Thus is particularly true for those who claim descent from seemingly assimilated groups, like the Kolla in the north, or supposedly extinct groups such as the Huarpe in Mendoza and the Ranquel in La Pampa (Gordillo and Hirsch 2003). There is often widespread dissension within these groups, reflecting the fact that in this ongoing process nobody has a final answer to the complex issues of policy, identity, and belonging.

In the northwest, Salta and Jujuy, the Guaraní people, along with other indigenous groups such as Toba and Wichí that also inhabit the region, are actively promoting the strengthening of communities and development of various economic projects. Through their uses of confrontational discourse in the political arena, they have established new relationships with the traditional centers of power, abandoning clientelism, and demanding the right to self-determination. A basic tenet for Guaraní leaders is that borders do not exist for them: they are one people from Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Argentina, who share in common a struggle against oppression and discrimination (Hirsch 2003).

About one quarter of the almost 1 million Mapuche of southern Chile and Argentina, live in rural settlements that cover no more than 7%–8% of the territory they possessed until the end of the nineteenth century. These Mapuche, in Rio Negro and Chubut provinces in Argentina, and in the Bio-Bio, Araucania, and Los Lagos regions in Chile, now feel the pressure from the increasing exploitation of minerals, water, oil, as well as tourism, forestry, and agroindustry.

This expansion has reduced to utter marginality the subsistence economies of most rural communities. All surveys made in Mapuche communities on both sides of the Andes show levels of income, health, and education that are below the national averages. This critical situation has led to the mobilisation of many Mapuche groups in Argentina and to an increased level of conflict in southern Chile, where some 250,000 Mapuche live in rural communities, cities, and towns. In many of these communities, forest plantations have drastically diminished water levels, leaving the local population destitute.

In response, many communities have retaliated with land occupation, attacks on employees of forest companies, and the burning of buildings, trucks, and other machinery. Many consider these violent incidents as the prelude to an explosive situation like Chiapas in Mexico. The state has treated these eruptions as a serious challenge to the established legal order and, under the influence of vested economic interests, has reacted with measures such as the Law of State Security, inherited from the period of military dictatorship (1973–1990). Special Forces of Carabineros, the semi-military Chilean police, conduct regular raids into Mapuche communities, breaking into homes with or without search warrants in search of individuals wanted by the courts. The courts have sentenced many Mapuche activists to long jail periods, but have not taken the same initiative to investigate and prosecute the documented excessive use of violence by police forces or the illegal covert actions

undertaken by forest companies and landowners. As a result, many Mapuche refuse to acknowledge a legal situation that involved the forceful appropriation of more than 90% of their territory and now operates with a manifest lack of equanimity.

The Andine Pewenche have been at the center of a protracted conflict related to the construction of several hydroelectric dams in their lands along Upper Bio-Bio river for years. Despite legal actions and protest, the second of these dams, at Ralco, was completed in 2004, after the relocation of dozens of Pewenche families. In another much publicised case in the early 1990s, the Pewenche community of Quinquen was on the verge of being evicted from their holdings after losing an appeal to the Supreme Court regarding land that had been inhabited by the same family for the past century but which was now being claimed by a forest company. The state finally resolved the case by purchasing the land in dispute.

In Chile, as in Argentina, the state has implemented a series of social, economic, and educational programmes in order to ameliorate the living conditions of ethnic minorities. However, these measures are only directed at individuals, families, or communities rather than on tribes or groups as a whole. While many organizations of ethnic groups have demanded various degrees of autonomy, these claims have often been ignored or denied. In Chile, indigenous groups are not constitutionally recognised as *pueblos*, peoples, because of the possible separatist connotations carried by the term.

While the national media in the Southern Cone countries has often called the ethnic unrest the action of militant factions, ethnic revindications like these in southern Chile are rather the result of increasingly self-conscious peoples or nations that, as emergent societies in their own right, reject the colonialist policies of the past and the worsening living conditions. For instance, some 95% of the Aymara population of northern Chile have abandoned their Andine villages and moved to cities due to a water shortage caused by the diversion of local water resources to the mines of the region. Traditionally a pastoralist and horticultural society, the Aymara were no longer able to practice agriculture or animal husbandry.

The regional ethnic struggles have much in common, in that they reach beyond demands for land and political rights. They also involve the reconstruction of extensive nets of collaboration across national borders and the recognition of the contribution of native societies to process of development. At the same time, these conflicts demonstrate the numerous factors that ethnic identity and conflicts include. In Brazil, many of the conflicts are a reaction against the expansion of modern society into lands hitherto inhabited by tribal



societies. In Argentina we witness a process of ethnification that includes small and even invisible groups. In Chile and Argentina, many conflicts result from a determined resistance against the consequences of economic processes that threaten the viability of indigenous communities.

This variety shows that ethnic groups are not backward-looking social groups, and neither can they be regarded as totally homogenous. While individuals or factions belonging to a certain ethnic group might be involved in a struggle as members of that precise group, others might feel uncomfortable with the ethnic label and choose to pursue their aims as private citizens of the dominant society.

As elsewhere, ethnic conflicts in the Southern Cone are the product of present discourse, experience, and interest enacted by collectives with a common past. They reflect the interests of groups that employ culture and history as both their claim and their weapon in the pursuit of political, economic, and social gains (Eller 1999). Ultimately, they are struggles for a renewed sense of belonging.

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**See also Ethnicity: Impact on Politics and Society; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development**

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### ETHNIC CONFLICTS: WEST AFRICA

West Africa is composed of sixteen countries, most of them situated along the Atlantic coast on the western bulge of Africa: Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mauritania,

Nigeria, Togo, Senegal and Sierra Leone. Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger are landlocked, while Cape Verde is a group of small islands off the coast of Senegal. With a population larger than any other sub-region of the continent, West Africa is also the most ethnically diverse. Among its hundreds of ethnic groups are the Akan (Ashante and Fante), Fulani, Hausa, Malinke, Wolof, and Yoruba. Because some of these groups, such as the Fulani, Hausa, and Malinke, have a long history of cross-border migration, they are scattered in more than one West African country. The languages of these dispersed peoples however unify them culturally.

West Africa's ethnic plurality varies from country to country and has some bearing on interethnic relations and conflicts in each country. Among the 250 or so ethnic groups in Nigeria, the largest—Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, and Ibo—have dominated national politics since independence in 1960. In Ghana, the Ashante, Fante, Ga-Adangme, and Ewe are the main contenders for political power among thirty or more other groups with similar aspirations. In Liberia, by contrast, the minority Americo-Liberians (descendants of freed slaves repatriated from the United States) monopolized national leadership for more than a century until 1980, when a military coup toppled the government of President William Tolbert. One of the coup leaders, Master-Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe, a Krahn, became the first full-blooded indigenous Liberian president since independence in 1847. The Liberian civil war (1989–1996) was the climax of a fierce struggle to oust Doe from power as Americo-Liberians, Bassa, Kru, Mandingo, Mano, and Vai, among nine other groups, resisted a decade-long dictatorship.

In West Africa, as in other parts of the world, ethnic conflicts pose a major threat to regional security and stability. Scholars seeking an historical explanation for such conflicts in the sub-region often cite the balkanization of Africa sanctioned by the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) as a defining moment. At the conference, European colonial powers outlined the rules for partitioning Africa to avoid mutual conflict. Yet by grouping together different ethnic groups and splitting some haphazardly in demarcating colonial boundaries, critics argue, the colonial powers sowed the seeds of future ethnic rivalries and violent confrontations throughout Africa. Although European colonial practices in West Africa exacerbated ethnic divisions in numerous instances, however, it is historically inaccurate to suggest that such conflicts originated with European colonization. Pre-colonial West Africa experienced its fair share of ethnic conflicts, which on occasion resulted in warfare between rival groups. The disputes for the most part revolved

around control of territory, trade routes, scarce resources, and religious differences, especially with the spread of Islam across West Africa from about the tenth century CE on.

After gaining independence in the 1960s, most West African nation-states had to grapple with ethnic rivalries, some of which were manifest while others remained latent. Competition for political power at times turned violent when power-sharing arrangements between opposing ethnic groups proved intractable. The Nigerian civil war (1967–1970), for example, broke out because Ibo leaders of Biafra in southeastern Nigeria felt marginalized in a federal system of government dominated by Hausa and Fulani political leaders of northern Nigeria. Led by Lieutenant-colonel Emeka Ojukwu, Biafra decided to secede, a decision the Hausa-led government rejected by going to war in defense of the federation's integrity. Biafra only capitulated after four years of intense fighting.

By contrast, the secessionist movement spearheaded by the Movement of Democratic Forces of Senegal (MFDC) in the southern Casamance region of Senegal has sustained its insurgency intermittently since 1983. Although Casamance, like the rest of Senegal, has a predominantly Muslim population, its main city, Ziguinchor, has a sizeable Diola Christian community, which was exposed to Portuguese and Roman Catholic influences during the colonial period. By contrast, the country's largely islamized Wolof, Fulbe, Tukolor, Serer, and Malinke populace experienced strong French influence. The MFDC seeks autonomy, contending that Casamance is relatively undeveloped because the Senegalese government considers it peripheral in both its centralized administration and developmental schemes. Until its expulsion from Guinea-Bissau in 1997, the MFDC launched its attacks from the former Portuguese colony south of Senegal. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been mediating between the Senegalese government and the MFDC to end hostilities. A peace accord signed in March 2001 has been violated now and again, while the sporadic fighting has displaced an estimated thirty thousand refugees, a large number of them living in The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau.

Not all ethnic conflicts in West Africa arise from a yearning for secession or separatism, however. In some countries, because ethnic affiliation was a dominant factor in the formation of political parties in the early post-colonial phase, the potential for interethnic violence was particularly high. During the 1960s in Sierra Leone, for instance, the Mende (one of two major groups) dominated the ruling Sierra Leone's Peoples Party (SLPP) led by the country's first prime minister, Dr Milton Margai. In contrast, the

opposition party, the All Peoples Congress (APC), received support mainly from the Temne (the other main group). In subsequent years the polarization of national politics along ethnic lines would deepen, which compounded by other problems including corruption, mismanagement, and nepotism, set the stage for civil war in Sierra Leone (1991–2000). Led by an ex-corporal, Foday Sankoh, a Temne, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), which took up arms against the then government of President Joseph Saidu Momoh, boosted its size by recruiting fighters, sometimes by forcible abduction, without consideration for ethnic background. The bulk of the fighters were unemployed youths in Freetown (capital), provincial towns, and villages, assisted by mercenaries from Liberia and Burkina Faso, for whom control over the diamond mines in eastern Sierra Leone was a major attraction.

North of Sierra Leone, in the Republic of Guinea, which gained independence from France in 1958, ethnic conflict would play out differently. The country's first president, Ahmed Sékou Touré, a union leader and head of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG), surrounded himself mostly with members of his Susu ethnic group, while he persecuted, jailed, and forced into exile his Malinke and Fula political opponents. Touré sustained his autocratic rule by ethnicizing politics, bankrolling the Guinean army, and severely punishing anyone opposed to his heavy-handed measures. Guinean prisons became torture chambers for those who dared to voice criticism against Touré's regime. Most of his exiled opponents returned to Guinea only after Touré died in March 1984 during a heart surgery in Cleveland, Ohio. While the country's future leadership was still in doubt following Touré's demise, Colonel Lansana Conté, also a Susu, usurped power in a military coup. Conté won successive presidential elections held in 1993 and 1998, which aroused a lot of criticism for their lack of transparency. Although large-scale ethnic clashes have been rare in Guinea, the continued hold on power by Conté's Susu-dominated government has not gone down well with other ethnic groups.

Ethnic conflicts in West Africa, as elsewhere worldwide, vary in their causes, potential for exacerbation, and prospects for long-term resolution. In northeastern Ghana, ethnic clashes between the Konkomba and the Dagomba, Nanumba, and Gonja, which broke out in February 1994, claimed about one thousand lives and displaced several thousands others. The clashes arose from lingering discontent over land ownership and the privileges of traditional chiefs. Although a military contingent restored peace a few months after the fighting erupted, the government did not rescind its state of emergency declared in

the region until August. Despite the tolerance characteristic of interethnic relations in Ghana, this violent episode signaled the existence of ethnic tension in the country. In a bid to curb ethnocentric politics, the Ghanaian government thereafter declared as unconstitutional the formation of political parties based mainly on ethnic affiliation.

To Ghana's north, in the Republic of Niger, before the signing of a peace accord in 1995, the nomadic Tuareg in the northern part of the country engaged in a five-year insurgency the government found difficult to suppress. The Tuareg insurgents accused the government of marginalizing them and attempting to change their nomadic lifestyle forcibly. Even though most Tuareg continue to live their traditional lifestyle, many others have moved into cities like Niamey (the capital), Maradi, and Zinder where they participate in mainstream politics and commercial activities.

Although some scholars and the Western media often oversimplify the wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire, like those elsewhere in Africa, as "tribal" or "ethnic" conflicts, the underlying causes of these hostilities are far more complex and scarcely parochial in most cases. In varying degrees, the politicization of ethnicity, poor governance, corruption, exploitation by multinational companies, dwindling resources, poverty, foreign interference, the proliferation of small firearms, and religious differences aggravate ethnic rivalries and fuel most wars in West Africa as well as the rest of the continent.

### **Impact of Ethnic Conflicts on Development**

In its extreme form, ethnic conflict provokes civil war, which in turn produces a debilitating effect on a country's economic development. As in Nigeria's case in the late 1960s, the protracted fighting in Liberia and Sierra Leone stifled economic activities in both countries, especially as most multinational and other investment companies found it difficult to operate productively and were obliged to pull out. During the Liberian war, the country's main export industries, iron ore and timber, registered losses not yet recovered to date. Similarly, the economy of Sierra Leone took a downturn during the 1990s, because multinational companies interested in diamonds, the country's major export, were reluctant to do business in the prevailing atmosphere of instability. In the absence of foreign investors, the pace of business activities in both the private and public sectors slowed down considerably. Moreover, the loss of foreign exchange earnings made it difficult for the governments of both countries to repay loans from the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, stimulate economic growth, and implement development plans.

The strain on national economies caused by recurrent armed conflicts in West Africa is evident in the declining standard of living, dwindling cross-border trade, increasing unemployment, and widespread poverty and disease (notably HIV/AIDS), especially in the "axis of conflict" encompassing Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, and, to a lesser degree, Guinea. Furthermore, the majority of those killed in Liberia and Sierra Leone were young people, the core of the workforce in both countries. In Liberia, about 150,000 people were killed, roughly 5% of an estimated 3.3 million population. Likewise, in Sierra Leone, around seventy-five thousand people died out of an estimated 5 million inhabitants, while hundreds of thousands were injured, mutilated, and displaced. Consequently, the 2004 UNDP Human Development Report based on its human development index (HDI), which measures life expectancy, education, and gross domestic product per capita, ranks Sierra Leone the poorest country in the world.

Indeed developing economies like those in West Africa are particularly prone to the disruptive effects of violent confrontations. Nigeria, potentially one of the richest countries on Africa, is a case in point. During the last couple of decades, the proliferation of small firearms in the sub-region either has re-ignited or intensified conflict, especially in countries where ethnic tensions run high. Because the Nigerian government has been unable to control cross-border smuggling so far, small firearms are easily available from clandestine firearm dealers. In 2004 alone, the government announced the seizure of 112,000 illegal firearms. During various interethnic and religious clashes, between 1999 and 2004, notably in Ogun state, the central Plateau state, and the northern state of Kano, rival groups used sophisticated semi-automatic and automatic rifles in the indiscriminate shooting and killing of several hundred people. The communal violence involving Fulani, Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba, among others, has forced many businesses in the states concerned to either relocate or shut down.

Even more disruptive for the Nigerian economy, since 1997, violence has escalated in the southern oil-rich Delta State, where armed Ijaw and Urhobo ethnic militias dealing in stolen crude oil use modern firearms and traditional spears and machetes in a standoff with their Itsekiri ethnic rivals, the government, and its multinational oil partners. The Ijaw have attacked Itsekiri villages and oil facilities in the Niger Delta repeatedly and disrupted oil production on several occasions. Not even military

intervention by the government in 1999 could stop the violence and pillage. Besides claiming the lives of hundreds of people, the ongoing violence has caused the displacement of thousands more and the destruction of properties worth millions of dollars. The damage to infrastructure has had a draining effect on Nigeria's oil production. Overall, ethnic conflicts and violence in West Africa weaken its fragile economy and undermine its prospects for economic development.

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**See also West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## ETHNICITY: IMPACT ON POLITICS AND SOCIETY

The post–World War II era, and in particular the post–Cold War era, has witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of “ethnic conflicts” around the world. There exists a widespread sentiment that ethnicity, as a socially and politically relevant variable, is experiencing a dramatic upsurge. This trend belies the predictions of many scholars, who argued within the liberal tradition that with the advent of modernization, ethnic, religious, and other prescriptive traditional values would give way to the ascriptive values of individualism, materialism, and “rationality.” Modernization theorists of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s in particular argued that as developing countries modernize, they would become more like Western industrial countries, and a civic, national

identity would come to supersede older, ethnic identities. Scholars of the Marxist school of thought likewise argued that ethnic based identities would recede as people recognized their true class interests.

### Definitions of Ethnicity

Understanding the nature and source of ethnic identity is central to examining ethnicity's social and political role. There exists no consensus on the meaning of the term, however, and entire books have been devoted to the subject. In the past, most scholars treated ethnicity as a given, typically consisting of deeply rooted historical experiences, a shared historical past, common language, a collective perception of being part of the same group of people, and in some cases biological and genetic traits held in common. Milton Esman describes this *primordialist* view: “Individuals are bonded early in life to their ethnic community and these bonds tend to be perpetuated intergenerationally as distinctive peoples, tribes, or nations” (Esman 1994:10). Anthropologists such as Clifford Gertz typified work coming out of this tradition of viewing ethnicity.

There are simply too many modern day examples of newly emergent identities and older identities that have declined to the point of insignificance, however, for the *primordialist* view to remain unchallenged. For example, Crawford Young notes that “In the Nigerian instance, we find at the vortex of conflict the crystallization of Ibohood, an identity pattern which became salient only in the twentieth century” (*The Politics of Cultural Pluralism* 1976:6). New ways of viewing ethnicity therefore argued that “ethnicity is not a historical given at all, but in fact a highly adaptive and malleable phenomenon. In response to changing conditions, the boundaries of an ethnic collectivity can expand or contract, individuals move in and out and even share membership in more than one community. The very content, symbols, and meaning of a particular collective identity can and do evolve. In effect, ethnicity is a dynamic, not fixed and immutable element of social and political relationships” (Esman 1994).

Ethnicity is not infinitely malleable, however. Historical, territorial, and social “realities” do exist, and depending on the context these serve to limit the range of possibilities for the expansion, contraction, and relevance of ethnic identities. Hence, although a Kurd may adopt the Turkish language and culture and become an “ethnic Turk” (or vice versa), a Chinese person cannot generally become an “ethnic

Malay” (or Kurd, for that matter). Some individuals of mixed parentage may enjoy more flexibility in choosing their ethnic identity, however. Context also plays a role in determining the meaning of ethnicity. Religion, for instance, may or may not be an important part of ethnic identity depending on the situation. In the Balkans, religion forms a central component of ethnicity—Catholic Croats share virtually the same language and are physically indistinguishable from Orthodox Serbs. Jews, especially since the founding of Israel, often see themselves as a people (i.e., an ethnic group with a shared language, history, and culture) as much as a religious denomination. Within the Jewish polity, however, people claiming ethnic identities ranging from Russian to Ethiopian exist. Likewise, an Arab may be Christian or Muslim (and until modern political conflicts between Israel and the Arab world made the identities somewhat mutually exclusive, Jewish as well). In short, the term ‘ethnicity’ contains within it many contradictions, overlapping aspects and irregular usages, most of which remain unresolved in literature and practice.

Depending on the context, ethnic identification may remain in the private realm of the individual and family, such as an Argentinian of German background (their German “roots” are a personal matter to them, rather than a factor that impacts strongly on their social or political role in society). Ethnicity may also, however, serve as the justification for political demands, such as Berbers demanding language and cultural rights in Algeria. Ethnic nationalism (a fairly recent ideological phenomena coming out of Europe) refers to cases wherein ethnicity forms the basis of demands for a state controlled by the group in question, such as Kurdish aspirations for a state of “Kurdistan,” or the Thai state of Thailand. The vast majority of states today, however, contain a plethora of ethnic groups (Thailand, for example, includes many non-Thai ethnic groups, while India includes hundreds of different cultural-linguistic ethnic groups). Many ethnic groups are likewise divided across several states.

### The Impact of Colonialism

In the developing world, European colonialism played a central role in both exporting the idea of ethnic nationalism and creating state borders that bear little or no relevance to ethnic boundaries and population distributions. Especially in Africa, but also in the Middle East, Latin America, and parts of Asia, state borders were drawn up according to

colonial interests—often in neat, straight lines that divided communities belonging to the same ethnic group and put very different, often competing ethnic groups within the same state boundaries. After the First World War ethnic Kurds, for instance, became a minority in the new Arab dominated and colonially created states of Iraq and Syria, as well as Turkey and Iran (states which were formed from the remnants of the Ottoman and Safavid empires rather than by colonial powers). Numbering around 25 million people or more today, Kurds are sometimes referred to as the “largest nation without a state.” In other colonial states such as South Africa, European “white” populations settled, creating various ethnic distinctions (“whites” in South Africa were predominantly Boer or English, while “blacks” included various groups such as the Zulu, Xosa, and “Bushmen,” and “coloured” functioned as a residual category that included various groups from the Indian subcontinent and others). Different categories became relevant depending on the context—while “Bushmen” might differentiate between themselves according to additional ethnic divisions (“San” or “Basarwa,” for instance), a Zulu would likely see them as “Bushmen” and a Boer would relate to them as “blacks.” Until the 1990s, *apartheid* state policy in South Africa relied heavily on ethnic divisions that were exacerbated precisely because of the focus and definition given to them. Ethnicity is always relative in some sense: ethnic groups are defined in relation to other groups, what they are *not* being at least as important as what they are. Post *apartheid* South Africa is now trying to move away from such ethnic distinctions, promoting an equal “South African” civic identity for all citizens irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds.

Colonial “divide and rule” policies also had the effect of fomenting ethnic conflict and sometimes even creating ethnic distinctions that did not previously exist. Belgium, for instance, distinguished between “ethnic Hutus” and “ethnic Tutsis” in the regions that became Rwanda and Burundi. These were largely fictional categories based primarily on physical appearance (Hutus being shorter and stockier, Tutsis taller and thinner—the groups speak the same language and share the same culture). They became very real categories of ethnic identification when the colonial rulers issued identity cards that specified ethnic identity (generally Hutu or Tutsi). Animosity arose between the new ethnic groups as Hutus observed Belgian colonial policies that favoured Tutsis. In general, colonial powers throughout the world usually recruited public servants and military levies disproportionately from one ethnic group over another.

## Ethnic Conflict and Development

Scholars such as Donald Horowitz (1985) have argued that just by virtue of living in proximity and differentiating between one another, ethnic groups risk falling into conflict. Many theories also posit that societal and political competition in multi-ethnic contexts breeds heightened conflict along ethnic lines. Modernization, with all its attendant changes, insecurities and dislocations, in turn exacerbated such competition. Finally, the colonial legacies previously described likewise exacerbated the risk of ethnic conflict, as different ethnic groups struggled for power in fragile, newly-independent states, or pursued secessionist and/or irredentist ambitions to forge new states that coincided more neatly with ethnic population distributions.

The logic of such accounts can typically be described as follows: During colonial rule, members of some ethnic groups felt disadvantaged as members of another group received a disproportionate number of privileges (jobs, commercial opportunities, government posts) from the colonial power. In a movement (or war) of national liberation, many ethnic groups united to oppose their colonial masters (although in some cases, some groups supported the colonial rulers until the end). Once the colonial power conceded independence to its former subjects and left, however, various ethnic groups (as well as economic classes) then began competing amongst themselves to control the newly independent state. Ethnic groups that had been favoured under colonialism were often better placed to win this internal struggle, or more at risk of vengeful actions by other groups seeking to redress the favouritism that had previously disadvantaged them. Especially in poor, weak states, the resulting political struggle sometimes became an “all or nothing” game—those who took the reigns of government power would use it to enrich and further empower themselves and their ethnic kin, at the expense of those who lost the political contest. In new “artificial” colonially created states, ethnicity thus often became a handy tool to mobilize and act collectively to secure one’s interests. This occurred to the detriment of an alternate civic identity encompassing all citizens of the new state, and the resulting civil wars (such as the extremely bloody one that led to the separation of Pakistan from India, or long enduring internal conflicts in states like Angola, Mozambique, the Congo, and Iraq) led to unimaginable levels of death and destruction. Just as it took European citizenries decades or centuries to develop a state-level national identity, many developing states still have populations who attach much more

importance to their ethnic identity than to the national entity listed on their passports (if they have a passport).

Even long after independence, however, modernization (and especially its attendant increasing levels of rural-urban migration) sometimes exacerbated ethnic conflict. In the previous example, as individuals of ethnic group ‘X’ lost their land and migrated to the city, they discovered a bewildering new world full of modern complexity and insecurity. Lost in the “urban jungle” and in search of employment and housing, they turned to any available support groups. In most cases, these turned out to be religious organizations, kin networks, and ethnic (or tribal) associations of group ‘X.’ Members of ethnic groups ‘Y’ and ‘Z’ would do likewise, and in a short time society and politics would become more divided along ethnic lines. If resources in the new modernizing state turned out to be particularly scarce, then the resulting intense competition to secure them would contain even more seeds of conflict.

Some notable cases of ethnic conflict in the developing world (often ascribed to the processes previously discussed) include: the 1994 genocide in Rwanda (Hutu militias used the colonial-issued identity cards to identify Tutsis at roadblocks and other locations), the Congo (where up to 3.8 million people have been killed), Nigeria from 1967–1970 (the so-called Biafran war of secession mainly pitting ethnic Ibo against Hausa-Fulari), Cyprus (the Greek and Turkish dominated parts of the island have been separated by UN Peace Keepers since 1974), Sudan (whether this conflict is primarily driven by rivalry amongst Sudan’s many ethnic groups, disagreement over Islam’s role in a country with a significant Christian minority, or simply competition over oil-wealth and power, more than twenty years of civil war in the country have led to more than a million deaths, between 2 million and 4 million refugees, and some 4 million people internally displaced persons), Ethiopia between 1974 and 1991 (the Eritrean federal region succeeded in breaking off to form an independent Eritrea in 1993), India (various conflicts including the secession of Pakistan, the war over Bangladesh, conflicts in the Punjab and Kashmir), and a plethora of Kurdish uprisings (against Turkish, Persian, and Arab dominated central governments).

Even if one accepts the contention of some observers that ethnicity merely served as a cover for contests over money and power in many or all of these conflicts, ethnic divisions nonetheless played a crucial role in the conflicts. Inter-state conflict also sometimes occurs when an ethnic group in one state acts to support their kin in a neighbouring one (the

Turkish invasion of Cyprus, Arab-Israeli wars, or the interventions of various states in the Congo, for instance). Diaspora communities may likewise provide important funding and other resources to rebel ethnic movements in their home countries, or ethnic conflicts may spread to the immigrants' new host countries in the form of terrorism or 'race riots.'

Additionally, ethnicity played a central role in many instances of discrimination and inter-communal violence in the developing world. In 1972, Ugandan dictator Idi Amin expelled all "Asian Ugandans" from the country and confiscated their property. A large proportion of the roughly seventy thousand deportees were Indians and Pakistanis who were born in Uganda, their family having immigrated there generations earlier. In Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe's government in 2000 began violently confiscating 'white'-owned land as a strategy to shore up its flagging popularity amongst some of its 'black' supporters. In Latin America, many governments have persecuted indigenous populations. The Guatemalan government, for instance, identified the country's Mayan population as disproportionately supportive of leftist guerrillas and opposed to government attempts to propagate a Spanish Guatemalan identity. As recently as during the 1980s, the Guatemalan state conducted widespread massacres of Mayan communities. One of these, the Rio Negro massacre of 1982, occurred in order to help clear the way for the construction of a World Bank funded hydroelectric dam project (the Chixoy dam).

Different ethnic groups also often end up occupying different niches in politics, society, and the economy. In Syria, the Alawiis have controlled the levers of state power since the late 1960s. In Malaysia, the Chinese community play a disproportionately strong role in the economy, similar to that of Indians in parts of Africa (often, such a focus on economic activity occurs in part because of various obstacles preventing these groups from taking up government positions). Such ethnic segmentation can promote the emergence of stereotypes, and at times even "scapegoating," as in Uganda when Idi Amin deflected criticism of him onto the relatively wealthy Indian merchant class of the country, eventually expelling them and confiscating their property. The result of the Indian expulsions in Uganda, as well as Robert Mugabe's more recent seizures of white farmers' property in Zimbabwe, was a precipitous economic collapse, as these countries lost many of their most experienced, active, and productive businesspeople. Societal and governmental discrimination often emerges certain ethnic identities as prioritized or valued over others.

## Mitigating Potential Ethnic Tension

Various democratic strategies for power-sharing in multi-ethnic societies have been devised to mitigate ethnic strife, however. Different forms of *federalism* are perhaps the most well known of these. Most frequently adopted in states where ethnic groups are geographically concentrated in "home" regions, federalism attempts to remove the "all or nothing" element of political struggle or the risk of "dictatorship of the majority" by devolving significant powers of self-government to various regions. A well-known example of federalism in the developing world is India, the world's largest democracy. Critics of federalism most often point to the system's tendency to make it easier for some federal regions to secede. *Consociationalism* is another form of government that aims to guarantee power sharing, and hence peace, between different ethnic groups in a country. Consociationalism explicitly reserves a specified number of positions in government and the public services for members of each ethnic community, depending on their proportion of the overall population. Important government decisions are also typically subject to veto by the various ethnic groups. Examples of consociational political systems include pre-1974 Cyprus and Lebanon. The biggest liabilities of consociationalism are its difficulty in adjusting to changing population balances, the risk of gridlock when it comes to contentious government decisions, and its tendency to reify ethnicity. Finally, various electoral systems, such as requiring all political parties to field candidates throughout the country (rather than just within their ethnic strongholds), a minimum threshold of votes to elect representatives (which discourages small single-issue parties), and multiple vote systems (which require voters to choose more than one party at election time), exist to encourage ethnic harmony rather than strife.

In authoritarian systems, discouraging ethnic strife can involve something as simple as including important ethnic groups within the power system and sharing the fruits of power with them. Authoritarian governments also commonly seek to propagate an ideology that appeals to all citizens regardless of ethnic identity—in the multi-ethnic former Soviet Union, *communism* sought to unite all groups on the basis of class, whether they were ethnic Russians, Latvians, Georgians, Chechens, Uzbeks, or Tajiks. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the theocratic government attempts to unite Persians, Azeris, Kurds, Baluchis, and Arabs under the banner of Islam. In some cases, however, attempts are made to assimilate minority ethnic groups to a dominant national ethnic identity.

Such attempts could range from mandatory education in the dominant group's language, history, and culture, to banning minority groups' language, changing place names that reflect the minority group's history, and even denying the existence of ethnic minorities. For instance, as late as 1991 Turkish state policy was to deny the existence of Kurds (some 20% of the population) in the country, or for that matter, any Muslim minorities (non-Muslims were recognized as a minority, but all Muslims were considered Turks). Turkish state policy advanced the principal that all citizens were equally Turkish, and on this basis free to advance to the highest socio-political levels. If any group made demands based on their ethnicity, however (such as language or education rights), these would until quite recently be severely suppressed.

In actuality, most states are indeed dominated by one ethnic group. The dominant group typically has its language made the official language of the state (and/or its religion). Ethnic conflict also often erupts over not only a struggle for power and wealth, but also over important symbols and demarcations of respect for an ethnic group. According to scholars such as Azar and Burton (1986), individuals often attach their own sense of value and worth to the status of groups they belong to, especially ethnic groups. Hence they are sometimes willing to fight ferociously for the relative status of a group, which is partly reflected in state policy recognizing and assigning importance to symbols of the group such as language, culture, historical figures, and other public references ("respect"). Because such symbols are not as negotiable as money or seats in the government, contests over them can become polarized and difficult to address. Some developing states also contain so many different ethnic groups with their own language or dialect that a colonial language (generally English, French, Spanish, or Portuguese) becomes one of the official languages (India, for example) or the only official language (the Congo).

### **Positive Aspects of Multi-Ethnic Societies**

Ethnic identification and differentiation need not only produce negative effects, however. Many people view ethnic differences as something to be celebrated—ethnic identity functions as a repository of culture, history, tradition, religion, and language. Modern liberal ideology in particular now celebrates a rich diversity in these things as an important part of humanity's heritage, a value in its own right. Post-modern thinkers, for instance, place great importance

on understanding the social world around us from a variety of perspectives, and a variety of different identities facilitate such an endeavour.

In some cases, multi-ethnic societies have also derived material advantages from the diversity of their populations. Mauritius, for example, is a small African island nation with a mixed population of Indian (67%), Creole (27%), Chinese (3%), and French (2%) ancestry. Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam are practiced by 53%, 28%, and 17% of the population, respectively. Instead of descending into sectarian conflict and authoritarianism, however, Mauritius has enjoyed a democratically elected consociational style government since the 1960s. Mauritius also used its ethnic diversity to increase diplomatic and economic linkages throughout the world: in addition to its membership in the Organization for African Unity, the country also became a member of both the British Commonwealth and La Francophonie. Indo-Mauritians, Sino-Mauritians, and Franco-Mauritians all excelled at attracting investments from and finding markets in South Asia, East Asia, and Europe, respectively. Hence, Mauritius has grown into a middle-income, diversified economy with a stable democratic society and government—in short, a 'success story' of ethnic diversity. South Africa likewise seems poised to become another example of success from ethnic diversity, as the country puts its past of ethnic discrimination behind it and adopts pluralistic, inclusive policies, reconciliation, and increasing international engagement.

International migration and globalization have also increased inter-cultural communication, as more and more ethnic groups come into contact with each other. Diaspora communities may maintain very important political, cultural, and economic links with their home country populations. In some cases, these links can foster democratization and development, as diaspora groups in Western industrial nations transfer ideas, investments, and skills back home. The reverse process can also occur, as immigrant groups bring these same things to their new host countries and energize their societies, economies, and political systems. Continuing movement back and forth between countries accelerates this process.

### **Development, International Aid, and Ethnicity**

With the correct combination of good governance and astute economic policies, many other multi-ethnic



states may be able to follow such a model of development. International donors must be careful to design aid and development projects that do not encourage ethnic strife, do not appear to favour one group over another, or play into state policies to crush dissident communities. Especially because ethnic groups appear extremely sensitive to their socio-economic status vis-à-vis neighbouring groups, any policy that disproportionately benefits one group over others contains within it the seeds for conflict. Especially projects that involve displacing local communities carry the danger of supporting government policies of repression, such as when the World Bank financed Chixoy dam project allowed the Guatemalan government to displace a Mayan population it suspected of rebel sympathies.

Private investors must likewise be made to consider the impact of their policies in host countries. In Latin America, corporations such as the United Fruit Company became implicated in states' repression of many indigenous and poor communities, as well as the overthrow of democratically elected governments. In countries such as Nigeria and Sudan, Western oil companies also invested in projects that displaced hundreds of thousands of people and fueled the military budgets of governments engaged in systematic repression of dissident ethnic communities. Because oil reserves are often found in the homeland regions of specific ethnic or religious communities (Ogoniland in Nigeria, non-Arab regions of the Sudan, Kurdish regions of Syria, Turkey and Iraq, Shiite areas of Eastern Saudi Arabia, and the coast of Moroccan-occupied Western Sahara, for instance), their exploitation includes a marked tendency to foster government repression and conflict, especially as local communities clamor for a share of the income derived from their region.

Finally, no policy can remain truly neutral in situations of ethnic conflict. Everything comes to be interpreted in terms of which group benefits from what. Hence, trade and development assistance to a state combating a domestic insurgency automatically benefits the state and harms the insurgents. For example, some Iraqi Kurdish groups have even discussed legal action against corporations and states that continued to do business with Saddam Hussein's Iraq after his regime's use of chemical weapons against Kurdish civilian communities in 1988.

Aid provided to insurgents, especially secessionist ethnic groups, also violates international legal norms that require states to respect each other's sovereignty. In such a context, even humanitarian aid provided to regions affected by the insurgency can become suspect, such as when the Sudanese government accused various NGOs of aiding the Sudanese People's

Liberation Army in the south of the country. In the wake of the 2004 Asian Tsunami disaster, international aid also had difficulty reaching many parts of Sri Lanka, as Tamil rebel groups and the Sinhalese government projected their conflict onto questions of humanitarian assistance. In short, everything becomes politicized in protracted conflicts, highly polarized societies, and ethnic strife.

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### See also Cultural Perceptions

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## EUROCENTRISM

### Definition

The term "Eurocentrism" refers to views that present European cultural standards as universally valid. It is a pejorative term (hardly any author would declare himself/herself a Eurocentrist). Here "European" is used in the broad sense of the word—as a synonym of

“Western,” i.e., applying also to the countries and cultures of North America and Australia.

Eurocentrism signifies both a tendency to conceptualize ideas and events in terms of categories that are based on European cultural experience and to assume that this understanding is objectively valid rather than a subjective point of view. European cultural norms are regarded as a frame of reference for evaluation of all cultural achievements.

These views obviously imply that European civilization is of unique worth. Seen from the Eurocentrist perspective, it is superior not only due to its technological and economic dominance, but also because of its role in human progress. Its superiority is not merely registered as a fact. It is also justified in moral categories: European civilization does not dominate by force of circumstance but deserves its leading position because of its advanced level of cultural development. Conceptually, Eurocentrism is premised on cultural evolutionism.

## Origins

Eurocentrism is evolutionism in the broadest sense—a conception of historical processes in terms of development. Its roots may be traced back to the eschatological character of Christianity. Evolutionary concepts are involved also in the formation of the self-understanding of Modernity. Some prominent representatives of the Enlightenment, for instance, regarded history as development. Both Voltaire and Montesquieu wrote about a transition from savagery through barbarism to civilization. In the nineteenth century the idea of progress was associated with the names of thinkers such as Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. Formed against such a conceptual background, the science that is now most immediately concerned with the problems of cultural development, i.e., cultural anthropology, has been characterized by evolutionist dispositions since its very inception.

These are not simply notions that nature and society tend to evolve from a lower to a higher level of perfection. The “founding fathers” of cultural anthropology as, for example, L. H. Morgan and E. B. Tylor, adhere to the concept of the psychic unity of humankind (cf. Morgan 1976; Tylor 1993). In philosophical terms, this means to assume that there is a universal human nature. Hence it follows that evolution follows the same course throughout the world, but that in the different places it is at a different level. Precisely this last circumstance accounts for cultural differences.

In worldview terms, this concept is at the root of an unfounded self-esteem of the representatives of “more advanced” cultures, combined with a patronizing attitude to the “more backward” peoples. In social terms, cultural evolutionism offers arguments in favor of the so-called “cultural imperialism.” A detailed critique of these ideas is provided by anthropologists from the school of cultural relativism (cf. Boas 1948; Kroeber 1944). They recognize cultural development but argue that it does not occur as a global process. Every culture follows its own path of development, according to its priorities and values. The meaning of cultural traits can be properly understood only if they are seen in their genuine cultural context. In this sense, all cultures are of equal value.

In sociology and philosophy, Eurocentric views are consciously or unconsciously affirmed foremost by the interpretation of the relationship between modern and traditional cultures. It is assumed in an evolutionist spirit that sooner or later every traditional society will undergo modernization, and that the sooner this happens the better for everybody. Consequently, modern social order should serve as an example to traditional societies. And since the main distinctive feature of the West is precisely modernity, European civilization should be a guiding light in the development of all others.

Philosophical liberalism plays an impressive role in this respect. Leading liberal philosophers argue that establishing liberty, rationality, and justice as principles of the organization of modern society requires, so to speak, emancipation of reason from culture. People can rationally choose fair norms of social life only if they dissociate themselves from their own cultural environment (cf. Rawls 1971). However, the opposition between reason and body, between subject and object is widely regarded to be precisely a Western cultural trait.

## Criticism

The so-called “Western” values are approached from two opposite perspectives. Individualism, rationalism, liberty, equality, human rights, the rule of law, the separation of church and state, and the free market play an important role in the self-understanding of European-type cultures. Viewed from outside, however, the distinctive features of this value system appear to be different. Representatives of other cultures place more emphasis on the inclination of Western thinking to perceive the world in dichotomies, e.g., subject/object, reason/body, and culture/nature. This, in its turn, entails desubjectification of knowledge, and

hence pretensions to objectivity of science, as well as a relationship of exteriority to “nature” which clears the way for reckless treatment of the latter (cf. Alatas 2002).

The acceptance of European cultural standards as universal has far-reaching effects that may also be traced in two dimensions. On one hand, this is the Western “well-intended” aspiration to dominate “the developing world.” The formula “the white man’s burden” from Rudyard Kipling’s eponymous poem is emblematic in this respect (cf. Kipling 1899). On the other hand, the “interiorization” of those standards in non-Western cultures hinders the latter’s progress. The discrepancy between “imported” cultural norms and local cultural traditions generates tensions at both the social and intra-personal levels. Trying to achieve a self-understanding in terms that are foreign to your life-world is neither easy nor productive.

Eurocentrism has been criticized from many standpoints. Here we will mention only a few examples. In the struggle for racial equality in the USA, the idea of the so-called Afrocentrism has been advanced as an antithesis of Eurocentrism (cf. Asante 1999). The discourse through which the attitude to the East has been formed and perpetuated in Western societies is exposed as Eurocentric by Edward Said in his seminal book *Orientalism* (cf. Said 1978). Scholars from East and Southeast Asia have initiated a debate on the so-called Asian values. Contrary to the Eurocentric notions, they insist that there may also be a non-individualistic modernity in which there is a balance between individual rights and common good as well as between tradition and modernity (cf. Brems 2001).

Eurocentrism is debated on two levels. Some of the criticisms against it reveal its logical inconsistency. Indeed, Eurocentrism is premised on a pretension to universal validity of specific cultural norms. This cannot be justified by invoking the idea of total cultural evolution because that idea itself lacks empirical corroboration. Furthermore, mere technological and economic dominance cannot substantiate the claims of the West for a leading role as a civilization. The possibility of comparing different cultures by civilizational value is itself very problematic. Ultimately, the said pretension seems unjustifiable in principle.

Another type of criticism focuses on the fundamental issue of the relationship between cultural universalism and cultural relativism. If we presume that universalism cannot be based on an absolute validity of the European cultural norms, does this mean that it is impossible in principle? Should we accept that the only alternative to Eurocentrism is cultural relativism? Wouldn’t that pose obstacles to the progress of countries from the so-called developing world? (cf. Harrison and Huntington 2000). Thus it seems that

against all odds Eurocentrism may somehow be valuable—as a challenge for the development of social theory and practice.

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**See also Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies**

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## EUROPEAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is a multilateral development bank (MDB) that began operations in 1991 with the goal of assisting the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) with the transition to democratic institutions and market-based economies, through promotion of private and entrepreneurial initiatives. The Bank is based in London.

The mandate of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is to promote development in twenty-seven countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. The Bank extends a comprehensive range of financial instruments to advance restructuring, privatization, and liberalization in this region.

Though it is oriented toward the private sector, the EBRD is unique among regional development banks in that it is specifically engaged in promoting a political agenda: the advancement of democratic values in

former Communist countries. The EBRD expressly affirms the conjunction of economic and political reform. Political issues are significant when making loan decisions. The Bank's charter charges it with utilization of standards of multi-party democracy, pluralism, the rule of law, market economy, and human rights. It provides investments, loans, equity, and guarantees for private and public sector projects in areas of finance, infrastructure, industry and energy, and technical assistance and encourages co-financing and foreign direct investment from the public and private sectors. It has invested more than 21.6 billion EUR in the region since its establishment. The Bank is made up of shareholders from sixty countries and two intergovernmental institutions: the European Union (EU) and the European Investment Bank (EIB).

### **Transition Policy in Eastern Europe**

Economic and political transition in the East was not initiated to accentuate negotiating power in deliberations with the EU about adapting to varying economic resources. The aim instead was internal reform in order to allow world prices and foreign investors to ascertain the value of Eastern European capital. There was thus the trauma of sudden deregulation in the international division of labor. One of the original roles of the EBRD was to mitigate this trauma.

### **South East Europe (SEE)**

Part of the Bank's current focus is on the regional dimension. SEE is a diverse area with a population of 60 million, and an average per capita income extending from \$460 to \$4,640 US dollars. During the last decade, the countries of the region were plagued with military, political, and economic conflicts and crises. The SEE was left with a heritage of declining living standards. These traumas affected neighboring countries through disturbances in trade and transportation, the flow of refugees, and loss of investor confidence. But since the end of the Kosovo conflict in 1999, there has been significant improvement. A great deal of civil disturbance was mastered and a political balance achieved that facilitated economic recovery and more regional cooperation.

After the Kosovo crisis, the international community fortified the attempt to aid in rebuilding the war-torn countries of SEE and to assist them in striving for economic development and political stability.

More than 6 billion EUR was made accessible in annual commitments of official aid to the region, amounting to a per capita level of 100 EUR. The rebuilding efforts in Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro demanded special donor conferences with funds pledged and distributed against identified needs. A wide range of donor governments arranged these funds. In addition, high levels of aid were given by Multilateral and International Financial Institutions such as the EBRD, ordinarily arranged in the form of preferential loans.

The countries of the region are counted on to develop and execute reform programs rooted in national strategies that facilitate regional cooperation. The goal is to form regional outlooks on energy, trade, water resource management, and environment, which can provide political advantages and substantial welfare increases for all countries of the region. Moreover, a regional approach facilitates adequate prioritization of area infrastructure investments in SEE. The regional orientation and the necessity to improve regional cooperation is a foundation of the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), as it is an essential element in the preparation for integration of the countries of SEE into European structures. The SAP is the EU policy context for relations with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro. It is devised to assist domestic reform procedures which these countries initiated.

### **Commonwealth of Independent States (Central Asia)**

The geopolitics of the struggle against terrorists alerted the world to the prominence of successor states of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and the Kyrgyz Republic. These countries have attained strategic significance being nearby Afghanistan. Security and political risk could ensue from neglecting to extend improvements in living conditions to the inhabitants of Central Asia. For the maintenance of regional and even global stability, the EBRD maintains that Central Asia needs to expedite transition to democracy and market economies. The Bank has worked closely with the Central Asian republics in order to assist them in achieving their economic goals.

Each of the five countries of the region possesses a specific economic climate and faces formidable tasks. But there are shared factors that can supply a foundation for deliberating on the way in which Central Asia can best advance. These countries have been

independent in a post-communist atmosphere. They have dedicated themselves to the tenets of democracy, pluralism, and market economy, as exemplified by becoming part of EBRD. Yet success in accomplishing these goals has been inconsistent. The EBRD, nonetheless, persists in attempts to facilitate creation of micro- and small-enterprises in Central Asia. This effort acknowledges the connection between the furtherance of entrepreneurial enterprise at the community level and the subsequent appearance of civil society, which might buttress advancement toward effective economic and political reform.

## Environmental Policy

The EBRD is the first MDB to incorporate a definitive environmental mandate in its charter. The charter asserts that the Bank is to “promote in the full range of its activities environmentally sound and sustainable development.” Yet some of the Bank’s most severe critics are environmentalists. They maintain that the EBRD is in some ways even less progressive in its environmental procedures and policies than other international lending institutions. The Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL), an organization that assists NGOs in CEE in monitoring the EBRD, carried out an evaluation of particular projects. It documented deficiencies in the EBRD’s environmental policies and practices and maintains that the Bank was unsuccessful in fulfilling its mandate to promote environmentally sustainable development.

One project of concern to environmentalists is the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline Project, Azerbaijan/Georgia/Turkey. The pipeline will transport up to 1 million barrels of oil per day from an enlarged terminal at Sangachal on the Caspian Sea in Azerbaijan, through Georgia to the Mediterranean port city of Ceyhan, Turkey. But civil society concerns exist. Various local and international NGOs maintain that public financing should not be rendered to the project until the entire economic, environmental, social, and legal impacts are adequately evaluated, and until project sponsors make evident the actual development gains for the people of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey.

## Accession to the European Union

Accession to the EU is a significant element motivating political and economic reform enterprises in Central Europe. The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary,

Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia became full members of the EU in May 2004. A roadmap has also been drawn up for the accession of Romania and Bulgaria, expected in 2007.

The EBRD, European Commission, and World Bank have signed a memorandum of understanding, which articulates fundamental standards for collaboration in assisting projects that will aid accession countries in fulfilling the requirements of the EU. Specifically, the accession countries confront particular obligations for investment in infrastructure to fulfill the conditions of the EU’s *acquis communautaire*, or register of EU standards and laws. The EBRD assists projects where its mandate and EU accession obligations overlap. The accession of the first group of candidate countries brought up significant issues regarding the operationalization of the interagency memorandum and its connection with the graduation policies of the EBRD and World Bank.

The countries which won accession to the EU in 2004 will have more access to EU financial assistance and consequently become less dependent on EBRD funds for their economic development. There still exists the predicament, though, of countries that may not become EU members in the immediate future, if ever, in the instance of the former republics of the Soviet Union, and some of the more eastern countries of the region. Consequently, a number of countries will lag behind and need even more capital from the EBRD in order to reach a transitional condition equivalent to that of the recently acceded countries. Yet, on account of the self-imposed conditions under which the EBRD Board of Governors functions, the profit requisite that merchant banks demand, and the requirements of other crisis and disadvantaged areas of the world sited on the IMF and World Bank, the EBRD may no longer have a function in sectors of Eastern Europe in which it is needed most.

Transition to market-based economies goes on in the majority of the EBRD’s countries of operation. The countries of CEE and CIS proceed toward these economies, though the incidence of reforms is currently mixed. Most transition economies are experiencing economic growth, demonstrating suppleness in situations of often demanding circumstances. Nearly all countries in the region persist in functioning competently in comparison with other emerging economies. The exception continues to be the more indigent countries in the CIS, where the reform process is delayed and unstable environments obstruct foreign and domestic investment.

After over fifteen years experience investing in the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the EBRD has accumulated evidence of factors that can accelerate political and economic

transition in post-Soviet states. Economic and political reforms operate in tandem in building the security and stability that characterize stable societies. The most advanced countries are the Baltic states (CEB) and in Central Europe, where the political landmark of being invited to join the EU is an indication that the underlying transition has made strong, if not yet complete, progress.

At its annual meeting in 2004, the EBRD issued a positive evaluation of the economic prospects for the accession countries in CEE and the Baltic states. It maintained that growth in the region would average 4.3% for the year with the upturn drawing strength from the recovery of the Czech Republic from floods in 2002 and a cyclical recovery in Poland. The subject of *Transition Report 2004* is infrastructure, covering telecommunications, energy, transportation, and water supply.

### **The Future of Concessional Development Aid**

The EBRD, like other multinational institutions, fluctuates between the desire to manage and the necessity of cooperation. Political clashes take place between the EBRD's principal shareholders, the EU and the United States. This conflict over status and economic doctrine will persist in affecting CEE and its continuing capacity for transition. Any number of arguments employed by one set of states or the other are about wider ideological disagreements vis-à-vis the future economic and political nature of CEE. This is a struggle of a wider nature between Europe and the United States contested through the mechanisms of the EBRD. The construal of the role of the United States in the EBRD (\$20 billion US of capital) is important since the Bank plays an increasingly significant role in America's relationship with the developing world and since it is a seasoned institution called upon to adapt its role and manner of operating to a new political and financial climate.

Regional cooperation and international integration transformed the global economy over the last fifty years. These two processes have been more pronounced in their rapidity and extent in the transition countries more than anywhere else. These countries have come out of protracted periods of communism and autonomy within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) CMEA. Their transition has entailed in most instances a dedication to liberalization of trade and a disposition toward foreign investment. The subsequent modifications in the direction and structure of trade and inflow of capital have been substantive.

Yet some economists argue that transition to a market economy needs to be more than economically proficient. The outcome should also be satisfactory to the community, if the reforms are to remain in place. Development consequently demands not only privatization but at the same time, programs to guarantee that civil society participates in the benefits. MDBs such as the EBRD, it is objected, neglect to follow their own recommendations for political and social stability. By stipulating that governments privatize rapidly, they disregard detrimental effects on the allocation of capital. By asking for austerity while requiring liberalization, they neglect fundamental social needs.

Pervasive worldwide tendencies require a reevaluation of the system of MDB aid such as that employed by the EBRD. A central question is the future role of concessional aid, extended in the form of loans at lower than market rates. A sound rationale still exists for its continuance. That rationale, though, only has credibility if a new orientation develops which adjusts the nature of assistance to what has been learned about the character of development in the recent past and to a rapidly changing global environment. Some of this knowledge has to do with greater accountability, distinct objectives, local proprietorship of programs, and measurable outcomes. Lacking these conditions, ongoing donor country relief should not be anticipated. It will be necessary to develop a new context for future decision-making of MDB funding, founded on an increase of MDB investments in regional and global problem solving; resolution of operational conditions obstructing increased efficiency in allocation of financial assistance; and reorganization in the governance structure of individual MDBs. Multilateral institutions such as the EBRD are necessary in the global economy, but they do not have to be money-lending institutions. There is some sentiment for transforming them into principally negotiating forums that permit countries to collaborate in order to reduce obstructions to investment and trade.

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**See also *Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank)***

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## EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM

*Euangelion*, the Greek word for evangel, means good tidings and is used by Christians to refer to redemption or salvation through the sacrificial death of Jesus. Early followers of Jesus adopted the word to mean the good news of his incarnation (birth), life and teachings, atoning death, and resurrection and ascent into heaven as described in the gospels and earlier precepts of Paul of Tarsus in the New Testament scriptures. The church, as it evolved before the sixteenth century, translated this evangel (gospel) into many languages and cultures of Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas, as missionary apostles made Christianity a more universal (catholic) religion under the direction of bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

But as is common with words, over time the meaning of "evangelical" changed as elements of the Christian community claimed it as their own. In Europe, after the Protestant Reformation in the early sixteenth century, evangelical began to mean Protestant

as opposed to Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox Christianity. This distinction continued in Germany and Switzerland to distinguish Lutheran and Calvinist and Reformed church traditions. In particular it referred to Christians who emphasized justification by faith in the atoning death of Christ as opposed to salvation by works, including the church's demand for financial gifts. This salvation was found in scripture rather than in church tradition or the dictates of a priest. It meant a priesthood of believers, lay people as much as ministers, and direct access to grace through prayer, without benefit of priestly intervention.

In England, the Evangelical Party of the Church of England, known as a "low church" element, followed such evangelists as John Wesley and George Whitefield. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, evangelicals in England and America preached the need for a revival in the church. Such awakenings would come through confession of sin and experience of conversion (turning to Christ). The evangelicals' "high church" (Anglo-Catholic) adversaries emphasized the sacraments as a means of grace and on the priesthood that administered them. Evangelicals emphasized more emotional preaching and hymn singing to common tunes.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Evangelical Alliances formed in Britain and North America to counter what evangelicals termed the corruptions of "popery," desecration of the Lord's Day (Sabbatarianism), excess drinking, and a weakening of Protestantism in a great migration to cities. This movement produced a number of voluntary societies such as Boy Scouts, the YMCA and YWCA, and the Salvation Army, and new evangelists such as Dwight L. Moody.

It was mainly these evangelicals that propelled the missionary movement that carried a Protestant message to Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the expanding British Empire in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, often by the ministries of lay persons as opposed to ordained clergy.

In the post-World War II era, most Christian denominations, evangelical and catholic, had not turned over control of their missions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to indigenous church leaders. This in spite of the fact that colonies had declared their independence from the rule of the Western states. Most evangelical churches had entered the colonies of European nations in the wake of nineteenth century military conquests. On the heels of governmental or company armies came Christian missionaries, most often of the evangelical branches in Europe and North America. Enthusiastic over the opportunity to bring the "pagan" world to Christ and thus produce the millennial rule of Christ on earth, missionaries flooded the colonies.

Accepting land grants and monetary stipends for their work, missionaries began to introduce what became known as “Western Christian Civilization” in the colonies. Thus, by labeling European and North American civilization as Christian, they termed Asian, and particularly African civilizations as “pagan.” Thus the culture of language, as taught in mission schools, and the cultures of dance and dress, were rebaptized into Christian, Euro-American culture. Missions also rechristened native place names for cities and sacred landscapes with “Christian” Western names.

As the meaning of political liberation gradually dawned on Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans, so did the need for a religious liberation. As fervent as evangelicals were about their faith, it was hard for them to distinguish between faith and culture. In the 1950s, mission leaders began to hear a cry for “liberation” from their native co-religionists. As local leaders began to take charge of their churches, many missionaries took on roles as consultants and gave up their leadership posts to their former students.

Indigenous ministers, bishops, and lay people took their leadership roles seriously, although some were ill-prepared for the fast transition. With local church independence came a demand for financial self-support from denominational leaders in America and Europe. Native leaders began to look at western traditions that had wiped out local customs. Local custom demanded more use of vernacular scriptures, wedding ceremonies, dress, food, and music.

Perhaps most striking was the growth of Christianity in developing nations in the last three decades of the twentieth century into the twenty-first. As the number of evangelical Protestants in Europe and North America declined, those in Africa, Asia, and Latin America grew. Some growth was in mission churches, but much was in independent churches founded by indigenous leaders as strictly local ventures. Variety of theological distinctions may have been greater than that in western evangelicalism, with emphasis on gifts of the spirit (healing, speaking in tongues) and freedom of expression in worship with native songs and instruments. New denominations began in homes and kept their home-centered base.

The latest step for Christians of the developing world has been their muscle-flexing in international symposia. In world forums they appear to be showing a traditional theological stance in matters of homosexuality (single-gender marriage and homosexual clergy). Parent churches are being scolded by their children. And evangelicals in developing nations are sending missionaries to the West to develop churches that evangelize emigrants from their homelands as

well as Euro-Americans whom they see as in need of revival.

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**See also Christianity**

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## EXPORT-ORIENTED ECONOMIES

No economy solely counts on its own resources and lives in complete autarky. International trade plays an important role for every country. This obvious statement already highlights an important factor: since all countries rely on international trade, what defines an “export-oriented economy,” and is there a level of exports that automatically qualifies a given economy as an export-oriented one?

This question, which is seldom raised by specialists, has yet to be addressed. However, a first definition can be drawn up: an export-oriented economy is an economy that relies, for its development, on exports of manufactured goods. But beyond this statement, the question remains, due to the large diversity of countries generally classified as export-oriented: from Hong Kong and Singapore, which export more than 100% of their gross domestic product (GDP) per year, to South Korea (its exports totaled about 40% of its GDP), Mexico (around 30%), and Brazil (less than 10%). These countries also differ in terms of economic organization, size, and even trade policies.

A related issue is nearly as old as economics itself: the advantages for countries to engage in trade have been discussed at length since Ricardo and Mills, but it is patent that with similar comparative advantages, some economies resort more readily to exports than others. This discussion found new life in the 1950s, when a long debate began between the proponents of an export-oriented policy and those who favored an import substitution. The debate has not been settled, and policies have constantly shifted from one strategy to one another.

Since the 1980s, with the impulse of the IMF and the World Bank, the pendulum has leaned toward export-oriented strategies, but nevertheless, the discussion is far from finished. For supporters of this policy, such as Anne Krueger or Bela Belassa, the two



strategies differ in terms of government intervention. (The advocates of import substitution, such as Raúl Prebisch, would easily agree with this statement.) Krueger noted that “economies that adopted import-substitution policies tend to rely on government controls ... and to suppress and regulate markets” (Krueger 1995: 27). Supporters of an export-oriented strategy generally impute the failure of this policy to a high level of government intervention, and the success of those economies practicing their strategy to a non-governmental and pro-market attitude.

Nevertheless, policies are seldom as clear cut as theories suggest. In other words, they need to be assessed in practice if export-oriented economies are not to rely on specific policies unrelated to *laissez-faire* ideology. The examination of the situation of the “Four Dragons” (Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea) will then be helpful in this respect. The “Four Dragons,” as the first economies to enact the policy, had not only assumed for years the leading position of manufactured exports from developing economies (more than 80% in 1990), but they have also had an important role in promoting the “model.”

Finally, two further points need to be made. First, while the economies of the first generation (the “Four Dragons”) were small, with few natural resources and small populations, the second wave of countries are middle-sized (Mexico, Thailand, etc.) or even big and endowed with large mineral resources (Brazil, China, etc.). Second, while manufacturing is still the dominant component in these countries’ economies, exports of services are also increasing rapidly.

### **The Birth of the Model and the Hong Kong Experience**

In the 1950s, most newly independent countries that were classified as developing were commodities producers. These countries, for historical and practical concerns, as well as for ideological reasons, engaged in exporting these commodities—mainly to their former colonial rulers, where they benefited from networks and markets established during the colonization era.

On the other hand, other economies set up very different policies. The model started in Hong Kong and spread to other East Asian economies. Hong Kong’s basic conditions were different from most developing countries: the then-British colony had almost no natural resources, nor an agricultural base, nor a population large enough to allow its policymakers to resort to import substitution. But Hong

Kong benefited from a vast network of overseas business relations, due to the location and quality of its port, and its historical importance as a trading centre. Its weak industrial base was transformed from the late 1940s onwards by the arrival of Shanghaiese industrialists. With limited government intervention, but with the help of an ambitious public housing program, wages were kept low, which gave a comparative advantage to the newborn industries in the first phase of Hong Kong’s development (Schiffer 1985).

### **The Experience of Three Other “Dragons” and the Difficulty of Definition**

The three other “dragons” shared somewhat similar characteristics with Hong Kong. As Little described, “The ‘four’ (...) are poor in minerals. (...) [They] are heavily dependent on imported energy. (...) Apart from a few city states (including Hong Kong and Singapore), Taiwan and Korea have also, together with Japan, the highest population density in relation to cultivated land” (1985: 25).

But the Four Dragons’ pattern of development also showed some distinctive features, as they engaged actively in export-oriented policies later than Hong Kong. South Korea—one of the poorest countries in the world in the 1950s—started its takeoff with an import-substitution policy before progressively moving to export promotion. The South Korean experience is also interesting because its commitment to increasing its exports of manufactured goods did not stop its government from protecting its infant industries and practicing a certain form of import-substitution—even as late as the 1960s and 1970s. In Taiwan, also, the experience was not straightforward: the phase of export promotion only began after a first period of import-substitution, which lasted from 1953 to 1957 (World Bank 1993).

Historical experiences, rather than strict definitions from professional economists, have brought to light the success of export-oriented economies, which was difficult to predict in the 1950s. Since historical experiences are diverse, it is difficult to build up a set of criteria in order to define precisely what an export-oriented economy is, and the discussions aimed at providing an explanation for the growth of these economies—growth described at times as a “miracle” (World Bank 1993)—are endless.

Miracle or not, none of the “Four Dragons” had a significant industrial base prior to the 1950s. How these economies were able to become powerful manufactured goods exporters, their success as models for other countries, and the main issues related to their

emergence as NICs (South Korea joined the OECD in 1996) are further examined.

### Market Forces and Government Intervention

Grilli and Riedel, in *Sustaining Export-Oriented Development: Ideas from Asia*, suggest that three policies are required for export-oriented growth: the national government must ensure economic stability, maintain the country's infrastructures, both economic and social, and keep export traffic flowing smoothly via a stable exchange rate and lack of import barriers. These policies have been widely used. Some have even argued that they have, at times, been overused: the pressure exerted by the American Government over the depreciation of the Japanese Yen or the Chinese Renminbi is a clear illustration of this phenomenon.

Nevertheless, these policies have been supplemented by even more interventionist ones (Amsden 2001; Wade 1990). Hong Kong, quite possibly the most liberal economy in the world, has practiced urban planning and provided indirect subsidies (in housing, food, and transportation), as well as an industrial land policy, to its people and companies. For other economies, policies have varied greatly from one economy to another. The most popular approaches have been a pro-active attitude to attract foreign direct investments (FDIs)—by offering tax exemptions, for example, export credits, import quotas on selected items (in Taiwan and South Korea), the creation of state-owned enterprises (in Singapore), the implementation of Export Economic Zones (in Taiwan first, but in most export-oriented economies afterwards), and support to infant industries that are exporting, even if at a loss (like in South Korea).

Even though the success or failure of these policies is subject to debate, there is no doubt that governments have interfered widely in order to promote export-oriented strategies—it is nonetheless true that, with the influence of the World Bank and the IMF, the second generation governments have become less interventionist.

### The Thesis of Dependency...

Some critics have observed that the “miracle” was boosted by a large inflow of foreign capital. But if foreign capital plays a leading role in the development of export-oriented economies, then two questions arise. The first one is linked to the reproducibility of

the model. The second is the degree of dependency of these economies on developed countries and/or to international capital, and their place in the international division of labor.

It is generally accepted that the “Four Dragons” have all benefited, to a certain extent, from favorable historical circumstances and an inflow of foreign capital. These economies started their development during the Cold War, and all had an important geographical, political, and strategic importance for the United States. Even though precise data is difficult to provide, South Korea and Taiwan received the largest direct inflow of capital from the United States. Some companies from these economies have also benefited from doing business with the US Military (whether in the form of contracts or retail purchases made by military personnel), so this factor has to be taken into account. This is especially true for South Korea, but also, to a certain extent, for the three other dragons.

More importantly, these economies have set up specific policies to attract foreign capital. South Korea heavily relied on external loans, but also on Japanese capital. “In 1974 Japanese conglomerates still controlled 40% of South Korea's foreign trade, and 56% of Taiwan's” (Lipietz 1987: 77). Singapore also set policies in order to attract multinational corporations. The role of foreign capital for Hong Kong is less obvious, since it relies on a number of small and medium enterprises. Nevertheless, numerous foreign companies, especially from the electronics industry, set up subsidiaries in territory during the 1960s and 1970s.

Therefore, “an explanation which stressed the primacy of external factors would argue that the growth that has occurred in these four countries [sic] has deepened their dependency status and contributed little to their capacity for autonomous and balanced growth in the future” (Lee 1985: 7). A more extreme explanation would go further and stresses that the export growth, far from provoking development, has reinforced the dependency pattern. According to this view, the production of manufactured goods, generally with limited technology and a large cheap labor force, corresponds only with a deconcentration of production in the periphery: instead of importing cheap labor from developing areas, multinational corporations now decentralize to these peripheral locations, employing the same dependency pattern that has not fundamentally changed since the 1960s.

In defense of this view, supporters have emphasized that Export Processing Zones, in which most of the production is exported and most inputs are imported, “labor costs constitute the only element of domestic value-added” (Lee 1985: 8).

While the financial importance of Hong Kong, the development of a technological base in Singapore, and technological improvements in Taiwan and South Korea have defied these pessimistic forecasts, the pessimists have found new ground with the emergence of a second wave of export-oriented economies.

In “Sustainable Industrial Development? The Performance of Mexico’s FDI-led Integration Strategy,” Gallagher and Zarsky argue that if an export sector is not interwoven with the other sectors of the nation’s economy (creating jobs, training a work force, making technological advancements whose effects can be spread around), the country’s economy will receive any long-term benefits from the exports. They framed their argument using Mexico as an example; however, the same arguments were also put forward for big countries like China, defined as the “Sweatshop of the World.” The fact that China is now the second largest recipient of FDIs in the world behind the United States boosts the argumentation one step further—especially since the goods manufactured there are mainly labor-intensive.

On the other side, the growing share of Chinese textile in the world’s market (in the context of the diminishing importance of the Multifiber Agreement) has raised concerns in developed, as well as developing, economies. For instance, in 2004, China’s share of quota-free apparel exported to the USA was 70%, up from 10% in 2001. In contrast, Thailand’s share decreased from 10% to 3%, and Mexico’s from 8% to 2% during the same period.

### ... Or the Validity as a Model?

The success of the “Four Dragons” makes it difficult to uphold the dependency theory. Some of them have caught up technologically, even though most enterprises (like Taiwan’s Acer) are still heavily dependent on subcontracts granted by multinational corporations (Hobday 1996). Companies from the “Four Dragons” have even been delocalizing their industries in China and Southeast Asia. Foreign capital is only one factor for this phenomenon.

The question of the reproducibility of an export-oriented policy for other economies can therefore be raised—and it has been addressed numerous times—while the first wave of “export-oriented economies” was followed by a second since the 1970s. If neoclassical economists have emphasized criteria, such as “uniform realistic exchange rate,” low government expenditures, and so on, it is necessary to go further and pinpoint two main differences between the first and the second wave.

First of all, the historical context is very different: the Cold War effectively ended in 1989, and newcomers could no longer count on American generosity. On the contrary, US companies now see countries like China as potential threats. Second, the first wave numbered only a few economies, which were generally small. The newcomers range from middle-sized to giants, and are much more numerous. Such differences have profound consequences.

Even an efficient export policy may be not enough to provoke a country’s development. The practice today is to concentrate production for export in designated economic zones, and then to build up backward linkages with the remainder of one’s economy. The examples of Mexico and China show that this strategy has only been partly efficient (China’s difficulty in stimulating development in its western provinces is a case in point). In addition, new “export-oriented” economies face competition from each other, especially in the labor-intensive segment, where their main comparative advantages lie—as demonstrated by changes in some countries’ market share in the quota-free apparel market in the United States.

These circumstances do not mean that the success of the first wave of “export-oriented economies” cannot be reproduced, but that the validity of the policy as a general model appears more limited (for example, if currency depreciation occurs in each economy that follows an export policy, then the effectiveness of the depreciation tends to be reduced). Among the newcomers, there will be winners and losers, as well as new analyses. Newcomers are conscious of the difficulties of being latecomers, and of the risk of market congestion for their lower-end products. In response, they have adopted several countermeasures.

First, they have relied on the expertise of developed countries and NIEs. At the beginning of the 1980s, China established Special Economic Zones at its border with Hong Kong and Macau in order to attract Hong Kong investment. In Mexico, *maquiladoras*, bordering the United States, also followed the same logic. In their most ideal form, such cooperation would lead to “borderless economies” or “growth triangles,” in which the comparative advantages of each economy complement and enhance the competitiveness of the other areas. The Johore/Riau/Singapore area is an institutional form of “growth triangle,” formalized by international agreements between Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia. The aim is not only to attract FDIs, but also to promote technology transfers. The results of the policy are mixed, with technology transfers slow, but not insignificant.

An important intended effect of these international arrangements is to boost the importance of the NICs, not only as manufacturing and export areas, but also

as service-oriented economies. Hong Kong and Singapore are now major international service centers, as demonstrated by their transport infrastructure (their ports are, respectively, the first and second in the world for containers) and their financial markets. This way, the appearance of new export-oriented economies has accelerated the transformation of the first wave economies, from industry to service providers and exporters.

Second, some export-oriented economies are trying to figure out how to complement, rather than compete with, their neighbors. In its most extreme form, this policy has manifested itself in the form of trade agreements (ASEAN, NAFTA, etc.). For example, in order to respond to concerns by Southeast Asian countries after it joined the WTO in 2001, China has promoted ASEAN-China cooperation.

A third strategy is to diversify production and escape from a too strong dependency on labor-intensive manufacturing, where competition is stiff. Some countries are now exporting services, and this trend will further develop in the future. American companies are now subcontracting to India some computer service jobs; the maintenance of Germany's Lufthansa fleet is now carried out in Shanghai. Examples are plentiful. Even though statistics are lacking, these services constitute a significant part of the newer export-oriented economies.

Therefore, export-oriented economies have become more diversified. The "Four Dragons" of the first generation, which have devoted resources to enhance their education and transportation systems, have become more balanced economies and societies with a larger part of their economies devoted to services. Their comparatively small economies helped accelerate this process, since labor shortages and increases in wages have led to the outsourcing of their labor-intensive jobs to places with cheaper labor. Thus, the pattern has been set for a second wave to eventually become export-oriented economies themselves. But competition has also pushed the original "dragons" to try to develop newer and more inventive solutions, while remaining, to a certain extent, dependent on labor-intensive activities.

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**See also Development History and Theory; Foreign Direct Investments (FDI); Import Substitution Industrialization; International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Trade Organization (WTO)**

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## EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

Since its early stages the human kind has been exploiting the natural resources that the Earth provides such as fish, minerals, water, soil, or oil. But it was after the first Industrial Revolution and mainly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the global demand for such resources increased at high speed and exploitations at large scale began.

Above all, the international demand for coal and later for oil increased at exponential rates as the industries multiplied. Altogether the demand for extractive industries (EI), which include the oil, gas, and mining sectors, increased rapidly to keep up with the growth primarily of the western economies. The coming of the World Wars accelerated the demand for these products in order to produce weapons and all the necessary equipments and machinery for the wars.

After the end of World War II in 1945, the development of the industrial sector was even faster and the expansion of industries based on the extractive industries was astonishing. Therefore the living standards of most western societies improved accordingly. As a consequence, during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, it was believed that resource-rich states that were financially poor could change their economic and social situation with foreign capital investments, in the same way that Western developed countries had. Most economists believed that the extractive industries exports would bring about high growth rates with development for the inhabitants.

However, the analysis of many extractive industries cases during the last fifty years has proved that mineral and oil dependent states have low average living standards and haven't had much advance in their development. Recent studies performed by Oxfam America, an affiliate of Oxfam International, have shown that countries dependent on extractive industries, especially the African nations, still have high poverty rates, low overall living standards, high rates of infant mortality and malnutrition, income inequality, corruption, authoritarian governments, and civil wars (Ross 2001). This means that the exploitation of extractive industries do not necessarily engender the development of a society. Most of the richness generated by this sector is not well distributed among the country's inhabitants but instead is accumulated by small groups of local or international elites.

### Oil Extraction and Development

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, oil replaced coal and became the most important and necessary energy source to make our social and industrial organization function. Oil, or *petroleum*, also called *crude oil*, is a bituminous liquid composed of various organic chemicals. It is found in large quantities below the surface of Earth. Refined oil and its derivatives are used to produce hundreds of products in the chemical industry, to move the engines of most transport means, to produce electricity and heating, to make industry machines work, to manufacture medicines, weapons, fertilizers, plastics, foodstuffs, building materials, paints, cloth, make up, among other uses.

The oil market has been on the increase for the last centuries, promoting the exploration and discovery of new wells around the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the scientific discovery of underground petroleum reserves in many countries around the world was a crucial moment in the world economy.

Under the production model named *fordism* after Henry Ford, cheap oil was the fuel that pushed most of the industries in the developed countries. The motorcar industry and the transport industries as a whole played a leading role at demanding regularly large amounts of gasoline, fuel derived from oil. Every manufacture based its price on the regular supply of cheap oil, which accounted for the low prices of the products during the *golden age* between the end of the World War II and the middle 1970s crisis. Most developed countries were extracting and refining their own oil but as the demand grew, imports from non-developed countries became necessary.

Therefore exploration activities and the latter extraction of crude oil provoked the installment of many crude-oil extracting facilities in non-developed countries such as Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, and Mexico among others, which by that time were considered to be poor countries. The discovery of underground petroleum reserves and the consequent exports of the oil caused a break in the economic history of these countries: the GDP largely increased and the newly incomes favoured the social and economic development of the society.

In that age, the previously mentioned exporting countries obtained large revenues from oil and based most of their economies on these exports. By means of such incomes public schools, hospitals, houses, roads, dams, telephone lines, gas pipelines, harbours, and more public infrastructure was built. Employment rates were high.

The 1973 (Yom Kippur War) and 1979 petroleum crisis and the rising of international petroleum prices affected these oil-dependent economies. However, they recovered, especially during the 1990s when the oil prices went up again.

However, although the common people's social conditions improved, poverty, unemployment, poor health, and education conditions still remain a problem in some oil dependent countries like Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Angola, Kuwait, Yemen, Bahrain, or the United Arab Emirates, some of the highest oil dependent states worldwide (Ross 2001). This all means that, for the past decades, the exports of oil and a consequent high oil dependency rate hasn't caused these countries to develop or to improve the living standards of the common citizens as it could have with such high profits that the oil business generates. Wealthier and more powerful countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada were largely economically benefited from the extraction of oil.

The major oil extraction areas worldwide are the Middle East, the former Soviet Union, and the United

States. Saudi Arabia is the major export partner and world producer (with an estimate of around 8.7 million barrels per day in 2001), has the largest petroleum reserves and plays a leading role in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) at forming international oil prices. Sixty percent of the world petroleum reserves are located in the countries of Middle East. Saudi Arabia had 25% of oil proved reserves worldwide in 2002, Iraq was second with 11%, then Kuwait and Iran with 9% each, and the United Arab Emirates with 7%.

The international trade patterns show that the major consumers import most of the refined oil: United States with imports of around 9.3 million barrels per day in 2001, Western Europe (Germany, France, Italy), China and then Asia and Oceania and Africa. On the other side, the major oil producers (supply) are not the same. The list is ordered as follows: OPEC as the major producer with around 30 million barrels per day in 2000, then the former Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, United States, Iran, Norway, China, and Venezuela among others. Some countries base almost their entire economy on petroleum. Saudi Arabia's petroleum sector, for instance, accounts for roughly 75% of budget revenues, 45% of GDP, and 90% of export earnings.

### **The Gas Industry and Development**

Natural gas has become the second most important energy source worldwide. Natural gas is used for heating, cooling, as fuel for cars, for domestic and industrial purposes as well as for electricity production.

In the last twenty years the natural gas world reserves have doubled, having growth mostly in the former Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) and in the Middle East, Central and South America emerging countries. In 1999, important discoveries were made in Algeria and Egypt.

The United States and Saudi Arabia are the world major suppliers of natural gas, followed by the countries of the OPEC, Canada, Russia and Mexico. On the other side, the major consumers of natural gas are the United States in first place, then Russia, the countries of Western Europe, Canada, Ukraine, Iran and Japan among others. In 2002, the Russian Federation (33%) and Iran (15%) had around 48% of the world proved reserves of natural gas. Qatar possessed 10%, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirate and the US only 3%.

The extraction and exports of natural gas have caused the development of infrastructure such as

harbours, roads, and gas pipelines from the inner part of the countries towards the shore where gas is shipped and transported by ship. It has also generated increases in the GDP, which have benefited the countries' economies and richest people. However, many times the exploitation of such resources hasn't benefited most of the population itself as the incomes have not been used to develop social infrastructure as hospitals, schools, decent salaries for teachers, doctors, or public employees. Besides, many times the exploitation of these resources are at the stake of private actors and the gas is not available for the population of the country as it is exported. This type of situation has provoked many rebellions, the latest being the Bolivian Crisis in October 2003 when the government was overthrown by a popular uprising demanding that the Bolivian gas wasn't exported but instead used to provide the Bolivians with affordable gas.

### **The Mining Industry and Development**

Humankind has been extracting different minerals from soil since the early appearance of man on earth. Mining, in its broadest sense, is the process of obtaining useful minerals from the earth's crust. An ore is a mineral or combination of minerals from which a useful substance can be extracted and later marketed at a price that will recover the costs of mining. The naturally occurring substances are usually divided into metalliferous ones, such as the ores of gold, iron, copper, lead, and manganese, and the nonmetalliferous minerals, such as coal, quartz, bauxite, borax, asbestos, talc, feldspar, and phosphate rock. Building and ornamental stones usually are considered to form a separate group and they include slate, marble, limestone, travertine, and granite.

During the early times of mankind extracted minerals were used to produce simple weapons or tools, then inventing more complex devices to produce swords, coins, hammers, or chains. During the different early stages of mankind (Copper Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Petroleum Age, Information Age) and even today, mining resources are crucial for all industrial and daily activities.

However, technology has significantly advanced and today the mining process includes excavations in underground mines and surface excavations in open-pit, or open-cut (strip) mines. In addition, recent technological developments may soon make the mining of metallic ores from the sea floor economically feasible.

Globally the industrial countries consume more than two thirds of the global and annual production of the most important minerals. The United States, Canada, Australia, Japan, and Western Europe, with around 15% of the world population, altogether consume most of the metals produced every year: approximately 61% of all the aluminium, 60% of the plumber, 59% of the copper, and 49% of the steel.

Although the mining sector is a very profitable one, it has not always encouraged the development of the countries where the ore deposits are mined. According to a recent Oxfam America report, the most mineral dependent states, Botswana, Sierra Leone, Zambia, United Arab Emirates, Mauritania, Papua New Guinea among others, rank among the worst ranked countries in the Human Development Index provided by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (Ross 2001; UNDP 2004). This is the result of a long-lasting tradition of using ore deposits as if they were territories separated from their surroundings—to consider ore deposits as treasures that can be found and exploited without generating beneficial effects for the people who live in the near zones and for the citizens of the country where the deposit is located. Often the minerals are extracted by companies that generate low positive impacts on the society and obtain large profits without reinvesting them in the development of the country. This tendency explains the existence of many resource-rich states that are extremely poor, with high external debts and low development index. These examples can be found presently in most mineral dependent African countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (rich in diamonds and coltan) or South Africa, in South American countries like Brazil, Peru, or Bolivia as well as Asian countries.

### **Environmental Effects of Extractive Industries**

Extractive industries as previously depicted are highly risky and so far have caused several serious damages to the environment. One of the most recurrent and dangerous activities is the maritime transport of petroleum in oil tankers. In the last forty years, numerous accidents have occurred provoking disastrous ecological consequences on several ecosystems and in the fishing activities of the people who live upon that activity. The first accident occurred in 1967 with the *Torrey Canyon*, an oil tanker that crashed against a reef in southwest England and spilled more than

120,000 tons of petrol into the sea. As a result more than 200,000 birds died and the fishing industry was ruined for many months. Other major accidents were the *Polycommander* incident (1970), the *Metula* spill (1970), the *Amoco Cadiz* spill (1978), the *Exxon Valdez* spill in Alaska (1989), the intended spill of petroleum in the Persian Gulf by Iraq during the 1991 war, the *Nassia* incident (1994), the *Erica* oil tanker incident (1999), among others. All of them provoked irreparable and incalculable damages to the environment.

The mining sector is also another source contamination and several damages to the environment and human health, many times disregarding government regulations. The toxic smoke and powder released into the atmosphere in refinery facilities is very usual and can cause respiratory disorders to the people, plants, and animals. Another source of contamination are the toxic chemical wastes thrown to the rivers without any kind of treatment, which contaminate the precious resources of underground and superficial fresh water. Also in open-cast mines it is usual to have the emanations of toxic gases and steam, like sulphur dioxide, carbon dioxide and methane, gases that also contribute to the greenhouse effect worldwide. Mainly open cast mines are the most harmful because engineers use some heavy chemicals, like arsenic, mercury, and plumber, to separate minerals from the ore. These heavy chemicals contaminate underground water reserves and can easily reach the population, provoking high risk of serious diseases. Besides, most times these chemicals are drained to the near land and ruin it. These all means that the environmental and social costs are higher than the benefits for the population.

As for the gas industry, this one is the most environmental-friendly and safe of the three. Natural gas is considered one of the cleanest energies worldwide.

### **Sustainable Development and Extractive Industries**

The concept of sustainable development first appeared in 1987 when the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission), agreed on a definition of sustainable development that is now generally recognised as the standard: “Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” Therefore this concept implies

economic, social, and environmental processes to be interlinked. Public and private agents alike cannot be permitted to act one-dimensionally and in isolation. Instead, their actions must take into account the interplay between the three dimensions of environment, economy, and society. Also, sustainable development calls for long-term structural change in our economic and social systems, with the aim of reducing the consumption of the environment and resources to a permanently affordable level, while maintaining economic output potential and social cohesion. Sustainable development aims to bring about a long-term improvement in the quality of life of the majority of the human race, which lives in bitter poverty and inhuman conditions. This means that sustainable development has to ensure economic growth, social benefits for the population combined with a respectful and conscious treatment of the environment. To accomplish such a goal, different social actors with different and opposed interests must discuss and reach an agreement; otherwise it does not seem possible to develop the economy of a country in a sustainable manner.

Although these aims have been clearly stated and are widely accepted, it seems more like a theoretical statement than a guidance-line for most companies. Some firms have strived to change their exploitation measures but many others still work only after benefits without regarding the damages on the environment and the future generations. And the extractive industries are a field where these principles are not always respected.

Mining is an activity that has received extensive criticism and legal denunciations for polluting water resources. On the other hand, mining activities and transnational mining companies many times have a great deal of responsibility in civil wars, dictatorships, foreign armed interventions, human rights violations, deforestation, pollution, and other unfavourable effects on human beings and the environment in developing countries, especially in African ones. Mining companies many times do not respect protected areas either.

Nowadays there are several examples of unsustainable development in African countries as well as in Latin American ones. For instance, in the Democratic Republic of Congo there are permanent civil wars to settle which group is going to exploit the tantalum and diamond reserves. The tantalum is used in the industry of cellular phones and also to build Pentium computers. Owing to the sudden increase in the international prices of this mineral, there are constant fights among Africans to determine which group will be able to mine the ores.

Another example is provided by the “coltan wars.” The name coltan is an abbreviation used only in parts of Africa for ‘columbo-tantalite,’ two minerals that combined form the coltan. Mineral concentrates containing tantalum are usually referred to as ‘tantalite.’ Columbite contains the element columbium, another name for niobium; tantalite contains tantalum. The coltan is used to produce mobile phones and game consoles. Many recognized international enterprises illegally finance these wars and extract loads of minerals by airplane from Congo or Rwanda to Europe or the United States.

In Argentina, a Latin American country, for instance, there are several conflicts with mining companies in the areas of Rio Negro and Esquel. These firms intend to use the cyanide method to separate valuable minerals from the ore in open cast mines, which would provoke serious ecological and health damages to the inhabitants. Therefore there have been popular movements who have rejected and temporarily stopped the beginning of the works.

Regarding the oil industry, there are also many examples that show how distant is this industry from achieving a sustainable development. An example is provided in Africa with conflict starring international petrol companies, the government, and other rebel groups in south Sudan. Since 1999, oil is exploited and civil wars are permanent. Some petrol companies support the military government that leads a war against the southern inhabitants of the country with weapons bought with petrodollars. Something similar takes place in Angola, where a civil war faces two groups: the rebels and the government. The first group obtains its financing from the control over the diamond mines and the latter obtains its incomes to finance the war from petroleum exports.

One final example of the African resources conflicts is the long-lasting dispute between the Royal Dutch Shell Company, the Nigerian military governments, and the Movement for the Survival of the Ogony People (MOSOP) in Nigeria, an oil-rich country in Western Africa. Shell has been accused of cooperating and collaborating with the different military dictatorships that ruled Nigeria from 1966 until 1999 and that killed hundreds of citizens who opposed them. Besides, the petroleum extractions have grown steadily over the years placing Nigeria as the major oil exporter in Africa while the poverty levels have doubled in the same period. Shell has also been accused of murdering a leader of the MOSOP, Ken Saro Wiwa, and also of causing a great destruction to the environment with the permanent oil spills of the pipelines due to lack of maintenance. Similar



examples that show strong collaborative relations between petrol companies and governments are provided in the history of Latin American countries like Bolivia and Nicaragua.

The gas industry has proved to be less troublesome but there are also some examples showing that it is not always sustainable, like the Bolivian example previously mentioned.

As all these examples prove, at least in many countries the extractive industries have not helped development but on the contrary have pushed development backward, causing damages to the environment, non-pacific atmospheres, destruction, insecurity, poverty, corruption, and instability in the country. Likewise oil producing and exporting countries like Nigeria and Sudan still have high rates of poverty and unemployment. Mineral exporting countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo or Rwanda suffer from the same civil wars, which have not encouraged development in any dimension in the country. These countries are often entitled as “poor” because of the impoverished social conditions in which most of the population live. However they are rich in terms of natural resources. Therefore the problem lies within the distribution of the incomes generated with those resources, which are often concentrated in few people. These incomes have often been used to build infrastructure to exploit them but very little to promote the development of the social conditions of the inhabitants.

These examples are extreme and there are others where the extractive industries have promoted development in a fairly sustainable way. For instance, ecotourism is a fairly extended option that has helped many natural reserves survive, obtain incomes, and protect the wild life and flora. Many reserves like these are located in Africa, but also in south Asia and South America, protect wild species like Tigers, Pandas, Rhinos, or Lions with their ecosystems in a sustainable manner.

Regarding International Financing Organizations, lots of controversy has lately appeared towards the role of the World Bank (WB) and its financing programs. The WB had been accused of awarding loans to firms who didn't regard the environment or the inhabitant's development and only used the funds to exploit the natural resources, many times in illegal ways. For instance, the WB has been accused of supporting the use of a controversial technique in Papua, New Guinea, through which the mining wastes were thrown into the water without any treatment.

To defend itself the WB has conducted some research projects and in its 2003 report the World Bank clearly stated its commitment to keep on financing

extractive industries projects but with some conditions. The report states that extractive industries can contribute to sustainable development *only* if the projects are carried out in the proper way, taking into account human rights, fighting against poverty, maintaining biodiversity, supporting mining activities on a small scale, encouraging the use of renewable energies, and the efficient use of energies to fight global climate change.

It also stated that the WB was committed to promote the sustainable development under a *selective approach*, regarding that the companies that had been awarded a credit should be transparent, establish projects that benefit the local inhabitants and have the support of the local community, protect the human rights, and mitigate the social and environmental risks (World Bank 2003).

In the near future extractive industries will probably keep on being more profitable for some companies than encouraging the development of the countries where the resources lay. However, the approach change mentioned on behalf of the World Bank should be an example of how extractive industries should function. The old approach should be forgotten and the different social actors should demand the implementation of an extractive industries sector that fights against poverty, respects the ecosystems and biodiversity, and supports the popular participation. Otherwise the firms and governments that operate the extractive industries will keep on with their business irrespective of development and improvement for all.

DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

**See also Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO); Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC); Angola; Biodiversity Conservation; Bolivia; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; Congo, Republic of the; Environmentalism; Industrialization; Nigeria; Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC); Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); OXFAM; Petrodollars; Sustainable Development; War and Development; Wildlife Preservation**

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## **FAMILY PLANNING AND STRUCTURE**

### **Demographic Challenges and Family Planning**

The reproductive function of the family is just one of the factors that impact the demographic characteristics of a given country or region. The demographic explosion or the demographic slump correlates to a myriad other factors, of which the following stand out: political crisis and wars, the state of the economy, emigration, and a high mortality rate.

Conversely, each of these factors contains a multiplicity of triggers that determine the power of its effect. So, for example, the high mortality rate is defined by the existence of four underlying drivers— income levels, state of development of the health care system, living conditions, and the environment. The comprehensive interplay of the said factors, coupled with the reproductive function of the average statistical family defines the “demographic map” of every country, of every region of the world during the various stages in their development.

As a result, the twentieth century experienced interesting dynamics in demographic trends that may be illustrated by the following facts. In 1950, one-third of the world’s population was living in the developed countries, in 2000—less than one-fifth. While

in the early twentieth century Africa was sparsely populated, in the twenty-first century, the continent is well ahead of Europe by population figures. As a result of migration and primarily because of the intensity with which population reproduces in some parts of the world, the continents are ranked by population density in the early twenty-first century in the following order: Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America, North America, and Oceania. The maximum natural population growth rate (3% per year) was registered in Afghanistan, Angola, and Uganda, whereas the maximum population loss is recorded by Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Russia, Ukraine, Latvia, and Belarus. The disparity in the average size of families in different regions is rather drastic: in Europe and America, it is three persons; in Asia and Africa, more than five; in Iraq, Algeria, and most of the African countries, more than seven; in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, it stands at 2.3 persons. The imbalance that existed in the early twenty-first century in natural population growth in the different regions of the world has forced the governments of twenty countries to refocus their demographic policy on increasing the birth rate, while the governments of eighty-five countries have trained their policy on reducing the birth rate. Family planning has emerged as a tangible factor that plays a substantive role in balancing demographic processes and tempering the birth rate.

## The Nature of Family Planning

The term “family planning” appears in the official papers of several international organizations—the United Nations (UN), the UN Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), etc. According to the official position of the UN, family planning is a blend of actions aimed at protecting the parents’ right to freely and responsibly discharge their reproductive function. Family planning encompasses activities that support parents in adequately exercising their reproductive functions and is conducive to the following results: preventing undesirable pregnancies, the delivery of wanted children, regulating interim periods between pregnancies, age control in childbearing, and control over the number of children in a family.

One of the major goals of family planning is associated with the avoidance of accidental or unplanned pregnancies. In practical terms, this means that to avoid unplanned pregnancies, the use of contraceptives has to be managed effectively, inclusive of the use of modern and reliable contraception methods. In order for parents to freely and responsibly exercise their reproductive functions, the following conditions ought to be met: effective and adequate legislation; a proper health insurance system; the presence of positive attitudes and willingness on the part of general practitioners to engage in the prevention of unwanted pregnancies; availability of information about the ways to prevent unwanted pregnancies; availability, accessibility, and reliability of means to prevent unwanted pregnancies; an operational sexual education system; and a system for marital and family counseling. The very essence of family planning is centered on providing all of the above conditions.

## The Ideological Aspect: Pros and Cons of Family Planning

This issue has been hotly debated since the early twentieth century. Advocates of family planning believe it is necessary in order to strictly regiment the birth rate and population growth in the world. A range of disconcerting facts are furnished in support of this premise. So, for instance, in the early twenty-first century, the world population reached 6 billion, and human population grows at the rate of almost 80 million people annually. If the pace is kept, the world will suffer from a deficit in resources to feed mankind by the year 2025. To avoid this scenario, the mean birth rate ratio (the average number of children

born by a single woman) that would ensure a stable population growth rate worldwide should be 2.1.

The case for family planning can be argued very strongly by pinpointing the growth in sexually transmitted infections, and first and foremost, of persons infected with AIDS. In the early twenty-first century, there were more than 40 million people infected with the immune deficiency virus, the majority of them in the developing world. An estimated 2.5 million AIDS victims are children under the age of fifteen. In 2003 alone, 3 million people died of AIDS and another 5 million were infected. The absence of family planning or its unsatisfactory state is believed to lead to the lack of use of contraception by women, resulting in abortions or the bearing of unwanted children. So, for example, empirical studies show that while people in the developing world need family planning, it has not yet reached a satisfactory state of advancement. In developing countries, over 100 million married women of reproductive age—an estimated one in five women outside China—has an “unmet need” for family planning. Unmet need, which is estimated from survey data, refers to married women who say that they would prefer to avoid or postpone childbearing but who are not using any method of contraception.

Family planning opponents support their position with three major ideological arguments. The first rests on the theory launched by Thomas Malthus in 1798—namely that population has an inherent tendency to uninhibited procreation that ultimately leads to economic deprivation, famine, war, and plagues. This invited the conclusion that if mankind desired prosperity, the birth rate ought to be contained artificially. The second argument relates to Charles Darwin’s theory of the origin of the species, published in 1859. According to family planning opponents, Darwin transposed the principles of natural selection and the survival struggle, intrinsic to the animal world, to human society, thereby pronouncing man an integral part of the animal kingdom and releasing him of moral obligations. The third argument relates to the science of eugenics that gained popularity in the late nineteenth century. Eugenics pursues the perfection of man’s biological nature by means of selection, something achieved in Germany and the USA in the 1920s and 1930s, primarily through the sterilization of inferior individuals. Serious historical facts also have been furnished, mainly in relation to the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Nazis in Germany, among which we could list the legitimization of abortions, sterilization of inferior persons, planned numbers of the Slav population in the occupied territories, and others. In the postmodern age, the opponents of family planning find correlations between the latter and euthanasia,

cloning, sex-change surgery, and the death penalty, to mention but a few. To them, it is an expression of bigotry and a refined means to kill people for the sake of personal comfort.

## Family Planning Structures

Family planning first appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century, and its structure evolved over the first fifty years of the century, mainly in the USA and Western Europe. In the USA it is associated with the first standard certificate of death issued in 1900 and above all with the name of Margaret Stanger, who broke the law in 1916, having set up the first family planning clinic in Brooklyn, N.Y. The following important events took place in the USA over the same period: in 1937 the American Medical Association endorsed birth control; in 1937, the first state (North Carolina) included birth control in a public health program; and in 1942, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America was established. In the first half of the twentieth century Nazis in Germany were the most active among Western Europeans to carry out family planning, associating its initiatives with the pure "Aryan race" and the need to sterilize inferior individuals.

Family planning also aroused vivid discussions as far back as the 1920s in the UK. Empirical research into family planning and the fertility of women in this country started in 1938, the first study being an opinion poll inquiring into the ideal number of children in a British family. Special attention also was paid to this issue in France—in 1947, the first study on issues of family planning and the reproductive behaviour of French women was carried out. Important operations and the intense development of international and national family planning structures, however, began in the second half of twentieth century after the establishment of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). IPPF was founded in Bombay in 1952 by representatives of eight countries—India, Germany, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, Singapore, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

From this point on, family planning became the focus of attention on a global scale, and in individual countries, the establishment of national autonomous Family Planning Associations (FPAs) began, their number being more than 180 as of the end of twentieth century. Additional structures also were set up to deal with control over reproductive family functions; a number of empirical studies were carried out, looking into the reproductive behaviour of women; a number of international forums on family planning

issues were held; legislation in individual countries was amended to legalize abortions and the use of contraceptive drugs; and various periodicals began publication, etc. The following facts relevant to the USA may be cited to illustrate the above occurrences: 1955, the first national fertility survey was conducted; 1960, the birth control pill was approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA); 1965, Supreme Court (*Griswold vs. Connecticut*) declared unconstitutional state laws prohibiting contraceptive use by married couples; 1972, Medicaid funding for family planning services was authorised; 1973, Supreme Court (*Roe vs. Wade*) legalized abortion; 1973, the first National Survey of Family Growth conducted; 1993, the female condom was approved by the FDA; 1997, the emergency use of oral contraceptive pills was approved by the FDA.

Over the same period, Western European countries also were extremely active in the field of family planning. It was a focus of attention in France, where the relevant legal foundations were laid down, the necessary organisational structures were set up, and a large number of sociological and social/psychological surveys also were carried out. For example, in 1954, 1956, and 1960 the *French Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques* (INED) began research on the ideal French family model. In 1966, a new study was carried out, delineating the specifics in the reproductive behaviour of French women and the formative mechanisms operating inside French families. Until 2000, INED implemented a number of studies in France, the outcomes of which served to complete the picture of the family planning situation in Europe. In the UK, in 1967, a second Family Intentions Survey was conducted, offering representative data about the ideal family according to the UK population. Parallel to it, public opinion polls were carried out in relation to contraceptive pills, abortions, etc.

The important contributions of Scandinavian countries and especially of the Netherlands need to be noted here. By the end of twentieth century, a solid family planning system was set up in all Western European countries, comprised of governmental and nongovernmental structures. Similar structures also were established (mainly after the political changes of 1989) in Central and Eastern European countries, including the following: the Russian Family Planning Association (RFPA), the Bulgarian Family Planning Association (BFPA), the Lithuanian Family Planning and Sexual Education Association (LFPSEA), the Albania Family Planning Association (AFPA), the Czech Society for Family Planning and Sex Education (CSFPSE), the Family Planning Association of Estonia (FPAE), and the Slovak Association for Family Planning and Parenthood Education

(SAFPPE), etc. Structures set up in individual countries and, as a rule, national family planning associations, are all IPPF members and work to further its objectives, both nationally and internationally.

### Family Planning Goals and Objectives

Family planning goals and objectives have been specified in IPPF official documents and in national autonomous Family Planning Associations' (FPAs) documentation. The main goals of family planning are as follows:

1. Meet the demand and unmet need for quality services;
2. Promote sexual and reproductive health for people;
3. Eliminate unsafe abortion;
4. Organize affirmative action to gain equity, equality and empowerment for women;
5. Help young people understand their sexuality and provide services that meet their demands; and
6. Maintain the highest standards of care in the countries all over the world throughout the IPPF.

The achievement of these goals requires the implementation of the following practical objectives:

1. Family planning structures need to actively work to impose standards of contraceptive safety, program management, service provision and gender equity.
2. All family planning structures need to campaign locally, regionally and internationally, through policymakers, opinion leaders, professionals, and the media, to increase support for reproductive health and family planning worldwide.
3. Individuals working for the family planning system defend women's reproductive rights, both at the national, advocacy level and, at the individual level, by focusing on quality of care in the provision of family planning services specifically designed to meet women's needs.
4. Individuals working for the family planning system make available reproductive health services, including counseling, information, and a choice of family planning methods and providers.
5. Family-planning system decision makers advocate before governments and policymakers to improve national health services.
6. Family planning structures work to prepare adolescents for responsible parenthood by

offering services, such as infertility treatment, premarital counseling, pregnancy testing, and breast and cervical cancer screening.

### Family Planning Methods

Family planning methods are mainly distinguished through the criterion of control over either conception or birth. There are, therefore, two main methods of family planning: contraception and abortion.

Contraception appears as a chief element in family planning, since it plays a significant role in protecting women's lives. It is a preliminary method for control over the process of conception, whereas abortion is a method for the artificial disruption of pregnancy.

The contraceptive method, in principle, does not give rise to any vivid discussions or harsh controversies. However, abortion makes the object of acute debate and controversial statements in individual countries. Even now, abortion is an illicit method in many countries across the world. In Europe, it was first legalized in Russia in 1920 and then in Germany in 1934. Subsequently, this method was legalized in a number of other countries: United Kingdom (1967), Finland (1970), the United States (1973), Denmark (1973), France (1975), Sweden (1975), Family Rights Group (FRG) (1976), Norway (1976), Italy (1978), Luxembourg (1978), The Netherlands (1984), Portugal (1984), Spain (1985), and Belgium (1990).

Important differences are observed in relation to family planning methods used in developed and in developing countries, as well as between Eastern and Western European countries. In developed countries, the emphasis is placed on taking contraceptive pills, whereas in Eastern Europe (former socialist countries, including Russia) and in developing countries, abortion is heavily relied upon. The following information about the use of contraceptives is available: in developed industrialized nations, 70%; in developing countries, 46%. The largest share of women using contraceptives is in the Netherlands, between the ages of fifteen and forty-four. According to researchers, the low level of contraceptive use in developing countries is attributed to its unavailability and high cost.

### Family Planning: General Trends in Developing Countries

Some general trends, but also important differences, are characteristic for family planning in developing countries. A general trend stems from reduced birth rates, and it is a globally valid one. Over the past few

decades, as fertility rates have fallen, world population growth has slowed. Population is growing at an annual rate of 1.3%, estimated in 1998, compared with 2.1% in the 1960s. Nevertheless, the world's population is growing by almost 80 million per year—about 1 billion every thirteen years. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, fertility fell to or below replacement level in sixty-one countries, thirteen of them in the developing world. In 123 countries, fertility is still above replacement level. In most countries, couples still have at least three children. About 1.7 billion people live in forty-seven countries, where fertility averages between three and five children per woman. Another 730 million people live in forty-four countries in which the average woman has five children or more.

Overall fertility declined by approximately one-third from the 1960s through the 1980s, from an average of six to four children per woman, with dramatic decreases occurring in some parts of the world (e.g., 24% decline in fertility in Asia and Latin America, approximately 50% in Thailand, and approximately 35% in Colombia, Jamaica, and Mexico). As fertility declined in developing countries, the infant mortality rate decreased from approximately one hundred fifty deaths per one thousand live births in the 1950s to approximately eighty per one thousand in the early 1990s. Among married women of reproductive age in developing countries, 53% plan the size of their families; 90% of these women report using modern birth control methods.

Many countries in Asia and the Pacific successfully implemented family planning programs. Their success is evidenced by data indicating a reduction in the fertility rate, increased life expectancy, lower infant death rate, and the delayed growth of the population. From 1960 to 1970, the general fertility rate in the region was 5.65 children per woman, life expectancy was 51.9 years, the infant death rate was 120.5 per 1,000 newborns, and the population growth was 2.29% per year. From 1970 to 1980, the general birth rate was 4.5 children per woman, life expectancy was 67.9 years, the infant death rate was ninety-four per one thousand newborns, and the population growth was 2.03% per year.

The birth rate in the region is decreasing, which is evidenced by a comparison of the following data sets: the general fertility rate in 1992 was 3.1 children per woman, which is an estimated 38% lower, compared with 5.0 children per woman during 1970–1975. This trend is even more apparent once data about individual countries, valid as of 1980 and 1991–1992, are compared: in India, the general fertility rate was 5.3 children per woman in 1980 vs. 3.9 in 1991. Almost half of couples use birth control. In Indonesia, the fertility

rate was 4.6 children per woman in 1980 vs. 3.0 in 1992. In the Philippines, the fertility rate was 5.0 children per woman in 1980 vs. 4.1 in 1991. The Catholic Church opposes family planning, and only 22% of couples use modern contraception. In Morocco, the fertility rate was 6.9 children per woman in 1980 vs. 4.2 in 1992. Nurses deliver contraceptives to secluded Muslim women. In Egypt, the fertility rate was 4.6 children per woman in 1965 vs. 4.4 in 1992. Egypt's population grows by a million people every year. In Saudi Arabia, the fertility rate was 7.2 children per woman in 1980 vs. 7.2 in 1991. The above data illustrate that success has been registered in reducing the birth rate in developing countries, which of course relates to the implementation of an overall family planning strategy, also aiming to popularize contraceptives. Their use in the region has grown, even though certain differences exist between individual countries. Data from 1989–1993 about the use of contraceptives is as follows: the use of contraceptives is higher in East and Southeast Asia. China, Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea, and Singapore achieved contraceptive prevalence levels of 70%–74%, while Sri Lanka and Thailand attained levels between 62% and 68%. Countries having prevalence levels of 43%–53% were India, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The remaining countries in the region had prevalence levels of 25% or less.

In most general terms, as of the end of the twentieth century, contraceptives have become an exceptionally popular regulator of the birth rate in developing countries. Statistical data indicate that in developing countries, the percentage of married couples using contraception has risen substantially, from less than 10% in the 1960s to 55% in 1998, and it continues to rise. Of course, the reduced birth rate in developing countries correlates to a reduction in the mortality rate. The country's maternal mortality rate has declined from 397 per 100,000 live births in 1994 to 307 in 2004, compared with Thailand, which has only 44 deaths per 100,000, the Philippines (200), Vietnam (130), Malaysia (41), and Singapore (30). Family planning programs have played a key role in this process.

### **Family Planning at the Beginning of Twenty-First Century**

In order to better understand family planning at the beginning of twenty-first century, it is necessary to outline in brief some statistical information about developing countries, including the countries with the largest populations, China and India.



In 2003, the population in China was 1.3 billion people, and the growth index was 0.6%. Life expectancy is 72.22 years (overall): 70.33 years for males and 74.28 years for females. Because China is the most populated country in the world, family planning is at an exceptionally high level of development. Based on scientific analyses, owing to its perfect family planning over the past two decades, China has managed to reduce its population by 300 million people. Government policy provides incentives for later marriages and for implementing the “one-child family” model, while, under favorable conditions, the two-child model is also allowed. There are plans for the number of population not to exceed 1.4 billion by 2010, assuming that by the middle of the twenty-first century, the population in this country will steady at 1.6 billion. A special government policy is implemented to this effect, to prevent high birth rates and to promote the use of contraceptives. Data from 1991 indicate that 88.85% of Chinese couples of reproductive age use contraceptives.

India is the second country in the world in terms of population numbers; however, forecasts indicate that in a few decades it will surpass China due to its high birth rate. If absolute population growth levels remain unchanged, which equaled 161 million people during 1981–1991, the population in this country will double every thirty years. That is why, in 1951, the National Family Welfare Programme was set up in India with the objective of reducing the birth rate to make it compatible with the constraints of national economy. In 2000, a new National Programme for Demographic Policy was issued, whose objective is to reach a fertility rate by 2010 complying with the simple replacement level of the population, and by 2045—to stabilize its number. In general terms, there is progress in reducing the birth rate, which in 1991 was 3.9 children per woman. This is attributable to the use of contraceptives, which in the 1990s was over 40%. Weaker outcomes of India’s demographic policy in comparison to China are due to social and economic factors: the existence of significant levels of poverty among the larger share of the population (one-third of Indians live below the poverty threshold), poor education (in 2000, the level of education among women was 54%, compared with 76% among men).

Special attention is being paid in Bangladesh to family planning, but birth rates remain high and there is strong resistance to the use of contraceptives. The unwillingness to use contraceptives is associated with the desire for more children, religious attitudes, the opposition shown by male spouses and mothers-in-law, and the fear of potential side effects. Almost 100% of deliveries are carried out at home, and only 5% of births are assisted by trained personnel. The

percentage of sexually transmitted infections is quite high. Young people have no or only limited access to information about sexual or reproductive health. *Essential statistic data:* Bangladesh is the most densely populated in the world—it has a total population of 133 million, with 36% aged ten to twenty-four years. Population growth is 2.2% per year. Human development index ranking for 2002 is: 145 out of 173 countries. Sociodemographic and health indicators are well below the South Asia average. Average life expectancy at birth is fifty-nine years. The infant mortality rates high at sixty-six per one thousand live births.

The maternal mortality rate is very high at six hundred per one hundred thousand live births. The contraceptive prevalence rate among married women (ages fifteen to forty-nine) is 54%. The number of women per one hundred men is ninety-four.

Individuals involved in family planning in Ghana have actively fought against AIDS and advocated for the use of contraceptives. An important number of the population define condoms as a form of protection against AIDS. Empirical research reported an increase in modern contraceptive use from 10.5% to 36.4%. The largest increase is among fifteen- to nineteen-year-olds. *Essential statistic data:* Population is 20.2 million, with 33% aged ten to twenty-four years. Human Development Index ranking: 129 out of 173 countries. Average life expectancy at birth is fifty-eight years. The infant mortality rate is fifty-six per one thousand live births. The maternal mortality rate is 590 per 100,000 live births. The total fertility rate is estimated at 4.3. Only 22% of married women aged fifteen to forty-nine years are included in the family planning. Only 44% of all births are assisted by trained personnel. The population living with HIV/AIDS (ages fifteen to forty-nine) was 3% at the end of 2001. The literacy rate among adults is 63% for women and 80% for men.

Special attention is paid in Ethiopia to the provision of information about family planning among young people. A large number of youth centers have been opened for them, where they can obtain family counseling or information about protection from AIDS, etc. *Essential statistic data:* The population is 67.7 million, with 32% aged ten to twenty-four years. Human Development Index ranking: 168 out of 173 countries. Average life expectancy at birth is fifty-two years. The infant mortality rate is very high at ninety-seven per one thousand live births. The maternal mortality rate is very high at 1,800 per 100,000 live births. The total fertility rate is estimated at 5.9, with only 8% of married women aged fifteen to forty-nine years practicing family planning. Only 10% of births are assisted by trained personnel. The population living with HIV/AIDS (ages fifteen to

forty-nine years) is 6.4%. The literacy rate among adults is low at 33% for women and 44% for men.

Before 1989, Kenya enjoyed the dubious distinction of having the highest fertility rate and, consequently, the highest population growth in the world. At its height, the population growth rate was 4%, and the total fertility rate was eight children. Research has revealed that since the late 1980s and early 1990s, the once-high fertility rate is declining, and Kenya is now among the nations that are experiencing fertility transitions. *Essential statistic data*: The population is 31.1 million, with 37% aged ten to twenty-four years. Human Development Index ranking: 134 out of 173 countries. The average life expectancy at birth is forty-eight years. The infant mortality rate is high at seventy-four per one thousand live births. The maternal mortality rate is very high at 1,300 per 100,000 live births. The total fertility rate is estimated at 4.4, with only 39% of married women aged fifteen to forty-nine years practicing family planning. Only 44% of all births are assisted by trained personnel. The population living with HIV/AIDS (aged fifteen to forty-nine years) is 15%. The literacy rate among adults is high at 76% for women and 89% for men.

The population of the Philippines is 81.6 million, with 32% aged ten to twenty-four years. Human Development Index ranking: eighty-five out of 175 countries. Average life expectancy at birth is seventy years. The infant mortality rate is twenty-six per one thousand live births. The maternal mortality rate is 240 per 100,000 live births. The total fertility rate is estimated at 3.5 with only 49% of married women aged fifteen to forty-nine practicing family planning. Only 56% of all births are assisted by trained personnel. The population living with HIV/AIDS (ages fifteen to forty-nine years) is 0.05%. The literacy rate among adults is high at 95% for women and 96% for men.

The population of Vietnam is 80.8 million, with 32% aged ten to twenty-four years. Human Development Index ranking: 109 out of 175 countries. Average life expectancy at birth is seventy-two years. The infant mortality rate is twenty-six per thousand live births. The maternal mortality rate is ninety-five per hundred thousand live births. The total fertility rate is estimated at 2.3 with 77% of married women aged fifteen to forty-nine practicing family planning. 77% of all births are assisted by trained personnel. Population living with HIV/AIDS (fifteen to forty-nine) is 0.3%. The literacy rate among adults is high at 91% for women and 96% for men.

The population of Sudan is 32.6 million, with 33% aged ten to twenty-four years. Human Development Index ranking: 139 out of 173 countries. Average life expectancy at birth is fifty-six years. The infant mortality rate is high at eighty-two per one thousand live

births. The maternal mortality rate is very high at 1,500 per 100,000 live births. The total fertility rate is estimated at 4.9, with only 10% of married women aged fifteen to forty-nine years practicing family planning. An estimated 86% of all births are assisted by trained personnel. The population living with HIV/AIDS (aged fifteen to forty-nine years) is 2.6%. The literacy rate among adults is 46% for women and 70% for men.

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- [http://www.questia.com/popularSearches/family\\_planning.jsp](http://www.questia.com/popularSearches/family_planning.jsp)  
<http://www.ippf.org/resource/index.htm>

## FANON, FRANTZ

Frantz Fanon lived only thirty-six years, but he became widely known as an active revolutionary, a psychiatrist, and a political theorist. Fanon was embittered by racism, and he passionately supported anticolonial revolutions. He is best known for his ideological justification of revolutionary violence.

Fanon was born on July 20, 1925, in Fort-de-France, Martinique (then the French Antilles). His lifelong preoccupation with the psychological damage of racism may be traced to his home, where he was the most dark-skinned of eight children in a Caribbean household. His middle-class family made sure that he

received a good French education in Martinique, and he imagined himself as part of a universal French culture based on language, not race. He called himself a “Frenchman,” and at age eighteen, he joined Free French forces to fight the Germans in North Africa and France. But he found that white Frenchmen regarded him as inferior.

After World War II, Fanon studied medicine at the University of Lyon. He specialized in psychiatry and began to interpret European imperialism in terms of psychological dominance: the colonized (Algerians, Africans, Vietnamese, etc.) were crippled by their induced sense of racial inferiority and could only regain their psychological health by fighting their oppressors. Fanon’s first book, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) expressed his personal frustration with racism, yet in October of that year, he married Marie-Joséphine Dublé, a white Frenchwoman.

In 1953, having completed his medical training, Fanon was appointed chief of the psychiatric ward at a French government hospital in Algeria. The Algerian revolution began in 1954. Dr. Fanon secretly helped Algerian rebels of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) for the next two years. In 1956, he resigned from the French medical service and joined the FLN at their base in Tunis, editing the rebel newspaper *El Moudjahid* and later taking to the field.

The year 1959 marked a turning point in Fanon’s life. His analysis of the Algerian revolution, *Studies in a Dying Colonialism*, was published. He was severely wounded when his Jeep hit a landmine on the border of Algeria and Morocco. He was evacuated to Rome for medical treatment and there escaped two murder attempts, presumably orchestrated by French colonial gangs. Also, he was diagnosed with leukemia. These setbacks did not prevent him from assuming the post of ambassador to Ghana for the Algerian Provisional Government and making a 1,200-mile trek across the Sahara Desert in an effort to open up a southern supply route for the Algerian revolutionaries.

By 1961, Fanon was gravely ill. In an odd twist of Cold War politics, he was brought to the United States by a CIA agent, Ollie Iselin. Fanon died in Bethesda, Md., on December 6, 1961. Iselin accompanied his body back to FLN-controlled territory in eastern Algeria, where he was buried. His last book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, was published by his friend Jean-Paul Sartre. Algeria achieved full independence in 1962.

Fanon was a Marxist, but he emphasized psychological rather than economic factors in colonialism. His writings anticipated the ideas of Edward Said—that artificial racial and cultural concepts underlie imperialism. Fanon glorified violence, which he saw as a cleansing force, but he believed that after the

collective catharsis of revolution, a new and better society could be created.

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**See also** *Algeria; Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies; Ethnicity: Impact on Politics and Society; Eurocentrism*

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### FARABUNDO MARTÍ NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FMLN)

The history of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) is grounded in the life and death of Agustín Farabundo Martí. Martí was born in 1893 in the department of La Libertad, El Salvador, where he grew up among the rural poor. As a young man, he made contact with the Communist International in Mexico and became active in recruitment in Central America. Outraged at the military intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, he joined Augusto César Sandino’s Defending Army of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua in June 1928. Sandino wanted Martí to recruit more foreign volunteers for his struggle for independence, but the Communist International expected him to draw Sandino closer to its ideological cause. This contradiction strained the relationship between the two men until they parted ways in early 1930. Martí then returned to El Salvador in the midst of a coffee depression. In 1932, he led a mass rebellion against plantation owners that culminated in the massacre of thirty thousand peasants and the subsequent public execution of Martí and several other peasant leaders. This tragic episode of Salvadoran history, known as the *matanza*, was merely the beginning of six decades of state repression and revolutionary resistance.

The emergence of the Popular Forces of Liberation “Farabundo Martí” in 1970 and the People’s Revolutionary Army in 1972 was the precursor of a political and armed struggle against the Salvadoran oligarchy and army. The Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua in July 1979 facilitated the unification of five separate guerrilla organizations in El Salvador. Shortly after Archbishop Oscar Romero was assassinated by military officers on March 24, 1980, the FMLN formed to carry out an insurrection against the governmental and military establishment. In January 1981, the FMLN launched a guerrilla strategy known as the

“final offensive” and called for a general strike that never materialized. The massacre of more than one thousand peasants at El Mozote in December 1981 marked the onset of a full-scale bloody civil war. The unprovoked attack on the village by the government’s Atlacatl Battalion, whose members trained at the School of the Americas in the United States, manifested a chilling counterinsurgency campaign. The United States government under the Reagan administration spent \$6 billion in an attempt to destroy the FMLN and prevent another Cuban-Soviet foothold in the Americas.

In late 1989, the FMLN launched a major offensive on San Salvador, occupying one-third of the capital including several wealthy neighborhoods and the heavily populated working class district of Santa Marta. The government bombed Santa Marta, causing the FMLN to retreat, but lost support from citizens in urban areas. On November 16, 1989, in retaliation for the FMLN attacks, military officers of the Atlacatl Battalion murdered six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter at the Central American University.

These events brought the antagonists under pressure to intensify negotiations for a peace agreement. The secretary-general of the United Nations received a formal request from the government of El Salvador in September 1989 to start talks with the FMLN. The first breakthrough was achieved in 1990 when the parties agreed to ensure respect for human rights. To verify this and future agreements, the Security Council established the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) in 1991.

Further intense negotiations were brokered by the representative of the UN Secretary General and culminated in a series of the peace accords on December 31, 1991, in New York. A formal signing ceremony was held on January 16, 1992, in Mexico City. The conflict claimed more than seventy-five thousand lives, disabled more than three hundred thousand people, and created five hundred thousand refugees. The FMLN cooperated with ONUSAL in an investigation of crimes against humanity and human rights violations. Many accused military officers and guerrillas were granted amnesty in 1993.

The FMLN became a legal political party, holding its first convention in early 1994. The national elections of March 1994 resulted in the FMLN’s defeat at the presidential level. However, the revolutionaries-cum-politicians secured sixty-two municipalities, fifteen mayoral posts, and twenty-one seats in the national legislature out of a total of eighty-four for an equivalent of 21.4% of the valid votes. In the wake of the transition to democracy and the 1994 polls, the FMLN developed political factions and ideological

tendencies that expressed different modes of thinking and caused serious disputes in the party leadership. This situation affected the party’s ability to coordinate an effective political strategy to compete in the 1999 elections. The electoral victory of conservative and neoliberal parties caused a permanent fracture in the FMLN’s structure along revolutionary socialist and social democratic lines. The main party apparatus is now controlled by a group of leaders known as the “renovators.”

While unable to win the presidency, the factions of the FMLN continue to garner support in legislative and municipal elections throughout the country. The March 2000 elections gave the FMLN block the largest single portion of the Legislative Assembly and control of eighty municipal councils in seven of the fourteen largest cities, including the greater San Salvador metropolitan area.

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**See also Mexico: International Relations; Central America: International Relations; Central America: History and Economic Development**

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### FIJI

The Fiji Islands consist of approximately 300–350 islands (depending on high tide) in the South Pacific, of which approximately two hundred are inhabited. The total land area is 7,056 square miles, roughly the size of the state of New Jersey. It is located northeast of Australia and New Zealand, while slightly southwest of Hawaii in the Oceania region. Viti Levu, where the capital city Suva is located, and Vanua Levu are the two largest islands where most business activity occurs. Vanua Levu is primarily developed around a sugar mill, and the rest is hardwood forests, much sought after by Western economies. Viti Levu is cosmopolitan by comparison, with industry, commerce,

government, and agriculture. The economy is based on tourism, sugar, copra, apparel, gold, fishing, and lumber. The tropical climate is temperate year round, and the Fiji Islands have primarily developed their land in the old custom of “nothing taller than a coconut tree.” Coconuts and fish remain staples of the village economy, supplemented by tourism.

The ancestors of present-day Fijians were Austronesian-speaking explorers whose early civilizations have been dated at 3,200 years ago (Geraghty 1994). In 1874, the ruling Fijian chief, Cakobau, ceded the Fiji Islands to the British Crown in a political maneuver designed to quell opposition between European settlers and village tribes (Lotherington 1998). This move changed the ethnic makeup of Fiji in that the British colonial government recruited indentured laborers from the Indian subcontinent to do the hard work in the sugar cane fields. In 1970, Fiji achieved independence, although the country retains friendly relations with England. However, the almost century of colonial rule changed the islands from a network of tribal villages into a multiracial nation. Still, the village system is still firmly entrenched in the Fijian society today. The *Ratu* (village chief) and *vanua* (land owning with a common ancestor) are the focus of hereditary authority and decision-making (Tuimaleali’ifano 2000). The *Ratu* is the eldest in line and may be either a male or female. Traditional ceremonies occur regularly and educational values are passed on in community life through a strong oral tradition. Storytelling and singing are part of the fabric of village life (Lotherington 1995), along with *kava* (also known as *yaqona*), a brown nonalcoholic drink made of water and the crushed roots of a pepper plant. *Kava* is drunk from a coconut cup.

By most standards, Fiji is one of the most successful of the Pacific Island nations. The literacy rate is over 92%, although it was not until 1956 that Fijians other than the village chiefs were provided with secondary education. As of 1986, over 95% of the teachers were trained, reflecting the Fijian government’s efforts to professionalize its teaching force (Tavola 1991).

Medical care is available on the two main islands, but the outer islands have a shortage of clinics.

Fiji is an independent and multicultural republic, with English, Fijian, and Hindi spoken by the ethnic makeup of 51% Fijians, 44% Indo-Fijians, and 4% of mixed heritage (Vaughan 1995). The remaining populations are other Pacific Islanders, Europeans, Chinese, and people of mixed races. According to 2004 estimates, Fiji has approximately 880,000 inhabitants.

This mixture of indigenous Fijians and the Indians has led to racial stress and conflict over the past fifteen years. In 1987, the democratically elected multiracial government was overthrown in two coups, in

which the balance of power shifted back to the traditional Fijian hierarchy (Lotherington 1998). The coups stimulated a huge exodus of Indo-Fijians, many who migrated to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the USA. It was the professional people in top positions who could most easily migrate, thus resulting in a brain drain of the country.

In general, crime has been relatively low in Fiji. There is only one prison, which is located in the capital city of Suva. Currently, there is a small but active women’s rights movement. In 1997, the Constitution was amended to become more equitable. Women now enjoy equal rights; however, wage inequalities still exist—especially in the garment industry, where female workers are subject to a special minimum wage that is considerably lower than in other industries. In general, women in the Fijian community are more likely to rise to prominence in their own right than are women of Indian or Indo-Fijian descent.

In 2000, the people of Fiji endured an armed takeover of parliament and a hostage crisis lasting fifty-six days (Tarte 2001). Martial law was declared, and there was mutiny in the armed forces, which raised the specter of civil war and economic collapse and international ostracism. Again, this coup was based on the election of an Indian leader of the government being ousted. The group of rebels overthrowing the government were arrested after almost two months and charged with treason. An interim government was sworn in. The interim government was later elected democratically by popular vote and continues on its path to long-term recovery. Two coups in quick succession were disturbing to the neighbors of Fiji (Swarts 2000), and the political developments since the last elections had led to erosion of the commitment to build cross-community bridges (Chand 2001).

Tourism, which dropped off after the coup, is slowing drawing back people to the magic of the island. Some concern exists over global warming and its effects on the Fiji Islands.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Oceania; Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## FOOD AND NUTRITION

### Some Preliminary Comments

Food serves three basic functions for most living beings. Firstly, food creates energy required in the absorption and translocation of nutrients necessary for growth, sustenance, and biological and physical activities of the organism. Secondly, food supplies reducing agents indispensable in synthetic processes inside of cells. Thirdly, food purveys the materials—structural and catalytic chemical components of living cells—that are built through anabolism. When one of these functions is absent, living organisms substitute the deficiency with the others.

Nutrition is the process through which food substances are absorbed and used by living organisms. Commencing with the act of feeding, the process continues with digestion, where proteins are broken down into aminoacids. Subsequently, intestines absorb nutrients, which once integrated, are then distributed throughout the body for assimilation and metabolic transformation within each cell. The last stage is excretion of waste and toxins.

Food and nutrition are often confused, since both are intertwined. It is the nourishment found in food that after consumption is assimilated through the process of nutrition, in order to sustain life. *Food* is a generic term to cognate vegetal and animal organisms as a whole, in parts or secretions: flowers, fruits, leaves, shoots, roots, sheaths, milk, eggs, and muscles and inner organs, such as liver or kidneys.

*Nutritional requirements of living organisms* that enable the proper functioning of cells, maintaining their structure and controlling their metabolism, are approximately one hundred substances found in the environment. Generally, nutrients are chemical compounds of heavy molecular weight (starch, proteins, sugars, fibers, salts). Nutrients travel via the blood's circulation, to be absorbed by cells.

Eating is a biological necessity, determining life quality and health status of human beings. However, eating is a holistic human experience, representing pleasure for the senses, culinary aesthetics,

communication and social cohesion tools, moral etiquette, core components of ceremonial and mourning rituals, and channels to strengthen *cultural and territorial identity*.

### A Brief Diagnosis of the World's Food Situation

Nutritional dietary requirements of each individual vary according to age, gender, height, body complexion, physical activities, physiological state (growth, pregnancy, breast-feeding), health, and genetic and climatic factors. Throughout the history of humanity, portentous changes have occurred. From a culture of hunting and gathering, consuming mainly raw food, the agricultural revolution triggered a culinary revolution. After the domestication of plants and animals in different regions, more complex alimentary patterns emerged, engendering various culinary traditions.

Food extraction, processing, and presentation relate to cultural, environmental, and epidemiological conditions, as well as to habits, income and access to markets. Adverse conditions or imbalances of essential nutrients, such as proteins, carbohydrates, vitamins, and minerals occasion *dietary deficiencies*, which result in malnutrition, diseases, and in extreme cases, death. *Overconsumption* of calories produces obesity.

*Malnutrition affects health* and well-being of more than one third of the world's population. Two billion people are anemic, 3.7 billion suffer from iron deficiencies, and 24,000 die daily from hunger (FAO 2000b). Around 80% of estimated *hunger* concentrates in rural areas, especially among women and children, where it is more frequent and severe. Complex malnutrition cases are recurrent within adolescent mothers, whose conditions negatively affect their health and that of the fetus. Similar adverse malnutrition befalls fertile mothers, becoming pregnant while still breast-feeding.

Developing countries are increasingly dependent on food importation, which increased from 28% to 37% during 1970 and 1997. In the poorest countries, food imports account for more than 50% of consumption. An estimated 55 million people are malnourished in Latin America. Hunger is linked to poverty and deficient job opportunities. Discontinued rural policies and increasing dependency on food imports push peasant populations out of their lands into urban slums.

In the Third World as a whole, urbanization processes, reduction in social spending, and poor

economic growth linked to high levels of population growth, have impeded improvement in living conditions. Latin America can be taken as an example for other developing countries. Periodic economic crises since the 1980s have produced two lost decades of development (CEPAL 2004). Poverty has increased in numbers and conditions defining this condition have worsened. Although food disposal has risen from 2,485 kcal to 2,570 kcal in twenty of the twenty-four countries belonging to the region, income inequalities translate to differential food conditions: Between 1990 and 2000, Haiti, Cuba, El Salvador, Venezuela, Guatemala, Mexico, and Argentina have increased their hunger rate. Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Haiti, Bolivia, Peru, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guyana are the countries with the highest chronic malnutrition and low economic growth.

Food production has improved during the last decades, but poverty, hunger, and preventable illnesses have simultaneously increased. Overall global consumption reached \$24 billion in 1998. In 1996, the daily ingestion of calories per person in high human developed countries was 3,347 (11.6% more compared with 1976), with 102.7g of proteins (13% more); in medium developed countries, it was 2,696 calories (26.9% more) with 69.6g of proteins (33.7% more); and in low developed countries, 2,145 calories (1% less) with 51.0 g of proteins (4.4% less). Another indicator of undernourishment is infant low birth weight, which was 7% in high, 17% in medium, and 20% in low developed countries (UNDP 1999).

The lowest income quintile met only 72% of the minimal nutritional requirements in sub-Saharan Africa, 78% in Latin America, and 80% in the new independent states. The gap in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa is predicted to deteriorate, and only the highest of five income groups is projected to meet minimal nutritional requirements, given present food policies.

Over the next decade, the food gap is expected to widen. In thirty-five poor countries, nutritional requirements will fall short, and forty-seven countries are projected to reduce per capita consumption. This means new subsidies for agricultural surplus production and greater food power for the USA compared with the rest of the world.

### **Food Sovereignty Versus Food Security**

Food sovereignty represents both a social and a personal right of individuals and communities to healthy, culturally appropriate food. Food security, on the other hand, means sufficient food for disposal by

individuals or nations, once subtracting unused food. At a national level, it represents the sum of domestic produced food and imported food minus nonconsumed food.

The first definition represents a basic human right and an obligation to states and world networks to provide it. The second definition is a technical one, as it gives no responsibility to governments at any level. Furthermore, food security is defined as the balanced daily intake of proteins, carbohydrates, vitamins, and minerals necessary to sustain a healthy life. Food safety is also linked to hygiene and the prevention of food-borne diseases. The World Health Organization has confirmed that bacteria are the greatest threat to food safety, occurring in professional and domestic food handling.

The US Department of Agriculture evaluates national food security by “measuring the gaps between actual food consumption (domestic production, plus commercial imports, minus unused food and consumption targets).” The nutritional gap also measures minimal daily nutritional requirements, in relation to age and activities.

Purchasing power exacerbates food insecurity within the sixty-six poorest countries, given resource-access differentials. The richest fifth of the world population today accounts for 86% of global consumption, compared with the poorest fifth left with 1.3%. This means also that the remaining 60% only consume 12.7%. Africa disposes today 20% less food than twenty-five years ago and per capita consumption in industrialized countries is still rising (United Nations Developing Program 1998–2001).

For this reason, food insecurity resulting from extreme poverty is better defined as perverse poverty (Oswald 1990). Perversity lies in the fact that infants are condemned to be second-class citizens before birth, given irreversible brain damages and low birth weight, caused by mother’s chronic undernourishment.

### **Causes of Food Insecurity in Developing Countries**

Hunger is not due to the gap between food production and population rates. Enough food is produced worldwide: 4.3 pounds of food per person a day; 2.5 pounds of grains, beans and nuts; about a pound of meat, milk, and eggs, and another pound of fruits and vegetables (Lappe 1998). Increasing food insecurity within countries and continents on the one hand, and greater production with fewer consumers on the other hand, are two sides of the same process: corporate agriculture.

Multinational companies (MNC) induce individual farmers to technological innovation and capital-intensive production processes, only feasible by undergoing heavy debts. As an example, an average poultry producer raises 240,000 birds each year. After paying its costs, “this prodigious (and inhumane) production earns the farmer only \$12,000, or five cents per bird” (Gorelick). Only bigger farms can survive under these conditions. Such corporations monopolize almost every stage of processing, distribution, trade, and inputs of food production (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, medicines, equipment, processors, transportation, marketing, and banking), and increasingly control natural resources (water, gas and oil).

Corporate agriculture also affects human health and the environment. Not enough is known about the human health effects caused by ingestion of controversial genetically modified organisms (GMO food) or cattle fed with these grains. However, hormones are used extensively with livestock, such as Bovine Somatotropin, known to stimulate the hormone insulin-like growth factor 1. These hormones are linked to an increased incidence of breast cancer in premenopausal women and prostate cancer (180%) in men (Epstein), and greater vulnerability of the immune system.

The conjunction of these processes leads to an exclusive globalization, in economic, communicative and political terms, surpassing national borders and capacity of nation-states. The integration of regions into commercial blocks—the European Union, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mercado Común Sur (MERCOSUR), Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)—protects above all free circulation of commodities, intellectual property rights (TRIPS, an agreement on trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights, including trade in counterfeit goods, defended by the World Trade Organization [WTO]) and regulates potential commercial conflicts in favor of the industrialized nations. Additionally, the International Monetary Fund imposes structural adjustment policies in highly indebted countries, truncating agrarian reforms and substantially reducing subsidies and technological support for food production, given debt service payments. Cheap prices for food and primary products in world markets are artificially dropped, and most technological innovations are profit-driven rather than need-oriented.

In Third World countries, corporate agriculture reduces national food sovereignty and diminishes food security at local level, as well as pushing peasants off the land. Today in Latin America and North Africa, food imports represent around 40% of consumption. Food aid, increasing imports of

basic grains, substitution of food by export crops, and technology-linked agribusinesses destroy rural policies in the South. Countries are exposed to foreign food power, depending on international markets and prices. Unequal terms of trade—low raw material prices and high input costs—clearly prevent poor people from buying food.

Malnutrition and hunger are both part of a complex and interrelated system of social, agricultural, economic, political, and ecological realities. In poor countries, hunger is exacerbated by high indebtedness and debt servicing; the substitution of local foodstuffs with export commodities—vegetables, tropical fruits and flowers—in order to earn foreign currency to service debts; the raising of livestock instead of subsistence crops; the submission of local and regional markets to the interests of international monopolies; forced bankruptcy of small farmers and peasants facing high interest rates, constant increases in agrochemical and other products; and the falling prices of peasant’s agricultural products because of international artificial prices (dumping). In addition, natural disasters and global warming, as well as food aid to countries south of the Sahara, which prolongs their situation of dependency, turns peasants into migrants, furthers dependency, and generalizes a deficient transnational food culture.

Unless there is food sovereignty at the local and national level, no country in the world will be immune to food power and starvation. Food self-sufficiency is only possible when integrating private and public enterprises, economic, social, commercial, productive, political, and human ethics with gender and social equity, under a clear defined sustainable framework to overcome inequality.

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## FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (FDI)

### Introduction

In the post–World War II era, foreign direct investment (FDI) by multinational (or transnational) corporations has increased greatly. During the colonial era, multinationals corporations (MNCs) from colonial powers had set up subsidiaries and factories, particularly in regions endowed with natural resources such as silver, gold, and, later on, oil and other minerals. The abundance and proximity of raw materials, coupled with cheap labor, meant high profits for parent companies. In those days, FDI consisted mainly of firms from colonial countries doing business in overseas colonies and territories. Thus, FDI was considered as a form of exploitation of developing—but resource-endowed—nations

In the modern era, FDI has, in general, been viewed more favorably. From the standpoint of transnational corporations, the focus is no longer exclusively on labor costs and raw materials. From the viewpoint of host countries, FDI is seen as a source of finance and a much-needed channel to access advanced technology. However, it was not until the early 1970s that policymakers began considering FDI as a potentially important contributor to economic development. In the 1970s and early 1980s, developing nations employed tax incentives (exemptions) and protectionary measures to attract FDI.

Many of the early projects targeted import substitution. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, most developing nations have come to realize that tax incentives were not sufficient long-term measures. Advised and/or pressured by international lending institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, many developing countries have undertaken significant reforms including trade and financial liberalization. A number of countries have liberalized current and capital accounts and introduced flexible exchange rate regimes, with the view to attract more FDI. While the reforms have been viewed as factors that fostered inward FDI into these countries, the experiences of emerging countries in Southeast Asia and Latin America in the 1990s points to the potential dangers of increased openness to foreign capital.

FDI has increasingly been considered a major indicator of globalization. Yet, a number of scholars and policymakers still view the effects of inward FDI as a combination of positive and costly (if not negative) effects.

There are two major reasons for the growing interest in FDI in the last decade. First, the influence of MNCs has been increasing over the last three decades of the twentieth century. This influence was strengthened by the ability of MNCs to have large, integrated operations around the world. Second, the role of FDI as a source of capital and a major tool in the fight against poverty began to be emphasized due to the decline in official development aid. While FDI to developing countries has increased, official aid has been falling.

### Definition and Terminology

FDI—also called direct foreign investment (DFI)—refers to the acquisition and control of foreign assets. FDI includes activities that are organized and controlled by firms abroad; i.e., outside their country of origin (where their headquarters and their main decision-making centers are located). The extent of control or ownership may depend on the country. The World Trade Organization (WTO) defines FDI as follows: "[FDI] occurs when an investor based in one country (the home country) acquires an asset in another country (the host country) with the intent to manage the asset." Thus, FDI can be divided into three categories. The first is "equity capital," which is the value of the MNC's investment in the shares of an enterprise in a foreign country. The second comprises "reinvested earnings," which are the MNC's share of affiliate earnings not distributed as dividends or remitted to the MNC. The third category is labeled

“other capital” and includes short- or long-term borrowing and lending of funds between the MNC and the affiliate. The establishment of “new” production or distribution facilities in a foreign country is called Greenfield FDI. If the MNC acquires a foreign company (entirely or partially), it is referred to as FDI by acquisition. Currently, most FDI comprises mergers, acquisitions, or takeovers.

The US government defines FDI as “the ownership, or control of 10% or more of an enterprise’s voting securities, or the equivalent interest in an unincorporated business.” Some countries place an upper limit to foreign ownership of home businesses, but the 10% minimum is widely used around the world. The country where these activities are located is referred to as the host country, while the country of origin is referred to as home country. When FDI flows from one country to another, it is referred to as inward FDI for the host country and outward FDI (also called “direct investment abroad”) for the home country. The investor is typically referred to as the parent firm and the asset owned (totally or partially) abroad as the affiliate or subsidiary.

FDI can serve either as an export replacement (import substitution from the standpoint of the host country) or export platform; production in the host country is exported to other countries. FDI is one of the main components of the capital account of a country’s balance of payment. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is the principal source of data and commentary on the state and trends of world FDI. It produces an annual report, the World Investment Report (WIR), which includes figures, tables, and charts depicting the behavior of world FDI and often focuses its analysis on a specific topic. For example, WIR 2001 (“Promoting Linkages”) focused on the issue of linkages between foreign affiliates of multinational enterprises and local companies in developing countries; while WIR 1999 (“Foreign Direct Investment and the Challenge of Development”) emphasized the impact of FDI on key objectives of economic development. These effects included increasing financial resources for investment, enhancing technological capabilities, boosting export competitiveness, generating and upgrading employment, and protecting the environment.

The impact of FDI is often contrasted with the effect of foreign portfolio investment (FPI). FPI comprises the holding of financial assets but does not involve control or participation in management operations of the firm issuing the securities. The main motivations for FPI are risk diversification and high returns; whereas FDI is motivated by different

factors and is regarded as a less volatile, hence less destabilizing, form of foreign capital. FDI tends to be quite resilient during financial crises and thus may be a more desirable form of capital inflow to developing countries.

## Theories of FDI

### *Modernization School*

This school includes the neoclassical (perfect market approach), Ownership, Location, and Internalization (OLI) paradigm, and industrial organization theories (imperfect market approach). The neoclassical theory posits that free trade and free markets would lead to higher growth and increased FDI flows, and that developing countries will be able to grow through this channel by implementing the liberalization policies of developed countries (natural order of development stages). The neoclassical theory stresses the link between free trade and FDI. The industrial organization theory argues that market imperfections (such as the existence of oligopolies) lead to horizontal or vertical integration, and hence FDI is more likely to take place in oligopolies. The OLI paradigm (= O + L + I), developed by John Dunning, represents a mix of three distinct FDI theories. Each theory emphasizes a different focus. The “O” represents “ownership” advantages. These are firm specific advantages that address the question of “Why go abroad?” The “L” refers to “location” advantages and addresses the issue of “Where should the MNC locate?” Finally, the “I” refers to “internalization” advantages and focuses on the question of “How will the firm go abroad?” The OLI paradigm is an eclectic theory of FDI that focuses on FDI determinants from the perspective of the firm.

### *The Dependency School (Dependencia/Neo-Marxist and Structuralist Theories)*

The neo-Marxist theory postulates that the repatriation of profits from developing countries worsens these countries’ terms of trade; and the structuralist theory claims that countries or regions on the periphery are marginalized since their resources are being exploited by prosperous centers. Thus, dependency theories view FDI as a cause of increased spatial inequality in economic development within and across countries.

*The Integrative School (Institutional Theories)*

This school includes the bargaining theory, integrative theory, and “institutional FDI fitness” theory. The bargaining and integrative approaches focus on the determinants of FDI from the viewpoint of both host countries and foreign investors. The institutional fitness theory, formally outlined by Saskia K.S. Wilhelms (1998), is an integrative theory that emphasizes macro-, micro-, and meso-economic variables. Where the meso-economic variables include institutions linking the host economy and the foreign firm. This theory focuses on the public and private sector interaction. In general, institutional theories focus on FDI in developing economies and provide analyses useful to researchers of the topics of economic growth and development.

Another way to distinguish among theories is to group them into macro-level and micro-level approaches. At the macro level, early mainstream theories included the neoclassical and the dependency theories discussed above. The three early conventional micro-level theories used approaches that focused on different dimensions of the firm behavior. First, there was an emphasis on the ownership advantage and market structure (Hymer 1960). Hymer tried to solve the puzzle as to why firms would prefer FDI, which is more costly than exports or licensing, by highlighting the fact that MNCs do not operate in perfectly competitive industries. Then, the focus was directed to the location advantage (Vernon, 1966). Finally, there was an emphasis on the internalization advantage (Buckley and Casson 1976). These conventional approaches emphasized FDI from the viewpoint of the firm and examined the reasons firms invest in foreign countries. Additional theories focused on market structure (monopolistic or oligopolistic) and highlighted the rivalry aspects in global markets. Oligopolistic industries tend to undertake the bulk of FDI as they compete in the global market. The micro theories of FDI also include industrial organization theories and the OLI paradigm, which nicely combines the three conventional firm-focused theories.

A more recent strand of the literature emphasizes the issues from the standpoint of host countries, particularly developing nations. In general, three broad areas are examined. The first is whether developing nations should welcome FDI. The second area concerns the study of what host countries have to offer foreign investors. In other words, it focuses on the determinants of inward FDI, including sociopolitical and economic variables, and policy indicators (incentives, markets, and prices). The third area focuses on evaluating the effects of FDI on a wide range of

macroeconomic and microeconomic indicators in host countries.

**Determinants of FDI**

Until recently, most developing countries have had a negligible share of outward FDI. Thus, economists and policymakers tend to focus mainly on the effects of inward FDI on economic development and growth. To study the determinants of FDI, researchers first specify the dependent variable. FDI (as a dependent variable) may be net—inward minus outward FDI—or simply inward FDI flows. Second, depending on what we want to test, the focus may be on FDI flows or FDI stocks. Models examining the behavior of inward FDI to developing economies have used a wide spectrum of variables including market size, economic growth, human capital, physical capital, financial and trade reforms, geography, and institutions. Perhaps the most encompassing model is that studied by Wilhelms (1998), who developed an integrative model to test the determinants of net inflows of FDI in emerging economies. The model includes four main dimensions (concepts). The first concept represents government fitness, which in turn includes several variables. The variables included in this dimension are a measures of economic openness (parallel market exchange rate premium, export marketing board, and import quotas), and legal and administrative impartiality and transparency (country risk, rule of law, and corruption). The second dimension is market fitness. It includes “overall market fitness” that covers several variables. These variables are gross domestic product (GDP) to proxy for economic development, total population to proxy for market size, an indicator of rural infrastructure and linkages represented by population density in rural areas, trade volume, and tax revenues to measure taxation of the private sector. Market fitness also comprises “capital market fitness,” which includes domestic credit provided by the banking sector (relative to GDP). In addition, this dimension includes a measure of market linkages represented by an indicator for development of energy infrastructure. The third component is educational fitness, which covers indicators of basic education. The last dimension refers to sociocultural fitness. It includes a dummy variable for the region and a dummy for time changes. The empirical tests reveal that most of these variables are important determinants of FDI. Economic openness, a strong rule of law, and low corruption foster inward FDI. While FDI does not seem to respond to the level of per capita income,

implying that countries with low levels of economic development have succeeded in attracting FDI. As argued by Wilhelms, this is consistent with the fact that FDI tolerates low economic development while portfolio investment targets mainly developed countries. Taxes deter investors and hence have a negative effect on FDI; whereas the volume of trade, domestic credit provided by the banking sector, and market linkages fitness attract inward FDI. The sociocultural dimension also is a significant determinant of FDI.

Numerous other studies have focused on particular countries or regions. A study that examined the macroeconomic impact of FDI flows to China following the implementation of the “open-door policy” in late 1978 shows that FDI had significantly contributed to economic growth in China; through its contribution to domestic capital formation, export enhancement, and job creation. The findings also indicate that, thanks to its technology transfer component, export promoting and enabling of more intersectoral flows of capital and labor, inward FDI to China had improved the productive efficiency of domestic industries (Haishun Sun [1998], *Foreign Investment and Economic Development in China, 1979–1996*, Ashgate Publishing). In the same line of research, tests of the FDI-led growth hypothesis in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela (these countries received most of the FDI to the region in 1970–1991) provide evidence that trade regimes and domestic policy variables are major determinants of FDI and economic growth (De Melo 1999). Some studies have investigated the role of corruption and non-transparency (Kaufman *et al.* 1999) on inward FDI. In general, the findings indicate that corruption and nontransparency deter FDI. The geography of international investments also has been examined by a number of studies. One important study found that, after adjusting for market share, a substantial share of FDI remains close to the home country. After adjusting for distance, the results show that the main determinant of FDI is market size. It also is shown that FDI is more geographically concentrated than exports or production as a whole (Schatz and Venables 2000).

In view of the diversity of the determinants of FDI, it had become necessary to have a simple index that can serve as a “rough-and-ready” indicator of the country’s ability to attract inward FDI. In 2001, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) introduced the inward FDI index (World Investment Report 2001). This index measures foreign direct investment relative to a country’s share of global GDP, exports, and employment. Index values exceeding unity indicate countries that are particularly attractive to foreign investors. As stated by the UNCTAD, the index “captures the

ability of countries to attract FDI after taking into account their size and competitiveness.” The index confirms the wide disparities among countries. For example, in 1998–2000, fifty-three countries had an inward FDI index higher than unity. Five countries had an inward FDI index value of one. On the other hand, more than half (seventy-nine) of the countries included in the study had an index lower than one. This comprised countries with negative indexes (for example, Yemen had an index equal to  $-0.8$ ). Belgium and Luxembourg had the highest index (17.3). However, while the index may serve as a tool of benchmarking country attractiveness of FDI, the UNCTAD warns that the index must be supplemented by other elements such as policy and economic variables.

In sum, although the empirical literature on the determinants of FDI does not always provide definite conclusions, it does tend to support the following claims. First, the impact of liberalization (trade openness and export orientation) as a determinant of FDI can be quite significant. Countries that have liberalized trade and markets tend to attract higher FDI. Second, to attract FDI into developing countries, economic growth is not a major determinant provided other indicators—such as transparency, rule of law human capital, and political stability—are strong. Third, market size is important (the case of China) when other elements are weak. Fourth, the influence of geography remains important. Fifth, cultural links and colonial heritage can play a major role. For example, in 1992–1994, the United Kingdom invested \$1.3 billion in South Africa and only \$90 million in Morocco, whereas France invested \$287 million in Morocco and only \$56 million in South Africa. It is important to remember that the list of the determinants of FDI can be large and vague and tends to change over time. In 1998, the UNCTAD dedicated a major part of the annual World Investment Report to the study of the determinants of inward FDI. It concluded that the main determinants are “the policy framework, business facilitation measures, and economic factors.” Obviously, this could involve more than a dozen variables.

### **FDI and Economic Development in the Host Country**

The theoretical literature on the influence of inward FDI on economic development suggests that there are significant benefits but also some potential costs. The benefits include positive effects on economic growth, exports, firm productivity, human capital, and other spillover effects to the economy of the host country.

The role of FDI as purveyor of technology, knowledge, and other intangible assets has been acknowledged by many scholars and policymakers. It is through this channel that FDI is thought to have the most significant effect on economic growth. Thanks to FDI, a developing country may be able to access advanced technology from industrialized countries, adopt this technology, and perhaps even adapt it to country-specific realities. At least in theory, the diffusion of advanced technologies could allow developing countries to leapfrog to a higher stage of economic development. After all, Japan's early stages of industrialization were not based on inventing new technologies but on adopting and adapting existing technologies from more industrially advanced countries. Some theoretical studies have found that licensing and joint ventures with local firms lead to technology transfer to the host country as this implies sharing of know-how and experiences. However, empirical evidence in support of this claim is rather weak. In addition, studies show that FDI will more likely benefit the host country if one or more of the following conditions are fulfilled. First, there is a large cost of communication between the headquarters and the production plant (located in the host country). Second, there are substantial intermediate goods in the final product being produced in the host country. Third, the variety of intermediate goods in home and host country is not very different. Host countries will more likely be harmed if reverse conditions prevailed (Rodriguez-Clare 1996).

The theoretical literature suggests that the potential costs include worsening of the balance of payments and negative effects on tax revenue collection due to transfer pricing. There may also exist adverse effects on domestic firms when the competition effect—domestic firms competing against foreign firms—is stronger than the technology effect. This may deprive the host country from the opportunity to develop its own (domestic) know-how and technologies. FDI may also cause a damaging effect to sociocultural values due to possible abuse of host country's traditions. In addition, governments tend to be concerned about the destabilizing effect of FDI when there is divestment. Though FDI is less volatile than portfolio investment, there are cases where divestment by MNCs exacerbated financial and macroeconomic crises. In addition, researchers and NGOs have recently begun to focus on the impact of FDI on labor standards (including the issue of child labor) and the environment in developing countries.

On the empirical side, many studies have examined the effects of FDI on economic growth and on the components of income or GDP. FDI contributes

assets such as capital to create new businesses or expand existing ones, and technology transfer. It also provides the host country with intangible assets such as know-how, managerial skills, and spillovers to other industries. Due to linkages and spillovers, other industries can benefit from new opportunities created in export sectors as a result of linking to foreign markets and MNCs. FDI can also promote research and development activities in the host countries. The indirect benefits to domestic firms, however, are not automatic. The positive effects on economic growth have been proclaimed by international institutions such as the UNCTAD and the World Bank. A comprehensive World Bank study (Klein *et al.* 2001) argues that FDI “remains among the most effective tools in the fight against poverty.” Another study that examined the impact of capital inflows on investment in fifty-eight developing nations for the 1978–1995 period has shown that a one-dollar increase in FDI leads to a one-dollar increase in domestic investment while portfolio inflows had only a negligible influence on domestic investment (Bosworth and Collins 1999).

Some empirical studies have focused on specific regions. Studies of the experiences of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines indicate that, although the experiences have varied, FDI constituted a vital ingredient in export-led growth. The role of foreign firms in the electronic sector—which was the fastest growing sector—was quite important. However, because FDI promotion was on a selective basis, other industries did not develop at the same pace. Thus, these countries could not take full advantage of spillovers from foreign firms to domestic firms. Other empirical work focused on specific projects. Encarnation and Wells (1986) analyzed the impact of fifty FDI projects on national income and have found that not all projects were income enhancing. Overall, 55%–75% of the projects had a positive effect on income, while 25%–45% had a negative effect on national income. The main reason for the negative impact was protectionist measures granted to the firms undertaking the FDI projects.

Consequently, it is not always wise to assume that there is an automatic positive effect of FDI on economic growth. Empirical findings indicate that human capital (education and other skills) as well as institutions are key ingredients to attract FDI and also to ensure a positive effect of FDI on income. A study that examined the way FDI affects economic growth (Borensztein *et al.* 1998) argues that the stock of human capital in the host country limits the absorptive capability of a developing country. Other researchers have found that the benefits are contingent upon certain features of the host country. In

particular, trade and financial liberalization are crucial. Additionally, domestic firms may be harmed by increased FDI inflows. For example, empirical research has found that inward FDI may have negative effects on productivity in domestic firms in Morocco. Similar findings were reported for firms in Venezuela. This suggests that when the negative competition effect dominates the positive technology effect, productivity in the domestic sector may fall.

A line of research that has been growing in the 1990s focuses on the impact of FDI on wages and labor standards in developing countries. While wages for skilled labor often increase as a result of higher FDI, the inequality between skilled and unskilled labor earnings has widened. FDI into China, for example, has contributed to the worsening of the environment, an increase in interregional inequality, and increased round-tripping of the capital of Chinese firms. Domestic firms would send funds outside China and bring them back as foreign capital to take advantage of FDI-promoting incentives (Sun 1998). Thus far, there has been no empirical finding in support of a relationship between FDI and worsening in labor standards in developing countries. Moreover, researchers at the World Bank as well as UNCTAD have investigated the effect of inward FDI on the environment. In general, empirical studies have found fairly weak support for the “pollution haven” hypothesis.

## Recent Trends

From an economic theory standpoint, we would expect to see countries with lower levels of capital, and hence higher marginal returns on capital, attract foreign capital. One of the channels through which FDI enhances growth is productivity and efficiency. Economic theory stipulates that capital would flow to where it is scarce: i.e., where there are higher marginal returns. This would enhance global efficiency. However, the facts are not in support of this assertion. Africa is quite rich in natural resources and low-cost labor. Capital tends to be scarce implying a higher marginal return on investment. Yet, Africa in general has not been very successful in attracting foreign capital. In fact, the data published by UNCTAD clearly show that Africa’s share of global FDI inflows has actually fallen over time.

The share of Africa in world FDI inflows fell from an average of 2.13% in the first half of the 1980s to 1.23% in the second half of the 1990s, while the shares of Asia and Latin have increased substantially (particularly emerging economies in Asia). In

addition, the share of industrial countries remained at an average of two-thirds of world inward FDI. Inward FDI going to developing countries nearly doubled in the early 1990s (1991–1993) relative to the second half of the 1980s (UNCTAD). While these surges of FDI inflows could indicate that developing countries can be successful in attracting FDI, the concentration of FDI remains regional. For most of the 1990s, Asia received the largest share of FDI, and Latin America received the second largest share, while Africa, has remained quite, marginalized. Thus, in terms of promoting economic growth and alleviating poverty in Africa, FDI is not a main contributor, as Africa receives very little amounts. On the other hand, inward FDI to some Asian and Latin American emerging countries was sizeable and is believed to have promoted human development and economic growth. Equally important is the concentration of FDI in specific sectors. In Africa, most FDI is concentrated in the exploitation of natural resources (raw materials). According to some researchers (including those at the World Bank), the effects of such foreign investment on the economy of the host country are not clear. In addition to the potential effect on the environment, the depletion of natural resources constitutes a cost to the developing country that is not properly incorporated in the computation of GDP and economic growth.

FDI outflows from developing economies in Asia doubled in 2000. This is a new trend that indicates a significant change in the origin of FDI, which in the past was almost exclusively from developed countries. It also suggests that countries receiving of FDI from developing countries may not be able to access advanced technology usually associated with FDI from industrial countries such as the G-7 countries. According to UNCTAD (2001), when comparing inward FDI in 2000 and 1985, we observe that in 2000, FDI reached more countries and involved higher amounts. In 2000, twenty-three developing countries received an average amount of FDI greater than \$1 billion each, compared with only six countries in 1985. Outward FDI experienced a similar trend. In 1985, only one developing country had outward FDI flows of more than \$1 billion. At the end of the 1990s, this number increased to thirteen countries.

Since the 1970s, world FDI flows have been growing and the share of developing countries has increased during recent years. In the 1980s and 1990s, FDI flows have risen in absolute terms and relative to trade and GDP. Between 1984 and 1987, FDI outflows have almost tripled, to surpass the growth rate of world GDP and world trade. While in the 1970s and 1980s, FDI had been mainly targeting developed countries; the flows to developing countries have

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grown to reach about 40% in 1996. Yet, the bulk of FDI flowing to developing countries is limited to a group of countries in Southeast Asia and Latin America.

In the 1970s, outward FDI came mainly from developed countries. But in the 1990s, there were significant amounts coming from developing countries. In 1970, 99% of world outward FDI came from developed countries, with about 91% from what became known as the G-7 countries, with the US leading the group in terms of the volume of FDI outflows (60% of the total). In 1993, the share of FDI originating from developed countries fell to 94%. Asian countries contributed the bulk of the remaining 6%. The US share fell from 60% in 1970 to about 30% in 1993. In 2000, the average share of Africa in total world FDI was 0.6%, much lower than its average share in the 1980s. The shares of developing Asian countries and Latin America were 11.3% and 6.8%, respectively. The share of industrial countries has been around two-thirds of total FDI for both periods the downward trend in the growth rate of FDI received by Africa is a disturbing phenomenon.

In 2000, the share of developed countries in world FDI inflows was slightly above 79%. China has had the lion's share of FDI inflows to developing countries. In 1978, China introduced the open-door policy to many coastal provinces, and the result has been a significant inflow of foreign capital and expansion of Chinese exports.

MINA BALIAMOUNE

### See also Globalization: Impact on Development

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## FOX, VICENTE

Vicente Fox Quesada was born in Mexico City on July 2, 1942. While he was still a boy, his parents returned to the family ranch of his Irish-born grandfather. Raised in a comfortable, traditional rural environment and educated in private schools, he graduated in business administration from the Jesuit Iberoamericana University in 1964. His first job was with the American multinational corporation, Coca-Cola de Mexico.

Offered a promotion that would have required him to move to the US, he chose to remain in Mexico. Fox left Coca-Cola and returned to Guanajuato. He joined his family's agricultural and industrial enterprise, the Grupo Fox. A business and civic leader, he joined the Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party, PAN). It was the traditional conservative opposition party to the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutionalized Revolutionary Party, PRI). Firmly in power throughout the twentieth century, PRI considered itself the guardian of the Mexican

Revolution. At the beginning of the century that movement had overthrown repressive, elite political forces representing foreign economic and domestic cultural and religious interests.

PRI was committed to national development through government control. Nationalist and secular, it was hostile to business. This nationalist and nationalizing policy reached a height during 1970s and early 1980s. However, consequent debt, recession, and unemployment, together with chronic corruption and repression, brought PRI under severe criticism. It attempted to generate development and the growth of jobs through policies more open to foreign, private enterprises and investment. Thereby the appeal of PAN rose in this atmosphere more favorable to its ideology and goals.

In 1988, Fox successfully ran for Congress. In 1995, he was elected governor of Guanajuato and became a rising national political star. Eyeing the Mexican presidential race for 2000, he presented encouraging private enterprise and international investment. He focused on education and the provision of microloans to support widespread development of small businesses. He worked to prosecute political corruption, reforming the police and judicial systems.

In 2000, Fox became the first opposition party member to be elected president of Mexico in seventy-one years. His victory, in alliance with the Green Party of Mexico, was an extraordinary political and ideological reversal in Mexican history. However, his presidency has not seen unmitigated success. Unemployment continues to be high along with crime and corruption. The US even cut off the hope of employment through emigration as it further restricted its borders subsequent to the events of September 11, 2001. Worldwide recession during the first years of the twenty-first century reduced investment in Mexico. The PRI continues in power with a majority of state governorships and seats in Congress, blocking much of PAN's program of economic and government reforms.

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**See also Mexico; Mexico: History and Economic Development; Mexico: International Relations; Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI)**

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## FRANCOPHONIE INSTITUTIONNELLE

The Francophonie Institutionnelle was established to enhance cooperation between the French language native-speaking and foreign learners and their countries. The Francophonie Institutionnelle is an intergovernmental organization with forty-nine members states in addition to four associated states and ten observer states. The institution is composed of nine main bodies and subsidiary organs: the Summit of Heads of States and Governments, Permanent Council for Francophonie, Ministerial Conference for Francophonie, Secretary General, International Governmental Agency for Francophonie, and Parliamentary Association for Francophonie. Subsidiary organs are: International Association for Francophonie specialists, Senghor University, TV5 Channel, and University Agency for Francophonie.

The secretary general is appointed by the foreign ministers conference for a period of four years. As the highest authority of the general secretariat and subsidiary organs, the secretary general is responsible for implementing the international policies of the institution and supporting multilateral cooperation. He is also responsible for carrying out action plans adopted by the institution and the secretary general, in addition to supervising the implementation of the resolutions and recommendations of the summits and the Francophonie conferences of foreign ministers.

The general secretary of the institution is Abdou Diouf, the former prime minister (1970–1981) and president (1981–2000) of Senegal. He succeeded Francophonie Institutionnelle's first general secretary, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Francophonie Institutionnelle's six major fields of interests are: education, economics and development, cultural diversification, peace, democracy, and human rights.

Francophonie Institutionnelle is keen to cooperate with the major regional and international organizations in the world. For example, it cooperates with League of Arab States in the cultural and educational aspects as well as with the United Nations specialized organizations and agencies for crisis management and peacekeeping in the member states.

Francophonie Institutionnelle has four permanent missions to the United Nations headquarters in New York and Geneva, in addition to a mission to the



European Union in Belgium, the African Union, and the Economic Committee for Africa in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia.

NILLY KAMAL EL-AMIR

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## FREE MARKET ECONOMY

A free market economy is one in which individual economic agents make voluntary decisions based upon their own self-interest. Economic agents include consumers, taxpayers, firms, employers, employees, lobbies, trade unions, government workers, etc. Although agents freely make decisions based upon purely internal incentives, Adam Smith (1776) first demonstrated that such self-interested choices can, under plausible circumstances, guide the economy as if by an "invisible hand" to socially optimal production and consumption patterns.

### The Gains from Trade

Why does economic activity generate benefits? Consider an economy in which two agents produce and consume just two goods. If each individual possesses "absolute advantage" in producing a different good, meaning that each can produce one good using fewer resources than the other, the gains from specialized production and trade are clear. However, even if one individual has absolute advantage in the production of both goods, both individuals can still benefit from specialization and exchange. This reality obtains because even with absolute advantage in producing both goods, the production advantage is relatively larger in one good than in the other. Given limited time and energy, each individual must forgo producing some amount of one good, its "opportunity cost," in order to generate a unit of the other product. Opportunity costs of the two goods are reciprocals, so each agent has a lower opportunity cost in precisely one

of the goods—the "comparative advantage" product. Specialized production therefore maximizes aggregate output. Moreover, neither agent would accept less consumption with specialization vis-à-vis through self-sufficiency, each individual must be better off under specialization. Note that this analysis applies equally well to individuals, firms, and even nations. Nations that trade are better off than they could be in isolation.

One can, therefore, consider the free market economy to generate the same outcome as a benign social planner whose interest is solely in maximizing the well-being of the society. However, in order to accomplish this task, the social planner would have to know the incentive structure, abilities, resources, etc., of every economic agent in the society. The infeasibility of that requirement is the reason that alternative economic models that rely on social planning, such as socialism and communism, have failed to generate strong economies. Attaining the knowledge requisite for coordination of all economic activities is impossible.

The free market has its own way of achieving economic coordination—through market prices. The price of any good or service is determined by the interactions among relevant economic agents. The information contained in the price must therefore summarize all of the individual demand functions for all consumers, including relative valuations of similar and alternative goods or services and all information about producers of the good or service, including resource prices, transaction costs, technologies, etc. Furthermore, the free market summarizes this tremendous amount of information with a single number, the price, which consumers and producers compare with prices for other goods and service. From those comparisons, economic agents glean the information relevant to their decision-making processes without ever collecting or analyzing the (unknowable) raw data.

### Assumptions of the Model

Several assumptions are required to generate the socially optimal resource allocation described above. In order to understand the applicability of the model to economic development, it is critical to understand these assumptions, the validity of which varies significantly across countries. First, the rule of law must characterize the economy. Second, property rights must be well defined and enforceable. In particular, property ownership must be clear, and the owner must have the exclusive rights to develop and profit

from (or not) ownership and to transfer ownership to another agent. This pair of assumptions ensures that agents pay the costs and receive the benefits of their actions. Third, exchanges between economic agents must be voluntary. Thus, any exchange implies that both agents are better off than they had been before the exchange, so that each trade raises the welfare of the society by reallocating resources in a socially preferred manner.

Two types of problems can cause the free market economy to fail to deliver the socially optimal resource allocation. First, when making economic decisions, an economic agent considers only the costs and benefits of the choice to himself. However, some products (and services) generate spillover effects that accrue to those other than the two agents engaged in the transaction. These “externalities” may be either beneficial or costly to the society. For example, suppose that a farmer wished to build a road from his home to the nearest city. Although he would pay the entire cost of the roadway, others would benefit from the road’s existence. Roads generate social benefits beyond those private benefits that accrue to the builder. Since the builder weighs only private costs against private benefits in determining whether to build the road, the free market generates too few roads from a societal viewpoint. Alternatively, consuming the services of one’s automobile generates social costs in the form of increased pollution and traffic congestion. Since drivers ignore these costs when deciding whether to drive, the free market generates more driving than would a social planner.

Second, the benefits of the free market derive from the competition inherent among firms and among consumers, but some industries lack adequate competition, implying excessive market power for a few firms. This might be the result of either private sector issues (e.g., large capital outlays to enter the industry, technological threshold) or public sector sponsorship (e.g., patents, copyrights, trademarks, local utility monopolies). The lack of competition restricts the choices available to the consumer, whereas a social planner would also consider consumer welfare in determining production patterns.

### **A Role for Government Intervention in the Economy**

The problems of externalities and lack of competition are inherent in the incentive system of the free market. The economic agent capable of providing remedies is the government. With externalities, the traditional economic view was that governments should provide

or subsidize goods and services that exhibit social benefits in excess of private benefits. In transferring the social benefits from society at large to politicians, who reap the benefits of increased votes due to higher social welfare, the nation considers both social costs and benefits in determining output levels. The government provides more such goods than would the private sector acting alone. Analogously, the government can restrict, regulate, or tax the negative externalities in order to decrease the amount produced or consumed. Once again, the methodology equates private costs to social costs, so that the agent makes the socially optimal decision. The key is that the decision makers (politicians) internalize the social benefits, ensuring that they consider all costs and benefits, both private and social, just as the social planner would. The rather significant drawback of this approach is the same one that has destroyed all attempts at central planning: bureaucrats, being economic agents themselves, act according to their incentives as individuals, rather than as benign representatives of society, thereby recreating the original problem that decisions are not based on social costs and benefits.

More recently, economists have recommended the alternative solution proposed by 1991 Nobel Laureate Ronald Coase (1960), who recognized that the inequality of social and private benefits and costs derives from a lack of clearly defined and enforceable property rights. If the farmer could restrict access to his road, then those wishing to use the road would have to pay for the benefits they receive. Because he cannot do so, others use his road for free, reaping a benefit without paying for it. The problem of pollution is more complex, as pollution is a “bad” rather than a “good.” The producer should pay its cost, if pollution is to be kept to its socially optimal level. Coase’s solution is for the government to issue pollution vouchers, each valid for a maximum output of pollution, making illegal the production of pollution without adequate vouchers. Vouchers thus become the “good” for which polluters will be willing to pay in order to generate legally the “bad” of pollution. Once these property rights have been clearly defined by using the Coasean approach, the market determines their proper prices according to social costs and benefits. Thus, the Coasean solution to externalities is creating the appropriate property rights, then allowing the market to function unfettered by natural bureaucratic tendencies. Coasean solutions could also deal with excessive market power by creating a market for the rights to these lucrative markets, although regulatory efforts have typically been used in practice.

By allowing economic agents to make their own choices, the free market also gives them the right to succeed as well as the opportunity to fail. Moreover,

whether one succeeds or fails can often be due to factors beyond one's control, whether due to genetic makeup, environmental factors, or simple luck. The free market can generate misery. Therefore, another legitimate role of government is the redistribution of wealth. This can occur through taxation of income and wealth, subsidization of goods and services for the poor, unemployment compensation, and a host of other means. Diverse perspectives on the extent to which governments should be involved in such efforts have generated widely varying versions of the market economy across countries, each of which has advantages and disadvantages.

### Free Markets and Economic Development

Despite its potential problems, the empirical evidence on economic growth overwhelmingly supports the free market economic model. The wealthiest nations have had and still have the freest markets in the world. This can be no coincidence. Economic development in low- and middle-income nations often has been slow due to the lack of a truly free market. This section considers three factors that have contributed to the lack of free markets in such countries—corruption, a tilted playing field for trade, and the slow implementation of Coasean solutions.

Arguably, the most pervasive problem facing developing nations is that of corruption, which prevents them from fulfilling the assumptions necessary to generate a truly free market. Corrupt law enforcement institutions destroy the rule of law. The bribes often required by bureaucrats for providing services such as providing official documentation undermine property rights. Corruption that restricts business opportunities to the relatives or cronies of those with power steals the rights of others to make mutually beneficial exchanges in the marketplace, reducing social welfare. Therefore, when countries with endemic corruption have attempted to introduce market-oriented reforms and institutions, the result has typically been to sour the people's attitude toward free markets, because the market cannot work and individuals thus cannot reap its benefits under such regimes.

Rich countries also have implemented numerous policies that restrict the ability of developing nations to create free markets. The United States and Western Europe have virtually dictated trade rules, despite the multilateral mission of the World Trade Organization (WTO), under whose auspices such rules are negotiated. Indeed, the main benefits of the Uruguay Round (1986–1994) of global trade talks held by the

WTO's predecessor organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), accrued in services, intellectual property, subsidization, and agriculture. The majority of developing nations are uncompetitive in these sectors. Worse, trade in those goods in which developing nations hold the strongest comparative advantages, including unskilled-labor-intensive production and agriculture, have long been kept outside the various rounds of international trade liberalization. Similarly, rules on international investment have been designed to benefit chiefly the donor nations, rather than the recipients. Although the developing world continues to be better off trading in this unfavorable environment than they would be if they abstained from trade, such rules and exceptions have deprived it of its best chances for engaging in mutually beneficial voluntary exchanges. India has taken a leadership role, supported by a large proportion of developing nations, in demanding that such issues be negotiated in good faith during the Doha Round of WTO negotiations, which were commencing at the time of this writing (2002).

Finally, pollution, insufficient economic infrastructure, and firms with significant market power are problematic in developing countries. Powerful environmental lobbies attempt to hold developing countries to standards to which rich nations never adhered during analogous stages of development. Coasean solutions exist for these problems. Some, like property rights for rain forest preservation, would likely be highly demanded by the world's wealthy, channeling additional resources for development. Unfortunately, developed countries have only begun to implement Coasean solutions. Developing nations will tarry even longer.

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**See also Capitalist Economic Model; Communist Economic Model; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); Mixed Economy; Socialist Economic Model**

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## FREE TRADE AREA OF THE AMERICAS (FTAA)

### Introduction

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) agreement is an ambitious plan to create a free trade zone throughout the Western Hemisphere by 2005. The FTAA grew out of a statement by George H. W. Bush in 1990 of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI) to create a hemispheric free trade zone in response to Latin American governments who felt left out of the 1992 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The EAI was an important object of discussion throughout the 1990s.

The First Summit of the Americas was held in Miami in 1994, where a joint declaration was issued by the participating countries, at the instigation of the US Clinton administration. The declaration stated that the countries of the Western Hemisphere were dedicated to democracy, economic growth sustainable development, and wiping out poverty. It goes on to say that free flows of trade and investment are a "key to prosperity," economic growth. The declaration stated that negotiations for an FTAA would be concluded by 2005.

However, serious negotiations did not begin until 2001 under the Clinton administration. Like other trade treaties and globalization generally, the FTAA has sparked a great deal of opposition among student activists, labor organizations, and nongovernmental organizations. The closed nature of the negotiations; the lack of enforceable labour standards to ensure reasonably safe working conditions and basic collective bargaining rights, and of environmental safeguards; and concerns about local control over key economic issues are the issues put forward most often by opponents to such a treaty in the North

about free trade agreements everywhere. These issues were adopted as part of the platform of several Democratic candidates in the 2004 presidential election campaign. In Latin America, on the other hand, the more important issue seems to be a perceived failure of neoliberal economic policies, including free trade, on the one hand, and a continuing strong opposition to perceived US imperialism. For example, Cuba has been excluded in the negotiations. The FTAA is, therefore, seen by many in Latin America as the latest instrument of external dominance and exploitation. Latin American politicians have been able to take advantage of this sentiment; the issue was featured prominently in the 2002 Brazilian presidential campaign.

### Strategic Context

In discussing a potential FTAA, it is important to keep the general context of international trade in mind. First, almost all international trade and investment occurs among the US, Canada, the European Union (EU), and Japan. Second, the US economy is by far the largest in the world and dwarfs those of every other economy in the world with the exceptions of the EU and Japan. Third, among Latin American countries as well, there is a great deal of variety in terms of the overall size of the market, with Brazil and Mexico reaching a par in terms of gross domestic product with Canada (though still about one-quarter the size of the US economy), and Argentina as about half of the size of Brazil. Venezuela is fourth largest economy in the region and is about half the size of Argentina's. After that, the size of the economy varies from fairly small by world standards, such as Colombia, to tiny, if we consider some of the smaller islands of the Caribbean. Fourth, on the other hand, for most countries in Latin America, with the notable exceptions of the Southern Cone countries of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, close to 90% of imports and exports are with the US. There is relatively little intra-Latin American trade. Moreover, key trading partners Canada and Mexico already have access to the US market through NAFTA, and so may wish to preserve this advantage. Fifth, almost every Latin American nation has a huge external debt (in some cases, as high as 70% of the value of annual exports) with recurring interest payments on the one hand, and an extremely weak financial and taxation system on the other. As a result, there is a strong thirst for external finance and investment. Sixth, both as a part of the conditions for international finance and as a result of current thinking in

economics, Latin American countries have moved towards rolling back the role of the state (see entry on neoliberalism) in the economy, including privatization of state-owned enterprises, and embracing foreign investment by multinational corporations.

From these facts, we can better understand the strategic context of the negotiations. We can conclude foremost that the FTAA is part of the global process of bargaining between the US and her major trading partners, the EU and Japan. It is extremely unlikely that the US would agree to an FTAA that compromised its position at the multilateral rounds of the General Agreement on Trade and Services Negotiations or the World Trade Organization. In fact, it might be better to say that the FTAA is one chip that the US is using in attempting to extract better terms from the EU.

We can also conclude that there are strong asymmetries in the negotiations. The desire to gain access to the US market and the generally dire economic circumstances of the region explain the willingness of Latin American governments and the private sectors to resist their historical tendency against imperialism and US interference. Similarly, among Latin American countries there is an asymmetry between the larger economies and the medium and small ones in the region. It is no surprise, therefore, that Brazil has emerged as the leader in terms of regional bargaining with the US. However, within the regional structure, there is potential for alliances, not just along lines of striking a stronger bargain with the US, but also within particular issue areas. For example, the petroleum exporters in the region, including Mexico, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, and Trinidad and Tobago, will all surely pay close attention to provisions that affect that economic sector. On the other side, the US has stepped up its efforts to reduce a possible anti-US negotiating coalition by signing or putting in motion a number of bilateral agreements, including ones with Chile (2003) and Central America (in negotiations). In turn, the smaller economies of the Caribbean and Central America have attempted to create tighter free trade agreements within their respective subregions in order to approach the FTAA with a more unified position, but, because of internal differences and competition among their economies, have found negotiations difficult. Finally, both business proponents and opponents, and the aforementioned anti-free trade groups, have all attempted to develop cross-border alliance networks.

Finally, it is important to note that there is growing weariness of free trade not only in the US as a result of its current war, but throughout Latin America. A string of new leaders in the region, including Gutierrez

in Ecuador, Lula in Brazil, Chavez in Venezuela, and Kirchner in Argentina, were elected in good part because of their anti-imperialist credentials and statements. With the financial meltdown in Argentina and continued stagnation through much of the continent, the familiar onus of International Monetary Fund and US culpability has become part of a concerted public questioning of the neoliberal policies of market liberalization and free trade. Thus, it will be tough for these leaders to sell an FTAA at home unless they can extract some clear concessions from the US.

### Timeline of the Negotiations

There were several important organizing meetings among the countries in the 1990s. The first was the December 1994 Summit of the Americas meeting in Miami. At this meeting, the 2005 date was set as the target date for the signing of the treaty, as well as the important provision that the negotiations would be “a single undertaking.” By *single undertaking*, trade negotiators refer to the idea that compromises would be reached to produce one final document that could then be ratified or rejected by each member country. The advantage is that it may push compromises among countries that see a balance between overall gains and gains in one area and losses in another. The disadvantage could be that the potential bargaining power of smaller economies in one area, such as Ecuador in oil, could be dampened by the need to be included in the wider agreement. In 1995, the first ministerial meeting was held in Denver. This meeting created the main media for negotiations—ministerial and vice-ministerial meetings and working groups—and enlisted the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America for support. In addition, seven negotiating groups were set up along the following lines: market access, customs procedures and rules of origin, investment, standards and technical barriers to trade, sanitary and phytosanitary measures, subsidies, antidumping and countervailing duties, and smaller economies. The second ministerial meeting was held in Cartagena in March 1996. At this meeting, four additional working groups were started: government procurement, intellectual property rights, services, and competition policy. The third ministerial meeting in Belo Horizonte in May 1997 led to the development of a new working group on dispute settlement. These efforts culminated with the signing of the Declaration of San Jose at the fourth ministerial in Costa Rica in 1998. That meeting also set up three non-negotiating special committees:

the consultative group on smaller economies, the committee of government representatives on the participation of civil society, and a joint government–private sector committee of experts on electronic commerce. The meeting also set up an administrative secretariat to coordinate future summits. Although several other ministerials and a third Summit of the Americas have been held, the main formal progress was an agreement on business facilitation and information harmonization measures signed at the Toronto Ministerial in November 1999.

### Structure of the Negotiations

At least in formal terms, the FTAA negotiating process is fairly straightforward. The sites of the ministerials are rotated every eighteen months, with the host serving as the chair of negotiations for that particular round. The actual foreign trade ministers of each country therefore act as the top negotiators. Below them, the vice ministers form the trade negotiations committee and meet at least twice a year. In addition, there are the ongoing negotiating groups, as noted above, as well as an ad hoc business facilitation group. In practice, the probable functioning of the negotiations are for the ministers to come in and sign the final agreements that have been negotiated at lower levels, in many cases in an informal fashion in the working groups. As with other trade negotiations, this could raise considerable difficulties for smaller countries without the budget, personnel, or technical expertise to handle all of these issues simultaneously. They can rely upon the technical support agencies noted above, but it is still a disadvantage vis-à-vis the larger countries. In addition, while the committee for the participation of civil society has held a few meetings, it has hardly served to satisfy the demands for greater transparency and participation by civil society groups.

### Potential Obstacles and Prognosis

From the outset, there were major obstacles to actually creating free trade in the hemisphere that mirror those in the international arena. Besides the need to fit within a US strategy of interlocking trade agreements, and the ongoing opposition of civil society, labour, and environmental groups, there are important differences in terms of the potential economic gains and losses of domestic groups and nations. Although liberalizing agriculture could lead to enormous benefits

for Latin American producers, agriculture has been the most contentious sector for international trade negotiations. While Northern countries subsidize their agriculture industries to the tune of millions of dollars, for many developing countries, agricultural exports are their mainstay. Moreover, the EU and Japan have particularly strong domestic agricultural lobbies, which leads to a general reticence to agree to any major cuts in subsidies or protection. Secondly, developing countries generally have felt disappointed with the results of the last (Uruguay) multilateral trading round. They are, therefore, especially reluctant to further liberalize services and investment sectors, which are the main areas of US interest. Indeed, by 2004, Brazil has emerged as the opposition leader to the US in the FTAA negotiations. As in its stance in multilateral talks, Brazil is attempting to create a coalition of states that hold fast for US concessions in agriculture, and a reduction of US demands in terms of market and investment access. Thirdly, developing country governments, including those in Latin America, have steadfastly refused the demands for international labor and environmental standards, which they see as not only another external imposition, but also creating an unfair competitive advantage for Northern countries.

Another problem has been the unclear US position on the FTAA. President Clinton sent the Export Expansion and Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1997 to the Congress for consideration, which included consideration of “fast track” authority for the FTAA. This is considered a vital element of negotiations because it allows the president to force to the Congress to pass or reject a whole trade agreement (without the possibility of amendment). However, fast track failed in the House. With the US declaration of a war on terrorism in 2001, a continuing severe recession in the US, and other developments, the whole international scenario for free trade shifted, creating considerable doubt as to whether there can be free trade in the Americas in the foreseeable future. The renewed emphasis on the Middle East and energy security have increased the United States’ interest in gaining secure access to oil suppliers within the hemisphere, particularly Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia, though the possible restoration of Iraqi oil to the market might dampen it. President Bush was granted fast-track authority on 2002. The “trade promotion authority” included built-in trade adjustment assistance and notes that consultation with the Congress on sensitive sectors must take place. The sensitive sectors include agriculture, fishing, textiles, and apparel.

However, other than ongoing anti-guerrilla narco-trafficking support to the Colombian government

the Bush (Jr.) Administration seems to have largely forgotten about Latin America. In addition, the Argentine financial meltdown, continuing US protection of the steel industry against Brazilian imports, and devastation of the Mexican agricultural sector, all in 2001–2003, created considerable challenges for hemispheric economic relations. New presidents Lula in Brazil and Kirchner in Argentina, with leftist and populist support among their core constituencies, have pronounced their opposition to any “caving in” on US demands for an FTAA. Amid growing outsourcing of US professional jobs, including the key telecommunications and information technology sectors, it remains to be seen whether even the US still has a strong appetite for a substantial FTAA.

As a result, the FTAA negotiations, like multilateral talks on trade, seemed to be relatively stagnant. In recognition of the emergence of Brazil as the key leader of one bloc, Brazil and the US were made the joint chairs of the final round of negotiations. It remains to be seen whether Brazil can hold its alliance together to extract more concessions out of the US or whether the United States’ successful efforts to conclude separate agreements with other countries, including Chile and Central America, will melt away any opposition.

ANIL HIRA

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### FREI, EDUARDO

Eduardo Frei (1911–1982) was the president of Chile from 1964–1970. He was married to Maria Ruiz-Tagle in 1935, and had seven children, among them Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (president of Chile, 1994–2000) and Carmen Frei Ruiz-Tagle (senator of the Christian Democratic Party since 1990). Frei was a first-generation Chilean: his father was of Swiss-German origin. Frei obtained a law degree from the Universidad Católica de Chile in 1932. In 1938, dissatisfied with the Conservative Party—seen as too hierarchical and too doctrinaire in its views of poverty, injustice, and social concerns—Frei and his friends created the Falange Nacional. A meeting with the French philosopher Jacques Maritain had left a profound impression on the young Frei, and Maritain’s Social-Christian philosophy became a leading principle of Frei’s political thinking.

The final separation of the Falange from the Conservative party came about in the 1938 presidential election, when the Falange chose to rally behind the Popular Front candidate Pedro Aguirre Cerda, who went on to win the presidency. In 1945, Frei became Minister of Public Works under President Juan Antonio Ríos. In the parliamentary elections of 1949, Frei became the Falange’s first senator.

Frei’s (and the Falange’s) shifting allegiance from the Right to the Left indicates to what degree the new movement was caught up in a search for political identity. Frei saw the advantages of pragmatism as exemplified by his participation in governments that included Socialists and Communists.

Eduardo Frei provided the intellectual leadership during the 1950s to transform the Falange from a small, internally divided party to the Christian Democratic party that emerged in 1957. Barely one year later, the Christian Democrats managed to not

only replace the Radicals as the major center party, they had also become a viable “third option” to the political Right and Left.

Frei was able to exert sufficient influence to prevent the Falange from moving too close to the Left while at the same time allowing the Falange to identify with issues such as workers’ welfare and social legislation. However, beginning in the early 1950s, when internal divisions threatened the Falange’s future, Frei’s views prevailed. Radical thinkers in the Falange sought explicit worker and peasant support (e.g., Jacques Chonchol). Opposing such a move, Frei countered that capitalism, social reform, equality, justice, development, and democracy were compatible; he believed that workers and capitalists did not have to be “natural enemies.”

The other alternative to reform—revolution—was increasingly advocated by Latin America’s Left and thus contributed to the radicalization of Chilean politics, reaching its climax in the election of Socialist Salvador Allende and the rise to power of the Unidad Popular (1970–1973). Frei realized that if it ever wanted to seize political power, the Falange needed to grow, and for that, it was necessary to reach out to the moderate wing of the Conservative Party (the so-called Social Christians) who at the time were skeptical about a coalition with the Falange. However, the two groups joined in 1953, creating the Social Christian Federation. This paved the way for the creation of the Christian Democratic Party six years later. By 1957, Frei had become a national political figure and his influence over Chilean politics in general and over the moderate political Center in specific, was evident. Between his first presidential bid in 1958 and his successful election in 1964, Frei and the Christian Democratic Party continued to gain popular support as its leaders convinced the public that the new party was the best vehicle to deliver social reform and to avoid the risks of Communism.

Frei’s “Revolution in Liberty” was meant to be a gradual though profound change of Chilean society, brought about democratically. He hoped to gain enough electoral strength to implement his “Revolution” without the need for political concessions to other parties in Congress. Frei’s social programs were geared towards rural as well as urban populations. Early on in his tenure, he initiated “promoción popular” (popular promotion), an ambitious project to give the urban and marginal poor a greater voice by lending legal, technical as well as financial support. The program benefitted from the Christian Democratic Party’s proximity to the Catholic Church, but ultimately it was short-lived and failed in part because of an ineffective state bureaucracy.

Frei’s record with organized labor was mixed. Attempting to overcome a decades-old hostility between a largely Leftist labor movement and anything to the political Right of that, the Frei government was nonetheless known for its open hostility towards the national union federation Central Unitaria de Trabajo (CUT). Yet through his economic policies, Frei also sought to improve the standard of living of the working class. In addition, housing and health conditions improved for many. In education, the Frei government built schools, raised teacher salaries, increased student enrollment, and decreased the illiteracy rate.

The two outstanding projects of the Frei government were the agrarian reform, initiated in 1967, and the nationalization of copper. Frei pursued three interrelated goals with the reform: improve agricultural output and productivity, raise the standard of living of rural areas by giving land to peasants, and facilitate unionization of the countryside. Although the reform fell far short of the government’s as well as peasants’ expectations (out of an estimated one hundred thousand land titles, only about a tenth of that were actually granted), it did help establish the Christian Democratic Party in the countryside. Christian Democrat-controlled peasant unions remain a fixture in Chile. The idea to incrementally nationalize Chile’s copper—criticized by Left and Right alike—was perhaps Frei’s most ambitious project. The Chilean state did not expropriate foreign copper companies outright but instead purchased partial ownership, in some cases acquiring up to 51% (e.g., Kennecott). Ironically, this piecemeal approach to nationalization made it easier for Salvador Allende to propose complete national ownership later.

Frei was convinced that the state’s role in the economy and society needed to be modernized and reformed, but kept prominent. Frei’s “Revolution in Liberty” faced pressures from the Left and Right, as well as from within the Christian Democratic Party. He managed to hold the Center, though popular support was beginning to erode towards the end of his term. Overall, Frei’s economic record was mixed, and economic growth had stagnated and inflation increased, giving rise to frequent strikes. The country was polarizing as a Socialist president was about to gain control of the government.

Frei’s role in the rise of Christian Democracy in Chile and the influence of his party on Chilean politics is crucial for an understanding of twentieth century Chile. The social and economic impact of his programs and reforms were hampered by the party composition in Congress. Following the presidential election, the Christian Democratic Party was in the minority, but this changed in 1965 when they obtained a majority in the Chamber of Deputies,



though they still did not control the Senate. Hence, the need to compromise with the Left and Right. In the 1969 Congressional elections, the party lost dramatically, further evidencing that the Christian Democrats' ideas and policies were too little for the Left and perhaps too much for the Right. His wait-and-see attitude towards the Marxist Allende government ultimately gave way to an unyielding opposition that supported Pinochet's military coup of September 11, 1973. Frei would come to deeply regret this later in life, and his opposition to the dictator's 1980 plebiscite is evidence of that. Frei helped modernize Chile, and unwittingly directed a Nation onto the "socialist road" of Allende's Popular Unity.

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**See also Allende Gossens, Salvador; Chile**

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### FRELIMO (FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF MOZAMBIQUE)

FRELIMO is the acronym of the principal movement for the independence of Mozambique from Portugal. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Mozambique became a crucial outpost for the Portuguese in their global empire. The Portuguese controlled the rich trade in this region for a century but later lost dominance to larger European countries. As Portugal's empire withered, the only significant colonies that remained for it were Angola and Mozambique. By mid-twentieth century, both of these were in ferment for independence.

After World War II, a wave of African colonies sought and achieved independence. Much of the political rhetoric and strategy for these movements occurred within a wider Cold War tension of communist and noncommunist states and of developed and developing nations. Portugal, through one of the longest surviving authoritarian regimes in Europe, fought desperately to hold on to its mineral rich African colonies. The dictatorship of Portuguese Prime Minister António de Oliveira Salazar lasted from 1928 until his death in 1968. His fascist regime continued after his death, using increasing military force to maintain control of its colonies.

This force had increased in response to the mounting organization of armed independence movements in Portuguese Africa. These were based on socialist ideology and encouraged by Soviet support. By 1962, three such movements joined, the União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (UDENAMO, National Democratic Union of Mozambique), the União Nacional Africana para Moçambique Independente (National Democratic Union for an Independent Mozambique, UNAMI), and the Kenya-modeled Mozambique African National Union (MANU). They formed the Marxist-Leninist Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO, Mozambique Liberation Front). It was led by a Harvard Ph.D. in anthropology, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, and committed to armed struggle for independence. He succeeded in liberating the northern part of Mozambique, but because he was assassinated in 1969, he did not live to see the final and complete liberation of the country.

Samora Machel, head of FRELIMO's guerilla forces, assumed command of the movement. In 1974, a rebellion of the Portuguese armed forces overthrew the fascist regime in Portugal, and that country eventually assuming a socialist government. The following year, all remaining Portuguese colonies were granted independence. Samora Machel thereby became the first president of an independent Mozambique.

Mozambique's powerful capitalist, white-dominated neighbors, Rhodesia and South Africa, formed and financially backed an anti-Communist movement, the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO, Mozambican National Resistance). It was vigorously backed by US President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. FRELIMO, meanwhile, received support from the Soviet Union.

RENAMO maneuvered against FRELIMO throughout Mozambique, attacking in the south and occupying strongholds in the highlands. FRELIMO held the capital in the south, and RENAMO raided there and in the north. The conflict assumed a north-south character. Everywhere, it left hundreds of

thousands dead, wounded, or displaced. Landmines left over from this conflict remain one of the war's deadliest legacies.

Conflict endured throughout the late 1970s and into the early 1990s, only ending as the forces backing each side collapsed. In 1980, the white-ruled government of Rhodesia fell, and the independent black government of Zimbabwe was declared. The Berlin Wall came down in 1989, and the Soviet Union ended two years later. By 1990, white dominance in South Africa began to unravel. A peace of exhaustion reconciled FRELIMO and RENAMO, officially recognized through accords finalized in Rome in 1992. Machel himself did not see this final peace. He was killed under suspicious circumstances in an airplane crash in 1986.

Joaquim Chissano, foreign minister in the Samora government, succeeded him as leader of FRELIMO and president of Mozambique. In national elections in 1994 and 1998, he continued as president, defeating the candidates of RENAMO, which became the official opposition party. Corruption and scandals so marred the Chissano government, however, that in 2004, it chose a different presidential candidate, Armando Guebuza, who had earlier negotiated the Rome Peace Accords.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, it was Guebuza who perceived that Mozambique would have to redirect its policy for economic development to reflect a market focus, thereby obtaining the approval of world banking institutions. He fostered the idea of developing private ownership of property and a bourgeois class. By overseeing the privatization of government companies and resources, he himself became one of, if not, the largest holders of property and wealth in Mozambique.

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**See also** Angola; Mozambique; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations

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## FRENCH GUIANA

After more than five centuries of European colonialism in the Americas, French Guiana, which lies between Brazil and Suriname, remains the only nonindependent state on the South American mainland. Over 90% of French Guiana's 91,000 square kilometers are covered by tropical forest. Most of French Guiana's two hundred thousand inhabitants live along the 378-km-long coastline. The majority of these inhabitants, who enjoy the economic benefits of the French social security system, are content to remain a part of France.

The original inhabitants of northern South America were the Carib and Arawak Indians. By 1650, the Dutch, British, and French had all established colonies in the region. The French had established Cayenne, the capital of French Guiana, at the mouth of the Cayenne River on a small island in 1634. Sugar and rainforest timber became the colony's economic mainstays. Slaves brought from Africa worked the sugar plantations, although their success was limited by tropical diseases and the hostility of the local Indians. By 1776, there were only 1,300 whites and 8,000 slaves in the colony. Thousands of slaves escaped into the interior of the colony and established runaway slave communities. The sugar plantations' output never matched that of Haiti and other French Caribbean colonies, and after the abolition of slavery in 1848, the sugar industry virtually collapsed.

At about the same time that slavery was abolished, Emperor Napoleon III decided that penal settlements in the colony would reduce the cost of prisons in France and contribute to the development of the colony. Between 1852 and 1938, over fifty-six thousand prisoners, including Alfred Dreyfus, were sent to Devil's Island. Prisoners sentenced to a term of less than eight years had to spend an equal period of time living in the colony after their release from prison. Prisoners whose sentence was more than eight years had to remain in the colony permanently. Regardless, since 90% of the prisoners died of disease and abuse, the prison population did little to augment the colony's struggling population. The most atrocious activities on Devil's Island occurred in the timber camps on the mainland. The underfed, naked convicts

were forced to work in water up to their waist. Although escape was arduous, and the punishment for a failed escape attempt quite severe, prisoners, such as Henri “Papillon” Charrière, frequently tried to escape. In 1938, the government ceased sending prisoners to Devil’s Island, and the penal settlement was eventually closed in 1945. Unfortunately, French Guiana has never fully escaped its negative image as a former penal colony with an unhealthy climate and an impenetrable hinterland.

In 1946, after more than three centuries as a French colony, French Guiana was transformed into an overseas department—*département d’outremer*—of France. Unlike the peoples of other European colonies in the Caribbean who loudly clamored for independence during the post-1945 era, the people of French Guiana wanted to remain part of the French nation. In theory, French Guiana was to be equal and identical to any other French department. As a result of their nonindependent status, the people of French Guiana enjoy a standard of living vastly superior to the people of the former Dutch and British Guianas. The people of French Guiana receive generous social security and medical benefits, wages are higher than in the rest of the Eastern Caribbean, and the infrastructure is vastly superior. With its mineral resources and potential for hydroelectric energy, especially the Petit-Saut dam project on the Sinnamary River, French Guiana has great potential to develop its economy.

During French President Charles De Gaulle’s Fourth Republic, the power of the *Préfet*—the local representative in French Guiana of the central government—was increased, giving him total responsibility for defense and security, as well as a central role in economic affairs. Thus, beginning in 1958, and culminating in the 1970’s, French Guiana underwent a significant economic transformation. The traditional agriculture-based productive economy of the colonial era was replaced by a skewed consumer-oriented economy based on massive cash infusions from France. By 2000, over three-fourths of the population was involved in the service sector. Between 1958 and 1978, food production declined by over 50%. As a result, today most foodstuffs are imported from France. Although cattle-raising and rice cultivation have been introduced, the most dynamic sector of French Guiana’s economy is the fishing industry. By 2000, shrimp exports represented 60% of French Guiana’s total exports. Gold, timber, and rice exports each account for about 10% of total exports. Regardless, exports remain minimal when compared with the substantial imports.

Since 1982, the French government has encouraged French immigration to the territory. Many

of these recent immigrants, who make up 25% of the population, are working for the European Space Agency, which launches its communication satellites from Kourou. At the same time, political parties supporting greater autonomy—such as the Parti Socialiste Guyanais (PSG)—began to attract more support. Since 1982, Marie-Claude Verdan’s PSG has dominated local politics. Since the 1980s, the French government has granted greater autonomy to the local government. The small but vocal independence movement led by Jean-Victor Castor has earned less than 5% of the vote in recent elections. Residents of French Guiana, who witnessed economic and political chaos in neighboring Suriname after independence from the Netherlands, are unwilling to give up their high standard of living based on generous subsidies from the French government.

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### See also Suriname

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### FUJIMORI, ALBERTO

Alberto Fujimori (1938– ) was the highly polarizing president of Peru from 1990 to 2000. His dramatic and controversial decade in power featured spectacular accomplishments in defeating murderous communist insurgents and taming hyperinflation. But the country paid a price. Fujimori trampled Peru’s democratic institutions while embezzling astronomical sums of money.

Fujimori’s father emigrated from Japan to Peru in 1920. He returned home to find a wife, whom he took to Peru 1934. Alberto was born in Lima on July 28, 1938. Although the parents kept their Japanese culture, they had their son baptized as a Catholic and sent him to a Catholic high school, from which he graduated as valedictorian. The youth earned a

bachelor's degree in agricultural engineering from Agricultural National University in Peru and a master's degree in mathematics from the University of Wisconsin (1969). During the 1970s, while Peru was ruled by military regimes, Fujimori rose in the academic ranks at La Molina National University.

In 1980, democracy returned to Peru, but in that same year, an obscure philosophy professor named Abimael Guzmán founded a revolutionary movement he named *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path). Guzmán believed that the Khmer Rouge had done things well in Cambodia, and he planned a similar future for Peru. Under the inept presidency of Fernando Belaunde (1980–1985), Peruvian poverty deepened, especially in the Indian villages in the Andes where the *Sendero* was quietly organizing its insurgency. Alan Garcia of the APRA (socialist) party followed Belaunde as president. During his term (1985–1990), Peru reached the verge of collapse. Real income had declined by 63% between 1988 and 1990. The government was printing money to pay its civil servants and soldiers. The inflation rate in 1990 was 7,650%. And the Shining Path controlled over half the territory of Peru.

Fujimori, who had become president of the National Commission of Peruvian University Rectors, is not known to have had political ambitions before he began hosting a television talk show, which gave him a chance to analyze politics in a direct way that appealed to the common people. In 1989, he formed his own political party, *Cambio 90* (Change 90), and campaigned for president on the simple slogan: "Honesty, technology, and work." Observers considered this political unknown a long shot against the famous author Mario Vargas Llosa, but Fujimori survived the first round and won the runoff. The Spanish-speaking urban elite opposed Fujimori, as did the Catholic Church. But Fujimori cheerfully accepted the (inaccurate) nickname *el chino* (the Chinaman), knowing that the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking Indians distrusted the light-skinned traditional politicians. In his campaign Fujimori presented himself as "a president like you." The diminutive son of Japanese immigrants was sworn in as president of Peru on his fifty-second birthday, July 28, 1990.

President Fujimori immediately implemented a program of severe austerity and privatization programs. This economic shock therapy hit the poor the hardest, but brought inflation down to 139% in 1991 and 57% in 1992. In 1999, Fujimori's last full year in power, inflation was only 3.7%. The free-market privatization programs raised an estimated \$9 billion, but it is not clear where all that money went.

Fujimori was even more successful in his war against the Shining Path, though here, too, his methods do not stand close scrutiny. The *Senderistas* financed their revolution by exporting coca leaves from the Huallaga Valley, where the Peruvian Army rarely ventured. They armed the peasants and taught them that Fujimori was a "genocidal hyena." Fujimori and his sinister henchman, Vladimiro Montesinos, organized death squads to eliminate *Senderistas* and their supporters. Arguing that the war against the communists was hindered by the apparatus of democracy, Fujimori, with army backing, mounted an *auto-golpe* (self-coup) on April 5, 1992. He put tanks around the parliament, dismissed thirteen of twenty-three Supreme Court justices, and suspended the constitution. These drastic moves met with much popular approval.

Fujimori's popularity reached new heights when Guzmán, the Shining Path leader, was arrested on September 12, 1992. Guzmán was dressed in prison stripes and publicly displayed in a cage before being sent to prison for life. Without his leadership, the *Sendero Luminoso* withered.

Gradually reintroducing democracy, Fujimori promulgated a new constitution and began preparing for reelection. His wife, Susan Higuchi, with whom he had four children, left him and threatened to run for president against him. Fujimori settled that problem by passing a law forbidding relatives of the president from running for office and refusing to divorce Higuchi until after the 1995 election. Fujimori easily defeated his opponent, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the former Secretary General of the United Nations.

Early in his second term, Fujimori faced a threat from a different guerrilla group, the Tupac Amaru. On December 17, 1996, Tupac guerrillas seized 452 hostages at a reception at the Japanese ambassador's home. There followed a four-month standoff during which most hostages were gradually released. On April 22, 1997, Peruvian special forces raided the building, freed the remaining seventy-two hostages, and killed all the Tupac Amaru guerrillas present.

With these triumphs, Fujimori began to float the idea of a third term, which his own constitution explicitly forbade. But Fujimori argued that his 1990 election had been under the old constitution and that therefore he should be eligible to run again in 2000. The Supreme Court disagreed until Fujimori dismissed three of its judges, and then changed its mind. Fujimori shut down an opposition TV station and gained control of the tabloid newspapers. The 2000 election was widely regarded as fraudulent. Fujimori's men were alleged to have forged over a million signatures. His main opponent, Alejandro Toledo, dropped out in disgust. Fujimori narrowly

won the May 28 election with 51% of the vote, against 18% for Toledo. Thirty-one percent of the voters spoiled their ballots. Only two other Latin American leaders attended his inauguration on July 28.

Within two months the Fujimori government came undone. The immediate catalyst was the broadcast of a one-hour videotape showing Montesinos bribing an opposition congressman to defect for \$15,000. Faced with a crisis of legitimacy, Fujimori offered to call a new election, but he was engulfed in a tidal wave of unpopularity. Demonstrations swept the country. Montesinos went into hiding, and Fujimori's failure to find him led Peruvians to conclude that Fujimori could no longer count on full control of the army. In November 2000, Fujimori attended a summit meeting of Asian and Pacific leaders in Brunei, and then flew on to Japan, where he was granted Japanese citizenship. Conveniently, Peru has no extradition treaty with Japan. Fujimori contemptuously faxed a letter of resignation to the Peruvian Congress on November 20, 2000. The Congress refused to accept the fax, and instead voted the next day by a margin of sixty-two to nine to declare Fujimori "permanently morally unfit" to govern.

In exile, Fujimori has opened his own web site, which justifies his every act in Spanish, English and Japanese. Interpol has issued two international arrest warrants for Fujimori, charging him with "crimes against humanity," but Fujimori still dreams of returning to lead Peru. He may have the wherewithal: Transparency International, a watchdog group, estimated that Fujimori had embezzled \$600 million during the decade he ruled Peru. In 2003, he launched a new political party, *Si Cumple* ("He keeps his word"), to prepare the ground for his comeback.

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**See also Andean South America: History and Economic Development; Peru**

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### FULBRIGHT PROGRAM

Signed into law on August 1, 1946, by President Harry S. Truman, the Fulbright Act merely provided that foreign credits from the sale of war material left overseas after World War II could be used for the educational exchange of teachers, students, professors, and research scholars between the United States and participating countries.

A Rhodes Scholar and president of the University of Arkansas before he entered politics, Senator Fulbright himself never referred to development as a purpose of the program that made his name familiar throughout the world. From its inception, the Fulbright Program focused on the exchange of academic persons, the mix of disciplines and ranks being determined through consultation between the United States and the host countries. To this end, nonprofit binational commissions or foundations (whichever term better suited the host country) were established in fifty-one nations; the program eventually operated in eighty-nine others directly out of the US embassy when there was no binational commission. At the American end, though funded through appropriations to the Department of State, the program's administration was delegated originally to two non-government agencies, the Institute of International Education (for students), the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars (for professors), and the government's own Office of Education (for teachers, and later certain categories of students and researchers). Later, other nongovernment bodies such as the Social Science Research Council and American Friends of the Middle East undertook the administration of appropriate portions of the program.

The earliest of the binational agreements was signed with China in 1947. Under it, the first American to profit from the program was Derk Bodde, a Sinologist at the University of Pennsylvania, who translated Chinese philosophical texts during his grant and on his return recounted his experiences in *Peking Diary: A Year of Revolution* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950). Signed a month later the same year, the second binational agreement, with Burma, brought the first foreign participants to the United States, among them students from renowned "Burma Surgeon" Gordon Seagrave's hospital and nursing school.

As these early examples imply, the Fulbright Program could only develop people by means of educational exchange. Unlike government programs such as those of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) or those in the private sector such as the Ford Foundation's, it never could contribute to physical infrastructure.

In 1948, Representative Karl E. Mundt (South Dakota) and Senator H. Alexander Smith (New Jersey) collaborated on legislation that became second only to Fulbright's in shaping the dimensions of America's involvement in international educational exchange. This was their P.L. 402, the so-called Smith-Mundt Act. For one thing, this legislation broadened the mandate of the program to include countries where there was no surplus property. For

another, it provided for the Congressional appropriation of dollar funds to maintain foreign participants in the United States where, because of currency controls in many of the developing countries, foreign funds could not support them. It also established for the first time an American propaganda organization, the United States Information Agency (USIA).

Throughout his long Senate career, Fulbright continued to defend the intellectual integrity of his program and maintain its level of funding. In 1952, in anticipation of the early exhaustion of overseas surplus property, he also got implemented an amendment that authorized the use of foreign currencies arising from *any* source. This was a particular boon for programs in South Asia, because by the 1950s the United States was making massive shipments of wheat to both India and Pakistan for which payment was accepted in nonconvertible rupees. The availability of these funds led to the Indian Fulbright program being the world's largest for a short time. However, the Rabaut Amendment to the appropriations act the next year required that such foreign currencies had to be "bought" with appropriated dollars from the US Treasury, with the result that an effective ceiling was placed on program growth in India and elsewhere.

In 1961, with Representative Wayne Hays (Ohio), Senator Fulbright sponsored legislation to further strengthen the program, which since has operated under this Fulbright-Hays Act. One section of the act, administered by the US Office of Education, provided overseas training in languages that had been little studied in the United States. Another section established a special visa category for foreign students coming to the United States, because there had been much concern at the time about the "brain drain" from developing countries. Even though holders of these visas were required to return to their home countries on completion of their studies and to remain there at least two years before applying for immigrant visas, the brain drain was little diminished by them. A study conducted in India in 1981 showed that 78% of Indian students in the United States managed to change their visa status to stay in the country.

There is no way to quantify the impact of the Fulbright Program on developing nations, but it may be noted that among the 146,000 people from foreign countries who participated during the first fifty years of its existence were such persons as those who later became a Moroccan Ambassador

(Mohamed Benaissa), President of Brazil (Fernando Cardoso), Prime Minister of Poland (Włodzisław Cimoszewicz), United Nations General Secretary (Boutros Boutros Ghali), Jordanian Minister of Education (Khalid Omari), Korean Minister of Trade (Jae Yoon Park), Prime Minister of Greece (Andreas Papandreou), Peruvian Minister of Education (Alberto Varilla), and Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs (Geza Jeszenszky). During the same period, among the eighty-eight thousand Americans receiving grants under the program were four people who became Nobel Laureates—in physics, medicine, and economics. Moreover, presidents of Harvard University, New York University, University of Chicago, and Georgetown University all had Fulbright grants early in their careers, as did the Librarian of Congress and four American ambassadors.

By fiscal year 2000, foreign governments, principally those in Western Europe, were making direct contributions of \$28 million to it, while several of the developing countries made contributions in kind, such as housing for visiting professors. In the same fiscal year the congressional appropriation amounted to \$105.7 million. However, in constant dollars, the Fulbright Program has suffered a 43% reduction in funding since 1994, when the congressional appropriation amounted to \$126 million.

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## **GABON**

The Republic of Gabon lies on the Atlantic Ocean. It borders on Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon (north), and on the Republic of the Congo (east and south). The climate is tropical, hot, and humid, with little seasonal variation. Heavy rains fall from October to May.

The country is covered by dense forests, except for a narrow coastal zone. A geographic feature important for Gabon's development is the Ogooué River flowing through its eastern two-thirds into the Atlantic Ocean, near Port-Gentil. The river is navigable for 114 miles upstream all year and is used to ship goods, especially lumber, to the coast.

Gabon was populated first by Pygmies in the forest, then over centuries by forty diverse Bantu groups that migrated from the interior. Now, half of Gabon's 1.2 million inhabitants live in the two principal cities: Libreville, the administrative and commercial capital, and Port-Gentil, the center of wood and petroleum industries.

The first Europeans at the Gabon estuary bartered for hardwood and ivory along coastal rivers. Commercial trade turned into slave trade (1760–1840) as interior peoples sent their undesirables and war prisoners to the coastal Mpongwe and Orungu, who acted as slave brokers.

Gradually (1855–1880), the French took over along the coast and sent explorers into the interior. Subsequent occupation of the interior met with little opposition, but interference with the slave trade, imposition of head taxes, and forced labor aroused

substantial resistance. Unwilling to shoulder the expenditures required by development, the French divided the area into parcels, which they leased to private companies (1898). These parcels ruthlessly exploited both human and natural resources, devastating the Gabonese population. After failure of the concessionary system, France created the Federation of French Equatorial Africa, uniting Gabon with Congo-Brazzaville, Oubangui-Chari (Central African Republic), and Chad (1910). With ivory and rubber depleted, France neglected Gabon. After World War II, Gabon's progress towards independence (1960) paralleled that of other French sub-Saharan colonies.

At independence, Léon M'ba (1902–1967), head of the Gabonese Democratic Bloc, was elected president of the parliamentary republic of Gabon. He consolidated his personal power and limited freedom of speech and political assembly. In 1964, he provoked a military coup by decreeing a one-party system. He was overthrown and jailed, but was rescued and reinstated by French paratroopers. Under M'ba's rule, Gabon began prospecting for petroleum and exploiting its mineral resources, and further developed its lumber trade. French firms provided investment capital and, along with a small Gabonese elite, reaped most of the benefits. With French backing, M'ba remained president until his death.

Beginning in 1967 and up to the present, Gabon has been ruled by Omar Bongo. The original 1961 constitution was revised in 1991. It instituted political pluralism, but in reality, Bongo, who serves both as president of Gabon and secretary general of the



Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG)—offshoot of the Gabonese Democratic Bloc—rules autocratically. For thirty-five years, he has allowed just enough democracy to stay in power but has reverted to autocracy whenever he deemed it feasible.

He faced his greatest challenge when declining oil prices and a weakening US dollar produced a prolonged economic crisis (1986). Gabon was unable to service its foreign debt, and the International Monetary Fund forced it to implement austerity programs. The patronage system that had propped up Bongo's regime collapsed. Unemployment rose, affecting mainly the poor. Popular discontent erupted. Riots in Libreville and Port-Gentil led Bongo to call upon French troops to intervene. Then, in 1990, he reached a compromise with opposition leaders, only to resume harassing them as the 1993 presidential elections approached. Bongo's subsequent victory at the polls caused rioting to resume. Compromising once more, Bongo agreed to form a transitional coalition government, revise the electoral code, and schedule legislative elections for 1996. Divisions in the opposition enabled the PDG to win these elections and the presidential ones that followed (1998). As before, the losers denounced fraud and refused to serve in Bongo's government, but the regime survived.

Over the years, Bongo did improve social services, education, and public health. The country as a whole has a relatively high doctor-to-population ratio. Nonetheless, tropical diseases remain endemic, and infant mortality rates and life expectancy are about average for sub-Saharan Africa. Recently, AIDS has been spreading so rapidly that demographers' projections take into account the excess mortality it causes. Education is now compulsory between the ages of six and sixteen, and about 75% of this age group attend school. The literacy rate at 63.2% is high for the region. Bongo also has made investments in transportation—such as the Transgabonai Railroad—and in social service. Gabon is relatively stable. Inflation has dropped in recent years. Real GDP has continued to grow.

However, there are problems. Because oil exports still represent 60% of the government's total revenues, Gabon remains vulnerable to volatility in international oil markets. The apparent availability of better economic opportunity in cities has led to urban overcrowding and unemployment. Population growth outstrips job creation. Although the government attempts to diversify the economy by encouraging foreign investment in fisheries, light industry, and construction of port facilities, and although it has undertaken gradual privatization of key industries such as water and electricity and post and telecommunications, economic inequities persist unchanged.

Nor do plans to help the poorest seem to be in place. For instance, agriculture, which employs about two-fifths of the workforce, accounts for less than 10% of the GDP and is not attracting noticeable governmental attention, although subsistence farming is insufficient to meet domestic demand.

The IMF recently deemed Gabon's performance "broadly satisfactory" but required Gabon to continue diversification and privatization, implement anti-corruption laws, "improve the transparency of public finances," and adopt "a participatory poverty reduction strategy."

A much-discussed aspect of Gabon's current development is its environmental cost. Gabon's forests are threatened by powerful timber interests. Conservationists fear the extinction of forms of animal and plant life. Epidemiologists express concern that the stress to which the forest ecosystem is subjected and increasing human exposure to forest animals could unleash new infectious diseases. Meteorologists caution against the consequences of deforestation on climate.

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**See also Central Africa: History and Economic Development; Central Africa: International Relations**

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#### GAMBIA, THE

The Republic of the Gambia, situated on the western coast of Africa, is the smallest nation on the continent. The country is a relatively flat strip of land fifteen to thirty miles wide on either side of the Gambia River, and almost two hundred miles long. Except for its small Atlantic coastline, the nation is entirely surrounded by the Republic of Senegal. The climate is tropical, with a rainy season lasting from June to

October, followed by a cool dry season. About forty inches of rain falls near the coast each year, whereas inland areas receive even less precipitation. Mangrove and scrub forest line the river banks, whereas sandy soil covers the rest of the country. The population is estimated at approximately 1.3 million, with an estimated annual growth rate of 3.5%. The capital, Banjul, known as Bathurst until 1973, is located where the Gambia River flows into the Atlantic Ocean and has a population of about seventy-five thousand.

The nation's peculiar shape and size are the result of territorial compromises made during the colonial period of the nineteenth century by Britain, which controlled the Gambia River, and France, which ruled the neighboring colony of Senegal. Prior to European colonial rule, the Gambia River region was dominated by a series of small Muslim Mande and Fulbe kingdoms. Agriculture and fishing dominated the local economy. The first Europeans to arrive in the area were the Portuguese in the 1440s, followed by the English, French, and Dutch, all of whom traded with the kingdoms on the river, seeking agricultural products and also slaves. By the eighteenth century, the British dominated trade that was centered on slave exports along the river. After the abolition of the slave trade in the early nineteenth century, the British encouraged the production and export of peanuts, which grew well in the local soils and climate. Peanut cultivation dominated the colonial economy of The Gambia, which was the poorest and smallest colony in British West Africa. Because of its small size and weak economy, moves toward self-rule in The Gambia lagged behind other West African nations, and independence was granted in February 1965. The Gambia became a republic in 1970, and Dawda Jawara, initially elected in 1965 as prime minister, became president. Jawara ruled until his ouster by a military coup in 1994. The military, headed by Yaha Abdul Jammeh, permitted elections in late 1996 and early 1997. Jammeh, who retired from the military to run for office, was elected president, and his political party, the Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction, won a slim majority in the national assembly. Opposition groups and some foreign observers accused the military government of fraud and intimidation to influence voters. Jammeh and his party won the most recent elections in 2001, again amidst allegations of intimidation.

The Gambian economy has consistently and overwhelmingly been based on the production and export of peanuts. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Gambian environment and economy were seriously affected by the Sahelian drought, which devastated much of Western Africa along the Sahara Desert, from which it has never completely recovered. Approximately

85% of residents make a living primarily from agriculture, with peanuts being the only significant cash crop. Farmers also grow millet and sorghum. The country continues to be highly dependent on imports of rice and other staple grains. Fisheries and tourism are also foreign exchange earners, although tourism as well as foreign aid declined precipitously after the 1994 military coup. Neither the Jawara or Jammeh regimes have made serious efforts to diversify the economy. The government submitted to International Monetary Fund pressure by cutting back its large civil service and drastically devaluing the local currency, but the efforts have done little to improve the nation's economic prospects. Per capita gross domestic product was \$1,170 in 2002, making the Gambia one of the poorest countries in the world, and 62% of the population lives at or below the poverty line. The country also has an overall trade deficit. Further, smuggling between The Gambia and Senegal remains a serious problem and attempts to curtail it have failed.

The Jawara regime was characterized by corruption, nepotism, and mismanagement. The country relied primarily on foreign assistance for survival. The Gambia did, however, have relatively strong respect for individual liberty and human rights until the military takeover in 1994. The Jammeh regime has imposed serious restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly. In recent years, the population of the capital, Banjul, has been augmented by refugees from the civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia, two other English-speaking nations in a largely francophone region. Senegal has periodically accused the Gambia of harboring separatists from the southern Senegalese region of the Casamance, heightening differences between the two countries. Historically, there have been no serious tensions in the country among the different ethnic groups. Over 90% of the population is Muslim, but no militant Islamic movement exists.

The Gambia has very little economic infrastructure. The river is the country's main transportation route. There are no bridges across the river, so passengers and goods passing from the river's northern and southern banks have to be ferried across the river on antiquated boats. There are no railroads and only one main airport, located near Banjul. The adult literacy rate is approximately 40% and, despite free elementary education, many children, especially girls, never attend school. There is no institution of higher learning. Beyond some primary health care, most Gambians do not have access to modern medical care. There are approximately two physicians and twenty-five nurses for every ten thousand people. Life expectancy for males is fifty-two years for males and fifty-six years for females. The population

growth rate (3.09% annually) and infant mortality (76.3 per 1,000 live births) are among the highest in the region. The government has continually promised improvements in education, health, transportation, and economic infrastructure yet most of the plans have yet to be realized. Unemployment, especially among secondary school graduates, is extremely high, and many secondary school graduates migrate overseas for employment.

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### GANDHI, INDIRA

Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi (1917–1984) was the only child of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India. She was not related to Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, but the Gandhi name had a halo effect in Indian elections, especially among the many illiterate rural voters. Schooled at home, she later attended Oxford University. After graduating in 1939, she worked as a volunteer for the Red Cross in Europe. After she returned to India in 1941, she married Feroze Gandhi (1913–1960) who also was politically active. Indira Gandhi and her husband were both put in prison by the British authorities for one year.

Since her mother had died earlier, she acted as her father's help and official hostess. In 1959, she was selected as President of the All India National Congress party (then the Congress party). After her father's death, she became Minister of Information and Broadcasting in Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's cabinet. In 1966, after Shastri's unexpected death of a heart attack, she was nominated by the party powerful for that position, because it was believed that she could be easily manipulated and

controlled. That was clearly a misjudgment on their part. She was sworn in as the third prime minister of India in 1966 and served the country in that capacity from 1966 to 1977, and again from 1980 to 1984. During her tenure in office, she consolidated her powers a great deal and continued the political dynasty begun by Nehru. Among her initiatives was the nationalization of banks and insurance companies in 1967.

In addition to the usual complex Indian political problems, she faced other problems during her first term of office that included famines for two years in a row and an influx of about 10 million refugees from East Bengal. Additionally, a split occurred in the Congress party in 1969; this would occur again in 1978. In 1971, the Third Indo-Pakistan War brought the defeat of the Pakistani army and the creation of Bangladesh via the secession of the Pakistani state of East Bengal. That event made Gandhi enormously popular and powerful in India. The explosion of a nuclear device in 1974 by the Indian government enhanced her popularity even more.

In 1975, the Allahabad High Court found her guilty of corrupt election practices on a technicality, and she was asked to step down from power and resign her seat. To avoid such a harsh outcome, she convinced the president of India to proclaim a national emergency. During the emergency rule, approximately one hundred thousand individuals, including well-known political opponents, were jailed, and the freedom of the Indian press was muzzled. The emergency was highly resented throughout India and resulted in her loss of a seat in the Loka Sabha in the next general election conducted after the emergency rule was lifted. She was sentenced to prison twice for short periods of time in 1977 and 1978 for the violation of election rules and for obstructing an official inquiry into one of the industrial projects of her second son. Nonetheless, she was sworn in again as prime minister in 1980, as her party won in the national general elections due to the overwhelming support from poor people and minorities, especially poor and illiterate women.

A group within the minority community of Sikhs in India demanded a separate independent state for the Sikhs to be named Khalistan and initiated terrorist activities toward the achievement of that goal. In June 1984, Indira Gandhi ordered a military attack on the Golden Temple, which is the holiest site of the Sikhs, as the terrorists had taken refuge there. The attack shocked and stunned the Sikh minority as well as the rest of the minorities. The raid on the Golden Temple proved to be the last major misjudgment of her career: two of her Sikh bodyguards assassinated her before the end of that year. Her son, Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as prime minister that evening.

Toward the end of her career, Gandhi had been isolated from the party leaders and did not trust anyone completely except her family. During her administration, corruption and nepotism proliferated and spread into most sectors of the public arena on a large scale.

She was a charming person with highly developed diplomatic skills. She also continued to be one of the most important figures in the Third World movements throughout her life. She wielded great power in a highly patriarchal society. Unfortunately, many of her significant accomplishments have been overshadowed by the declaration of emergency and, later on, by her raid on the Golden Temple.

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**See also Gandhi, Mohandas; Gandhi, Rajiv; India; Nehru, Jawaharlal**

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## GANDHI, MOHANDAS

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948), also called *Mahatma*, which means “great soul,” was one of the most admired world leaders of the twentieth century. His popularity and sway over the Indian masses was unparalleled. Known as the father of the Indian freedom movement, he was its undisputed leader from 1920 onward. Although his major goal of freedom for India was achieved in 1947, Gandhi was saddened by the partition of India into India and Pakistan and the strife that ensued between Hindus and Muslims.

Gandhi was born in an affluent family in the state of Gujarat, India, in 1869. He was married in 1883. He sailed to England for legal studies and returned to India to practice law in 1891. He accepted a position in South Africa in 1893 and stayed there until 1914. He championed the causes of the Indian community there, protesting in particular the compulsory registration certificates policy directed against them. He

was imprisoned twice in South Africa, and his experiences there turned out to be a starting point for many of his ideas and actions such as the practice of nonviolence, noncooperation and civil disobedience.

He initiated and led three major political movements through the National Indian Congress party (called Congress party) against the British rule in India. The first, a mass anti-imperialist movement occurred in 1921, the first of its kind in India, but Gandhi called it off in 1922 because of mob violence. The next movement he led was in 1930 in protest to the colonial law that Indians could not produce their own salt and thus had to pay taxes on it. The movement picked up steam and spread all over India. Gandhi was jailed but was released in 1931 to attend a Round Table Conference wherein he made a pact with the administration and called off the civil disobedience movement. He attended a second conference in London later that year, yet it yielded mostly negative results. Gandhi decided to fast until death to stop the granting of separate electorates for the depressed classes. Gandhi broke his fast only after that provision was rescinded. India gradually started participating in a democratic process under the British rule, and Gandhi spent much of the 1930s engaged in activities aimed at the elimination of untouchability.

The third and last major movement launched by Gandhi was in 1942 during World War II and was called the “Quit India” movement, which demanded immediate withdrawal of the British from India. He was arrested again that year but released in 1944 on grounds of poor health. His wife died that same year while she was in detention. Off and on, Gandhi spent more than six years in jails and prisons.

Whenever Gandhi was out of jail, he was engaged in different types of social reforms and movements. These included the economic and educational uplift of members of the untouchable caste, empowerment of women, utilization of village handicrafts, and economic betterment of rural areas and boycotting of British goods. Between 1944 and 1947, he had ongoing talks with leaders of the Muslim league and the British Government to bring about unity between the Hindu and Muslim communities, but without much success. He toured Bihar state and fasted in Bengal to reduce the incidence and intensity of communal violence between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

The methods he used to achieve his political and social goals included, for example, *satyagraha* (holding on to truth or asserting truth), civil disobedience, nonviolent noncooperation, development of village handicrafts such as homespun clothing (*khadi*), and undertaking fasts. Particularly in that era, these strategies were quite unorthodox. His movements directed against the British also had at their core a

moral and spiritual essence; his philosophy and practice taught the people to rely on themselves and their own, moral, spiritual, economic, and political strengths.

Gandhi was a nondogmatic religious liberal and an activist reformer as well. He was open to the positive aspects of different religions and cultures. Gandhi was deeply affected by the Indian religious traditions and the Jain religious principles and practice of non-violence. Thinkers from other countries such as Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin, and Henry David Thoreau also made a profound impression on his mind. He did not hate the British categorically and volunteered to help the British in the Boer War and World War I.

Despite his overwhelming successes in some arenas, he was not successful in either addressing the problems of the untouchables or maintaining peace between Hindus and Muslims. Many Indians today think of his visions as outdated, impractical, too idealistic, naive, and irrelevant in the modern world. Gandhi, however, left many positive and enduring legacies, not just for India, but also for other countries, applicable to other times and other contexts as well. Indian independence was a catalytic event on the colonial scene from 1947 onward, as it demonstrated that colonial rule could be overthrown nonviolently without traditional weapons and armor. Gandhi's legacy has left its mark on the anticolonial and minority struggles and movements spanning four continents—Asia, Africa, Europe and North America. His principles of nonviolence were a major influence on the American civil rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1948, a Hindu religious militant assassinated Gandhi, who was en route to a prayer meeting.

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### See also India

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### GANDHI, RAJIV

Rajiv Gandhi (1944–1991) was a reluctant heir to the role of a politician. He was born in Bombay in 1944. His grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, was the first prime minister of India. His mother, Indira Gandhi, was the third prime minister of India. He studied engineering at Trinity College, Cambridge, but later transferred to Imperial College of London. In London, he met and married Sonia Maino who was an Italian citizen. They had two children. He also took flying lessons while he was in London, and upon his return to India in 1968 started an apprenticeship with Indian Airlines, where he became a pilot.

Rajiv Gandhi was drafted into politics in 1980 by his mother after the death of his brother. He resigned from his job as a pilot and was elected to the Lok Sabha (lower house of the Indian parliament) in 1981. He was sworn in as the sixth prime minister of India in 1984 after the assassination of his mother.

Rajiv Gandhi was young and energetic and had the reputation of being honest and noncorrupt. In 1985, he won his first national election with an unexpected landslide majority larger than his mother or grandfather had received. During the initial phase of his administration, he enjoyed great popularity, especially among the educated population. He opened the economy to foreign investments and bolstered India's technology, education, environmental policies, and agricultural production. He was comfortable with the leaders outside India and conducted successful diplomatic missions to the USSR and the People's Republic of China as well as negotiating treaties with Pakistan and improving relations with Sri Lanka.

On the other hand, riots among the Sikhs and Hindus broke out immediately after he assumed office. He had inherited the cabinet from his mother, and as problems kept surfacing, the cabinet kept being reshuffled. His party kept losing in the state elections, and Gandhi was not widely popular among the rural population.

Despite his initial reputation for honesty and transparency, he got muddled in the Borfous scandal starting in 1987 about purchase of arms from Sweden with the rights to manufacture them in India and later on the purchase of submarines from Germany. Many politicians from his party were involved in the kickbacks. Although he was cleared of the corruption charges later, it came too late to help him in the 1989 elections.

While in office, he succeeded in brokering a peace accord between the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam. Indian troops were stationed in Sri Lanka as a peacekeeping force.

Unfortunately, many actions of the Indian military totally enraged the Tamil group, who felt betrayed. This resentment culminated in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi during a comeback campaign in India.

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**See also Gandhi, Indira; India; Nehru, Jawaharlal**

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## GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT)

At a meeting in 1947, the major powers of the world devised as a comprehensive plan to set up mechanisms to deal with international trade, investment, and foreign exchange. This “system” produced the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, or the World Bank) and an International Trade Organization (ITO). The ITO however never materialized, and its intended functions were taken over by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

### The GATT/World Trade Organization (WTO)

In the following, the text refers to GATT for developments up till 1994 and to WTO after 1995 when the latter came into being. While originally intended only as an interim agreement to the ITO, GATT has become the dominant organization and body of rules dealing with intergovernmental trading relationships. The original agreement was signed on October 30, 1947. The signatories agreed to the application of GATT under a Protocol of Provisional Application from January 1, 1948.

GATT developed its institutional structure over time and found a permanent home in Geneva. Modifications of the Agreement are made through negotiated “rounds.” In general, the Agreement’s central principle is nondiscrimination, whereby contracting parties made mutual promises that any trading advantage offered to one country would be freely

available to all other contracting parties. There are exceptions in the area of customs unions and free trade areas and developing countries. The Agreement promoted tariffs as the only legitimate means of protection and encouraged tariff reductions. Import quotas and other nontariff barriers are proscribed. GATT also developed a dispute settlement function to adjudicate disputes.

### Background and Evolution

In February 1946, the United Nations (UN) Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) called for an International Conference on Trade and Employment with a view to drafting an ITO. A UN Conference on Trade and Employment was held in Havana between November 1947 and March 1948, and a text was adopted known as the Havana Charter.

As work progressed to establish the ITO, some countries were anxious to immediately bring down trade barriers and sought to create an interim tariff reduction agreement. On October 30, 1947 the GATT Agreement was signed by twenty-three countries.

A Protocol of Provisional Application was signed at the same time, whereby signatories agreed that the GATT Agreement would be applied from January 1, 1948, on a provisional basis. As events proved, GATT developed into a permanent and central institution. How this came about stems from the protocol. A provision in the protocol stated that Part Two of GATT need only be applied “to the fullest extent not inconsistent with existing legislation.” Known as the “grandfather clause,” this allowed many signatories to maintain existing protectionist measures inconsistent with GATT Agreement. Subsequently, negotiations within GATT (“rounds”) involved attempts to have countries relinquish these measures.

As an interim device, GATT did not establish any institutional framework necessary for an ongoing international trade-regulating organisation. When the ITO failed to eventuate, GATT developed its institutional and dispute settlement elements.

### Operations of GATT

GATT worked on two levels—first, on a day-to-day level, where existing rules sought to circumscribe protectionist government activity, disputes were sought to be resolved, and discussions could be held on general issues. A second level involved negotiating “rounds,”

or lengthy multilateral trade negotiations aimed at improving liberalization and the general structure of the Agreement. Early rounds focused on the promotion of further tariff reductions on a reciprocal negotiating basis. Later rounds dealt with other trade rules and protectionist barriers beside tariff. The rounds were as follows: Geneva Round (1947), Ancey Round (1948), Torquay Round (1950), Geneva Round (1956), Dillon Round (1960–1961), Kennedy Round (1964–1967), Tokyo Round (1973–1979), and the Uruguay Round (1986–1994).

GATT Rounds: Summary Table

Round	Participating Countries	Result Summary
1947 Geneva	23	Agreement on 20 schedules covering 45,000 tariff concessions. Manufacturing tariff in industrialized countries dropped from average of 40% to 25% over a decade.
1948 Ancey	13	An additional 5,000 tariff concessions exchanged to continue the tariff cutting momentum.
1950 Torquay	38	8,700 tariff concessions exchanged.
1956 Geneva	26	About US\$2.5 billion worth of tariff reductions.
1960–1961 Dillon	26	4,400 tariff concessions covering US\$4.9 billion worth of trade.
1964–1967 Kennedy	62	Introduced across-the-board rather than product-by-product approach to cutting tariffs. Concessions covering US\$40 billion worth of trade. Antidumping rules introduced. By end of decade, industrial tariffs to average about 17%.
1973–1979 Tokyo	99	Tariff reductions covering US\$300 billion of trade. Preferential treatment for developing countries. Codes agreed on subsidies, countervailing measures and other nontariff-barriers. Progressive lowering of industrial tariffs to current level of 4.7%.
1986–1993 Uruguay	116	Changes to a range of trading areas: agriculture, services, intellectual property rights and investment. The GATT to become the WTO with revamped rules and dispute-setting machinery.

*The Uruguay Round*

The Uruguay Round is the most significant to date because it spawned the establishment of the WTO. However, there are many reasons why the Uruguay Round took place. Other than the perceived irrelevance of GATT to world trade relations and the need for significant modifications for the 1990s and beyond, the following reasons may be tabulated.

- The significant departures from the nondiscrimination principles of GATT to add to the exemptions, special rules for developing countries and free trade areas, and other side agreements.
- The development of three key “players”—the United States, the European Union, and Japan—and the inclusion of nonmarket economies into GATT system added to trade problems.
- The role of multinational corporations (MNCs) having immense economic power and control over trade but not subject to GATT.
- The growing attitude among some governments that managed trade as opposed to free trade can lead to significant benefits, which in turn lessens the promotion of GATT norms.
- The use of nontariff barriers in response to years of low growth and recession. Subsidies also were used to defend the competitiveness of local industries leading in some cases to overproduction and, in turn, to subsidising the export of surplus production. Another nontariff barrier is the voluntary export restraint—to prevent the threat of protectionist measures in an importing country. Arguably, these measures were deemed to be outside GATT and therefore permissible.
- Dispute resolution mainly stemming from procedural issues were rife.

The above issues prompted many countries to press for a new round of trade talks. There was a need to revitalize the organizational and dispute settlement functions and to broaden substantive rules. Further, the GATT Agreement only dealt with trade in goods, yet more than half of the workforce in industrialized countries was involved in the services sector.

The Uruguay Round was protracted for a number of reasons. First, a major recession was experienced during the trade talks, giving rise to higher levels of unemployment and calls for higher protectionism, thereby leading to a lesser likelihood of consensus among members. Second, major political events took higher priority—the collapse of the Soviet Union, the reunification of Germany, and the integration

of the European market in 1992 meant that it was extremely difficult to get key political leaders to focus on the immediate and more long-term needs. Further, changes in government in key European countries and the US meant that support from the leaders in these countries were not readily forthcoming.

### The GATT/WTO Agreement

It also is important to note that GATT is not a single agreement. It involves many primary documents, including the initial 1947 agreement, protocols, and accession agreements in which new countries joined GATT and the codes were negotiated during the Kennedy and Tokyo Rounds. To understand its rules and principles, it is necessary to consider the elements of the GATT Agreement and the related documents and modifications made in the Uruguay Round.

The WTO came into being on January 1, 1995. However, the basis of the multilateral trading system that governs the WTO was established in 1948. One of the agreements annexed to the WTO Agreement is GATT1994, which incorporates the basic principles of GATT1948.

Annex 1A to the WTO Agreement is a general interpretative note that gives a statement of an “understanding”—that is, how certain provisions are to be interpreted. Where there is a conflict between what was the old GATT and an agreement in Annex 1A, the new agreement prevails. In all other cases, the WTO is guided by the decisions, procedures, and customary practices followed under GATT1948. The new agreements on trade in services and trade-related aspects of intellectual property and transfer of technology are found in Annexes IB and IC—General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and TRIPS, an agreement on trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights, including trade in counterfeit goods, respectively. Both have important implications for trade in both goods as well as services. There also are agreements that include trade-related investment measures (TRIMS), trade-related environmental management (TREM), and regional trade agreements (RTAs).

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**See also International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

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### GEORGIA

The Republic of Georgia is a Eurasian country located in the Caucasus region where the somewhat arbitrary line between Europe and Asia is drawn. Its total landmass is approximately 69,875 square kilometres (26,979 square miles), with the landscape being dominated by the Caucasus Mountains to the north and west and the remainder of the country primarily constituting lowland plains. Rivers and lakes are found throughout the country, and coniferous forests dominate roughly one-third of the landscape, leaving about 9% of the country available for agricultural purposes. Best described as having a mild alpine climate, Georgia only receives snowfall at the highest elevations, and the average annual rainfall is one thousand to two thousand millimetres per year, while temperature averages range from 5°C (41°F) during the winter to 22°C (72°F) during the summer. Georgia shares borders with the Russian Federation to the north, Turkey to the southwest, Armenia to the south, and Azerbaijan to the southeast, with the Black Sea comprising Georgia's western edge. According to a 2004 United Nations estimate, the population of Georgia is approximately 5 million and has been declining at a rate of –0.36% per year. Georgia's capital is Tblisi, and it also is the largest city with a population of over 1 million. The name Georgia, as used by the West, is derived from an ancient Persian term for the country, *Gurj*. The native Georgians refer to their country as *Sakartvelo*.

The population of Georgia is dominated by a variety of native Caucasian peoples and other groups. The Georgians, known as the *Kartvelebi* in Georgian, comprise the largest group with 70% of the population. Various ethnic minorities include Armenians (8%), Russians (roughly 6%), Azerbaijanis (6%), Ossetians (3%), Abkhazians (1.8%), and others including the Adjarians (whose language is virtually identical to Georgian), Ukrainians, Kurds, and other smaller



## GEORGIA

groups constitute the remainder (5.2%). Religion in Georgia displays a similar eclectic situation and includes Georgian Orthodox Christians (65%), Muslims (11%), Russian Orthodox Christians (10%), Armenian Apostolics (8%), and others (6%). The impact of official atheism, during the many decades of Soviet rule, also has had an impact upon the largely secular society of Georgia.

The Caucasus region is, in many ways, as fractured as the Balkans with overlapping peoples and, often, capricious borders being drawn by the ebb and flow of empires throughout history. Georgians are primarily descendents of Ibero-Caucasian peoples, who are believed to be the oldest natives of the Caucasus region. In fact, Georgian is part of a family of languages classified as a language isolate group that is not related to the Indo-European languages of the Russians, Armenians, and Ossetians (speakers of an Iranian language) or the Altaic tongue of Azeri Turkish. The Georgian language has borrowed many words and other characteristics from the aforementioned languages as well as Turkish and Farsi (Persian). Georgian is part of the South Caucasian branch of the Ibero-Caucasian family of languages (with its own unique script), whereas Abkhaz is part of the North Caucasian group.

The Caucasus region has been invaded on numerous occasions by the Greeks, Persians, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Turks, and Russians, all of whom have left their impressions upon the local population in a variety of ways. In addition, Georgia has one of the oldest continuous Christian communities on earth, dating back to 317 CE. Christianity has managed to remain the predominant faith in spite of centuries of Islamic domination and the number of Georgians (such as the Adjarians) who have converted to Islam over the centuries. After centuries of Persian rule, modern Georgian history began with Russian annexation in 1801. During this period, Georgia became an integral part of the Russian Empire and attempts at russification were met with local resistance. An influx of Russians as well as Armenian merchants relegated the Georgian population to a secondary on their own lands. Georgian intellectuals increasingly mimicked Russian and Western European philosophical models, and Marxism gained a foothold among some local activists just as it was spreading in other parts of the Russian Empire. Russian reforms in 1905 had the same impact that they had in other parts of the empire as the Mensheviks gained prominence, but the Bolsheviks, led by the young Ioseb Jughashvili, a.k.a. Josef Stalin, agitated against them. Following Russia's involvement in World War I and the Russian Revolution, Georgia managed to gain independence for a

brief period under the rule of local Mensheviks in 1918. Georgian independence ended in 1921 with the invasion of the Red Army, which annexed Georgia into the newly formed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Josef Stalin, possibly Georgia's most well-known native son, gained control of the USSR several years after the death of Lenin. Georgia suffered along with the rest of the USSR during Stalin's reign, but did gain some cultural autonomy. Georgia would not regain independence until 1991 with the fall of communism. After independence, Georgia suffered from various internal struggles, including secessionist movements in the outer provinces of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Adjara. These regions remain somewhat problematic, and Russian intervention on behalf of the agitating provinces has prompted the Georgian government to seek closer ties with the United States.

Politically, Georgia has had democratic elections since independence and has managed to retain this democratic plurality with the peaceful changing of its leadership. Most notably, there was the ascension of former Soviet notable Eduard Shevardnadze in 1995, who then voluntarily resigned after allegations of fraudulent elections in 2003. This relatively bloodless passing of power, dubbed the Velvet Revolution of 2003, and continued elections have made Georgia politically stable in spite of regional civil strife. Unlike some parts of the former Soviet Union, Georgia is tolerant of its free press; however, journalists face dangers when covering Georgia's regional conflicts, corruption, and organized crime.

The economy has not met with the same success as the electoral process, and Georgia remains one of the poorest countries of the former Soviet Union. Early strikes, heightened defence spending, and civil conflict have ravaged Georgia's economic prospects throughout the 1990s. In addition, the economic downturn that has impacted the West has also had a ripple effect in Georgia, which has been exacerbated by incompetent leadership and economic mismanagement. Price controls were set by politicians to gain public support in the early 1990s but have been reversed in favor of market-oriented reforms. Tourism and agriculture (including a renowned viticulture industry) remain the most significant sources of income along with a limited manufacturing capacity. The abundance of rivers makes hydroelectricity plentiful but insufficient to compensate for the loss of energy resources that Georgia enjoyed during the Soviet era. Georgian leaders are optimistic that they will be able to benefit from an oil pipeline running from Baku in Azerbaijan to the port of Batumi in Adjara, but civil unrest there may prompt the pipeline to be diverted to Georgia's other main

port of Poti. In recent years, the Georgian government has done its part to curtail inflation (still hovering around 19%) and formulate a more stable free market-oriented economy. These measures have improved economic conditions, along with substantial guidance and assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Investments from the European Union and the United States also have helped local development, but it has not been enough to modernize Georgia's fledgling infrastructure or meet its energy needs. Georgia has cut its debt and deficit with great effort, but widespread tax evasion and rampant corruption have led to disappointing tax revenues. Per capita income has increased, but remains very low by European standards. According to the World Bank, the annual per capita income of Georgia is only \$2,300. The Georgian currency, introduced in 1998, is the *lari* and has remained relatively stable since its inception. However, with nearly 60% of Georgians living at or below the poverty line, there is much more work to be done. The unemployment rate has been reduced in recent years and tends to hover around 15%, but the quality of jobs has not met with the expectations of many Georgians. Future prospects look promising for Georgia if its internal turmoil and regional conflicts can be resolved. Otherwise, Georgia will continue to suffer from a population outflow as more and more young Georgians move to Russia, the EU, and the US in search of better prospects.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations**

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## GHANA

### Geography

Ghana, formerly Gold Coast, is situated along the Atlantic coast of West Africa. It is bordered by three Francophone nations: Côte d'Ivoire on the west, Togo on the east, and Burkina Faso on the north. Ghana is in close contact with both the equator and the prime meridian; the latter passes through the port city of Tema in the southeast. Ghana has a coastline of about 572 kilometers and extends some 840 kilometers in the north-south direction. With an estimated landmass of 238,533 square kilometers, Ghana is about the size of Great Britain. The nation is divided into ten administrative regions: Greater Accra, Central, Eastern, Western, Volta, Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Upper West, and Upper East.

Ghana has a network of streams and rivers; the largest river is the Volta, which starts from Burkina Faso and drains to the Gulf of Guinea. Other major rivers include the Pra, Tano, and Ankobra. Only the Volta, Ankobra, and Tano rivers are navigable by launches and lighters. Ghana's topography is mostly low plains, with the exception of the east where the Akwapim-Togo Ranges peak at 885 meters on Mt. Afadjato, the highest point in the country. Lowlands dominate the southern part of the country. To their immediate north are the Volta basin (to the east) and the Ashanti Uplands (to the west). Northern Ghana is dominated by dissected plateaus, which range between 150 and 460 meters in height.

Ghana has a warm tropical climate, with mean annual temperatures ranging between 26°C and 29°C. The weather is generally warm and dry in the southeast; warm and humid in the southwest; and hot and dry in the north. Ghana's climate is influenced by three main air masses: the hot and dry tropical continental winds (the *harmattan*), from the northeast; the cool and moist tropical maritime winds (the southwest monsoon), from the Gulf of Guinea; and the warm equatorial easterlies. The northern half of the country has one rainy season (May to October) and one dry season (November to April). Southern Ghana, however, has two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The major rainy season is from May to June, whereas the minor is from September to November. The minor and major dry seasons last from July to August and from December to April, respectively. The heaviest rainfalls occur in the southwestern corner, where the mean annual rainfall reaches 2,230 millimeters. The amount of rainfall generally reduces northward.

## People and Ethnic Groups

Ghana has a population of 18.4 million people (2000 census). Like most tropical African nations, Ghana's population is predominantly Black, with enormous ethno-linguistic diversity. The major ethnic groups include Akan (44%), Mole-Dagomba (16%), Ewe (13%), Ga (8%), and others (0.2%); each of which has several subgroups. The Akans are predominant in southwestern and central Ghana, the Ewes and Gas are mostly in the southeast, and the Mole-Dagombas are mainly in the north. More than fifty different languages and dialects are spoken in Ghana, but the official language is English. Islam and Christianity are the main non-African religions in the north and south, respectively. With a high fertility rate (five pregnancies per woman), a high birth rate (forty-four births per one thousand), and a high infant mortality rate (eighty-four deaths per one thousand live births), Ghana's demographic characteristics are not much different from those of other West African countries. However, Ghanaians are relatively well-educated; the nation's literacy rate of about 65% is surpassed only by Cape Verde's, in the West African context.

Whereas the majority of Ghanaians live in rural areas, there has been an increase in urbanization in recent years. In 1948, the urban share of the nation's population of 4.4 million was only 13%. By 1960, the urban share of the national population of 6.7 million had reached 23%; by the 1990s, more than a third of Ghanaians live in cities (Chamlee-Wright 1997). The main cities include Accra, the national capital; Tema, Kumasi, Cape Coast, and Temale. Accra is a typical primate city with a population of about 1.2 million. It is home to nearly all national government ministries, all the regional administrative offices of the Accra Metropolitan Area, and almost all international organizations and embassies in Ghana.

## History and Politics

The ancestors of the people of Ghana are believed to have migrated from Mauritania and Mali in the thirteenth century. The work of James Anquandah (1982) suggests that by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the ethnic groups of contemporary Ghana had settled in their present location. Portuguese traders were the first Europeans to come to Ghana in the early 1470s; they named the area the Gold Coast because it was rich in minerals, particularly gold. The Portuguese established the first European fort at

Elmina in 1482 to assert control over the gold, ivory, and timber trade. The British arrived in 1553, followed by the Dutch in 1595, the Swedes and Danes in 1640, and the Germans in 1683. These imperial powers competed for control of the Gold Coast, until it became a British colony in the 1874. The British colonial administration ended on March 6, 1957, when the Gold Coast became the first Black African nation to gain independence under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and changed its name to Ghana. The nation became a republic in 1960.

Several development analysts, including David Apter (1972), Mohammed Huq (1989), and Kwadwo Konadu-Agyemang have noted that in the immediate years following Ghana's independence, her economy was among the richest in Africa, with a relatively high annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of about 6%; a substantial foreign exchange reserve; a well-educated and skilled workforce; and a strong civil service. Also, Ghana was the world's leading producer and exporter of cocoa and exported some 10% of the world's gold by the early 1960s. Nkrumah's socialist government instituted a policy of free education and health care, initiated mass industrialization and electrification, and established several state corporations to compete with private and foreign enterprises. By 1964, Nkrumah had resorted to autocratic rule and moved Ghana into a one-party state, by consolidating power in his Convention People's Party (CPP). Human right abuses by the government, economic mismanagement, corruption, and the consequent economic decline led to massive anti-government demonstrations across the country and, ultimately, Nkrumah's overthrow in 1966.

Unfortunately, the fall of Nkrumah did little to improve the well-being of Ghanaians, as political instability and economic mismanagement continued unabated. By 2000, Ghana's postcolonial political pendulum had swung intermittently between four military dictatorships and four democratic governments. The National Liberation Council (NLC), which overthrew Nkrumah, was replaced by the democratic government of K. A. Busia and his Progress Party in 1969, only to be toppled by the National Redemption Council (NRC) in 1972. Jerry Rawlings and his Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), in turn, overthrew the NRC in 1979. In 1979, Rawlings handed over power to the democratic government of Hilla Limann, only to come back with his Provincial National Defence Council (PNDC) in yet another coup in 1981. Rawlings ruled Ghana as an elected civilian president from 1992 until 1999, when his National Democratic Congress (NDC) party was defeated in a general election by the current New Patriotic Party (NPP) headed by J.A. Kuffour.

## Development Experience

Ghana's economy is dominated by agriculture, mining, and forestry. The leading exports are cocoa, timber, gold, bauxite, and diamonds. In the 1960s and 1970s, Ghana produced nearly a third of the world's cocoa, but in recent decades, cocoa output has declined as a result of factors such as increased drought and forest fire, lower producer prices, and increased smuggling to neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire. Since the early 1990s, gold has surpassed cocoa in export earnings, and diamond output also has increased significantly. Ghana currently produces about 10% of the world's gold and a substantial amount of diamond, bauxite, and hardwood. Ghana has ample supply of arable land and a favourable climate for farming and human settlement. The nation's education, health, transportation, and communication facilities are also among the best in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nonetheless, "by the time Ghana could celebrate the silver jubilee of its independence, the most promising economy in Sub-Saharan Africa had atrophied, with all the conventional socioeconomic indicators of well-being pointing down" (Dzorgbo 2001). Whereas exogenous factors, such as the OPEC crisis of the 1970s, rising interest rates on foreign loans, and unfavorable terms of trade contributed to Ghana's decline, the main explanatory factors are internal: bad governance characterized by corruption, political arbitrariness, and the lack of development vision.

During the early 1980s, Rawlings and his PNDC government plunged Ghana into political extremism. With the support of radical students, the PNDC engaged in what Dzorgbro (2001) calls "Robin Hood" politics, involving extortion, detention, confiscation of property, abduction, and sometimes murder of the "enemies" of the revolution—that is, the rich. The violence-soaked socialist revolution pushed Ghana into a virtual economic coma. By 1982, it was clear that the revolution only exacerbated the nation's economic woes, because chronic food shortages, mass poverty, and astronomical inflation were prevalent.

The situation worsened in 1982–1983 with Ghana's worst drought of the twentieth century, resulting in high incidences of bush fire and hunger. Worse still, in 1983, more than 1 million Ghanaians were repatriated from Nigeria, putting additional pressure on the nation's economy. Things got so bad that Rawlings and his socialist revolutionaries were compelled to turn to capitalist nations including the United States and the United Kingdom for food and medical aid. In 1983, with pressure from the IMF and the World Bank, the Rawlings' government adopted a

Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), locally dubbed the Economic Recovery Program (ERP). As with IMF/World Bank packages elsewhere, Ghana's SAP entailed trade liberalization; public-sector retrenchment; removal of subsidies on food, petrol, and social services, including health and education, increased taxes, privatization, adoption of flexible foreign exchange regime, and devaluation of the nation's currency—the *cedi*.

Ghana's SAP received mixed reviews in the available literature. The IMF and World Bank touted Ghana's SAP as a success because of Ghana's improved economic growth rates; resuscitated cocoa, mining, and forestry industries; and restored confidence of international financial institutions in the nation's economy. Official reports suggest that Ghana registered an average GDP growth rate of about 5% annually under the program. However, some observers, notably UNICEF (1986) and Konadu-Agyemang (2001), have criticized Ghana's SAP for increasing the nation's dependence on foreign aid and imposing significant economic hardships on vulnerable groups such as women, children, and the poor through higher taxation, public sector retrenchment, and the removal of subsidies. Critics also contend that Ghana's SAP was geared toward growth, as measured by quantitative yardsticks such as income per capita and GDP, rather than development which generally entails a qualitative improvement in human welfare.

In response to these criticisms, the government embarked on its Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) in 1987, to reduce mass poverty by providing training, work, and income through community development projects for targeted groups such as retrenched workers, women, and poor households. Several community development projects (e.g., construction of roads, schools, and health centres) were undertaken under PAMSCAD. However, critics contend that the PAMSCAD did little to alleviate the economic hardships faced by the truly disadvantaged, notably women. It is argued that most of the resources, credit, and construction projects initiated under the PAMSCAD favoured men over women. Brydon and Legge (1996) note that the section of the PAMSCAD designed to enhance the opportunity for women in development (PAMSCAD WID) "was the last to get off the ground." Furthermore, most of the income-generating activities funded for women only reinforced women's traditional roles of cooking, child care, and petty trading, rather than empowering them in new and more lucrative sectors of the economy.

Since 1992, Ghana has become politically stable, enjoying its longest spell of democratic government

with no military intervention. The nation has embarked on several poverty-reduction programs under its Vision 2020 program, which seeks to alleviate poverty by 2020. Nonetheless, mass poverty, unemployment, corruption, and bureaucratic inefficiencies persist. If true development entails the mobilization of human and natural resources to achieve better living standards for all (Dzorgbo 2001), then what Ghana really needs is a clearly defined, culturally informed development goal as well as good governance, couched in efficiency, transparency, public safety, and a respect for property rights, the rule of law, and environmental sustainability.

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**See also** Nkrumah, Kwame; **Structural Adjustment Program**

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### GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA

The twin notions of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, associated most of all with the name of Mikhail Gorbachev, mark a crucial episode in the late twentieth century: the attempt at serious reform of the political, economic, and social system called the Soviet Union, with far-reaching effects both in the USSR and beyond. This episode started in 1986 and lasted until August 1991, when a half-hearted reactionary coup put an end to Gorbachev's power and yielded, with winner Boris Yeltsin, a situation of which the crushing of the power of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the dismantling of the Soviet empire were inevitable consequences.

As notions, *glasnost* and *perestroika* are not Gorbachev's inventions. *Perestroika* means rebuilding or reconstruction; *glasnost* means publicity or "being open to the public." While *perestroika* is really an ordinary word, *glasnost* has always had political connotations, and the call for more *glasnost* in Russia dates back to Vladimir Lenin and Alexander Herzen (Laqueur 1989). Gorbachev launched *perestroika* and *glasnost* in 1987, and he became immensely popular in the West when he gave up the very idea of the Soviet block: the arms race slowed down abruptly, Velvet and other "soft" revolutions took place, and Germany was reunified after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The call for independence grew louder in most Soviet republics, especially in the Baltic states, and one after another split off in years to come. Countries west of Russia quickly left the idea of state socialism, reformed or not: instead of *perestroika*, they opted—with the exception of Belarus—for liberal democracy, free market, and closer ties to Western Europe.

At home, Gorbachev was increasingly perceived as the person who "sold out" Soviet Russia to the West. *Glasnost* was a success, and a pluralistic free press was quickly established. But it proved a lot easier to point out what was wrong with a politically, economically, and socially bankrupt system than to lead the way to a better one. Reforms were started—for example, the acceptance of small private business, a relaxation of censorship, the introduction of real elections, rehabilitation of many figures from the Russian and Soviet past, increased academic freedom, and allowance for Russian citizens to travel abroad. But it is easier to lift

restrictions than it is to implement new policies such as the introduction of a “socialist market economy,” the establishment of rule of law, or the top-down creation of a “civil society.” As a popular Russian joke explained: “It is easy to turn an aquarium into a bowl of fish soup, but much more difficult to make an aquarium out of fish soup.”

Support for the new policy came from various sides. Within the party, there was widespread recognition of the fact that the Soviet system had to reform itself if it wanted to survive, and the *nomenklatura* feared for its own position. From within the economic establishment, so-called technocrats who knew that the system was highly inefficient supported Gorbachev’s policy of putting an end to fake statistics, “overfulfilling” of plans, corruption, and financial irresponsibility. From the side of the liberal-minded intelligentsia, there was a strong call for *glasnost*, academic freedom, and civil rights, many still cherishing the 1968 Dubček dream of a “socialism with a human face” (Scherrer 1996). Among the population at large, there was support from the victims of repression, in particular from relatives of people who had died in the Gulag. Finally, a strong impulse came from youth culture, which was interested in freedom rather than politics (Troitsky 1987).

Gorbachev’s major slogan was an essentially weak variant of the TINA argument: “There Is No Alternative” (Afanas’ev 1988). While it was obvious to everybody that things had to change, a clear idea of what had to be was absent, and lack of alternative is never a lasting motivation. Once academia and public opinion had been liberated, an intensive search for alternatives began (Chernyshev 1995), which stimulated a “renaissance” of Russian national consciousness and the search for a new “national idea.” Commentators have concluded, with the advantage of hindsight, that Gorbachev was too hesitant and inconsistent in his policies, and that he might have been more successful had he abolished, or at least left the Party at an early stage, and organized himself a populist platform—as Boris Yeltsin did with instant success in 1991.

Soviet-style communism was a twentieth century social experiment that failed (Furet 1995; Walicki 1995). This experiment included the attempt to create a New Man, the *Homo sovieticus* (Kharkhordin 1999). One of the burning questions for post-Soviet Russia still is whether *Homo post-sovieticus* is capable of forming the human material for a new, prosperous, and democratic Russia. The Russian word for experiment is *opyt*, which also means experience, and one thing is clear: all thinking about alternatives will have to take into account the Soviet *opyt*.

Ultimately, *perestroika* has lost its meaning because there no longer is a “system” that needs reform

in order to survive, but *glasnost* has not lost its political relevance.

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See also Gorbachev, Mikhail

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## GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

In 1988, climatologist James Hansen of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration’s Goddard Institute of Space Studies warned, in testimony before the US Senate, that human activities were altering the world’s climate. The statement ignited a scientific and policymaking controversy—not everyone agreed that humans were changing the climate, and even if humans were changing the climate, not everyone agreed that the change was such a bad thing.

What Hansen told the Senate was that combustion of fossil fuels, by increasing the concentration of the gas carbon dioxide in the Earth’s atmosphere, was creating a “greenhouse effect.” Greenhouses allow farmers and gardeners to grow plants through the cold months of the year by allowing sunlight to shine through the walls and ceiling to warm the contents, but then trapping the heat inside so that it cannot be lost to the outside environment.

The same thing happens in the greenhouse effect, except the effect is global—carbon dioxide and other “greenhouse” gases replace glass and plastic in trapping heat radiation that would otherwise be lost to space, thus raising the temperature of the Earth’s surface.

The science behind Hansen’s testimony was not new. Svante Arrhenius, a Swedish scientist who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1903, began a side project in the 1890s investigating the cause of the ice ages, prolonged periods of below normal temperatures and extensive glaciation lasting

thousands—even millions—of years. In 1895, Arrhenius presented a paper at a meeting of the Stockholm Physical Society entitled “On the Influence of Carbonic Acid in the Air upon the Temperature of the Ground,” which explained how changes in atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations affected the heat balance of the Earth.

### Change in the Wind

Arrhenius’s work focused on carbon dioxide, a major by-product of combustion of fossil fuels. But the suite of greenhouse gases includes naturally occurring compounds such as water vapor, methane (a major component of natural gas), nitrous oxide (also known as laughing gas), and ozone; and man-made compounds such as chlorofluorocarbons, fluorocarbons, and sulfur hexafluoride.

While the ozone layer at the top of the atmosphere is destroyed by chlorofluorocarbons, the fact is that human activities have increased the concentrations of carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, and, of course, the man-made greenhouse gases. The concentrations of some of the naturally occurring greenhouse gases, such as water vapor and methane, may increase as the climate warms, for example, increasing the water holding capacity of the atmosphere or increasing release of methane from “cold” storage in wetland or marine sediments.

### Climate Changes

Based on fundamental physics, it is natural to predict that an increase in the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere would lead to warming at the Earth’s surface. And if the concentration of greenhouse gases was the only factor that changed, the prediction would likely be accurate.

But the Earth-ocean-atmosphere system is much more complicated. Many things affect global temperatures. Albedo (reflectivity) of the Earth’s surface can affect the amount of solar radiation absorbed or reflected—the more that is absorbed, the warmer the Earth’s surface, whereas the more that is reflected, the cooler. Warmer temperatures can lead to increased precipitation—more snow, particularly in the Arctic and Subarctic regions, may paradoxically increase albedo and lead to lower global temperatures overall!

Particulate matter in the atmosphere can reflect solar radiation away from the Earth’s surface, thus making the surface cooler. Volcanic eruptions, by spewing ash, dust, and small particulates into high

levels of the atmosphere, can cool the Earth’s climate. Mt. Pinatubo in the Philippines erupted in 1991 and cooled global temperatures by as much as 0.5°C (about 0.9°F). The 1815 eruption of Tambora, on the island of Sumbawa in what is now Indonesia, was one of the largest volcanic explosions in history, blasting fifty cubic kilometers (about eleven cubic miles) of material as high as forty-three kilometers (twenty-six miles) above the Earth’s surface. The average drop in global temperatures was 1°C (1.8°F). Changes in volcanic activity can thus affect global climate.

Higher concentrations of carbon dioxide can lead to greater plant growth, which in turn would slow the increase of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Likewise, the oceans can, and probably have, absorbed a lot of the excess carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. But warmer temperatures may lead to more fires, which would release more carbon dioxide into the atmosphere and possibly produce more surface warming.

If warmer global temperatures trigger massive melting of glaciers and the Arctic and Antarctic ice-caps, sea levels will rise. This would be disastrous for island nations and other regions that are barely above sea level now. Bangladesh, a densely populated, low-lying country that borders the Indian Ocean, is one of the most vulnerable to sea level rise. The average elevation of the nation is three meters (about ten feet) above sea level. Tropical cyclones (otherwise known as hurricanes or typhoons) periodically batter the country, and storm surges—walls of water pushed forward by storm winds—can inundate large swaths of the Ganges River Delta, where much of the country lies. In 1970, at least three hundred thousand people died when a twelve-meter (forty-foot) surge swept the country.

Major climate changes can occur relatively suddenly. Temperature changes as much as 10°C (about 18°F) may occur in as little as a couple of decades. Such abrupt changes would give human societies and plant and animal populations no warning and little time to respond, possibly triggering societal collapses and mass extinctions.

While the concern is over the deleterious effects of climate change, some regions may benefit. Growing seasons may lengthen in the middle and high latitudes, and some arid areas may receive more rainfall, thus increasing food production. Minimum daily temperatures are rising, which may reduce heating costs for human societies living in areas of strongly developed cold seasons.

But these beneficial effects are not without cost. Ecological systems adapted to cold conditions, such

as high-elevation forests and tundra communities, may disappear completely as they are replaced by species adapted to warmer conditions. Formerly arid areas that experience an increase in rainfall may be subjected to increased flooding and soil erosion. Warmer temperatures and longer growing seasons may affect fire frequency, which would lead to increased destruction of forests and grasslands. Also, longer growing seasons may increase the pressure to convert natural systems to agriculture, thus causing a net loss of available habitat for native plants and animals and driving some species to extinction.

## Past Extremes

The Earth has been through worse climate extremes in its history. For example, between about 550 million and 800 million years ago, the Earth experienced several prolonged cold snaps—so cold that land-based glaciers reached to within ten degrees latitude of the equator. During these “Snowball Earth” episodes, much of the ocean surface froze, although there is debate over whether the oceans were completely covered in ice or whether the oceans were more of a “slushball” than a “snowball.” During another significant glaciation that occurred about 450 million years ago, the Earth may have had atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations ten times higher than those today.

The Earth has had its share of warm spells, too. One of the warmest periods in Earth’s history was between 50 million and 55 million years ago, when there was little or no ice at the Earth’s poles, and tropical conditions extended to midlatitude regions.

## Prognostication and Observation

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in 1988 to coordinate international efforts to assess the likelihood and effects of climate change. The IPCC has issued several reports—the IPCC Third Assessment Report, the most recent at the time of publication of this encyclopedia, was released in 2001.

The IPCC, in its *Third Assessment Report*, concluded that the decade of the 1990s was the warmest since instrumental records began being systematically kept in the 1860s. The panel also concluded that human activity is responsible for most of the warming

that has been observed in the second half of the twentieth century.

The *Third Assessment Report* predicts that global temperatures will rise between 1.4° and 5.8°C (2.5–10°F) over the 1990 average by the year 2100. Sea levels are predicted to rise between 0.09 to 0.88 meters (0.3 to 2.9 feet) over 1990 levels by 2100.

Warming and sea level rises already have been observed the last few decades. But other changes in the Earth’s climate have been recorded. The extent of Arctic sea ice has decreased, and the ice cap has melted at the North Pole in the summer. Glaciers are receding worldwide, with mountain glaciers in the tropics and midlatitudes most seriously affected. Precipitation patterns have changed, with increases in some regions and decreases in others.

Changes have been observed in some cyclical climate phenomena. For example, El Niño episodes—in which a buildup of warm surface waters off the west coast of South America disrupts climate in the tropics, subtropics, and midlatitudes—appear to have grown more frequent and more intense since the 1970s.

## Regional Outlooks

Developing nations, already stressed to meet the needs of growing populations, will be hard-pressed to cope with the changing climate. All have limited resources and technological capability that will limit their ability to respond. What follows are predictions given in the IPCC *Third Assessment Report* for Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Polar Regions, and small island states.

- **Africa.** Africa will be especially vulnerable to climate change. Food production will decrease, and infectious disease outbreaks will increase. Many native plant and animal species will be pushed over the brink of extinction. Recurring droughts will be even more of a problem than they are today. Deserts will likely increase in extent in the subtropical portions of the continent. In the tropical, particularly the equatorial portion, larger and more frequent floods will result as rainfall patterns change. Also, along the coasts, higher sea levels and more intense storms will place coastal areas at greater risk.
- **Asia.** Developing nations in Asia have to face some of the same challenges faced by Africa in coping with climate change. Temperate and tropical regions have and will continue to be beset by more extreme climate events, ranging



from fires and droughts to floods and tropical storms. Low-lying countries, such as Bangladesh, will be hit hard by rising sea levels and resulting increase in the height of storm surges. The Asian monsoon will strengthen, increasing rainfall and flooding along the rivers draining into the Indian and Pacific Oceans. In addition, northern portions of Asia will warm, disrupting the boreal forest and tundra regions as well as the populations that depend on the resources of the far north.

- **Latin America.** Mexico and the Caribbean, and Central and South American states have rapidly growing populations but limited resources to fuel the growth needed to keep up with the increase. Many localities depend on Sierran and Andean mountain glaciers to supply their water, but with the observed retreat and loss of alpine glaciers, the dependability of the once-reliable source is questionable. Agriculture will suffer, as well as the diversity of the regions rich plant and animal communities. Extreme events, such as floods, droughts, and storms, will become even more extreme. Coastal and island states will be even more vulnerable to tropical storms than in the past.
- **Polar Regions.** Polar regions are just as likely to affect the global climate as be affected by it. Warming is shrinking the extent of glaciers as well as the thickness of sea-ice. Permafrost, a layer of ice in the soil that normally never melts, will do just that—melt. Polar and subpolar ecosystems will be disrupted as species migrate north with rising atmospheric temperatures. On the other hand, higher temperatures will force methane—a more powerful greenhouse gas than carbon dioxide—out of cold storage in wetland and marine sediments and into the atmosphere. This would trigger even more atmospheric warming. As glaciers and sea-ice melt, more fresh water will flow into the ocean. This influx of fresh water may disrupt ocean currents that moderate the climate, much as the Gulf Stream moderates the climate of eastern North America and western Europe, thus triggering abrupt climate changes.
- **Small Island States.** Most small island states lay in the tropical and subtropical Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, and the Caribbean Sea. They have limited land surface—migration off the islands will be almost impossible for most plants and animals. People may be able to move, but in that case, many of the island populations affected will be forced off homelands their ancestors have occupied for centuries.

Rising sea levels and increasing storm frequency and intensity are a major problem for these nations. Water supplies may be disrupted, and vital ecological systems may be damaged. For example, coral bleaching—in which the animals that build up the coral reefs die—is largely caused by warm ocean temperatures. Fish stocks may decline, endangering the food supplies of these nations, many of which have few options for food and agricultural development.

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**See also Deforestation; Desertification; Disaster Relief; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Erosion, Land; Global Climate Change; Infectious Diseases; Irrigation; Natural Disasters; Rain Forest, Destruction of; United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP); United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); Urbanization: Impact on Environment; Water Resources and Distribution; Wildlife Preservation; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## GLOBALIZATION: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

From the early 1990s onward, globalization has become the central topic of debate in social science and in both developed and developing societies, due to the movement of money, goods, people, technology, and ideas across national borders at an accelerating pace. Globalization refers to the transformation of much of the world into a single-market economy where national borders are decreasingly serving as a barriers to the free flow of goods, services, information, and money. Globalization also refers to the relationships between nations and societies and the influences that developments in one society have on others. The driving idea behind globalization is free-market capitalism, meaning that the more market forces rule and the more open the economy to free trade and competition, the more efficient and flourishing the economy will be. Globalization means the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world. It also has its own set of economic rules—rules that revolve around opening, deregulating, and privatizing your economy. The privatization of state-owned enterprises, the liberalization and deregulation of markets—especially for services—and the removal of a bevy of structural distortions, have all worked to stimulate cross-border corporate integration, both within transnational corporations and between independent firms or group of firms.

Globalization is more than the internationalization of commerce and manufacturing; it represents a new development paradigm that creates new links among corporations, international organizations, governments, communities, and families. As markets have spread, tying populations together, environmental, military, social, and political interdependence have increased proportionately. The forces of globalization—the relentless expansion of market forces and the constant search for greater economic efficiencies—influence everything from indigenous cultures to environmental and labor standards to patterns of productivity. Although globalization has been taking place for decades, if not centuries, the incorporation of the world into a single capitalist economic system began after the World War II. After the war, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was created by the international community, along

with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and other international organizations.

Liberals had long believed that unhampered trade would result not only in maximum economic welfare for the participant states but also in more peaceful relations among states. Each state would benefit from such trade and have a vested interest in its continuance, uninterrupted by war. Based on the principles of multilateral cooperation, GATT had a mandate to roll back tariffs from their pre-war peaks and to gradually reduce them in the future. GATT was extremely successful in 1947 during the first Geneva Round in reducing tariffs by 35%. Successive rounds in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, and the recent Uruguay Round have virtually eliminated tariffs on manufactured goods. In 1994, 117 nations agreed to the following: (1) reduce tariffs 38% for developed countries; (2) eliminate certain nontariff barriers and subsidies; (3) broaden GATT principles to areas such as trade in services, investment, and intellectual property rights; and (4) apply more effective disciplines to agricultural trade. Negotiators established long-term rules and reduced national policies that distorted and hindered access to the market. Nevertheless, agricultural subsidies remain obstacles to free trade; farmers in each of the developed countries wield too much political power to allow anything but minimal face-saving formulas to be reached.

By cutting tariffs substantially in successive rounds of negotiations, GATT could claim much of the credit for the postwar growth of the world trade and production. Its framework is based on the principle of reciprocity—that one state's lowering of trade barriers to another should be matched in return—and of nondiscrimination. The latter principle is embodied in the "most-favored nation" (MFN) concept, which says that trade restrictions imposed by a GATT member must be applied equally to all GATT members. That is, every member is entitled to the same treatment that a state gives its most-favored trading partner. If Australia applies a 20% tariff on auto parts imported from France, it is not supposed to apply a 40% tariff on auto parts from the United States. In this way, GATT does not remove barriers to trade altogether but equalizes them in global framework in order to create a level playing field for all member states. States are not prevented from protecting their own industries by a variety of means but cannot play favorites among their trading partners.

An exception to the MFN system is the Generalized System of Preference (GSP) through which industrialized states began in the 1970s to give trade concessions to third world states to help the latter's economic development. These preferences

amount to a promise by wealthy states to allow imports from less developed ones under even lower tariffs than those imposed under MFN.

In 1995, GATT members began to operate at a higher level of institutionalization, becoming the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO has enlarged its membership, and 135 countries that have agreed to adhere to its free-trade rules are spread across the globe.

Regional free-trade areas are also very important in the structure of world trade. In such areas, groups of neighboring states agree to clear away the entire structure of trade barriers within their area. The most important free-trade area is in Europe; it is connected with the European Union but with a somewhat larger membership. Europe contains a number of small industrialized states living close together, so the creation of a single integrated market allows states to gain economic advantages that come inherently to a large state such as the United States. In October 1992, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. NAFTA, which went into effect on January 1, 1994, created a free-trade area of some 370 million consumers by linking the United States to its largest (Canada) and third-largest (Mexico) trading partners.

During the Cold War, the Soviet bloc maintained its own trading bloc, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), also known as COMECON. After the Soviet Union collapsed, the members scrambled to join up with the world economy, from which they had been largely cut off.

## The Globalization of the Trade and Finance

Globalization has developed dramatically since the Cold War. It now encompasses economic interaction, ideas and information technology, culture, and even labor force. Distance ceases to be a decisive factor in the overall competition for market share. The worldwide movement of production, capital, and information has become easier and more widely used. Globalization can be seen most clearly in the quickening pace and scope of international commerce. Global exports as a share of global domestic product have increased from 14% in 1970 to 24% today, and the growth of trade has consistently outpaced growth in global output. In the United States, the ratio of two-way trade and investment income flows as a share of gross domestic product has roughly tripled since the 1960s. Annual global flows of

foreign direct investment surged to a record \$827 billion in 1999, with 25% directed to less developed countries (LDCs), up from 17% in 1990. Indeed, by 2005, international trade is expected to account for 40% of national output in industrial countries and more than 50% in developing countries. International financial flows, only \$20 billion per day fifteen years ago, are now more than \$1.5 trillion per day, or \$548 trillion a year; by 2015, they may reach \$30 trillion per day. About two-thirds of this moves through the banking centers in just four countries: Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. To accommodate the globalization of money, there has been a parallel globalization of banking and other financial services. In a relatively short period of time, banks have grown from hometown to national to multinational enterprises. One result of increased international trade and both financial and monetary interchange is that the subjects of national economic health and international economics have become increasingly enmeshed. Domestic economics, employment, inflation, and overall growth are heavily dependent on foreign markets, imports of resources, currency exchange rates, capital flows, and other international economic factors. The rise in trade is both a cause and a result of this increased international economic interdependence. The health of the United States economy depends increasingly on the prosperity of its trading partners and on the smooth flow of trade and finance across borders. For better or worse the trend toward global economic integration has gained enormous momentum.

The expansion of international trade and foreign investment has not been the result of some grand design imposed on the global economy. It has resulted from two developments of the 1980s: the collapse of global communism and the demise of the Third World's romance with import substitution. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the final disintegration of the Soviet empire two years later released 400 million people from the grip of centrally commanded and essentially closed economic systems. Meanwhile, the debt crisis of 1982 and the resulting "Lost Decade" of the 1980s imposed a painful hangover on many Third World nations that had tried and failed to reach prosperity by shunning foreign capital and by protecting and subsidizing domestic "infant" industries. Beginning with Chile in mid-1970s and China later that decade, LDC from Mexico and Argentina to India more recently have been opening their markets and welcoming foreign investment. The globalization of the last decade has not been the result of a blind faith in markets imposed from above, but of the utter exhaustion of any alternative vision.

## Global Communication

In addition to trade, globalization is also widely associated with the technological revolution in transport, communications and data processing. These developments have changed what is produced and how it is produced. In this light many observers have characterized the global economy as an informational, knowledge-based, postindustrial or service economy. The Internet is the most prominent and visible of networking technologies. It is credited with holding extravagant promise for the entire globe. An increasing body of research, as well as firsthand observations, suggest that the Internet has the capacity to change nearly every aspect of social, political, and economic life. In the business world, it is an enabling technology that makes possible new products and services and new ways of organizing markets, connecting with customers, managing relations with suppliers, structuring the corporation, and designing business processes.

The World Wide Web is a borderless world with access available to anyone, from anywhere, at any time. If one has Internet access, one suffers no limitation because of distance or location. The Internet was developed in the late 1960s at the initiative of the US Department of Defense. Its intent was to enable scientists and engineers working on military contracts to share computers, resources, and ideas. The popularity of the Internet spread slowly through the academic world, which by the mid-1980s was its principal user. In 1994, commercial companies surpassed universities as the leading users of the Internet. Today, the sharply plummeting price of personal computers has fueled the growth of Internet popularity. The boundary of the consumer's market space is the World Wide Web. Furthermore, for businesses, the value chain can be managed from anywhere in the world with the rich and deep exchange of information available with digital networks. Cellular phones are becoming available worldwide, enabling many in the world who have never before made a phone call to communicate instantly with others. The "wireless world" of cellular phones which uses radio waves rather than installed lines is growing by almost 50% yearly, allowing communication between rural areas in developing countries with wired developed countries where connected telephone lines are already abundant. According to the *The Economist*, "the death of distance as a determinant of the cost of communications will probably be the single most important economic force shaping society in the first half of the twenty-first century" (*The Economist* September 1995).

Communication technology set this era of globalization apart from any other. Communication technology has drastically transformed the way people communicate with each other.

## Globalization and Democracy

Such revolutionary changes in communication have invariably had profound effects on the quality and vitality of democracy. There is evidence that globalization can enhance democracy in the United States and abroad. For example, the globe-spanning Internet allows people everywhere to gain access to information that makes them more informed and gives them the tools to form alliances with people around the world who share similar interests and concerns, such as environmental protection and human rights. With imperfect control over the information that crosses their national borders, moreover, nondemocratic regimes become less stable as their people gain access to ideas about self-governance and individual rights. This assisted in toppling regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and has threatened the Communist regime in China. Also, many nations that have successfully joined the burgeoning global market economy, including South Korea and Taiwan, have recently become more democratic. Scholars believe this comes about because of the fact that people in economically successful nations tend to become much more demanding of their governments, eventually insisting on better service and more citizen participation in decision making. Furthermore, by raising the general standard of living, free trade allows people to achieve higher levels of education and to gain access to alternative sources of information. It helps to create a larger and more independent minded middle class that can form the backbone of more representative forms of government. The wealth created from expanded trade can help to nurture and sustain civil institutions that can offer ideas and influence outside government. Involvement in the global economy exposes citizens to new arrangements.

In his book *Business as a Calling*, Michael Novak explains the linkage with what he calls the "wedge theory," wherein capitalism brings the ideals of free societies to repressive regimes, "wedg[ing] a democratic camel's nose under the authoritarian tent" (Novak 1996).

Globalization also poses some threats to democracy. Globalization has the potential to undermine the degree of political equality in society as it

alters the relative power of individuals, groups, and organizations. In a highly competitive, globalized economy, for instance, labor unions tend to lose political influence while large business enterprises gain it. Low-skilled manual workers, with little to offer global enterprises—such as the inner-city poor—suffer declining incomes and lose their ability to sway government officials. Also, economic globalization can undermine popular sovereignty to the extent that it decreases the ability of government to make and enforce policies that control the destinies of their jurisdictions or protect the well-being of their citizens. More broadly, many analysts have linked the growth of global relations to diminishing nation-state, the decline of the nation-state and retreat of state. Such assertions have triggered a host of rebuttals. For example, certain authors insist that globalization has done nothing to undermine sovereign statehood. According to this view, the increased flow of global communications may in some cases such as ecology—strengthen the state rather than undermine it.

### **Globalization and Its Impact on Developing Countries**

Does globalization benefit most people and most countries, or only a few? On that, the evidence is mixed. It is argued that for the poorer developing countries, most of which are far removed from the critical nodes of growth, the impact of globalization and alliance capitalism is likely to be marginal—except in so far as they may benefit from “trickle down” affect through some manners of subcontracting. The historical growth of trade, it is suggested, has not occurred evenly throughout the world. On the whole, the decreased importance of territorial geography has gone markedly further in North America, the Pacific Rim, and Western Europe than in Sub-Saharan Africa and Central Asia. Phenomena such as global companies and electronic mail have been primarily concentrated in the so-called North. Trade is overwhelmingly dominated by the countries of the Northern Hemisphere. These countries amass 67% of the merchandise exports and 76% of the exports in goods and services combined. The percentage of the world trade shared by LDCs is relatively small, especially in per capita figure. Only a small percentage of global commerce occurs among LDCs. The merchandise trade among LDCs in 1999 accounted for a scant 14% of the world total. Moreover, the handful of developed countries bought 54% of all LDC exports. The pattern of trade leaves the LDCs heavily dependent on the developed countries for export earning

and, thus, places them in a vulnerable position. Finally, it has been argued that developed countries predominantly export manufactured and processed products. LDCs export mostly primary products, such as food, fiber, fuels, and minerals. Developing countries also face the challenge of competing for what is called “foreign direct investment” (FDI) against the developed countries, which—possessing more advanced human and physical infrastructures—offer more attractive locations for international production. Indeed, the early signs of globalization brought forth warnings of a marginalization of developing countries. Analysts pointed to a concentration of investment in the triad of Europe, Japan, and the United States.

On the other hand, some analysts believe that LDCs have the most to gain from engaging in the global economy. First, they gain access to much larger markets, both for imports and exports. On the import side, consumers gain access to a dramatically larger range of goods and services, raising their real standard of living. Domestic producers gain access to a wider range and better quality of intermediate inputs at lower prices. On the export side, domestic industries can enjoy a quantum leap in economies of scale by serving global markets rather than a confined and underdeveloped domestic market only.

Second, LDCs that open themselves up to international trade and investment gain access to a much higher level of technology. This provides LDCs the most needed technology without bearing the cost of expensive, up-front research and development. Poor countries can import the technology off the shelf, much of it embodied in imported capital equipment—that is, machinery that raises the productive capacity of the country.

Third, engagement in the global economy provides capital to fuel future growth. Most LDCs are people rich and capital poor. In a few countries in Asia, the level of domestic savings has been high enough to finance domestic investment, but typically the domestic pool of savings in an LDC is inadequate. Global capital markets can fill the gap, allowing poor nations to accelerate their pace of growth.

Fourth, engagement in global economy encourages governments to follow more sensible economic policies. Sovereign nations remain free to follow whatever economic policies their government chooses, but globalization has raised the cost that must be paid for bad policies. With capital more mobile than ever, countries that insist on the following anti-market policies will find themselves being dealt out of the global competition for investment. As a consequence, nations have a greater incentive to choose policies that encourage foreign investment, and domestic, market-led growth.

Fifth, engagement in the global economy encourages governments to follow more sensible economic policies. Sovereign nations remain free to follow whatever economic policies their governments choose, but globalization has raised the cost that must be paid for bad policies (Griswold 2001).

History suggests that the probable winners are likely to be those developing countries which open their markets to trade and tend to be more prosperous than nations that are relatively closed. The wealthiest nations and regions of the world—Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore—are all trade-oriented. Their producers, with a few notable exceptions, must compete against other multinational producers in the global marketplace. In contrast, the poorest regions of the world—the Indian subcontinent and Sub-Saharan Africa, for example remain the least friendly to foreign trade. Meanwhile, those countries that have moved decisively toward openness—Chile, China, and Poland, among others—have reaped tangible in their standard of living.

In practice, when states have relied on a policy of autarky (to avoid trading altogether and instead try to produce everything one needs by oneself) they have eventually lagged behind others. China's experience illustrates the problems with autarky. China's economic isolation in the 1950s and 1960s resulted from an economic embargo imposed by the United States and its allies and was deepened during its own Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s when it broke ties with the Soviet Union. In that period, all things foreign were rejected. For instance, Chinese computer programmers were not allowed to use foreign software such as AssemblerLanguage and Fortran—standards in the rest of the world. Instead, they had to create their own software; China would not depend on foreigners for goods, services, or technology. As a result, the computer industry lagged far behind, reinventing the wheel, as the world's computer industry sped ahead. When China opened up to the world economy in the 1980s, the pattern was reversed. The rapid expansion of trade, along with market-oriented reforms in its domestic economy, resulted in rapid economic growth, which continued into the mid-1990s.

Globalization is making it easier to transfer capital and technology across borders, thereby giving lower-wage developing countries access to improved production techniques and so strengthening their economies. Likewise, it is not unreasonable to expect that as productivity rises in developing countries, so too will wages or the real exchange rate. As this happens, those countries become significant markets for goods from more developed countries.

In order for every country to benefit from global markets, wealthier economies must assist the developing world to ride the wave of globalization. If the benefits are to be reaped, then domestic policy settings of developing nations need to encourage and sustain the development of an efficient and competitive economy. Furthermore, the international community must work to develop rules that are trade enhancing, which clear away trade distortions and restrictions including those behind the national borders, and which are consistent with imperatives of sustainable development. Only by working together can the international community address these issues of common interest.

NASSER MOMAYEZI

**See also Agriculture: Impact of Globalization; Debt: Impact on Development; Energy: Impact on Development; Industrialization; Poverty: Impact on Development**

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## GOH CHOK TONG

Goh Chok Tong, Senior Minister of Singapore, was born on May 20, 1941, and graduated in 1964 from the University of Singapore with a bachelor's degree in Economics. He went on to pursue a master's degree in economics at Williams College in the United States. After returning to Singapore in 1967, he worked in the Ministry of Finance and served as an executive at several private transportation companies. His political career started in 1976 when he joined the People Action's Party and became a member of Parliament. From 1977 through 1985, Goh held various ministerial positions in the Singaporean government, and was appointed first deputy prime minister in 1985.

Due to Goh's less aggressive personality and weak communication skills in English, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew reluctantly chose Goh as his successor. However, Lee let his fellow cabinet members vote, and the unanimous vote was for Goh. On November 28, 1990, Goh was appointed as the prime minister of Singapore.

Although there was rumor that Goh was only the seat warmer for Lee Hsien Long (Lee Kuan Yew's son), Goh proved an effective leader in his own right. Under Goh's leadership, the Singapore economy recovered after the economic crisis and the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) outbreak. Goh's other achievements include a high economic growth rate, education and medical initiatives, free trade agreements, stable labor relations within Singapore, and peaceful relationships with neighboring countries. Goh became the senior minister of Singapore when Lee Hsien Long, on Goh's advice, was appointed prime minister on August 12, 2004. As senior minister, Goh remains active in Singapore's economic and political leadership.

HA THI THU HUONG

**See also Singapore; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development**

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## GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL

Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev was born in 1931 in a Stavropol village in the foothills of the northern Caucasus. His father, a tractor driver, was arrested during collectivization but survived. Gorbachev owed his relatively unencumbered rise to power to his early connection with the Stavropol Young Communist League and the support he received to study law at Moscow University. After graduating in 1956 and witnessing the onset of Khrushchev's destalinisation campaign at the Twentieth Party Congress that year, Gorbachev returned home and after eight years as a party secretary was promoted to membership of the Central Committee. Thanks to the patronage of Yuri Andropov he became a member of the Politburo in 1980. After Chernenko's death in 1985, Gorbachev was chosen as general secretary.

### *Perestroika and Glasnost*

In April 1986, the thermonuclear accident in Chernobyl—and the irresponsible way Gorbachev appeared to handle it—added to the public disdain first felt for the new Soviet leader. But his image began to change radically with his release from exile at the end of that year of Andrei Sakharov, father of the Soviet H-bomb and Russia's best-known dissident, who had been deported on Brezhnev's orders six years earlier.

A year later, Gorbachev published his book *Perestroika and New Thinking for Russia and the Entire World*. It announced that people were "tired of tension and confrontation"; they wanted a world in which "everyone would preserve their own . . . way of life." To lead his *perestroika* campaign, Gorbachev unleashed the ideologically sophisticated Alexander Yakovlev. This strategy required a return to the road taken by Khrushchev—the hero of Gorbachev's youth—in again discrediting Stalin. With Khrushchev, this attempt ended with his defeat and disgrace. In the spring of 1988, it seemed to the public that *perestroika* was about to fizzle out in the same way.

However, at the Party's Nineteenth Conference in the summer, Gorbachev proposed a presidential system for the Soviet Union, a new parliament, an increase in the power of local Soviets at the expense of the Communist Party, and the removal of the Party from state economic management.

This was followed at the end of the year by Gorbachev's visit to the United Nations in New York, where he announced the unilateral reduction of half a million military personnel within two years as well as the withdrawal of six tank divisions from Eastern Europe, and called for a new world order based on the United Nations and the renunciation of force.

### *Annus Mirabilis*

During the summer of 1989, a few weeks after elections in Poland resulted in an overwhelming victory by Solidarity candidates over the Communists, the proceedings of the Congress of People's Deputies were televised live throughout the USSR. Gorbachev was elected chairman, and he and its members exchanged uncensored views about the country's present and future. Gorbachev declared that the Warsaw Pact countries were free to choose their own road to socialism.

In September, Hungary opened its borders with the West. Thousands of East Germans emigrated to West Germany. In October, Gorbachev came to East Berlin, where he was cheered as he told the German crowds that "life punishes those who fall behind." Erich Honecker, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) leader, fell from power, and the Berlin Wall was dismantled. This led in turn to a "Velvet Revolution" in Prague and the resignation of its Communist government at the end of the year.

In Romania, the rioting in Timisoara evoked a more bloody response—the execution of President Ceausescu and his wife. Astutely, Gorbachev would use such excesses to persuade reluctant Communists in Moscow to support the constitutional amendment which ended the Party's monopoly of power. On October 3, the two Germanies united with the support of Gorbachev, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1990.

### **The Communist Coup**

The hard-line communists waited for their moment to strike back. It came the following year on August 18–21, while Gorbachev was on holiday with his family in

the Crimea. In March, he had organized a referendum that showed a majority in favor of a reformed and democratic Soviet Union. Gorbachev then began negotiations with republican leaders. In retaliation, the so-called "Gang of Eight" struck. Because they had widespread support within the cabinet, the secret police, and the military, it was widely assumed around the world and inside the Soviet Union that it would succeed.

At a hastily convened press conference the vice president of the USSR, Yanaev, announced that Gorbachev had suddenly been taken ill. It was therefore Yanaev's constitutional duty to take over. The plot began to unravel after the conspirators flew to the Crimea to get Gorbachev to resign. He refused despite threats. But the failure of the putsch was largely because of Yeltsin's leadership in Moscow where, as President of the Russian Federation, he also was in danger from the Gang of Eight. Yeltsin, standing theatrically on a tank next to the headquarters of the Russian republican government, summoned the capital's citizens to the defense of freedom.

When Gorbachev flew back to Moscow, he returned (as he memorably observed) to "a different country." Yeltsin was now powerful enough to compel Gorbachev to disband the Communist Party. Yeltsin then seized its republican assets and ousted the KGB from the Russian Federation. Two of the plot's leaders committed suicide, while the rest were placed under arrest.

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which the Soviet Union had annexed in 1939, declared their independence before the attempted putsch. Some dozen other republics making up the USSR were prepared, their leaders said, to negotiate the new union with Gorbachev. With the coup, this prospect vanished, and they followed Baltic states to independence.

### **Yeltsin's Plot and the End of the Soviet Union**

The Russian Republic's elected president, Yeltsin, had said all along that in principle he, too, was for the retention of a reformed Soviet Union. However, at the beginning of December, he met the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus, and on December 8 they declared that the USSR would be replaced by a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

On Christmas Day 1991, a sad and somber-looking Gorbachev addressed the citizens of the USSR on television for the last time. On this occasion, his resignation as President of the Soviet Union was authentic. On December 31, the USSR formally ceased to exist.



## The Gorbachev Revolution

Gorbachev failed to foresee the pent-up forces released by *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Additionally, he was unwilling to take the drastic measures needed to transform or abolish a systemically underperforming centralized planned economy. Nor did Gorbachev anticipate the re-emergence of nationalism and inter-ethnic strife that dictatorship had kept under control.

But he did contribute mightily towards the democratization of a society, which before he came to power, did not tolerate religion, did not enjoy a free press or freedom of assembly, the right to travel abroad, genuine multiparty elections, or the right to private property. It also is to Gorbachev's credit that, following his recall of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the USSR managed to avoid the kind of civil war that tore Yugoslavia apart. Indeed, Gorbachev was legally entitled to use force to crush Yeltsin's plot, but Gorbachev's reluctance to resort to violence marked the crucial distinction between him and earlier Soviet rulers. The change into a physically smaller but more civil and humane society—which is still going on—will be seen as the most significant outcome of what most Russian historians have now come to call the Gorbachev Revolution.

VALENTIN BOSS

See also *Glasnost and Perestroika; Russia; Soviet Bloc*

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## GREAT LEAP FORWARD

In 1958, the Chinese Communist Party launched the Great Leap Forward (GLF) campaign, which

reflected Maoist radical thinking in social engineering and utopian revolutionary values. Its primary motive was to catapult China ahead of the western nations in a remarkably short time—in 1958, it was claimed that China, through the GLF, would be able to surpass Great Britain in steel production within fifteen years, effectively making up a hundred years of economic development.

One of the most important concepts behind the GLF was the idea of a move away from the Soviet centralized bureaucracy model to a decentralized, Chinese-specific mode of economic development. It was believed that a “red over expert” approach should be adopted. Although party leaders appeared generally satisfied with the accomplishments of the First Five-Year Plan, they believed that more could be achieved in the Second Five-Year Plan (1958–1962) if the mass could be ideologically aroused and if domestic resources could be utilized more efficiently for simultaneous development of industry and agriculture. The GLF was aimed at accomplishing the economic and technical development of the country at a vastly faster pace with greater results for China's transition from socialism to communism. The slogan “More, Better, Faster,” appeared throughout China. Another slogan that emerged through the GLF was “Walk on Two Legs.” Mao believed that if the people's ideological awareness was increased, resulting revolutionary fervor could transform social institutions. On an ideological level, collectivization would prevent the re-emergence of wealth inequality.

The GLF centered on a new socioeconomic and political system created in 1958 in the countryside and in a few urban areas—the people's communes. Each commune was placed in control of all the means of production and was to operate as the sole accounting unit; it was subdivided into production brigades and production teams. Each commune was planned as a self-supporting community for agriculture, small-scale local industry, marketing, security, education, administration, common kitchens, and childcare units. The system was based on the assumption that it would release additional manpower for development.

Problems soon emerged with many aspects of the GLF. First, many of the labor-intensive industries that were set up by the communes proved to be unable to meet the most basic needs of the communes. Many of the backyard furnaces, which used to produce iron and steel from thousands of small units, ended as a colossal waste of materials and labour.

More fundamentally, communization of the countryside did not go as planned. Many cadres showed themselves to be overzealous in communizing the countryside, simply choosing to forcibly confiscate

the property of the peasant's right down to the cookware and small farm tools. Across the nation, peasants responded to this initiative by slaughtering their animals to avoid handing them over to the collectives. More important was the lack of material rewards offered by the commune system, which proved to be a serious disincentive to many peasants—negating the advantages offered by the economy of scale.

The GLF ended in famine as exaggerated grain levels and decreased Soviet aid took their toll. Water conservancy programs and infrastructure construction were undertaken in terrible conditions. Drought turned into famine in both the cities and the countryside and took the lives of between 15 million and 20 million people in the three years from 1959 to 1961.

The GLF was no longer bringing China to modernization but further away, this thought was echoed by the party meeting in Lushan in August 1959, where the official acknowledgment of the GLF failure occurred. Following the failure of the GLF, the CCP was forced to reorientate its economic planning to include a great emphasis on agricultural growth which, although slowing the rate of industrialization, was a more sustainable policy.

However, GLF was not without its positives. The mass mobilization of people on projects such as irrigation, terracing, and construction opened up previously infertile regions, bringing increased prosperity. It was during this period that total arable land in China reached its peak. During the GLF, hundreds of thousands of folk tales and songs were collected which might otherwise have remained inaccessible and lost to the culture.

CHI-KONG LAI

See also **China, People's Republic of; Chinese Communist Party; Mao Zedong**

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## GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

Greek Orthodox Church, originally Orthodox Catholic Church, usually (Eastern) Orthodox Church of Greece, Bulgaria, and so forth. Also, the state church

of Greece. Greek or Eastern Orthodoxy is one of the three institutionalized branches of Christianity. Its adherents live mostly in the Balkans, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and the Middle East. The Orthodox Church of America unites many but not all English-speaking communities of Orthodox Christians in the United States. Some churches technically differ from Eastern Orthodoxy but nevertheless adopted the name.

Eastern Orthodoxy asserts its spiritual continuity with the original apostolic faith of Christianity (by contrast to heretical heterodoxy).

Historically, it is an offshoot of the Greek-speaking Byzantine imperial church, hence the common Western term Greek Orthodox Church. The introduction of Eastern Orthodoxy virtually orientated people toward the Byzantine cultural sphere. Three centers of Eastern Orthodox culture were dominant: Byzantium, with surviving Ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, from the sixth until the late nineteenth century; slavic Bulgaria (the initial cultural mediator) from the late ninth until the fourteenth century; and Russia. The latter has been the most influential, especially after the inauguration of the imperial doctrine *Moscow: The Third Rome* and of the patriarchate of Moscow and all Russia in the sixteenth century.

Eastern Orthodoxy formally is viewed as monolithic, preserving Byzantine heritage in theology, liturgy, sacraments, hierarchy and canon law, all basic festal rites and lists of saints, vestments, and architecture. Local vernacular has always been liturgical language.

## Relations with Christian West

After centuries of disputes (e.g., the notorious ninth-century "Photius schisms"), Greek Orthodox Church finally broke communion with Rome in 1014, when the dual procession of the Holy Spirit from God the Father and God the Son (*filioque*) rather than from the Father alone was introduced into the Western Creed. Rome was officially anathematized in 1054 (*Great Schism*). Despite a number of bilateral attempts to restore ecclesiastical union (1274, 1369, and 1439), in 1755, the Greek Orthodox Church proclaimed all Western baptismal rites invalid. In 1965, patriarch Athenagoras I and Pope Paul VI nullified the excommunications (reconciliation was reaffirmed in 2004). However, Eastern Orthodoxy remains isolated from Rome, emphasizing its full unity and holding that the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches have seriously strayed from original Christianity. This issue strongly influences Greek Orthodox

Churches' external relations, including participation in the Ecumenical movement and reaction to the Pope's attempts to reunite all Christians. John Paul II visited two of traditionally Orthodox countries (Romania in 1999 and Bulgaria in 2002) for the first time in modern history on official governmental invitation and with a final consent of the local churches. In contrast to this, the all-Russian patriarch Alexis II in August 2004 emphasized once again that a Pope's visit to his country seemed meaningless.

### Origin, Evolution, and Teaching

The bipolar division of European Christendom has deep roots in the cultural, linguistic, and political history of the Western and Eastern Mediterranean world. Eastern Orthodoxy's specific history can be traced back mainly to the final split between Roman West and East (395), to the first Seven Ecumenical councils (325–787), Iconoclastic controversy (726–843), and to the period of the Byzantine cultural Commonwealth (after 1054–1204).

Despite forceful dogmatic and ecclesiological statements (e.g. condemnation of religious nationalism in 1872), Eastern Orthodoxy is a fellowship of national and/or territorial autocephalous churches. A patriarch, considered equal in rank to the Roman Pope and other patriarchs leads bigger (of Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, etc.) or original (of Jerusalem, Antioch, etc.) church bodies. A metropolitan/archbishop leads lesser (of Cyprus, etc.) or national (of Athens and all Greece, etc.) bodies. Both are aided by an episcopal synod. The Ecumenical patriarch nowadays enjoys solely a primacy of honor. No patriarch or metropolitan/archbishop can claim infallibility or interfere with another church's affairs, but jurisdiction of lesser bodies in Eastern Orthodoxy is oftentimes controversial (the short but intensive dispute between the Church of Greece and the Ecumenical Patriarchate on archbishop appointments in 2004). Salient trait was *caesaropapism*, the duality of power of patriarch and king. The latter often prevailed in all matters, being considered the "preserver of Orthodoxy" (the "Orthodoxy, monarchy, nation" thesis in Russia).

Greek Orthodoxy differs from Western Christianity by acceptance of white (married) and black (celibate) priesthood (bishops are always celibate or widowed clerics), denial of Roman papal primacy, Mary's Immaculate Conception, and purgatory. The emphasis is on Jesus' Resurrection rather than His Crucifixion. God the Father is the sovereign and the sole source of both the Word and the Spirit. Original sin is an inherited frailty due to Adam's transgression,

rather than human's state of guilt. Thus, all nature is graceful, and man's choice is to strive for intimate personal encounter of God. Liturgy is centered upon Jesus' birth, Ministry and Resurrection and is the core and criterion of all religious life. Veneration of icons is Eastern Orthodoxy's strongest distinctive feature. Dogmatically, icon is a pictorial expression of faith. Only those who have lived bodily life can be depicted (Jesus, Mary, Apostles, and saints above all), and solely the prototype is really adored. Images of God the Father, the Holy Spirit, and bodiless creatures are widespread but have been proclaimed unsupported theologically, as intended solely for the laity's edification.

Theological and liturgical consistency with the past (i.e., Scripture, Tradition, liturgy, and the canons of the first seven ecumenical councils) is the measure of all.

In ethics, little stress is put on social involvement. Ascetics are not organized in orders and rather flee from the world to acquire individual contemplative experience than to educate, proselytize. Mount Athos monasteries, in Greece, are considered the ideal spiritual center of all Orthodoxy.

Eastern Orthodoxy, icon veneration, vernacular liturgy, and local (Greek, Armenian, Cyrillic, Georgian) alphabet often are viewed as signs of ethnicity in all "traditionally Orthodox" countries, which originates in medieval identification of religious affiliation with ethnic origin. Thus, in 2001, 83.8% of ethnic Bulgarians, including agnostics, claimed to be "traditionally Orthodox."

### The Greek Orthodox Church Prior to and After the Fall of Communist Totalitarianism

The Church in Greece has always remained a national and state institution. The former Communist regimes in the "traditionally" Eastern Orthodox countries differed as to their acceptance of the church: from deprivation of legal rights, rude intervention in internal affairs, and harsh persecutions (Soviet Russia till ca. 1943) to a loose political control with almost no intervention in internal church affairs (Romania). Some Communist regimes extensively used local Orthodoxy for nationalistic propaganda, severely controlling all church activity and portraying it as an important, but a mere cultural heritage from the past (e.g., in Bulgaria, the Orthodox Church was acclaimed as the basic preserver of national identity in the times of Ottoman domination). In return, it avoided all confrontation with the Communist government.

Since the early 1990s, some churches have been split as to the flock's acceptance of the acting patriarch, retaining yet a complete unity in doctrine and liturgy (schism). He is either silently accepted by the flock's majority or extensively criticized by dissidents for the former Communist government's uncanonical intervention in his election and for his collaboration with the regime. The split however seems to have also a financial flavor (e.g., legal disputes over management of profitable candle-producing facilities). Political and social involvement of Greek Orthodox Churches increases and a similar trend is observable in the new democratic governments' support of Eastern Orthodoxy: in July 2004, some two hundred Bulgarian "alternative" synod's churches were stormed by police and reassigned to the "traditional" patriarch's synod. Thus, the wish for a "better state law of religious communities" in all Orthodox countries seems logical.

SERGUEY IVANOV

**See also Armenia; Belarus; Bulgaria; Christianity; Cultural Perceptions; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe; Ethnicity: Impact on Politics and Society; Georgia; Religion; Roman Catholic Church; Romania; Russia; Serbia; Totalitarianism; Ukraine; World Council of Churches**

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## GREEN REVOLUTION

The term "Green Revolution" refers to the incorporation of scientific approaches in plant breeding to produce high-yielding varieties (HYVs) of rice, maize (corn), and wheat that increase yields considerably over indigenous varieties. The Green Revolution began in the 1940s when American agronomists financed by the Rockefeller Foundation introduced short-stemmed, disease-resistant wheat and maize varieties in Mexico that effectively converted fertiliser and controlled water inputs into high yields. The Mexican programme inspired similarly successful rice, sorghum, maize, cassava, and beans research efforts in many developing countries. By the mid-1970s, the HYVs had replaced the indigenous varieties previously used by farmers in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The high-yielding hybrid rice grown in West Africa is an early maturing, drought- and disease-tolerant cross-breeding of Asian and African varieties that has increased yields by 150% over traditional varieties.

### Trends in Yields and Production

The impact of the Green Revolution is best demonstrated by changes in cereal production in developing countries, especially Mexico, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines, where dramatic increases in yields per hectare of wheat, rice, and maize have been recorded. The Green Revolution enabled Mexico to shift from being a wheat-importing country to an exporter within twenty years. In 1944, Mexico was importing half its wheat; by 1956, it was self-sufficient in wheat production; and by 1964, it was exporting half a million tons of wheat.

In China, Pakistan, and India, the HYVs increased the opportunity for double cropping by making it possible for farmers to plant rice in summer and wheat in winter where previously they were only able to do so once a year because of the short growing season. Consequently, in India, where the new HYVs take up over 75% of the wheat acreage, production increased from 12 million tons in 1966 to 47 million tons in 1986. After importing 10 million tons of wheat annually in the mid-1960s, by the mid-1980s, the country had a surplus of several million tons. By the

early 1980s, the Green Revolution had contributed to the achievement of food security in several developing countries mainly by inducing a long-term decline in the price of food grains thereby making it possible for consumers to afford more of the cheaper food.

However, after two decades of impressive harvests, many countries began reporting crop failures. For example, long-term experiments indicate that yields and total-factor productivity of irrigated rice and maize have declined over time. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, per capita food production declined by 14% during the same period. The general lack of success of the Green Revolution in Africa can be attributed to the continent's predominantly poor soils, erratic water resources, prevalence of pests and disease, and general environmental degradation.

Green Revolution critics, however, argue that it has created many socioeconomic and ecological problems in developing countries that have not been given adequate policy attention. Problems with the Green Revolution relate to specific practices and their adverse effects on the agroecosystem or other ecosystems.

### **Socioeconomic Impacts**

The Green Revolution has had mixed socioeconomic impacts. On the positive side, millions of farmers who have successfully grown the new wheat, rice, and maize varieties have greatly increased their income. The Green Revolution has stimulated the growth of agroindustry by increasing the demand for fertiliser, pumps, machinery, and other materials and services. Also, given the high productivity of the new technology, both land and labour have been released from crop production, and these have been reabsorbed in other sectors of the economy.

However, despite its success at increasing yields and augmenting aggregate food supplies, the Green Revolution, as a development approach, has not translated into benefits for the rural poor in terms of greater food security or greater economic opportunity and well-being. Despite three decades of rapidly expanding global food supplies, there were about 800 million hungry people in the world in the late 1990s. In India, despite the increased wheat and rice, five thousand children die from malnutrition every day. The fact that many people are still starving in developing countries brings to the fore a paradoxical situation whereby, despite its resounding success in terms of agricultural production, the Green Revolution has failed in its overall social objectives. Undernutrition and poverty are still prevalent, and the

distribution of food remains skewed, with families in landless, small-scale farming households and farm workers as high-risk groups. Also, in India, the Green Revolution has had mixed effects on women in small-cultivator households. For many, the adoption of the HYV package has either forced them to work as farm workers or to increase their work burden of farming activities in an effort to avoid the use of paid labourers.

In the late 1960s, Mexico began to export its Green Revolution wheat at a time when 80% of its rural population was malnourished. Also, the Green Revolution has had differential impacts on rural populations by both class and gender. The better-off strata of rural society have gained access to better incomes generated by the introduction of technology, whereas the poorest strata have lost incomes they previously enjoyed. Thus, the Green Revolution has helped to create a landscape of large commercial farms alongside fewer and smaller peasant plots.

Furthermore, the Green Revolution has had dis-equalizing effects on the bigger and smaller farmers within developing countries through increases in the amount of inputs purchased by the farmers, and thus sharply raises the cost of farming. Even in areas where the "Green Revolution" has been technologically successful, it has not benefited large numbers of hungry people who are unable to buy the newly produced food. However, it has benefited mainly the bigger and generally wealthy farmers who have better access to subsidised loans and foreign exchange required to buy the patented technical inputs.

As a result, the more commercialised farmers have tended to buy out small-scale producers and evict small tenants who are unable to buy inputs. Striking effects of labour-displacing machinery and the purchase of additional land by rich farmers include agricultural unemployment, increased landlessness, rural-urban migration, and increased malnutrition for those unable to purchase food produced by the Green Revolution.

### **Ecological Impacts**

While the Green Revolution was clearly an agricultural success, many argue that it is ecologically unsustainable and has been a social disaster. It depends on large-scale, monocrop farming that is ecologically unstable because of its chemical dependency. It also depends on controlled water supplies, which have been instrumental in increasing the incidence of human diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis.

After the dramatic increases in the early stages of the technological transformation, yields subsequently began falling due to long-term soil degradation. The new strains need large quantities of chemical fertilisers, which are both expensive and polluting, and they also require frequent pesticide applications because they lack natural resistance to local plant diseases and insects. In Central Luzon, Philippines, rice yields increased by 13% during the 1980s, but this was achieved at a cost of a 21% increase in fertiliser use. Use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides pollutes the environment and harms wildlife. Also, use of HYVs causes genetic erosion and genetic vulnerability.

The large fertiliser and pesticide inputs cause problems with water quality when they run off into rivers or percolate into groundwater. The increasing use of agrochemical-based pest and weed control has adversely affected the surrounding environment through significant genetic erosion as well as human health. Widespread irrigation has resulted in increased salinization and acidification of the land.

The Green Revolution has resulted in farmers planting fewer crop varieties so that they can focus on use of high yielding varieties. In addition, the varieties that are planted have been bred to a high degree of genetic uniformity within each variety. There have been problems in India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan with epidemics in new HYVs of wheat. Annual fluctuations in yields have increased since the introduction of Green Revolution varieties because of their vulnerability to disease and climatic variations. The traditional varieties were not as high-yielding, but were less vulnerable to pathogens or climatic anomalies.

## Technological Impacts

A dramatic consequence of Green Revolution agriculture has been the loss of wage labor opportunities due to the introduction of technology. For example, the mechanisation of post-harvest practices has reduced the availability of wage work for women. The introduction of a subsidised scheme for motorised rice hullers in Java (Indonesia) is estimated to have resulted in employment for more than 1 million landless women, who were previously employed in the hand-pounding of rice.

The Green Revolution requires a large and rapid expansion in the irrigation services to be provided. Water control is difficult in the conditions which characterise the traditional rice-exporting countries of Southeast Asia, where the main crop is grown in

the wet season in flood plains and where it is not economical for the farmer to apply fertiliser because it will simply be washed away.

The new rice varieties offer a real opportunity for intensive use of available land by growing at least two crops a year instead of a single crop. This has necessitated changes in cropping patterns and harvesting methods. Mechanical drying and bigger storage facilities will be required for harvesting rice during the wet season. There is need for research on plant protection and diversified breeding to reduce the risks of large-scale crop failure through disease. However, in many developing countries the required political, social, and economic environments that encourage farmers to adopt improved practices and support their efforts to employ them in a sustainable way have not been adequate.

Green Revolution agriculture has had a narrow focus on production increasing technologies that have not adequately addressed the issue of food security in developing countries. Perhaps, what these countries need is a pro-poor alternative agriculture that is self-reliant, small-scale, and highly productive and yet environmentally friendly. The evolution of development thinking is now pointing to a post-Green Revolution phase characterised by “sustainable agriculture.”

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## See also Pollution, Agricultural

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**GRENADA**

The island of Grenada is located in the Caribbean Sea, north of Trinidad and Tobago. It consists of three islands: Grenada, Carriacou, and Petit Martinique. The climate is tropical, with a hurricane season from June to November. The population is 89,357 (CIA July 2004 estimate). The capital is St. George's, on Grenada, with a population of about 33,000. Originally inhabited by the Carib Indians, who resisted settlement by the Europeans, the island was eventually conquered by the French in the mid-1600s. Great Britain also had interests in the Caribbean. France gave up Grenada to Great Britain through the 1783 Treaty of Versailles.

Because of French support of the American cause during its revolution, the French settlers on Grenada, St. Vincent, and Dominica were denied many rights of citizenship, and properties on those islands held by the Catholic Church were confiscated. These actions led to rebellions by the French and native islanders against the British in 1795.

To stabilize the situation on the islands, the British government prosecuted many Frenchmen and non-British islanders. Great Britain also called for its soldiers in the islands to be returned for its wars in Europe and for the formation of a corps of natives for defense. This was met with objection by the British settlers, but was done nevertheless.

With the end of the war with France, trade from the British islands in the Caribbean dropped significantly, and property values dropped as well. This led the colonial legislatures there to push for reductions in British tariffs, and Grenada asked for permission to trade directly with America in 1823.

In 1833, Grenada joined St. Vincent, Tobago, and Barbados under the control of the Governor of the Windwards. Slavery was abolished in Grenada the next year. Barbados became its own colony in 1876, and in 1877, Grenada also became a Crown Colony. The island became an associate state of Great Britain in 1967, and gained full independence in 1974. The modern history of Grenada has every bit as much intrigue and excitement as its earlier years.

The first modern political leader of Grenada was Eric Gairy. Born in Grenada, he was active in politics and became the prime minister of Grenada when Grenada shed its Crown Colony status. He had been the leader of the Grenada Union Labor Party (GULP) since 1950. Other parties were in opposition to the GULP, the most significant of which were the Movement for the Assemblies of People (MAP) and the Movement for the Advance of Community (MACE). These parties joined with another opposition group, the Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education, and

Liberation (JEWEL), to form the "New JEWEL Movement" in 1973. One of the opposition leaders was Maurice Bishop, a Grenadan who had returned from England after studying law there.

Prime Minister Gairy sought to hold on to power through a program often put into place by revolutionary governments, that of land redistribution. His "Land for the Landless" program did in fact provide small plots of land to some Grenadans, but these half-acre plots were too small for development as farms. A more successful effort was in developing Grenada as a tourist attraction; in 1973, the number of tourists increased and the average tourist stay doubled. Land prices for tourist development increased (even as land was being given to Grenadans), and the economic future for the island was promising. Unfortunately, political events would bring this to an end.

In 1973, Gairy was able to convince Great Britain to grant full independence, which was to take place in 1974. However, opposition parties, labor unions, and the Catholic Church in Grenada called for a general strike and protest march in January 1974, which was put down with violence. The father of Maurice Bishop was killed by government forces.

The path for Grenadan independence from Great Britain did continue nevertheless, and with its independence imminent, Grenada was eligible for membership in the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement (CARIFTA) organization, and with its independence, Grenada joined the organization, which had by that time been renamed the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM).

The first five years of independence were marked by corruption and violence. In March 1979, while Prime Minister Gairy was attending a United Nations conference, opposition leader Maurice Bishop seized power and brought order to the island. Bishop favored a policy of nonalignment, and instead of fully participating with the capitalist economies of the region, sought and gained support from Cuba. Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) called for a "workers' government" and seemed to have all the components of a new socialist regime in the Caribbean. Bishop himself was overthrown and executed in October 1983.

This concerned its neighbors and more importantly, US President Ronald Reagan, who had begun his showdown with the Soviet Union, a confrontation which would end with the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

Two trends had emerged from the time of Bishop's seizure of power: the value of exports from Grenada dropped (which may have been due to a surplus of those products on the world market), and tourism fell as well. One response to the latter was that between

1980 and 1982, Grenada undertook a substantial program of construction, which included a major expansion for its airport at St. Georges. Because this was being done with funding and expertise from Cuba, the United States saw this as a potential military facility.

With the cooperation of the governments of Grenada's neighboring islands, the United States invaded Grenada on October 12, 1983, on the premise that American medical students there were at risk. The massive invasion did locate and protect the students, as well as free the governor-general of the island, who was being held by Grenadan forces at his residence. The invading forces also captured Cuban, Libyan, East German, North Korean, and Bulgarian forces as well as Grenadan military personnel.

With Bishop dead and the military government eliminated, the United States worked with the existing nonrevolutionary parties to establish a postrevolutionary government. The parties joined to form the New National Party, and Herbert Blaize was elected president. The NNP has been the dominant party since that time, and with the support of the US, Grenada's economy and tourist industry were steadily rebuilt. The deep-water harbors that had always been assets to shipping benefitted the tourist industry as well, and exports included textiles, food and beverages, and light industry products.

However, in September 2004, most of the island's buildings were damaged or destroyed when Hurricane Ivan hit the island, killing dozens of people. Recovery of the island's service infrastructure (electricity and water) was accomplished rapidly, but repair of public buildings, including churches, will take years.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Caribbean**

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### GROUP OF 77

The Group of 77 (G77) is an informal association of now more than 130 countries that was established following the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD 1) in 1964. The Group consisted of the developing nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean and has subsequently grown as more nations in those regions have joined. The purpose of the Group is to represent the interests of the Global South—that is, those nations that are among the least economically developed. The Group shares a general belief that the rules of world trade and investment are structurally and systematically unfair to the Global South and works to promote awareness of this in the developed world (that is, the Global North), while campaigning to change those rules. The Group also works to promote economic and social development within its member countries through sponsoring economic and technical cooperation among developing countries (Economic Cooperation for Developing Countries [ECDC]/Technical Cooperation for Developing Countries [TCDC]).

Its operations are closely tied to the workings of the United Nations (UN), and it makes use of networks created in that organisation. Chapters of the Group have been established in leading diplomatic capitals, and its activities are coordinated by the New York chapter. Contributions to the organisation are made by member governments to finance operations. Executive decisions are made at regular ministerial meetings.

The "Joint Declaration of 77 Developing States" was issued on June 15, 1964, and called, in part, for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. This call was influenced by the success in the early 1970s of oil-producing countries drastically to improve the terms of trade in their favour. The Group of 77 was unable to wield an equivalent level of economic power, but their campaign was successful in raising awareness of the situation that they faced and in modifying the ways in which international development assistance has flowed and is organised. The stable alliance of the Group of 77 countries in successive UNCTAD negotiations has proved an effective



tool in ensuring a number of small but definite improvements in the management of world trade.

The Group of 77, together with China, has subsequently adopted the “Charter of Algiers” in 1967 and the “Caracas Plan of Action” in 1997 (originally planned in 1981). This latter plan explicitly recognised the importance of liberalization and globalisation as forces in the world, as well as the increasing emergence of the information economy, which further negatively impacted upon the commodity trades upon which some members of the Global South continue to rely. The Group also has explicitly noted the importance of creating partnerships between the private and public sectors. The Caracas Declaration stated in part:

The creation of the Group of 77, 25 years ago, was the result of the collective perception of developing countries that their problems are shared and common and originate in the inherently inequitable pattern of international economic relations. It represented their resolve to remedy this situation through international co-operation based on a mutuality of interests. In its objectives, the Group of 77 reflected the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the conviction that maintaining international peace and security requires the resolution of international economic social and humanitarian problems. The Group therefore reaffirms the validity and supreme necessity of restructuring international economic relations on a just and equitable basis. It shall continue to place abiding faith in multilateral co-operation in the forums of the United Nations.

With the informal joining of China to the Group of 77, a stable bloc of countries has coalesced desiring to work through the institutions of the UN and to reform rather than destroy those aspects that appear inequitable, such as the membership of the permanent Security Council. A commitment to multilateral negotiations means that agreements are more likely to be favorable rather than otherwise to Group of 77 nations but at the expense of increased transaction costs (i.e., the time and cost necessary to reach agreements).

Within the Group of 77, an initiative known as the Generalised System of Trade Preferences among Developing Nations (GSTP) has attracted the initial support of forty-four members and may achieve more in the future. The GSTP follows free trade models of development that attune Group of 77 members more closely to the current development model of the Western countries. Consequently, it represents something of a commitment to complying with existing rules of international trade, despite the wish to reform those rules.

With the breakdown of talks in the World Trade Organisation and the willingness of some leading Western countries to negotiate bilateral rather than

multilateral agreements, as well as the willingness of China to make common cause, the Group of 77 has become a more important organisation representing the interests of the poor. It represents perhaps the largest and most stable international grouping in the world economy and is a vital source of solidarity for the South. However, its achievements have been limited in scope and the nations within remain, internationally, tarred with a similar brush for being corrupt, driven by internal wars and schisms, and needlessly susceptible to diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Poverty and low levels of education preclude most people within the Group of 77 countries themselves from being able to understand and to participate in discourse or debate on those issues that have such a great impact on their lives.

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**See also United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); World Trade Organization (WTO)**

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#### GUADELOUPE

Guadeloupe is a French *département d'outre-mer* (overseas department) in the Caribbean. It is an archipelago of five principal islands—Basse-Terre, Grande-Terre, La Désirade, Les Saintes, and Marie Galante—in the Leeward Islands. Guadeloupe, which occupies 1,704 square kilometers of territory, is located between Montserrat to the north and Dominica to the south. A narrow channel divides Guadeloupe proper—Basse-Terre and Grande-Terre—into two islands. The resulting land mass is butterfly-shaped. The capital, Basseterre, is located on the western island of Basse-Terre, which is volcanic and mountainous. The largest city, Pointe-à-Pitre, is located on the eastern island of Grande-Terre, which is a limestone plateau surrounded by coral reefs. The highest

point in Guadeloupe, Soufrière de Guadeloupe, which is 1,484 meters high, is an active volcano on the island of Basse-Terre. Guadeloupe has abundant cultivable land and sandy beaches. Most of Guadeloupe's 445,000 people are French-speaking Roman Catholics of African descent.

Guadeloupe administers St. Martin and St. Barthélemy, which are located in the northern Leeward Islands. The French and Dutch divided the eighty-eight-square-kilometer island of St. Martin/St. Maarten in 1648. The northern part of the island is controlled by the French, whereas the southern part of the island is controlled by the Dutch. Tourism is the main economic activity. The twenty-square-kilometer island of St. Barthélemy, commonly called St. Barts, is the home to seven thousand people, but receives over two hundred thousand day visitors from cruise ships annually. Although St. Barts has been a French possession since 1648, it was occupied by Sweden from 1785 to 1878. Today, the island has a very pronounced US cultural footprint. In 2003, the people of both islands voted for secession from Guadeloupe. The majority of the people on both islands feel virtually no cultural affinity toward the people of Guadeloupe proper and resent the possibility of ever becoming a dependency of an independent Guadeloupe.

When Christopher Columbus discovered Guadeloupe in 1493, it was occupied by hostile Carib Indians. Spain's attempts to settle the island during the sixteenth century were frustrated by fierce resistance from the Indians. In 1635, a group of French entrepreneurs established the first permanent settlement on Guadeloupe at Basseterre. The French successfully removed the Indian population from the island and established a successful sugar-producing colony based on African slave labor. From 1759 to 1763, during the latter stages of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British occupied Guadeloupe. The British expanded the commercial importance of Pointe-à-Pitre, which had a natural harbor. The ability to trade with the thirteen British colonies in North America proved to be quite lucrative for the French colonists on the island.

In the Treaty of Paris (1763), which ended the French and Indian War, France agreed to surrender Canada to the British in return for the resumption of French control over Guadeloupe. In 1794, during the French Revolution, the British once again invaded Guadeloupe. Many of the wealthiest colonists were French royalists who supported the stability provided by British intervention. The revolutionary French government, however, sent a contingent of troops led by black nationalist Victor Hughes, who not only forced the British to flee, but also freed the slaves, killed hundreds of loyalists, and unleashed a

wave of violence that threatened to destroy the political economy. Once Napoleon Bonaparte came to power, French troops were sent to the island to end the black nationalist uprising and restore slavery. The British temporarily took control of Guadeloupe in 1810, but relinquished control to the Swedes in 1813, who ultimately returned the island to France in 1815. During the nineteenth century, after the loss of Haiti, Guadeloupe was France's most valuable sugar-producing colony in the Caribbean. Once slavery was abolished in 1848, plantation owners imported laborers from India to supplement the labor force.

In 1946, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana officially became French overseas departments. Although the overwhelming majority of Guadeloupe's people prefer continued association with France, albeit for economic reasons, a small, violent secessionist movement has resorted to terrorism to make its viewpoint heard. As an overseas department of France, Guadeloupe is entitled to elect two representatives to the French Senate and four representatives to the French National Assembly. The French president, on the advice of the French Minister of Interior, appoints a governor, known as a prefect, to represent the interests of the French government in Guadeloupe. The power of the prefect—Paul Girod de Langlade since 2004—is largely ceremonial. Local power is vested in a General Council consisting of forty-two members and a Regional Council consisting of forty-one members. The presidents of the General and Regional Councils are elected by their respective members. Jacques Gillot was elected president of the General Council in 2001. Victorin Lurel was elected president of the Regional Council in 2004.

Agriculture is the single most important economic activity in Guadeloupe. Bananas, however, have replaced sugarcane as the most important crop. Over 50% of the revenue from agricultural exports comes from bananas. Revenue from tourism, which was enhanced from a large increase in the number of US cruise ships visiting Guadeloupe, was hurt by the tragic events of September 11, 2001. Hurricanes have had a negative impact on both agriculture and tourism. France continues to provide huge subsidies. Guadeloupe is still dependent on imported food, mostly from France.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; French Guiana; Martinique**

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## GUAM

The island of Guam is the largest and most southerly in the Marianas chain, located in the Pacific Ocean east of the Philippines and north of New Guinea. It is an unincorporated territory of the United States and falls under the management of the Department of the Interior's Office of Insular Affairs.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Guam was the most populous of the Marianas, with approximately half of the overall population of the indigenous people, the Chamorros, living there. The Chamorros had a typical Polynesian culture that included farming and fishing. Although some stone was used in construction, metals were unknown.

Europeans first came to the Marianas in 1521 with the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan. At the time of Magellan's visit, some of the islands were uninhabited, but records of his exploration note that a small boat from one of his ships was stolen, leading him to name the southernmost two of the islands as *Los Ladrones* (The Thieves). The Chamorros people were described by the early Spanish explorers as physically attractive but lacking in any but primitive weapons, and the first landing of Europeans on Guam was to reclaim the stolen boat, burn many houses, and kill several men.

Except for voyages of exploration, most ocean navigation at the time was accomplished through the technique of "parallel sailing," in which a ship would proceed along a line of latitude (which was relatively easy to determine through celestial navigation). For this reason, significant landmarks were important, and Guam's size made it an important point of navigation for Spanish ships making the voyage from western North America to the Philippines. Although Guam had been mapped, it was not necessary for ships to actually land there during the transits.

Although Magellan had mapped Guam and the Marianas, competition between Portugal and Spain limited travel through that part of the Pacific Ocean. Not until the Spanish consolidation of power in western North America would Spanish ships attempt to navigate the western Pacific, with the first expedition

departing from Mexico in late 1564. This expedition formally claimed Guam as a Spanish possession. Unfortunately, as with the Magellan expedition, conflict broke out between the natives and Spaniards, with one Spaniard and several natives being killed.

Spain had exclusive control over the Marianas from 1668 to 1898. Under Spanish control the native population was nearly eliminated, and by the end of the eighteenth century fewer than two thousand Chamorros remained on Guam.

The American acquisition of Guam came as a result of the American victory in the Spanish-American War, but was a continuation of American interest in the Pacific which by that time had led to the purchase of Alaska from Russia, the claiming of Midway Island in the Pacific, the initiation of relations with (and eventual annexation of) Hawaii, and the forced entry into Korea. The war with Spain resulted in America obtaining Guam and the Philippine Islands in this region.

At first there was no consensus within the government as to what to do with Guam. The Philippines had more territory, resources, and facilities than Guam, but technological advances in shipping and communications (the shift from sailing ships to propulsion by coal, and the development of the telegraph) did give Guam's location some utility to the Americans. The US Navy foresaw use of Guam as a coaling station and ship repair facility, but the natural harbor would need substantial improvements (including dredging), and fortifications would be needed. In the years between the Spanish-American War and World War I, however, the relatively small military budgets restricted development.

Technological developments continued to undermine Guam's usefulness to the Navy, as wireless radio reduced the need for underwater transoceanic cables and ship propulsion shifted from coal to oil, giving ships much longer ranges. Additionally, the availability of Hawaii as a major naval base was seen as more appealing than having to deal with the problems of pacifying the population of the Philippines.

A bigger problem for the Americans in the early twentieth century was the increasing power and presence of Japanese military forces in the Pacific. During Japan's military expansion in the years before and after World War I, it became apparent to American military commanders that the Philippines would be more vulnerable to a Japanese attack than Guam would be, so military development of Guam came back under consideration. This vulnerability proved true; following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor which involved America in the War in the Pacific, it was evident that Guam could not be defended for

long. As was the case with other American possessions, Guam, the Philippines, Wake Island, and Midway Island came under attack, and the larger islands were captured. The end of the war brought about a return to American control, and Guam became a strategic location for the basing of naval ships, submarines, and long-range bomber aircraft.

The current population of Guam, other than US military personnel and civilian government workers (and families), is descended at least in part from a mixture of the native Chamorro people, Spaniards, Japanese, and other island people. They are properly referred to as Guamanian. In 2004, the population was estimated by the US Census bureau to be 166,090, with moderate growth predicted for the next fifty years.

Guam's economy in the early years of the twenty-first century was undergoing a transition, with a reduction in US government personnel (military and civilian), and an increase in tourism. In the 1990s, approximately 90% of tourists came from Japan.

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**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## GUATEMALA

The Republic of Guatemala is situated on the Central American isthmus between Mexico in the north, Belize and Honduras to the east, and El Salvador to the southeast. It has an extensive Pacific Ocean coast on the south and a very small Caribbean coastline in the Gulf of Honduras. At 108,890 square miles, Guatemala is the largest country in Central America (approximately the size of Ohio). It also has the largest population in the region with 14.3 million people; more than 2.5 million people live in the capital, Guatemala City. Over 50% of Guatemalans are descendants of the ancient Maya, the remaining population are *mestizo* (mixed Indian and European

heritage). Although Spanish is the official language, twenty-four indigenous languages also are spoken. Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion, but Guatemala has been the most receptive country in Central America for evangelical Protestantism, which is now practiced by more than 40% of the population.

As the rest of Central America, Guatemala received its independence from Spain in 1821 and joined the ill-fated Mexican Empire and then the violence-ridden United Provinces of Central America before it became a sovereign state in the early 1840s. In the post-independence period, Guatemalan history is replete with undemocratic, repressive governments that took power by force with only occasional periods of representative government. And although significant strides toward democratic governance have taken place since the 1980s, political violence has not been completely eradicated.

Guatemala's economy is dominated by the agro-export sector (coffee, sugar, bananas), which makes up 22% of gross domestic product (GDP) and 75% of all its exports. Exports are concentrated on two principal trading partners: 39% of Guatemalan exports go to the countries of the Central American Common Market (CACM), and another 30% to the United States. The country's industrial sector is relatively small (13% of GDP). Unlike many countries in Central America, Guatemala's economy has very little government involvement. According to the US State Department, the private sector accounts for more than 85% of GDP. In May 2004, Guatemala signed the CAFTA free trade agreement with the other Central American countries and the United States. The treaty has not yet been ratified by the US Congress.

Although the GDP is relatively large (\$23 billion in 2002), income distribution is among the most uneven in Latin America; the top 20% of income earners receive two-thirds of all income. A significant consequence of this inequality is the very high incidence of poverty in the country. It has been estimated that 80% of the population lives in poverty, while over 50% of the total population endures extreme poverty.

The failure of economic and social policy in Guatemala can be seen in two partially related measures. The first measure of the impact of social policy is life expectancy, which in Guatemala is approximately sixty-six years, the lowest in Central America. The next lowest life expectancy is a full three years higher (Honduras), which is still nine years lower than Costa Rica's seventy-eight years and five years lower than the Central American average. The second index reflecting the failure of social and economic development policy in Guatemala is the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index (HDI)

rankings. The HDI is a composite measure of Human development taking into account life expectancy, health, education, and standard of living. Guatemala ranks lowest of all Central American countries at position 119th, which compares very unfavorably with Costa Rica, which earned the 42nd position in the world rankings.

Political life in Guatemala has been difficult, with its transition to democracy being fitful, late, and incomplete. Post-independence Guatemala was governed by a series of *caudillos* and military dictators. This use of violence for political ends was briefly broken in 1944 when the military dictatorship of General Jorge Ubico was overthrown by junior military officers. Following the democratic election of a civilian president in 1945, the new government implemented a series of social reforms. The subsequent democratic election of Jacobo Arbenz allowed the reforms to be continued and expanded. His attempt to implement land reform, though, caught the wrath of US banana companies that would lose land as a consequence of the reform. The political reforms that included permitting some communists to participate in the government caught the attention of the US embassy, which then fermented and fostered a military coup by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas in 1954. With Castillo Armas's assassination in 1958, General Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes took office.

The return of the military in 1954 led to a series of coups and counter-coups and military governance for more than thirty years until a civilian president was elected in 1986. A second important impact of the return of the military to government was the start of one of the longest and the bloodiest civil war in Latin America, which resulted in the deaths of over two hundred thousand people. In the early 1980s, after another military coup by junior officers designed to prevent yet another general from taking office, the level of state repression increased still further.

As a result of this coup, General José Efraín Ríos Montt, an evangelical lay preacher, became head of a military *junta*. He eventually dismissed the rest of the junta, became president, and unleashed a wave of repression against the rural, largely indigenous population of Guatemala. The general's counterinsurgency tactics militarized the country forcing indigenous peoples in the countryside to join self-defense militias. Ríos Montt's bloody repression was furthered by the existence of right-wing death squads, most notably the *Mano Blanca* (White Hand).

In the mid-1980s, a region-wide peace process, brokered by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica, was signed by leaders of Central American republics calling for an end to the civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala and the installation of

democratic governance. The human rights situation also was brought to international attention with the publication of Rigoberta Menchu's *testimonio*, *I Rigoberta* in 1983.

The Peace Process and a new constitution facilitated the return to democratic politics in the late 1980s and the 1990s. New governmental institutions were created or strengthened including the Supreme Court and a Human Rights Ombudsman's office. But even with most recent elected government, which took office in January 2004, the democracy remains incomplete. Crime and violence against human rights workers remain a persist problem for governance.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Mexico and Central America**

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## GUERRILLA ARMY OF THE POOR (EGP)

The Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) was founded on January 19, 1972, when a group of fifteen combatants entered the Guatemalan jungle area known as Ixcán. On February 7, 1982, it joined the other three major Guatemalan insurgency groups in forming the National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala (URNG) but remained one separate military organization until the demobilization process of 1997 when URNG was transformed into a legitimate political party.

Like the other guerrilla formations in Guatemala in the 1970s, EGP represented a second phase of an

insurgency with roots in the 1960s and in an armed opposition to the CIA-monitored overthrow of President Jacobo Árbenz in 1954. The Guatemalan rebels of the second phase are best characterized by an ideological affinity for Cuba and Fidel Castro, and they designated the United States, not the Guatemalan government, as their principal enemy. The EGP drew their tactics from doctrines first formulated by its leader Rolando Morán, alias Ricardo Arnaldo Ramirez de Leon, in 1964, explicitly focusing on the poor segments of the population for a slow process of mobilization with the ultimate goal of defeating the national army and take national power. But it staged an insurgency that differed from its roots in the 1960s in that it rejected *foquismo* strategies of revolutionary warfare—that is, the idea that a few committed militants could become a catalyst for revolution, without the process of first organizing the population—and instead prepared for a prolonged war in the highlands. The geographical transition from the northeast to the northwest, brought about by the establishment of the EGP, also implied a movement from areas populated by Guatemala's nonindigenous minority to the Maya majority of the western highlands. By the early 1970s, the Ixcán jungle area had recently been colonized by an ethnic mix of landless peasants. As the slow process of mobilization gradually moved south and into the Maya-Quiché and Maya-Ixil inhabited highland regions of the country, the EGP confronted a more rooted local political system, more difficult to infiltrate than the settler cooperatives of Ixcán. The high extent to which people welcomed, voluntarily supported, and also joined the men in olive green uniforms testifies to a prior mobility of seasonal workers in the highland areas of Guatemala. Even though based in indigenous communities, many were already accustomed to trade union organizing on coastal plantations, peasant league formations among workers on local estates, and members of a politically radicalized Catholic Church influenced by the era's theology of liberation.

In its heydays prior to the military defeat of 1981 to 1983, EGP was organized in an hierarchical structure in which the governing body, *Dirección Nacional* (DN) ruled by assembling representatives of each of the different (four to eight) military divisions, known as *frentes*. The four most prominent ones were Frente Guerrillero comandante Ernesto Guevara of the Huehuetenango and Ixcán regions, Frente Guerrillero Ho Chi Minh of the Ixil and central Quiché regions, Frente Guerrillero Luis Augusto Turcios Lima of the provinces of the western pacific coast, and finally Frente Guerrillero Otto René Castillo of the metropolitan region. Each division, in turn, collaborated on the local level with local irregular forces (FIL) where

mobilized villagers served on and off depending on the war's level of intensity. Finally, also the nonarmed civilian population was politically organized into something called local clandestine committees (CCL) in an intricate system of intelligence, education, and health attendance.

While successful in tying large sectors of the rural population to its relatively small military core—the number of armed rebels reached a maximum of about four hundred in 1983—this system proved to be vulnerable to military setbacks, and with the defeat of the early 1980s, it never regained its former strength. Incidences of internal guerrilla violence and of guerrilla massacres have been attributed to the lack of control on behalf of the leadership in the DN when the goal of bridging the different levels of its organization could not be achieved.

EGP also made propagandistic efforts to gain the support of the international community, a front that it even claimed to be of equal importance to that of the local masses. While it is clear that this accounts for the endurance of the Guatemalan insurgency until the peace agreement of December 29, 1996, the extent to which the indigenous population actually supported the rebellion, and how to assess the nature of that support, is an ongoing controversy within social movements in Guatemala and among historiographers of its civil war.

The Accord on the Definitive Cease-Fire was signed on December 16, 1996. It set out the procedures for the concentration and disarming of the URNG under UN supervision. The reincorporation of former guerrillas involved the concentration and demobilization of ex-combatants in eight camps across the country. Due to the fear of registering under an original name, the attraction of economic compensation for surrendering arms and the long history of civil war, conflict emerged over the right to be recognized as a former rebel. The cease-fire entered into force on March 3, 1997—535,102 weapons and rounds of ammunition were handed over to MINUGUA, the UN verification mission to Guatemala. In all, 2,928 URNG combatants were demobilized and issued temporary identification cards in the spring of 1997.

In favor of the recomposition of the URNG in a single party structure, the EGP officially dissolved during the demobilization process of 1997. As a political party, the URNG has downplayed its previous emphasis on ideology, casting itself as a democratic representative of the nation's class and ethnic diversity. The compliance with the Peace Accords has replaced older doctrines.

EGP founder and chief commander Rolando Morán died from a heart attack on September 11,

## GUERRILLA ARMY OF THE POOR (EGP)

1998, then holding the post of secretary general of the URNG. Despite his efforts to present the insurgency of which he had been an integral part since 1964 in terms of an ethnic national struggle, just as important as the class-based revolution, it was primarily the voices of the indigenous movement in Guatemala that during the latter part of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s undermined the popular support of the URNG, claiming that its revolution was more akin to Western and racist ideology than to the culturally egalitarian vision of the new organizations of the Maya majority of Guatemala.

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**See also** **Árbenz Guzmán, Jacobo; Central America: History and Economic Development; Counterinsurgency; Guatemala; Liberation Theology**

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## GUERRILLA WARFARE

Guerrilla warfare is an ancient military strategy and/or tactic of fighting by irregular and autonomous armed forces that dates to millennia before Christ and persists in essentially the same form today. In contemporary insurgency cases guerrillas generally have represented nonstate or substate entities, such as freedom fighters or revolutionary insurgents, conducting an undeclared war or rebellion against an established government or state. As a tactic or strategy, however, regular or uniformed military forces of a state or states also may employ guerrilla fighting styles, such as in low-intensity conflict or

low-intensity warfare, in both a declared and conventional, as well as an undeclared and unconventional, war setting.

One of the earliest proponents of guerrilla war tactics is the Chinese master of warfare, Sun Tzu, whose *Art of War* is the source of many often quoted Chinese proverbs on terrorism and guerrilla struggle. Perhaps one of the best known dictums on guerrilla warfare is that of the twentieth century Chinese Marxist revolutionary, Mao Zedong: “The guerrilla is of the people as the fish is of the sea.” In other terms, support of the local population is critical to success in guerrilla warfare. Ho Chi Minh, the guerrilla strategist and father of the Marxist Vietnamese revolution, had a more prescient aphorism: “You will kill ten of our men, and we will kill one of yours, and in the end, it will be you who tire of it.” The basic military concept of guerrilla war, therefore, is the use of irregular troops or units to harass a powerful enemy in a “war of the flea,” until the enemy is exhausted or wiped out. Both quotations emphasize the two central tenets of twentieth-century guerrilla warfare—a protracted, popular, indigenous struggle against a foreign enemy and its domestic allies—our wars of national liberation.

In modern times, especially since the rise of urban guerrilla movements, it has become more difficult to distinguish classic, rural-based guerrilla warfare from terrorism. Historically, there has always been a close link between these two forms of limited and unconventional warfare, both in practice and in contemporary and nineteenth century manuals such as *On War* by Karl von Clausewitz, the noted German war theoretician. Some theorists have argued that terrorism intends to create a psychological state of despair and hopelessness among the civilian population and regime forces, as expressed in the popular Chinese maxim: “Kill one; frighten ten thousand.” Guerrilla war, on the other hand, is intended to induce a psychology of hope through successful armed struggle, that is, the belief that an armed popular and irregular force can defeat a professional army. According to military historians, guerrilla warfare has traditionally been seen as a people’s struggle against a more powerful enemy, often an occupying power. Among notable historical examples are the confrontations between the Romans and the Hebrews, and the Romans and the Gauls; the British and the American colonists; the US Army and the American Indians; and the Turkish Empire and T.E. Lawrence of Arabia. More contemporary examples include indigenous rebellions in Malaysia, the Philippines, Algeria, and East Timor.

The term *guerrilla warfare*, is derived from the Spanish word for war or *guerra*, and “guerilla” literally means “little war.” Military historians date the

use of the term to the popular insurgency by Spanish resistance forces against the invasion of Napoleon and his French troops in 1808. The subsequent usurpation of the Spanish throne launched both pro- and anti-royalist forces in Spain's colonies in the New World and ultimately culminated in a wave of independence revolts and guerrilla struggles in nineteenth century Latin America. This form of warfare not only has been closely linked to the rise of modern nationalism in Europe, but also nationalism's diffusion to the Third World developing nations as a reaction against European imperialism and colonialism. Thus, from the outset, guerrilla war has been understood as a people's war, peasant war, or war of national liberation and resistance. In addition to the fundamental component of nationalism, modern guerrilla war has been motivated by a struggle for social reform and/or revolutionary change. In this sense, guerrilla war combines both the elements of a war against external aggression and of a revolution against a domestic class enemy and/or repressive government.

War, especially guerrilla war, has always been intimately linked with politics. In the nineteenth century, for example, Clausewitz insisted that "war is not merely a political act, but also a political instrument." Indeed, most military historians note that while the military components of guerrilla warfare have remained the same for millennia, the most important contemporary contributions have been psychological and political. Perhaps among the most noteworthy contributors to the politicization of guerrilla warfare have been Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh, and Ernesto "Che" Guevara. In turn, contemporary counterinsurgency doctrine has had to devise effective political and psychological strategies to "win hearts and minds" and deny guerrilla movements the popular support essential to success.

Mao Zedong especially took the Clausewitzian maxim to heart when he founded the People's Liberation Army (or Red Army) and launched a protracted people's war that culminated in the Chinese Marxist revolution of 1949. Employing the phrase, "the party controls the gun," Mao emphasized the critical role of political education and indoctrination by his Chinese Communist Party in their war of national liberation against the Japanese invaders and the subsequent civil war against the "traitorous" Guomindang Nationalists. People's war, the central concept of Mao's form of guerrilla struggle and the basis for his peasant-based, rural, socialist revolution in China, had several key components. First was the importance of the peasantry as a base of widespread popular support as both combatants and noncombatants. Unlike classical Marxist and Leninist thought which had concluded that peasants were ignorant clods and

unreceptive to revolution, Mao argued that the peasant masses, and not the urban proletariat (of which feudal China had very few), could be energized into a popular revolutionary force by nationalism, Maoism, and the indoctrination of the communist party. Second was the creation of a politicized military force of peasants, the People's Liberation Army, which began as a small irregular guerrilla army living the ideals of the socialist revolution and diffusing these in everyday society. By 1945, however, the Red Army had grown into a large conventional force between a half and a million strong.

The Chinese model of guerrilla warfare was a rural model based in the countryside and its purpose was to encircle the cities—the bastions of government control—and force the class enemy's capitulation. Mao had rejected the Stalinist path to Marxist revolution in 1938 and was denounced as a heretic and fool. Nevertheless, Mao argued that China was different. It was "a semicolonial and semifeudal country" and not "an independent democratic state," where the communist party could join a united front of democratic and bourgeois forces, and carry out a protracted legal struggle. Unlike the Russian experience, it was necessary for Chinese communists' to take the opposite road and first seize the countryside and then the big cities.

Mao's guerrilla strategy was summarized in his dictum: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." Warfare had several strategic stages; the first was a defensive stage which focused on establishing a secure base area or liberated zone where the party cadres could safely engage in organization and political indoctrination. In the intermediate stage, guerrilla forces emphasized mobility, the creation of supply lines, winning popular support, and engaging in successful hit and run and ambush tactics. They sought to expand military control over the countryside and weaken government forces. In the final offensive stage, the guerrillas completely encircled and choked off the cities from the rest of the country. At this point, the insurrectionary force was powerful and large enough to operate as a regular army and to conduct a conventional war.

Mao also developed extensive rules of protracted guerrilla struggle which were studied and, in some cases, followed by later revolutionaries. One rule was to defeat the enemy through attrition and demoralization and to limit military confrontations to quick engagements that destroyed the government's fighting ability. Second, guerrilla units should emphasize mobility, avoid fixed battle lines, and develop self-sufficient intelligence and supply systems. Third, the army must never terrorize or plunder the local population: "Oppose bandit ways, and uphold strict



political discipline.” Finally, the party must control the military.

In Vietnam, the revolutionary Marxist leaders Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap systematized their theory of modern people’s war and the political-military rules for wars of national liberation. They established a similar political-military infrastructure and implemented Maoist strategies to mobilize and ensure peasant support, such as land reform and direct political control in local villages. Also, as in the Chinese Marxist case, the Vietnamese national liberation struggle was a revolutionary war, that is, an anti-colonial war against foreign imperialists, and a socialist revolution against internal class enemies. Thus, the Vietnamese also melded the ideologies of nationalism and Marxism into a powerful justification for protracted guerrilla warfare first against the French in the First Indochinese War (1946–1954), and then against the United States in the Second Indochinese War (1964–1975).

Ernesto “Che” Guevara realized that foreign intervention and the fusion of revolution and war were indispensable for successful guerrilla warfare. Guevara accepted the view of Mao and Ho that class conflict without a nationalist insurgency against foreign intervention could be insufficient to spark revolution. Therefore, Che Guevara and other guerrilla leaders of the 1960s and 1970s sought to provoke US intervention in Latin America and the Third World. Guevara and Fidel Castro’s writings on guerrilla warfare describe this strategy as one of creating “many Vietnams” in Latin America.

Their Latin model of guerrilla warfare also attempted to reconcile theoretical disputes over revolutionary strategy. Should revolution arise from above or below? Should it be by workers or by peasants? And is the rural or urban-based struggle primary? In his 1963 treatise, *Guerrilla War*, Guevara underlined the importance of guerrilla action as the “central axis of the struggle.” And like Castro, he ridiculed Latin revolutionaries who struggled in capital cities and underestimated the rural guerrilla movement. Distilling from the Cuban revolutionary experience (often incorrectly), Guevara rejected urban guerrilla warfare, and the urban insurrections, terrorism, student demonstrations and general strikes sweeping Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s. Marxist laborite, Peronist, and Tupamaro guerrilla movements in Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina in particular viewed urban warfare as the right recipe for revolution. In most cases, however, urban guerrilla warfare failed and created or further entrenched existing military dictatorships.

In the urban setting guerrilla warfare was often indistinguishable from outright acts of terrorism.

For example, Carlos Marighella, a Brazilian communist militant who wrote the *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*, held that “Terrorism is an arm the revolutionary can never relinquish.” In his view, rebellion originated in the cities and spread to the countryside. The urban guerrilla’s principal task is “to distract, to wear out, to demoralize” the military dictatorship and “to attack and destroy the wealth and property of the North Americans . . . and the Brazilian upper class.” In this way, the urban guerrilla supports the emergence and survival of rural guerrilla warfare. In the 1980s, Peru’s *Sendero Luminoso* or Shining Path guerrilla movement dispensed with these distinctions altogether and inflicted terrorism and guerrilla warfare on both city and countryside.

By and large, urban guerrilla movements failed, according to experts, because of the absence of outside support and/or a mortal internal crisis. In *The Urban Guerrilla* (1969 p. 95), Martin Oppenheimer concluded that paramilitary activities in urban areas would succeed “in overturning the established order only where that order is already so decayed that a mere push will suffice.” Nevertheless, urban guerrilla warfare and its close association with terrorism may have achieved a new lease on life in the chaos of the United States–Iraq War and Islamic–al Qaeda insurgencies in Samara and Fallujah.

Che Guevara developed the guerrilla *foco* theory of revolution, in which he favored rural-based insurgency because he believed that in the modern age the advanced military technology, firepower, and efficient counterinsurgency training of regime forces could easily crush an urban insurgency. At best, urban insurrection may serve as a distraction and tie up enemy soldiers, but it is subordinate to the fundamental struggle. Guevara also rejected the Stalinist united front strategy, the Leninist and Maoist emphasis on the communist party and the Maoist strategy of fixed base areas, arguing that one cannot slavishly imitate past revolutions. The conditions which favored these models were simply not present in the Americas. Instead, he proposed Cuba as the model for successful Latin American guerrilla warfare.

In 1961, Guevara published the article “Cuba: Exception or Vanguard?” wherein he argued that Latin America was ripe for revolution and that a guerrilla-led peasant struggle would begin in the countryside and spread to engulf the cities of the continent. Guevara believed that existing socioeconomic conditions favored revolution and that the introduction of a guerrilla force into the region would introduce important subjective conditions for revolution: “The most important is the consciousness of the possibility of victory by violent means in the face of the imperialist powers and their internal allies.” He developed this

theory further in his 1963 work, *Guerrilla Warfare*. The Cuban Revolution, he wrote, had made “three fundamental contributions to the laws of the revolutionary movement” in the Americas: the people’s forces could win a war against the army; revolutionary conditions can be created by insurrection; the battle-ground in the region’s underdeveloped countries was in the countryside.

In the 1967 treatise *Revolution in the Revolution?* the French revolutionary theorist Régis Debray presented Guevara’s guerrilla *foco* model as a revolution in revolutionary thought and a “third way” for Latin American revolutions. The guerrilla *foco* was described as a “center of guerrilla operations” and initially operated as a “mobile strategic force” and the “nucleus of a people’s army” in a future socialist state. Guerrilla warfare in this model progressed through three stages: establishment of an independent and clandestine guerrilla force, and its supply lines and exploration of the terrain; development and defensive engagement with the enemy; and the revolutionary offensive that included a political and military phase.

The central logic of the *foco* model was the political and psychological impact of armed propaganda (or the “consciousness of victory by violent means”), which was to occur between the second and the third stage. Politicization prior to this, especially by established Marxist-Leninist parties, Guevara considered dangerous. Action not speeches would shake the peasantry out of its repressed and “colonial” mentality. Only when the guerrilla force was able to demonstrate “that a soldier and a policeman are no more bulletproof than anyone else,” would the peasants be willing to support the guerrillas. Insurrectional activity, therefore, served as “the number one political activity.” Guevara and Debray also rejected the leadership or vanguard role of existing Marxist-Leninist parties. The guerrillas were the “fighting vanguard of the people.” And the true revolutionary party must arise out of the guerrilla movement and the future People’s Army (as occurred in Cuba); or in Debray’s words: “Essentially, the party is the army.”

In 1967, Che Guevara exported his *foco* model of guerrilla warfare to Bolivia, located in the heart of South America and bordering his homeland of Argentina. Guevara reasoned that the conditions were not only ripe in Bolivia, but that revolution in the Andes would spread, provoke US intervention and eventually create “many Vietnams” throughout the continent. Bolivia, in Guevara’s words, would be a “sacrificial lamb to be offered on the altar of continental revolution.” None of these assumptions proved correct. Bolivia’s revolution in 1952 made the population unreceptive to Guevara, and indeed his small band of Cuban guerrillas had few Bolivian

recruits. The *foco* itself was viewed as a form of foreign intervention, whereas the assistance of US Army Rangers in destroying the insurgency was welcomed by the Bolivian Army, government, and population generally.

Critiques would later conclude that Guevara was blinded by his idealization of the Cuban experience, overgeneralization of the Latin American condition, and a populist understanding of revolutionary causality. And, most important, he miscalculated the US response and misinterpreted the Bolivian situation. In short, the *foco* model of guerrilla warfare failed both in theory and practice. And although Central American revolutionaries in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala would be inspired by Guevara’s guerrilla warfare theories, none would implement them as Guevara envisioned, and only the Sandinista National Liberation Movement in Nicaragua would achieve success through rural guerrilla warfare.

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**See also Counterinsurgency; War and Development**

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**GUEVARA, ERNESTO "CHE"**

Born June 14, 1928, into a blue-blooded aristocratic family in Argentina, Che Guevara became a communist leader and twentieth-century icon fighting in Cuba, Africa, and South America. Throughout his life, Guevara was racked by asthma, which contributed to his enormous will as well as to his desire to study medicine. He completed his studies at the University of Buenos Aires in three years (instead of the usual six), interspersed with extensive journeys around South America. These trips greatly influenced Che as he recognised how poverty was linked to the economic system that was greatly benefiting the United States. However, he only later linked this to a deep understanding of Marxism. While traveling in Guatemala, he witnessed the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz's radical government by US-backed Castillo Armas. Guevara fled to Mexico, where he met Fidel Castro in 1954 and joined Castro's group of exiles planning for an invasion of Cuba. The group landed in 1956, and during two years of guerrilla warfare Che cemented his position as one of their leaders. His camps became a model of organisation, and he greatly reformed the areas under his control, by, for instance, creating schools, clinics, and hospitals. He also gave interviews to foreign journalists and gained a reputation as the most radical of the Cuban guerrillas. Once the guerrillas seized power, Che served in various economic positions in Castro's government and oversaw land redistribution and the nationalisation of most Cuban and foreign companies. He combined his economic work inside with extensive foreign travel visiting countries throughout the world.

Che led a Cuban delegation to the Punta del Este conference in Uruguay in August 1961, where the US government presented the details of President Kennedy's Progress for Alliance. The plan was a major change in US policy, but Che denounced it and the "weak and sycophantic" Latin American governments who welcomed it. He saw the plan as an attempt to stifle social revolutions in the region, and he instead presented a Third World agenda, a list of economic and trade reforms including lower tariffs and fixed prices. This more global perspective reflected how Che was beginning to hope to replicate the Cuban Revolution elsewhere in Latin America. However, his dreams were blocked by a lack of encouragement from the USSR and resistance among native Communist leaders. Instead, he continued developing theories about guerrilla warfare and writing pamphlets which inspired a later generation of revolutionaries.

Frustrated in Latin America, Che turned to Africa, which he saw as virgin soil not yet divided up into Cold War spheres of influence. He went on a

three-month tour of the continent starting in December 1964, during which time he decided to become actively involved in the civil war in the Congo. He arrived in April 1965, but by then the war was all but over as Belgian paratroopers and mercenaries from Rhodesia and South Africa, aided by American aeroplanes, had crushed the rebels. Che and his Cubans fought until November, but they achieved little and were forced to leave the country under fear of capture. Unwilling to return to Havana following an ideological break with Castro, Che instead went to Bolivia in 1966, which seemed the most promising country in South America for guerrilla warfare. He traveled in disguise to Bolivia and fought skirmishes with the Bolivian army. However, the Bolivian military overcame the poorly trained group he led into the country, and Guevara was captured and executed near Vallegrande, Bolivia, on October 8, 1967.

NEIL DENSLow

**See also** Castro, Fidel; Cuban Revolution

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**GUINEA**

The Republic of Guinea is a coastal West African country, bordered by Senegal, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast). It has about 250 miles of Atlantic coastline. The country, sometimes called Guinea-Conkary to distinguish it from its much smaller neighbor, Guinea-Bissau, consists of a flat, largely swampy, coastal plain that rises to a hilly and mountainous interior. The Gambia, Niger, and Senegal Rivers have their sources in the Fouta Djallon highlands of interior Guinea, and there are numerous smaller rivers in the area. The climate is tropical, with annual rainfall averaging from seventy-five to one hundred inches, with coastal areas receiving the most precipitation.

Several ethnic groups, including Mande, Fulbe, and Sosso, inhabit Guinea which is 85% Muslim. French is the official language. The population is approximately 8 million, with an annual growth rate of 2.5%. About 1.6 million people live in the capital, Conakry, a port on the Atlantic coast. Agriculture, based on cereal crops and tropical fruit, dominates the economy. The country has considerable mineral deposits of bauxite, diamonds, and iron ore. Despite its economic potential and an annual gross domestic product growth rate of 3.3%, Guinea ranks as one of the poorest countries in the world, with an annual per capita income of \$1,900.

Prior to colonial rule, several peoples and kingdoms controlled various parts of the region. Coastal and interior peoples and states had little contact, especially after interior groups adopted Islam, whereas coastal peoples retained traditional religions. The Fulbe dominated the Futa Djallon highlands, forming the center of a powerful Islamic state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which incorporated much of the interior highlands. The coastal region experienced early but minimal trading contacts with Europeans. Because of its lack of good harbors and the presence of noncentralized, coastal peoples, the trans-Atlantic slave trade had little impact on the region, and trade was sporadic. French conquest of the region in the late nineteenth century met with serious resistance from local groups, especially the forces of the ruler Samori Toure in the interior, which resisted occupation for over twenty years. By 1900, the colony of French Guinea became part of the Federation of French West Africa. The French established rubber and tropical fruit plantations, worked by local forced labor, and also exploited the area's rich mineral deposits.

By the early 1950s, Sekou Toure, a labor organizer who claimed descent from Samori Toure, was calling for independence. Because of the harshness of colonial rule and the colony's grinding poverty, Toure's message appealed to most Guineans. In 1958, when President Charles de Gaulle of France called for a referendum on continued ties or immediate independence for the colonies in French West Africa, only Guinea, at the urging of Toure, voted for independence, which was granted on October 2, 1958. The French withdrew quickly, sabotaging much of the area's infrastructure, ending all economic and military aid, and completely severing diplomatic links. Toure defiantly turned to the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc for assistance, further isolating Guinea from the West and its West African neighbors, especially Senegal and the Cote D'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), whose independent governments relied heavily on French aid and expertise. Toure blamed the country's

worsening economic woes on colonialism, the lack of Western aid, and purported French attempts to overthrow his regime. He crushed all dissent, and as many as 2 million people fled into exile. Thousands were imprisoned, and many disappeared in detention, as Toure became increasingly dictatorial and paranoid. In the early 1980s, Toure made some overtures to France and the West, but he died suddenly in March 1984, throwing the government into turmoil, until the military, headed by General Lansana Conte, seized power. Conte remains the president of Guinea.

Neither Conte nor his regime found an effective solution to Guinea's overwhelming economic woes. Overtures were made to France and to the West for assistance, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, but foreign donors were reluctant to help the repressive military government. Conte faced several coup attempts, all brutally crushed. Despite its rich deposits of bauxite, iron ore, and diamonds, and a harsh structural adjustment program imposed by foreign donors in the late 1980s, including devaluation of the currency, elimination of many civil service jobs, and a general dismantling of many of the socialist structures established by the previous government, the country experienced little economic improvement. Unlike its neighbors, the nation has good soils and climate for agriculture, but only 3% of land is cultivated. Blame for the poor agriculture performance rests largely on the Toure regime, which instituted a corrupt and highly inefficient state-controlled system of marketing and distribution. The Conte government has tried to dismantle the system, but with little success. Much of the mineral wealth was and continues to be smuggled out of the country. Corruption is rampant in Guinea, especially among the ruling military elite. Much of the country's paltry export revenue was used to pay interest on the country's massive foreign debt, estimated at \$3.5 billion. In the 1990s, more than half a million refugees from the civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia flooded into Guinea. Refugees have drained the country's scarce resources and there have been periodic clashes between Guineans and refugees. There have recently been serious border clashes between Guinea and Liberia, prompting fears that Guinea will be dragged into a wider regional conflict.

In 1992, the government did institute a program of multiparty politics, yet the 1993 and 2002 elections were marked by widespread fraud and intimidation. Periodically, sections of the military have rioted, and there has been serious unrest among the urban population, but all dissent is immediately and harshly crushed. Human rights abuses are rampant. The government faces constant threats of a military coup. Economic conditions have worsened in the past few

years with increased smuggling, influxes of refugees, and mismanagement. Inadequate transportation systems hinder economic development. Most of the country's roads are unpaved and in poor condition. The railroads linking the interior to the coast, built by the French for exploitation of mineral deposits, are in serious disrepair. Education and health services are sorely neglected, with an adult literacy rate of 36%. Infant mortality, at 127 per 1,000 live births, is among the highest in the world. Life expectancy for males is forty-three years and forty-eight years for females. The Guinea's political and economic future is uncertain at best.

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**See also Colonialism: Legacies; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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### GUINEA-BISSAU

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, situated on the northwestern coast of Africa between Senegal and Guinea, is one of the smallest nations on the continent, comprising about fourteen thousand square miles. The country is mostly a low coastal marsh-plain rising to savanna in the east, with a tropical climate consisting of a monsoonal rainy season from June to November and a hot dry season. More than 80% of the population is engaged in rice, cashew nut, bean, and cassava cultivation. With 217 miles of coastline, several small islands, and numerous meandering rivers and streams, fishing forms an important economic sector. The population is estimated at approximately 1.4 million, with an annual growth rate of 2.2%. The capital, Bissau, is located on the coast and had a population of anywhere between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand in 2002 and 2003. The figure has varied widely in the last three years, owing to periodic influxes of rural refugees with unrest in the interior, and then considerable decreases when violence has engulfed the capital. Current

population figures are impossible to estimate. Portuguese is the official language, with numerous ethnic languages, including Krioko, widely spoken. Ethnic groups include the Balante, Fula, and Mandinka; religious affiliation is almost evenly divided between Muslims and indigenous religions, with about 5% Christian.

The area was long part of a series of largely decentralized kingdoms, and then, from the thirteenth century onwards, the Empire of Mali, centered in the Western Sudan. In the mid-fifteenth century, the Portuguese began exploring, trading, and fort-building in the region. Soon the area became a major slave exporter to Brazil. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Portuguese had established some administrative control over the coast and near interior to protect their slave trading from the French and British who were also active in slave trading nearby. Some Portuguese traders settled permanently in the Bissau area and intermarried with indigenous women, creating a highly influential and comparatively wealthy *metis* population that influenced local language, society, and culture. With the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in the mid-nineteenth century, the area, known as the *Rios de Guine* (Rivers of Guinea), became a commercial center for the export of fish as well as agricultural and forest products.

At the Berlin Conference of 1885–1886, Portuguese Guinea, consisting of both the mainland and the Cape Verde islands, was formally recognized by the European colonial powers. Under colonial rule, the colony was neglected by the Portuguese in favor of their larger and richer possessions in Angola and Mozambique. In 1952, Portuguese Guinea, like other Portuguese controlled territories in Africa, officially became an overseas province of Portugal. This action soon led to an independence movement that in 1961, developed into a prolonged armed struggle, jointly waged by Cape Verde islanders and mainlanders. The insurgency was led by Amilcar Cabral, a Cape Verdian, who soon established control over most of the interior, whereas the coast and Bissau, remained under Portuguese control. The liberation war was brutal and costly to the colony's population and limited infrastructure, which was virtually destroyed in the fighting. Cabral was assassinated in early 1973, and in September 1974, Guinea-Bissau formally achieved its complete independence. Civilian rule was initially established but in 1980, General Joao Vieira, a mainlander, led a coup and installed a military regime. In 1981, the Cape Verde Islands renounced their mainland ties.

The change from civilian to military rule did little to improve the country's poor economic development. Amid growing unrest over an increasingly

authoritarian regime and lack of economic progress, a constitution was approved in 1984 that, with amendments, has remained in force. Vieira was elected in 1984 and again in 1989, surviving several coup attempts. A multiparty system was announced in 1991, but Vieira remained in power, indefinitely postponing presidential elections. In 1999, Vieira was driven into exile and replaced as head of state by General Ausmane Mane, who called for presidential elections in January 2000. Mane lost to Kumba Yala, who ruled until September 2003 when he was overthrown by the current military regime that promises elections and a return to civilian rule. No progress has been made in that regard because, the regime claims, continuing unrest and outside military intervention by neighboring Senegal threatens the country.

Guinea-Bissau's internal political unrest, which intensified in 2003 and 2004, is one factor in its dismal economic performance. Relations with neighboring Senegal and nearby Gambia have been marred since the early 1990s by disputes over offshore oil drilling and fishing rights, conflicting land border claims, military incursions, and reported external support for coup attempts. Refugees fled into the capital as well as from the country. Economic production was seriously disrupted by the continued turmoil and upheaval. Any infrastructure that existed in the 1990s has been destroyed. In addition, the lack of developed natural resources, little international aid, virtually no foreign investment, widespread corruption, systemic mismanagement, and considerable emigration have all contributed to Guinea-Bissau being consistently ranked as one of the world's ten poorest countries. A structural adjustment program, implemented in 1987, sought to move the country from a centrally planned economy, cut public spending, eliminate many civil servant positions, and accelerate privatization. It has not, however, significantly helped to improve economic performance. Substantial amounts of rice and other foodstuffs are now being imported. External debt in 2000 was estimated at \$950 million. Education has been sorely neglected, with an adult literacy rate of about 35% in 2003. Despite compulsory, free education, most children, especially girls, never attend schools, and there is no institution of higher learning. Beyond some primary health care and traditional medicine, most citizens have no access to modern medical care. The infant mortality rates has been estimated at 109 deaths per 1,000 live births; life expectancy for men is forty-five years; forty-eight years for women. The gross domestic product is approximately \$900, one of the lowest in the world. Both the political and economic situation of Guinea-Bissau remain perilous.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL

Officially known as the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was officially established after a meeting held in Abu Dhabi on May 25, 1981. The GCC comprises Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, and Qatar. The objectives of the GCC, as encapsulated in its Charter, emphasize the desire of the member states to achieve commonality in a wide range of areas. These include common regulatory frameworks for finance, trade, and customs, as well as cooperative ventures in both private investment and scientific and technical ventures. The Supreme Council of the GCC comprises the heads of state of each of the member states, a Ministerial Council, a Secretariat, and an Advisory Commission for the Supreme Council.

Although the commencement of the Iran-Iraq war had prompted these nations to examine their relative vulnerabilities, security issues have by no means dominated the affairs of the Council. That having been said, a Comprehensive Security Strategy was approved by the member states, and a security agreement was concluded in 1994. The agreement sees each member of the GCC considering an attack on a member as an attack on all member states. The most concrete example of security cooperation has been the establishment of the Peninsula Shield Force, a

combined arms grouping from each of the member states that has a standing headquarters and exercises its forces a number of times a year.

In a region where the history of multilateral cooperation has not been encouraging, the GCC has stood out as a relative success story. While its security achievements have been relatively limited, it can point out a number of examples where long-term negotiations have led to the signing of binding multilateral agreements. In particular, the GCC has striven for cooperative arrangements in economic affairs. This has led to the freedom of labour movement of GCC nationals between member states (although some professions in some member states remain restricted to those nationals only). Effective January 1, 2003, a Customs Union introduced a standard tariff on all goods imported from outside the GCC and allowed freedom of movement within GCC countries once they had arrived. This had originally been planned for 2005 but was brought forward two years, illustrating the degree of cooperation that member states have been able to achieve. Joint institutions such as the Gulf Investment Authority and a Commercial Arbitration Centre for all GCC members have also been established. The GCC also has sought to institute a common GCC currency by the year 2010.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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### GUS DUR

Well before becoming Indonesia's first democratically elected president in October 1999, Kiai Haji Abdurrahman Wahid's influence within Indonesian public life was felt in the spheres of religion, politics, civil society, and intellectual exchange. In the religious sphere, his influence was, and continues to be, unrivalled. Indeed, it is fair to say that during the fifteen years (1984–1999) that Wahid was the chairman of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), he was one of the world's most important Islamic leaders. After all, with an estimated 35 million members and extensive grassroots support, NU is not only Indonesia's largest Islamic organization but also the largest in the world.

Similarly, in the political realm, as leader of NU, Wahid occupied a unique position; since taking up the

chairmanship of NU in 1984, he oversaw the official withdrawal of NU from party politics and the opening up of vigorous debate regarding many issues previously considered sacrosanct. In the 1990s, while no longer a political party NU arguably represented the single most politically important grouping of people outside of the government's party GOLKAR and the army. Moreover, Wahid now also headed Forum Demokrasi, a small but very important intellectual lobby group, which he established in 1990 to be an independent nonsectarian vehicle to lobby publicly for democratic reform.

Finally, in the arena of intellectual debate and the public exchange of ideas, Wahid was always a figure of no mean ability. An astute and highly influential public figure, Wahid is controversial but generally well-liked, particularly by the younger generation, as is evidenced by the universal preference for affectionately referring to him by his sobriquet "Gus Dur."

Despite his well-established position as a reform-minded liberal intellectual, Wahid's traditional Islamic credentials are thoroughly sound. Born in Jombang, East Java, in 1940, Wahid studied at a number of *pesantren*, traditional Islamic boarding schools, in Java before undertaking tertiary level studies at the Al-Azhar Islamic university in Cairo, Egypt in 1964. From Al-Azhar in 1966, he went on to further studies in the field of literature at the University of Baghdad in Iraq, graduating from there in 1970. Encouraged by news of interesting developments in the *pesantren* scene in Indonesia and unable to study in Europe, Wahid returned home in 1971. He immediately immersed himself in the *pesantren* world, holding a number of positions at various *pesantren*.

In 1989, he was resoundingly re-elected for a second term as NU Chairman despite considerable opposition from the Soeharto regime. He again emerged victorious in November 1994, having been elected to a third five-year term in the face of a concerted and vigorous campaign directed against him by Soeharto, who was angrier than ever at his outspoken dissent.

In late 1996, in the wake of Soeharto's dramatic ouster of Megawati Sukarnoputri from the leadership of the Democratic Party of Indonesia (PDI) when further opposition seemed futile, Wahid sought and achieved a rapprochement of sorts with Soeharto. But when the Asian Economic Crisis began to pummel the Indonesia economy a year later and calls for Soeharto's resignation grew steadily more strident, the public looked to Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati Sukarnoputri and Amien Rais (leader of NU's counterpart, the 25-million-strong modernist Muslim organization Muhammadiyah) to lead the push to topple the Soeharto regime. Fearing bloody confrontation, all three leaders urged restraint. Then, in January 1998, Wahid

suffered a near-fatal stroke and the loss of what was left of his failing eyesight. He was still bedridden four months later when Soeharto finally resigned on May 21. By June, however, he recovered sufficient strength to oversee the formation of the National Awakening Party (PKB), a non-Islamist party formed to mobilize the NU masses for the June 7, 1999 elections, Indonesia's first free and fair elections since 1955. Despite the fact that PKB won less than 13% of the vote in the parliamentary elections, on October 20, 1999, the Peoples Consultative Assembly (MPR) Electoral College voted Wahid president. Megawati, whose party had achieved almost 34% of the vote, was elected vice president in the June elections. The relationship between the two leaders and their supporters, which had been deteriorating since mid-May, never recovered, and as a result, Wahid failed to gain the backing of parliament. His maverick leadership style and overly ambitious push for sweeping reforms on multiple fronts exacerbated antipathy towards him in the legislature, the bureaucracy, and the military; and the MPR finally ended his term on July 23, 2001, through moving what was effectively a vote of no-confidence against him.

The broadly based popularity and respect that he continues to enjoy, despite his tumultuous presidency, is hard-earned, but it can be attributed in part to his perceived spiritual lineage, something of great value in traditional Islamic circles where mystical power, often inherited, is more important than head knowledge. His grandfather, KH Hasyim Asy'ari, helped found NU in 1921, and his father, KH Wahid Hasyim, also led NU and was Minister of Religious Affairs in the early 1950s.

Today, Wahid stands together with other progressive Indonesian Islamic intellectuals such as Nurcholish Madjid as representing a new kind of *ulama* (Islamic scholar) and a new movement of thought, sometimes referred to as Neo-Modernism, which goes beyond both Islamic modernism and Islamic traditionalism, breaks the bounds of conventional jurisprudential reasoning, and brings together the core teachings of Islam and the insights of modern "western" scholarship.

Under the influence of a new generation of thinkers such as Wahid, Indonesian Islamic thought has become steadily more cosmopolitan and open, confidently embracing the pluralism of modern Indonesian society. The acceptance of a sophisticated position on the separation of "church" and state combined with a profound appreciation of the core values of Islam to enable, and indeed encourage, the growth of pluralist liberal thought as rich and broad as that found anywhere in the world. Abdurrahman is but one of a number of Islamic intellectuals who have contributed

to the emergence of what is now commonly referred to as Islamic liberalism. Without his contribution, however, this movement might not have developed the broad support it now enjoys within the youth of NU and mainstream Muslim society in Indonesia.

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**See also Indonesia; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development**

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## GUYANA

Guyana, a country about the size of Idaho, is located above Brazil and east of Venezuela on the north coast of South America. The capital is Georgetown. Its population in 2004 was 705,803 and does not grow because so many of its residents immigrate to the United States, Canada, and other islands in the Caribbean. Guyana also has a very high mortality rate for infants and deaths due to AIDS.

"Guiana" was first visited by the English, but it was the Dutch who established the first fortified settlement on an island in the Essequibo River just off the coast of Guyana with Amerindian trading partners in 1616. After changing hands between the British and the Dutch several times, it was a British colony from 1803 until 1966, when it became an independent republic of the British Commonwealth. As a former British colony, the official language of Guyana is English, but most Guyanese speak Creole in informal communication. Amerindians maintain many dialects, and Hindi and Urdu also are spoken.

Except for the small number of Amerindian communities in the interior, the Guyanese population is largely urban and coastal. The people of Guyana are comprised of Indo-Guyanese (50%), Amerindians



(7%), Afro-Guyanese (6%), English, Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, and other Asian immigrants of multiple national origins. There are many racially mixed Guyanese as well. Their primary religions are Christian, Hindu, and Muslim, in that order. They came as colonists, slaves, and indentured servants to manage and work on sugar cane plantations. Modern Guyanese are engaged in industry and commerce, agriculture, and public-sector service labor. The current economy slowed in 2003 as a result of a shortage of skilled labor and the underdevelopment of the infrastructure. The government also is plagued with the need to balance public investment and the unemployment of unskilled labor with high external debt payments.

Guyana has had racial strife, largely between its Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese populations. Due to the plantation labor history of Guyana, these conflicts were both racially motivated and class-based. As the new democracy emerged, these two dominant groups engaged in violent political rivalry. It was not until 1992 that Guyana's political elections were widely recognized as free and fair. The current democratic government defends human rights and supports the expansion of the private economic sector through global networks with other democracies. Despite the racial conflicts of their early national independence, the Guyanese are primarily peaceful people. Along with cricket, the Guyanese enjoy basketball, soccer, and volleyball, among other team sports.

With the collapse of the sugar market, which precipitated independence from Britain, Guyana's developing economy is based primarily on the extractive industries of fishing, logging, and mining. It exports bauxite, gold, diamonds, hardwoods, rum, rice, molasses, and shrimp. However, there is strong national desire and international support for the protection of Guyana's rain forest reserves.

The people of Guyana gave Iwokrama, a 1-million-acre preserve of virgin rainforest in the Amazonian region of the interior, to the people of the Commonwealth for scientific research and sustainable management. Funds from Great Britain, Canada, and the United Nations maintain a research camp visited by biologists, anthropologists, and other scholars from around the world. The Iwokrama Rain Forest works with local Amerindians and international partners to project local ecosystems and cultures. It is the homeland of the Makushi people, who work with anthropologists from the University of Guyana Amerindian Research Unit and the United States to develop ecotourism in the region. A local Makushi Research Unit is involved in collaborative ethnobotany research with international pharmaceutical development agencies.

The topography of Guyana is diverse. In addition to Iwokrama's rain forest, Guyana offers ecotourists and adventurers breathtaking pristine natural beauty. It features 450 miles of Atlantic coastline; millions of acres of rain forest; the Pakaraima Mountains; mighty rivers like the Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, and the Potaro; and the Rupununi savannah in the south. Kaieteur Falls, accessible by private plane, drops four times the length of Niagara Falls. Visitors to the rain forest can see jaguars, caiman, the Harpy Eagle, Giant River Otter, and Arapaima freshwater fish. Including macaws, toucans, and parrots, there are more than seven hundred species of indigenous birds. The rich biodiversity of the rain forest also is home to exotic plants and butterflies.

In Georgetown, visitors will see St. George's Cathedral. Built in the 1800s of Guyana's indigenous hardwoods, it is the tallest wooden building in the world. Green heart and purple heart hardwoods also were used to build ships because of their resistance to moisture. They are still exported as luxury building and craft materials.

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**See also Northern South America: History and Economic Development; Northern South America: International Relations**

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## **HAILE MARYAM, MENGISTU**

Mengistu Haile Maryam, a ruthless army officer with Marxist leanings, dominated Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991. He was born in 1937, but little else is publicly known about his background or his private life. His regime murdered thousands of political opponents and private citizens before he fled the country in 1991.

Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) was a feudal country in which the imperial family was estimated to have owned 42% of the land and the Coptic Church another 18%. Numerous ethno-linguistic groups in the provinces felt themselves exploited by Amhara-speakers who lived in and around the capital, Addis Ababa. Discontent turned into revolt after a great famine in 1973. On January 12, 1974 the army mutinied, led by the Dergue, a committee of 120 officers, including Major Mengistu. Seven months later the Dergue arrested the Emperor, suspended the constitution, and proclaimed a provisional military government.

The Dergue's nominal leader was executed on orders of Mengistu in November 1974. In December the Dergue proclaimed a socialist program for Ethiopia. Foreign businesses and banks were nationalized. Students and teachers were to be sent into the countryside to help collectivize farms. Mengistu promoted himself from major to lieutenant colonel in 1976. The next year he named himself head of state after another bloody internal purge of the officer corps.

All this was taking place in the context of Cold War rivalry that focused on the Horn of Africa. The United States had supported Ethiopia in its territorial

dispute with Somalia, which was armed by the Soviet Union. But after Mengistu proclaimed himself a Marxist the superpowers switched sides: Mengistu signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the USSR. East German security police and ten thousand Cuban troops were sent to help Mengistu control the situation. Washington, therefore, approved of Somalia's invasion of Ethiopia in July, 1977.

Col. Mengistu, fearing internal enemies, launched the so-called Red Terror in 1977. To show citizens what he wanted he called a huge rally in the capital at which he threw bottles filled with blood onto the pavement. The killing began in Addis Ababa, where the Dergue distributed weapons to neighborhood associations, which kept meticulous records of their executions. Bodies of victims were left in streets for three days as a warning to others, and relatives who wished to claim them had to pay for the bullets expended. At least five thousand people were killed in the initial phase of the terror. Many of these were students resisting forced conscription.

A far greater toll was exacted by the famine of 1984–1985 in Tigre Province, bordering Eritrea. Mengistu's solution was to forcibly relocate Tigreans to the distant south. As many as five hundred thousand of these internal refugees died. Internal opposition to Mengistu spread in the late 1980s, and the Ethiopian army grew demoralized. The new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, warned Mengistu to negotiate an end to the ethnic wars.

With few options left, Mengistu fled Ethiopia on May 21, 1991, to live in a heavily-guarded mansion in

Harare, Zimbabwe. He is being tried *in absentia* on 209 counts of crimes against humanity.

ROSS MARLAY

**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Ethiopia; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa; Selassie, Emperor Haile**

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## HAITI

### History and Economic Development

Haiti occupies the western third of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola and lies between 19° and 20° N and 72° and 74° W. Ninety kilometers southeast of Cuba, 187 kilometers northeast of Jamaica, and about one thousand kilometers from Florida, it contains 27,750 square kilometers (10,714 square miles). Haiti's topography ranges from flat, semiarid valleys to densely forested mountains, and about one third of its area reaches between two hundred and five hundred meters above sea level. The remaining two-thirds is divided into three mountain ranges with the highest elevation at about 2,680 meters (8,793 feet). The average daytime temperature usually remains between 24°C and 27°C. The main variation in temperature is due to elevation with three-quarters of a degree decrease for each one hundred-meter increase in elevation. The northern mountains receive about two hundred centimeters (eighty inches) of rain annually; the southern coast receives less than one hundred centimeters (forty inches) annually.

Demographic information is highly unreliable, but the total population is estimated to be 8.5 million with the capital of Port-au-Prince containing about 1.5 million people. According to various studies, the birth rate is probably around 35.5 per 100,000, and the annual growth rate somewhere just less than 2% per annum; the mortality per 1,000 is approximately 13; infant mortality per 1,000 is just less than 120; and life expectancy at birth is about 56 years.

Haitians speak a language that is usually referred to as Haitian Creole. For most of its history, however, the official language of government, business, and education has been French. Nevertheless, only about 8% of the population speaks French with any appreciable fluency. This educated elite has traditionally used the requirement of French to exclude the masses from competing for positions in government and business. Haitian Creole is currently becoming more widely accepted, and the prestige of French is rapidly declining in Haiti. Article Five of the 1987 constitution, which was distributed in both French and Creole, stated, “All Haitians are united through one common language: Creole. Creole and French are the official languages of the Republic.” Due to the recent flood of Haitian migrants to Florida, the international decline of the French language, and the economic and cultural trends in the Caribbean, English is increasingly learned and used by Haitians.

The second oldest independent nation in the Western Hemisphere, the Republic of Haiti is the only one with a French-Creole background as well as the only one with an overwhelmingly African culture. Also, large numbers of Haitians live outside Haiti, especially in the Dominican Republic, on other Caribbean islands, in the countries of Central America, northern South America, and in North America. After Port-au-Prince the second largest Haitian community is in New York City.

The economic life of much of Haiti can be understood as a product of various historical factors. After having defeated the colonial government of the French slave-owners in a bloody war ending in 1804 the newly independent nation faced the threat of a French army returning to re-enslave them. The government of the newly independent nation confiscated private land, imposed forced labor (which was unworkable and quickly abandoned), and attempted to develop an export agriculture to obtain the importation of war material. These actions led to the fragmentation of land holdings, the peasantization of Haiti, and the alienation of the masses from the government and the ruling elites. Haiti is, indeed, one of the most peasantified of all countries with about 65% of the labor force in agriculture. Currently 60% to 80% of the rural population owns their own land, though the plots are fragmented and small. A typical Haitian family feeds itself on beans, corn, rice, and yams. Despite the importance of agriculture, however, the countryside is about 95% deforested and about 25% of the soil is undergoing rapid erosion.

Coffee, sugar, rice, and cocoa are traditionally Haiti's primary export products. Shoes, soap, flour,

cement, and domestic oils comprise its light manufacturing products. Haiti also has a few cotton mills. Offshore industries have traditionally produced garments, toys, baseballs, and electronic goods for the US market, but due to the current chaotic political situation few offshore industries are functioning. The oil crises of 1973–1974 and 1980 were great shocks to the Haitian economy. In 1980, a horrific hurricane devastated the coffee industry. Many people engage in part-time craft work, particularly in the manufacture of small items and tools, but the annual per capita income is estimated at only \$380 US dollars.

Most of the internal economic activity occurs in open-air markets; in rural areas men generally handle the agricultural production and women handle the products of agriculture.

## International Relations

Haiti is closely tied to the United States with a majority of its exports coming to North America and a goodly portion of its economy dependent on government and non-government aid from the United States. October 2001 marked the seventh anniversary of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return to power after thirty-six months in exile following a 1991 military coup d'état. He was reinstated in 1994 through the military intervention of twenty-two thousand US soldiers, though his socialistic and anti-American rhetoric meant that influential sectors in the US government would continue to oppose his administration.

Since May 2000, when the party of twice-elected President Aristide won approximately 80% of the seats in a parliamentary election and the US-backed opposition front Democratic Convergence alleged that the election was rigged, Haiti has been in a political and economic crisis. Largely under pressure from the United States, over \$500 million US dollars in international aid has been frozen until the government and the opposition reach an agreement to hold new elections. In May 2002, when Aristide addressed the United Nations in New York City about the worldwide exploitation of children, a thousand or so people demonstrated against this decision by the international community, and especially by the United States, to withhold assistance to Haiti.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Duvalier, François**

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## HAMAS

HAMAS (the acronym for the Arabic *Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyya*, also meaning "zeal" or "bravery") is the Islamic Resistance Movement that developed in the Israeli-Occupied Palestinian Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in late 1987 to early 1988 during the height of the first Palestinian *intifada*. The Movement is an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood. According to the HAMAS Covenant, the goals and objectives of this nationalist movement are to liberate Palestine through jihad, ridding it of all Zionist and other foreign non-Muslim influences. This entails, specifically, the need for all Believers to strive to destroy and then replace the State of Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip with a Palestinian State, which is to be governed by the precepts of *shariah* (Muslim) law.

The liberation ideology and theology of the Movement is based almost entirely upon a very strict interpretation of the teachings of the Qur'an. As such, the Movement takes its guidance, most especially with regard to relations with Jews, from the concept that Muslims can coexist peacefully with *dhimmi* communities (that is, Jews and Christians) so long as these communities live under the protective "wing" of Muslim governance. Within such a Qur'anic context, foreign rule of Muslim lands (*dar al-Islam*) by Jews or other non-Muslims cannot be tolerated.

In addition, classically anti-Semitic texts coming from pre-Holocaust Christian Europe, such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, also inform the ideals and philosophy of HAMAS members and their views of Jews and Judaism. Such texts mesh well with HAMAS ideology, further validating the insidious nature of the Zionist movement, and its desires to take over the entire world. Thus, HAMAS equates Zionism with Nazism and imperialism, and contends that any and all means of striving to rid the Muslim Middle East of what it sees as a “vicious,” invalid movement—if necessary, while losing one’s life in the process—are legitimate acts when the objective is the liberation of Palestine from Jewish control.

### A Brief History of HAMAS

HAMAS was founded in the late 1980s as an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood. Led by the blind paraplegic Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, the movement began to gather Palestinian followers immediately, as those discouraged and angered by years of an unsuccessful secular liberation movement headed by Yasser Arafat’s Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) were offered renewed hope that the HAMAS alternative might succeed where others before them had failed.

During the first *intifada*, HAMAS’s military wing, the Izz ed-Din al-Qassam Brigades, were instrumental in attacking Israeli settlers and soldiers as a part of the armed struggle against the Zionist control of Palestine. The strategy of seeking out and attacking Israeli civilians, the Movement contends, began only after the mass murder of Muslim worshippers in Hebron by an Israeli West Bank settler, Baruch Goldstein, in early 1994. Thereafter, the Movement determined that *all* Zionists were acceptable targets in its efforts to liberate Palestine from non-Muslim control.

Although HAMAS has stated its support for the PLO and its President, Yasser Arafat, on numerous occasions, it has long opposed the PLO with regard to any sort of compromise with the Israeli/Zionist government. When, for example, Arafat signed the Oslo Accords with Israel effectively ending the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in 1993, HAMAS announced its refusal to accept the Accords, and its unwillingness to recognize any sort of agreement that would suggest an acceptance or recognition of Zionist claims in the region. That said, some HAMAS supporters ran as independents in the Palestinian elections held in 1996 that resulted from the Oslo agreements.

Since the onset of the *al-Aqsa intifada* in September 2000, HAMAS has played a central role in opposing

what the Movement perceives to be Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people. HAMAS views its suicide bombers, for example, not as terrorists but rather as martyrs who are employed to fight an incredibly powerful enemy for a just and righteous cause condoned—if not, required—by the tenets of Islam.

In response to the rise in suicide attacks throughout the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel, the Israeli authorities began to target the HAMAS leadership in March 2004. HAMAS leader and founder Sheikh Ahmad Yassin was the first to be assassinated by the Israeli authorities; his replacement, Abdel Aziz Rantisi, was assassinated in a similar fashion only a few weeks thereafter in April 2004. While the Israelis contend that the assassinations of these and other al-Qassam commanders thereafter are all legitimate in light of ongoing attacks against civilians and others by HAMAS operatives, the HAMAS leadership asserts that such killings of these significant individuals only strengthen the resolve of the Palestinian people as a whole. Moreover, they state that each killing simply encourages HAMAS leaders to call on its members to undertake further acts of revenge and retaliation, and not the surrender that the Israeli authorities seek to achieve.

### The Role of HAMAS as an Evolving Regional Player

Although viewed by the United States and West as a solely terrorist organization infamous for its numerous suicide attacks and other violent acts against Israel and its interests, HAMAS also successfully operates numerous charitable and community aid programs in mosques, community centers, schools, and health clinics throughout the Palestinian Territories. Increasingly, such programs serve to attract a broad political spectrum of Palestinian supporters, who contend that HAMAS has proven able to provide them with various basic services in areas where the Palestinian Authority has long failed.

Thus HAMAS, since its founding in the late 1980s, has begun to supplant the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its post-Oslo counterpart, the Palestinian Authority (PA), throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip. As a viable alternative to the ineffectual PLO/PA, HAMAS offers the Palestinian people hope, while simultaneously challenging the PLO as the standard bearer of the Palestinian liberation movement through its violent acts of retribution against the Israeli government, military, and civilian interests.

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**See also Arafat, Yasser; Balfour Declaration; Intifada; Israel; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Palestine; Palestine Liberation Organization; Palestinian Diaspora; Zionism**

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## HASSAN II, KING (MOROCCO)

King Hassan II, full name Moulay Hassan Ben Mohammed, was born in Rabat, Morocco, on July 9, 1929, the son of King Mohammed V of the *Alaouite* dynasty. He received his education in Rabat and the extension school of the University of Bordeaux in Rabat, obtained a *diplôme des Etudes Supérieures* (equivalent to a master's degree) in public law in 1952. He was invested as crown prince and became commander in chief of the Moroccan army in 1957, served as minister of defense and vice premier from 1960 to February 26, 1961, when he was crowned as the king of Morocco upon his father's death.

Upon his crowning, King Hassan started building dams throughout most of the country, but the goal of helping provide water for farmers and urban areas in periods of drought remains only partly achieved. His politics emphasized market economy and capitalism but were relatively conservative. In the mid-1980s, he authorized the gradual liberalization of deposit interest rates in an attempt to increase private domestic savings. During the last decade of his reign he implemented several other reforms that are widely viewed as conducive to economic development. In 1991, he initiated a number of privatization programs. In 1993, he introduced partial convertibility of the local currency (the dirham) by allowing full convertibility of current accounts. In general, he maintained a good rapport with USAID, IMF, and World Bank. Hassan pursued the most Western friendly politics in North Africa, and tried to bring Arab countries and Israel closer to peace.

The Green March, which took place in 1975, remains the most important national event in the Reign of Hassan II. On November 6, 1975, 350,000 Moroccan volunteers crossed the artificial borders between the main land and the Sahara. On November 14, 1975, the Madrid Accords whereby Morocco restored its sovereignty over the Sahara were signed. During Hassan's reign, income and gender inequalities were high. The Ominium Nord African (ONA) which is owned mainly by the royal family is said to own about 20% of Morocco's gross domestic product (GDP). Women's rights were not addressed until the late 1980s and early 1990s. There has been no tangible advancement in this area, as the Dahir (law) that is intended to enhance women's right had not been signed when Hassan died.

Primarily due to a corrupt administration, this world leader's attempts to reduce poverty and illiteracy among Moroccans produced little results. Illiteracy and unemployment rates in Morocco were no lower in 2001 than when he became king in 1961. Frustrated groups often rioted against austere stabilization and structural adjustment programs and human rights abuses. However, many blamed the poor human rights record and economic problems on his long time minister of interior, Driss Basri.

King Hassan died in Rabat of a heart attack on July 23, 1999.

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**See also Morocco; North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations**

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## HAVEL, VÁCLAV

Václav Havel was born in 1936 in Prague, in a free Czechoslovakia, but spent most of his life under dictatorships. Czechoslovakia had only been created in 1918 after the collapse of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. A Nazi invasion in 1939 ended its freedom, and "liberation" by the Soviet Union in 1945 only placed Czechoslovakia under a different kind of oppression. The Soviets imposed a communist dictatorship on the country, backed by an occupying army.

Havel began his career working with Prague theater companies as a stagehand. He had been considered too “bourgeois” by the communist government to be allowed to get a university education, but he persevered on his own, working as a lab technician during the day while studying at night. By the 1960s, he was writing plays for Prague theaters. His plays were avant garde and surreal in conception, but from the beginning they were strongly critical of the Communist Party’s rule in Czechoslovakia. “The Memorandum,” for example, was about a government officials’ inability to obey a government memo because they could not understand its convoluted language. Havel became a more active dissident after the 1968 Czechoslovakian uprising against the Soviets, known as the Prague Spring.

In spite of government censorship, Havel continued to write plays critical of totalitarian governments in general and, by implication, his own government in particular. His plays during this period include “Audience” (1975) and “Protest” (1978). His anti-government activities increased after the 1977 government trial of a Czech rock band called “The Plastic People of the Universe.” Havel signed a document protesting against the unjust persecution of the Plastic People and other artists. This became the beginning of what was known as the Charter 77 Movement. For his resistance, he was sent to prison from 1979 to 1983.

The situation in Czechoslovakia, as in the rest of Communist Europe, began to shift with the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev, the new premier of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev believed that communism needed to be reformed with *Glasnost* (Openness) and *Perestroika* (Restructuring). Czechoslovakian dissidents believed that these ideas should be applied to their country as well and began to agitate more aggressively for change.

On January 15, 1989, thousands of demonstrators gathered in Prague to protest against Communist Party policies and oppression. The government reacted by arresting Havel and other dissidents. Havel was sentenced to nine months in prison. However, instead of backing the Czechoslovakian Communist government, Gorbachev began to withdraw Soviet troops from the country. Without the backing of Soviet soldiers, and with the citizenry rallying against them, the government’s position became increasingly untenable.

In May, Havel, along with other dissidents, was released from prison. He and others, including many artists, formed the Civic Forum, a political group opposed to Communist one-party rule. By mid-November 1989 tens of thousands of people were demonstrating in Prague, demanding the government’s overthrow.

Rather than face a possibly violent revolution, the Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia negotiated a peaceful transfer of power to the leaders of the Civic Forum, of whom Havel was the most prominent. On December 29, 1989, Havel was chosen to be President of new Czechoslovakian government.

As president, Havel successfully oversaw the dismantling of the old Communist system. With remarkable speed, he and his colleagues ended one-party rule and created a democratic society where freedom of speech was the law of the land. Some have criticized his leniency towards former government officials, but one of Havel’s primary goals was to avoid the bloodshed that had characterized transfers of power in countries like Romania. His success gave the transfer of power in Czechoslovakia the label “The Velvet Revolution.”

As leader of a free Czechoslovakia, Havel’s success was mixed. He was the most popular politician in the country, but by the time he stepped down his popularity had waned. Many saw him as an impractical dreamer who did not understand the realities of political office. His ambivalent attitude towards his own authority led some to criticize him for not being sufficiently presidential (to get around the long hallways of the presidential palace, for example, he sometimes used a child’s toy scooter). He was never a nationalist. For instance, on the occasion of the Czech hockey team’s victory in 1999, rather than lauding its victory Havel took the opportunity to lecture his fellow countrymen on the dangers of excessive nationalism. He also worked with limited success to reduce prejudice against the Rom (Gypsy) population of Czechoslovakia.

A lifelong opponent of communism, Havel was also a critic of Western-style capitalism. In his writings, he argued that capitalism’s emphasis on soulless consumption could be as dangerous as communist oppression. In spite of this criticism (or perhaps unaware of it), Havel was awarded the United States Presidential Medal of Freedom by President George W. Bush in 2003.

Havel’s greatest failure in his own eyes was the split of the Czechoslovakian state in 1992. Havel had opposed the split, but ethnic Czech nationalists allied themselves with ethnic Slovak nationalists and succeeded in tearing the country apart. Havel resigned as Czechoslovakia’s president only to be elected the first president of the new Czech Republic in 1993, serving until 2003.

CARL SKUTSCH

**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Czech Republic; Velvet Revolutions**

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## HAYA DE LA TORRE, VÍCTOR RAÚL

Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre (1895–1979) was a charismatic Peruvian populist who led a native Indian movement that advocated and somewhat achieved wide ranging transformations in the politics of Spanish America. His indigenist ideas for national development and native cultures were rooted in numerous social and economic reforms.

He was born in the northern coastal Peruvian town of Trujillo on February 22, 1895. As he matured he witnessed significant socio-economic changes in his region. Foreign business interests were supplanting traditional landowners. He was from an established family that confronted uncertain economic prospects and status.

As a student in Lima, Haya de la Torre became a leader in the university reform movement, which had an agenda of broad educational and social changes. Spearheading demonstrations against the dictatorial government of President *Augusto Leguía*, Haya was exiled from Peru in 1923.

Going to Mexico, he witnessed the heady early days of the Mexican Revolution. The innovative Mexican education and cultural leader, José Vasconcelos, fostered during the 1920s many of the cultural goals of the indigenist movement. Haya de la Torre led a group of young Latin American reformers in founding a political party, the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* (APRA = American Revolutionary Popular Alliance). They believed that the Indian races of the region and the mystical force of their history would be the basis for developing their countries. They referred to the region collectively as Indo America. They intended to establish APRA in all countries of Indo America.

The proud cultures of the Aztecs and Mayas in Mexico and Central America and of the Incas in the Andean countries had been defeated and marginalized in the sixteenth century by the invading Spanish conquistadors. Since then native peoples, their numbers decimated, had become impoverished and despised. The elites of European descent who ruled over them and their former territories considered the

native an inferior race. Haya de la Torre and the Aprista (adjective in Spanish for APRA) movement sought to re-assert the dignity and accomplishment of historic Indian cultures. They sought to strengthen the nations of Latin America by more fully integrating native populations into social, economic, and political life. Physically, Haya de la Torre bore Indian features and appeared himself to be of Inca descent.

The movement also believed an alliance of intellectuals, laborers, and peasants was necessary to oppose United States economic domination. It supported economic nationalization, unification of Latin America, and solidarity with all oppressed peoples. Living in various countries of Europe and the United States, he came to know many of the leading intellectual and cultural figures of his time. Travel in the Soviet Union made him conclude that communism would not be an adequate political system for the reforms he sought.

In 1930, Leguía was overthrown by a military uprising led by Luis M. Sánchez Cerro, and the following year Haya returned to Peru. Before his return, his followers organized APRA in Peru, designating it the Partido Aprista Peruano (PAP = Peruvian Aprista Party). Over the next half century, the party would elaborate a vast social system parallel to the government, organizing educational, cultural, and welfare programs into the furthest reaches of the country. In 1931, Haya ran as the Aprista presidential candidate against Sánchez Cerro but was defeated.

Followers of Haya believed he lost the election due to fraud. He advocated the overthrow of the traditional elite that had always ruled Peru and was arrested and sentenced to prison. An Aprista uprising occurred in Trujillo that culminated in the assassination of Sánchez Cerro. The new president, General Oscar Benevides, freed Haya and allowed the Apristas to resume political activity. Nonetheless, Benevides reverted to repression of the party, causing Haya to go into hiding until 1945.

In that year, the Aprista party became crucial in electing President José Luis Bustamante y Rivero and was able to manipulate Bustamante's government. The party supported a massive transfer of economic and political power from the wealthy to the native majority, advocating land reform that expropriated massive private estates. After the party provoked a military uprising in Callao, the port city of Lima, the new president once again suppressed it.

Haya entered into hiding, later obtaining asylum in the Colombian embassy in Lima, where he remained until 1954. He then went again into exile in Mexico and Europe until 1956. In 1962, the Aprista party, despite military opposition, nominated Haya as its candidate for the presidency. He did not obtain sufficient votes to be elected. Nonetheless, the armed



forces staged a coup to prevent negotiations that might lead to Aprista influence in a new government.

Presidential elections were again conducted in 1963, with Haya a candidate. However, with the electorate assuming the military would never allow him to assume office, he was defeated by Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who proceeded to carry out significant social and economic reforms based on the Aprista program. To better integrate Indians into national life, he inaugurated a networked system of roads and highways, thereby also facilitating marketing of agricultural produce from native lands. He also established basic education and training programs for Indians.

In 1968, a military coup led by Juan Velasco Alvarado overthrew Belaúnde and inaugurated a regime that, while once again proscribing the Aprista party, proceeded to carry out further parts of its reform program. He brought about land reform by expropriating large estates of the traditional landed elite.

The last public act of Haya before he died in 1979 was to preside over the constituent assembly that returned Peru to democratic government the following year. Never married, Haya was accompanied throughout his life by his secretary companion, Jorge Idiáquez.

Only in Peru did the party achieve political significance, operating extensive social, cultural, and educational programs. Frequently repressed during Haya's lifetime, it finally obtained power during the ill-fated presidency of Alan García Pérez (1985–1990). It has declined since then.

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### See also Peru

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### HEALTH CARE

Health care in the developing world since World War II is not easy to treat under a single heading. It refers to many dimensions, notably to the health care services provided in times of mostly infectious diseases and in those of epidemiological transition. It also refers to the organizational structure and components of the systems delivering them, to socio-political choices, limited resources as well as to international cooperation and constraints. Considerable regional and local differences prevail; cultural traditions are numerous while geopolitical situations and socio-economic dependence, brought by economic crises and structural adjustment programs, vary in space and time. Many authors have recognized that health of both populations and individuals is bound up with development, although there is no simple correlation between 'more' development and better health. Developmental improvements are rather linked to 'different' health and changes in prevailing health patterns, from persistent infectious diseases to cancers, cardiovascular and chronic afflictions. They also mean environmental change, demographic ageing of the populations and more complex health issues. Longer average life expectancy brings with it other health and social care problems but also new demands for social support.

Health and health care figures still show tremendous inequality between developed and developing countries in terms of life expectancy at birth (80 years in Sweden against 40.7 years in Rwanda, 48.0 in Ethiopia, 48.6 in Chad, in 2001), under five mortality rate per 1,000 live births (4 in Sweden against 198 in Chad, in 1998), doctors per 100,000 people (299 in Sweden against 2 in Chad, 4 in Ethiopia and Tanzania, in 1993) and nurses per 100,000 people (1,048 in Sweden against 6 in Chad, 8 in Ethiopia, 46 in Tanzania, in 1993). In 1996, 30% of Chad's population had access to health care services, 42% in Tanzania, and 46% in Ethiopia.

Most authors agree that there is an association between a country's redistribution level of resources, the distribution of health services, and the accessibility of health care. "A common consensus in the redistribution debate is that, while economic growth is necessary for improvement of living standards and social services, countries emphasizing redistribution as a major development objective (and not only socialist countries) are characterized by better education,

lower infant mortality, and higher life expectancy than countries choosing growth alone” (Kloos p. 210). The poorest countries’ health care systems can be usefully presented using Roemer’s four tier typology, reaching from the entrepreneurial system to welfare-oriented, comprehensive, and socialist systems. In health care systems following entrepreneurial policies, most physicians work in private (urban) practice and medical schools as well as hospitals are predominantly private (examples are Kenya, Ghana, Zaire, Pakistan, Indonesia). Welfare oriented health care systems are part of a larger welfare state, offer better access to health care and egalitarian social services (for example the State of Kerala, India). In socialist systems finally, such as China, the role of the state is overwhelming, large numbers of auxiliary health personnel ascertain primary health care for the largest numbers and traditional health practices and practitioners are integrated into modern medical services.

Introduced during the colonial era, Western health services were originally operated by the colonial administrators and the missions. After independence, some newly established national health services continued in the same way, while more radical governments adopted socialist approaches. During the initial post-colonial period, urban curative systems expanded up to a certain point while rural areas lacked access to basic care. The health systems of the newly independent states were unable to attain objectives even close to those set for the colonial period. By the 1980s, many countries adopted systems based on the primary health care approach (PHC) proposed at the Alma-Ata conference in 1978 as a means to attain the World Health Organization’s “Health for All by the Year 2000” goal (see later discussion). But PHC has not produced the hoped for miracles and health care systems are still hesitating between dependency, accentuated by financial crises, and integration. The HIV/AIDS pandemic puts them under additional strain. Most of the poorest countries have pluralistic medical systems with elements of traditional healing systems, lay practice, household remedies, quacks, and Western biomedicine. Traditional medicine is widely used, and may even constitute the only health resource in some places, although it has not yet been integrated nor recognized by modern medicine, particularly in Africa. With a few exceptions, traditional birth attendants are still the only component of traditional medicine that is widely used and recognized in national health care systems.

After a general and chronological overview of the development of health care systems and the situation in Africa and Latin America, follows a brief discussion of the primary health care strategy adopted to reach WHO’s ambitious goal of “Health for All,” of

the role of traditional medical practices and their integration into modern medicine and of the attention given to women and health care.

## Development of Health Care Systems

Group consciousness for the need of health care can be traced back to earliest societies, from the high esteem in which medicine men or shamans were held in tribal societies, to the dietary and sanitary rules of the Hebrews and to the policy to appoint physicians for the poor in classical Greece or to attend to the slaves in Rome’s *latifundia*. In medieval Europe, the sick turned for help to the Church and its monasteries. The rise of universities in the growing cities and the training of physicians during the Renaissance established independent practitioners. Health care had a price and the guilds introduced the idea of insurance as a collective aid to the sick, before humanitarianism became a social doctrine with the beginning of industrialization and the first public health laws appeared in mid-nineteenth century. They brought gradual access to health care services but also increased sanitary control of individuals and populations.

Czarist Russia established the *Zemstvo* system by 1865, which offered health care to the peasant population and was financed through taxes, levied at the district level. In Bismarck’s Germany, compulsory insurance for medical care and disability for those on the labor market was introduced in 1883, a model followed by other countries and gradually extended towards social security and employer liability for industrial accidents. In Africa and Asia, the colonial medical systems created first for the European settlers and the military were later also directed either towards workers in particular fields or, at minimal expenditures, to the native populations.

At the time of World War I, the basic structure of health care services was in place. During the interwar period, the conception of a social responsibility for health care is reinforced by the International Labor Organization’s call for peace through social justice. Medical advances lead to increased specialization and the proliferation of hospitals. After the Great Depression, social insurance expanded in European countries. In the United States, the Social Security Act was adopted in 1935, accompanied by the Blue Cross movement for voluntary insurance.

After World War II, Britain’s Beveridge model, based on national taxes and intended to protect those in greatest need, led to complete health coverage for all and access to health care was considered a citizen’s right. France followed, although with a

different indemnity payment system, while Germany and other countries maintained the model of compulsory insurance through *Krankenkassen*, introduced by Bismarck. Australia and New Zealand adopted similar models and Canada went stepwise from compulsory insurance and special programs to universal hospital care coverage. The Eastern European countries slowly converted to the soviet model.

In the developing countries, India first considered public health coverage in 1946; but progress was slow except for insurance plans for certain workers in the urban centers of Bombay, Delhi, and Calcutta, while rural areas were left behind. In the post-war years, there were efforts in other parts of Asia and in Africa towards collective organization of health care. Physicians and other health personnel need to be trained, hospitals built, but resources are extremely scarce. In Latin America, health insurance for miners and certain groups of industrial workers covered during this period was only a small fraction of the population.

The creation of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1948 was a major event. From the beginning, its mandate of “the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health” marks a new era in international public health policy. The multiple functions related to WHO’s goal of preventing, controlling the spread, and curing disease follow a new conception of health. As outlined in its Constitution, health is not only the absence of disease or infirmity but depends on many interrelated social, economic, and environmental factors that have to be considered. WHO is a major player among the development agencies, notwithstanding frequent political controversies and funding problems with member states. Among many other activities, WHO offers technical assistance to governments in strengthening effective national health care services.

### Health Care Systems in Africa

Health indicators for Africa still show an alarming situation. After independence and during the 1960s, the eradication of epidemic and endemic diseases mobilizes WHO, UNICEF, and different nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) whose actions have a stimulating impact on health care development in most countries. Health care services become a political priority during election campaigns, a factor that amplifies the unequal distribution of health facilities left by the colonial administrations, in spite of egalitarian programs stated in national plans (Iyun). During the 1970s, promising developments such as the training of health care workers and the establishment

of new facilities are under way, with an emphasis on mother and child care. Several countries (Benin, Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, and Zambia) provide for free health care for children and experiment with “flying doctors” to reach rural areas. The health care systems are however weak. They dramatically lack the needed resources and most of the allocated funds are used to cover salaries, leaving little for medicines and other essential material. By the end of the 1980s, faced with high population growth rates, African governments could not cope with the increasing health care demands and costs. At the same time, the structural adjustment programs imposed by the IMF and the World Bank forced African countries to reduce their public expenditures, which translated into even less funding for health care and other social programs. This context was far from favorable to implement WHO’s primary health care approach, even more so as the economic crisis causes a “brain drain” of qualified health personnel and the HIV/AIDS pandemic takes catastrophic proportions. The result is that “health care is in shambles in Africa” (Iyun 259).

### Health Care Systems in Latin America

Latin American countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay have had social and health care services for specific groups since the 1920s. Under the pressure of labor unions and political movements, expensive privileges held by a few were gradually eliminated by the 1960s, the health care systems were unified and the health care coverage extended. Social security programs were also promoted as a factor of social stabilization. In Mexico, Columbia, Peru, and Venezuela, the health care systems were introduced during the 1940s, influenced by the British Beveridge model of universal coverage. Different types of health care systems can interact in Latin America. Private health care services, paid directly or by private insurance for those who can afford it, exist along with public health services financed by the state through taxes, for those who are not covered by the social security system. The social security health care approach, based on Bismarck’s model and financed by contributions from the state, employees and employers, is less adapted to the Latin American situation where most workers are independent or in agriculture. In Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, and the English speaking Caribbean, the public health care system prevails, while Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela have work-related social security benefits for the majority.

Examples of countries with mixed systems are Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru and the Dominican Republic. In many countries, however, the financial stability of the health care systems is fragile, due to high unemployment or lack of political will. The economic crisis and the related reduction of public expenditures since the 1980s have affected the health care systems and the health of the populations. Noteworthy is a particularity of the Latin American health care situation: physicians outnumber nurses (Curta de Casas). The number of private hospitals increases continuously since the 1960s and expensive curative medicine and an excessive use of medicines predominate.

### **Health-for-All and the Primary Health Care Approach**

The joint WHO and UNICEF conference held at Alma-Ata (USSR) in 1978 established the principles of primary health care (PHC), which was adopted as the major strategy to achieve WHO's then called "Health for All by the Year 2000" goal. The time limit "by the year 2000" was obviously too ambitious, but the general policy of Health-for-All has been revised and reaffirmed by WHO in 1998. The proposed strategy was considered revolutionary as it recognized explicitly that health promotion could not be attained without improving socio-economic conditions and alleviating poverty. It enlarged the dominant medical perspective to environmental, social, political, and economic determinants of the health of individuals and populations. The PHC proposition was inspired by successful local and national initiatives such as in China, Cuba, and Kerala State, India. They were evidence that higher levels of health are achievable when political will is committed to egalitarian principles of social justice and equity rather than to economic growth alone. The Chinese model in particular showed the importance of preventive measures, community participation, and decentralized health care services, with the famous "bare foot doctors" bringing health care to rural communities.

PHC is neither the equivalent of primary medical care nor of health services for all. Its purpose is to reach every human being, particularly those in greatest need, by establishing a continuous relationship between the health sector, individuals, and families. The PHC approach, as adopted at Alma-Ata, aims at the equitable distribution of resources and access to essential care for everyone. It recognizes that in order

to attain the highest level of health, a concerted effort in all fields of human activity is needed. Health promotion and disease prevention are considered as essential as curative care, which has to be based on scientifically sound technology within the limits of the affordable. Individual and community participation in the local development of health care is a right as well as an obligation. Community development is viewed as both a management tool to reform health service delivery systems and a means of empowerment. Although the latter might seem rhetoric to some authors (see Asthana), numerous successful health promotion experiences and advocacy initiatives in developing countries are documented (see Dillon and Philip), supported by communities, the media, NGOs, university researchers, and the international organizations.

It is difficult to evaluate PHC and the Health-for-All strategy in general, as there are social, economic, ecological, political, biomedical, and management aspects relevant to many countries on the six continents with countless cultures and communities. The strategy has without doubt brought achievements and provoked fundamental changes if not a social revolution in health care development. Equity as its essential feature calls for positive developments in education, agriculture but also employment, environmental protection and absence of war and civil strife. Female education and increased autonomy in some places show the possible synergy between health care and education, although the overall illiteracy and poverty indicators are still alarming. In Latin America, the primary health care approach adopted also by the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) has led to the emergence of a new model of local health systems, *systemas locales de salud* (SILOS), where the community participates in planning, implementation and evaluation. SILOS are conceived for geographically defined populations. PHC in Latin America has however to cope with large indigenous populations distinguished by ethnic, religious, and economic differences (Curta de Casas). Another example is India, which preceded the Alma-Ata declaration with its 1975 Report on Health and Family Planning in which it rejected the Western medical perspective, because of its over-professionalization and excessive costs. India opted rather for a primary health care approach with locally chosen semi-professional community health workers and trained volunteers. Their numerical increase, from 67 in the 1950s, to 23,000 in the 1990s gives a measure of the impact of primary health care. But great differences still exist from state to state, with the state of Kerala often being singled out as the most successful example, despite economic difficulties.

It should also be noted that critiques addressed to the primary health care strategy—and they are numerous—have exposed the approach's condescendence as well as the emphasis placed on prevention, which leaves numerous unpreventable illnesses without necessary treatments.

### **Integrating Traditional Medicine**

The 1978 Alma-Ata declaration insisted on the essential contribution of traditional medical knowledge and practices to primary health care, but the debate about integrating traditional medicine and its practitioners into modern national health care systems is ongoing. The contemptuous colonial attitude towards traditional medical practices considered as unscientific is still perceptible, even if they are in many parts of the world the only affordable health care available. Medical schools continue to offer training oriented towards the scientific medical model in which cultural variations have little room. The result is that professional and political acceptability of traditional medicine goes from outright prohibition over some tolerance to exceptionally formal recognition with state support. This is the case for example in China and to a lesser degree in India. The Indian Congress party indeed recommended early on, in 1918, to secure the advantages of the traditional Ayurveda, Unani, and Siddha systems, but the preferences of Nehru for the Western scientific health care indicate that the official position was debated for some time. The primary health care approach adopted during the 1970s integrated a combination of allopathic and traditional Indian systems of medicine, based on Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha and homeopathy to provide affordable and culturally acceptable care in rural areas. The professional position of traditional practitioners stays nevertheless inferior. They are perceived by medical practitioners as auxiliaries to be supervised rather than as professionals, although they are trusted and esteemed in the communities they serve. In most countries, the two systems coexist and integration is limited to obstetrics. China is the best example of a real institutional integration of traditional and modern medicine through national health care services, with professionalization and training of practitioners in both fields. WHO has developed guidelines and principles covering a wide range of activities in order to better integrate traditional medicine, such as ways to improve the protection of patients from charlatans and encouraging research to assess the quality of traditional medicines and treatment.

### **Health Care and Women**

International policies about health care for women have traditionally been oriented towards reproductive health and maternal and child care and welfare, as expressed since 1946 in the Constitution of the World Health Organization. Many programs have been developed to reduce maternal and infant mortality and morbidity and such activities include family planning, training of traditional birth attendants, nutrition, and health education. WHO has dedicated the 2005 World Health Day to the theme "Make every mother and child count." The vulnerability of women during pregnancy and childbirth in developing countries is still a major preoccupation and cause of illness and death. Yet women also play a crucial role as health care providers in their families and communities and there is a growing awareness about the central contribution of women to economic development and environmental protection, beyond their reproductive lives. As such, women in the developing world are also exposed to hazards from working conditions in the formal and informal sectors where they try to make a living. They are confronted with domestic, traditional (female genital mutilation), sexual and political violence, migration, with sexually transmissible diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, with changing family structures and "post-reproductive" or widowhood discrimination. The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, in 1995, contributed to raise public awareness about health and health care problems of women in the developing world. Many authors suggest that research is needed to better understand women's multiple health related roles in developing countries.

### **Perspectives**

Health implies complex interactions between humans and their social, physical, and biological environment. The impacts of environmental changes as determinants of health have to be assessed. Health care systems in developing countries are not only challenged by the "pervasive factor of poverty" (Phillips and Verhasselt 310) due to the consequences of economic crises and structural adjustment programs. They also have to face threats from the resurgence of infectious diseases, aggravated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and the epidemiological transition to more chronic diseases. Children, women, the handicapped, the mentally ill, and the elderly continue to be the most vulnerable groups. Growing numbers of refugees or internally displaced persons and of victims of conflict or political

violence have particular health care needs. The international agencies have recognized the right to essential health care for all human beings and adopted strategies to attain this goal, with varying results.

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**See also Doctors Without Borders/Médecins sans Frontières; HIV/AIDS; Infant Mortality; Infectious Diseases; Public Health; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## HELSINKI FINAL ACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS (1975)

The Helsinki Conference on European Security was signed on August 1, 1975, by the High Representatives of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus,

former Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), the former Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the former Yugoslavia.

Today, a total of fifty-four nations are signatories to the Final Act and as such are members of the Organization for Security & Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), a leading international organization promoting democracy and human rights, among them the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Israel, the Kingdom of Morocco, the Syrian Arab Republic, and Tunisia.

The document was at the time considered a milestone of detente between the East and the West. It was perhaps the most influential international agreement since the establishment of the United Nations (UN), which continues to have an influence on international politics. Envisioned as a conference to recognize the existing borders and to institutionalize the peaceful coexistence then present in the world, the Conference's accomplishments included recognizing those borders, assuring the Soviet bloc that the West harboured no aggressive designs against them, establishing a mechanism to resolve disputes, and encouraging ongoing arms control talks. Perhaps the most significant of the accomplishments was the elevation of basic human rights to treaty status, thus placing human rights and fundamental freedoms on the international agenda and also creating a framework for bringing world attention on human rights abuses. In 1982, in order to maintain a control on the implementation of Human Rights, the representatives of a number of the Helsinki committees held an International Citizens Helsinki Watch Conference. These committees played an important role at defending the human rights in the communist countries, but haven't been active since the Berlin Wall was destroyed in 1989. This act has two main purposes: the achievement of peace and security.

The document establishes as a condition for all member-countries "the promotion of fundamental rights, economic and social progress and well-being for all people." The acts claims that peace cannot be achieved without increasing common and effective efforts towards the solution of major world economic problems such as food, energy, commodities, monetary and financial problems, and therefore emphasizes the need for promoting stable and equitable international economic relations, thus

contributing to the continuous and diversified economic development of all countries. If peace and security are the *ends*, then solidarity and cooperation are the *means*. This means to have a critical perspective upon competition and, fundamentally, the market as a means.

The Act's most significant objectives are:

- To respect each other's right to determine its laws and regulations, irrespective of their political, economic or social systems as well as of their size, geographical location or level of economic development;
- To settle disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that does not endanger international peace and security;
- To refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations;
- To refrain from making each other's territory the object of military occupation or other direct or indirect measures of force. No such occupation or acquisition will be recognized as legal.
- To promote and to encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms, all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development. This means that the member States have recognized their obligations to assure their inhabitants the right to receive health, education, decent housing, in sum, a human future.

The respect for the human rights is an essential factor to achieve peace, justice and well being. It is also necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and cooperation *among the member States as well as among all States*. As a matter of fact, if human rights were, not only among the member States but worldwide respected, there would probably be no danger of wars. This is desirable and also possible as the Final Act established that the States commit themselves to constantly respect these rights and freedoms in their mutual relations and endeavour jointly and separately, including in co-operation with the UN, to promote universal and effective respect for them. The States that signed the Act realized that the benefits resulting from increased mutual knowledge and the achievements in the economic, scientific, technological, social, cultural, and humanitarian fields were not enough if they were not obtained worldwide. The authentic peace and security would only be accomplished whenever those benefits gained a worldwide

range. Therefore, the member States claimed that they would take steps to promote conditions favourable to making these benefits available to all and also that they would take into account the interest of all in the narrowing of differences in the levels of economic development, and in particular the interest of developing countries throughout the world.

The recognition that this is an obligation as for governments, institutions, organizations, and persons has a relevant and positive role to play in contributing towards the achievement of these aims for cooperation.

One of the most important results of this Act was its contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the world by the treaties of *disarmament*. Leaving the conventional aspects of military security aside for the moment, the Final Act of Helsinki was then a unique document inasmuch as it featured issues relating to economic development, environmental and cultural affairs, specifically recognising that human rights and fundamental freedoms formed one of the core issues of the Act's comprehensive concept of European security. However, the environmental situation has worsened, wars still occur and take many innocent lives, human rights still suffer violations not only in non-developed countries. We therefore need to have the statements of declarations such as this one are effectively put into practice.

MARÍA LUISA PFEIFFER

**See also Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations**

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### HEZBOLLAH

An exact date for the emergence of Hezbollah (Party of God) is impossible to verify, however, its origins lie intellectually in the 1979 Iranian revolution and practically in the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In

response to the latter event, a group of like-minded Shi'a coalesced around a nine-man committee of members from Islamic Amal (an Islamist faction of the parent Amal movement), the Da'wa party (an international Shi'a group that emerged from the legal schools of Najaf in the 1960s) and independent Shi'a jurists. The influence of Iran on the organisation was then, and remains, significant. Iranian Revolutionary Guards trained the original Hezbollah militia, has funded Hezbollah, and the party defers to the Iranian Supreme Leader on all matters of Islamic jurisprudence. Originally acting as an umbrella organisation for the founding Shi'a groups, Hezbollah did not officially announce its existence until the production of its political manifesto in February 1985. The manifesto stated that the organisation "was convinced of Islam as an ideology and a system and (we) call on everyone ... to adopt it as a religion and to abide by its teachings whether on the personal, political or community level." In addition to this, it denied the right of Israel to exist, and claimed that the United States was Israel's spearhead into the Islamic world.

Hezbollah's political outlook has evolved from its initial advocacy of the requirement for a revolutionary systemic change to create an Islamic state within Lebanon along Iranian lines, to a position today where it publicly acknowledges the unique social makeup of Lebanon and seeks a transition to an Islamic state by political evolution. Central to this pragmatic approach was the decision, following discussions with Iranian officials in Tehran in 1989, to begin a dialogue with the other Lebanese communal groups and to enter mainstream Lebanese politics. As a consequence, they contested the 1992 parliamentary elections and have done so ever since. Whilst electorally successful, in a parliament where political representation is distributed according to religious identity, their ability to capture the twenty-seven parliamentary seats on offer to the Shi'a community is limited by the fact that Syria directs them to run on joint electoral tickets with Amal, the other Shi'a sectarian political party.

Hezbollah is best known for its military wing, the Islamic Resistance, which was instrumental in forcing the withdrawal in 2000 of the Israeli forces occupying the south of Lebanon. The military wing has received generous financial and logistical assistance from Iran and general encouragement from Syria. The success of the Islamic Resistance was also assisted by the fact that, unlike the other party militias from the civil war era, Hezbollah was allowed to remain armed to continue the fight against Israeli forces. In the formative years of the organisation, Hezbollah was also linked to the kidnapping and detention of Western hostages,

a claim that the party denies. More recently, it has been accused of having links with a number of militant Palestinian movements.

Hezbollah's non-military operations include a wide range of welfare services for the poorer Shi'a areas, which may experience shortfalls in government services. Through its Islamic Health Committee it operates hospitals and clinics, and it also runs schools and supports agricultural enterprises amongst and for the Shi'a community. These social welfare initiatives, as well as providing practical benefits to its recipients, have also been a way of establishing a client base from amongst the larger Shi'a population. The party understands well the power of information and as a consequence it is also active in all forms of the media—it runs the *al-Manar* television station, the *al-Nour* radio station, as well as newspapers and magazines.

Despite Hezbollah's parliamentary performance, its support nationally is limited to the three areas where Shi'a dominate—the Bīqā' Valley, South Lebanon, and the southern suburbs of Beirut. Its limited geographic support base, as well as its Islamist character, provides the party with a dilemma in achieving wider popular political support.

Hezbollah represents an important step in the political development of the Shi'a Muslims of Lebanon. It has illustrated how a sectarian political party with allegiances outside the country can successfully transition from a purely military organisation to become a responsible domestic political player. In doing so it has ensured its long-term viability as a political entity by adopting a pragmatic political course of action, so that it can survive once the justification for its armed wing diminishes, or political pressure forces it to disband this element. Its avowedly sectarian composition, as well as its refusal to renounce totally its desire for an Islamic state, however, will continue to limit its popular appeal amongst Lebanese of all religious persuasion for the foreseeable future.

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**See also Islam; Islamic Fundamentalism; Lebanon**

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## HINDUISM

Hinduism is one of the major religions of the world and one of the oldest. It is speculated that the rudiments of the religion were introduced from migrants around 1500 BCE, it probably adopted and assimilated some features of the local religions and supplanted them. Hinduism later spread to other parts of South East Asia and significantly influenced their cultures. Later, during the British regime, many Hindus migrated to other colonies as indentured laborers and settled there permanently. Recently, some Hindus have migrated to the United States, United Kingdom, and other parts of the Western world. Many Hindus have migrated to India from Pakistan and Bangladesh as refugees. According to the Indian Census of 2001, 80% of the Indian population or 827 million were classified as Hindus. It is estimated that approximately an additional 30 million or so reside outside India.

Hinduism is often aptly described as a way of life rather than a religious doctrine. Of all the major religions of the world, Hinduism is the least prescriptive or demanding, though there are many injunctions, inter-caste marriage is one example. Hinduism is all-pervasive and a major influence in all facets of social and political life in India. Unlike other major religions, Hinduism is basically non-hierarchical and structurally flexible. It does not have a single religious text or an individual as the authoritative source on which the religion is based, thus giving rise to a high level of multiplicity and complexity of views. Unfortunately, there are many myths about the religion. Proselytizing is not one of its tenets, and there are few conversions to Hinduism.

The ancient Hindu religious literature was written in Sanskrit and includes the Vedas and Upanishads, probably dating from 1500–300 BCE, which are considered as divinely revealed. Interpretations and commentaries continue to be written on this literature pertaining to the nature of ultimate reality and nature of the *atman* (self or soul) and their confluence, with three major variant themes. The other segments of the religious literature include two epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, which describe the life and adventures of divine heroes and *Puranas* and *Sutras* that contain religious mythologies and deal with social and religious issues.

Hinduism can be depicted as a polytheistic religion in practice because thousands of gods, goddesses, deities (divine beings), animate, inanimate sacred symbols, and even ancestors are offered prayers and homage, though some scholars argue that basically the religion is monotheistic. Creation and destruction are among the two major functions of the gods and deities.

There have been many efforts to reform or break away from Hinduism for three millennia and have resulted in the birth of new religions such as Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism. Many other social and religious reform movements are of much more recent origin. Often the new movements were incorporated within the fold of the Hindu religion as new sects, castes, or branches. Hinduism has withstood the conquests from Alexander, the Moguls, Portuguese, French, and the British, as well as influx of other religions such as Islam and Christianity and conversions to those religions. The religion has proved to be rather resilient in the face of many historical challenges from within and without and is also currently facing new and serious challenges and transformations because of urbanization, higher levels of education, secularization, democratic process of government, Westernization, globalization and technological developments in India and abroad. Consequently, ministers, governors, and presidents of India have been recruited from the ranks of women, lower castes, and other minorities.

Hinduism abounds with festivals or celebrations associated with different deities, saints (sometimes from a different religion), mythical or actual events, seasons, occupations, and regions. Though temples were scarce in the Vedic period, now there are a large number of temples or places of worship in India, from the very modest makeshifts to the most magnificent architectures. Hindus observe many *Sanskaras* or sacraments, which are rites of passage and marriage is considered the most important one. The essence of Hinduism is interpreted in various ways and it is generally agreed that there is more than one *marga* (road or path) to attain the religious goal of Moksha (liberation, salvation) from the cycle of birth and death as Hindu religion subscribes to the idea of rebirth or reincarnation. Soul is eternal and takes on different forms of life. Human beings are not born sinful but can commit *papa* (sin) and also accumulate *punya* (merit), thus, the higher the merit, the higher the level of rebirth in the order of life. Similarly, moral and spiritual values are emphasized throughout the Hindu religion. The Hindu cosmology and worldview are also quite varied and complex. The life cycle of the planet is usually divided into different *Yugas* (eons) and life renews itself anew from the destruction in each of the cycles.

Everyone is expected to abide by and uphold their Dharma (literally translated as religion), the term has broader connotations that include cosmic and spiritual laws that are enjoined. Karma (action or result of actions, preordained or otherwise) refers to the types of deeds that one is engaged in or accumulation of the

result of our deeds. The traditional Hindu social structure and the social order were based on the division of Hindus into four *varnas* and term *jati* (caste) is tantamount to a subdivision of the original *varnas*. The term *caste* is a European description of the Hindu social order. Caste is ascribed at birth and traditionally the lifelong occupations and expected duties of each individual are based on the caste into which one is born and is perpetuated by caste endogamy. The caste of an individual can be rarely changed and was rigidly adhered. Traditionally, someone from the upper castes was not supposed to accept food from the lowest caste members as it affected their purity.

The practice of Hinduism has significantly changed over the centuries. The British codified Hindu law in the nineteenth century. Missionary activities in India started from 1813 on and have been a major source of threat and friction, especially in tribal areas. Hindu religion is also gaining more importance and a political party affiliated with it has been in power in some states and at the federal level. The Hindus in India still have to overcome the social inequality between the two genders, face the egregiousness of the caste system in practice, injustices against the tribal groups, and surmount communal disharmony.

Hinduism has been basically tolerant of other religions and cultures because it is non-dogmatic, non-violent at the core, and based on moral and spiritual values. The impact of the religion is evident in all walks of Hindu life. Hinduism has provided a very rich heritage for humanity in many facets of life and learning in spite of its many drawbacks, and continues to do so.

SUBHASH R. SONNAD

**See also Caste Systems; India**

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### HIRSCHMAN, ALBERT

Albert Otto Hirschman's ideas on economic development in the Third World influenced generations of scholars, students, and policymakers in the post-World War II world. Hirschman argued that broad theories of economic development were not applicable to the nations in the developing world. Rather than applying conventional theories of economic development to the developing nations, Hirschman argued that economic development should be analyzed on a case-by-case basis.

Born in Berlin in 1915, Hirschman was educated at the University of Berlin (1932–1933), the Sorbonne (1933–1935), the London School of Economics (1935–1936), and the University of Trieste (1936–1938), where he was awarded his doctorate in economics. In 1940, Hirschman joined the French Army. In 1941, after the Germans defeated France, he fled to the United States. He was a research fellow in international economics at Berkeley from 1941 to 1943. In 1943, he joined the US Army. From 1946 to 1952 he was an economist for the Federal Reserve in Washington, DC. He served as an economic advisor and consultant in Bogotá, Colombia, from 1952 to 1956. After leaving Colombia, he taught at Yale (1956–1958), Columbia (1958–1964), Harvard (1964–1974), and Princeton (1974–1985). Since 1985, Hirschman has held emeritus status at Princeton.

In his first book, *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (1945), Hirschman explained the correlation between economic and political power. He argued that economic policy was often controlled by political exigencies. As such, his book caused many to question the implementation of the Marshall Plan in Europe. It was in Colombia, however, that Hirschman began to formulate his theories on Third World development. In *The Strategy of Development* (1958), Hirschman criticized previous theories of economic development that had been applied to Latin America. He argued that imposing broad economic development theories on the developing nations was inappropriate. Rather, developing nations should develop individual development strategies that utilize their own unique resources and structures. Hirschman also emphasized the importance of forward and backward linkages to national development strategies.

In recognition of his extensive scholarship and teaching, Hirschman has been granted honorary degrees from Rutgers (1978), University of Southern California (1986), University of Turin (1987), Free University of Berlin (1988), University of Paris (1989), University of Buenos Aires (1989), University of Campinas (1990), Georgetown (1990), Yale (1990), University of Tier (1990), Universidad Internacional

Menéndez Pelayo, Santander (1992), University of Coimbra (1993), University of Paris-Nanterre (1993), Williams College (1993), University of Naples (1999), University of Complutense (2001), and Harvard (2002). In addition, he has been awarded the Order of San Carlos from Colombia and the Order of the Southern Cross from Brazil.

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**See also Development History and Theory; Development, Measures of**

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### HIV/AIDS

The global spread of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which causes a breakdown of the immune system, has increased to an alarming stage. In 2003 alone over 5 million people were newly infected with HIV worldwide. Of these 4.2 million were adults and 700,000 children below the age of 15 years. This brings the number of people living with HIV/AIDS around the world to over 40 million. In the same year, more than 3 million people died of AIDS worldwide. Out of these, half a million were children below the age of 15 years. All in all, after its classification in 1981, HIV/AIDS has killed over 20 million people worldwide. While HIV/AIDS is resident in humans in every region of the globe, infections are concentrated largely in countries least able to afford the care for infected people. More than 95% of people with HIV live in poor countries, and the World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that by the end of 2020 HIV will be responsible for 37% of all adult deaths from infectious diseases in the developing world.

While the number of people living with HIV/AIDS continues to increase across the globe, sub-Saharan Africa is still registering the highest prevalence. In 2003, an estimated 3 million people in the region became newly infected, 26.6 million in this region were living with the virus, and AIDS killed approximately 2.3 million. The estimated number of deaths by the end of the decade is 20 million. This region also has 50 million orphaned children, and more than a third will have lost one or both parent to AIDS.

The fastest and most recent epidemics are experienced in Asia, the Pacific, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, China, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Viet

Nam, as well as in several Central Asian Republics, the Baltic States, and North Africa. In Russia, which has a population of 145 million, there are millions of people infected and it has the world's fastest-growing infection rate. India has more than 5 million people living with the virus, and it will likely soon overtake South Africa as the country with the greatest number of cases in the world.

### HIV/AIDS and Development: Impact on Social Order, Economy, and Politics

HIV/AIDS has an impact not only on individuals and communities but also on politics and economy, and thus, on development as a whole. The AIDS pandemic is destroying the lives and livelihoods of millions of people around the world, and the situation is worst in regions and countries where poverty is extensive, gender inequality pervasive, and public services weak. Thus, HIV/AIDS threatens development achievements that local and donor governments, citizens, non-governmental organization, and international agencies have worked to achieve. In many sub-Saharan countries, AIDS has increased infant mortality and reduced life expectancy to levels not seen since the 1960s. Infant and child mortality are expected to double and even triple early in the next century. The AIDS pandemic overwhelms underfunded and inadequate health delivery systems in much of the developing world, and it could undo health, social, and economic gains by nations across the world. It also represents a significant increase in government costs. Its increased incidence among military populations threatens security, and its impact on the widening gap between "haves" and "have nots" (in local and global context, in first-world/third-world relations, and in gender relations) challenges the values of democracy as well as the principles of human rights, which are all inextricable elements of policy development and implementation.

Africa, for example, provides ample proof that AIDS impacts economics. The disease claims adults in their most productive working years. The price in lost productivity in training replacements and care provision once a worker falls sick is crippling. When tens of millions of working-age adults become sick and die, the economic outputs and productivity of many countries' suffer. Because HIV is still predominantly transmitted sexually, AIDS afflicts many people in their 20s, 30s, and 40s, during their childbearing as well as their most economically productive years. In Zambia and South Africa, income in households of

AIDS sufferers has declined by 66 to 80%. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicts that AIDS may exact an annual toll of as much as 2% on economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa. The World Bank cautions that South Africa's economy could collapse in a few generations if the AIDS crisis is not averted. AIDS could take a similarly heavy toll on China's economy as well as other Asian economies. Similarly grim economic outlooks are predicted for Eastern Europe. Regionally, a severe HIV/AIDS epidemic will worsen poverty and increase inequality because low-income households will be more adversely affected by an HIV/AIDS related illness and death. Decisions made at the household level to reallocate resources (such as time, labor, housing, and land) to meet costs related to the disease may alter the distribution of income in society and create new groups of poverty. AIDS also exacerbates poverty and inequality by increasing the number of children who lose one or both parents. Embattled populations are becoming progressively less productive and are burdened with increasing numbers of children orphaned by AIDS. As a result, development in these countries is adversely affected, and they will require an increase in economic and medical assistance from the community of developed nations and create additional pressures on transfers of resources, cooperation, and bilateral relations between developing and developed nations.

AIDS in Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe is taking a center stage also in the global political arena as Western governments became increasingly concerned that the epidemic could lead to the emergence of radicalism and the undermining of newly adopted democratic systems. HIV/AIDS will breed suffering, want, and resentment that can lead into social and economic instability. In Africa, military HIV infections rates are much higher than in the civilian population and as the disease progresses, militaries will suffer from inability to meet their commitments and may be indifferent for their responsibilities. The epidemic may also threaten security in countries like Russia, China, and India, which all have nuclear weapons.

HIV/AIDS hinders development because it (as well as other infectious diseases) causes poverty, intrastate violence, and political insecurity, all of which have long-term negative effects on regional, and global economic, political, and social stability. Instability, for its part, damages international relations and hinders international political and economic cooperation and national development efforts particularly in the poor countries. HIV/AIDS has then most negative effects on social, economic, and political development in the third world countries. It not only decreases

economic productivity by impeding the formation and consolidation of human capita, and by chocking the households as well as the private sector and the public sector with the increase in morbidity and mortality rates, but it also leads into income inequalities by stigmatization and in general to marginalization of large segments of society. All this leads into a gradual erosion of social capacity of the poor nations. It also brings degeneration of the state capacity and even further increases poverty. This enforces the vicious circle of poverty and HIV/AIDS. The combination (lack of resources, malnutrition, vulnerability to other diseases, ignorance), for its part, contributes to increasing governance problems and social development in affected states and regions. In extreme cases it can contribute to political destabilization and thus, have even wider political impacts on human security. When disease takes over all aspects of our daily lives, and in the end our whole lives, when there is no effective treatment, cure, or care available, people lose their hope for life and for better future. People are more easily led into offences against humanity, when they have no expectations to live long enough to be brought before the law, to trial and punishment or compensation.

The spread of AIDS, particularly in poor societies, on the one hand, can lead to anarchy, but on the other hand, its control in the name of public health can sometimes be seen as paternalist and/or totalitarian manipulation of people's freedom. In relation to AIDS, there is still a tendency to isolate the infected and ill in order to protect the society as a whole, to avoid public panic, and to prioritize scarce resources available the danger is in wider inequality, discrimination, and violation of human rights. This brings problems particularly to the ability of transitional states to consolidate democratic and effective systems of governance needed to deal with the problems to start with. However, the same tendencies are also present in the international relations related to the issue of global, distributive justice.

### **HIV/AIDS, Human Rights, and Gender**

HIV/AIDS is probably the most challenging health problem of our time. In addition to the challenges posed by limited resources, the current scientific knowledge about HIV infection and AIDS is incomplete and many research findings are controversial and inconclusive. Moreover, lack of a vaccine and fully effective treatment, as well as the difficulties in preventing modes of transmission, have accentuated the magnitude and severity of the HIV/AIDS

epidemic. This epidemic has created not only difficult socio-economic and medical issues, but also ethical and legal questions in relation to global and local development and national and international issues of cooperation and social justice.

In general HIV/AIDS is related to the human rights issues in international development. Not only are the “right to life” and “right to health” violated by the infection, but also other human rights principles such as right to equality are affected. The main human rights principles relevant to HIV/AIDS epidemic are life; the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; non-discrimination; equal protection and equality before the law; liberty and security of person; freedom of movement; privacy; freedom of opinion and expression and the right to freely receive and impart information; freedom of association; to work, marry, and found a family; an adequate standard of living; social security, assistance and welfare; to share in scientific advancement and its benefits; to participate in public and cultural life; to be free from torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment. While these principles should protect those infected by HIV/AIDS, many of them are violated particularly in the poor countries, which are hardest hit by the epidemic. The lack of respect for human rights in general continues to increase vulnerability of individuals as well as particular groups of people to the virus. Individuals or groups who suffer from discrimination to start with and whose rights are not protected are both more vulnerable to becoming infected and less able to cope with the burdens of HIV/AIDS. Refugees, migrants, prisoners, sex workers, and sexual minorities may be more vulnerable because in many parts of the world they often are unable to realize their civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. Gender inequalities spur on the spread of the epidemic and its disproportionate impact on women. Also the response to the HIV epidemic is hindered due to lack of enjoyment of freedom of speech and association, the right to information and education by infected and affected groups, and the civil society at large due to authoritarian and/or fundamentally religious governments.

From the point of view of development ethics, the moral and legal dilemmas related to HIV/AIDS and development can then be roughly grouped in two categories: (1) those which contain local and global resource allocation dimensions and are thus related to questions of distributive justice; and (2) those which deal with conflicting claims and rights in relation to our social responsibilities. Unresolved issues within the first group include the difficult issues of resource distribution between the competing

demands of prevention among the still-uninfected and medical treatment and support for those already infected and/or impacted by HIV. An additional angle in the relationship between HIV/AIDS and development is the question of the role of international donor agencies and governments. When these groups are called upon for financial support by recipient governments, to what extent is it legally and ethically appropriate for these agencies to dictate conditions, policies, and priorities for the resources, which they provide to the countries most severely hit by HIV/AIDS?

The ethical and legal dilemmas that emerge in the second group of conflicting claims, rights, and responsibilities include the important problem of balancing individual and collective rights, most specifically between one’s right to privacy and the public health imperative to control the spread of the disease. In relation to this, another difficult problem within this category deals with process—to what extent are affected governments obligated to include representation of people living with HIV/AIDS and vulnerable populations (women in general, but also including particularly orphans and widows) in the formulation and implementation of policies that strongly affect their lives?

The issues of human rights protection and democratic participation become most relevant in poor countries in relation to HIV/AIDS. This includes gender inequality, which had led to growing “feminization” of HIV/AIDS. The number of women infected is increasing yearly. Globally, nearly half of all persons infected between the ages of fifteen and forty-nine are women. In Africa, the proportion is reaching 60% and women are considerably at least 1.2 times more likely to be infected with HIV than men. Among young people aged fifteen to twenty-four this ratio is highest. These discrepancies have been attributed to several factors including the biological fact that HIV is more easily transmitted from men to women (than vice versa). As well, sexual activity tends to start earlier for women, and young women tend to have sex with much older partners. Frequently women also have less agency in regards with whom, when, and on what condition to have sex. In many cultures there are also socio-cultural traditions (such as female genital mutilation (FGM), polygamy, widow inheritance, conjugal bonds, and/or few social sanctions on premarital or extramarital sex) which all contribute further to the spread of HIV/AIDS, particularly among women. Because of gender inequality women have less influence in policies concerning HIV/AIDS and women living with HIV/AIDS often also experience greater stigma and discrimination.

## Global Response to HIV/AIDS

Since the HIV/AIDS endemic cannot be solved or even seriously tackled within the borders of one nation-state only, the discussion and action has to be in a global scope with local focus for implementation policies that work in combating AIDS. Most national policies are not or cannot be comprehensive enough, though they cover a variety of issues from gender inequality to prevention of prenatal transmission, employment, and HIV infection, and political/social empowerment. The biggest challenge for legislators is to adopt policies that can effectively limit the spread of HIV without undermining the rights and needs of an infected individual. Such a difficult balance can be achieved only in consultation with policymakers, professional ethicists, medical and health care professional, and representatives of communities that will be most heavily impacted by these policies.

Thus, combating HIV/AIDS in the world scale will require the combined effort of all those able to respond, namely; governments, donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), faith based organizations (FBOs), the private sector and the community groups already struggling on the forth line responses. However, initially the international response to HIV/AIDS has been slow and there was a lack of ethical response from the affluent countries with knowledge and resources. Instead the rich countries let the pharmaceutical companies block the access to medicine, and denied the scale of the problem. There was the question of who is the most responsible for the global HIV/AIDS crisis. What is the global responsibility and responsibility of the individual governments of the rich and the poor countries to deal with the epidemic? How to rationalize and prioritize the use of scarce resources available? How to extend the prevention and treatment programs to poor countries, where there may be no dispensaries, hospitals, clinics, professional health care personnel or even clean water?

Recently the United Nations system and partners have endorsed a framework of action to provide guidance to both donor nations and affected governments to respond to the urgent needs of those affected by the pandemic and the global response has expanded widely in the past few years. Domestic and external spending on HIV/AIDS programmes in low- and middle-income countries increased again in 2003, notably in sub-Saharan Africa. Dozens of national AIDS coordinating bodies are now in operation, and growing number of countries (many of them in Africa) have begun extending antiretroviral and other AIDS-related medications to their citizens (UNAIDS/

WHO 2003 and 2004). The cost of antiretroviral (ARV) drugs have fallen by 98% in the past few years, with the result that a life can be saved for less than a dollar a day. Simultaneously political commitment is growing stronger and grassroots mobilization is becoming more dynamic, and prevention efforts are being expanded locally, nationally, and internationally. Nevertheless, ARV treatment coverage remains dismal in sub-Saharan Africa overall, despite recent efforts in countries such as Botswana, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Uganda. The decision by pharmaceutical companies to withdraw their patent suit in South Africa after the mid-April 2001 world protests was an important step toward wider global access to HIV/AIDS treatment. Nevertheless, the drugs are still very expensive for most poor countries and do not reach most of those infected. Thus, WHO (World Health Organization)—the convening programme for HIV care in the UNAIDS, that is, the Joint United Nations programme (with partners such as UNICEF, WFP, UNDP, UNFPA, UNODC, ILO, UNESCO, WHO, World Bank)—is developing a comprehensive global strategy to bring antiretroviral treatment to 3 million people by 2005.

HIV/AIDS is not simply about mustering resources, technological know-how, and collective will to manage and eventually stop the spread of diseases. The political and economic reverberations of HIV/AIDS demand yet broader international and local responses. While the global response to HIV/AIDS is moving into a new phase, the current pace and scope of the world's response to HIV/AIDS falls far short of what is required. Increases in resources and political commitment (both international and those in hard-hit countries themselves) are needed to ensure equitable access to treatment that benefits the poor and marginalized section of societies, especially women. Alongside that huge challenge stands the urgent need to boost prevention programmes. Prevention and wider treatment have to go hand in hand with attempts to increase social justice and gender equality.

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**See also Health Care; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## HO CHI MINH

Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) was the primary founder of the Vietnamese Communist Party and the first President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) (1945–1969). Most scholars credit Ho as being the father of the Vietnamese revolution and the most influential political figure in modern Viet Nam. The youngest of three children, the man who would become Ho Chi Minh was born Nguyen Sinh Cung on May 19, 1890, in a small village in the central Vietnamese province of Nghe Tinh. He was given the name Nguyen That Thanh at ten.

His father, Nguyen Sinh Sac, was a Confucian scholar who had served as an official in the Vietnamese imperial bureaucracy but resigned his post and became an itinerant teacher in protest against French occupation following the Treaty of Protectorate in 1884. Out of hatred for the French, Sac refused to learn French, but he had his son educated at the prestigious National Academy (Quoc Hoc) in Hue. Here Ho learned to speak French fluently. The area was indirectly ruled by the French through a puppet emperor. Its peasants led by traditional dissidents, actively opposed the French presence. In 1908, inheriting his father's rebellious spirit, Ho participated in a series of tax protests, acquiring a reputation as a rabble rouser. It was this experience that left him frustrated with a system that made him a second-class citizen in his own country.

Thoroughly imbued with the French ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity he yearned to see them in practice in France. He also determined to find out why Western nations had become predominate in the world. He signed on as a cook's helper with a French steamship company and traveled to Europe. In 1911, he arrived in Marseilles as a galley boy aboard a passenger liner. Not long after he briefly took up residence in London. At the end of World

War I, he settled in Paris. He soon became caught up in the whirlwind of Socialist political activities coursing through post-war Europe. Assuming the pseudonym Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot), he gained credibility within the local Vietnamese community by coauthoring a petition sent to Allied leaders gathered at Versailles demanding self-determination for all colonial peoples. The rejection of the petition made Ho believe that Western "liberalism" was bankrupt and so, in 1920, he joined the French Communist Party as one of its founding members.

Ho soon gained the reputation as a gifted and hard-working party organizer and, in 1923, was invited to Moscow to be part of the Communist International (Comintern). When Chinese nationalist revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, formed an alliance with the Communist Chinese Party (CCP), Ho and others were sent to Sun's headquarters in Canton in late 1924. Ho received instructions to recruit members from Indochina to act as the basis for an Indochinese Marxist revolutionary party.

In 1925, Ho formed the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League comprised mainly of radical Indochinese nationals living in south China. The new group was to train members to be future communist leaders. The League reflected the Leninist strategy of first embracing national independence to gain power and then implementing Communist ideology. For three years, the League focused the Vietnamese revolution on demands for national independence and social justice. In 1925 Dr. Sun had died and two years later, Ho Chi Minh had been forced to flee China and return to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in the aftermath of Chiang Kai-shek's purge of the CCP from the Kuo Min Tang (KMT) (Nationalist Party) in China. In 1928, the Comintern revised its policy to emphasize class struggle and Marxist proletarian leadership concepts. This split the League into two rival factions.

In 1930, Ho traveled to Hong Kong via Thailand. Here he unified the rival faction into the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP). In October, Ho and others changed the name to Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) to reflect the Comintern view that small nations could only liberate themselves by banning together in larger alliances.

In June 1931, Ho was arrested by the British in Hong Kong. After languishing in jail for nearly two years, he was released on a legal technicality and soon fled to the USSR. In Moscow he came under suspicion from Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, who did not trust independent-minded communists. To survive, Ho spent most of the rest of the 1930s in obscurity hiding from the watchful eye of "Uncle Joe" and the West.

With the advent of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937 and the retreat of Chiang Kai-shek's KMT forces into the western Chinese hinterland in 1938, Ho was allowed to return to China to resume his organizing activities. After several months serving with the CCP in central and south China, he reestablished contact with ICP leaders in Viet Nam. With the fall of France to German forces in June 1940 and the collaboration of the Vichy French government, the pro-fascist French colonial government allowed the Japanese access to important natural resources and military installations in Indochina. This angered most indigenous Indochinese and provided fuel to independence movements.

In May 1941, Ho and ICP led the formation of a broad-based nationalist alliance called the League for the Independence of Viet Nam better known as the Viet Minh. Much like the Youth League, the Viet Minh soft-peddled Marxist ideology and class struggle and disguised the ICP role in the Front. Instead, they focused on nationalist issues such as anti-imperialism, land reform, independence, social justice, and civil liberties. This soon won the general support of almost all political elements and social classes against French colonialism and Japanese occupation.

With no other real nationalist anti-Japanese force in place the Viet Minh became the main symbol of national resistance. General Vo Nguyen Giap soon built a well-trained partisan army. The Viet Minh's political and military headquarters were centered in the mountains north of the Red River Delta, near a region known as Viet Bac.

Ho constantly traveled between Viet Nam and China building up the Viet Minh base inside Viet Nam. Throughout the war, in China, the CCP and KMT maintained an uneasy anti-Japanese "United Front." During one trip, KMT authorities arrested Ho but later released him because his anti-Japanese activities were so effective. At the same time, he established contacts with US Office of Special Services (OSS) agents who supported him with some small arms and even life-saving medical supplies and treatment in turn for information on Japanese troop movements and operations in Indochina. During the war, the Viet Minh anti-Japanese activities proved highly successful.

Even as the Japanese announced their surrender on August 14, 1945, the Viet Minh marched into Ha Noi, where Ho announced Vietnamese independence and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRV). It was during this time he adopted the name Ho Chi Minh or "he who enlightens." This was apparently an effort to calm moderate fears of the famous radical Nguyen Ai Quoc. Ho also placated Nationalist Chinese occupying forces in the north by

agreeing to guarantee at least seventy seats in the national assembly to his main rival party Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang during the January 1946 elections.

Concurrently, he held delicate negotiations with the chief Free French representative in Indochina, Jean Saiteny, in an effort assure a peaceful resolution of disputes about the future of Viet Nam. In March 1946, the two came to a tentative agreement allowing Viet Nam to be a "free state" within the French Union. As part of the agreement, they agreed that the status of the colony of Cochinchina (a region in present-day Viet Nam) would be determined by a future plebiscite. Ho also agreed to assure the protection of French economic and cultural interests in Indochina. He also acceded to allow French troops to be stationed in the north.

That summer Ho went to Paris as an observer while representatives of the DRV negotiated with the newly elected conservative French government. When talks broke down, the official representatives returned to Ha Noi in protest. Ho stayed behind and worked out a compromise that called for further discussion to be held in January of 1947. Many DRV leaders were angered by Ho's interference but he convinced them the delay was necessary to prepare for war.

In the meantime, tensions between French and Viet Minh troops in northern Viet Nam reached a breaking point. In December, Vietnamese forces attacked French government installations and residence in Ha Noi. Unable to sustain open combat at this point, Ho and Giap removed the core of the Viet Minh to their mountain stronghold of Viet Bac, where they had resisted the Japanese. Once again embracing national liberation and submerging Marxist revolution, Ho formulated political policy and Giap carried out a guerilla campaign waiting for the right moment to strike. Supported with aid from the USSR and People's Republic of China (PRC) (founded in 1949), the Viet Minh finally cornered a major French unit in Dien Bien Phu and after weeks of siege forced their surrender. The defeat led to negotiation at Geneva in 1954. While Ho was again not an official representative, he was active behind the scenes and was instrumental in getting the DRV to accept a compromise peace and division of the country along the seventeenth parallel in July. With the restoration of the DRV government in Ha Noi in October, Ho returned to lead it and played a role in its move toward a socialist society. However, by the end of the decade his health had begun to deteriorate and such leaders as General Secretary Truong Chinh were making key domestic decisions.

Ho Chi Minh's position as president of the DRV was confirmed in the Constitution of 1959, but his



health was failing, and after the mid-1960s, his role in decision making became primarily ceremonial. He died on September 3, 1969. In a testament that he dictated during his final days, he asked to be cremated and asked that taxes be lowered to reduce the burden of the war on the people. Both requests were ignored. Instead, a mausoleum was erected on Ba Dinh Square in Ha Noi. After his death, Ho was officially bestowed the status of a revolutionary saint and hailed as the beloved “Uncle Ho” of the Vietnamese people.

Ho’s life and career have long been shrouded in controversy. To some, he was a heroic figure and the symbol of the struggle of the Vietnamese people for national independence and reunification. To others, he was a hardened revolutionary who disguised his commitment to proletarian internationalism behind a mask of patriotism. To this day many still wonder if he was primarily a nationalist or a communist. They ponder whether he was a secret moderate surrounded by militant radicals, as some have alleged and he himself often implied. The answers to these questions are not readily available from the evidence and, like the life of most “founding fathers,” are often obscured by legend and socio-political partisanship.

Most objective observers and mainstream scholars believe that Ho was both a true patriot and a dedicated Communist, who did not see a contradiction in these positions. Clearly, he was a man of great charm, and yet, also someone who sought his goals with ruthless determination. Whatever else, he was a talented leader who was a gifted administrator, strategist, negotiator, conciliator, and motivator who led Viet Nam to national independence.

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**See also Vietnam; Vietnam War**

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## HONDURAS

The Republic of Honduras lies in the northwestern part of the Central American isthmus and borders

Guatemala (256 kilometers) to the northwest, El Salvador (342 kilometers) to the west, and Nicaragua (922 kilometers) to the south. This mountainous country has an extensive Caribbean coast and a very small Pacific coast on the Gulf of Fonseca nestled between El Salvador and Nicaragua. Its total landmass is 112,090 square kilometers, more than twice the size of Costa Rica (a similar area to Louisiana). Ninety percent of Honduras’s 6.8 million people are *mestizo* (a mix of European and Indian heritage); the remaining 10% are comprised of Arabs, Africans, Asians, and indigenous people. As in the rest of Central America, the vast majority of the population is Catholic, but Protestant church membership has grown significantly in the last thirty years.

Honduras, along with the rest of Central America, became independent of Spanish colonial rule in September 1821. Honduras initially joined the short-lived Mexican empire, and then the war torn United Provinces of Central America, before finally becoming a sovereign state in 1840. Central American unity, though, has remained an elusive goal of successive Honduran governments.

Honduras entered its independence period with no significant export product and a lack of domestic investment capital that would have been necessary to develop one. In response, the Honduran political elite actively sought foreign investment to revitalize a moribund mining industry and to develop the country’s infrastructure. As in Costa Rica, railroad building companies used their land-grants to plant and cultivate bananas as they built the railroads. By the start of the twentieth century, bananas had become Honduras’s principal export product, but it was dominated by US-owned companies rather than domestic interests. The banana companies controlled over two-thirds of the country’s territory and they tended to interfere in Honduran politics to advance their economic interests. By the late 1920s, the three dominant banana companies merged to form the United Fruit Company, which remained a powerful political and economic force in the country. Even with these high levels of foreign direct investment, the country remained one of the poorest countries in Latin America.

In the 1960s, following an Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) strategy, Honduras joined with other Central American republics to create the Central American Common Market (CACM). The goal was to foster economic development and industrialization across the isthmus through a free trade area that would be protected from international competition by high tariff barriers. In practice, the benefits from the CACM were unevenly distributed and

tensions between the member states increased. These tensions culminated in a short war, commonly and disparagingly referred to as the “Soccer War” between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969.

As a result of these tensions and the rising tide of violence across the region, the CACM effectively ceased to exist by the late 1970s. In May 2004, the idea of a free trade zone was given new life when Honduras signed the CAFTA agreement with the US and other Central American countries, which is still waiting to be ratified by the US Congress.

Currently, Honduras remains the poorest country in Central America and while the traditional agricultural exports (bananas and coffee) have been in decline, non-traditional exports (farm-raised shrimp and fruits), and a maquila sector (textiles and clothing finishing), along with tourism, have become much more significant. Another major and growing sector of the economy is remittances from Hondurans working abroad. According to the US State Department, remittances from abroad will soon become the largest single source of revenue for the country, which is a reflection of the continued weakness of the economy.

Since the 1980s, Honduran political development has become increasingly democratic. For more than one hundred years, two political parties—Liberals and Nationals—have dominated the political life of the country. The existence of these established political parties, though, did not foster the establishment of a consolidated democracy. Instead, dictatorship, civil wars, and foreign intervention were the pattern of political life that continued until the election of a civilian president in 1981. An indication of the extent of the political turmoil during this period is the promulgation of twelve different constitutions from independence through 1982.

Honduras’s political development in the late 1970s and 1980s, though, began to diverge from that of its neighbors. While revolution swept much of the region during this period with civil wars and increasingly repressive regimes in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, Honduran political and military elites moved to deepen the country’s nascent democratization process.

For much of the 1980s, Honduras permitted the presence of US troops and counter-revolutionaries (Contras) from Nicaragua. The Contras used southern Honduras as a staging ground for attacks on Sandinista-controlled Nicaragua. The *quid pro quo* for supporting US regional foreign policy was extensive US sponsorship of major social and economic reform projects including the largest contingent of US Peace Corps workers in the world.

The ruling Liberal Party’s questionable reading of the country’s electoral law marked a second

presidential election in 1985. Because the Liberal party was unable to agree on a single presidential candidate, the party decided to run two candidates and ruled the two Liberal party candidates’ votes would be summed. Together the liberal candidates out-pollied the National Party candidate. The more popular of the two Liberal candidates, José Azcona Hoyo, took office in 1986. This election marked the first peaceful transfer of political power since the 1950s.

Another scheduled presidential election in 1988 further deepened the adherence to democratic norms. The new President, Carlos Roberto Flores, introduced sweeping reforms including the creation of an independent Supreme Court, putting the military under civilian control, and promulgating a series of anti-corruption measures. These measures were tested when Hurricane Mitch pummeled Honduras in 1998 killing more than 5,600 people, leaving over 1.5 million homeless, and \$2 billion in property damage. The government responded efficiently and without the high levels of corruption that had been expected.

The 1990s witnessed an increasing reliance on the ballot box to determine the political control of the country. There have now been six general elections and three peaceful transfers of power between the two major parties. Also, extra-parliamentary agencies have been created such as the Commissioner for the Protection of Human Rights (1992) to hold government officials accountable for their actions and the Constitution was also amended to place the military under civilian control to which the military acquiesced.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations**

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**HONG KONG**

Hong Kong (officially Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) is located in South East Asia. It is spread over the Lantau and Hong Kong Islands and about 200 other very small islands, and a small portion of mainland. It is bordered on the north by the territory of Guangdong Province of People's Republic of China (PRC) and bounded on the east, south, and west by the South China Sea. The country has a land area of 1,092 square kilometers (422 square miles), comparatively its territory about 1.5 times larger than the territory of New York City in the United States. The climate in Hong Kong is subtropical. The average July temperatures range between 26°C and 31°C (78°F and 87°F); and February temperatures range between 13°C and 17°C (55°F and 63°F). Heavy rains are quite common in summer and autumn and annual rainfall is about 2,159 millimeters (85 inches). Hot and humid summers last from May to September. The winters are cool and usually dry and they last from December to March.

The population of Hong Kong was 6,855,125 in 2004 (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] estimate). This figure does not include a number of illegal migrants from the PRC who moved into Hong Kong in search of jobs and business opportunities. Hong Kong has a population growth rate of 0.65% and migration rate of 5.24 migrant(s) per 1,000 people (2004 CIA estimate). About 95% of the Hong Kong population is Chinese, who mostly speak Cantonese dialect. Others include people from Southeast Asia, Great Britain, and some other countries.

The British established their control over Hong Kong in 1842. They forced the Chinese government to cede Hong Kong Island to Britain after winning the First Opium War. During the next few decades Hong Kong became an important trading port and military outpost for the British Navy. The colony provided financial and trading services to many large and small enterprises in the region and it served as a trade and economic window to mainland China. The Chinese government viewed the colonial control of British over Hong Kong as temporary and demanded the British government to return the territory under the control of the PRC. After a series of intensive consultations, Britain and China signed the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. It stipulated that Hong Kong would come under Chinese rule in 1997. The Communist government of China agreed to grant Hong Kong a special status of the Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China under "one country, two systems" arrangement. The Declaration and a Chinese legal act—called the Basic Law—regulated the governance of the SAR, and they will

be providing a high degree of economic autonomy for Hong Kong for next fifty years.

Hong Kong grew to its prominence during the twentieth century becoming one of the most important financial and trading centers in the world. Its economic development was facilitated by several factors. First, its economy was built around servicing commerce, trade, and shipping and therefore its government built most a favorable environment for free entrepreneurship, business, and trade. Second, it is located on the main shipping route in the western Pacific just in the midway between Japan and the Strait of Malacca, so Hong Kong established one of the most efficient seaport facilities in the world. For many decades its container terminals were among the largest in the world (by annual volumes). Third, it built the world's most efficient and sophisticated financial banking facilities that serviced trading needs of many countries in and outside of the region. Fourth, having a highly skilled and flexible workforce Hong Kong established a very competitive industrial sector that is specialized in skill-intensive manufacturing. It also became known as a tourist and shopping destination for wealthy Chinese and international tourists, businessmen, and travelers.

Hong Kong's services sector began its rapid development in the early twentieth century. The banking and trading services were established first, becoming cornerstones of the service sector in Hong Kong. They largely focus on services the international trade and commerce. For decades Hong Kong successfully re-exported products that were manufactured in other parts of China, in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and some other countries. That included clothing, textiles, telecommunications and recording equipment, electrical machinery and appliances, and footwear. The Heritage Foundation/*Wall Street Journal's* Index of Economic Freedom ranked Hong Kong among most open economies in the world in 2004. In the post-World War II period tourism became another important sector as a modern airport, international class hotels, conference and other facilities were built here. About 18 million tourists arrive in Hong Kong every year, making tourism one of the major sectors of the national economy, though the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) negatively affected it in 2003–2004.

The manufacturing sector has developed rapidly since the 1950s, although it slowed down in the late 1990s. For decades Hong Kong was known as a producer of various consumer goods, including clothing, textiles, toys, plastics, electronics, watches, etc. However, since the mid-1990s the manufacturing sector has been switching to production of more

sophisticated goods, such as computer peripherals, high-end electronics and some categories of luxury goods. Meanwhile, a significant number of manufacturing facilities have been shifted to neighboring Guangdong Province of the PRC, where labor costs were much lower.

Hong Kong has a small but vibrant agricultural sector that supplies fresh vegetables, flowers, and meat to its population. Its fishermen have notable fishing fleet that supplies about two-thirds of the fresh fish to the city. Meat producers were hit hard in 2003–2004 by SARS, and had difficulties to recover their production to pre-SARS level.

China, the United States, Japan, Taiwan, and East Asian countries are Hong Kong's main trading partners, and the chief markets for its products. According to official statistics, Hong Kong's international trade grew rapidly throughout the post-World War II era. The consumer goods (electrical machinery and appliances, textiles, precious stones, etc.) and services remained the principal export products, while food-stuff, fuel, machinery and manufactured goods, transport equipment, raw materials and others remained the key import products. The primary trading partner is China, which accounts for about 42% of the total trade turnover (2004 estimate).

Hong Kong was affected by the Asian financial crisis of 1997 and by the global slowdown of 2001–2003, but recession was relatively mild. According to the World Bank's estimates the average annual growth stood at 6.4% between 1983 and 1993, but declined to 3.1% between 1993 and 2003 (2004 World Bank estimate). During last decade, the Hong Kong government maintained fiscal prudence and kept inflation under control. The Hong Kong dollar exchange rate has been fixed to the US dollar and remained stable for many years. In 2003–2004 the exchange rate of the US dollar against all major currencies was in decline boosting compositeness of the Hong Kong economy in the international market.

The population of Hong Kong enjoys relatively high living standards. However, during the last decade the inflow of illegal migrants and economic recession put significant pressures onto the labor market and there was growing social discontent among the people. Unemployment rate stood at about 6.8% in 2004. Nevertheless, Hong Kong managed to maintain high living standards among the population and remained one of the richest countries in South East Asia in terms of per capita income at the level of \$25,430 US dollars. However, the wealth was distributed unevenly and was concentrated in few hands. The educational system is very strong in Hong Kong and literacy rate stood at about 93.5% (2004 estimate). Life expectancy is 78.7 years for

males and 84.3 for females. In 2004, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) put Hong Kong in 23rd place out of 177, ahead of Greece, Singapore, and Portugal.

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**See also East Asia: History and Economic Development; East Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Asia**

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### HOUPHOUËT BOIGNY, FÉLIX

Born October 18, 1905, in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast, to a family of wealthy Baoule chiefs, Houphouët-Boigny grew up on his family's coffee-plantations and became a plantation owner himself. He thereby encountered the problems created by French colonial government for African planters. Determined to change French policies, he founded the African Agricultural Syndicate and devoted the rest of his long life to politics. In the 1940s and 1950s, he became prominent in the struggle for independence. At first he allied himself with the French Communist Party, which alone at the time opposed colonialism. However, when the left lost power in Paris and his Ivoirian supporters expressed distress at his militancy, he broke with the Communists and thereafter promoted General De Gaulle's policies.

Houphouët-Boigny attended the Ecole Normale William Ponty and Ecole de Médecine et de Pharmacie at Dakar, Senegal, and graduated in 1925, working afterwards as a bush doctor and as a coffee planter. He served as deputy to the French National Assembly from 1945–1959, founded the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain and its Ivoirian branch, the Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire; and was elected to the French Constituent Assemblies in 1945 and 1946. He served as president of the Grand Council of French West Africa from 1957–1959 as well as serving as a French cabinet minister during this time. He served as president of the Constituent Assembly of the Ivory Coast from 1958–1959 and then as the head of Ivoirian government in 1959–1960.

He was elected the first president of the independent Ivory Coast (1960), while remaining secretary general of the ruling Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast. Though the Ivoirian constitution established a democratic republic and technically Houphouët-Boigny was re-elected president six times, in reality he imposed one-party government and controlled all developments. He maintained close ties with France. The number of French citizens working in the Ivory Coast doubled. Ivoirian exports and imports were centered on France. The French trained the Ivoirian military. Sons of the Ivoirian elite studied in France.

Houphouët-Boigny staked the country's economic future on the growth of agriculture for export. As the production of cash crops, mainly coffee and cocoa, increased he spent the additional revenues on improving infrastructure and education to promote further growth of exports. He also encouraged immigration from neighboring nations to enlarge the workforce. For years he was successful. Growth and political stability attracted foreign investments, and the annual gross national product rose steadily.

However, uneven distribution of incomes, droughts, and fluctuation of world prices for agricultural products endangered the economy and social problems mushroomed. Ethnic rivalries awakened as northern Ivoirian Muslims resented the ruling southern Christian elite which reaped most of the benefits from development. Internal mobility weakened family ties. Urban overcrowding increased misery, conflicts, and crime. Ivoirians objected to one-party rule and to the foreign presence, be it French or African. Protests against governmental action multiplied. There was also loud criticism of Houphouët-Boigny's enormous expenditures for personal glorification, which turned his native village into a modern national capital.

To maintain loyalty, Houphouët-Boigny gradually authorized political changes. He alternated repression with clemency; he exploited ethnic discord and political animosities and co-opted many by patronage. He

made ethnically balanced cabinet appointments, and replaced older trusted personnel with younger Ivoirian technocrats. He showed awareness of the yearnings of the middle and lower classes by holding public dialogues, reminiscent of traditional palavers, where people could air their grievances to their leader. He appointed study committees to recommend reforms. In the 1980s, he accepted multi-party elections. But in practice his tactics and charisma preserved his autocratic rule and governmental stability, though the economy continued to falter.

He died on December 7, 1993, in Yamoussoukro. Since his death the Ivory Coast has been victimized by unprecedented xenophobia and government overthrows. Houphouët-Boigny remains controversial. Some remember him nostalgically as “*le vieux*,” the father of their country; others accuse him of having been a dictator, a lackey to the French, and blame him for the country's current difficulties.

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**See also Cote d'Ivoire; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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#### HOXHA, ENVER

Enver Hoxha (1908–1985) was the chief architect of the Albanian Communist Party, and subsequently of the postwar Albanian government, which he directed for forty-one years.

Born in Gjirokaster, southern Albania, in 1908, Hoxha graduated from French Lyceum in Korce in 1930. He pursued higher education in France at the Universities of Montpellier and Paris. He worked in the Albanian Consulate in Brussels before returning to Albania in 1936 to teach at the Lyceum. He lost his job during the Italian occupation of Albania in 1939 and moved to Tirana the next year to organize an anti-Fascist underground. In 1941, he helped found the Communist Party of Albania, and was elected general secretary in 1943. After the war, in 1946,

Hoxha was appointed president of the Council of Ministers.

## Foreign Policy

A subtle politician, Hoxha maneuvered to forge a succession of alliances with larger communist states, to obtain aid for development and buttress Albania's defense posture. The most important of these alliances was with the Soviet Union. For a dozen years, from 1948 to 1960, Moscow was the primary source of aid, credit, and technical assistance to Albania, without which it could not have made any meaningful progress toward development.

After the break of relations with the Soviet Union in 1961, ostensibly for ideological reasons, Hoxha allied Albania with China. In the 1960s and 1970s, China's economic and military aid not only furthered Albania's development, but very likely thwarted Moscow's political and economic blockade of the country, designed to overthrow Hoxha. When China severed its ties to Albania in 1978, Hoxha adopted an isolationist developmental policy.

## Domestic Politics

Hoxha sought to build a modern Albania, with a strong economy and an egalitarian society. But projects for development, called Five-Year Plans, generally fell short of expectations. Despite Hoxha's strong-handed rule, Albania did make significant progress in many directions: agriculture, industry, health care, education, science and technology, the arts, and culture. One area of progress related to women.

Hoxha was a strong advocate of equal rights for women. He deplored women's inferior status in Albanian society, and created conditions that enabled them to free themselves from economic dependence. By the 1990s, women had made significant progress in all areas of society. They obtained jobs in the professions, management, politics, manufacturing, engineering, and other fields.

## Support for Cultural Development

Hoxha also gave vigorous support to programs for the development of the arts and culture. Despite his limitations on free expression within the nation, he encouraged the cultivation of new art forms, and the creation of a vast network of cultural institutions.

On the other hand, he had a wavering or uncertain relationship with the intelligentsia, such as intellectuals, professional people, educators, writers, and artists. Hoxha realized that he needed the special talents of the intelligentsia, if plans for the development of the Albanian nation were to succeed. However, he believed intellectuals to be politically unstable, and a potential threat to his regime. Consequently, from time to time, he authorized campaigns to intimidate or punish various members of the intelligentsia, for alleged violations of Party norms and guidelines.

A peculiar feature of Hoxha's reign was the so-called Cultural Revolution, which unfolded over a period of four years (1966–1969). The chief goal of the revolution was to stimulate development by removing obstacles to production and social emancipation, posed by incompetent administrators and backward customs. The radical measures that were implemented at this time included the complete collectivization of agriculture and the abolition of religion.

## Abolition of Religion

Enver Hoxha began to restrict the activities of religious bodies as early as the 1940s. In 1967, at the apex of the Cultural Revolution, he sanctioned the abolition of the religious establishment, on the grounds that religion was a medieval institution, rife with superstition, and a serious obstacle to development. Freedom of worship was restored in 1990.

As a matter of policy, Hoxha resorted periodically to the mechanism of the purge to achieve his ends. He regarded the purge as a necessary device for development, and for maintaining political power. His four-decades-long rule in Albania was marked by a series of purges of persons viewed as enemies of the regime. The latest and most sweeping of the purges, occurred in the 1970s and practically decimated the leaderships of the League of Writers and Artists, the army, and the top-ranking directors of the economy. The purges created a climate of terror in the country, and slowed down development.

Hoxha died in Tirana on April 11, 1985. He was a strong but flawed leader, bent on modernizing Albania.

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See also [Albania](#)

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## HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

### The Human Resource Development Concept

Society can function properly when it has the basic resources: *natural resources* (land, rivers, oil, coal, etc.), *capital resources* (buildings, tools, goods etc.), *technology* (information, knowledge and techniques employed in producing goods and services), and, of course, *human resources*. The latter include the number and composition of the population, its level of education, health status and the specific skills and habits the people have developed. In a society, all the resources are interrelated, but the human resources have a great influence on the development of all others. The production of coal, the functioning of plants, the production of goods, etc. all depend on the number of the population, its health status, and educational level. Thus, the proper management of human resources is of paramount importance for the effective functioning of a given society. When we are interested in the effective management of the human part of the social systems, we talk about *human resources management* (HRM). HRM is an integral part of management and has all the aspects of management related to the reproduction of the population within a given country.

Since the general theme of human resources management is related to their development, it has been established as a separate subject known as *human resources development* (HRD). HRD is also known among scientists as *strategic human resources development* (SHRD). It emphasises on the strategic development of human resources in a long run.

### The Content of Human Resources Development

*Two meanings* are implied when describing the developing approach toward human resources. The *first* meaning is related to the development of society as a

whole. It includes all the aspects related to the development of people living in a given country. General aspects of HRD are: *education, training, manpower planning, health care, unemployment, urban/rural settlements, mental health care, family planning, migration, birthright, mortality, women involvement*, and so on.

The individuals within a social system are functioning in various private and state organisations—production plants, schools, universities, hospitals, banks, etc. In order for a given organisation to be effective, the leaders and managers are highly interested in the development of the human resources it employs. In other words, small or big organisations also have a human development purpose. This is the *second* meaning used for HRD. It relates to the professional development of individuals working in a given organisation. In this respect, HRD includes: *training and development programs, employees' learning style, career development, recruitment process, selection process, performance evaluation, performance practices and models, strategic human resources planning, leadership styles, effectiveness*, etc. *Personnel development* is another term used when we talk about human resources development in organisations.

The development of human resources is a specific scientific area examining the previously mentioned statements. Besides, HRD includes a set of specific practices being used by managers, political, and state leaders. There are different institutions involved with the development of human resources in every country: research institutes, assessment centres, departments, governmental agencies, and ministries. They do expert assessments of the population and empirical examinations, assess employed staff, publish professional magazines and provide university master degrees in human resources development. International organisations provide different programs related to human resources, some of which are: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Health Organization (WHO) human resources development programs, ASIA–Pacific Economic Cupertino (APEC) programs, and so forth.

### HRD Present Condition

Despite certain differences, HRD is characterised by stable tendencies and specifics in the developed Western countries. This is due to their high economic growth, technological development, high living standard, and the establishment of some new approaches, related to society management, new organisational concepts, and new theoretical models of the individual human being. Until the end of the nineteenth century

the stress was laid on economic and capital resources and technologies; not much attention was paid to the HRD. In the beginning of the twentieth century the so-called *scientific approach to the management* of industrial enterprises, taking into account production, the means of production, and the manufacturing instruments was introduced. It also put stress on the effectiveness of the human labour behaviour. During the 1930s, the so-called *humanitarian approach* was imposed. It accounted not only for the economic factors within the industrial sector, but also for the human factor—the human personality, its motivations, needs, interests, and so on. During the 1970s the concept of the organisation as a closed rational unit was put behind. The organisation was seen as *an open, dynamic social system*, which was constantly changing and developing. That would require a permanent change and development of its human resources. The *organic human model* was imposed, according to which the human being was considered to be a living, organised, growing, and developing organism. The result of all this is a stable social practice with respect to this phenomenon.

### Change and Development of Human Resources

The resources within a society represent a dynamic combination, which is constantly changing. For the natural resources, that means *depletion and deterioration*: arable land is decreased and polluted; forests, drinking water, oil, and other natural resources decrease. For the human resources, that means *increase and improvement*: increase in population, health care improvement, educational funds. For example, with the increase of population and technological development, the percentages of educated people increases, as well as the educational methods improve. With the increase of the population in the future, the so-called distance learning will be imposed via the Internet. In the future this form of education will dominate over the classical form.

The HR development is triggered by the following changes. *First*, there are global changes in *international relations*, leading to the withering away of states, creation of new states, change in geopolitical strategies of the great powers, and so on, which of course reflects on HRD. There are three peak moments for these changes in the twentieth century: the end of World War I, the end of World War II, and the end of the Cold War, marked with the Eastern European revolutions in 1989. *Second*, there are *market changes*

in national, regional, and world aspects, having a significant influence over HRD. *Third*, *internal political changes* in the countries (the imposition of communism in Russia with its concentration camps, the Cultural Revolution in China, the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, etc.) also play their role on HRD. *Fourth*, *demographic changes* and the migration waves, urbanisation, etc. related to them are one more significant reason leading to change in HR. *Fifth*, *management changes* and specifically management styles of economic organisations, of small and big social entities and of whole societies have a significant impact on HRD. *Technological changes and outbreaks* (as the AIDS outbreak) may be classified in a different category of factors influencing HRD. *World terrorism* may be another factor impacting HRD in the future.

### HRD Specifics in the Developing World

Tendencies of change are typical of HR as a whole, but the dynamics of this change are different for different countries and regions. For example, in North America and Europe there is a tendency of decreasing birth rate and population ageing given the permanent increase in living standard, improvement in health care and education. On the other hand, in most developing countries there is the opposite tendency. Moreover, not only are there differences in HRD from region to region of states, but there are differences among states from the same region. Globally there is an extremely complicated picture of the condition and dynamics of HRD change. The HRD complexity arises from the world's differentiation in the political, economic, demographic, informational, and cultural aspects. As a result HRD has a different status in the western democracies, in the developing world, in the former socialist countries, in the countries of the rich North and the poor South. For example, one of the HR problems in the developing world is education and the lack of experts in the different social spheres. The situation in the former socialist countries is exactly the opposite—experts with university education create the major part of unemployment. Moreover, after the 1989 revolutions it was mostly people with university degrees that emigrated from those countries to Western democracies. Differences can be observed while comparing countries from the Asian region to Eastern-European countries. For example, during the 1990s there was a lack of experts with university degrees in South Korea. At the same time in Bulgaria, a country with extremely developed educational system, the situation was the opposite: due to the lack of



employment during this period, 10% of the Bulgarian population moved abroad—primarily people with university education, doctors of science, university professors. Further on during that decade, big differences in the educational system may be observed even in countries formerly belonging to the Eastern Bloc. For example, two of the tendencies describing the Hungarian educational system are related to fast legislative changes and the slow changes in educational curriculums and programs. In Bulgaria the situation was the opposite—slow legislative changes in the educational system and fast changes in the educational programs and curriculums. The differentiation in HRD is obvious when related to population growth: the Third World countries are facing a high birth rate problem, while in the Eastern European countries the problem is low birth rate and population ageing. There are big differences even in countries from the same region: for example Albania is described as the country with the highest population growth, that is, as the youngest nation in Europe. The negative population growth characterises Bulgaria as one of the ageing European nations. It is impossible to draw conclusions about HRD based on ideological and political criteria, because very often the condition of this phenomenon varies greatly in countries with the same political system. The countries from the former Eastern Bloc that shared the same ideology may provide an example for this. In countries like Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria, some of the basic aspects of HRD as centralised planning, educational liberalisation, and economic freedom tend to change. The same cannot be claimed for some of the former Soviet republics. Therefore, it is not correct to analyse HRD on the basis of some geographical, economic, or political features. Complex factors affecting change must be used. The situation becomes much more complicated when we discuss HRD in economic organisations, and specifically personnel development. The analyses and conclusions must be drawn on the basis of specific economic, political, cultural, and social conditions, existing in each given country.

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**See also United Nations Development Program (UNDP); United Nations Economic and Social Council**

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## HUMAN RIGHTS AS A FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE

Human rights and foreign policy are intimately connected. Human rights are those rights that all human beings should have just by being human. In international law, human rights are those rights agreed upon by nation-states in international fora applicable to all human beings. An important part of the conventions and treaties signed is the obligation to protect and promote human rights. Foreign policy therefore clearly involves working towards better protection of human rights in the world as a whole. However, in practice states who sign international human rights agreements and follow their dictums domestically are often reluctant to do the same in the realm of foreign policy. The reasons are mainly that sometimes the support of human rights abroad goes against its political and economic interests. For example, neither the United States nor the European Community wants to risk their trade relations with the Chinese government despite its record of human rights violations. And the big weapon manufacturing states do not want human rights considerations to get in the way of selling arms. Despite the proviso that no arms are sold to countries that use them against their own people, weapons as well as

instruments of torture are on the export lists of western European states.

Still, human rights are put firmly on the foreign policy agenda in the case of humanitarian intervention, sanctions, and conditional aid programmes. The dilemmas raised by supporting human rights while aiming to avoid harm (to another country's sovereignty, to foreign populations, or to economic self-interest) have been widely debated. Despite human rights being recognised by governments worldwide in conventions and declarations, the implications of those commitments are not always taken seriously. Although hardly anyone would argue that human rights are not part of a foreign policy agenda at all now, there are still many examples of where they take second place to other considerations in theory and in practice.

Here we want to give an overview of the development of the human rights agenda and argue that human rights are and should be an important part of foreign policy; not only in everyday diplomacy, but also in trade policy, aid policy and contributions to multilateral fora.

## Human Rights

Human rights are those rights to which all individuals are inherently entitled. They have been increasingly codified in international law. Their history can be traced back to the notion of citizenship in the Ancient Greek city-states and has been developed further in the works of John Locke and the debates surrounding the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) (Freeman in Smith and van den Anker 2005). The development of the current human rights documents developed further through the Geneva Conventions on humanitarian rules of war and warfare and the League of Nations convention on slavery amongst others.

After the Second World War, the victorious allies established the United Nations with the aim of preventing world war and advancing peace. The Charter of the United Nations included human rights as part of its goals. Since the Second World War, international human rights law have developed into a detailed and complex field (Baehr in Smith and van den Anker 2005).

In 1966, the two twin Covenants were agreed upon, although the Cold War made it necessary to split them into separate documents: one on civil and political rights and one on economic, social, and cultural rights. The principle of non-intervention was gradually interpreted as allowing involvement of the

international community with the human rights record of states. Dedicated conventions were established, a duty to report was developed and Special Rapporteurs were sent to assess the situation in specific countries. Recently, the International Criminal Court has been inaugurated which means that there is no longer impunity for crimes against humanity and other gross violations of human rights (Williams *et al.* in Smith and van den Anker 2005). Alongside the United Nations, other institutions have defended and codified international human rights law, like the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the regional human rights systems. The most effective is the European system which has a court and individual complaints procedures.

This development has not proceeded effortlessly; social movements and human rights lawyers fought hard for it (Gready 2004). Possibly the oldest human rights movement is the anti-slavery campaign. Generally trade unions, the anti-colonial nationalist movements and the women's rights movement resulted in further codification. Special campaigns on behalf of children's rights, minority, and indigenous peoples' rights led to the drafting of conventions. The Child Rights Convention is the most widely ratified convention in the world. Unfortunately the Draft Declaration on Indigenous Peoples of the United Nations has not yet been ratified.

Despite this enormous progress since 1945 and the renewed impetus after the end of the Cold War, nation-states still fight against outside interference with their human rights record. For a long time, states argued that how a government treated its citizens was a matter of domestic affairs. When gradually the idea of human rights as an international concern was accepted, states started to use arguments of cultural relativism instead. Especially with reference to Asian values, some states argue that although they do not reject human rights concerns, they claim the right to interpret international human rights according to their own culture (Svensson 2002). African leaders, too, have criticised the western conception of human rights. And Islamic states argue in favour of Islamic law governing Islamic states. Yet, in Vienna at the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, human rights were accepted as universal. Although there is a way of tracing human rights back to Western concepts, there were several people from non-Western countries involved in the drawing up of the Universal Declaration; the values of human dignity and respect for all living beings can be found in many of the world's main religions and philosophies. Moreover, there are good philosophical arguments against relativism which leave respect for cultures in place (Caney and Jones 2000; Caney 2001).

Human rights have also been criticised from many other angles. Marxism holds that human rights are a bourgeois concept, protecting the interests of the property holding classes. However, Marx conceded that the rights of the citizen were a possible step forward, as they emphasised people's belonging in a political community and did not separate people from one another as property rights do (Waldron 1987). Utilitarians have famously called human rights "nonsense upon stilts" and argued that the overall happiness of a political community is more important than a set of rights (Bentham in Waldron 1987). Conservatives have argued against rights since the French Revolution; Edmund Burke, for example, thought that adopting a Declaration on the Rights of Man would lead to oppression due to revolutions always turning into oppressive forces once successful. In terms of the French Revolution he may have been accurately predicting, yet the question remains whether that is a reason to reject a basic set of human rights in favour of an organically developing society. Feminism, finally, has criticised human rights discourse for using a male perspective on what it means to be human and leaving out the concerns of women by focusing almost exclusively on the public realm. However, feminism has also supported women's rights as human rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has been instrumental in getting concerns like rape (in or outside marriage and as an instrument of ethnic cleansing in war time) and domestic violence on the international human rights agenda.

Mostly, human rights are a weapon for the struggle of oppressed people and campaigns against (former) dictators. However, human rights discourse is also used to justify wars, and many nations change their definitions of human rights when a threat to national security is perceived.

### **The History of Human Rights and Foreign Policy**

Human rights as a foreign policy issue has had a bumpy ride in history, too. From the early documented struggle between the Spartans and the Athenians in Thucydides' *Peloponnesian wars* we already know the division between those who hold that all human action and therefore the treatment of other societies should be based on justice and those who base their actions on power. This division can be found again in modern International Relations theory between Realism which holds that the self-interest of the state

should guide foreign policy and Liberal institutionalism which holds that human values like justice, peace and freedom should guide external affairs of states. Historically, the liberal institutionalists are supported by theories developed by Kant in the eighteenth century and earlier on by Grotius in the sixteenth century. Kant argued that all moral action should be based on the principle of universalizability and Grotius argued that the principle of sociability was the basis for international law (van den Anker 2000). World system theories of international relations are skeptical of normative accounts of international relations as their structuralist analysis fears human rights will be used as a mask for underlying interests at least in cases where the social struggle for human rights is left out of the account. In some ways this leaves world systems approaches in the Realist camp on the divide between empirically based theories and normative theories of international relations. However, world systems theory does share a critical approach to power in international relations and does therefore have a basis to support at least some role for human rights in foreign policy. This would be subject to conditions of the actors being free from corrupting concerns for their state's interests.

The contrast between these different theories of international relations plays out in political debates on human rights as an issue of foreign policy. Explicitly ethical foreign policies were designed by Robin Cook in the United Kingdom and Jan Kavan in the Czech Republic. One of the prominently pro-human rights foreign policies was also the former United States president Carter's; although with hindsight his record was mixed. Former United States secretary of state Albright claims in her autobiography that human rights was one of her main concerns; however, the United States did not intervene in the Rwandan genocide that took place during her term in office.

The role of human rights in foreign policy is thus a hotly contested issue and after contextualising it in the wider discussion of ethics and international relations we will now look in more detail in which areas of foreign policy human rights play a role, how this role has been viewed both in contemporary and historical debates and what its role should be.

### **Basic Diplomatic Relations**

The most well-known part of foreign policy is that of basic diplomatic relations. This area of foreign policy is directly related to human rights. For example should the United Kingdom cricket team play in Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe has been accused

of dictatorship and human rights violations? The answers to this type of question rely on the judgment of what, if any, actions can assist in supporting human rights protection abroad. In addition, human rights play and should play a role in policies on the recognition of new nation-states. Should the right to self-determination, which is well protected in international human rights law, be given priority in cases where the recognition of a newly established nation-state is offensive to the former territorial power?

### Humanitarian Intervention

The doctrine of humanitarian intervention holds that when fundamental human rights are persistently violated on a large scale, despite the Westphalian notion of self-determination as a basic value in international law, military intervention is a right of the international community. Moreover, in such cases there is not only a right to intervene, there is a duty on behalf of the affected population. This doctrine is a specific form of Just War which has been recognised in historical debates on international law. Humanitarian intervention can be defined as a military intervention to stop excessive human rights abuses in another sovereign state. The European Parliament defines humanitarian intervention as “the protection, including the threat or use of force, by a state or group of states of the basic human rights of persons who are subjects and/or residents of another state.” This definition is wider than strictly military intervention; it includes the threat of force.

Historically, intervention was seen as linked to self-determination not only by a government but by the citizens of that state. Both Kant and J.S. Mill viewed non-intervention as based on the principle of self-determination of citizens to determine their own way of life. In addition to this principled stance against intervention, Mill viewed the bad consequences of intervention as good reasons against it. According to him, people can't hold onto freedom given by intervention and after intervention either a foreign power would rule or it would provide heavy support for the “free” government or civil war would ensue. Mill's list of practical difficulties would also include the lack of transparency to establish who are authentic “freedom fighters” and the fear that “dirty hands” of violent means might turn into “dangerous hands.” In other words, lofty goals of intervention based on the right to self-determine the political power would mask imperialism by the intervening state (Doyle in Pogge 2001).

Historical arguments in favour of humanitarian intervention have included cosmopolitan arguments

holding that the right to freedom is valuable everywhere for all people and this should override the principle of non-intervention. Mill saw three other good reasons to override the non-intervention principle: (1) when non-intervention can neglect vital international sources of national security; (2) following a just war to remove “menace to peace”; and (3) when protracted civil war causes suffering for the non-combatant population. Walzer argues in favour of humanitarian intervention if national self-determination is undermined by domestic oppression. He recognises three cases: (1) when too many nations contest same territory; (2) when another power has intervened in a civil war; and (3) for humanitarian purposes in case of genocide, slavery, and so forth. These types of argument are also supported in the so-called doctrine of new interventionism. Doyle argues that this is due to both the revival of multilateralism in the early 1990s and the development of innovative forms of intervention like peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace-building, and peace-enforcing.

Generally, it is recognised that humanitarian intervention, just like other forms of just war, needs to be based on a set of criteria. Most lists have the following elements in common: proportionality of violence; last resort after negotiations; right reasons: impartiality; guided by international law and multilateral support. The questions that need to be answered in order to establish the limits of new interventionism are:

- When is it legitimate to intervene in another state?
- When, if at all, have humanitarian interventions ever produced good results and how, if at all, can they be safeguarded?
- Are there circumstances when the international community is required to intervene?

Simon Caney (2005) argues that humanitarian intervention can be justified on the basis of cosmopolitan principles, yet others argue for peaceful means of human rights protection, such as support for internal opposition. Humanitarian intervention remains a central part of the discussion on human rights and foreign policy and currently the consensus seems to be on some form of interventionism while the main threat seems to lie in the abuse of the human rights argument for wars based on geopolitical interests.

### Economic and Trade Policy

Another pressing question to establish the link between human rights and foreign policy is the following: does the need for employment in Western

countries outweigh the interests of people in East Timor suffering from weapons exported to Indonesia and people in Turkey from torture instruments imported from the West?

In contrast, should economic sanctions be implemented on states that have committed gross violations of human rights? It has been argued that when human rights are violated routinely, massively and seriously, sanctions are justified. In the case of South Africa, sanctions are thought to have had a positive impact on the time it took to dismantle apartheid. However, in the case of Iraq, sanctions were seen as harming the population, especially the Iraqi children. And Colombia has not been sanctioned, despite the civil wars and the disappearances and killings of trade unionists.

One of the main dilemmas in determining the balance between human rights and self-interested foreign policy lies in trade policy. The example of China shows this very accurately. United States president Clinton decided in 1994 to grant China Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status despite its human rights record; this was a move away from earlier policy which raised the issue of human rights in diplomatic and trade missions (Morris 2002). Some argue that economic development and integration in the world market will take care of China's human rights record. So where is China now that it has been partly integrated for some time? The scope for individual expression has widened. The living standard has gone up for most of the citizenry. Government transparency has increased. The press is less controllable. The harshest restrictions on freedom of movement have been weakened. Criminal, administrative, and civil law reforms have taken place. Experiments in local democracy have been extended and there is human rights education for law students. However, criminal sanctions are still being used against political dissidents. The death penalty is widely applied. The police still detain people without due process. The state exercises control over information. The government maintains a strict family planning policy. Discrimination on the basis of health status, especially for people who are infected with HIV/AIDS, still exists. There are still restrictions on freedoms of assembly, association, and religion. The most famous example is the suppression of the Falungong movement (Stearns in Smith and van den Anker 2005). And the occupation of Tibet remains severe.

What can be learned from the case of China is that foreign policy is one factor among others in promoting human rights; despite receiving MFN status without further discussion of the wide range of human rights violated in China, the country did move forward in terms of human rights. This may mean that a

hybrid model of different forms of pressure may be more useful than strict adherence only to an ethical foreign policy which includes the heaviest pressure from diplomats and trade missions (Fleay 2004).

### **Development Aid: Conditionality**

Historically, conditionality of development aid has been part of the agenda of good governance. It can be defined as the tying of aid by donors to conditions that must be fulfilled by recipients. Economic conditionality was a core element of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the 1980s and 1990s. Some countries already included human rights and democracy in their aid policies in the 1970s although these policies were often more to strengthen local efforts than to make aid conditional. What donors demand varies, but despite the differences there are some common components: democracy and respect for human rights; some form of social justice and some emphasis on sustainable development to preserve the local environment.

Justifications for conditionality are usually based on either principles or predicted outcomes. Examples of justificatory principles are that democracy and human rights need to be protected around the globe and they are valid in their own terms, even if they do not bring about economic development directly. Justification in terms of results emphasises that political conditionality will bring about economic development, peace, stability, less migration to the West, more trading partners in the world economy and similar type of reasoning. Generally speaking the results are often supposed to be good for the receiving country as well as the donor country.

Conditionality has been criticised and in some cases has been withdrawn as a policy as a result. Widespread criticisms raise the question of whether political conditionality is successful in bringing about respect for human rights and democracy, whether or not democracy and human rights really aid economic development, and whether economic development is the real aim of political conditionality.

Here we would argue in addition that human rights and democracy are often mentioned as if they were basically the same thing in arguments for conditionality of aid. It makes sense to carefully distinguish between measures towards democratisation and measures to protect human rights. Although certain human rights violations are not compatible with democracies, others are not excluded from either the liberal democratic or the popular participation model of democracy.

Let us now assess whether the different parts of the argument for political conditionality work.

## **Human Rights and Development**

Human Rights are often interpreted as meaning civil and political rights only, with an emphasis on freedom of the press and the rule of law. Any social and economic rights are seen as of lower priority which is rather strange if the aim is development.

In the political conditionality discourse, respect for human rights leads to economic development. But often in the debate on human rights and development, human rights were thought to be a barrier to development. Economic development was thought to be a priority and respect for human rights would come second. This trade-off theory is not very plausible. There is no guarantee that the postponed needs, equalities and freedoms are going to be restored once development takes off. The trickle-down theory of wealth has not been proven at all in practice nor in theory and to rely on the expectation that with democratisation there will be an automatic restoration of human rights is both naive and dangerous.

Although the theory of trade offs has been shown to be highly problematic, it is not clear at all that there is an automatic link between respect for human rights and economic development. It depends on which human rights are going to be prioritised whether or not their implementation is helpful to economic development. And it depends on what kind of economic development one envisages. For example, if social and economic rights are prioritised some argue that development will be harmed, because they aim at economic growth as an indicator of development. However, someone else may see the improved access to health care and education as an indicator of development. The main point here is that without a proper definition of the type of rights to be prioritised and the kind of development aimed for, the assumptions of the political conditionality discourse are no more than empty rhetoric.

A second line of argument holds that political conditionality is based on a Western concept of human rights. The universal applicability of human rights is contested and it is claimed that different cultures have different underlying values they adhere to. The West has therefore no right to impose its own values on the rest of the world. This argument from the position of cultural relativism is often complemented by an argument against the hypocrisy of the West in its implementation of penalties for human rights abuse. The general claim that rights should be

different according to cultural values is plausible if what is meant is that the interpretation of the implementation of rights needs to be sensitive to cultural practices (Donnelly 1989). However, the list of rights that should be respected and enforced by any government cannot be open to cultural interpretation, since it would be unfair if a human being could be treated differently in terms of basic respect and dignity according to which place it was born.

Overwhelming evidence supports the argument about hypocrisy from the West. Strong and strategic countries like China, for example, can get away with literally murder, whereas small poor countries like Malawi will be criticised much more easily.

## **Democracy and Development**

Democracy can be seen as one of two major models: the popular participation and the liberal democratic model. Depending on which model one adheres to, different priorities in policy will be emphasised. Some actors in the international aid arena see liberal democracy as strongly linked to principles of free markets with minimal government intervention. The requirements of such a democracy are mainly free and fair multi-party elections and adherence of the government to the rule of law. Others argue for stronger participation from citizens and more government intervention into economic matters. Investment of the government in a welfare system is seen as supportive of a well-functioning democracy. These differences in conception of democracy are important omissions in the debate on political conditionality.

Second, there is no overwhelming evidence that democratic regimes bring about economic development. This is partly due to a weak definition of democracy. Some countries have formal systems of multi-party elections, but in fact the old clientelism still exists.

## **Does Political Conditionality Bring About Economic Development?**

There is no proper evaluation, but the conclusions are divided. Sometimes political conditionality is seen as having results, but these results are too superficial according to others. In terms of democracy it is said that only with a strong movement within the country itself the democratic regime is strong enough to make an impact on economic development.

## Is Economic Development the Real Aim of Political Conditionality?

Some forceful critics argue that political conditionality has nothing to do with the aim of promoting economic development. This analysis is in line with the arguments put forward that human rights are hijacked in order to win support for self-interested policies. However, it is more likely that there is at least some concern for human rights involved in the policy of conditionality.

In summary, political conditionality must be defined more clearly. It must define its aims and objectives more clearly in order to be properly evaluated. Political conditionality must be clear on its justifications: principled or based on results; it must show those results are actually linked to political conditionality. Political conditionality must overcome objections based on its interpretation of the links between human rights and development and democracy and development; it must address the critique from cultural relativism that it is nothing more than imperialism of Western ideas. It must show that there is a higher moral aim to overcome the principle of non-intervention. It must look into the possibilities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in assisting the development of human rights practices and democracy from the bottom up. Examples: Amnesty cooperating with development NGOs. However, it is clearly an area of foreign policy where human rights are and should be relevant.

## Conclusion

Historically, the theoretical division between ethical foreign policy and self-interest as the basis for external relations of states has made international politics a complex arena to assess for its morality. Although, with the development of international human rights law, human rights have taken up a place of growing importance in the actions of the international community, exactly how and to what extent they should be issues of foreign policy is still a matter of much political debate. Governments are still trying to balance their obligations under international law to protect and promote human rights everywhere in the world, with policies based on their economic and geo-strategical self-interest. These will not always clash but they may do sometimes.

In a time of globalisation, it is especially important to make the world's riches work for all and to confront the extreme poverty and deprivation for 47%

of the population living on less than two dollars a day. However, with human rights implementation instruments still prioritising civil and political rights, democracy and the rule of law over the provision for social economic and cultural rights the international community still has a long way to go. And despite regionalisation making clear that national interest can be overcome as the single motivating factor in external relations, cosmopolitan convictions to govern the world on humanitarian motives are not a reality yet.

Still, human rights are firmly believed to be a matter for the international community and with help from non-governmental organisations violations are legitimately raised at the highest levels in the United Nations.

We can't get away from the fact that HR are part of our dealings with other states and therefore of foreign policy in the widest sense. What foreign policy works best to implement human rights: economic sanctions, economic development, partnership and dialogue, support for dissidents, will depend on each specific case. With the current agendas of international terrorism and neo-liberal economic policies gaining ground, it remains (and increasingly so) true that human rights need to be fought for.

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**See also Amnesty International; Balkan Wars of the 1990s; China, People's Republic of; Helsinki Final Act on Human Rights (1975); Human Rights: Definition and Violations; Military and Human Rights; Rwanda; Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

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## HUMAN RIGHTS: DEFINITION AND VIOLATIONS

### Defining Human Rights

The concept of human rights as it is defined today did not exist in the past and is still denied by some political leaders in the present. Human rights advocates define human rights as legitimate claims that people can make on their societies or against their governments. The first modern, comprehensive statement on human rights was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1948. According to the Declaration, the human rights to which all people are entitled because of their inherent human dignity include (but are not limited to): the rights to life, liberty, and security of person; freedom from torture and discrimination based on race, religion, ethnicity, or gender; freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion, speech, and press; the right to participate in the political system, to own property, to marry and have a family, to associate with others; freedom from arbitrary arrest and searches; the right to a fair trial, to confront prosecution witnesses, to put on witnesses and evidence in one's own defense; the right to work, to an education; and the right to maintain one's culture and native language.

The Declaration, however, is a legally non-binding, aspirational document that states may sign, but do not ratify. Subsequently, the UN General Assembly adopted numerous human rights conventions that states may ratify and thereby legally obligate themselves to protect the rights contained in the conventions.

Although the UDHR was not designed to be a legally binding document, more than 185 states have incorporated its principles into their constitutions. Therefore, some legal scholars now maintain that the UDHR has achieved the status of customary international law, meaning that it legally binds all governments, because it is a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations.

### The Natural Law Justification for Human Rights

The various UN human rights documents proclaim that the justification or source for universal human rights is the universal dignity of humankind. This justification derives from the natural law philosophies that Greek, Latin, Christian, Enlightenment, and other thinkers developed over the ages. The common ingredients of these philosophies consist in the beliefs that law is not humanly made in the first instance. It is inherent in nature or, according to theologians, created by god. Humans discover natural law through the application of their natural intellects and natural moral sense, and then fashion it into more particular rules of conduct.

This natural law justification for universal human rights was asserted eloquently in the American Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, . . .

This writing was inspired by the seventeenth and eighteenth century English political philosopher, John Locke, who is often recognized as the father of human rights. Locke maintained that in nature people were equal and free, and that the ideal society was based on a social contract between the people and those who governed. Those who follow Locke's reasoning, argue that all humans are entitled to human rights because all people possess human dignity.

Locke's thinking also influenced the preamble to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which begins with these words: "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world . . ."



### **The Positivist Justification for Human Rights**

Those jurisprudential scholars, known as legal positivists, reject natural law philosophies. They maintain that if human rights are to be conceived of as legal rights, that is, as something more than moral aspirations, then their source is in legal authority, not in god or nature. Legal positivists argue that unless and until the sovereign authority of a state grants human rights, they do not exist.

This idea of national sovereign authority originated in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe as a counter to the theological basis of authority relied on by the Popes. It found support among the Machiavellian princes who wanted to carve up Europe into independent domains within which they could claim supreme authority unhindered in the treatment of their subjects by outside forces.

These princes located the ultimate source of sovereignty in their own persons. Hence, they called themselves sovereigns, and, according to such legal positivists as John Austin (1832), they were the ultimate source of law. Law, Austin wrote, is nothing more than the command of a sovereign person or group to subjects. Hence, human rights as legal rights were nothing more than the sovereign's law.

In the international arena, executive sovereignty meant that international law applied to relations between states exclusively. International law did not apply to human rights violations by sovereigns against their own subjects. That subject matter fell exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of each state.

In order to counteract universalistic notions of brotherhood and sisterhood that might infringe on their prerogatives, sovereigns have promoted the ideology of ethnonationalism. This ideology claims that some population of humans is distinct from and superior to all others on the basis of some arbitrarily selected or artificially created set of biological and cultural criteria. This kind of thinking led to genocide in Europe during World War II, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s, and other grave human rights violations.

The counters to executive sovereignty and ethnocentric ethnonationalism are democracy and humanistic universalism. Democracy is the political philosophy that maintains that government is legitimate to the extent that its authority to rule is derived from the consent of the people. Humanistic universalism stands for the equal dignity of all persons regardless of their race, creed, class, sex, class, or political nationality.

### **Religion's Contribution to Human Rights**

Religions historically did not grant individuals inalienable rights; instead they imposed duties on people to god or the gods, who threaten to punish violators in this world or the next. As Elaine Pagels, professor of history and religion at Columbia University, writes, "the notion of human rights was absent from the legal conceptions of the Romans and Greeks; this seems to hold equally true of the Jewish, Chinese, and all other ancient civilizations that have since come to light" (Pagels 1979: 2).

The universal religions did, however, help lay the foundation for human rights by holding that all peoples were created by the same god and by promoting the golden rule: "Thou shall love thy neighbor as thy self" or "Do unto other as you would like others to do unto you." These ideas help promote the belief in the equal dignity of all people.

### **Human Rights and Human Nature**

The ultimate source of universal human rights may lay in the universal psycho-biological nature of humans, rather than in the abstract and idealized concept of natural law. Humans universally have magnificent brains that give them the ability to think, create, invent, imagine, manipulate abstract symbols, anticipate the future, and learn from the past. They have a complex vocal apparatus that enables the brain to express itself orally in the complex, highly developed communication systems we call language. Human bodies are, in part, self-regulating survival machines. Our nervous system tells us when we need nourishment, water, heat or cooling, rest or exercise. Our bodies naturally recoil from pain. We are naturally social beings who love others, bond with others, and develop mentally and emotionally through interaction with others.

Because of these natural endowments, humans naturally want and value the freedom to think, to express their thoughts, to bond with others, to be free from torture, to have an adequate diet, shelter, and clothing. They value and want to be free to learn and develop their mental abilities. Because of their shared psycho-biological nature, people universally do not want to be killed, tortured, enslaved, robbed of their vital possessions, starved, prevented from learning, thinking, communicating with others, or associating with their loved ones and friends, etc. These universal human wants and values have existed throughout human history. Consequently, whenever people were

in a position to do so, they endeavored to secure these wants and values for themselves from their rulers. It is only recently that these protections have become, for some people, legal human rights.

The process whereby human wants and values were transformed into legalized human rights was a slow one that involved demands made by subjugated peoples against their contemporary and future rulers. The process involved social and political revolutions. The three documents commonly named as historic stepping stones to contemporary human rights conventions are: Magna Carta (1215), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789). All three of these documents were associated with political revolutions. In all three cases, a propertied class of men demanded rights for themselves and imposed corresponding duties on their sovereigns. In the case of the American colonies, these propertied men also established the seeds for a political democracy—a political system in which even common people can effectively strive to translate their universal human wants and values into rights for themselves and corresponding governmental duties. Democracy locates the source of sovereignty in the people themselves, not in their rulers. Hence, democracy replaces executive sovereignty with popular sovereignty.

Unfortunately, the early American promoters of democracy were not as universal as they should have been. Slavery existed legally in the United States until 1865 (Thirteenth Amendment) and the voting rights amendment for women was not passed until 1920 (Nineteenth Amendment). It took a civil war and volatile civil rights movements to address racial and gender inequities.

### **The United Nations and Human Rights**

Owing to the atrocities of World War II, governments committed themselves to creating the United Nations with the goal of securing peace by developing friendly relations among states and “respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion” (UN Charter Art. 1.3). Within the UN, the responsibility for promoting human rights falls mainly on the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Commission on Human Rights, and High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR).

The UN Commission on Human Rights, an inter-governmental subsidiary body of ECOSOC, serves as the UN’s central policy organ in the human rights field. It, along with other UN bodies such as the

International Labor Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the UN Commission on the Status of Women, has drafted a number of international human rights declarations and conventions, which it presented to the General Assembly for its adoption and, in the case of conventions, subsequent ratification by member countries. Among the most important of these have been the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights together with its Optional Protocols (1966; 1989), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

### **The International Bill of Human Rights**

Because of their fundamental character, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) have together become known as “International Bill of Human Rights.” These three instruments provide the basis for interpreting the somewhat abstract human rights provisions of the UN Charter, and most of the subsequent human rights conventions elaborate on their articles.

The UN General Assembly unanimously adopted the UDHR on December 10, 1948, by forty-eight positive votes and eight abstentions. Owing to disagreements between capitalist countries that favored civil rights over economic ones, and the communist countries that favored the opposite, the UN Commission on Human Rights decided to divide the rights contained in the UDHR between two separate instruments. The result was two covenants. The UN General Assembly adopted both in 1966 and, after achieving the requisite number of ratifications, they came into force in 1976. As of January 1, 2002, 144 countries (including the United States) had ratified ICCPR and 142 countries (excluding the United States) had ratified ICESCR.

The ICCPR incorporates almost all of the civic and political rights contained in the UDHR. It adds, as

well, the right of peoples to self-determination and the right of ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities to enjoy their own cultures, to practice their own religions, and to use their own languages. The covenant also calls for the establishment of a Human Rights Committee to study reports submitted by ratifying state parties on measures they have taken to give effect to the rights contained in the covenant.

Countries that become party to the covenant's First Optional Protocol also recognize the authority of the Human Rights Committee to consider and act upon communications from individuals claiming a state has violated one or more of their covenant rights. Countries ratifying the covenant's Second Optional Protocol agree to abolish the death penalty within their jurisdictions. This protocol, which came into force in 1991, has been favorably received by most western European and Latin American countries, but not by the United States.

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights requires ratifying states to take steps toward progressively achieving the full realization of the rights recognized in the Covenant subject to the maximum of their available resources. Among its economic rights are the right to work, the right to just working conditions, trade union rights, the right to an adequate standard of living, and the right to social security. Its social and cultural rights include rights relating to the protection of the family, to health, to education, and to the preservation of one's culture. The covenant prohibits discrimination in the enjoyment of these rights on the basis of race, sex, language, religion, opinion, national or social origin, wealth, and birth or other status. State parties are required to report periodically to the UN Economic and Social Council on the steps they have taken and the progress they have made toward realizing these rights for peoples within their jurisdictions.

### **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights**

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights is appointed by the Secretary General to serve for a term of four years with the possibility of one additional term. The General Assembly charges the high commissioner with promoting all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights; coordinating human rights promotion and protection activities throughout the UN system; providing human rights advisory services and financial assistance to requesting states; and supervising the UN's Center for Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland.

### **Generational and Positive Versus Negative Rights**

The content and range of claimed human rights have progressively expanded through time, such that commentators often speak of three generations of rights, the first being civil and political rights (*liberté*); the second being of economic, social, and cultural rights (*égalité*); and the third being solidarity rights (*fraternité*).

The UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights contains many of the first generation rights, while the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights contains many of the second generation rights. Some commentators refer to first generation rights as negative rights, because, they claim, these require government non-interference in order for individuals to be able to freely exercise them. Typical first generation rights include the rights of free speech, press, religion, and thought. By contrast, some commentators have characterized second generation rights as positive, because they usually require government to act in order for individuals to enjoy them. For example, government action may be required in order for individuals to enjoy the right to social security, protection against unemployment, the worker's right to rest and leisure, including periodic holidays with pay; and the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being.

Third generation rights are often referred to as collective rights, in contrast to the mainly individual rights of generations one and two. Among the third generation rights are a people's right to political, economic, social, and cultural self-determination; the right of people to share the common heritage of humankind, including the mineral resources of the earth, the seas, and outer space; the right to benefit from science and other forms of human progress; the right to peace; and the right to a healthy and sustainable environment.

The conceptualization of three generations of rights, further divided into positive and negative ones, is more rhetorical than accurate. The rights associated with these three generations did not appear in neat chronological order. And many first generation rights do require governments to act positively to enable individuals to enjoy them. At a minimum, for example, government must act to prevent people from infringing on the rights of others to free speech, press, and religious practice. Finally, third generation rights are largely aspirational. By contrast to first and second generation rights, third generation rights are without widely accepted conventions supporting them.

## Hierarchy of Human Rights

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and some other human rights conventions contain a clause which allows ratifying countries to derogate from (i.e., suspend their obligation to honor) some of the rights contained therein in times of public emergency which threaten the life of the nation. However, such derogation clauses do not allow ratifying states to derogate from the following rights even in times of national emergency: the right to life, the right to be free from torture and other cruel punishment, the right not to be held in slavery or involuntary servitude, the right not to be imprisoned for inability to fulfill a contractual obligation, the right not to be held guilty of an act that did not constitute a criminal offense when committed, the right to be recognized as a person before the law, and the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

Given the derogation clauses with their specific exceptions and given the disagreement between capitalist and communist countries over the relative importance of civic/political rights versus economic/social rights, some commentators have argued that there exists a hierarchy of human rights, i.e., that some rights are more important than others.

Human rights advocates regard this position as reactionary and dangerous to the progressive development of international human rights. Consequently, they were responsible for the following portion of the declaration that resulted from the 1993 United Nations Conference on Human Rights in Vienna.

All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis. While the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of States, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

## Universalism Versus Relativism

Proponents of universalism claim that international human rights, as delineated in the International Bill of Human Rights, are and must be the same for all peoples regardless of their cultures or political systems. By contrast, cultural relativists argue that morality, and therefore human rights, is culturally contingent and variable.

Some leaders of non-Western countries maintain, like cultural relativists, that some of alleged universal human rights really are Western ideals that do not fit well with the cultural traditions of their own countries. These leaders are often critical of those rights affecting women, children, and family relationships, which they claim are based on Western Christian values and contrary to some non-Western cultures. Other spokespersons from countries with authoritarian political systems reject some of the democratic political rights, claiming that they would hinder needed economic development and political stability in their countries.

Rarely, however, are these criticisms made by oppressed people who want to benefit from universal human rights standards. In all countries there are groups that struggle for women's rights and democratic political rights.

The dichotomy of opposing views is most probably exaggerated. The vast majority of rights contained in the various human rights conventions are stated in relatively abstract and general terms, thereby allowing for a fair amount of variation in their actual application. For example, the European Court of Human Rights has developed the principle known as the "margin of appreciation" which permits European countries a degree of variation in the application of the European Human Rights Convention so as to accommodate local cultural differences.

If human rights derive from those universal human values that ultimately result from the universal psychological nature of humankind (as previously described), then there exists a solid basis for developing human rights that are truly universal.

## Regional Developments

To greater or lesser degrees, the states of some of the world's regions have developed systems to promote and protect human rights in accordance with their own expansive or limited aspirations. Of these, the European human rights system, developed by the Council of Europe, is the most advanced.

In 1950, the West European countries that formed the Council of Europe adopted the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. This convention, which entered into force in 1953, contains most of the human rights found in the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. For purposes of enforcement, the Convention originally created a European Commission of Human Rights and a European Court of Human Rights, both of which could hear human

rights complaints brought by individuals against Convention member states. In 1998, the Commission and Court were merged to create a single court. Through the years European citizens and non-citizen residents have brought thousands of petitions or complaints to the Court. State parties to the convention have generally honored the court's decisions, which are final and cannot be appealed.

In 1961, the Council of Europe also adopted the European Social Charter which resembles the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Council of Europe promotes the charter's provisions through the various committees and organs of the Council of Europe which accept and review periodic progress reports made to them by member states.

The Inter-American human rights system began in 1948, when the Ninth Pan-American Conference adopted the non-binding American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, which sets out both the duties and rights of individual citizens. In 1959, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of countries making up the Organization of American States (OAS) created the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which has undertaken the function of investigating human rights activities in the Americas. The OAS adopted the American Convention on Human Rights in 1969. This convention, which entered into force in 1978, established the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, which sits in San José, Costa Rica. In 1988, the OAS adopted the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The United States has neither recognized the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights nor has it ratified the 1988 Additional Protocol.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in 1981. The great majority of African states subsequently ratified the Charter, which entered into force in 1986. The African Charter provides for civil and political rights as well as economic, social, and cultural rights. It recognizes the rights of groups, the family, women, and children, and grants special protections for the elderly and the infirm. Somewhat rhetorically, it also proclaims rights to national and international peace.

The African Charter provides for a human rights commission, which has both human rights promotional and protective functions. There is no restriction on who may file a complaint with it. The African Charter does not, however, call for a human rights court. Some African leaders claim that African tradition prefers mediation, conciliation, and consensus rather than the kind of adversarial court procedures that typify the West. But other leaders and many

African human rights advocates want a court, and they began planning for it in the 1990s.

The Council of the League of Arab States created the Permanent Arab Commission on Human Rights in September 1968. To date, this commission has focused primarily on Israel's human rights abuses against Palestinians living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. Arab intergovernmental and nongovernmental bodies have been responsible for the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (1981) and the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (1990)—two non-binding documents.

The League of Arab States approved an Arab Charter on Human Rights in September 1994, but by 2002 not one Arab state had ratified it. The charter requires state parties to submit periodic reports to the league's Human Rights Committee. It also provides for an independent Committee of Experts to study reports and submit its own findings to the Human Rights Committee. However, the charter creates no court and contains no provisions for petitions by individuals.

Asia has no regional human rights regime. The governments of many Asian countries have been opposed to following the lead of the West in establishing regional human rights conventions, commissions, and courts. Many government leaders complain that human rights as commonly conceptualized are culture-bound Western creations with limited applicability to Asian cultures and societies. Many Asian people, however, have campaigned for more legal human rights protections. A group of Asia-Pacific NGOs (non-governmental organizations) adopted the Asia-Pacific Declaration of Human Rights in 1993 and the Asian Human Rights Charter in 1997. Both of these documents incorporated many universal human rights principles. But, Asian governments have not adopted either the declaration or the charter. However, governmental representatives of thirty Asian countries participating in a 1996 UN-sponsored workshop agreed to at least explore the possibility of establishing a regional human rights regime.

### Violations

Most cases of human rights violations are adjudicated in the domestic courts of countries. The vast majority of states have human rights protections written into their constitutions. In addition, states that ratify human rights treaties are obligated to create the domestic legislation necessary to implement them. Consequently, in those countries that respect the rule of law, persons who violate the human rights of others

can be prosecuted in domestic courts. This, of course, rarely happens in countries ruled by military juntas or dictators.

Despite the progress made in the ratification of human rights conventions by countries around the world, human rights abuses that violate those conventions are widespread. For example, in its 2001 annual report, Amnesty International (a non-governmental human rights advocacy organization) maintains that of the 149 countries covered in its survey, sixty-one of them had carried out extrajudicial executions (i.e., executions without trial) in 2000. Security forces, police, or other state authorities reportedly tortured or ill-treated persons in 125 countries. Confirmed or possible prisoners of conscience were held in sixty-three countries. People were arbitrarily arrested and detained, or held in detention without charge or trial in seventy-two countries. Armed opposition groups committed serious human rights abuses, such as deliberate and arbitrary killings of civilians, torture and hostage-taking in forty-two countries. Most of the countries with serious and widespread human rights violations were developing states located in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Widespread and systematic human rights violations are common during times of civil and international war. Historically, persons committing these violations have not faced trial and punishment, unless they were war losers. For example, at the end of World War II the victorious powers tried defeated German and Japanese military officers and officials for a variety of serious human rights violations. The post-World War II International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, for instance, prosecuted and punished German leaders for war crimes and crimes against humanity. War crimes consisted of: the murder and enslavement of civilians, the murder or ill treatment of prisoners of war, the killing of hostages, the plunder of public or private property, and the wanton destruction of cities. Crimes against humanity included murdering, enslaving, or committing other inhumane acts against a civilian population because of its political views, race, or religion.

In essence, the IMT stood for people's rights to life, freedom from torture and other cruel punishment, freedom of political thought and freedom of religion. Furthermore, it stood for the principle of universal jurisdiction—the claim that any state or combination of states has the legal authority to try persons allegedly responsible for grave violations of human rights (such as war crimes and crimes against humanity) regardless of the location of the crimes or the citizenship of the suspects or victims.

In 1993 and 1994, the UN Security Council invoked the principle of universal jurisdiction by

creating international tribunals to prosecute persons allegedly responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide in the conflicts of the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. In the former Yugoslavia, Serbs, Croats, and Muslims fought each other for control of territory following the breakup of Yugoslavia's multi-ethnic federated republic. Military as well as paramilitary forces targeted civilians and engaged in rape, torture, and murder. From 1991 to 1994, an estimated 250,000 people were killed and many thousands more were wounded, tortured, or raped. In Rwanda, the Hutu military, paramilitary, and many ordinary citizens engaged in a widespread massacre of Tutsi citizens. Within a three month period in 1994, they mutilated and raped thousands and murdered an estimated 750,000 people. By creating the international tribunals, the UN Security Council asserted that the international community need not tolerate such massive human rights violations. Under international law, the international community can intervene in the sovereign affairs of states for humanitarian purposes.

In July of 1998, 160 UN member states authorized the adoption of a statute to create a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) to prosecute persons suspected of committing crimes against humanity, war crimes, crimes of genocide, and crimes of international aggression. The ICC will become a reality after sixty countries ratify its statute. Once it comes into existence, the ICC will most probably replace the international tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. It will be capable of exercising jurisdiction in those countries that have ratified its statute as well as in other countries that the UN Security Council may determine need the court's services.

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**See also Military and Human Rights; Self-Determination; Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

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## HUMANITARIAN RELIEF PROJECTS

Humanitarian relief projects are undertaken by governments, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in order to prevent starvation, disease, and other hardships among people who have experienced various kinds of disaster and displacement from their homes. Often humanitarian aid is provided in an emergency mode, where assistance agencies must act swiftly in order to prevent staggering losses of life. Although local or domestic aid providers may be the first to offer assistance, when humanitarian emergencies strike in developing countries, international humanitarian aid is often necessary to cope with the needs. Humanitarian emergencies are more likely to occur in developing nations than in developed ones because poorer countries are more vulnerable to disasters and less able to cope by themselves with their effects. Humanitarian relief projects in such cases can have a significant negative or positive affects on the economy and social infrastructure of beneficiary nations. Thus, while saving lives of distressed populations is the foremost objective in humanitarian relief projects, implementing agencies must also be sensitive to the long-term development impact of their emergency programs.

### Principles of Humanitarian Relief

Although political factors and national interests affect when, where, and how humanitarian relief is

undertaken, most of the players in the humanitarian assistance field, including IGOs and NGOs, as well as governments, understand that humanitarian aid should be fundamentally non-partisan. Wherever people are in distress owing to disasters, the international community should assist them. The primary motivation in provision of such assistance should be to alleviate human suffering. While the humanitarian principle should be kept foremost in mind, it is nonetheless true that no particular country is obliged to assist the disaster-stricken population of any other country. Financing of humanitarian aid is voluntary in nature. Countries friendly to a stricken nation are much more likely to act swiftly and generously to assist its afflicted population, whereas hostile governments are much less inclined to help if they help at all. IGOs and NGOs, on the other hand are more likely to behave in an impartial matter, although even these bodies may be driven by ideological or political motivations. Still most agencies active in the provision of humanitarian aid understand that such aid should be disbursed on the basis of need and not on partisan or political grounds.

In addition to the humanitarian principle, NGOs acknowledge several other principles in humanitarian aid projects, including nondiscrimination as regards race, religion, or nationality, and impartiality as regards assistance to contending political groups, and neutrality as regards belligerent groups. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and many other NGOs in a Code of Conduct have acknowledged several other principles of conduct. NGOs are especially concerned that they not be coerced into acting as instruments of government foreign policy. NGOs pledge in the Code of Conduct that they will respect local cultures and customs and build disaster responses cooperatively with local NGOs and institutions by incorporating program beneficiaries in the planning and implementation of projects. Relief aid and related projects should anticipate the reduction of vulnerabilities to disaster as they meet basic needs. NGOs recognize that they must be accountable both to charitable donors and to the recipient population, and that the latter should, even in the midst of terrible suffering be treated not as objects of pity but as persons deserving of dignity and respect.

While NGOs express high ideals in these principles, the political reality of humanitarian assistance is that governments dictate the pace and the provide most of the capacity for humanitarian assistance in times of disaster and conflict. Governments of disaster-affected countries determine when to seek assistance and from whom to seek assistance. They may turn to donor governments for the bulk of their needs. They

may also turn to IGOs within the UN system for humanitarian assistance. Such agencies might include, depending on the nature of the disaster, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), or the World Food Program (WFP). In requesting the assistance of other governments or of various IGOs, the host country must grant the agencies sufficient autonomy to do their work. In most instances the donor governments and IGOs will seek to work with appropriate ministries within the disaster-stricken country. They also routinely rely on a number of NGOs as implementing partners. The receiving country has the sovereign right to approve or to deny entry to NGOs, as it does any other form of outside aid.

### **Forms of Humanitarian Assistance**

Meeting basic needs of disaster victims is the primary focus of humanitarian relief programs. Food aid is critical. When food needs can be met by local resources it is best to exhaust them first before relying on substantial imports so that local food prices do not artificially plummet, thus putting local producers at risk. However, when severe shortages occur, it may be necessary to rely of foreign sources of food aid. The United States, Australia, Canada, and numerous countries of Europe are the major food producing countries and the biggest donors. The WFP monitors food availability and coordinates international responses to humanitarian emergencies.

Access to potable water is another critical need for victims of disaster. Polluted water becomes a source of disease and, in all forms of disaster, access to clean water is often inhibited, thus putting disaster victims at risk. Sometimes clean water must be trucked into disaster areas, but in the long run assistance aimed at improving sanitation in disaster-stricken areas is essential for the establishment of adequate renewable sources of clean water. Among the UN bodies most frequently addressing clean water and sanitation issues is UNICEF.

Provision of health assistance is also a basic need of disaster victims. In cataclysmic disasters such as floods and earthquakes, emergency medical attention is often necessary, and in developing countries the scope of the need may quickly outpace the health infrastructure. In famines and refugee situations, treatment and prevention of infectious disease is critical, especially when inadequate housing, sanitation, and nutrition are available. Numerous agencies are involved in provision of such assistance, including

UNHCR, UNICEF, WHO, and numerous NGOs. Shelter is another basic need for refugees and displaced persons who have been forced to flee from their homes, or whose homes may have been destroyed by floods or earthquakes.

Special attention is paid to vulnerable groups in the provision of humanitarian assistance. Children, elderly persons, and pregnant and lactating mothers are in need of special nutritional requirements and medical assistance. Such groups are usually underrepresented among the politically active and in the traditional decision-making structures in many countries.

A major emphasis of humanitarian aid in recent decades has been to encourage self-reliance among the beneficiary populations. Self-reliance implies that the victims of disaster, the internally displaced and refugees, are employed in the task of their own recovery. WFP encourages this through implementation of food-for-work projects, such as rural road-building, reforestation, water development, and construction programs involving refugee housing, medical facilities, and schools. In this, WFP cooperates with the UN Development Program (UNDP) and with UNHCR where refugees are involved. These agencies also initiate vocational training programs and cottage industries in refugee and displaced persons camps.

### **Humanitarian Relief During Complex Emergencies**

During the 1990s, as the Cold War waned, the United Nations began fielding peace-keeping and peace-making forces in many regions of long-standing conflict and civil war. Coupled with political settlements and military intervention were sizable humanitarian operations in such countries as Cambodia, Mozambique, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia and in such regions as Central America and the Great Lakes region of Africa. In Cambodia and Mozambique, peace agreements were agreed upon prior to deployment of substantial international peace-keeping forces. In these cases repatriation of refugees and reintegration of internally displaced persons were facilitated by humanitarian aid organizations, while opposing armies were demobilized and reconstituted. Assistance for repair and reconstruction of economic infrastructure was provided as preparations were made for elections. De-mining operations were commenced to provide greater safety and security to refugees and returnees so that they might resume agricultural pursuits. In both of these cases, the recreation of civil society under the watchful eye of the international



community produced relatively stable governments. Cambodia experienced later political upheavals, but eventually political stability was restored.

By contrast, in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, the international community intervened with humanitarian assistance prior to the negotiation of peace agreements. UN forces were fielded to ensure the safety of humanitarian aid workers and the effective delivery of aid to those in need. In Somalia, where no effective central government existed, international forces which were deployed to provide security for the delivery of humanitarian aid prevented a massive famine, but when the UN forces attempted to disarm the local forces of Somali warlords, the situation deteriorated. The withdrawal of American forces and later those of other nations involved in the UN operation, signified the failure of the UN to establish a civil society in a country where general lawlessness prevailed. In the former Yugoslavia, the UNHCR provided humanitarian aid to besieged cities in Bosnia, but the UN forces sent to guard aid shipments, found themselves trapped in the cross-fire of an ongoing civil war.

The existence of peace plans enhanced international efforts to provide aid and to promote security and the emergence of civil society in Cambodia and Mozambique. In Bosnia and Somalia, the lack of such agreements hampered aid activities. Not until the Dayton Accords were promulgated did the situation in Bosnia improve, permitting repatriation and resettlement of displaced persons, and eventually the promotion of rehabilitation and reconstruction of the national economy.

A similar pattern can be discerned in contexts of complicated regional conflicts. In Central America, after years of negotiation, a peace agreement among contending parties was achieved. This was rapidly followed by deployment of UN observer forces, the repatriation and return of refugees and displaced persons, the demobilization of forces in Nicaragua, the preparation for and holding of national elections, and the application of development aid to enhance rural development through quick impact projects and longer term development assistance. This successful sequence of activities never materialized in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, where hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees adversely affected the economic situation in neighboring countries such as Zaire and Tanzania. In Rwanda, itself, genocide had taken a terrible toll among the Tutsi population and Hutus, fearful of retaliation, spilled into neighboring countries, where many died. The international community, slow to respond to the genocide, reacted fairly quickly in providing humanitarian aid to the Hutu refugees, but owing to the fact that the same

ruthless killers who had unleashed genocide dominated the Hutu refugee camps, provision of humanitarian aid was very difficult. The presence of such destabilizing elements led eventually to civil war and the overthrow of the government of Zaire. Instability and civil war in Zaire frustrated humanitarian relief efforts and left no room for consideration of longer term development aid.

Complex emergencies continue to offer the international community very difficult humanitarian assistance challenges, not the least of which, is how military forces are to be integrated with humanitarian agencies. The military may provide security for delivery of aid, but in the midst of a civil war, its primary task must be to bring force to bear against combatant elements, and this leaves humanitarian agencies in a very precarious and dangerous situation. Sometimes the military becomes the primary agent for delivery of humanitarian aid, as was demonstrated in Kosovo in 1998, and again in Afghanistan in 2001 when food packets were dropped by air in zones experiencing famine.

Ideally, international humanitarian aid gives way to longer term development, rehabilitation and reconstruction once peace has been reestablished in areas of conflict. That task requires the existence of governments committed to the maintenance of civil society. With the return of political stability and peace, resources can be shifted toward the goal of economic prosperity, and as such a transition unfolds, the humanitarian aid agencies and projects give way to projects aimed at fostering long-term economic development.

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**See also Disaster Relief; International Committee of the Red Cross; Natural Disasters; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); Refugees; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); World Food Program; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## HUN SEN

Born in Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, on August 5, 1952, Hun Sen was educated at Lycee Indra Devi, Phnom Penh. He graduated in 1969 and joined the Khmer Rouge in 1970. In 1977, however, he defected to Vietnam and joined troops fighting against the Khmer Rouge. He was a founding member of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea (UFNSK) in 1978 and returned to Cambodia to become minister of foreign affairs in the Vietnamese regime in 1979. He served as deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister from 1981–1985 and then as Prime Minister, 1985–1991. He participated in brokering the 1991 United Nations (UN) Paris Peace Agreement and was part of the coalition government for the next two years. Despite working with Prince Ranariddh of the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) as First Prime Minister following UN supervised elections, he ousted Ranariddh in a violent 1997 coup. He became Prime Minister two more times following elections in 1998 and 2003.

Hun Sen seems to be a combination of contradictions: idealist and pragmatist, ruthless authoritarian and skilled negotiator. He initially joined the Khmer Rouge to free Cambodia from a government he felt was corrupt, but then defected when he experienced the excesses of Pol Pot's genocidal regime. When he achieved a position of political power with the help of the Vietnamese, he ruthlessly clung to his position. Supported by the army, he staged a violent coup in July 1997 during which Rannariddh fled Cambodia, calling Hun Sen a gangster. This action delayed Cambodia's acceptance into ASEAN until 1999, following elections in July 1998. The elections did not bring a clear victory for either major party and another brief period of violent unrest ensued. Eventually agreement was reached and Hun Sen became Prime Minister again in November although the inauguration ceremony was marred by a rocket attack outside the National Assembly. The CPP won the July 2003 elections, but a year passed before the National Assembly ratified the CPP-FUNCINPEC coalition

government for a third term, with Hun Sen as Prime Minister.

Regardless of how one views Hun Sen's tactics, it cannot be denied that Cambodia has enjoyed relative political stability in recent years. This has enabled the country, under Hun Sen's undeniably strong leadership, to begin to make small but significant development gains in many areas.

Hun Sen recognises Cambodia's need for outside assistance in order to develop. He also accepts that Cambodia's legal, financial, and governance systems need reform, not only to benefit the Cambodian people, but also to gain international acceptance. His government has instigated economic, taxation, and legal reforms; and is demobilizing the military and fighting corruption, especially in the forestry industry. These, and other, ongoing reforms have inspired cautious but increased investor and donor confidence.

Hun Sen is wary of foreign control of Cambodia's affairs, particularly from the United Nations. He walks a fine line, inviting outside assistance and advice, and accepting aid, but pragmatically only compromising as absolutely necessary to ensure Cambodia gets the help it requires, while maintaining the country's sovereignty and his own powerful position. A good example being the ongoing negotiations to construct a tribunal and legal system to try the remaining members of the Pol Pot regime for war crimes. While accepting input from the UN and various countries, including the US, Hun Sen still insists on a hybrid Cambodian justice system that allows foreign participation, but not dominance.

Statistics show many sectors of Cambodia's economy are developing and the standard of living is slowly improving. How much is due to political stability and how much to Hun Sen's strong leadership is unsure. Providing Hun Sen's government can sustain the momentum of reforms, Cambodia's growth and development should continue.

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**See also Cambodia; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## HUNGARIAN CRISIS OF 1956

On October 23, 1956, Hungarian university students demonstrated in Budapest in solidarity with the Polish workers’ revolt in the city of Gdansk a few weeks before. After the demonstration, they marched to the national broadcasting studio of Hungarian radio, demanding that their twelve-point program be broadcast to the nation. Secret policemen, stationed inside, fired on the unarmed crowd. Regular policemen and soldiers then gave their weapons to the students who attacked and conquered the building. In another part of the city, at Heros’ Square, worker-demonstrators dismantled the giant statue of Stalin, leaving only his boots on the pedestal.

Erno Gero, the Communist Party chief, recently returned from Yugoslavia where he mended fences with Tito, ordered martial law and asked for Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. This turned the revolt into a national uprising against Soviet colonialism. In the next few days the fighting, mainly against the secret police, turned ferocious. The Soviet troops were withdrawn from Budapest after five days, but remained in the country. On October 28, a new government was formed, headed by Imre Nagy, a moderate national communist. Independent workers’ councils were established in factories and municipalities. The secret police was disbanded. A new multi-party government was established. General Péter Maléter was appointed minister of defense and he was invited to negotiate with Russian officials for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary. General Béla Király became commander of the newly formed volunteer national guard.

By November 3, the government was in complete control of the country. However, the prominent communist, János Kádár, a member of the government, fled with Soviet help from Budapest. He declared that the “events” represented an uprising against socialism. He formed a new counter-revolutionary government under Soviet control. On November 4, the Hungarian delegation negotiating with Soviet representatives was treacherously arrested and huge Soviet forces attacked Budapest and other revolutionary centers. Fighting continued until December. By January 1957, two hundred thousand Hungarians fled the country.

Kádár’s counter-revolutionary government reestablished the Stalinist system in Hungary. In addition

to those who died in battle, hundreds of revolutionaries were executed with or without trial and tens of thousands were jailed. The new government organized a party-army, made up of die-hard communists, who became an instrument of terror. The secret police was also reassembled. Hungary became an international pariah and the “Hungarian case” remained on the agenda of the United Nations for years. Although the United States–sponsored Radio Free Europe encouraged the revolution, the US government did nothing to help the Hungarians. It used the revolution as a propaganda tool in the Cold War. Only in 1963 did Kádár’s regime feel secure enough to relax the terror, and gradually restore a semblance of normalcy in Hungary.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Hungary**

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## HUNGARY

Hungary’s territory comprises 35,919 square miles. The country is in the Danubian River Basin in East-Central Europe. The population numbers about 10 million. Ethnicity: 89.9% Magyars, 4% Roma (Gypsies), 2.6% Germans, 2% Serbians, and even tinier minorities of Romanians and Slovaks. The capital city is Budapest. The center of the country consists of flatlands. The northeast and north are mountainous, the west and southwest are hilly. Hungary borders on Austria in the West, Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine in the north and northeast, Romania in the southeast and Croatia and Slovenia in the south. The climate is moderate.

During the last three hundred years, Hungary was part of the Habsburg Empire. When the empire collapsed after World War I, Hungary became an independent state. It was deprived of two-thirds of its former territory and one-third of its ethnically Hungarian population. Hungary had few economic

resources left; its roads and railroads were cut at the new borders. During the first third of the twentieth century, Hungary struggled economically. With Hitler in power, Hungary came under German influence, especially after she regained some territory from Romania and Czechoslovakia with Hitler's help. Hungary participated in the war against the Soviet Union and suffered large numbers of casualties. In 1944–1945, Hungary became a battleground between Soviet and German armed forces.

In March 1944, the Germans occupied the country. A radical right-wing “Arrow Cross” movement established a reign of terror under German auspices, shooting its enemies, especially Jews, into the Danube River. The war completely ruined the economy. Factory buildings were damaged; stocks and machinery had been stolen. The housing stock did not fare any better. Most bridges were destroyed. Animal stocks were carried away or killed. Public transport disappeared. Railroad tracks were uprooted and road surfaces were destroyed.

In December 1944, a new government was formed under Soviet auspices. Parties entered a so-called “national independence front,” including several communists returning to Hungary from Soviet exile.

In 1944 and thereafter, the Soviet Army and the Soviet secret police were arbiters of life and death in Hungary. There were hundreds of thousands of Hungarian “prisoners of war” in Soviet camps (some civilians “captured” by the Soviet army to serve as slave labor in the Soviet Union). Their return depended upon the behavior of the Hungarians at home. The amount of reparations demanded from Hungary also depended upon the good will of the Soviet dictator. Stalin forced the new Hungarian government to conclude trade agreements and establish joint Soviet-Hungarian companies. They were means for future exploitation of Hungary's resources.

The communist repatriates, including Mátyás Rákosi, Ern Ger, Mihály Farkas, and Zoltán Vas (the “Muscovites”), wanted to grab and hold power by any means.

Almost immediately after the war—in 1945—a new political (secret) police was established. It was under the control of the communist leaders who used it to suppress the opposition. Yet the first municipal elections, in October 1945, brought victory for the Smallholders Party, representing the opposition. In November, national elections were held with a similar outcome. The Communists and their allied Social Democratic Party received less than 30% of the vote. Nevertheless, Marshal Voroshilov, the Soviet representative of the Allied Control Commission, ordered the victors to form a coalition government with the communists. Soon the pressure of the Soviet

government resulted in the destruction of the victorious party and the establishment, in 1947, of a communist dictatorship.

By 1946, the entire police apparatus—including the secret police—was under the direction of a radical communist, László Rajk. The police openly participated in the campaign against opponents of the Communist Party. A series of show trials started against the opposition but, in time, prominent Hungarian communists were also persecuted. The charge in most cases was the “culprit's” and his/her associates' alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government.

In 1947, Hungary was included in a new Soviet empire. The Hungarian government, dominated by the Rákosi-led Communist Party, signed the peace treaty that confirmed the separation of Hungarian minorities in the former Successor states and Romania. Hungary was obliged to pay a huge reparation to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. In addition, Soviet troops were stationed in Hungary on a permanent basis. In 1955, Hungary became a member of the Warsaw Pact Alliance.

After the non-communist political parties were eliminated, the Roman Catholic church came next. Its cardinal, Joseph Mindszenty and several leading bishops were incarcerated on trumped-up charges. Religious orders were dissolved. Literature now consisted mainly of political propaganda. The arts were streamlined along lines of “socialist realism.” Newspapers and radio stations were mouthpieces of Soviet propaganda. Newspapers were copies of Soviet journals. All this was accomplished in an atmosphere of terror.

The Hungarian population, including some members of the Communist party, was demoralized. Education was augmented by large doses of Marxism-Leninism, and the study of the Russian language was required. Listening to foreign radio broadcasts was considered a crime. In 1949–1950, the peasantry was forced into Soviet-style collective farms, private landholding was abolished and compulsory delivery of foodstuff to the state was introduced. Factories, banks, and shops were nationalized.

The communist leaders introduced a process of forced industrialization. Hungary did not have natural resources to develop heavy industry. Yet industrialization was pursued with emphasis on heavy industry, serving Soviet military interests. Industrial production increased in a haphazard way and consumer industry and housing were neglected. Productivity stagnated; the chemical and electrical industrial capacity remained negligible.

By 1952, 210,000 Hungarian men were serving in the armed forces. In addition, the secret police had 140,000 officers. Thus, about 3.5% of the total population was under arms. The share of the military from

the state budget was enormous. Hungarians were overburdened and became impoverished. Only by maintaining a constant level of terror could such a system survive.

However, the Communist party was unable to earn respect from the population. Respect for laws in general also deteriorated. Cynicism, crime, and petty pilfering from factories and shops were common. There was an ever widening gap between reality and Marxist-Leninist ideology. Living standards plummeted, except for the party elite. But society was changing; forced industrialization and general education created a more complex social structure. To govern such a society, a minimal consensus was necessary. But even within the Communist Party there was no consensus. The ordinary members lost faith in Marxism-Leninism and realized that the party served Soviet interests.

After Stalin's death, his successors had not released control over Hungary. Some of the top echelons of the Hungarian Communist Party turned against the ruling Rákosi clique. They were headed by Imre Nagy. He wanted to halt forced industrialization, ease pressure on the peasants, and increase the production of consumer goods. The resistance of the Rákosi clique to reform resulted in revolution in October 1956. People wanted to remove the Soviet army from Hungary and the establishment of humane Socialism.

The Soviet leadership could not accept Hungary's independence. On November 4, 1956, they ordered the arrest of the Hungarian leadership. Two hundred thousand troops and two thousand tanks suppressed the revolution. The attack was indirectly helped by the preoccupation of the Western powers with the war over the Suez canal. Nikita Khrushchev named János Kádár Prime Minister of Hungary and he took terrible revenge. Imre Nagy, who fled to the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest, was enticed to leave and, despite promises to the contrary, was arrested and deported to Romania. In June 1958, he was executed. Kádár instituted a new wave of terror, taking thousands of victims. Approximately two hundred thousand Hungarians fled to the West.

The Communist Party, dissolved during the revolution, was reorganized. Its new name was Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. It attracted mostly cynical opportunists. Even party members no longer believed in its Marxist-Leninist ideology. By 1968, the regime was desperate for legitimacy. It introduced a set of economic reforms, originally proposed by Imre Nagy. The peasants could now own a private plot. They were permitted to sell their produce on the open market. However, the prices of essential consumer goods were still regulated. State monopolies over foreign trade were retained.

After the reforms, unprecedented economic activities began, as the peasants were given a certain measure of controlling their lives. Commerce with the Soviet Union and its satellites began to increase. Consumer goods, such as refrigerators and automobiles appeared, providing incentives for the population. Hungarians were permitted some travel abroad. The press was encouraged to criticize lower party officials. Kádár co-opted some intellectuals and permitted a little more freedom of speech. Yet the old taboos remained; no one could criticize the Soviet Union or the Hungarian communist leadership. In spite of the reforms, Kádár's Hungary was not even a semi-democratic state. The communist chief was an old-fashioned dictator whose word was final in all matters. Yet, Hungary began slowly to emerge from the terrible days of terror. Kádár was gradually accepted as "better than most" dictators. As long as life improved, the system was acceptable for most of the population.

However, instability continued. There was a conflict within the communist leadership over the application of Marxist-Leninist ideology. There were also reversals in economic reform. In the 1970s, the radicals in the leadership succeeded in reversing policies favoring the peasantry. Consequently, food production declined and supplies for the cities shrank. The course was, therefore, hastily reversed. The oil crisis of 1973, however, provided heavy blows to the Hungarian economy. Production costs increased, exports declined and Hungary had to borrow heavily abroad. Hungary's national debt reached the astronomical figure of \$20 billion. The leadership did not use the loans for the modernization of industry. Instead, products that could not be sold at competitive prices were subsidized. By the mid-1980s, the deterioration of economic conditions was obvious and the shaky legitimacy of the Kádár-regime came to an end.

The ascendance of Mikhail Gorbachev to power sent a signal that the old ways of politics were over. Intellectuals were emboldened to demand greater freedoms. Political dissidents appeared and underground publications multiplied. Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history lost all credibility.

The younger members of the communist leadership realized that Kádár became a liability. In March 1988, he was removed as prime minister. The party which he created could not survive without him. The murdered Imre Nagy and his followers were rehabilitated in May 1989. On the same day, János Kádár died.

A new government was formed under the premiership of Miklós Németh, a young, dynamic leader. His Minister of Education and Culture, Ferenc Glatz,

abolished the compulsory teaching of the Russian language and Marxism in the schools and universities.

In October 1989, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was dissolved. Two successors emerged, one the party of the reformers now called the Hungarian Socialist party, and the other retained the old name.

In the following free elections, a new party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, emerged victorious; its closest rival, the Association of Free Democrats, and the revived Smallholders' party joined in a new coalition government. The Németh government decided to open the western borders to East German refugees, indirectly contributing to the collapse of the Honecker regime in East Germany. The East European Soviet empire disappeared. By July 1991, the last Russian troops left Hungary.

In May 1991, the Warsaw Pact was dissolved. A parliamentary democracy led by József Antall was formed in Hungary. It privatized most state-owned factories and the land. The media was freed of state-control. Unfortunately, problems of nationalism, anti-Semitism, and impatience with dissenters reemerged.

Ferenc Madl was elected president in June 2000; the next presidential election, which is held in the National Assembly, will be in June 2005. The National Assembly elected Ferenc Gyurcsany Prime Minister in September 2004.

Hungary's economy has become steadily stronger since the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc. Its growth rate is estimated at 2.9%, though its debt is estimated at 57% of its gross domestic product (GDP) (2003). Hungary joined NATO in 1999 and the European Union in 2004, and is a member of the World Bank and the IMF. Inflation has declined from 14% (1999) to 4.7% (2003). Unemployment remains steady at about 6%. Foreign investment is strong, with Germany as the country's largest economic partner.

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### HUSSEIN, KING OF JORDAN

Hussein bin Talal, known to his people as “the humane king,” is considered the father of modern Jordan. He was born in Amman on November 14, 1935, into the Hashemite dynasty, and could trace his roots exactly forty-two generations directly back to the Prophet Mohammed. The Hashemites were natives of what became Saudi Arabia, but were rewarded by the British for their fight against the Ottoman Turks with control of the League of Nations Mandates over Iraq and Transjordan. Hussein's grandfather, King Abdallah, consolidated the synthetic monarchy by bringing Jordan's Bedouin tribes into the government and the army.

Hussein attended elementary school in Amman, and went on to a thoroughly British education at Victoria College in Egypt, the Harrow School in London, and the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. Hussein's entire life was shaped by the turbulent nature of Middle East politics in the 20th century. The boy was ten years old when Transjordan gained independence from Britain, twelve when the first Arab-Israeli war sent tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees into the kingdom, and sixteen when, on July 20, 1951, he witnessed his grandfather's assassination, at the hand of a Palestinian nationalist on the steps of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Hussein's father, Talal, assumed the throne, but as he was mentally ill, was soon declared unfit to rule. Hussein was proclaimed King on August 11, 1952. A regency council ruled on his behalf until he reached age eighteen (under the Islamic lunar calendar) on May 2, 1953.

The young king may not have realized at first how treacherous his political environment was, but after a 1957 coup attempt led by pro-Egyptian military officers he decisively asserted royal primacy, imposed

martial law, and banned political parties for the next thirty-five years. King Hussein had the last word on all important domestic and foreign policy decisions, yet brought elements of all political factions into his consultative process. He was often compared to a tightrope walker. He succeeded in creating the only moderate, relatively humane state in the Arab Middle East.

Never a warrior at heart, Hussein nevertheless joined Egypt and Syria in the Six Day War of June 1967. Israel quickly took control of the holy sites in Jerusalem and expelled the Jordanian Army from the West Bank. King Hussein endorsed United Nations Resolution 242 offering Israel peace in exchange for return of all land conquered in the war. Israel never accepted that offer, and Jordan was burdened with a massive new influx of Palestinian refugees whose loyalty to the kingdom was often secondary to their enthusiasm for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Events came to a head in September 1970 after two attempts by Palestinians on the king's life: Hussein's Bedouin army launched an all-out war against the PLO and drove them from the kingdom forever. He was thereafter judged by many Arabs to be an appeaser of the Israelis. According to some reports, Hussein gave Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir advance warning of Egyptian and Syrian war plans in 1973.

In 1988, Hussein ceded authority over the West Bank to the PLO, demonstrating once again his skillful tactic of accommodating his most murderous enemies. When the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (no relation) invaded Kuwait in 1990, King Hussein refused to join other states in the region in condemning that action. He probably did so with one eye on the restive Palestinians, who comprised more than 50% of the population of his kingdom. Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states suspended financial aid in retaliation, severely damaging the Jordanian economy.

In the 1990s, after being diagnosed with cancer, Hussein carefully steered Jordan toward the legacy he wished to leave—cautious democratization—while retaining his royal prerogatives. He lifted the ban on political parties and abolished martial law in 1992. Multi-party elections were held in 1993. In that same year, Hussein helped Israel and the PLO to negotiate a peace agreement, which unfortunately came undone five years later. On October 26, 1994, Jordan and Israel signed a treaty formally ending their forty-six-year state of war. Israeli leaders had come to trust him; indeed, many secretly slipped across the border to consult with Hussein in his palace in Amman. In 1995, Hussein attended the funeral of assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, whom he called his “partner in peace” and his “brother.” Other Arab

leaders denounced Hussein, but he promised his people that peace with Israel would bring economic growth and foreign investment. The actual results were disappointing, but the king adroitly maintained his balance by inviting into his cabinet critics of his own foreign policy.

Hussein publicly confirmed that he had lymphatic cancer in July 1998. In October of that year he checked himself out of the American hospital where he was being treated to appeal to the Israelis and the PLO to revive their sputtering peace process. But his time was running out. On January 24, 1999, he stunned his countrymen by designating his son Abdallah as heir to throne. His bypassed brother, Crown Prince Hasan, accepted the decision without public rancor. On February 5, Hussein flew home to Jordan from the US and two days later he passed away. He was the longest-serving head of state in the world. Mourners at his funeral included President Clinton, former presidents Bush, Carter, and Ford, Israeli Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu, PLO leader Yasser Arafat, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and Syrian dictator Hafez Assad. His son took the throne as Abdallah II and promised to continue his father's legacy.

Hussein's private life was colorful. He married four times; one wife was an Englishwoman and one an American. He enjoyed auto racing, motorcycling, and flying his own jet plane. He loved tennis and water skiing. He wrote three books including one entitled *Uneasy Lies the Head*. His long reign is remembered for a relatively good human rights record and huge improvements in his country's living standards.

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**See also Jordan; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Palestinian Diaspora**

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## HUSSEIN, SADDAM

Saddam Hussein reined Iraq for twenty-four years of absolute power (1979–2003). Often dismissed in the West as deranged, Saddam possessed a keen instinct for human weakness and shrewdly mastered the calculus of power. His personalized, secular dictatorship

was not truly totalitarian for it lacked a coherent ideology, but all Iraqis were kept in a state of terror.

Saddam Hussein al-Tikriti was born on April 28, 1937, into a landless peasant family in Tikrit District, about one hundred miles north of Baghdad. His father died either before or shortly after Saddam was born and his mother quickly re-married. Saddam ran away from his abusive stepfather to live with his maternal uncle, an anti-British nationalist and bigot who published a pamphlet the title of which foreshadowed Saddam's own views: "Three Whom God Should Not Have Created: Persians, Jews, and Flies."

Saddam's middle school education equipped him with little understanding of the West. He applied to Baghdad Military Academy but was rejected for poor grades. Revolutionary politics suited him better. Captivated by the pan-Arab rhetoric of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Saddam joined the Ba'ath (Renaissance) Party in 1956. Two years later Gen. Abdul Karim Kassem overthrew the Hashemite monarchy and Iraq became a republic. Saddam was part of a Ba'athist squad that tried to assassinate Kassem in 1959. Hussein was wounded in the shoot-out, but escaped to Syria and then to Egypt, where he remained until 1963. While ostensibly studying law, he collaborated with other Iraqi exiles. In February 1963, the Ba'athists finally succeeded in killing Kassem and Saddam returned home. He enrolled in Baghdad Law College and married his cousin Sajida. Saddam was arrested and imprisoned in 1964 for plotting to overthrow President Abdul Salem Aref, but he escaped in 1966.

Saddam's faction seized power in a coup (later termed a "revolution") on July 17, 1968. Saddam organized a secret police force whose first assignment was to purge Iraqi Jews. He was named Vice-President of the Revolutionary Command Council in November 1969 by his cousin, President Hassan al-Bakr, and for the next ten years gradually gathered power to himself. On July 16, 1979, al-Bakr resigned "for reasons of health," and Saddam became President. All potential rivals were swiftly eliminated in a wave of executions. To harden his teenage sons, Saddam made them witness these killings. Saddam trusted no one, and relied so heavily on his own clan that he outlawed the use of surnames to hide the fact that so many of his ministers were named "al-Tikriti" (indicating their origin in Saddam's home town).

Saddam modernized Iraq. Money flowed in after the Ba'athists nationalized the Iraq Petroleum Company (1972) and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadrupled the price of crude oil. Saddam's government built roads and extended irrigation canals. Factories sprang up. Primary education was made compulsory and the

university system was expanded. The position of women was greatly improved.

These social and economic advances came at an appalling price in human rights. East Germans trained Saddam's secret police force, which eventually grew to one hundred thousand men. Saddam Hussein sought security by making the Iraqi people, especially those close to him, desperately insecure. He personally shot a general for urging military caution and is rumored to have dropped a dissident into a vat of acid with his own hands. He killed his own brother-in-law and forced officials to execute other officials. Sometimes executions were televised.

All Iraqi newspapers echoed the government line, as did radio and television stations. Photographs of Saddam adorned public buildings and even private homes. Bronze statues of the autocrat on horseback appeared in the cities. Saddam apparently considered himself a reincarnation of King Nebuchadnezzar (who destroyed Jerusalem in 587 BC). He dreamed of overrunning the entire Middle East, permanently eliminating Israel, and asserting Iraqi primacy over Syria and Egypt.

Saddam's grandiose ambitions led to strategic blunders. The first was his disastrous war against Iran. It was not unprovoked, for the Ayatollah Khomeini had tried to use Arab Shi'ites (63% of the Iraqi population) to overthrow Saddam's Sunni-dominated regime. In September 1980, the Iraqi army invaded Iran and captured the Shatt al-Arab waterway, where the Tigris and Euphrates rivers merge to flow into the Persian Gulf. Saddam expected a quick victory, and when it did not materialize he executed three hundred high-ranking officers. The eight-year Iran-Iraq war featured the first use of poison gas since World War I and missile attacks against cities. When a cease-fire was finally signed in 1988, Iraq found itself \$80 billion in debt, mostly to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. This led to an even greater blunder—the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Saddam's surprise attack of August 2, 1990, routed the Kuwaitis. He declared Kuwait the 19th province of Iraq and asserted that he had thereby redressed colonial injustice, but his main objective was to gain control of Kuwait's enormous oil reserves. Saddam evidently calculated that President George H.W. Bush would not react, for the American ambassador had told him that Washington had no position on territorial disputes "between Arabs and Arabs." Ignoring United Nations ultimatums, Saddam, who had never served in the army, promoted himself to the rank of field marshal and prepared his people for "the mother of all battles." The war began on January 16, 1991. After five weeks of aerial bombardment, Iraqi forces were so weakened that the ground war lasted only



four days. Before a cease-fire was signed (February 27, 1991) Iraqi troops set fire to Kuwait's oil wells and dumped thousands of gallons of crude oil into the Persian Gulf. Then he proclaimed his defeat to be a victory. Saddam tried to have the first President Bush assassinated, which may have been a factor in his own undoing at the hands of the second President Bush.

In the wake of the war, Saddam faced twin uprisings, one by the Kurdish people of northern Iraq and the other by Arab Shi'ites in the south. The Kurds achieved *de facto* independence under the umbrella of a northern "no-fly zone" enforced by British and American jet fighter-bombers. A similar "no-fly zone" in the south could not protect the Shi'ites from Saddam's wrath. He drained the southern marshes, burned villages, and randomly shelled Basra with heavy artillery. Some captured rebels were made to drink gasoline and then set on fire.

Saddam attempted to arrange a political succession under which power would be inherited by his younger son, Qusay (born 1967). Saddam evidently had concluded that his older son Uday (born 1964), who personally tortured Iraqi Olympic athletes, had become unbalanced after a 1996 assassination attempt. His son-in-law, Hussein Kamil, had at one time been in line to inherit power, but he defected to Jordan, was lured home with promises of forgiveness, and murdered.

Saddam clung tenaciously to power until 2003. United Nations weapons inspectors crippled his nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs, but were unable to certify the total elimination of such weapons. The inspectors were expelled in 1998, and comprehensive economic sanctions remained in place. Saddam blamed the West for the misery the trade embargo brought to his people. He used revenue from oil exports permitted under the "oil-for-food" program to build more palaces, a total of twenty-six by one count. Saddam Hussein applauded the terror

attacks of September 11, 2001. Influential members of the George W. Bush administration were already planning his overthrow. Saddam's final blunder was to refuse a Saudi offer of safe exile just before the American invasion of Iraq in 2003.

United States and coalition forces invaded Iraq in March 2003 and swiftly took Baghdad. Uday and Qusay were killed in a shootout in July. American infantrymen found Saddam on December 13, 2003, hiding in an underground vault near his home village. His captors faced a dilemma—how to try him for his crimes without allowing the cunning ex-dictator to portray himself to the world as a nationalist martyr. Saddam Hussein won a certain grudging respect from some Arabs who admired him for defying Israel and the West. In June 2004, Saddam and eleven other major defendants were handed into Iraqi custody with the return of sovereignty to the country.

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**See also Iran–Iraq War, 1980–1988; Iraq; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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# I

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## **IMPORT SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIALIZATION**

Import substitution has been the dominant vehicle by which industrialization in large developing countries has proceeded. Many countries in Latin America, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, have since the 1940s most vigorously pursued this strategy as their main growth-generating force. Other countries followed in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s increasing disenchantment with this strategy emerged and an alternative approach, identified as outward (or export) oriented and associated with East Asian development, became more popular (Edwards 1993). However, remnants of the import substitution approach still persist in some Latin American countries and in Africa.

Import substitution is a process whereby a greater proportion of a country's total demand for goods is satisfied through its own domestic production. As the term implies, it involves substituting domestically made products for previously imported goods. By its nature, import substitution involves import restrictions such as tariffs, which are a tax on imports. These tariffs allow domestic producers to supply the product locally, and capture some or the entire market share, depending on how prohibitively high the tariff rate is set. Commonly, the protection package provided to fledgling local suppliers involved tariffs, quotas that restrict the quantity of imports of a product allowed into the country, and a favourable exchange rate.

All countries go through a process of "natural" import substitution. As average income rises, the

domestic manufacture of processed foods, beverages, textiles, clothing, and other simple commodities is undertaken in response to growing local demand. Import substitution industrialization, however, occurs as a matter of deliberate development policy consciously guided by governments.

### **Why Was Import Substitution Industrialization Promoted?**

Albert Hirschman (1971, p. 89) noted that

Wars and Depressions have historically no doubt been most important in bringing industries to countries of the 'periphery' which up to then had remained firmly remained in the nonindustrial category. The crucial role of the two world wars and the Great Depression in undermining acceptance of traditional ideas about the international division of labor between advanced and backward countries is well known.

During the war years, with the sudden deprivation of imports and foreign exchange, developing countries had no option but to become self-reliant and set up domestic import-replacing industries. Persistent balance of payments deficits in peacetime were a further inducement to restrict imports. However, what started out as a response to circumstances was soon rationalized as a strategy to transform the structure of the economy to achieve higher levels of economic prosperity. Many of these poor countries were agricultural and natural resource-based producers.

Richer countries were primarily industrial nations. Efforts to promote industrialization were seen as an essential prerequisite to achieving comparable living standards.

By creating a domestic industrial base, import substitution would accelerate the movement of resources out of the low-productivity rural sector and into higher-skilled manufacturing. Initially, local suppliers would have to be nurtured and protected from the competitive pressures applied by long-established foreign producers. Over time, domestic inefficiencies would decline as these “infants” learned from experience and were able to reduce costs of production. The end result would be a far more diversified and self-reliant economic structure that is less dependent on the vagaries of the international market price for a small number of primary products like sugar, rubber, or tin. Developing countries had long been suspicious that, in their trade of primary products for imported manufactured goods, the terms of trade had been steadily moving against them. They then had to export more and more of their resource-based products to pay for the same amount of the imported manufactured goods (Meier and Seers 1984).

### **Import Substitution in Practice**

The import substitution strategy has played a key role in the transformation of the economic structure of many developing countries. The process begins at the final stages of production where industries assemble parts and components and turn out finished consumer goods. By limiting the import of the final consumer good, but not the required inputs, an opportunity is created for producers to assemble the product locally. This phase appears to be very successful and tariff protection is provided for a wide range of final consumer goods production. Eventually, expansion of finished consumer goods capacity reaches the limit of the domestic market. There are then two options: expand the market through exports or deepen the process of import substitution through domestic production of the parts and components. The Latin American countries have mostly followed the latter path. A small number of East Asian countries began manufacturing for export and are pursuing an alternative development strategy.

Those countries that deepened their import substitution have done so by requiring their manufacturers to buy a certain percentage of their inputs locally and increasing the percentage progressively. The earlier consumption goods phase of import substitution was now being replaced with a capital and intermediate

goods phase, which requires more specialized and technically complex production processes. Domestic content regulations now placed increasing strains on local skills and capabilities.

Many of the problems associated with import substitution stem from this deepening process. Local producers need higher rates of protection to remain viable. The effective rate of protection is a concept economists use to measure the assistance that domestic producers receive. During the 1960s the average effective rate of protection on manufactured products in Brazil was 118% and Chile 182%. In India and Pakistan the rates were even higher (Little, Scitovsky, and Scott 1970). Often the infant industries remained as inefficient, high-cost producers selling their goods to the local population at grossly inflated prices. The increasing industrial complexity placed even more demands on overstretched government bureaucrats. In the quest for industrial planning there was a proliferation of administrative regulations and controls—differential taxation, import and investment licensing, tariffs, and quotas.

As the production processes became more capital-centred and technology driven, employment growth diminished. There was a shift away from labour-intensive industries such as textiles toward industries such as chemicals and metalworking that were more sophisticated and automated. A strong “urban bias” was another characteristic of this process. Resources were deliberately allocated to urban areas and the rural sectors were often neglected. Rural–urban migration and regional inequality were often consequences of this.

### **A Reconsideration**

Import substitution has been an essential component of industrialization in large developing countries. The experiences of Latin America are instructive here. Before the Great Depression, development in Latin American countries was stimulated by export-propelled growth. This phase ended by roughly 1949. The next phase of Latin American growth came via growth of the domestic market through import substitution and flourished particularly in the 1950s. During the 1960s the enthusiasm for this approach was waning not only in this developing region, but also in India and Pakistan (Hirschman 1971).

The problems that have arisen relate to the lack of selectivity in the industries supported and the faulty incentive mechanisms used. Governments need to find the right activities to promote, to support them in ways that minimize distortions and inefficiencies,

and provide appropriate incentives for firms to assimilate and improve technological capacity to achieve international best practice (Bruton 1998). Moreover, import substitution may be a transitional phase that eventually leads to an expansion of manufactured exports. Once the industrial base expands, as reflected in the scale and diversification of production and the availability of skilled personnel, industries initially producing for the home market move into export markets (Chenery, Robinson, and Syrquin 1986). This has happened in a number of countries and is one indicator of successful import substitution industrialization.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Development History and Theory; East Asia: History and Economic Development; Export-Oriented Economies; Industrialization; Mexico: History and Economic Development; Northern South America: History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Technology: Impact on Development**

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## INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Recent discussions on income distribution can be divided into three main debates, according to their focus. Initially, income distribution was a topic discussed in the context of social or distributive justice

within one society, mainly although not exclusively in Western societies. Secondly, the theories developed in this debate were then used as a basis for evaluating if we took the notion of global justice seriously, what model of income distribution should be used to establish global distributive justice. Recently, the first set of considerations on models of welfare systems and principles of justice has been used to look into social policy in developing countries, where additional models to the existing set are acknowledged to exist, in addition to a normative debate on which, if any, of the existing models should be emphasised in the international effort to establish good governance in the global south. Of course, these categories are not impermeable: work done on the capabilities approach fits partly into the categories of domestic and of global justice when it proposes capabilities as the currency of justice instead of welfare, rights, or duties (Nussbaum 2001; Sen 1991, 1997, and 1999). A second line of work on this approach is the measurement of development via indicators that would describe people's capabilities. This line would fit into the category of social policy in developing countries.

Some people would also make a distinction between work on models of welfare provision and theories of social justice; this is a refinement of the categories above that would lead us into too much detail for the present purposes. Here, we will therefore use the distinction among the three areas of debate as a guideline for discussion of the issue of income distribution. This allows us to separate out theories with a domestic focus on justice and welfare, theories with a focus on global principles of justice, and work on applying theories to developing countries, without complicating matters too much.

### Distributive Justice in One Society

The idea of redistribution through progressive taxation forms part of most liberal Western societies' social policy makeup. The design of welfare states started as early as the end of the nineteenth century with the call from newly formed labour unions for social security and especially sick pay and pensions. However, the main work on developing systems of social security and collective insurance against unemployment took place in the twentieth century. Arguments for social justice were initially made mainly in the context of political struggle, and the late US professor John Rawls is widely recognised as the instigator of contemporary theoretical debates on social justice. In 1971, after a long silence in political

philosophy on anything to do with ethics and morality, he started up the debate again with his book *A Theory of Justice*. Rawls tried to systematise the thinking about justice after a period in which the utilitarian approach of cost-benefit analysis and the intuitive approach to justice were most popular. He proposed to use a thought experiment to derive principles of justice that could be accepted by all under certain just circumstances and should therefore be accepted in real life as fair. Principles of justice in Rawlsian theories are developed by asking, “What would free and equal people choose under circumstances of impartiality?” In order to arrive at those principles, Rawls introduced what he called an “Original Position” where people deliberate on principles of justice without knowledge of their position in society, talents, or earning potential. This is called the “veil of ignorance.” Some additional criteria are that there is no envy, no risk taking, and generally a mutual disinterest: there are no special feelings toward anyone in the group. The principles that would be agreed to under those circumstances are, according to Rawls:

1. Equal liberty
2. a) Inequalities to the benefit of the worst off (Difference Principle)
- b) Positions open to all

These principles apply to the basic institutions of society that distribute the benefits and burdens of society. What is to be distributed fairly are the primary goods, i.e., goods that everyone needs in order to realise their conception of the good life: income, wealth, power, liberty, rights, and opportunities.

### Criticism of Rawls

Rawls received two types of criticism: internal criticism that proposed modifications and external criticism that proposed alternatives to his theory. It was felt that the “no envy restriction” was not realistic and if people were allowed to include envy, then this would lead to a more equal outcome. The same could be said for the mutual disinterest: if people were allowed to include their altruism, the outcome would also be more equal. The mixture of self-interest with impartiality was regarded by some as incoherent. Impartiality should be the only basis for deliberation and the outcome would then again be more equal. Also, it was thought to be unclear what would count as benefiting the worst off. If capitalist investment is always seen to benefit the worst off, then what is the difference between Rawls and a libertarian? All these

criticisms can be seen as respecting Rawls’ starting point but aiming for a more equal outcome by changing the circumstances under which the principles are chosen. This is why they are called internal criticisms.

External criticisms of Rawls were put forward by people who proposed alternatives to his theory. Robert Nozick, for example, developed a libertarian theory of justice in his *Anarchy State and Utopia* (1974). His main objection is that Rawlsian justice requires redistribution from the rich to the poor. Nozick holds that taxation of the rich infringes upon their property rights and he calls taxation “on a par with forced labour.” However, this objection can be countered by noticing that if you do not work, you do not pay tax and therefore taxation does not force you to work. Property rights do not necessarily have to be absolute and the entitlements to the property could be unfair in the first place.

A later external criticism of Rawls, and liberalism more generally, came from a group of theorists sometimes called communitarians. The main proponents are Michael Sandel, Alasdair MacIntyre, and Charles Taylor. Their objection is that Rawls’ contractarian approach assumes the individual to exist prior to society, whereas instead individuals are born into a society. This means that principles of justice should be found in the traditions of the community and not by abstract reasoning. Since individuals’ goals and ethical judgements are bound up with community life, justice requires respect for communities and the values associated with it. Rawls’ theory, according to communitarians, supports the divisive and over-individualistic tendencies in Western democracies.

However, a response to communitarian criticism of Rawls could argue that by taking the values of communities as given, their theory of justice cannot criticise existing practices. Moreover, it is not clear which community is most important: local, national, global? It is not clear who defines what the values of the community are. How are critics of the dominant group treated?

However, both libertarianism and communitarianism represent strongly held intuitions by large groups of people, and Rawlsian liberalism has responded by at least refining and making more explicit its position on the relevance of community and freedom. Rawls himself adopted a modified position in his *Political Liberalism* (1993) where he sets out that justice is not metaphysical but political, and there are no ultimate justifications but dialogue. Others have further pursued the original Rawlsian contractarian line, especially in the debate on Global justice, as we will see below.

Before we move on to the issue of global justice, we pay attention to two more external criticisms of

Rawlsian principles of social justice: feminism and Marxism.

Feminism is especially interesting because it has put forward both an internal and an external critique of Rawls' work. The main exponent of the internal criticism is the liberal feminist Susan Moller Okin (1989). Her main objections are that the Original Position only includes heads of households and they are assumed to be male; the family is not part of the basic structure to which principles of justice apply; sex is not included under the veil of ignorance; and finally, self-interest leads to a lack of benevolence. Okin, however, still finds Rawls' approach helpful: if these three aspects are changed, she argues, it would have radical consequences from a feminist point of view. In response Rawls could argue that heads of households could be women. Rawls has in fact argued that the family is in the basic structure of society, although he could also argue that gender is not relevant in the Original Position, since we all have knowledge of who are the worst off in society. Rawls could also argue that mutual disinterest is not egoism.

External critiques of Rawls by feminists have been put forward by Gilligan (1982), Nodding (1986), and Benhabib (1987), amongst others. Their main thesis is that liberalism leaves out women's voices. Gilligan claims that her research of moral judgments shows that women have a different perception of morality than men. The "different voice" is referred to as a perspective of care rather than a perspective of justice. A perspective of care differs from a perspective of justice in that it emphasises social relationships rather than rules and it is geared toward conflict resolution, and this means that justice is too abstract; it views individuals as separate and isolated; it focuses on the public domain; it advocates an impartial point of view, which ignores special ties; and it advocates one moral principle for all situations. The proposed alternative of feminist ethics holds that actual experience should inform moral theory; theory should be directly applicable in real life; real persons, related to others, should be the focus; the private should be included, with friendship as the model; and, finally, different ethics for different domains should be developed. Nodding, too, proposes the ethics of care as an alternative to justice. Benhabib views feminism as a critique that would lead to a different perspective on the world and therefore on justice based on gender inequality.

The external criticism of Rawlsian justice as put forward by Marxism is often also labelled as an egalitarian approach to justice, although not all egalitarians have a Marxist analysis. Here we give three prior warnings: (1) Marx's work is not the same as

Marxism; (2) Marx's view of justice (and even whether he had one) is contested; and (3) Marx wrote before Rawls, so to say he criticised Rawls is an anachronism. Having put these warnings in place, we can safely say that Marx himself was critical of human rights, as he viewed them as divisive—especially the right to private property, but also the right to individual freedom as it was primarily based on keeping others out of one's sphere of autonomy. As an alternative, Marx proposed his famous principle, "from each according to capacity, to each according to needs."

Later expressions of egalitarianism criticised the Rawlsian approach for allowing the assessment of whether or not the worst off are better off with more inequality to include the idea of compensation for less income by employment opportunities, and they question what is used as the baseline of comparison. Less inequality can be more attractive than the status quo, yet proper equality can be even better. This type of critique leads into the discussion of what needs to be distributed fairly. Since we are discussing income distribution, it needs to be clear that egalitarians may not argue for complete inequality without attention to the overall level of income; yet, egalitarians would argue that Rawls' argument on incentives for the "talented" making some inequality more attractive for the worst off should be curbed, for example, by a maximum ratio of inequality between the highest and the lowest incomes.

Now we will look at how this debate on just principles of income distribution has affected thinking about global justice and about social policy models in developing countries.

## Global Distributive Justice

The end of the Cold War and the process of globalisation could be seen as factors contributing to the growth in literature on global justice. The growing gap between rich and poor and the persistence of dramatic poverty, as well as deaths from preventable diseases, increasingly raise questions of responsibility beyond national borders. The changing economic order has instigated a discussion on fair rules of the game in world trade and duties of redistribution to guarantee the welfare rights of poor people wherever they are in the world. In other words, income distribution worldwide has become a major subject of discussion. Current debates range from proposals for a global progressive tax system to arguments for the satisfaction of basic needs through international institutions.

Cosmopolitanism's early roots lie in the works of the ancient Greeks and the philosophers of the

Enlightenment, especially Kant. The main source for Kant's cosmopolitanism is his Categorical Imperative: "Act only in such a way that I can also will that my maxim should become a universal law" (Kant 1991, p. 67). Contemporary cosmopolitanism can be seen as a continuation of the Rawlsian debate on justice. In 1993 Rawls argued for the basic rules of international law in his Amnesty Lecture, "The Law of Peoples" (Rawls 1993), but he did not argue for the globalisation of the Difference Principle. The Difference Principle was not applicable to international justice, according to Rawls, since persons' adverse fate is more often to be born into a distorted and corrupt political culture than into a country lacking resources. The only principle that does away with that misfortune "is to make the political traditions and culture of all peoples reasonable and able to sustain just political and social institutions that secure political and social institutions that secure human rights... distributive justice for this purpose" (Rawls 1993, footnote 52).

Others took up the theme of international justice and extended Rawls' original theory of justice as fairness (Beitz 1979; Pogge 1987). This tradition in political philosophy is now well established. In recent years, this tradition has also been seen as a valuable contribution to new approaches within international relations theory (Brown 1997; Beitz 1999).

### **Moral Duties Based on Global Interdependence: The Role of Globalisation**

An important question for cosmopolitans is whether rich nations have duties to redistribute wealth to poor nations based on the interdependence created by economic and cultural globalisation, or whether they have these duties simply because they are rich. Or is it a duty based on historic injustice such as slavery and colonialism?

The main proponent of a moral theory based explicitly on growing interdependence is Beitz (1979). Although he altered his argument (Beitz 1983), many people share the intuition that globalisation causes a shift in the moral duties toward people across boundaries. In a historical period where we know of the existence of others and have intensive interaction with them, morality and obligations are denied only by outright moral sceptics. The form global interaction has taken, according to Beitz (1979), leads to a strong argument for global duties of redistribution. Since nation-states are no longer self-contained, justice becomes a global matter and cannot be coherently theorised within models of one society.

However, this position can be criticised for relying on empirical facts which can be disputed and moreover it can be rejected on the basis that normative positions should not be derived from them. A recently suggested alternative takes globalisation seriously as an element in the increasing demand for moral reasoning while not relying on it. O'Neill avoids the question "What are the obligations from one person to others in the world?" and asks instead, "What are our obligations in the present time?" (O'Neill 1996). In her argument for global justice she acknowledges that in today's world, theories of justice for a wider scope than national societies are unavoidable: "Today questions of global distributive justice will arise whether or not we can find the theoretical possibilities to handle them. Modern technical and institutional possibilities make far wider intervention not only possible but unavoidable" (O'Neill 1991, p. 277). This means that income distribution can no longer be an issue for single nation-states only. Her approach holds that when we interact with others across borders, we make quite complicated assumptions about the agents and subjects we deal with. It would be incoherent to deny those agents or subjects moral standing while clearly assuming their complexities when we interact.

Since in our world action, which is globally institutionalised, is a reality, O'Neill's approach shows that a more or less cosmopolitan view of moral standing is contingently appropriate. O'Neill concludes therefore that "[i]f we owe justice to those whose moral standing we acknowledge [by our actions] we will owe it to strangers as well as to neighbours and to distant strangers as well as to those who are relatively near at hand" (O'Neill 1995).

Some have argued that O'Neill's approach lacks a list of precise duties, for example, on global income redistribution. O'Neill can also be criticised for relying on a notion of human agency that, although it is a minimal one, is grounded in metaphysics. And if this is the case, then one may as well be explicit about one's metaphysical assumptions and bring them into the debate (Flikschuh 2000).

An alternative approach is to argue that rich countries are responsible for poverty as they are benefiting from the unequal trading rules (Pogge 2001). Whichever argument one opts for, it is clear that there are strong calls for global redistribution that would result in a more equal income distribution between rich and poor countries. Even global institutions like the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and International Labor Organization (ILO) have called for global justice and fair globalisation (van den Anker 2005).

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**See also Poverty: Impact on Development; Women: Role in Development**

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### INDIA

The Republic of India is situated in southern Asia and occupies approximately 1.27 million square miles, which makes it roughly one-third the size of the United States. Geographically, India is split into three regions: the Indo-Gangetic Plain and the Himalayas, known together as North India, and South India. India is bordered by Pakistan in the Northwest and by China, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma, and Bangladesh in the Northeast and has approximately 4,400 miles of seacoast. The terrain varies from mountainous to flat and the climate varies from subtropical monsoon in the South to the more temperate in the North. The population is estimated at 1.05 billion with an estimated annual growth rate of 1.6%. The capital, New Delhi, is located in Northern India and has a population of 12.8 million.

India's present geographical boundaries were the result of British partitioning in 1947. Fueled by increasing hostility between Hindus and Muslims, the British decided to partition India. Consequently, this created an East and West Pakistan, whose populations were predominantly Muslim. East Pakistan would later become Bangladesh. Prior to British colonial rule, India was governed by a vast array of kingdoms, dating as far back as the Mauryan Empire (326–184 BC). While the Mauryan Empire was the first imperial kingdom, Indian civilization itself dates as far back as 2500 BC. Known as Harrapan culture (2500–1600 BC), remnants found at the two ancient cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa reveal a civilization with an advanced writing system, art, commerce, and sophisticated engineering. Harrapan culture was eventually displaced by invaders from the Northwest, the Indo-Aryans. The Aryans brought with them their own pantheistic religion, language system, familial structures, and social order.

The first Europeans to arrive in India were the Portuguese. In 1498, the voyager Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut and claimed sovereignty of the Indian seas. He immediately came into conflict with the ruler of Calicut and was forced to withdraw, eventually making an establishment at Cochin. While the Portuguese never established an Indian empire, they were instrumental in establishing a thriving commercial trade as part of India's economic structure. After the Europeans defeated the Spanish Armada, it became increasingly clear that Portuguese domination of the Indian Ocean was subject to challenge.

British government interests in India were primarily economic. The British government initially did not run or control India, nor did they intend to, but rather organizations such as the British East India



Company (1603) did. Over time, commercial activities became increasingly involved in the political landscape of India. This entailed, among other things, being involved with local political rivalries between various rulers that often interfered with commerce. As the size of the Company grew, it found itself an Indian power in its own right. Often the Company found itself collecting taxes and running the affairs of other local rulers. The British government did not want commercial concerns to interfere in the affairs of foreign lands without its supervision and subsequently took steps to bring the activities of the Company under its control. The first step it took was the passage of the Regulating Act of 1773. Eventually, the British government realized that India could not be effectively run as a commercial enterprise. In 1858, India became the possession of the British Crown. India was a British colony until its independence in 1947.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) was instrumental in securing popular support for an independent India. Armed with a law degree from England, his civil activist career started out unassuming enough. But his gentle nature, positive attitude, and persevering character would soon enthrall the whole of India. He was assassinated on January 30, 1948 on his way to an evening prayer.

When the British relinquished their claim to sovereignty over India, there were approximately 562 princely states. Each of the states was given the option of joining one of two countries, India or Pakistan. The subsequent partitioning had disastrous effects on India. Untold numbers of people lost their lives and property. There were numerous conflicts over the demarcation of boundaries, assets, and the equitable sharing of water. The control of Kashmir has been a particularly troublesome aspect of partitioning. Kashmir was predominantly Muslim and during partitioning it remained uncommitted to joining India. On October 27, 1947, however, after forceful induction by armed tribesmen and some regular troops from Pakistan, Kashmir was forced to sign an Instrument of Succession to India. The Pakistani government did not recognize the legality of the Instrument of Succession and war ensued. Kashmir remains a violently disputed territory to this day.

On August 15, 1947, India became independent. The British left India in very poor condition. India emerged from World War II with a deteriorating scientific and industrial base and a rapidly expanding population. Most people lived in small villages and were divided by severe inequalities in the distribution of wealth and basic services. Food production was disastrously low, which was exacerbated by a steady population growth rate of 5 million a year. It was the

task of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to rectify these problems of inequality.

Jawaharlal Nehru was prime minister of India from 1947 to 1964. He was from a wealthy Kashmiri Brahman family and was educated at Oxford. Nehru's first order of business as prime minister was to initiate land tenure reform, modernization of the agricultural system, and the development of irrigation facilities. Nehru abolished uneconomic land ownership, which historically consisted of intermediary parties controlling government-owned land that was cultivated by peasants. The abolishment of these policies created an impetus to the peasant in the cultivation of land. Modernization of the irrigation system brought millions of acres of previously uncultivated land into use. During this period the production of food grains increased by approximately 80%. Secondly, Nehru was also keenly aware that massive improvement in the nation's industrial base would be essential to improve the lives of the citizenry. To that end, he initiated broad-based programs designed to create a highly industrialized India. Initially, the government managed and organized the base industries (steel, heavy chemicals, machinery) that were made possible by financial assistance from the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. Industrialization brought with it the need for scientifically and technically trained personnel. Nehru was instrumental in restructuring the Indian educational system from the humanities-based system established by the British to one in which science and technology would take the fore. The third achievement of the Nehru administration was the transformation of Indian rural life. Historically, the rural populations that were concentrated in villages still retained the customs, social mores, craft-based economy, and primitive agricultural practices of the past. Nehru was able to initiate their modernization by consolidating any given eighty or ninety villages into one sizable community. Through consolidation it was easier to provide better sanitation, education, and housing. The objective was to create an environment wherein local leadership would develop, embrace the program of modernization, and thereby increase the quality of lives of rural Indians. The more far-reaching aspect of this program was the creation of self-governing democratic communities, known as *panchayati raj*. Community-elected officials, known as *panchas*, are entrusted with a large degree of self-government. Nehru's policies were effective. At independence, more than 80% of the population was illiterate and university admissions were only at three hundred thousand. After implementation of his modernization programs, the government sent nearly 80% of India's children to schools, with compulsory education for all

children between six and eleven. Moreover, the number of universities doubled and enrollment exceeded 1 million. Nehru also removed barriers that held back Indian women. Through a series of legislative enactments, women were given the right to vote, to sue for divorce, to inherit property on equal terms with males, and to adopt children. In 1961 dowry was made illegal.

While Nehru enjoyed overall success with his domestic policies, the close of the 1950s beset his administration with a variety of problems, domestic and foreign. Domestically, food production began to stagnate and eventually declined. Nehru's foreign policy with respect to the Cold War was one of non-alignment. He sought to project India as a mediator between the superpowers in much the same manner as did Mao's China and Sukarno's Indonesia. However, the Sino-Indian friendship deteriorated when the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1959. The relationship of mutual respect embodied by the five principles of peace (*Panch Shila*) collapsed altogether when the Chinese invaded Ladakh and Assam in 1962. China's objective was the acquisition of territory necessary to control a road from Sinkiang through the Karakoram Pass to Tibet. The invasion in Assam was merely a diversion. Nonetheless, Nehru's policy of non-alignment was dealt a severe blow and revealed India's military vulnerability in the North. Nehru suffered a stroke and died in office in May of 1964.

Nehru's successor was Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964–1966). During his short tenure in office he was beset with a number of problems: widespread food shortages, violent anti-Hindi demonstrations in Madras, and the second war with Pakistan over Kashmir. The center of anti-Hindi violence was the Tamilnadu who were recalcitrant to subordinate their mother tongue to Hindi. Their fighting tactics were at times desperate and in some cases involved self-immolation. In the end, a compromise was struck that established English as the associate language for interregional communication. The war over Kashmir was short-lived as India and Pakistan received their arms and munitions from foreign manufacturers, which in an attempt to quell the violence withheld their sale. Finally, a cease-fire was achieved under the auspices of the United Nations. In January 1966, both parties met at Tashkent, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, where Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev brokered a settlement. Shastri died of a heart attack in Tashkent in 1966.

Indira Priyadarshani Gandhi (1966–1977), Nehru's daughter and no relation to Mohandas Gandhi, succeeded Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966. Gandhi's administration was beset with many of the same problems as Shastri's. A drought in 1966 brought about a 19%

decline in food production. Fearing famine, India sought assistance from the United States, which provided enough grain to avert the disaster. From that point forward, Gandhi made increased agricultural modernization a key part of her administration. Part of this modernization process involved devaluing the rupee to increase aid from the United States. It also involved the dissemination of new seed varieties from Mexico and the Philippines that when combined with chemical fertilizers and enhanced irrigation would increase crop yields. The resulting "green revolution" was tremendously successful. In 1967–1968 agricultural production increased by 26% and national incomes rose by 9%, despite a burgeoning population growth of 2% a year. By 1970, agricultural production reached a peak of 100 million tons. That figure, however, was not reached in the five subsequent years, as production began to decline. Moreover, while production did increase, it was unevenly distributed. The new varieties of grain were often harvested on large farms with assured irrigation systems. These new varieties were therefore more likely than rice, planted on smaller, more scattered plots of land, to produce higher yields. Gandhi's agricultural policy also left wide social disparities. The new inputs were well suited to large-scale farming operations that required strong entrepreneurial skills and access to credit to which only the elite had access. Farming revenues were not taxed nor redistributed in any fashion. The small villager, while being marginally better off, remained comparatively worse off. Alleviating the sense of deprivation felt by the underprivileged would be the cornerstone of Gandhi's political activity in the 1970s.

Gandhi won the 1971 election. Her party, the Congress Party, gained 352 seats in Parliament, which allowed her to push through legislation that might otherwise have been denied. She was successful at passing a constitutional amendment that restricted the fundamental right to ownership of private property. Insurance companies and coalmines were nationalized. She brokered an alliance with the Soviet Union that had a deleterious affect on India's relationship with the United States. Gandhi's greatest achievement, however, was in the manner in which she handled the war with Pakistan. By 1971, Bengalis were increasingly and openly rebellious toward the Punjabis that dominated the state. Yahya Khan, Pakistan's president, sought to curb the rebellion by military force. India sided with the Bengalis originally by offering covert aid but later with a full-scale invasion. The result was a total collapse of Pakistani authority in the East, which in combination with the emergence of the independent country of Bangladesh confined Pakistan to the West and

decisively confirmed India's pre-eminence on the subcontinent. On June 12, 1975, the high court found Gandhi's election in 1971 wrought with corruption. In response, Gandhi claimed a state of emergency. The emergency regulations suspended civil liberties, applied press censorship, and banned opposition political parties. In March of 1977, Gandhi called for elections in which she sought approval and legitimacy for her emergency regime. She was promptly swept from office.

Morarji Desai (1977–1979) succeeded Gandhi as prime minister. Desai's focus was on increasing investment away from industrial centers and into the agricultural system. While food grain production did reach a record of 126 million tons in 1977–1978 and 131 million in 1978–1979, political squabbling amongst his party elite could not be ameliorated. He was forced to resign in 1979.

Charan Singh (1979) was India's first non-Brahman prime minister. However, his tenure in office was cut short by his failure to muster a majority in parliament. He left office after only one month.

Indira Priyadarshani Gandhi (1980–1984) was again elected as prime minister. Most critical in her second tenure was use of force against Sikhs at the Golden Temple in Amritsar. The Sikhs, with support from the Sikh diasporas in Canada and the United States, were calling for the creation of their own state, Khalistan. To that end, the prominent Sikh preacher, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, and his followers blockaded themselves at the temple and would not leave until the creation of an independent Sikh state. Gandhi sent troops (Operation Bluestar) and killed Bhindranwale and thousands of Sikhs congregated on the temple grounds. Sikhs throughout India were enraged. On October 31, 1984, two of Gandhi's Sikh bodyguards killed her. The public was outraged and violence soon followed. Sikhs were the target of their anger. Over a thousand Sikhs were killed in New Delhi alone.

Rajiv Gandhi (1984–1991) succeeded his mother as prime minister. With a reputation for honesty and integrity, he had many friends in India and abroad. His task was to reduce violence in the Punjab and restore vitality to a sagging Indian economy. Rajiv achieved the first by accommodating demands for more regional contracts in the Punjab. He revitalized the economy by opening India's doors to capitalism. This included private investment incentives and a reduction in tax rates and licensing requirements.

Rajiv's honest image was tarnished by two poorly handled affairs. First, his handling of the 1983 Sinhalese-Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka was disastrous. The Sinhalese sought the forcible removal of the

Tamil population. The Tamils (Tamil Tigers) responded with a guerilla-styled war. Originally, Rajiv covertly supported the Tamils. The Sri Lankan president, however, requested that India send troops to disarm the guerillas so elections could be held. India complied, intense fighting ensued, and many lives were lost. India soon lost the respect of both sides and extricated itself from the conflict. Second, the Bofors affair, in which Rajiv allegedly took kickbacks from a Swedish munitions firm in exchange for defense contracts. In response to the allegations, Rajiv terminated his finance minister, V. P. Singh, who then joined an opposition party. In May of 1991, while campaigning in Tamil, Rajiv was approached by a woman who detonated a bomb attached to her person, killing herself, Rajiv, and twelve others. She was believed to be a member of the Tamil Tigers terrorist group.

The 1990s were dominated by many short-term leaders. The first, Vishwanath Pratap Singh (1989–1990), succeeded Rajiv Gandhi. His decision to reserve civil service jobs for lower Hindu castes cost him the support of middle- and upper-class Hindus. He was replaced by Chandra Shekhar (1990–1991) who ruled only briefly. P. V. Narasimha Rao (1991–1996) succeeded Shekhar. Rao continued programs of modernization and economic liberalization. However, several political corruption scandals ended his career in 1996. Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1996) replaced Rao but was in office for only thirteen days. H. D. Deve Gowda (1996) replaced Vajpayee but his tenure was less than one year. Kumar Gujral (1997) replaced Gowda but his tenure was less than one year as well. Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998–2004) was again prime minister. It was under his tenure that India detonated its first atomic bomb. Dr. Manmohan Singh became prime minister in 2004.

The Indian economy has progressed tremendously since its independence in 1947. In 1950, agriculture, forestry, and fishing accounted for 58.9% of the GDP while manufacturing accounted for 10%. Employment was primarily concentrated in the agricultural, forestry, and fishing industries. However, Indian leaders have continually sought to advance the Indian economy. By the 1970s, the economy had transitioned to heavy industry, telecommunications, and transportation. During the 1980s, the economy grew at an annual rate of 5.5%. Since the 1990s it has had an annual growth rate of 6%. By 2003, agriculture employed 60% of the labor force, industry 17%, and services 23%. As a percentage of GDP (2002 est.), these numbers translate to agriculture, 23.6%; industry, 28.4%; and services, 48%. Per capita GDP was \$2,900 (2003 est.) and 25% of the population lives at or below the poverty line. India has a literacy rate of 59.5%. The infant mortality rate is 57.92 per 1,000. The life

expectancy for males is 63.25 years and for females is 64.77 years.

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## INDIAN–PAKISTANI WARS

The partitioning of India in 1947 to provide a homeland for the Indian Muslims left several unresolved issues. One of them has caused two wars, while the unusual geographical configuration of Pakistan has caused a third war. Minor clashes also have resulted from the same issues.

The partition plan drawn up by the British granted to Pakistan the Muslim-majority areas of the North–West Frontier Province, Balochistan, Sindh, and the contiguous Muslim-majority districts of the Punjab, along with Muslim-majority East Bengal, making a bifurcated country whose two parts were separated by 1,500 miles (2,400 kilometers) of what soon became hostile territory. Delineated with much urgency because of spreading ethnic strife throughout the subcontinent, the plan left undecided the fate of the 562 semi-autonomous princely states. Most of these quickly acceded either to India or to Pakistan. Leaders of three of them hesitated because of the geographical anomaly of their states. Located entirely within India's own territory, both Junagadh and Hyderabad had Hindu majorities but Muslim rulers. Believed to be the birthplace of Lord Krishna, Junagadh was prized by India's Hindus. The Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, would have preferred independence for his largest of the princely states. Hyderabad's court had long been a seat of Urdu culture that was precious to many of Pakistan's Muslims. But both Hyderabad and Junagadh were forcibly incorporated into India by military action.

Jammu and Kashmir (the princely state commonly referred to as Kashmir) had the unique problem of bordering both India and Pakistan and having a Muslim majority ruled by a Hindu, Maharaja Hari

Singh. The maharaja, also hoping to remain independent, procrastinated in making a decision, but a decision was forced upon him when some two thousand armed Pathan tribesmen from Pakistan crossed into Kashmir and on the morning of October 22, 1947, seized the border town of Muzaffarbad. To prevent their advancing on Srinagar, the state capital, the maharaja hastily agreed to accede to India. The legality of the instrument of accession he signed has never been acknowledged by Pakistan, yet Pakistan has always insisted that its provision for a plebiscite be carried out—which India has refused to permit.

It appears that the government of Pakistan neither opposed nor assisted the marauding tribesmen, but when India airlifted troops into Srinagar, Pakistan became committed to the “liberation” of Kashmir. Although neither side made a formal declaration of war, an Indian infantry brigade quickly drove back the tribesmen; then, because of logistic problems of supply, the Indians were forced to retreat from border areas in November. Pakistan's troops had been guarding strategic locations only within Pakistan to prevent an attack, but when the Indian side mounted an offensive in the spring of 1948 to retake lost ground, the Pakistani army became directly engaged, bringing into Kashmir its mountain guns, two regiments of field artillery, a medium artillery battery, and a parachute brigade to assault the long Indian communications line. Since neither side wished to invade the other's territory, they accepted UN mediation. This brought the war to an end on January 1, 1949, and teams of UN observers were put in place to monitor the cease-fire line that now divided Kashmir into two unequal parts. Azad (free) Kashmir, as Pakistan called the portion under its control, was a narrow strip opposite its own border and the mountainous area to the northwest. All the rest (“Occupied Kashmir,” in Pakistan's view) remained with India and contained three-fourths of the population and most of the arable land.

This longest of the three conflicts, the First Kashmir War (1947–1949) was least costly in human and material losses. It has been estimated that there were about 1,500 battle deaths, and India lost approximately five thousand square miles of territory. It was almost entirely a ground war; air power was minimal and there were no naval engagements; the terrain was not favorable for tank combat. The lasting effect of the war was the bitter animosity between India and Pakistan that has soured their relationships in most respects ever since.

Because of this animosity and the continuing effort of each country to probe weak spots of the other, a conflict occurred in the Rann of Kutch in January 1965 when each country claimed that patrols from the other side had intruded into its territory. The Rann of

Kutch adjoins the Indus delta, and when not under water is a salt desert where searing winds make human life insufferable. It has neither strategic nor economic value (unless, as some believe, there might be oil beneath its surface); but what mattered in this squabble was the lack of clear demarcation of the region when India was partitioned. After several inconclusive skirmishes, a cease-fire was put into effect on June 30, 1965.

Hostility, however, continued to smolder. Again, there was no formal declaration of war, but it is generally believed (though not acknowledged by Pakistan) that early in August 1965 guerrillas under Pakistan's control entered India's Kashmir to harass its troops stationed there. The first direct engagement between the armed forces of the two countries took place on August 14, 1965. The next day, after an artillery barrage, India captured important positions in the northern mountains. When Pakistan counterattacked later in the month, Indian forces thrust into Azad Kashmir and did not stop until they had penetrated several miles into Pakistan itself. In September, Pakistan turned hostilities southward and took a village inside Indian territory. Now, for the first time, war had come to the soil of both countries.

India's response was a powerful two-prong attack through the Punjab, aimed to take the city of Lahore, with a diversionary thrust toward Sialkot. Lahore was saved when the Pakistani army created a moat on its eastern flank by blowing up seventy bridges that crossed an irrigation canal. The defense of Sialkot resulted in the greatest tank battle on the plains of the Punjab since those of World War II in North Africa. During these engagements, both sides used air cover for their ground operations but each refrained from bombing the other's cities. There was naval action as well, on Pakistan's part the successful endeavor to prevent the shelling of its southern coast.

The war ended in stalemate with the acceptance of the UN's September 20 cease-fire resolution and was far more costly than the first Kashmir War. Pakistan lost 3,800 men, more than 700 square miles of territory, 200 tanks, and 20 aircraft. India lost 3,000 men, 300 square miles of territory, at least 175 tanks, and 60 to 75 aircraft.

The third armed conflict began as a civil war when the Awami League of East Pakistan won an overwhelming majority in the 1970 election that the government in West Pakistan was unwilling to accept. Negotiations dragged on for months until a Bengali liberation force (the Mukti Bahini) clashed with the army in East Pakistan. India sided with the Mukti Bahini and began amassing troops on its border with East Pakistan. In return, on December 3, 1971, the Pakistan air force made a preemptive attack against

military targets in north India. India retaliated by mounting a coordinated ground, air, and navel assault on East Pakistan, by attacking the Pakistan Air Force headquarters in Peshawar in West Pakistan, and by bombarding the port facilities at Karachi. Pakistan tried to divert Indian attention away from East Pakistan by opening a series of engagements on India's western border; these ran from Kashmir to the Rann of Kutch. Once again a tank battle raged east of Sialkot. Farther south, the penetration of Rajasthan by a Pakistani armored regiment was countered by an Indian thrust into Sindh. But the Pakistan army's thirty-five infantry battalions along with support units and thirty-five thousand armed *razakars* recruited from the Urdu-speaking Biharis were no match for the six divisions India had thrown into East Pakistan when they converged on Dacca, along with their Mukti Bahini allies. After fourteen days the war ended in a cease-fire on December 17, and the sovereign state of Bangladesh became a reality.

Pakistan suffered about 9,000 deaths, India only 2,500. Pakistan lost two hundred tanks and seventy-five aircraft; India's losses were eighty and forty-five, respectively. India destroyed a Pakistani submarine in the Bay of Bengal; Pakistan sank an Indian frigate in the Arabian Sea. Ninety thousand Pakistani prisoners of war were left stranded in Bangladesh for months, and what remained of Pakistan was wracked by violent demonstrations when news of the defeat reached there.

Despite—or perhaps because of—these inconclusive wars, military adventurism has continued from both sides, and every perceived aggressive action is met tit for tat. In 1984, India moved troops into the region of the Saichen glacier to dispute the possession of land at an elevation of twenty thousand feet (six thousand meters), where it is almost impossible to exist, much less fight. In 1999, Pakistani troops occupied an area in the Kargil region of Kashmir claimed by India. In both cases skirmishing continued for months, with the loss of untold hundreds of lives.

Since the wars have escalated in violence, most unnerving were the five nuclear tests carried out by India at Pokhran in 1998, only 90 miles (150 kilometers) from Pakistan's border. Within two weeks, Pakistan responded with five nuclear tests of its own—thus removing any doubt about the nuclear capability of the two quarrelsome powers in the Indian subcontinent that, over fifty years, have found no means of peaceful coexistence.

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**See also Awami League; Bangladesh; Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; Guerrilla Warfare; India; Kashmir Dispute; Pakistan**

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## INDIGENOUS MEDICAL PRACTICES

Indigenous or native medical systems and practices refer to those found throughout the world among pre-modern, or so-called traditional, societies. Many of these systems are found in small-scale societies and are based on oral tradition, others are heirs to medical knowledge that originated within major civilisations, such as China, South Asia, Mesoamerica, and the Andean region in South America.

The distinction between native medicine and Western or scientific medicine is far from unproblematic. From the rationalist standpoint of modern medicine, a recognized disease retains its identity wherever it occurs, regardless of the cultural context. However, as people actually experience disease indirectly and as culturally constructed illnesses, in practice this is often a matter of compromise and adjustment to local conditions. In native medical systems, concepts of disease are often inextricably linked to cultural classifications of adversity, natural or otherwise (Lieban 1974). Thus, the specialist considers the nature of illness the self-evident point of departure and the determinant factor as to how to proceed in the subsequent empirical treatment.

It is futile to attempt a delimitation of what is properly "medical" in native systems, where almost any performed ritual, communal or individual, is in

some sense "medicinal." "Ritual" here means the manipulation of the inherent vital power, the soul, believed to be possessed by any person, place, thing, or event. The purpose of ritual is then to maintain the balance or restore the presence of this vital power (Herrick 1983). Embedded as it is in a cultural matrix, the discourse of native medicine has an essential mythic dimension. An example are the medical practices found among the Maya Indians in Guatemala, who retain to this day elements from pre-Columbian times, when medicine, myth, and advanced astronomical science formed an integrated whole.

### Causes of Illness

Even if there is a great variation in medical systems throughout the world, when it comes to establishing the causes of illness and disease, an important distinction is between those illnesses with natural causes or those caused by witchcraft or supernatural agents. Many minor and sporadic ailments can be deemed as natural to begin with and be treated at home or routinely by an herbalist. However, the diagnosis can change if certain symptoms, such as the slow healing of a wound, are observed. In that case, the disease is usually attributed to human agency, the effect of witchcraft or sorcery. In those cases, a so-called witch-doctor or a shaman must be consulted. This is related to the ambivalent nature of spiritual power, which means that the same agent or material, human or spiritual, can either cause or cure disease. Such was for instance the ambivalent role of certain sacred objects called *minkisi* by the Kongo (a Bantu people in Congo Kinshasa), also found in many other African traditions and known generically as *fetiches* (Westerlund 1989).

Nature spirits and ancestor spirits are also agents of disease, for instance as a result of the breaking of taboos or norms. Whatever the cause established according to the local model of etiology, native systems employ disease terminologies of considerable precision. The sophistication sometimes achieved can be illustrated with the Hausa-Fulani in northern Nigeria, who distinguish 808 diseases and employ 637 plants to cure them, among them 32 different plants used to treat malaria (Etkin and Ross 1983)

Even deities may, through the inducement of illness, indicate demands on an individual or a group (Westerlund 1989). Among the Mapuche in South America, anguished dreams called *perimontun* may be an indication to someone that she or he is being called to become a shaman.

## Specialists

Native medicine specialists differ in the methods and illnesses they treat. Often, the most important is the herbal practitioner who employs a variety of plants and drugs obtained from them throughout the world, many of proven efficacy such as quinine, sage, opium, coca, cinchona, curare, chalmogra oil, ephedrine, and rauwolfia. Methods employed include infusions, plasters, enemas, suppositories, massages, sweating, thermal baths, and diets.

Among the reputed herbalists of the Andean Kallawalla, the use of a certain medicine chosen from a vast repertoire refers specifically to a certain part or function of the body. It is vital for the body to maintain a balanced flow of air, blood, feces, milk, phlegm, semen, sweat, and urine. As elsewhere, the intrinsic power of drugs must be enhanced by the proper ritual. For the Kallawalla herbalist, this means that it is indispensable to establish the proper relation between the patient and what can be called the cosmographic context. The view is that bodily processes are analogous to the flow of rain and wind observed in surrounding mountains and valleys (Bastien 1987). This can be seen as a special case of a principle of general validity in native South American medicinal thinking, the complementary concepts of intrusion and extraction.

The spiritual dimension of illness is treated by the shaman, who employs ecstatic trance as a means to achieve communication with spiritual forces and thus act as an efficient diviner and healer. Among the Waiká in Venezuela, the shaman inhales the powder of ebena (from the species *Virola*), that in a matter of minutes induces powerful hallucinations.

In many places, the prevalence of indigenous medical practices and beliefs has not prevented the utilization of modern Western medicine. In such intercultural settings, people tend to place illnesses in two broad categories: those more likely to respond to the treatment of a healer and those more likely to be cured by a physician. This creates a series of intercultural situations in which native and modern medicine both compete and cooperate with each other. Most illnesses eventually end in spontaneous recovery. When this occurs and the patients have been treated by local healers, confidence in indigenous medicine may be enhanced. When therapy for an illness is sought from both a physician and a healer, the combined efforts of both may cure the patient but only one of them may get the credit. In these cases, intercultural competence and familiarity is an integral part of effective health programs.

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**See also Health Care; Infant Mortality; Infectious Diseases; Mental Health; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## INDONESIA

Indonesia, the world's fourth-largest nation, with a population of 210 million, straddles the equator between mainland Southeast Asia and Australia extending 3,198 miles (5,150 km) with a total land area of over 767,000 square miles (1,986,500 sq. km). It consists of over 13,000 islands (6,000 inhabited) with five main islands (Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan [Borneo], Sulawesi, and Irian Jaya) and two major archipelagos (Nusa Tenggara and the Maluku Islands). Many of the islands are mountainous, with peaks reaching 3,800 meters above sea level in western islands and as high as 5,000 meters in Irian Jaya. Because of the region's tectonic instability, there are 400 volcanoes, of which 100 are active.

The climate is tropical with a rainy season from November to March and a dry season from June to October. In coastal areas mean temperatures vary only slightly throughout the year 78°F–82°F (25°C–28°C). The temperatures in upland communities can be considerably cooler.

The official language is Bahasa Indonesia, which is based on Malay. There are over five hundred other

mutually unintelligible languages and dialects. The major languages (those with 1 million or more speakers) include: Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Madurese, Minangkabau, Balinese, Bugisnese, Acehnese, Toba Batak, Makassarese, Banjarese, Sasak, Lampung, and Rejang.

The capital of Indonesia is Jakarta, on the north-west end of Java. Java is also the home of over 60% of Indonesia's population. Hence, the Javanese are the most dominant ethnic group in Indonesia. Other major ethnic groups include the Sundanese (Java), the Madurese (Java/Madura), the Balinese, the Ache-nese (Sumatra), the Minangkabau (Sumatra), and various Dayak groups (Kalimantan).

## History

The archipelago has long had state-level societies. A long succession of first Hindu, then Islamic states, which sometimes competed with each other, preceded European contact with the islands. The Dutch presence began when the first Dutch ships landed in Java in 1596. Except for a brief period of British rule (1811–1815), the Dutch ruled what became Indonesia for nearly 350 years.

As a backdrop for modern Indonesia, it is useful to briefly review major colonial policies, namely the Landrent System, the Cultivation System, and the Liberal Phase. The Landrent System operated on the assumption that the government was owner of all lands and the peasants, therefore, were renters who then paid a percentage of the estimated productivity of each crop as rent. Formally this system was in force from 1811 until 1830, however, government collection of rent for agricultural land was part of the revenue system until the end of Dutch colonialism. The Cultivation System, which was in full operation by 1840, was designed to encourage the cultivation of cash crops by requiring Javanese peasants to devote up to one-fifth of their arable land and one-fifth of their labor (sixty-six days per year) to the cultivation of coffee, indigo, and sugar. With the cash payments the peasants were supposed to receive, they were expected to settle their landrent debts (Boomgaard 1989).

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century were marked by increasingly liberal economic and social policies, which restored most pre-1800 landrights. The Liberal Period saw the slow transition from compulsory labor to a “free” labor market. Another feature of this period was an increasing amount of education available for the native population.

The Dutch lost control of the Indies for a second time when the Japanese army landed in Batavia (Jakarta) on March 1, 1942. Initially, many Indonesians welcomed the Japanese Occupation. However, in time the Japanese presence was resented by many. Unlike the Dutch, the Japanese were interested in exporting rice. The Japanese also conscripted over 4 million people for economic development and defense construction. These practice and the confiscation of other foods and necessities made the Japanese exceedingly unpopular. The Japanese period ended when the British military arrived in Jakarta in September of 1945. Shortly afterwards, the Netherlands reclaimed control of Indonesia.

Under Japanese Occupation, the nascent nationalist movement solidified. At the very least, the Japanese occupation disproved the myth of Dutch superiority. Under the Japanese, Malay started to become a national language. There were committees formed to standardize what became Bahasa Indonesia. The Japanese also encouraged the further development of modern Indonesian literature. Indonesians were allowed to participate in politics, administration, and the military. Although some Japanese collaborators were latter killed in retaliation for the harshness of Japanese policies in the closing years of the war, other collaborators, like Soekarno and Hatta, later the first president and vice president, worked to set the ground work for Indonesian independence.

Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945. The Indonesian forces were a combination of national forces and Islamic militias. Independence was not easily gained. Toward the end, the Republican Army controlled only the palace of Yogyakarta. Shifting international opinion about colonialism forced the Dutch to abandon their claim and recognize Indonesian independence on December 27, 1949 (Kahin 1952)

Following independence, Indonesia was governed by Sukarno, the primary signatory to the Declaration of Independence. The first years of the post-independence Sukarno regime have been called the “Liberal Democracy” period or the “Democratic Experiment.” 1957 marked the beginning of the “Guided Democracy” period, which was dominated by the personality of Sukarno, although army leadership played an important role.

In 1965, Guided Democracy ended abruptly. In the early morning of October 1, 1965, a number of generals in the Indonesian army were murdered. These murders were blamed on the PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*; Indonesian Communist Party), which was at the time the largest communist party in the world (McVey 1965). What followed was a bloodbath of epic proportions, in which up to a half million people were



killed or disappeared. In the aftermath of these events, Suharto emerged as the president of Indonesia.

Suharto served as president until May 1998, when he stepped down following student protests in the wake of a severe economic crisis, that as of 2004 still wracks the nation. Suharto was succeeded by his recently named vice president, Bachruddin Jusuf Habibie. Submitting to popular demand, Habibie held general elections on an accelerated schedule. With the Suharto-era limitations on political parties lifted, forty-eight parties competed in the 1999 parliamentary elections. Out of this process Abdurrahman Wahid was elected president. Megawatti Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Sukarno, who had been widely favored to become president, was named vice president. President Abdurrahman was also a Muslim cleric. His presidency was as controversial as it was short and it ended in July 2001. Megawatti finally followed in her father's footsteps. Whether Indonesia will complete its transformation into a democratic state remains to be seen. One positive sign was the emergence of direct presidential elections in 2004, which elected Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as Indonesia's sixth president. However, his background in the military has concerned some observers.

### World's Largest Islamic Country

Today, Indonesia is the world's largest Islamic country, although it is not an Islamic state. Throughout the Indonesian Republic's existence, the ongoing question for the Islamic community has been how to create a strong, pious, and faithful Islamic society in the context of a modernizing, globalizing, and secular state. There are two major variants of Sunni Islam in Indonesia, which are generally referred to as the Traditionalists and the Reformists.

The Traditionalists, who are affiliated with pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) and the organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU; trans., "Renaissance of Islamic Scholars"), practice and maintain Traditional Islam, which is strongly associated with the theologics, considered opinions, legal theories and findings, and mystical theories of Medieval Islam found in texts called *kitab kuning* (classical texts; literally, yellow books) (Dhofier 1999). The pesantren community holds them to be of high importance in determining how to live as good Muslims in a globalizing and modernizing world.

Reformists, who are affiliated with the organization Muhammadiyah, seek to reform Indonesian Islam so that it draws primarily on scriptural sources. Muhammadiyah takes a position that the basis of

Islamic Law (*shariah*) is the Qur'an, *Hadith* (the sayings and actions attributed to the Prophet), and personal interpretation. Traditionalists are slightly more numerous than the Reformists (Peacock 1978).

Both NU and Muhammadiyah sponsor schools, hospitals, and universities in keeping with their primary charter as social-religious organizations. However, prior to 1977, both functioned as political parties and after 1998, both sponsored new political parties.

Despite being considered by many observers to be an example of Liberal Islam, Indonesia has seen the emergence of terrorist groups and terrorist activities in recent years. Radical Islamist groups like Laskar Jihad and Jemaah Islamiyah comprise a small percentage of Indonesian Muslims; however, they have been responsible for a number of significant acts of violence.

### Other Religions and Ideologies

Prior to 2000, the Indonesian government required all citizens to declare one of five religions: Islam (87% of the total population), Protestantism (6%), Catholicism (3%), Hinduism (3%), or Buddhism (1%). Followers of indigenous animist traditions either nominally converted to one of the major religions (often one of the forms of Christianity because they allow the consumption of pork) (George 1996) or redefined their traditional religion as a form of Hinduism and have worked long and hard to have it recognized as such (Schiller 1997).

Until the end of the Suharto regime in May 1998, all organizations had to claim as their basic ideology the *Pancasila*, or five principles: belief in one supreme God; humanitarianism; nationalism expressed in the unity of Indonesia; consultative democracy; and social justice.

### Form of Government

Indonesia is a unitary republic with a high degree of centralization. There are thirty-two regional provinces that have their government appointed from Jakarta. Sometimes governors are not from the region they govern, which can lead to strife. As late as 1999, the police were a branch of the military and organized along these lines with a central command in Jakarta. There is a slow effort to put police powers in increasingly local hands.

The 1945 constitution establishes three branches of government: executive, judicial, and legislative,

but has until recently favored the president. The president is elected every five years. Up through the 1999 election, the president was elected through a parliamentary-type system. Starting with the 2004 election, Indonesians elect their president directly.

Indonesia is a member of United Nations (UN), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Nonaligned Movement (chair 1992–1995), and numerous other international organizations. It bases its relations with all major nations on principles of nonalignment.

## Education

Indonesia has an adult literacy rate of 83.7%, which is defined in terms of the Roman alphabet. This rate does not reflect an older population that is literate only in the Arabic alphabet. Indonesia has a twelve-year primary and secondary education system. Prior to 1995, only six years of school were required for all citizens, but now nine years are required. Today, there are two basic government-recognized curricula: the National System, which is mostly secular, and the *Madrasah* System. The *Madrasah* System was originally established because many Muslim parents were leery of the mostly secular national schools and would not send their children to them. Private schools that wish to have government recognition must follow one of these two curricula.

In addition to these schools are the *pesantren*, Islamic boarding schools. Prior to the twentieth century, *pesantren* were the only formal education institutions found in Java and in most of what is now Indonesia. They taught an almost exclusively religious curriculum to a mix of students including future religious leaders, court poets, and members of the ruling class. First the Dutch, then the Nationalists, and later the Republic of Indonesia promoted an educational system focused on science, math, and other “secular” subjects (Anderson 1990, pp. 132, 243). In response to the demand for this type of education, as early as the 1930s many *pesantren* added government-recognized curricula. Starting in the 1970s, these new curricula became an important part of the *pesantren* community’s strategy for negotiating modernity (Dhofier 1999; Lukens-Bull 2005).

## Outlook

As of 2004, the future of Indonesia is uncertain because of a number of key issues. Despite the inauguration

of the first directly elected president in 2004, some observers are concerned that the reformation movement may have stalled out. An important component of democratization will be reducing widespread corruption in all levels of government and bringing to trial corrupters from previous administrations. Another issue concerns regional autonomy and separatist movements in North Sumatra and Papua. Key issues for the next decade will be whether Indonesia will be able to continue as a united republic and how efforts to keep the nation unified will impact democratization.

The recovery of the Indonesian economy seems to be dependent on a number of factors including the restructuring of banking systems, the reduction of corruption, the restoration of political stability, the control of terrorism, and the return of international investors.

The December 26, 2004, earthquake and tsunami off the coast of Sumatra may have some impact on these processes. However, the long-term effects of this event remain unpredictable. That said, a few things seem clear. The area hardest hit was Banda Aceh, which was the center of the separatist movement in North Sumatra. The Indonesian government could use this tragedy as an opportunity to either sway public opinion or crush the rebellion. Likewise, the Free Aceh Movement may use these events as an opportunity to garner support. In terms of Indonesia–United States relationships, the images of US troops cradling scared and injured Indonesian children has gone a long way to counter the impact of the images coming out of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal. There is also a possibility of the end of the military embargo by the United States.

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**See also East Timor; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## INDUSTRIALIZATION

### Defining Industrialization

Generally, industrialization represents a process of intense development of industrial activity. If at the beginning industrialization was just an effect of economic development, it became more and more a process of conscious orientation of forces and resources toward the develop of industrial activity, seen as the base of the general development of the society.

Industrialization is a process of social and economic change whereby a human society is transformed from a pre-industrial stage to an industrial one. Pre-industrial economies often rely on sustenance standards of living, in which large portions of the population focus their collective resources on producing only what can be consumed by them, though there have also been quite a few pre-industrial economies with trade and commerce as a significant factor, enjoying wealth far beyond a sustenance standard of living.

Sometimes industrialization might also be termed an “industrial revolution,” but only two or three times in history, when the industrial landscape radically changed due to the scientific and technological leaps. There is still an ongoing debate whether the Industrial Revolution was a revolution or just an evolution, whether industrialization was a radical change or an inevitable development in the context of the continuing social and political changes, agricultural innovations, accumulation of capital, and expansion of trade that had taken place in the seventeenth century and earlier.

Industrialization as social and economic change is closely intertwined with technological innovation, particularly the development of large-scale energy production and metallurgy. Industrialization is also related to some form of philosophical change, or to a different attitude in the perception of nature, though whether these philosophical changes are caused by industrialization or vice versa is subject to debate.

### Industry and Industrialization

In its broadest sense, industry is any work that is undertaken for economic gain and that promotes employment. An industry refers to an area of economic production and involves large amounts of capital investment before any profit can be realized. The word may be applied to a wide range of activities, from farming to nuclear activity. It encompasses production at any scale, from the local, sometimes known as cottage industry, to the multinational or transnational.

In a more restricted sense, industry refers to the production of goods, especially when that production is accomplished with machines. It is this limited definition of industry that is embodied by the notion of industrialization: the transition to an economy based on the large-scale, machine-assisted production of goods by a concentrated, usually urban, population of workers. Manufacturing, which literally means “making by hand,” has come to describe mechanical production in factories, mills, and other industrial plants.

Industry became a key sector of production in European and North American countries during the Industrial Revolution, which upset previous mercantile and feudal economies through many successive rapid advances in technology, such as the development of steam engines, power looms, and advances in a large-scale steel and coal production. Industrial countries then assumed a capitalist economic policy. Following the Industrial Revolution, perhaps a third of the world’s economic output was derived from industry—more than agriculture’s share, but subsequently less than that of the service sector.

An industry is usually classified as belonging to one of the following four groups: primarily, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary. Primary industries, which collect or extract raw materials, are located where the resources are found. Secondary industries are those that process or convert the raw materials into finished products. Some of these manufacturing industries must be situated close to the raw materials they use, others are tied to their largest markets, and still

others—independent of both resources and markets—are often located wherever it is cheapest at the time.

Tertiary industries are the service industries. These include retailing, wholesaling, transport, public administration, and the professions, such as law. Finally, quaternary industries comprise activities that provide expertise and information. Consultancy services and research organizations belong to this category. These are generally market oriented, but since today's electronic communication permits swift contact and the easy transmission of data, they may be located almost anywhere.

### Science, Technological Innovation, and Industrialization

From the beginning, the industrialization and the industrial revolutions were intimately linked to the scientific and technological progress. In 18th-century England, the individual inventors increased the efficiency of the individual steps of spinning so that the supply of yarn fed a weaving industry that itself was advancing with improvements to shuttles and the loom or frame.

In 1733, John Kay patented the first of the great machines, the flying shuttle, and, in 1764, James Hargreaves, a weaver and carpenter, created the spinning jenny, a mechanical spinning wheel that allowed the spinners to keep up with the weavers. Four years later, Richard Arkwright built the water frame, a cotton-spinning roller that made it possible to spin many threads into yarn at the same time.

Edmund Cartwright invented the power loom in 1785 and it mechanized the weaving process. Mechanization was associated with the development of the factory system, and strict discipline of the workers and what had once been a home-based craft became an industry. American inventor Eli Whitney (1765–1825), among others, devised the cotton gin, a machine that enabled a worker to clean more than fifty times as much cotton a day. Unfortunately, it is considered that this device played a major role in the perpetuation of slavery in the United States.

Finally, the textile industry became so large that it outgrew the possibilities of its power source: water power. In the first part of the eighteenth century, Thomas Newcomen made an “atmospheric engine” in which a piston was raised by injected steam. Newcomen's device was used to pump water out of mines and, later, it was improved by James Watt. His steam engine of 1769, and particularly its adaptation to produce rotary motion, allowed the rapid and wholesale use of steam power in industry.

By 1720 the English iron industry was in trouble, owing to lack of wood to make charcoal; half the country's iron at this time was imported. In 1784 Henry Cort's puddling process allowed ironmasters to produce wrought iron from pig iron using coal. Further developments were enabled by James Watt's steam engine, which was used to create blast; by the hot blast inventions developed in 1828 by James Neilson; and by James Nasmyth, who developed a steam hammer to work wrought iron and steel in 1839. The iron industry grew rapidly and became a key element in industrialization.

In steel casting, Henry Bessemer invented, in 1856, the process that bears his name and, in 1861, William Siemens invented the open-hearth process. These new methods allowed the production of large amounts of mild steel from non-phosphoric ores, and in 1879 Sidney Gilchrist-Thomas learned how to use phosphoric ores by lining the converter with dolomite limestone. Steel was stronger and more malleable than cast iron, and rapidly replaced it as the main metal of the Industrial Revolution.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States had surpassed Great Britain in the production of iron and steel. The abundance of raw materials, a rapidly growing population, and the adoption of innovations such as the telegraph, the telephone, the electric light, and the refrigerator, along with petroleum products, provided the basis for a boom in American manufacturing.

The main contribution to world manufacturing made by the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the increase in the scale of production. Beginning in 1913, Henry Ford pioneered mass-production methods in his vehicle plants. From this time until the 1960s, the US excelled in the techniques of mass production and led the world in productivity. In recent years, however, the Ford approach has become discredited for its lack of flexibility and for diminishing the skills of the labor force. It has been replaced by more flexible and responsive systems of production, especially within Japanese companies.

Nowadays, the introduction of mass-production techniques and robotics has resulted in the growth of component industries. These supply parts to other industries that are devoted to assembling the finished product. The motor-vehicle industry, which has been greatly refined by the Japanese, employs “just-in-time” production methods to ensure that components arrive at car factories as they are needed, rather than accumulating in large, wasteful, and expensive stockpiles. This approach makes vehicle production more responsive to the market, and therefore more competitive.

The global industrialization view emerging to dominate information science research, envisages continued industrialization, national and global information infrastructures, and the transformation of less-developed countries (LDCs) to industrialized economies. Some research has already begun to explore the dimensions of sustainable information technologies within the global industrialization paradigm. Current information science research has been primarily concerned with facilitating all aspects of global industrialization.

Industrialization has brought increasing specialization, complexity, and individualization. Computer technology and information services have evolved to support industrialization. Libraries and information services have developed with industrialization to satisfy human information needs and continue to assume greater importance with LDCs' industrialization.

### **De-industrialization**

De-industrialization describes the decline in the contribution made by manufacturing industry to a nation's overall economic prosperity. The process might be also named re-industrialization, because the shift is not away from industry altogether, but from secondary to tertiary and quaternary industry. In other words, a de-industrializing economy moves away from the manufacture of goods and toward the provision of services.

Those countries that industrialized first—the UK, France, the United States—are now undergoing de-industrialization. The ascendancy of the service economy in the context of the post-industrial society is characterized by a number of apparently negative features, such as a decline in manufacturing employment and a dependence on imports across a wide range of sectors. Although the loss of the manufacturing base is likely to create unemployment at first, it may not be an adverse development in the long term. Paradoxically, de-industrialization in the three countries mentioned above has been accompanied by a growth in the high-tech industries in different well-known areas. The long-term impact of de-industrialization has yet to be felt. It may be the speed of the process, rather than the process itself, that needs careful management.

Within the global industrialization view, permanent or temporary de-industrialization occurs in local and regional communities, and is regarded as a normal consequence of shifts in global industrialization and adjustments of a marketplace economy. De-industrialization is studied as the process of

decline and eventual closure of industries supporting local, regional, and national communities within a marketplace economy. Cases of de-industrialization have been documented in specific towns, cities, and regions in many parts of the world, within different countries.

De-industrialization often results from periods of economic restructuring by transnational corporations; changing labor markets; political and economic change; or relocating industries due to global, national, or regional competition. De-industrialization has been found to permanently or temporarily affect many aspects of a community and engender many specific social and economic problems.

### **Soviet-Inspired and State-Sponsored Industrialization**

The countries from the former communist camp, starting with the former USSR, introduced a special theory and experience of industrialization. The communist power needed a strong and rapid industrialization due to two main reasons. First, the industry was seen as the most efficient method of development of the country and secondly, to make the absolute communist power stronger and everlasting. Communist power is based on the proletariat, at least from the ideological point of view, but in USSR and all the countries who followed Soviet leadership, the working class was less developed due to the reduced level of the industrial sector. One of the struggles of the communist powers was to restrain the number of people working in agriculture and to increase the proletariat.

The communist state owns all the means of production and only a few private possessions are allowed. The major economic decisions are made by command from above in accordance with planners and plan's demands. The prices are set by the state as is the direction of economic activities because there is a command, centralized, and plan-oriented economy.

Because for almost four decades, the USSR was the only communist state, excepting Mongolia, the communist precepts were experienced here before being implemented in the countries where the regime was imposed after the Second World War. In the USSR, Joseph Stalin forced a rapid industrialization with an emphasis on heavy industry in the years before World War II with the famous Five-Year Plans.

Stalin's aims were to erase all traces of capitalism and to transform the Soviet Union into an industrialized

and completely socialist state. The first Five-Year Plan also called for transforming Soviet agriculture from predominantly individual farms into a system of large state collective farms. The Communist regime believed that collectivization would improve agricultural productivity and would produce grain reserves sufficiently large to feed the growing urban labor force. Collectivization was further expected to free many peasants for industrial work in the cities and to enable the party to extend its political dominance over the remaining peasantry. The main goal of Soviet policy makers, however, was to promote industrial, not agricultural, growth. Collectivization gave an initial impulse to industrialization, orienting the agricultural surplus income and manpower out of the countryside and towards the city. Finally, the anticipated surplus was to pay for industrialization.

The Soviet economic model and the emphasis on industrialization at any price was followed or rather imposed in the Central and Eastern European countries that entered the communist camp, after 1945. The centralization and state-controlled economy were copied also in parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin American that experienced socialist development. The European former Communist Party renounced this model at the beginning of 1990 and jumped into the transition from communism to capitalism—a totally new and sometime traumatic social, economic, and political experience for those nations. One of the most difficult situations these countries have to cope with is the problem of the socialist industry that they built, the enormous productive capacity they put into action, huge and not-so-modern plants that they have to privatize, to make them efficient, or just close them down.

The shift in focus on industrial development in the former communist countries is also seen as a manifestation of the phenomenon of de-industrialization. In the 1980s and early 1990s, more and more economies underwent market-oriented reforms.

## Industrialization and Development

Many analysts have made the case that industrialization brings “development.” The implicit assumption is that industrialization improves a nation’s well-being along a number of dimensions, including education quality and attainment. At the same time, people have warned of the potential downside of industrialization, including increased pollution, growing inequality, and lower social cohesion.

It is no longer necessary for the newly industrialized countries to repeat the steps followed by the first

industrialized countries in world history. With the technology and know-how available today, it has been only a question of national will and money to industrialize a country since the end of the 20th century. Most countries regard industrialization as a positive evolution fit to generate rapid economic growth, revitalize run-down areas, and confer influence in world affairs. Most also now recognize the need for a diversified industrial base to safeguard their economies from fluctuations in the market price for their own specialized product. The negative consequences of industrialization are sometimes more apparent in developing countries than in countries with established industrial structures, where the social dislocation and environmental problems that often accompany development began long ago.

In 1960 the economic historian W. W. Rostow hypothesized a model of the “stages of economic growth.” Starting from a traditional agricultural society, Rostow suggested a long period in which the preconditions for takeoff were created—notably the creation of an agricultural surplus that could finance industrial development, and the development of suitable trading and governmental institutions. The takeoff is impelled by “leading sectors.” Once these leading sectors begin to grow, a process of self-sustaining growth occurs and the economic development is underway. In eighteenth-century England the growth was based on certain staple industries, particularly textiles, coal, and iron. Once takeoff had begun, growth in one industry provoked growth in others by way of a complex set of interdependencies and led to associated developments in organization, power, and engineering. The countries had their takeoff moments in different periods—England in the eighteenth century, the US around 1850, and the Asian Tigers in the twentieth century.

Since the end of World War II, the relative significance of manufacturing in the economies of Europe and the US has declined, and its importance in the economies of East Asia has risen. Japanese manufacturing, in particular, has had a worldwide impact in a very short time, and other Asian economies have followed Japan’s lead. The renewal of its industrial plants after World War II gave Japan the advantage of modern production facilities. Since the mid-1950s, Japanese industrial output has grown at an annual rate of at least 6%. Japan’s manufactured goods are noted for their high quality, which is due to the use of advanced technology in the production process.

Theories of accumulation are closely allied to those of industrialization. For many development economists, particularly those in the developing world, industrialization is almost synonymous with economic development. Looking across the developing world at

the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is a huge range of national experiences. The most prosperous newly industrialized countries are the successful economies of East Asia, such as China and South Korea; Southeast Asia, such as Thailand and Singapore; some oil-rich countries of the Middle East; and some Latin American countries. In the mid-1990s it appeared that much of Asia and Latin America was set on a more effective development path than before. But the failure of development in much of sub-Saharan Africa gave economists cause for concern.

The success of the East Asian and Southeast Asian economies has been a powerful influence on thinking since the 1970s and 1980s. These countries did not accept the pessimism about exports that most of the developing world did. Despite the protective barriers erected by industrial countries, these countries managed to generate rapid expansion of manufacturing exports by skillfully selecting products and markets. With this came fast economic growth, first for the “four tigers”—Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan—and followed by others such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand.

Far from developing rapidly, economies with large-scale government intervention, trade protection, and inward-looking development were looking very sick by the end of the 1980s. Recession in the world economy exposed their weakness. An unsustainable balance of payments, domestic deficits, rapid inflation, international debt, and low growth or even economic decline reached the point where it was widely acknowledged that things had to change. The fact that socialist economies too were beginning to throw off the rigidities of the command economy and move into varying degrees of reliance on free-market economy was influential.

A worldwide consensus began to arise that greater reliance on market forces was essential for speeding up development where it was lagging, although how far governments should be involved in the development process remained, and remains, controversial. The East Asian and Southeast Asian experience for some was a triumph of the marketplace; but for others it demonstrated the power of combining market forces with skillful government intervention.

### The Tigers of Industrialization

The East Asian Tigers, sometimes also referred to as Asia’s Four Little Dragons, refers to the economies of Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Singapore. These nations were noted for maintaining high

growth rates and rapid industrialization between the early 1960s and the 1990s.

The East Asian Tigers pursued an export-driven model of economic development. These nations focused on developing goods for export to highly industrialized nations. Domestic consumption was discouraged through government policies such as high tariffs. The common characteristics of the East Asian Tigers were: focus on exports to rich industrialized nations, sustained rate of double-digit growth for decades, non-democratic and relatively authoritarian political systems during the early years, high tariffs on imports, undervalued national currencies, trade surplus, and a high savings rate. The current criticism of the East Asian Tigers is that these economies focus exclusively on export-demand, at the cost of import-demand. Thus, these economies are heavily reliant on the economic health of their targeted export nations.

Many economists have pointed out that the governments of the tigers were quite active in their economies. East Asian Tigers all practiced aggressive land reform and made large investments in public health and elementary education. In addition, while the tigers relied on export markets to develop their economies, they also put in place high trade barriers, which protected local industries from foreign competition.

The East Asian Tigers were able to move from third-world status to first-world status in a few decades and were able to progress past other developing areas, particularly Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa. Until the mid-1970s it was not clear that the East Asian Tigers were a particular area of fast growth and that the Tiger development model produced superior results to either neoliberal, US-backed policies; the Soviet model; or import substitution development models. Because of the success of the initial Tigers, many nations have followed similar development models. In part, this led to the Asian Economic Crisis in the 1990s.

Over time, the economic term Tiger has become synonymous with nations that achieve high growth by pursuing an export-driven trade strategy. More recently, Indonesia, The Philippines, and Thailand have often been considered Tigers but the term is not limited to Asian nations. In Europe, Ireland has been called the Celtic Tiger for its rapid growth in the 1990s, while Estonia is known as the Baltic Tiger for its high growth rates.

MARIUS TITA

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## INFANT MORTALITY

Infant mortality is measured as deaths in the first year of life per thousand population, called the infant mortality rate (IMR). Its reduction requires clean water, nutrition, sanitation, education, and health care. It is highest in Afghanistan, Angola, Niger, and Sierra Leone, countries without surplus wealth, where the wealth is unevenly distributed, where there is little social capital and/or where there are cultural obstacles to equity. It is lowest in Finland, Japan, Singapore, and Sweden, democracies that value social capital. (Reliable IMR statistics can be hard to collect. Unless otherwise indicated, all statistical data is from the UNICEF Report for 1998.)

Wealth in terms of gross national product per capita (GNP) is a strong indicator of IMR, but allocation of resources is also significant. Improving the internal transfer of wealth and providing resources to the poor significantly lowered the IMRs in the latter half of the twentieth century in such countries as Peru, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Costa Rica, and Zimbabwe. In Latin America, the Caribbean, and Tanzania, transfer of resources to the poor has

resulted in much better IMRs than suggested by their GNPs. By contrast, in the USA, inequitable distribution of resources and consequently high IMRs for the Black non-Hispanic community, Native Americans, and Puerto Ricans result in a worse IMR ranking than would be suggested by its GNP. Unequal distribution of wealth also helps to account for relatively high IMRs in the oil-rich states of the Middle East.

Combating infant mortality requires giving priority to domestic humanitarian needs. For example, in a world where more than 1.1 billion people lack safe water (UNDP 1997), it requires placing domestic access to clean drinking water and basic sanitation above the demands of industry and power generation (Jackson 1990). It requires placing human life above economic rationalism. UNICEF has calculated that half a million children per year die as a result of the developing countries' burdens of debt, because governments cut their health and education budgets in order to meet escalating associated interest payments. Acute international economic crises also raise IMRs in many developing countries (Jackson 1990).

In some countries, gender discrimination is a major contributor to the IMR. In China, the preference for male offspring and the one child policy makes it the only country where the IMR for girls is actually higher than that for boys (by about 20%). In many other countries, however, gender discrimination raises the IMR by denying female access to education. Studies suggest that female literacy is second only to household income as an indicator of IMR (Caldwell 1993). By propagating knowledge about contraception, breastfeeding, and nutrition, female education reduces malnutrition in pregnant women and infants, which is a cause of over half of all child deaths in developing countries. Traditional restrictions on the education of Muslim women contribute to relatively high IMRs in Afghanistan, Algeria, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Oman, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. By contrast, in Thailand, where women have very high literacy, high participation in the labour force, and a strong decision-making role, infant mortality has improved remarkably (103 in 1960 to thirty-one in 1996).

Level of health care is also a factor affecting the IMR, although this is less significant than GNP or maternal literacy because these are factors that contribute to maintaining the health of the child, whereas level of health care only becomes relevant once the child is already sick or malnourished (Caldwell 1993). In as many as thirty-five of the poorest countries, 30%–50% of the population have no access to health services (UNDP 1997).



## Efforts to Correct the Problems

Survival is the most fundamental human right. The 1989 United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child has been ratified by every country in the world except two (USA and Somalia, both of which have signalled an intention to ratify by formally signing it). Article 24 of the Convention requires governments to take "appropriate measures" to reduce infant mortality. This has involved developing research-based national policies and programs that are supported by advances in medical science, technology, and disease control, although more research is needed to improve programs and determine their effectiveness. Immunisation programs have been particularly effective; by 1996 over 90% immunisation coverage had been achieved in eighty-nine countries and over 80% in another forty countries (D'Souza 1989). Other significant programs have contributed to improved nutrition through increased food production, fortification of staple foods, and improved household access to food.

National initiatives are enhanced by both international action and local operations. International action has included global aid programs and initiatives designed to help nations to help themselves. The 1996 Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative assists countries that implement reforms and channel resources to basic services. UNICEF's 20-20 Initiative involves donating matching funding when governments allocate at least 20% of spending to basic social services. Breastfeeding, which plays a particular role in reducing infant mortality, has been supported since 1981 by the World Health Organization's International Code to regulate marketing practices and the labelling of breast milk substitutes.

Breastfeeding has also been targeted by community-based programs. In this, as in many other areas, local involvement ensures community ownership of changes, that programs build upon existing good practice, and that innovations are accepted and adopted. The International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) was formed in 1979 to promote breastfeeding and now involves more than 150 citizen groups in ninety-four countries. In 1991 USAID and Wellstart International established the Expanded Promotion of Breastfeeding (EPB) Program; it has supported community programs promoting breastfeeding in Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Nicaragua. In 1992 the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF launched a Baby-Friendly Hospital Initiative to promote breast feeding. It has been implemented in over 170 countries.

Community initiatives have also been effective in promoting other aspects of infant health. In

Africa, the Bamako Initiative of 1987 moved the management of health services into local communities. Similar measures are now operating in other regions. They ensure access to basic medical services and promote preventive activities. In Guinea, for example, prenatal care coverage went from less than 5% before the initiative to almost 80% in the mid-1990s.

A combination of strategies is often the most effective. Thus simultaneous attention to one or more of the key factors of maternal health care, women's education, promotion of breast feeding, provision of clean water, promotion of sanitation, and hygiene, can be enhanced by programs that target particular nutritional needs. Salt iodisation has been enhanced by consumer advocacy and legislative change at the local and national levels. By 2000, twenty-nine countries were using adequately iodized salt and salt iodization was protecting 70% of the world's population from iodine deficiency and the accompanying problems of poor growth and developmental delay, which in turn affect the economic health of nations (UNICEF 2000). Another specific measure, vitamin A supplementation, was endorsed globally as a strategy to reduce IMRs, but its application has depended greatly on existing health measures and community involvement.

From 1950 to 1996 the global IMR dropped from 139 (Horiuch, 1989) to 60 (UNICEF 1998), a trend that was reflected in all developing regions, but it has not been uniform. Political stability affects all the factors that govern infant mortality. Wars and displacement of people will always cause spikes in the IMR statistics. To continue to reduce infant mortality, the developed countries must promote world peace and must both assist and empower the developing countries; and every nation must both assist and empower its most disadvantaged people.

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**See also Basic Human Needs; Children and Development**

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## INFANTICIDE

Infanticide has a long global record as a pragmatic practice. It has been hypothesised that in Europe the motivation for female infanticide was the need to space the time between bearing children, with the theory that removing female infants as potential child bearers was more effective than eliminating males. In some eras and societies laws have required that deformed infants be put to death, in others infanticide has been promoted as a regular institution of an ideal state. Minimal attempts in Europe to limit the extensive killing of infants were made until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although infanticide was a crime, few perpetrators were brought to trial.

In contrast to European practices, it has been argued that female infanticide was part of a population strategy in traditional China and it formed part of the economy of kinship. It had a necessary connection with the kinship system through the status of women and the nature of dowry. The *Taiping Jing*, a second-century Chinese text, rails against female infanticide. It notes the real scarcity of women and fears the cosmological implications of a weakening of female yin. Despite complex repercussions, infanticide has been practiced on every continent and in most cultures because it has satisfied significant family, economic, and social requirements.

In some societies the scarcity of women has been explained by denigrating attitudes towards female children and their consequent socioeconomic disadvantage. Direct infanticide is compounded by comparative neglect where male children are better nourished and enjoy access to family resources. Where children are viewed as being important to social reproduction, in terms of transmitting social values from one generation to the next and the means by which families perpetuate themselves, female children can be placed under threat. If daughters are not heirs, but serve mainly as brides in another family or clan lineage, their social role is less straightforward than that of sons, for boys are seen to reproduce their father's patriline.

Girls can be characterised as dangerous to the stability of an impoverished family and the stability

of society. In many poorer countries an infant girl represents not just an economic, but a spiritual problem to a family with limited resources. If she is killed, the repercussions of the act of violence can be felt in the familial, public, and cosmic spheres. If she survives and marries above her station, she carries the potential to disrupt social order. The birth of an infant girl is therefore perceived as having the potential to precipitate crises that may end in her death.

A range of texts debate what acts constitute infanticide. Defined as the deliberate killing of a child in its infancy, the majority of cases are up to two years of age. Yet a blurred line also exists between deliberate killing and neglect that causes an infant's death.

Because abortion techniques in non-industrial societies are either relatively ineffective or dangerous, infanticide is sometimes the most dependable method to control family size. Infanticide is safer than abortion for a woman, who is a more valuable member of society than a newborn infant. Deliberate killing also allows a family or society to preselect infants of the preferred sex. Indeed, in societies with an ideology that supports fertility, there may be concomitant discussions that condone or sanction the eradication of infants. Authors suggest that taking the life of a newborn is explained within many societies as a caring act. It may be done to save the life of an older sibling not yet weaned but already cherished as a community member. Within some societies a child is not believed to be fully human until several years after birth, when they are named, or initiated as a member of the broader social group. Given that the most common methods are suffocation, abandonment, or exposure, and are enacted by the mother or a female kin or clan member, the emotional anguish of the killing is eased by not acknowledging their fully human status until later in the life cycle.

Yet children should not be constructed as a universal nuisance, to be kept in the world only when conditions suggest they will survive. In Africa, for example, society and population are shaped by pastoral life. Numerous children in a family become economic assets as pastoral work includes tasks that small children can perform, such as herding and field work. Consequently, small children's labour has social and economic value. Observers also poignantly propose that offspring are considered desirable due to the historical losses of people to the slave trade in Africa. The recent decimation of populations due to sexually transmitted disease also validates children's social presence and labour. In regions where infant mortality is extreme, large numbers of children help to ensure that some will reach adulthood.

Although few texts examine in detail the ways that targeted killing of infants by an enemy during war is a

## INFANTICIDE

horrifying yet real aspect of infanticide, it is an important consideration, as the events in Rwanda in the late twentieth century exemplify. Few also consider the ways that increasing capitalism is shaping perceptions of the family, of children's economic worth, and which sex is preferable and profitable in economies that are driven by profit. Nonetheless, infanticide as an extensive practice throughout human history and within so many different cultures attests to its acceptance as an effective method of population control. Most infanticides continue to be performed to limit family and society size within the changing constraints of environmental and economic circumstances.

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### See also Infant Mortality

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## INFECTIOUS DISEASES

As the 1960s came to a close, the medical establishment was riding a wave of optimism. Vaccines were being employed to eradicate some of humanity's worst scourges. Antibiotics were saving millions from bacterial infections. The scope of the impending victory seemed so complete that the US Surgeon General, William H. Stewart, declared victory over infectious diseases in testimony before Congress.

### Success Stories

#### *Smallpox*

Smallpox, a highly infectious disease caused by the *Variola* virus that killed as many as 30% of its victims and scarred most of its survivors, is the only major infectious agent that has been eradicated in the wild. Smallpox was eliminated by a sustained, global vaccination campaign.

#### *Polio*

Another highly infectious viral disease, polio can cause irreversible paralysis. The disease was targeted for eradication by the 41st World Health Assembly in 1988. According to World Health Organization (WHO) statistics, the number of cases has dropped from 350,000 the year the eradication campaign was launched to fewer than 800 in 2003. Those cases were concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa and the Indian subcontinent.

#### *Leprosy*

Leprosy, also known as Hansen's disease, is a chronic disease caused by the bacteria *Mycobacteria leprae*—a close relative of the bacteria that causes tuberculosis. Leprosy attacks the skin and nerves and severely disfigured its victims. The WHO proposed treatment of leprosy with three drugs at once over a period of six months to a year. The strategy has reduced the incidence worldwide from about 12 million cases in the 1980s to about 1 million cases in 2003. Most of the new cases are in a handful of countries in Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

#### *Guinea Worm Disease*

A parasitic worm, *Dracunculus medinensis*, causes Guinea worm disease. The disease is found in areas of sub-Saharan Africa where supplies of clean water are limited. The worm migrates in the tissue just below the skin, causing severe pain and swelling in its patients. While it does not kill its victims, it debilitates them and limits their efforts to feed themselves or otherwise maintain a decent quality of life. While there is no known treatment, the disease can be eliminated by providing clean drinking water. Guinea worm afflicted millions in the 1970s. The number of victims has dropped to fewer than one hundred thousand in 2000.

#### *Chagas Disease*

Chagas disease is caused by a single-celled animal parasite, *Trypanosoma cruzi*. The disease is typically transmitted by bloodsucking insects known as assassin bugs. While the initial course of the infection may be fatal—especially in young children—if the victim survives, the parasites remain in the body, invading many organs and debilitating the victims as systemic damage accumulates. Eradication efforts have focused

on controlling the insect host by improving living standards in Latin America where the disease is endemic. Fewer than 20 million people have the disease, but, since the eradication campaign began, incidence rates have decreased by about 70% in the “Southern Cone” of South America—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

### ***Tetanus***

Neonatal tetanus, the disease commonly called “lock-jaw,” is caused by a toxin produced by the bacteria *Clostridium tetani*. The bacteria grow in wounds, or in the case of neonatal tetanus, in the umbilical cord following delivery. More than 95% of infants die without treatment. Tetanus can be prevented by vaccinating women of childbearing age and by clean delivery practices and neonatal care. According to United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) figures, the number of deaths has dropped from eight hundred thousand in the 1980s to 180,000 in 2002. The disease is still widespread throughout Africa and Asia.

## **Unending Challenges**

High population densities, poverty, environmental degradation, and limited resources—especially clean water—have helped the spread of new diseases, and some old diseases are resurging after adapting to the weapons used against them.

In 2004, infectious and parasitic diseases and respiratory infections killed nearly 15 million people worldwide. The top ten infectious disease killers (as of 2002) were: (1) lower respiratory infections (3.9 million deaths); (2) HIV/AIDS (2.8 million deaths); (3) diarrheal diseases (1.8 million deaths); (4) tuberculosis (1.6 million deaths); (5) malaria (1.3 million deaths); (6) measles (610,000 deaths); (7) pertussis (whooping cough; 290,000 deaths); (8) tetanus (210,000 deaths); (9) meningitis (170,000 deaths); and (10) syphilis (160,000 deaths).

## **Disease Outlook**

### ***Lower Respiratory Infections***

Lower respiratory infections primarily affect the lungs, bronchi, and trachea (or windpipe). They take an especially heavy toll on children. The main agents

responsible for acute respiratory infections in children include *Streptococcus pneumoniae*, *Haemophilus influenzae*, respiratory syncytial virus, and parainfluenza virus type 3. *Streptococcus* and *Haemophilus* are bacteria—*Streptococcus* is a major cause of pneumonia, meningitis, and middle-ear infections, while *Haemophilus* causes Hib disease, which presents symptoms similar to meningitis. Respiratory syncytial virus is the largest cause of respiratory infections in infants and children, infecting 64 million and killing 160,000 each year.

### ***Diarrheal Diseases***

Diarrheal diseases include bacterial diseases such as shigellosis, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera, and salmonellosis; and viral diseases such as rotavirus. They may also be caused by toxins in food. Diarrheal diseases—especially if they cause dysentery, or bloody diarrhea—may cause massive fluid loss leading to severe dehydration and death if left untreated. Children under five years of age are most susceptible to severe illness and death from diarrheal diseases. Many can be relatively easily prevented by clean drinking water supplies, improved sanitation and wastewater treatment, and sanitary food handling and preparation. Vaccines may provide protection against some of these diseases as well.

Shigellosis, caused by several species of *Shigella*, a group of closely related bacteria, infects about 163 million people in developing countries and another 1 million in developed countries each year. Of those infected, about 1 million die. Shigellosis is spread by person-to-person contact. Outbreaks often follow in the wake of war and natural disasters.

Typhoid and paratyphoid fevers are caused by related bacteria, *Salmonella typhi* and *S. paratyphi*, respectively. Both are primarily water-borne—most infection occurs after consumption of contaminated water—but contaminated food is also a source of infection. About 16 million cases of typhoid are reported each year, and six hundred thousand deaths per year are attributed to it.

Cholera, one of the oldest epidemic-prone diseases known, is caused by the bacteria *Vibrio cholerae*. The source of infection is typically contaminated water or food. The seventh pandemic, or worldwide outbreak, of cholera began in 1961 in Indonesia and spread rapidly through Asia and Africa. It reached South America in 1991 and spread throughout that continent and into Central America. Cholera epidemics can arise suddenly and kill many of its victims in a short time. Cholera outbreaks killed nearly 40 million in India alone between 1817 and 1917.

Under International Health Regulations, cholera is one of three diseases (along with plague and yellow fever) that WHO member states are obligated to report. The organization estimates that only 5% to 10% of actual cholera cases are reported, however, because many WHO member states fear economic and other consequences, such as lost tourism.

Food-borne bacterial illnesses affect millions around the world, as well. In addition to some of the bacterial species already discussed, the major culprits include *Salmonella* (cousins of the typhoid and paratyphoid bacteria), *Listeria monocytogenes*, *Escherichia coli* serotype O157:H7, and *Campylobacter*.

Rotavirus is the leading cause of severe diarrhea and dehydration in infants worldwide. A 2003 study in the journal *Emerging Infectious Diseases* estimated that rotavirus infects nearly 140 million children annually, with 2 million hospitalizations and more than four hundred thousand deaths. Eighty-two percent of the deaths occur in the poorest countries. A vaccine, Rotashield, was introduced in 1998, but it was pulled from the market and production halted the following year because of complications.

### ***Tuberculosis***

One-third of the Earth's population is infected with the bacteria that causes tuberculosis, *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*, making tuberculosis the most widespread major infectious disease. It is airborne, but people infected with *M. tuberculosis* are not always infectious. The immune system can wall the bacteria up in nodules—tubercles—in tissues such as the lungs, thus giving the disease its name. The disease can be cured by a regimen of antibiotic treatment, but misuse of antibiotics and a lack of diligence in following treatment guidelines have helped spur the evolution of drug-resistant strains. The WHO estimated nearly 9 million active cases of tuberculosis in 2002.

### ***Malaria***

Malaria, or “bad air,” is one of the most widespread and devastating parasitic diseases in the world. It is spread by infected *Anopheles* mosquitoes. Malaria causes flu-like systems—fever, headache, and vomiting—and destroys red blood cells, thus clogging blood vessels that supply the brain and other vital organs. Left untreated, symptoms can recur over time. It causes 300 million acute illnesses and kills 1 million annually.

### ***Measles***

Measles, a viral disease characterized by a rash, high fever, and flu-like symptoms, is a highly contagious but preventable disease that is the leading cause of blindness throughout the world. Measles, caused by *Morbillivirus*, is listed by the WHO as the direct cause of more than 610,000 deaths in 2002, but the disease, through complications from pneumonia, diarrhea, and malnutrition, may be the leading cause of death among children worldwide. Vaccination can prevent the disease, and the WHO has targeted measles for eradication.

### ***Pertussis***

The childhood disease whooping cough, or pertussis, is caused by a bacteria, *Bordetella pertussis*. It is characterized by intense coughing that culminates in a prolonged intake of breath—the “whoop.” Pertussis can strike any age, but the effects are worse for the very young. The disease affects 20 million to 40 million each year and kills two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand. Ninety percent of cases are in the developing world. The disease is preventable via vaccination.

### ***Meningitis***

Bacterial meningitis is a contagious bacterial airborne disease caused by *Neisseria meningitide*. Infection manifests itself as pneumonia, septicemia (blood poisoning), or meningitis. Septicemia occurs when the bacteria spread through the bloodstream. It is very deadly and is characterized by circulatory failure and hemorrhagic rash. Meningitis is indicated by intense headache, fever, nausea, vomiting, light sensitivity, and a stiff neck, among other symptoms. Even with prompt treatment, the disease is fatal in up to 10% of cases, which averages about 170,000 deaths per year. Permanent neurological symptoms—including hearing and speech disorders, mental impairment, and paralysis—afflict as many as 20% of survivors. Overcrowding contributes to the spread of the bacteria, as do arid conditions in the tropical and subtropical regions and cold conditions in temperate regions.

### ***Syphilis***

While primarily thought of as a sexually transmitted disease, syphilis, caused by bacteria called *Treponema pallidum*, can also be transmitted person-to-person

under unhygienic conditions. It can also be transmitted from mother to child. Initial symptoms are ulcers at the site of original infection. After a few weeks, the bacteria hide in other organs and the infected person may remain asymptomatic for years. In late stages of the disease, the nervous system, cardiovascular system, skin, or skeleton may be affected. Syphilis in the mother is a major cause of stillbirth as well as death of infants in their first year.

## Regional Patterns

In 2002, lower respiratory infections took an especially heavy toll in Southeast Asia (1.5 million deaths) and Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa (1.1 million deaths), followed by the Western Pacific and East Asia (500,000 deaths), and the Mediterranean and West Asia (350,000 deaths). The highest death toll from diarrheal diseases was in Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa (710,000 deaths), Southeast Asia (600,000 deaths), the Mediterranean and West Asia (260,000 deaths), and the Western Pacific and East Asia (150,000 deaths).

Tuberculosis claimed 600,000 victims in Southeast Asia in 2002. In Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa, 350,000 patients died from the disease, followed by 370,000 in the Western Pacific and East Asia, and 140,000 in the Mediterranean and West Asia. Africa bears the brunt of the death toll from malaria. In 2002, more than 1.1 million died from the disease in Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa alone.

## A New Threat

In 1978 something new appeared in gay men from Sweden and the United States and heterosexual men in Haiti and Tanzania. Four years later, in 1981, the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported on an unusual suite of symptoms in gay and bisexual men. The suite of symptoms was named *acquired immune deficiency syndrome* (AIDS) in 1982, and in 1983 the virus that caused it, human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), was identified.

In AIDS, the virus attacks and destroys the body's immune system. Over time, AIDS patients succumb to a number of other diseases, such as Kaposi's sarcoma—a type of cancer—and pneumonia caused by *Pneumocystis carinii*.

HIV is primarily spread by sexual contact, although it can also be spread via blood transfusions and by sharing of needles used for injecting intravenous

drugs. The virus first appeared among homosexuals in developed nations such as the United States. The early association with “taboo” sexual practices has, to some extent, hindered adoption of measures to stem the spread of the virus. Also, rumors that HIV does not cause AIDS have likewise hindered efforts to slow the pandemic.

Nearly 40 million people are living with the virus, and the number is growing. Twenty million have died since the first diagnosis of what came to be known as AIDS in 1981. According to the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), 5 million new HIV infections occurred in 2003 and 3 million died of AIDS that year.

HIV is having serious effects on social stability in areas where infection is widespread. A high proportion of adults aged fifteen to forty-nine is affected—this is the age group that drives the economy, raises children, and takes care of older adults. (Nearly all new infections are in the fifteen to twenty-four age group.) Sub-Saharan Africa has 12 million AIDS orphans—children who have lost parents because of AIDS—and the emotional scars of those children may have long-lasting effects on societies in the future.

Africa has the greatest number of HIV infections—25 million people, or nearly two-thirds of HIV patients worldwide—live in sub-Saharan Africa. Asia is next hardest hit, with 7.4 million infections, or about 20% of the world's total. The HIV infection rates are on the rise in Asia, too, with rapid rises in the number of cases in China, Indonesia, and Vietnam.

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**See also CARE; Disaster Relief; Doctors Without Borders/Médecins sans Frontières; Health Care; HIV/AIDS; Indigenous Medical Practices; OxFAM; Sex Trade/Trafficking; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); Urbanization: Impact on Environment; Water Resources and Distribution; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

Intellectual property can be defined as creations of the labors of the human mind, which maybe incorporated in creative and inventive works. These may include literary works, paintings, inventions, designs, musical works, and trademarks. The legal entitlement conferred on such intellectual property creates a number of rights, which could vary in scope and duration in each case. With the conferment of such rights (which follow registration), the rights holder is in a position to control and regulate unauthorized use of his or her property and also to grant permission (known as licensing) for its use, including setting the terms for its use.

The various forms of protection of intellectual property rights may be classified as copyrights, trademarks, geographical indications, industrial designs, product patents, process patents, layout designs of integrated circuits, undisclosed information, and trade secrets. All of them are included in the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Even before this agreement the criteria of novelty, non-obviousness, and industrial utility applied before a patent would be granted. According to Article 30 of the TRIPS Agreement, the duration for grant of a patent is twenty years, after which it comes into the public domain. In the case of intellectual property rights such as trademarks and trade secrets, the rights generally extend to an

indefinite period. Patents are the most sought-after category of individual property rights (IPRs).

While rights relating to intellectual property have been in existence since the period prior to the Industrial Revolution, the term has become universally familiar only in recent years, and particularly since the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) brought forth the TRIPS Agreement in 1995.

Before the TRIPS Agreement the most important instruments that dealt with the protection of intellectual property rights were the Paris Convention (1967), the Berne Convention (1971), the Rome Convention (1961), the International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV), the Teaching, Learning and Technology Group (TLT), and the Budapest Treaty. The TRIPS Agreement, however, is the most comprehensive treaty dealing with the subject. It is also the most far reaching in so far as its implementation is likely to impinge on the time-honored sovereignty of nations, in particular impacting their domestic laws, as well as their economic systems and development priorities. It is the first time that IPR has been made a part of a trade regime. Additionally, since life forms may also be patented now, a radical departure has been made.

The countries that signed the TRIPS Agreement were given a time frame to make their domestic laws compliant with TRIPS provisions. All members were given one year—until January 1996. The developing countries were given four more years—until January 2000—and the least-developed countries ten years (i.e., until 2006). There is a reviewing procedure (a ministerial review to be held every two years) and a dispute settlement mechanism provided for in the TRIPS Agreement.

Examined from an historical perspective, the issue of intellectual property rights should probably not be a matter of great controversy between nations. The history of humankind shows that successive generations have built upon the inventiveness and the technological achievements of previous generations of humankind as a whole. It is as hard to imagine the invention of the motor car in the West without the invention of the wheel by some intelligent mechanical mind in Asia, as it is to visualize the granting of copyright for a book had paper not been invented in China. To extend the thesis further, inventions and technological progress must serve society's purpose, and in an increasingly globalized society with many common problems including infectious diseases and environmental emergencies like global warming, thought must be collectively given to the ways and means of tackling these problems rather than a strictly proprietary interest in the means to do so.

The proponents of legal protection for intellectual property rights state that a person has a natural right to the product of his or her brain. In addition, to the extent that he or she has produced something it finds useful, society must reward the person for it. The economic argument for protection of these rights is that it stimulates innovative and technological creativity and thus adds to society's resource of ideas. This in turn leads to economic growth.

Others challenge this view and point out that while the first patent was granted in 1449 by the king of England, the spate of inventive activity, which led to the Industrial Revolution, took place much later. They deny that instruments like patents contribute to encouraging creativity and inventiveness and point out that this view is based on an artificial and unrealistic construction of knowledge and innovation.

Before the TRIPS Agreement, the protection of intellectual property rights had existed at various levels and had been of several kinds. There had also existed, on the whole, a tacit understanding among countries that as incentive and reward for innovation, payment for particular patents was in order. But public interest was also given consideration, and toward this end, an attempt was made to have patented products, in particular medicines, be available to the public at affordable prices. Many countries passed laws relating to patents that provided for compulsory licensing for working of patents—in other words, for the local manufacture of the patented product. Patents were also used as a means for transfer as well as local development of technology.

By the early 1980s the US government and industry as well had begun to be increasingly vocal about greater intellectual property protection. The 1984 amendment to Section 301 of the US Trade Act authorized the US president to take corrective action in a situation where there was inadequate protection of intellectual property rights of US citizens in other countries. Soon after, in 1985, the US took action against the Republic of Korea under this amendment, resulting in Korea strengthening its copyright law and enforcement and also introducing patenting for medicines and chemicals.

The reason for the US wanting a strict protection system was that it perceived that the developing countries were demonstrating high efficiency in absorbing and replicating new technologies and thereby providing competition for US goods. The US trade deficit in the 1980s was \$150 billion. The US felt that by enforcing US-type patent laws in the rest of the world, it could reduce its trade deficit. This, however, was one among the many reasons why the US and other developed countries wanted a stricter intellectual property regime.

At the time the US was pressing for inclusion of several areas of intellectual property in the proposed round of trade negotiations, several developing countries had put up a strong opposition. Among them Brazil and India took the view that the World Intellectual Property Organization, rather than any other forum, was competent to discuss the subject of intellectual property rights. The developing countries, despite their strong reservations on the matter, did not present a united opposition. Korea and the ASEAN countries had not been vocal regarding their opposition to the proposals of the developing countries. A review of the Uruguay Round of negotiations would certainly be of great help in getting information about the complex motivations, intentions, and apprehensions of the various participating countries regarding protection of intellectual property rights.

The developed countries—the US, the countries of Europe, and Japan—presented on the whole a consistent and united stand, insisting on higher levels of intellectual property protection from developing countries. It remains true, however, that there were differences among them, which the developing countries could have exploited. They did not do so, and also were not able at that crucial stage to provide alternate proposals to that of the US, with the result that the TRIPS Agreement went through.

It was clear by the end of the Uruguay Round of negotiations that even though a number of countries agreed to sign the TRIPS Agreement, its implementation would be a difficult and contentious process.

In 1967, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), under the United Nations, was the primary organization for protection of intellectual property rights in relations between nations. Since the WTO came into existence as a result of the Uruguay Round, it has been at the center of discussions and meetings relating to implementation of intellectual property rights. But different opinions on the matter do exist. While the mandate given to the WTO in the context of world trade is a strong one, certainly stronger than its predecessor GATT, the developing countries have frequently pressed for a greater role for WIPO. They perceive that the WTO is more a forum of the developed countries and they are able to push forward their own agenda in that organization.

It is clear from the Preamble to the TRIPS Agreement as well as the WTO Agreement that the protection of intellectual property rights has to be considered in the larger context of reducing barriers to trade and so ensure that enforcement of intellectual property rights does not result in “distortions and impediments to international trade.”



## INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

The Preamble to the WTO Agreement also states that in view of the fact that the nations of the world are at different stages of development, there is need to support the “underdeveloped countries” to promote their technological and economic development by providing differential treatment, certain concessions, and special measures.

Therefore the TRIPS Agreement itself, while providing greater protection to intellectual property rights, also appears to set some limits to them. It will now depend upon the developing countries as to how they utilize these provisions to best achieve their interests, though the matter is not as simple as this in the case of all categories of rights.

Among the developing countries there does exist a perception that the protection of intellectual property rights as provided for in the TRIPS Agreement is an attempt by the developed countries, whose governments invariably support their transnational corporations, to coerce the developing countries, who are often not in a position to drive a hard bargain themselves, into accepting rules that do not really benefit them. At the same time they try through propaganda to make them believe that giving protection to intellectual property rights would encourage investment in particular foreign direct investment, as well as research and innovation. The WTO rules—which apply equally in the context of intellectual property rights, such as the supremacy of the principle of free trade, the “most favored nation” principle, and the principle that foreign nationals must have the same rights and privileges as the host country’s citizens—are seen as institutionalizing the current system of global economic inequality.

It has been argued in the recent past, particularly by transnational corporations, that intellectual property rights confer exclusive rights. But if this were so, such rights would act to inhibit trade, which the WTO seeks above all to avoid.

While Article 28 of the TRIPS Agreement does confer “exclusive rights” on rights holders during the term of patent to prevent “third parties” from “making, using, offering for sale, selling, or importing” for these purposes that product, the TRIPS Agreement also provides, in Article 30, for “legitimate interests of third parties” and “use” by them; and in Article 31, for “other uses” by the government or authorized third parties “without authorization of the right holder.” The “third parties” may include—in the case of pharmaceuticals, for instance—the generic pharmaceutical companies who may be interested in making the product in the period after the expiration date of the patent, consumers of patented medicines in a given country, and WTO member governments themselves. The affirmation of a third

party’s rights to use the patented invention during the patent term is provided in Article 31. Similarly, Article 40 gives to the patentee the right to license and also protects the licensee against anti-competitive practices or exploitation by patent holders. Thus public interest has been addressed by the TRIPS Agreement.

An important aspect of IPRs relates to their effective domestic enforcement in various countries. Part III of the TRIPS Agreement includes, unlike previous treaties, a comprehensive list of procedures for enforcement of IPRs by domestic authorities. These will apply both at the border and inside the country. The implications for many countries will be to change their existing procedures, which could mean changes in the way their judicial and administrative systems operate. Article 41.5 states that there is no obligation on the part of member countries to put in place a judicial system for the enforcement of IPRs distinct from the enforcement of law in general, which does imply that remedies provided for the infringement of IPRs would be in accordance with the legal context and system of each separate country. Article 41.2 has provided that procedures for enforcement should not be unduly complicated or costly.

Diverse new issues will most likely come up as the debate on intellectual property rights proceeds in the developed world and between the developed and developing countries. Technological developments such as the increased use of the Internet have already given rise to questions relating to expanding the definition of copyright.

Biodiversity and the uses it has been put to in the area of genetic engineering is an emerging controversial field. Patents on life forms, for instance, have far-reaching economic and ecological implications, apart from ethical problems. In this sort of genetic engineering, the scientist merely moves the genes around—he or she does not create life. Such genetic engineering finds a fertile field in the biological diversity of the Third World, which multinational corporations are already laying claims to. This biological diversity has traditionally provided the base of much of the food, medicine, and even clothing in the developing countries. From an ecological standpoint, patents related to biological resources will have huge repercussions for the conservation of biodiversity and the way it is utilized. The patent holders in this case will virtually oversee and collect rent for the seeds sown by farmers and the medicines made with nature’s bounty. This would inevitably throw already marginalized peoples of the Third World into an ever-more-desperate situation. India and several other developing countries recognize that the farmers who constitute the majority of their populations will in

particular be adversely affected. Until recently, the biodiversity in Third World countries had been utilized by the community as a whole and in accordance with communal norms. To apply the principle of private property to a community resource and enable, through an intellectual property rights system, only corporations to have a legal personality and rights in relation to it, would be to jeopardize a way of life that has existed for centuries.

Those speaking for indigenous cultures, like the scientist and environmentalist Vandana Shiva, point out that indigenous knowledge often provides the leads for the useful traits in biological organisms. These are then transferred to Western knowledge systems and treated as an innovation. Legal rights (in the form of patents) are then claimed by corporate capital while introducing into the market what has already been there as indigenous wisdom in traditional cultures. This process has been referred to as *biopiracy*. There are numerous examples of this phenomenon. The *neem* tree of India has been known for centuries to have exceptional medicinal and purifying qualities and poor villagers have been able to access it for curing many ailments. The situation is set to change now as Western manufacturers in the past few years have “discovered” these properties of the tree and have taken out patents for various products made from it. In this process they have imported huge quantities of seed of *neem* leading to a scarcity in its land of origin and unavailability to the common person in India.

The TRIPS Agreement has moved in the opposite direction from the draft code of conduct on Transfer of Technology negotiated in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the draft code of conduct for Transnational Corporations negotiated at the United Nations. Both of these had aimed at the transfer of technology from transnational companies to developing countries and also required them to act in accordance with the developmental requirements and goals of the host countries.

Despite a great deal of difference in the vantage points from which the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries view IPRs, the latter more readily accepts certain categories. Trademarks, requiring protection, are a subject that has been the least controversial, and trademarks had been recognized by the national laws of both developed and developing countries prior to TRIPS. Protection of trademarks had been fairly detailed in the Paris Convention, though the means of such protection had been left to individual countries.

The developing countries had used this freedom in implementation to restrict foreign trademarks so that prices for certain commodities including

pharmaceuticals remained reasonably priced. This, however, has had to change under the principle of equal treatment to foreigners and nationals under TRIPS.

TRIPS has also provided a clear definition of trademark for the first time. It is defined as “any sign or any combination of signs capable of distinguishing the goods and services of one undertaking from those of other undertakings.” These trademarks must then be registered. In the case of trademarks, unlike patents, local business has an interest in making sure of protection.

In addition to trademarks, certain products are closely connected with a geographical area—such as Darjeeling for tea from that area in India and Champagne from that district in France—and these indicators or signs represent the fund of goodwill and reputation built up over a period of time by a brand that connects it to the consumers. If a particular group has nurtured such a category of product through investment and other means, it would not like another group to use it to increase its sales.

Since the area of IPRs is one of fluid developments, one cannot conclude that these rights are fixed and unchanging. On the contrary, recent discussions and developments in particular at the Seattle and Cancun Ministerial would give rise to the understanding that there are several ways of implementing the provision of this Agreement, indeed that there are several ways of interpreting these provisions.

A noteworthy development is the emergence of what some observers have called the global civil society. Large sections of society in developed countries and NGOs have expressed skepticism regarding many provisions of the TRIPS Agreement. They have also offered active support to the developing countries to interpret TRIPS more flexibly so that they may continue to retain their developmental priorities, in particular those relating to public health and social security.

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## **INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (IDB)**

Nineteen Latin American and Caribbean countries and the United States founded the Inter-American Development Bank in December of 1959. The Bank's historical origins can be traced back to a resolution calling for the creation of a development institution at the First Inter-American Conference, held in Washington, DC, in 1890. For more than half a century prior to its official inception, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean worked to establish an official financial institution to address the economic, social, cultural, and political realities of the region. In 1958, Brazilian president Juscelino Kubitschek proposed that the heads of state initiate formal cooperation to promote economic and social development in the Western Hemisphere. A special committee of the Organization of American States, founded in 1948, drafted the Articles of Agreement that were then passed unanimously in a resolution before the General Assembly. With its headquarters in Washington, DC, the IDB was the first regional development bank to complement the Bretton Woods institutions made up of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The Charter of the Inter-American Development Bank states that its principal functions are to utilize its own capital to finance the development of borrowing countries; to supplement private investment when private capital is not available on reasonable terms and conditions; and to provide technical assistance for the implementation of development plans and projects. The Bank's financial resources are in the form of ordinary capital raised in financial markets and the Funds in Administration that come from member contributions. The primary objectives are to foster the welfare of and maintain the solidarity among its forty-six member states that consist of twenty-six borrowing countries in Latin America and the Caribbean; twenty non-borrowing countries, including the United States, Canada, and Japan; sixteen European countries; and Israel. Each country's voting power is based on its subscription to the Bank's capital stock. Latin America and the Caribbean represent 50% of the voting power; the United States has 30%; Japan has 5%; Canada has 4%; and other non-borrowing countries have 11%.

The organization of the IDB reflects an identity closely tied to the cultural and managerial style of the Latin American and Caribbean countries. This regional character gives the Bank a key comparative advantage over other international financial institutions in

understanding national and regional priorities, and in adjusting to new regional challenges of development. The longstanding political commitment to regional integration enables the Bank to tailor effectively policies and lending programs in response to local conditions. Early efforts toward integration entailed the financing of infrastructure projects such as ports, transportation, and power grids, and the collection and the broad dissemination of data on regional uses and flows of intellectual, commercial, financial, technological, and human resources. The Charter emphasizes the financing of specific projects, but also promotes an understanding of development that requires a balanced approach across multiple sectors. In the 1960s and 1970s, lending was channeled into social issues, particularly education and health, income generation, and job creation through micro-enterprise and small-scale farming projects, and basic infrastructure, such as roads, water, and sanitation. Technical cooperation complemented these lending programs by conveying knowledge to borrowing countries and strengthening institutional capacity. Technical assistance was made available to public institutions, regional and sub-regional organizations, and non-governmental organizations.

The rapid expansion of the Bank's bureaucratic apparatus resulted in a propensity toward formal approval procedures, multiple and overlapping oversight on expenditures, and extensive ex-post auditing. Although sometimes decried as overly rigid, this procedural focus emphasized fairness and transparency as essential components of project finance in the public sector. But, the political interplay between borrowers, non-borrowers, and private capital markets encouraged a proclivity for rules and procedures, a need for consensus and compromise, and a culture of public service and pragmatism among its staff and employees. The incorporation of additional non-borrowing members broadened the capital base and introduced alternative perspectives on the meaning of development over time. These institutional attributes were intended to maintain a neutral approach to individual countries.

As Latin America and the Caribbean confronted the polarizing effects of the Cold War and the difficulties of social and environmental decay during the 1980s, the excessive concentration on project approvals neglected the urgency for a new approach to multilateral regional governance. The debt crisis and inflation spiral of the 1980s caused a dramatic change in the philosophy of the IDB with regard to the limits of project finance. This change inspired a debate within the institution about the need to combine financial assistance with the adoption of policy changes

driven by the so-called “Washington Consensus” that advocated fiscal austerity and monetary stability. The Bank sought an appropriate mix of “policy-based” and “investment” lending that moved the attention of both the Bank and its borrowers away from the internal technical details of projects and onto the transfer of resources in a more efficient and flexible manner. The Bank made serious efforts to reconcile the goals of policy reform with investments intended to enhance productivity.

The global economic recession of the early 1990s altered the conditions under which the Bank pursued its mission and policy priorities. Economic decline inspired a more consensual approach to governance in which member countries and executive and administrative bodies reassessed problems associated with periodic capital replenishments and sustainable levels of lending, the impact of increased volatility of private capital markets on sources of external finance to the region, the acceleration of the pace of technological change, and the rising demands for expertise and technical assistance. Out of this self-reexamination emerged a greater emphasis on social-sector reform and state modernization and the use of bilateral and non-governmental resources in partnership with the Bank’s own funds. The capital replenishment of 1994 was the largest increase in resources in the history of the IDB. At the annual meeting in Guadalajara, Mexico, member countries approved a \$40 billion replenishment aimed primarily at reducing poverty and promoting social equity in the region. The Eighth General Increase reflected the common desire of the IDB president, Enrique Iglesias (1988–), the Board Governors, and the Board of Executive Directors to reach a political compromise in which all shareholders would make financial commitments to new lending priorities and development objectives.

The gathering of officials from a variety of multilateral institutions; government delegations from Latin America, North America, and Europe; representatives of non-governmental and non-profit organizations; policy observers; and academics at the Conference on Strengthening Civil Society in September 1994 introduced an ambitious agenda for the coordination of state reform and economic adjustment with effective programs to alleviate poverty and to build democratic institutions. The conference generated intellectual and financial contributions from the Organization of American States, the United Nations Development Program, and the United States Agency for International Development. The distribution of IDB loans shifted accordingly over the next five years. By 1999, 29.1% of all lending went to social sectors in health and sanitation, urban

development, education, social investment funds, the environment, and micro-enterprise; 28.1% went to infrastructure in energy, transportation, and communications; 22.2% went to productive sectors in agriculture and fisheries, industry, mining and tourism, and science and technology; 15.6% went to the modernization of the state; and 5.1% went to export financing (IDB 2000, p. 9).

As most Latin American and Caribbean governments pursued the consolidation of democracy and the privatization of state assets in the 1990s, the Bank’s lending for public-sector efficiency, decentralization of administrative responsibilities, and training programs to improve accountability and transparency increased dramatically. Such programs built on the economic stabilization and restructuring efforts associated with the Washington Consensus. For example, Brazil received a \$300 million loan in 1999 to modernize tax collection, upgrade human resources, and improve information technology at the municipal level. In the same year, El Salvador used an \$8.8 million loan to implement an ethics code in the Legislative Assembly and reduce procurement irregularities.

Furthermore, the IDB aimed to equip “the citizenry, the sum total of individuals and organizations that exist apart from government-groups of micro-entrepreneurs or environmentalists, civic and trade associations, political parties, philanthropic organizations, churches, indigenous communities, organized labor and women’s and youth groups” (IDB 1995, p. 12). Most projects devoted to strengthening and broadening the participation of civil society in decision-making processes deliver financial and technical support to non-governmental organizations that advocate the demands of the urban laborers and rural workers, disabled veterans, illiterate women, underprivileged students, and indigenous groups. These projects are carried out through a host of collaborative activities and entities. The Inter-American Institute for Social Development conducts research on poverty alleviation; the Micro-Enterprise and Small Projects division finances lending to small and medium-size businesses; Women in Development addresses health and employment problems faced especially by single mothers; the Indigenous Populations and Human Resettlement section treats refugee, migrant, and land issues; and the Multilateral Investment Fund provides “start-up” capital and the integration of displaced workers, students, and single mothers into the formal private economy. These endeavors appeal to philanthropy, good will, and entrepreneurial initiative as key ingredients to eliminate poverty and achieve popular democratic participation and borrow significantly from the development strategy advanced by the

Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress in the 1960s.

The ratification of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) by Latin American and Caribbean countries in 1994 and 1995 elevated the IDB to new heights as an advocate of economic integration and free trade in the Western Hemisphere. At the First Summit of the Americas, held in Miami, Florida, in December 1994, the thirty-four heads of states agreed to establish the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by the year 2005. The FTAA would be the world's largest integrated market, with approximately 850 million people with a combined gross national product of over \$13 trillion. The Summit Implementation Review Group assigned the IDB the task of coordinating sub-regional trade and integration arrangements with the objectives of the FTAA. The Integration, Trade, and Hemispheric Issues Division offers technical assistance toward the policy harmonization of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the United States, Canada, and Mexico, and the South American Common Market (MERCOSUR), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Central American Common Market (CACM), and Andean Group trade groups.

The IDB recognizes that the complexities of regional integration and the challenges of development in the twenty-first century require political will, innovative projects, and strategic planning based on its distinct relationship with borrowing countries. Latin America and the Caribbean continue to be affected adversely by financial crises, severe inequality, rising crime and violence, volatile commodity prices, and rapidly rising expectations. These pressures call for what are referred to as "second-generation reforms" that go beyond the mandates of private markets and minimalist states to generate broad-based equitable growth. Consequently, the ability of the Bank to represent the region's diverse states and peoples depends heavily on the adoption of new initiatives arising from neighborhoods, communities, municipalities, and provinces across the Western Hemisphere.

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### INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION (IATA)

In the post-World War II world, international air transport has been one of the most dynamic and fast-changing industries in the world. The International Air Transport Association (IATA), headquartered in Montreal, Canada, is an association of airlines founded in 1945 by airline corporations seeking to promote safe, regular, and economical air transport. IATA's objectives are to enable people, freight, and mail to move more efficiently throughout the world and to ensure that IATA member aircraft can operate safely and efficiently under clearly defined and understood rules. To facilitate this process, IATA assigns three-letter IATA airport codes and two-letter IATA airline designators. IATA also regulates the shipping of dangerous goods and publishes the *Dangerous Goods Regulations* manual, a reference source for airlines shipping hazardous materials. Many low-cost carriers who are not IATA members, however, have accused the association of being a cartel.

In early 2005, IATA had 262 members. More than half of the member airlines are based in the developing world. Sixty-nine member airlines are based in Asia. Members include Air China Limited, Air Macao, Asiana Airlines, Bangkok Airways, Cathay Pacific Airways, China Southern Airlines, Indian Airlines, Philippine Airlines, Royal Brunei Airlines, and Xiamen Airlines. Forty member airlines are based in Africa. Members include Aero Zambia, Air Botswana, Air Malawi, Air Namibia, Air Zimbabwe, Egypt Air, Ethiopian Airlines, Ghana Airways, Kenya Airways, and Royal Air Maroc. Thirty member airlines are based in Latin America. Members include Aerolíneas Argentinas, Aeromexico, Air Jamaica, Avianca, Cubana de Aviación, Lan Chile, Lan Ecuador, Lan Peru, Grupo Taca, and Varig. Twenty-six member airlines are based in the Middle East, the fastest-growing region in airline travel. Members include Ariana Afghan Airlines, El Al Israeli Airlines, Emirates,

Gulf Air Company, Iran Air, Kish Airlines, Kuwait Airlines, Qatar Airways, Royal Jordanian Airlines, and Saudi Arabian Airlines.

Flights by member airlines comprise more than 95% of all international scheduled air traffic. For air passengers and shipping customers, IATA simplifies the travel and shipping process. By helping to regulate airline costs, IATA facilitates cheaper tickets and shipping costs. Individual passengers can make one telephone call or one Internet visit to reserve a ticket, pay in one currency, and then use the ticket on several airlines to travel to several countries on different airlines. Despite differences in language, currency, law, and national customs, international airlines are able to coordinate individual networks into a single worldwide system.

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## INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is the world center of decision making and implementation on international cooperation on peaceful use of nuclear energy. The Agency engages mainly in three areas: Nuclear Safety and Security, Nuclear Science and Technology, and Safeguards and Verification.

The Agency was established as a result of the US nuclear policy transformation occurring in the mid-1950s. The United States abandoned a policy of strict denial of nuclear technology transfer and intended to seek a liberal regimen for a worldwide cooperation on peaceful use of nuclear energy. However, this policy transformation was not without condition: peaceful nuclear technology should not be diverted to military ends. This idea, promulgated by US president Eisenhower in his “Atoms for Peace” address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1953, gained endorsement from the United States’ nuclear rival, the Soviet Union. The two nuclear giants initiated the negotiation of the IAEA Statute immediately and took the leadership in it. In September 1956, the Conference on the Statute convened at the headquarters of the United Nations.

(The United Nations only hosted the negotiation; it was not a sponsor.) On October 26, 1956, through the efforts of the “Twelve Nations Group,” including members from Western and Eastern blocs who were led by the United States and the USSR, respectively, the Statute was drafted and open for signature. Eighty nations signed the treaty within ninety days and the IAEA Statute took effect on July 20, 1957. The IAEA Secretariat is now headquartered in Vienna, Austria, and has 137 member states.

The IAEA is an independent intergovernmental organization in the United Nations family. However, it is not a Specialized Agency under Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations. The relation of the IAEA to the United Nations is unique: it is independent from the United Nations but may submit reports and questions to the United Nations Security Council directly (IAEA Statute Article III.B.4).

The IAEA consists of three statutory organs: the General Conference, the Board of Governors, and the Secretariat. The IAEA secretariat is the agency’s headquarters in Vienna, Austria. It has a staff of 2,200 multi-disciplinary professional and support staff from more than ninety countries. The General Conference includes each member state; the Board of Governors is composed only of member states with advanced nuclear technology. The Board of Governors is vested a near plenary power in carrying out the Agency’s function. In contrast, the power of the General Conference is limited to requesting reports and making proposals on any matter relating to the functions of the Agency (IAEA Statute Article V.F.2). The Director General and staff of the IAEA are under the authority of and subject to the control of the Board of Governors (IAEA Statute Article VII.B).

Through its various programs, the Agency promotes the use of peaceful nuclear technology for global welfare while working to prevent the use of nuclear technology for military purposes. Developing countries are primarily interested in the assistance programs that aid them in building nuclear technology and facilities; developed countries, especially under the leadership of the United States and the USSR in the aftermath of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, have begun seeking to enhance measures in safeguarding peaceful nuclear activities. These two major programs interact at the political level and sometimes at more concrete financial and operational levels.

The founders of the Agency intended that the Agency’s main function should be assisting in the research and application of nuclear energy. In the 1956 Statute, the founders proposed a modest nuclear safeguarding program: the Agency is only authorized to apply the safeguards to the extent of the Agency’s supplies or at the request of the member states (IAEA

Statute Article III.A.5). However, the Treaty of Tlatelolco of 1967 and the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 both vested the Agency with the power of safeguarding nuclear activities of Party States. Safeguards and Verification became the most important activities of the Agency. The history of the Agency's budget distribution evidenced such an evolution: while it was only 3.4% of the regular budget in 1962, the budget for Safeguards and Verification rose to 24.1% in 1981 and reached US\$102,278,000 in the year 2004, exceeding the combined budgets for programs in Nuclear Safety and Security as well as Nuclear Science and Technology (US\$76,085,000).

Some have accused the Board of Governors of using the strict membership requirements to shift the focus of the Agency tasks from assistance to safeguarding. Though the article overseeing the Board of Governors (Article VI of the Statute) restricts the size of the Board, its membership criteria are more favorable to developed nations. As a result, developed countries have prevailed in the Board of Governors. However, the subsequent amendments to Article VI of the Statute enlarged the Board of Governors (from twenty-three in 1957 to thirty-five in 2005) and consequently more and more developing countries participate in the IAEA decision-making process.

Despite the increasing number of developing nations with seats in the Board of Governors, the IAEA continues to strengthen its safeguards system, particularly with regard to improving the Agency's ability to detect undeclared nuclear activities. For instance, in May 1997, a strengthened safeguards system, known as the Model Protocol Additional to IAEA Safeguards agreements (INFCIRC/540), was approved by the IAEA Board of Governors. It shows that the Agency's efforts in enhancing the safeguards program have gained widespread support from its members, including the developing member states.

In the field of Nuclear Safety and Security, the Agency codifies and publishes standards, guides, and recommendations. Though not binding on member states, these international standards have substantial influence on national nuclear legislation governing radiation protection and nuclear reactor safety.

In addition to these activities, the Agency has initiated and sponsored an impressive list of treaties to resolve the international problems arising from the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The treaties cover issues such as the liability of nuclear operations, early notification of and assistance in nuclear accidents, and so forth.

Today the IAEA is an important organization in international relations. While it has shifted away from its primary objective of "accelerat[ing] and enlarg[ing] the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health

and prosperity throughout the world" (Article II), it continues to work to prevent the destructive use of nuclear technology and to improve nuclear safety.

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## INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IBRD) (WORLD BANK)

### Founding

During the closing days of World War II, Allied governments planned for the post-war economy, determined to prevent the interwar era's trade dislocations and monetary disasters. A major part of this was the July 1944 conference held in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. Delegates from forty-four states gathered to create an institutional structure for the international economy. One piece of the Bretton Woods system was the International Monetary Fund (IMF), developed to manage the monetary system, especially a fixed exchange-rate regime. Its sister institution, the

International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), initially focused on rebuilding war-ravaged European states, and, later, turned to development. Founders envisioned the IBRD, or World Bank, complementing the IMF's work. While the IMF supported economy-wide programmatic changes, the Bank focused on smaller, more specific projects. The Bank often lent for infrastructure activities deemed necessary for economic development—building roads and ports for export, or hydroelectric ventures to provide energy for industrial production, for example.

The United States and Britain had competing visions for the Bank. Britain's representative to Bretton Woods, John Maynard Keynes, called for stronger states to help weaker ones. Further, he proposed a Bank with substantial resources. Its funds, he argued, should come from states with balance-of-payments surpluses. The IBRD could use its capital for "soft" or "concessional" terms, i.e., loans at below market rates. Harry Dexter White, who led the US delegation, represented the sole surplus state at the talks. Moreover, it was the only state likely to enjoy that position in the near term. Thus, under Keynes' plan the United States would have primary responsibility for Bank funding. Washington refused to take on that obligation, arguing that states in surplus had no duty to change their own economic policies. This greatly affected the Bank's capacities.

Thus, the Bank created at Bretton Woods had limited resources. Rather than using its own inadequate funds for loans, the Bank raised money on commercial markets, which it then lent. It used repayments to cover its own financial obligations. This meant that the Bank had a conservative bias, as its reputation depended on debtors honoring their commitments. As a result, the IBRD's lending was limited in scale and scope, as it could offer loans to only the most creditworthy states.

## Institutions

The World Bank is a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN). Its nearly two hundred member states make decisions about loans, including financing, terms, and conditions. Members hold "shares," based on the size of their economies. Unlike the UN's General Assembly in which every member has an equal vote, the Bank uses weighted voting, with the United States having the largest vote and thus, the loudest voice. By tradition, the Bank's president is from the United States.

The Bank employs about ten thousand professional staff, including economists, social scientists, specialists

on particular economic sectors, and policy analysts. Many staffers work from the Washington, DC, headquarters, but the Bank also maintains more than one hundred international offices. Despite this, many criticize the Bank, charging that employees spend inadequate time in borrowing states and thus, have incomplete knowledge of countries' particular conditions. They charge that Bank personnel have limited in-country contacts, often only high officials in economic- and finance-related ministries, which restricts the views they consider in making recommendations.

Since its inception, the Bank has evolved so that now it is common to refer to the "World Bank Group," made up of five institutions, described below. The original IBRD and the International Development Association (IDA) make up the "World Bank." Created in 1945, the IBRD has a twenty-four member Executive Board that handles day-to-day operations for the Board of Governors, on which all member states sit. The IBRD provides loan guarantees as well as loans to the Bank's wealthier members. In 2004, the IBRD made about \$11 billion worth of new loans.

These loans are not concessional, as the IBRD itself borrows the funds on the commercial market through its AAA-rated bonds and notes, which obliges it to make payments to buyers on a set schedule. Essentially, the Bank, with its outstanding credit record, borrows at a cost far lower than the state that ultimately receives the money could secure. A borrower's default could jeopardize the Bank meeting its financial obligations. If the Bank lost its excellent credit rating, it could not obtain relatively cheap loans for its members. These loans do have longer repayment periods than commercial banks would offer. Generally, they have terms of fifteen to twenty years, with a grace period requiring no repayment for the loan's first three to five years. In response to criticism about its limited lending, in 1960, the Bank founded the IDA.

In contrast to the IBRD, the IDA makes highly concessional loans to the poorest member states, those that could not qualify for an IBRD loan. The IDA also grants some project support for undertakings considered vital for economic development. Along with funds, the IDA provides technical economic advice. Altogether, it seeks to help to implement poverty-reduction strategies. These include improving governance, providing for basic needs, opening recipients' markets, and increasing economic productivity.

IDA lending accounts for about one-quarter of Bank operations. Loans typically have a ten-year grace period, and borrowers have thirty-five to forty years for repayment. It could not use commercial



funds for these loans. Instead, the Bank's richer members donate money every four years. In 2002, forty states contributed about \$9 billion and the Bank itself donated more than \$6 billion. Donor states agreed that a major lending focus should be the HIV/AIDS crisis and other issues that so severely affect numerous, extremely poor states. To focus on the neediest states, once a country reaches a certain economic level, it no longer qualifies for the IDA.

Together with the IBRD and IDA, three other bodies complete the World Bank Group. These agencies extend the Bank's resources in different ways. In each case, however, they encourage and facilitate using private capital for economic development.

In 1956, members created the International Finance Corporation (IFC) to encourage private investment in undercapitalized markets. The Corporation, together with private investors, makes equity investments (buys stakes) in businesses in less developed states. The IFC puts money into projects it considers economically viable, that investors have passed over because of location, lack of awareness, or the small size of the state's domestic capital pool. Neo-liberals have pushed vigorously for IFC growth as a means of increasing private-sector involvement in development.

Following World War II, foreign investment opportunities grew as states rebuilt and modernized, and former colonial states in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East developed sovereign economies. To facilitate investment, which it saw as enhancing economic development, the Bank created the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). Beginning operations in 1966, it replaced the somewhat ad hoc practice of the Bank's president, or members of the president's staff, of personally intervening in disputes between investors and foreign governments. The Bank meant for the ICSID to encourage foreign investment by developing resolution mechanisms. The ICSID offers conciliation and arbitration facilities. Many investment agreements reference use of the ICSID in the event of disagreement. All states ratifying the Convention on the ICSID agree to recognize and enforce its arbitration decisions.

Finally, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) dates to 1988. The MIGA "stretches" Bank resources by guaranteeing private direct investment in developing states, rather than providing such funds itself. It insures investors against "noncommercial" or "political" risks, that is, hazards beyond ordinary market operations. These include host states' expropriation of resources, war, or currency inconvertibility. Also, MIGA mediates disagreements between investors and borrowers. Finally, it provides technical assistance to countries

seeking foreign investment and alerts international investors about unfamiliar business opportunities.

## Operations

Initially, the Bank focused on European states' recovery from World War II, and on helping them to modernize and industrialize. Thus, the Bank's first loan was to France, which received \$250 million for rebuilding. Given the IBRD's limited resources (initial US contribution about \$570 million), however, the \$12 billion in Marshall Funds that the United States gave to European states swamped the Bank's offerings. Thus, in its initial years of operation, the Bank was not particularly active.

The colonies of these European states began to gain independence after the war. Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s the international economy in which the Bank operated came to include a number of newly sovereign, but often economically weak, states. During this period, the Bank was famous (some argue "infamous") for lending for large, often dramatic infrastructure expansion in less developed states. Loans were not concessional, however, and went only to the most creditworthy (usually not the neediest) countries. Unhappy both with the low level of lending and with the loans' "hard" terms, members pushed for the 1960 creation of the IDA.

As the Bank involved itself fully in development, it sought to change the composition of borrowing states' economies. It recommended expanding production that took advantage of existing comparative advantages, often-abundant cheap but unskilled labor useful in agriculture, or usable quantities of some scarce mineral or metal with international demand. Production based on comparative advantage, classically trained economists at the Bank reasoned, meant lower prices and thus, a competitive export position. This would allow states to sell internationally, strengthening their economies, correcting economic imbalances—including balance-of-payments deficits—and enabling them to repay their debts. The Bank committed to long-term loans for infrastructure projects meant to fix structural problems. The Bank envisioned market-based solutions to economic underdevelopment.

Many borrowers traced underdevelopment to a different cause. They blamed the uneven terms of trade that favored (few) industrial producers relative to (many) agricultural producers. Many less developed states had comparative advantages in production of the same or similar goods. They chased the same buyers and had few tools, other than lower

prices, with which to compete. The greater bargaining power of industrial producers meant they always benefited more from trade.

Rather than accept this status quo, many borrowers sought to create comparative advantages where they did not exist, especially developing industrial capacity in primarily agricultural states. Only in this way, they reasoned, could they “even” the terms of trade and gain equal benefits. Thus, many less developed states implemented Import Substitution Industrialization to develop national industrial bases. This usually required significant international borrowing.

In 1964, the first meeting of the UN’s Conference on Trade and Development gave less developed states a forum for working together to develop and promote a common agenda for international economic change. They formed the Group of 77, which conceptualized and pressed for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The NIEO called for redistribution of resources and power in the international system to make it more equitable, including technology transfer for industrial development in less developed states, debt relief, and restructured voting rights in the Bank to give borrowers a greater voice. While power did not shift, the Bank did give greater emphasis to basic social needs funding, for education, health care, and other development needs.

In response to world political events, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raised oil prices sharply in 1973 and 1979. Enormous price hikes, for a vital industrial component, meant a huge inflow of US dollars for oil-producing states (regardless of nationality, parties generally bought and sold oil in dollars). The extreme price increases forced oil-importing states either to reduce oil consumption or to find money to cover now-quadrupled oil bills. The first option meant reduced economic production and the political problem of dropping living standards. The second option generally meant loans from banks holding OPEC dollar deposits. States had few choices that did not threaten economic development, either then, or in the future when loans came due. Exacerbating the situation, a global economic slowdown meant falling commodity prices for many exports, making loan repayment problematic.

The system collapsed abruptly in 1982, when Mexico, an oil producer that had borrowed assuming continued high energy prices, defaulted on its foreign debt when oil prices fell. The international banking community virtually stopped new lending as it sought to reduce exposure to default. The lending boycott by private banks, together with domestic conditions, put many borrowers in an impossible economic position. Both states that produced to existing comparative

advantage and those that sought to create new industrial sectors experienced decreasing revenues as international prices fell and competition increased. In neither case could states generate enough foreign currency for debt repayment. Additionally, many infrastructure projects for which states borrowed were profitable—generating funds for debt repayment—only with growing exports. Finally, some loans went to corrupt authoritarian regimes that diverted at least a portion of funds for private use, which generated no means of repayment.

States and international financial institutions, such as the World Bank, stepped in to restructure loan packages, extending repayment to give debtors a better chance at full payment. The crisis meant that World Bank and IMF loans were many states’ only option besides default (which bore reputational penalties and ended access to new money). The Bank’s Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs) came with specific conditions that it argued included vital reforms of states’ economic structures for future success. The SALs’ conditions reflected the neo-liberal “Washington Consensus,” so-called because it mirrored the preferences of the United States and its allies. The Consensus included macroeconomic policies leading to a return to production based on existing comparative advantage, reduction of the role of the state in the economy, opening of internal markets to international trade and investment, and curtailment of state regulations. The Bank argued that these conditions allowed more efficient market allocation of states’ scarce resources. As well, it noted that reducing states’ involvement both allowed in market forces and reduced opportunities for corruption. Finally, by opening economies to international forces, states gain access to goods, technologies, and capital far beyond national resources. This reasoning colored Bank lending, so SAL conditionality was fairly standard and predictable.

States had few options that did not include these conditions. Often, prior agreement with the Bank was a precondition to negotiating an IMF package, so-called “cross-conditionality.” As well, the World Bank served as a major source of information (see annual *World Bank Development Reports*, for example) about states and their economies. Its involvement in an economy gave its “seal of approval,” which went far to convincing others, including national aid agencies, to make additional loans or grants.

However, these conditions had significant economic and political implications that were extremely difficult for debtor states. While the Bank hewed to the notion that states (and citizens) had to accept short-term pain for long-term economic gains, many charged that its policies often were inappropriate

and had devastating repercussions—degrading the environment, increasing poverty, and worsening conditions of life for the most vulnerable in societies—without solving underlying economic problems. In the 1990s, growing criticism, both internal and external, caused the Bank to reexamine its practices and led to some policy changes.

### Answering Its Critics

In the 1990s, the Bank committed to poverty alleviation and enhancing good governance. The UN's Millennium Development Goals, which set specific targets and deadlines, have informed new Bank programs. For example, the Bank's poverty alleviation program goes beyond aggregate economic development to focus on social development, including equitable development of resources with regard to gender, vulnerable social groups, and environmental protection.

In 1996, to help the poorest debtor states, those that cannot possibly meet their foreign obligations based on debt-to-export or debt-to-government-revenue ratios, the World Bank and the IMF jointly developed the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC). Participating states must meet a number of conditions, and must be eligible for IDA assistance. Also, they must have an ongoing commitment to, and record of, reform, as outlined in a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). Debtor states wanting to participate go through various stages before qualifying for permanent debt cancellation. Not all eligible states have been able to complete the process and gain permanent debt reduction.

The Bretton Woods agencies conceived of HIPC as a way of bringing together public and private lenders, to work out agreements to cancel a significant portion of sovereign debt. The Bank committed to debt relief mainly through cancellation of IDA debt. While several states have agreed to cancel bilateral debt, few commercial lenders are participating in the HIPC process, limiting its effect. Further, many critics call for full and unconditional debt cancellation for all, not a small subset, of less developed states.

To address critics of the prescriptions attached to SALs, in 1999, the Bank moved to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, which borrowing states develop. These outline macroeconomic, structural, and social policies and programs to which borrowers commit, in return for international help. PRSPs are an enhancement, the Bank noted, as they are country-driven, comprehensive, long-term, and they force states to think through and to develop measurable goals.

Critics charge that PRSP development moves too quickly. This, they argue, leads to significant Bank influence on the final product, meaning that, as with SALs, PRSPs reflect elite, neo-liberal assumptions. Further, many agree that the PRSP process excludes the voices of the political opposition, women, vulnerable groups, and the poor. Critics point out that governments often commit to actions these groups directly oppose: ending food subsidies or closing state-subsidized medical clinics, for example. In 2004, the Bank began Development Policy Lending to give borrowers greater “ownership” of their programs and to enhance civil society participation in the drafting of national plans.

Addressing assessments that lenders, too, bear responsibility for their loans, in 2004, the Bank and the IMF introduced the Debt Sustainability Framework in Low-Income Countries. It seeks to link more closely borrowing and ability to repay. The Bank promotes the program as “proactive,” and notes that it shifts some responsibility for sustainable debt levels to lenders. This could begin to address such issues as responsibility for “odious” debt, that is, loans incurred by dictators, which citizens must repay, and “moral hazard,” the notion that banks make risky loans, knowing the Bank and IMF will secure repayment. Further, the Bank has begun to work more closely with non-state borrowers. It has involved itself with micro-credit lending, and has brought Non-Governmental Organizations into the lending process.

Still, many remain dissatisfied, seeing the neo-liberal, market-reliant philosophy that underpins the Bank's work as fundamentally inequitable. At the heart of this criticism, the questions of its founding remain: Who bears responsible for easing underdevelopment and encouraging development?

JANET ADAMSKI

**See also African Development Bank (ADB); Alliance for Progress; Asian Development Bank; Debt: Impact on Development; Debt: Relief Efforts; Development History and Theory; Import Substitution Industrialization; Inter-American Development Bank (IDB); International Monetary Fund (IMF); Neoliberalism; Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs); United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**

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## INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF INVESTMENT DISPUTES (ICSID)

In the 1960s and during the era of decolonisation, there was mass nationalization of foreign direct investment in their territories as a means of reasserting sovereignty over national wealth and resources. This caused conflicts between the investors and national governments. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the World Bank, thus set up an international institution to protect foreign investors against the risk of nationalization and to ensure that disputes were settled in an objective and apolitical manner. The Convention on the Settlement of International Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States—the *ICSID Convention 1966*—established an international forum that offers a legal framework for the settlement of investment disputes independent of any political considerations.

The ICSID is administered by the World Bank. It is an international legal entity authorized to enter into agreements and be party to legal proceedings. There are some special privileges and immunities granted to its staff to enable them to perform their tasks satisfactorily. The headquarters are in the World Bank in Washington, DC.

### ICSID Jurisdiction

Both private investors and host countries that are parties to an investment agreement can lodge a dispute

with the ICSID. The jurisdiction of the ICSID is governed by three conditions: that the dispute is a legal one arising from the investment agreement; that the dispute is between a member state and a national of another member state; and that the parties have consented in writing to submit the dispute to ICSID for a settlement.

The various articles of the Convention spell out the scope of the legal investment dispute, the requirements for membership of the Convention, consent of the parties to submit to the jurisdiction of the ICSID, and the effect of consent. There are also conciliation processes and provision for arbitration in terms of the conduct of the proceedings, its awards, and grounds for an annulment of awards.

### Dispute Resolution Systems

Understanding a dispute resolution system helps to define more clearly the respective rights and obligations of the parties engaged in international trade. In *mediation* and *conciliation* there may simply be negotiations between the parties themselves. A neutral third party, the mediator assists the parties to a dispute to negotiate their own resolution of the problem. The term mediation is often used interchangeably with the term conciliation. An even more complex process is to go to *arbitration*. The arbitrator is a neutral third party, who may be authorized to resolve the dispute by issuing a binding determination or "award" and who assists the parties in settling the disputes themselves. In the United States there is a form of dispute resolution known as the *mini-trial*, in which there is a panel of people representing both parties together with a neutral facilitator who collectively have authority to settle the dispute. No third party has authority to issue a binding determination; the parties settle the dispute themselves.

*Arbitration* and *litigation* involve a binding determination by a third party—the arbitrator or judge. The arbitrator obtains his or her jurisdiction through the original agreement of the parties where they refer disputes to arbitration. Arbitrators do not exercise judicial authority and the composition of the arbitral tribunal is determined by agreement of the parties. This is an adversarial system made up of a judge who presides over the proceedings. The parties are generally represented by legal counsel who present their client's case. The outcome of the litigation process is a judgment in which one party is found to have a better claim than the other.

*Facilitation* is where a neutral third party meets with the parties in order to assist in finding a common

course of action to resolve their dispute. The facilitator is an impartial third party with no pecuniary or other interest in the case. The facilitator also is there to bring into perspective an objective view of the situation to enable the parties to determine the best course of action in terms of resolving the dispute. In *expert appraisal*, the facts and questions in the dispute are put through an objective and independent determination by an expert. Similar to mediation, the parties themselves determine what the outcome will be and whether it is binding and final.

Private investors have often lacked *locus standi* before international fora. The term *locus standi* means a place of standing, the right to be heard in court or other proceedings. It is a legal term that is used by courts and other dispute settlement systems to identify those that have a right to come before that body to be heard. In the ICSID Convention the issue of non-standing is resolved by according international legal status to private investors. Thus, private investors, as opposed to those of governments and quasi-government bodies such as state-owned enterprises (SOEs), are able to bypass problematic national dispute settlement and protection of host states and gain direct access to an impartial third party for resolution of an investment dispute.

To date, however, ICSID services have been largely underutilized. As convention in international law dictates, signatories to any international convention have to return to their home parliaments and pass the necessary legislation in order to implement these as domestic law. Thus, for example, Australia enacted the *ICSID Implementation Act* 1990 (Commonwealth) to give effect to the Convention. This Act is embodied in Schedule Three of the *International Arbitration Act* 1974 (Commonwealth). Australia became the ninety-third party to the Convention in 1991. Australia has shown a preference to use ICSID mechanisms where possible. One example is the bilateral Investment Protection Agreement (IPA) in which both parties consent that a dispute be submitted to the ICSID for resolution in accordance with the terms on which the states are party to the Convention.

GEORGE CHO

**See also International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank)**

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## INTERNATIONAL COCOA ORGANIZATION (ICCO)

The International Cocoa Organization (ICCO) was created in London in 1973 with the implementation of the first International Cocoa Agreement (ICCA) signed in 1972, after sixteen years of negotiations. Cocoa is a key export commodity for a small number of countries in tropical Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Production of the beans is quite variable, based on yield and weather, whereas consumption remains quite stable over time. Production overall has increased from 1 million tons in 1960 to 3 million tons in 2004. Approximately 70% of cocoa is produced by small farmers on less than ten hectares of land.

The goals of the first International Cocoa Agreement and thus of the ICCO were to: prevent significant fluctuations in cocoa prices; stabilize or increase the export earnings from cocoa-producing countries; and consider the interests of consuming countries. The main economic features of this first agreement were annual export quotas, buffer stocks of 250,000 metric tons of cocoa, and a minimum price range of twenty-three to thirty-two cents per pound.

The decision-making body for the organization is the Cocoa Council, representing all members of the organization. It is responsible for carrying out the goals and spirit of the agreements but is limited in its powers. The exporting members together have one thousand votes and the importing members together have one thousand votes. The number of votes given to each individual member depends on that member's significance in the cocoa economy. However, no one member shall have more than four hundred votes.

In the second ICCA, dated 1976, the desirable price range for cocoa beans was increased to thirty-nine to fifty-five cents per pound. Throughout the years of this agreement, cocoa prices continued to rise and were close to \$1.72 per pound. During the first and second agreements (1973–1980), the economic clauses of the agreements never went into effect because of high world cocoa prices.

During the negotiations and tenure of the third ICCA (1980), cocoa prices were on a downward slope and leveled off at seventy-five cents. The Cocoa Council was given authority to expand the buffer stocks if necessary from 250,000 tons to 350,000 tons. The mention of a price-stabilization scheme and an acceptable price range were absent from the 1980 agreement. Producing and consuming countries were unhappy with the ICCA and looked for ways to better the situation. To that end, the producing countries created the Abidjan Group to advocate for their interests.

During the negotiations for the 1986 ICCA, the International Cocoa Organization and the European Community suggested a scheme in which producing countries were required to withhold cocoa from the world market at their own expense when prices were low. Producers accepted this idea because they preferred this agreement over no agreement. This replaced the price-stabilization scheme and buffer stocks. By the end of the 1980s, there were 1.4 million tons in cocoa stocks and prices stayed low.

The 1993 International Cocoa Agreement tried to deal with this oversupply of cocoa and contribute to the stability of the commodity by creating a production-management plan. It would provide target production figures per country and would make the countries responsible for the national implementation of the plan. The details of this plan, however, were not worked out until 1998. At that time, the cited goal was to reduce production by 257,000 tons but the plan never went into effect. In the meantime, with the elimination of the economic clauses in the agreement, the buffer stocks were liquidated starting in 1993 and ending in 1998.

In 2000, the International Cocoa Organization stated its disagreement with the European Union's new "chocolate directive," which would allow up to 5% of vegetable fats (instead of cocoa butter) in European chocolate. The ICCO believed that this would result in a decrease in cocoa demand. It is not clear yet what the impact has been.

Not surprisingly, the Sixth International Coffee Agreement of 2001 does not include any economic clauses and focuses instead on a sustainable cocoa economy. It created a consultative board on the cocoa economy and encourages greater private-sector

participation in the reaching of its goals. It encourages international cooperation in the world cocoa economy and serves as the repository for statistics and studies on cocoa.

The United States was never particularly interested in the International Cocoa Organization and the agreements, even though it is the most significant consumer of chocolate in the world. It participated in some of the negotiations but did not sign the agreements. It viewed cocoa as a primarily African commodity, which would be of greater interest to European countries. The United States is not currently a member of the International Cocoa Organization.

As of this writing, the International Cocoa Organization has thirty members. The exporting members are: Brazil, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Gabon, Ghana, Malaysia, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Togo, and Trinidad and Tobago. The importing members are: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, the Russian Federation, the Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom. These countries represent 80% of production and 60% of consumption, respectively.

In 2002, a decision was made at the twenty-fifth Special Session of the Council to relocate the headquarters of the organization to Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. This was expected to strengthen the financial situation of the organization. Cote d'Ivoire alone currently produces just above 40% of the world's cocoa. As a result, economic and political events in Cote d'Ivoire have a significant impact on the world cocoa economy as a whole. The current unrest in the country has not helped the world cocoa economy and has delayed the move.

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## INTERNATIONAL COFFEE ORGANIZATION (ICO)

The International Coffee Organization (ICO) was created in London in 1963 following the signature of the first International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1962 to assist with the production, pricing, and distribution of coffee. Coffee is a key export commodity for at least sixty countries throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America and it provides a livelihood for approximately 100 million people. As with many export crops, coffee prices fluctuate with weather conditions, quality concerns, and annual production totals, thus making it difficult for producing countries to plan their economic development primarily around coffee exports.

The first ICA was the result of several related trends in the international community. During World War II, the United States engineered an international coffee agreement because of shipping shortages and the need to provide monies to developing nations. Later, following the end of World War II, there was significant interest among Western countries to increase international trade overall and specifically of agricultural products. In this spirit, the International Tin Agreement and the International Sugar Agreement were both signed in the early 1950s. The coffee-producing countries themselves had been working since the early 1930s to control the prices and availability of the caffeinated bean. Brazil in particular, as the world's largest coffee-producing country, was known for limiting its exports in order to raise coffee prices. Third, there was growing genuine interest on the part of large coffee-consuming nations in North America and Europe to assist Latin American and African coffee-producing countries in their economic development. The United States clearly changed its position on coffee in 1958, because of a growing fear that poor economic conditions in Latin America would give the Soviets an opportunity to get involved there. The US then provided much impetus for the negotiation of the first ICA.

The general goals of the first four International Coffee Agreements (1962, 1968, 1976, 1983) and therefore of the ICO during that time were thus: to achieve reasonable balance between the supply and demand of the various types of coffee (Arabica and Robusta), to contribute to the economic development of producer countries, to maintain reasonable coffee prices, to encourage coffee consumption throughout the world, and to foster cooperation on issues related to coffee production. The ICO was set up by Article Seven of the first ICA to administer the clauses of the agreement and supervise the mechanisms put in place.

The decision-making body of the ICO is the Coffee Council, which is made up of all the members of the organization. It approves the budget and annual program of activities for the organization; it admits and suspends members; it settles disputes; and it hosts agreement negotiations. Until 1986, it approved export quotas for the producing members. To pass a resolution, two-thirds of the members must be in favor of it. The votes of the exporting and importing members are weighed, so that each side has a total of one thousand votes, with no one country holding more than four hundred. The Council generally meets twice a year, in May and September.

Four significant issues that would regularly burden the ICO and its members came to the forefront during the tenure of the first International Coffee Agreement: the determination of acceptable price ranges for all parties and Arabica and Robusta coffee, the rules governing the quotas, rising national production levels, and the enforcement mechanisms put in place. At the beginning of the first ICA, it was clear that acceptable prices for coffee had not been agreed upon by the members. There would be more agreement on this after several years. Members argued regularly about how export quotas were set and changed throughout the year. The enforcement of the quota system lay in the hands of the consuming countries. They were responsible for a log of all coffee imports to be provided to the ICO.

Despite the best efforts of the organization and the agreements, coffee prices were still very dependent on weather and specifically frost in the largest coffee-producing country, Brazil. Prices rose significantly because of this in the late 1960s and mid-1970s as less coffee was available on the world market. The second agreement, which had begun to address some of the key issues facing the ICO, collapsed one year before its conclusion due to the high prices of the bean. Despite meetings in London in 1973 and 1974, it was not until 1975 that the simpler, third agreement was negotiated. In this 1976 agreement, quotas would only become effective when coffee prices were at 77 cents per pound or less. Also, national quota calculations became more standard; they were to be determined at 70% by the country's exports over the previous four years and at 30% by the country's coffee stocks. Coffee prices reached their all-time high in the spring of 1977, with the beans selling at \$3.40 per pound, benefitting large coffee producers such as Colombia and Côte d'Ivoire. Brazil returned to pre-frost production levels in 1979 and the clauses of the third agreement finally went into effect. However, another Brazilian frost in late 1985 interrupted the economic clauses of the 1983 International Coffee

Agreement and was the beginning of difficult times for the International Coffee Organization, coffee-producing countries, and the ICAs.

Coffee markets had changed substantially since the creation of the International Coffee Organization in 1963. This change was exemplified in the membership of the International Coffee Organization. In 1985, European and North American members represented 95% of annual coffee consumption and producer countries not members of the ICO produced less than one hundred thousand bags of coffee each year (Bates and Lien 1985). The majority of the producing countries' members of the ICO in the mid-1980s were African and Asian countries, while in 1962, the majority had been Latin American countries with only a few African states. However, the membership of the ICO would continue to change over the next several years, with the key withdrawal of the United States from the International Coffee Organization in 1993. Following the end of the Cold War and the impetus for globalization, the US, which represents 40% of world coffee consumption, no longer saw the need for International Coffee Agreements.

Since 1993, the International Coffee Organization has survived, but with a significant change in its direction. Instead of monitoring the economic clauses of the ICAs, it is now primarily an intergovernmental organization, collecting and disseminating information about coffee and fostering cooperation among coffee-producing and coffee-consuming nations. It is a repository for statistics, studies, and information relating to coffee. It continues to host coffee-related conferences and has produced two additional International Coffee Agreements, simply stating its new mission and goals.

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**See also Agriculture: Impact of Globalization; Cartels**

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## INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC)

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is the world's oldest non-governmental organization devoted to the promotion of humanitarian principles during times of international war and domestic civil conflict. Adopting principles of neutrality and impartiality, it has become one of the premier emergency humanitarian aid agencies, focussing on the needs of the wounded and others in desperate need of basic food and medical assistance to assure survival in the midst of war and natural disaster.

### Origins of the ICRC

The ICRC came into being in 1862, being the brainchild of the Swiss businessman Henri Dunant and of a committee of philanthropists who sought to ensure greater attention to the needs of the wounded and dying in time of war. Gustave Moynier was the organization genius who fostered the development of the ICRC, and who guided its growth as a humanitarian body dedicated to promoting the development of national Red Cross organizations, which in turn addressed the needs of the wounded and prisoners of war in times of armed conflict. Growing out of the ICRC was the League of Red Cross Societies, now known as the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), which coordinated the work of national Red Cross and Red Crescent chapters in responding not only to war but also domestic natural disasters. The ICRC oversees the implementation of various Geneva Red Cross Conventions aimed at ameliorating the condition of the wounded, prisoners of war, and civilian populations caught in civil conflict. It also promotes the dissemination of international humanitarian law, traces and fosters communication with political prisoners, and provides humanitarian aid to populations experiencing civil discord. It is in this latter capacity that the work of the ICRC most closely touches on the development situation in countries of assistance.



## Development-Related Activities of the ICRC

The ICRC seeks and receives from numerous donor countries contributions towards its programs of assistance in dozens of countries throughout the world that are experiencing various levels of civil discord. Because of its strict reputation for neutrality and impartiality, the ICRC is able to negotiate a presence in many of the most intractable and fierce civil war situations throughout the globe. Specializing in the provision of medical and food aid to peoples caught in the cross-fires of civil war, the ICRC is usually able to negotiate access into war zones so that it can offer humanitarian aid to both sides engaged in conflict. Although the aid provided by the ICRC aims at meeting immediate emergency needs, it works closely with other aid-giving agencies to promote a humanitarian climate and eventually a situation amenable of peaceful resolution after which rehabilitation and reconstruction become feasible. The ICRC sits on the Interagency Standing Committee of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, along with development agencies of the UN system. In this capacity it can make fruitful recommendations on the application of both emergency aid and on the longer-term development potential of a region.

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See also **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

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## INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL POLICE ORGANIZATION (INTERPOL)

Interpol is a global police organization. The second largest international organization behind the United Nations, it addresses transnational and organized crime by connecting the police forces of its 182 member countries. Interpol's efforts to identify the best police practices and raise awareness of crime helps developing nations create a secure environment necessary for social and economic advancement.

Criminals do not necessarily limit their activities to one country or one region. In the belief that human

rights, public safety, and the fight against ordinary crimes are the concerns of both the developed and the developing world, countries at all stages of advancement have joined Interpol. Upon gaining independence, many developing countries joined Interpol as one of their first actions as sovereign nations.

Begun in 1923, Interpol seeks to halt crime that has occurred or is projected to occur in multiple countries. Each member state maintains and staffs a National Central Bureau (NCB) to direct Interpol intelligence while local authorities investigate and prosecute criminals according to national laws. Interpol's actions are limited to receiving requests for assistance, analyzing criminal activities that are not of a political, military, religious, or racial character, and disseminating notices published in four languages (English, French, Spanish, and Arabic) to its members. Despite popular belief, Interpol maintains no police force of its own.

Although headquartered in France, no country dominates the group and its funding is provided by a sliding scale membership fee that is based upon each country's gross national product (GNP). The organization's policies are set by a vote of its member countries while the governors on its Executive Committee are required to be drawn from different continents. The Secretary General, elected every five years by two-thirds of the members attending the annual General Assembly, is Interpol's chief executive and senior full-time official. Daily activities are conducted at the General Secretariat in Lyons with a staff of 384 who represent 54 different countries. National Central Bureaus (NCB) in member countries ferry Interpol information to appropriate local authorities who bear responsibility for apprehending and extraditing suspected criminals. Five NCBs also act as Regional Stations with Lyon covering Europe, North America, and the Middle East; Nairobi, Kenya responsible for Central Africa; Abidjan, Ivory Coast focusing on West Africa; Buenos Aires, Argentina addressing South America; and Bangkok, Thailand transmitting to Asia.

Interpol's interests change according to crime patterns. It currently focuses upon public safety and terrorism, including bio-terrorism; organized crime; illegal drug production and smuggling; weapons dealing; trafficking in human beings; sexual abuse of children; money laundering; cyber-crime; theft of intellectual property; and financial and high technology wrongdoing.

No nation is required to respond to an Interpol request. Some countries, notably the United States in the years leading up to World War II, have declined to fully cooperate with Interpol for fear that its files may be misused for the prosecution of political

criminals. In 1956, the organization agreed to forbid any activities of a political, military, religious, or racial character but concerns remain that countries may ignore these guidelines. The chief fear of many member countries is that classified information may fall into the hands of terrorists since the distribution of intelligence cannot be restricted once it enters the Interpol system. Although this worry has reduced the amount of classified information flowing through Interpol, the organization has experienced a steady increase in information traffic. In 2000, Interpol transmitted 2.5 million messages, placed 15,116 notices of criminal activity in circulation, and projected that 1,400 people would be arrested or located as the result of Interpol intelligence.

Interpol notices are coded into ten different colors that represent different purposes. The red wanted notices are the most common and this type of communication requests the arrest of subjects for whom an arrest warrant has been issued and extradition will be sought. The other notices are: seeking the identity and location of subjects who have committed or witnessed criminal offenses (blue); providing warning about career criminals who have committed offenses in several countries (green); seeking missing or lost people, especially children abducted by parents (yellow); seeking the identification of corpses (black); warning of unusual modus operandi (purple); sharing knowledge of organized crime groups (gray); and advising of criminal activity with international ramifications that does not involve a specific person or group (orange). Stolen property notices are also distributed but are not coded.

Crime undermines the stability of governments and makes international investors hesitant to sponsor development projects. Since crime affects all aspects of life, effective policing is a chief concern of developing countries. Interpol offers the knowledge and expertise to fight crime. It addresses both the external and internal policing factors that permit criminal activities.

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## INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (IDA)

The International Development Association (IDA) is the soft loan division of the World Bank, or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The IDA was set up in 1960 to provide loans on much easier terms than regular World Bank loans to the world's poorest and least developed countries for which private financing is not available on reasonable terms. IDA loans go to the eighty-one poorest World Bank member countries whose per capita income is less than \$895 (2004 figure). About 2.5 billion people live in these countries, which is about half the developing world and approximately 1.5 billion of these live on less than two dollars a day. IDA loans are long-term loans, from twenty to thirty-five or even forty years for repayment with a ten-year grace period before any repayment is required, and IDA loans are interest free, although there is a small 0.75% service charge. Since 2002 at the suggestion of United States President George W. Bush in 2001, the IDA now provides a proportion of its aid in the form of grants. In 2004 grants were 19% of IDA aid; this is set to increase to 30% over the next three years. Unlike loans, which do have to be repaid, grants do not need to be repaid.

Since 1960, IDA has lent over \$142 billion to 108 countries. Currently, the IDA lends about \$7.4 billion a year. Most loans address basic needs, such as primary education, basic health services, and clean water and sanitation. IDA also funds projects to preserve the environment, encourage private business, build infrastructure, support liberal economic reforms, and strengthen state institutions. HIV/AIDS prevention, post-conflict (post-war) stabilization, gender equality, and debt relief are also high-priority projects. IDA projects are intended to pave the way toward economic growth, job creation, higher incomes, and better living conditions. Funds are allocated to the borrowing countries in relation to their income levels and record of success in managing their economies and their ongoing IDA projects. New commitments for IDA loans and grants in FY03 consisted of 141 new operations in fifty-six countries. Fifty-one percent of new commitments went to sub-Saharan Africa, 28% to South Asia, 8% to East Asia and the Pacific, 8% to Eastern Europe and Central Asia (ECA), and the remainder to North Africa and Latin America. The top IDA borrowers in FY03 are listed in Table 1.

The IDA is funded by contributions from the wealthier member countries every three years. They have donated over \$118.9 billion since the inception of the association. The largest donations are made

Table 1: Top ten IDA borrowers

Top ten IDA borrowers, FY 2003	\$ Millions
India	686
Bangladesh	554
Congo Democratic Republic	454
Uganda	407
Ethiopia	404
Vietnam	368
Pakistan	297
Tanzania	251
Sri Lanka	233
Nigeria	230

by the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and Italy. Combined, these countries account for about 70% of donor contributions. Nevertheless, there are thirty-nine donors, including some less well-off countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, and Turkey. The donors and borrowers meet every three years to negotiate their contributions. Each of these series of negotiations is known as a replenishment. In 2005, the members were concluding the negotiations for Replenishment 14. Replenishment 13 resulted in pledges to donate \$23 billion to the IDA. Other funds, nearly 40%, for the IDA came from the repayments of earlier IDA loans. However, the World Bank has also forgiven \$9 billion of IDA debt, which will affect future IDA income from repayments.

Since the 1980s, the United States has occasionally balked at paying its allocated share. Initially the United States provided 42% of IDA funds, far more than any other country. This percentage was equal to the relative share of the US economy in the world. With the third replenishment, the United States' share declined somewhat to 39% but still remained slightly higher than the relative size of the US economy to the world economy. The US allocation has shrunk to about 20% with the 13th replenishment. During the early 1980s the US Congress pushed to lower the US contribution and added conditions on US contributions. The United States insisted that no IDA credits go to Vietnam and threatened to withhold its payments until the United States won its concession. Again in the mid-1990s the US Congress withheld payments, which forced the World Bank to empanel an independent inspection team. US leverage over the IDA is strengthened by the fact that other members often prorate their own contributions to those of the United States. The United Kingdom's share has also been reduced, from 17% in

1960 to 10% in 2001–2004. Other wealthy countries whose economies boomed in the 1970s onward have increased their shares. For example, Japan's share was only 4% in 1960 and increased to 16% in 2001–2004, and Germany's share in 1960 was 7% and is now 10%.

The IDA counts among its successes some thirty-two countries that have graduated from the IDA. Their per capita incomes have increased beyond those allowed by the IDA, largely due to IDA loans and grants. The first graduate was Chile in 1961, and the latest graduate is Macedonia (FYR). The following are contemporary examples of IDA projects. In India, the National AIDS Control Project supported training of 52,500 physicians and 60% of nursing staff in HIV/AIDS management topics. In Yemen, the Taiz Flood Disaster Prevention and Municipal Development Project prevented serious damage from the 1996 floods, benefiting twenty-one thousand households directly and over half a million people indirectly. In Africa, more than 5 million textbooks (mostly locally developed and produced) were supplied to primary schools. In Asia, over 6,700 health care facilities were constructed or upgraded, then equipped and staffed to provide basic health care to rural populations. And in Latin America, projects under the social investment fund reach some 9.5 million beneficiaries. Activities supported by these projects generate almost a million person-months of employment.

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**See also Development History and Theory; Development, Measures of; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**

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## INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION (IFC)

(See *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD]* [*World Bank*])

## INTERNATIONAL MARITIME ORGANIZATION (IMO)

The International Maritime Organization (IMO) is the agency of the United Nations (UN) responsible for improving the safety and security of international shipping and the prevention of marine pollution from ships. One of the smallest UN agencies, with less than three hundred employees, the IMO was established at a UN-sponsored international convention held in Geneva, Switzerland, on March 17, 1948. The IMO Convention went into effect in 1958 and the new organization met for the first time in 1959. As of 2004, there were 164 member states in the organization.

The IMO, which has its headquarters in London, does not implement legislation. The IMO was established to adopt legislation. Member nations are responsible for implementing the more than forty conventions sponsored by the IMO. The IMO, therefore, seeks to ensure that its conventions are ratified by as many countries as possible. Currently, IMO conventions cover more than 98% of the world's merchant shipping. The IMO also attempts to ensure that these conventions are properly implemented by the countries that have accepted them. The IMO has had considerable success in achieving its aim of safer shipping and cleaner seas.

When the IMO first began operations, its chief concern was to develop international treaties and other legislation concerning marine safety and pollution prevention. In 1960, the IMO's first action was to adopt a new version of the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS), an important treaty concerning maritime safety. Although safety was the IMO's most important responsibility, the amount of oil being transported by oil tankers was also of great concern. The IMO introduced a series of measures designed to prevent tanker accidents and to minimize their consequences. It also investigated the environmental threat caused by the cleaning of the cargo tanks. In 1973, the IMO introduced the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships, which regulated accidental and operational oil pollution as well as pollution by chemicals, sewage, and garbage. In 1992, the Global Maritime Distress and Safety System (GMDSS) was launched. By 1999, the GMDSS was completely operational, so that any ship that is in distress anywhere in the world

can be virtually guaranteed assistance, even if the ship's crew does not have time to radio for help.

When the IMO began operations in 1959, international shipping was dominated by a few developed nations. During the last decades of the twentieth century, however, nations in the developing world have acquired a greater share of international shipping. Operation costs are shared among the member states in proportion to the size of each nation's fleet of merchant ships. The biggest fleets in the world are operated by Panama, Liberia, the Bahamas, Greece, the United Kingdom, Japan, Malta, the United States, Cyprus, and Norway.

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## INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)

### Founding

Allied leaders, planning for the post-World War II era, wanted to ensure that the economic crises of the 1920s and 1930s, which contributed to subsequent hostilities, did not recur. They worried that the end of hostilities and subsequent decline in demand would cause another depression. They also considered the dismal outcome of economic policies in the interwar period. For example, the international economy degenerated into exclusionary trading blocs and insurmountable tariff barriers, with significant contractions in trade volume. Additionally, the monetary system collapsed as states abandoned the gold standard and practiced competitive currency devaluations—beggar-thy-neighbor policies—as each sought to export more than it imported.

Further, they acknowledged the gold standard's flaws. It limited creation of money to an amount equal to gold mined, instead of linking it to an economy's efficiency and total production. Thus, if any state imported more goods than it exported, the gold standard required that it export gold to its creditors to bring accounts into balance. Since states printed

money in proportion to their gold supply, reducing gold stock required withdrawal of an equal proportion of its currency from the economy. Gold transfers limited credit and investments, and it slowed growth. Artificially low money stocks created by slow growth in the world's gold supply often meant that maintaining the gold standard forced states to deflate their economies for reasons unrelated to strength or productivity. Creation of additional liquidity, from non-gold-backed money, depended on perceptions of the creditworthiness of the issuer. Many, for example, accepted British pounds sterling even once Britain printed paper bills exceeding its precious metal stocks, due to belief in its economy's soundness.

The failure of states' unilateral policies encouraged multilateral management of the international economy. In July 1944, at a meeting in New Hampshire, representatives of forty-four countries agreed to the Bretton Woods System of economic management, creating organizations to supervise international monetary relations (the International Monetary Fund, IMF) and reconstruction and development (International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, IBRD; also known as the World Bank).

To restart trade, states had to agree on relative values of their currencies, known as parities, or par values. Essentially, these gave the price of one currency in terms of another one. Thus, in 1946, sterling's par was about £1 = \$4.03. This parity overvalued the pound, making it difficult to sell (overpriced) British exports abroad. Further, it forced the government to spend too much shoring up the value of the currency. This reduced funds for domestic programs. Therefore, in 1949, the government dropped parity to about £1 = \$2.80.

The Fund helped states maintain their par values in order to create a stable currency system. The example of British sterling highlights another important lesson from the interwar period: when states had to choose between competing international and domestic commitments, inevitably they sacrificed external for internal concerns. Therefore, planners sought to help states to reconcile rival demands, through provision of temporary loans to ease short-term currency shortfalls, which ensured some policy flexibility.

Those meeting at Bretton Woods disagreed about how to accomplish this. They debated two institutional "blueprints." The first, presented by British representative, John Maynard Keynes, reflected a significantly different architecture than that proposed by US representative, Henry Dexter White. It is noteworthy that discussion centered on plans offered by these two hegemonic states. Today, many less developed states argue that the Bretton Woods System is inappropriate

for their needs, given their different relative positions in the world economy.

Keynes called for an International Clearing Union (ICU), which gave priority to states' domestic preferences. It guarded states' economic sovereignty zealously, so they could enact policies appropriate to their domestic needs (in the case of Britain, full employment). States could change parity values up to 5% without Union approval. Also, Keynes called for creation of an international currency, the *bancor*, which states could use to settle their outstanding balances. The *bancor* would create additional liquidity, beyond gold and the British pound. Further, members would pay a quota, based on share of international trade. Keynes envisioned ICU resources equal to about \$30 billion. States that bought more than they sold, and thus had shortfalls, could borrow up to one-half their quotas, without conditions. For additional funds, the ICU's governing board could recommend policies to borrowers, could insist they limit capital flows across their borders, could call for currency devaluations, or could require additional collateral. Finally, if two currencies moved out of parity, under Keynes' plan, both governments bore an obligation to fix the imbalance.

Responsibility for currency values accounted for only one of the major differences between the British and US plans. White put the full burden of currency imbalance on the deficit state. Moreover, he was less protective of sovereignty, calling for direct intervention in states' economic policies. This greater (and earlier) intercession authority meant the organization required fewer resources, as it addressed less acute problems. Thus, White called for resources of only about \$5 billion. His plan further limited sovereignty by requiring permission for changes of more than 1% of par value. Of course, with the world's most powerful economy, US negotiators had little fear for national autonomy. Many in Congress, however, bridled at the possible loss of control.

The IMF, ultimately, reflected a compromise, one grounded in a commitment to liberalism and domestic responsibility for maintenance of the international system. By giving the body no immediate right of interventions, it preserved autonomy. However, the low funding, about \$8.8 billion, meant members could draw on only limited resources. Further, the Fund placed full responsibility on deficit states, so-called asymmetrical adjustment.

As well, the IMF rejected the gold standard and created a "fixed but adjustable" system, pegged to the US dollar. Washington valued its currency at an undeviating \$35 per ounce of gold. Internationally, it was convertible—dollars were exchangeable for gold. (However, to preserve gold reserves, the

United States restricted citizens' ownership.) As the country then possessed about 70% of the world's gold and created about 40% of its industrial output, this rate seemed solid and sustainable. Other IMF currencies then set a par value relative to the dollar.

Given this fixed relationship, if any currency were out of alignment with the dollar, it had to devalue (decrease) or revalue (increase) to return to par. States maintained parity within narrow margins, no more than 1% of par, and they could adjust values only minimally without IMF approval. This ensured orderly and non-predatory realignments. Unlike the gold standard, here members with balance-of-payment deficits did not have to devalue to bring external balances into alignment. Through the IMF, they could obtain short-term loans to cover deficits while preserving parity, as well as domestic spending and growth.

## Institutions

The IMF is responsible to its members, but, as reflected in its institutions, states enjoy different degrees of influence. The main bodies are the Board of Governors, the Executive Board, and the International Monetary and Financial Committee. A bureaucracy of nearly 3,000 employees, from more than 140 countries, supports them. The majority of staff serves at Fund headquarters in Washington, DC, with additional offices in New York, Paris, Tokyo, and Geneva.

Officials from 180-plus member states comprise the Board of Governors. The Board meets annually to decide broadly on policy. Generally, states send finance ministers or central bank governors. An appointed managing director, traditionally a European, chairs meetings, assisted by three deputy managing directors. The IMF runs similarly to a public corporation: Governors hold voting rights proportional to their investment or shareholdings, called "quotas." The United States has the largest quota, about 17.5%, while Palau pays the smallest, about 0.001% of the total. The ten states with the highest quotas are the United States, Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Canada, China, and the Russian Federation. Every five years, the Fund recalculates quotas to reflect states' relative share of the world economy. In addition to policy and quotas, the Board admits new members and allocates funds.

While the Board of Governors sets general policies, the Executive Board implements that agenda, carries

out daily operations, approves specific programs, and conducts surveillance on borrowers. The twenty-four-member Board includes representatives of the five largest shareholders, as well as Saudi Arabia, China, and the Russian Federation. The remaining executive directorships go to those elected by the remaining members, geographically divided into "constituencies." Winners hold office for two years.

Finally, the twenty-four-member International Monetary and Financial Committee (IMFC) advises the Board of Governors. It convenes twice yearly, generally in fall before the Board's Annual Meeting and again in spring. It reports to and counsels governors on matters related to management of the international system. States with Executive Board appointment power each have a representative on the IMFC, as does each constituency that elects a member to the Executive Board. The Committee allows different international institutions, including the World Bank, to observe its meetings.

Weighted voting and unequal appointment prerogatives show that members wield different levels of influence. Many less developed states argue the Fund should equalize voting rights, giving them greater voice and representation, to democratize the organization, and to make it more responsive. States holding greater power note that they represent a larger share of the world's economy and that decision making should reflect that. In addition, as the largest contributors, they argue they have the right to direct use of their resources. Institutional (re)form and (re)distribution of power, with their concomitant implications for policy change, provide some of the Fund's most contentious debates.

## Operations

As noted above, the IMF provides loans to members. Most funds come from state quotas. Members must provide a quarter of their quota in a widely accepted currency, such as the dollar or euro, or Special Drawing Rights (explained below). This is the gold tranche, so called because members originally had to provide gold. Generally, they pay remaining tranches in national currencies. Depending on the loan type, states may borrow some multiple of their quota, in any currency, with increasing restrictions the more they borrow. Given the limited size of many states' quotas, this represents a very small credit facility.

Initially, most international transactions were in US dollars or gold, so members borrowed dollars from the Fund. Given the US economy's size, it could generate enough currency for domestic spending

and still provide sufficient liquidity externally. Over time, however, the United States printed so many dollars that some feared a loss in value and sought another reserve currency. To remove artificial limits set by gold, and to reduce pressure on the dollar, in 1969, the Fund developed Special Drawing Rights (SDRs).

These international reserve assets have no physical form; they simply represent a bookkeeping entry in members' accounts in proportion to their quotas. States may use SDRs to settle accounts bilaterally and with some international institutions. SDRs are a "basket currency"—a mix of the European Union's euro, the British pound, the Japanese yen, and the US dollar. Because it is not traded, the IMF determines its value based on daily market prices for constituent currencies. Every five years, the IMF reviews its composition to ensure it represents international currency usage.

Over time, the Fund developed several types of loans, or "facilities." These include Stand-By Arrangements, tied to the Fund's original mission—supporting states through short-term, balance-of-payment deficits. They usually last one to one-and-a-half years. In 1963, the IMF established a Compensatory Financing Facility to help cushion producers and consumers of cereals against price fluctuations. Its terms are similar to those of Stand-By Arrangements. The Fund created a new facility, the Extended Fund Facility, in 1974, to help members with problems beyond short-term balance-of-payment challenges. These loans extend up to three years. Finally, in 1997, the IMF created the Supplemental Reserve Facility to make large-scale, short-term loans to restore market confidence. None of these are concessional, that is, borrowers pay market interest rates, and in some cases, a surcharge, or lending fee. The IMF also provides loans on an emergency basis to members that have suffered natural disaster or armed conflict. These may have subsidized interest rates, and borrowers have five years, at the most, to repay them.

The above differ from loans made under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF), available to nearly eighty low-per-capita-income members. These have interest rates of 0.5%, and generally extend to between five and ten years. Borrowers must prepare Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers that outline concrete steps and reforms to which they commit, to achieve the goals agreed upon with the IMF. According to the Fund, this process ensures country "ownership" of the plan and facilitates broad public participation, which privileges the state's own priorities. Finally, the IMF notes that these Papers strengthen governance, transparency, accountability, and management of public resources. As well, they

consider the plan's impact on society and poverty, generally. As discussed below, conditions attached to IMF loans are extremely controversial.

In addition to the loans based on quotas, the IMF may borrow, if it finds its own resources inadequate. In 1962, it founded the General Arrangements to Borrow (GAB), with eleven participants, including Switzerland, a non-IMF member (Saudi Arabia also has an associated arrangement). The IMF borrows from GAB members at market rates. Originally, only GAB states could borrow GAB funds, but that no longer holds. Still, GAB states must approve these loans. Additionally, in 1997, the IMF set up the New Arrangements to Borrow (NAB) with twenty-six participants. NAB funds are for alleviation of extraordinary threats to the international system, beyond what IMF resources alone can handle. While quotas provide a lending base of about \$311 billion, these arrangements give the IMF access to another \$50 billion.

## Evolution

As states gained independence in the post-war period, Fund membership came to reflect vastly different levels of economic development. Rather than temporary deficits, many members suffered long-term shortfalls. Thus, the IMF shifted focus from short-term liquidity to structural changes that address chronic balance-of-payments problems.

In the late 1960s, the exchange rate system came under pressure. Some states, especially France, doubting the dollar's future value, began demanding gold. The "dollar overhang," more dollars than gold to back them, led Washington unilaterally to end convertibility and devalue the dollar, in 1971. This disrupted the fixed value of many currencies.

This, together with oil price shocks in 1973 and 1979, strained the international system. Price hikes meant a dramatic increase in dollar flows, as usually oil was dollar-denominated. It also meant non-oil-producing states scrambled to purchase this vital resource. Often, producers' dollars ended up in US banks, which then lent them to non-producing states to buy oil. Even some producer states borrowed heavily, anticipating continued high oil prices and thus, easy repayment.

Prices of oil, as well as other commodities, fell in the early 1980s, leaving debtors in an untenable situation. In 1982, Mexico informed Washington it could not service its foreign debt; technically, it defaulted. Mexico was the first of many less developed states caught in the "debt trap."

Commercial banks sought to reduce their exposure. They rushed to minimize exposure by ending new loans, which plummeted in the 1980s. The withdrawal of private capital forced debtors to turn to public lenders, including the IMF and the World Bank. The Fund responded with loans and restructuring programs that often mandated conditions including economic reform. These Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) usually required that borrowers enact neo-liberal economic policies, including reduction of state involvement and regulation of the economy, especially removal of obstacles to foreign trade and investment.

As noted above, the IMF defends these conditions as necessary for economic health, and as safeguards to ensure loan repayment. While the Fund praises “country ownership,” of the Letters of Intent that precede loans, others criticize the commitments required as formulaic. They argue requirements reflect the Washington Consensus (i.e., preferences of the United States and its allies) rather than the particular needs of borrowers. Further, they condemn the agreements as IMF-crafted, with limited input from citizens of borrowing states, which denies voice to the population affected by conditionality. They also point to significant social costs from governmental spending reductions. Critics argue that cuts affect health, education, and nutrition programs, which limits future development. As well, public protests against the social, political, and economic costs of SAPs often make them difficult to implement.

The debt crisis prompts other concerns. The IMF now acknowledges that some indebted states never will be able to make repayments. Rather than a process of debt rescheduling and failure, the World Bank, together with the IMF, launched the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC). This brings together public and private lenders with governments of the poorest states, to work out agreements to cancel a portion of debt, in exchange for state fulfillment of certain conditions. These include the usual neo-liberal requirements of reducing the size of the state sector, opening the state’s economy to foreign goods and capital, and reducing regulations. As well, states in the program must reform economies and governments to make them more transparent, less open to corruption. An additional provision, meant to address ingrained poverty, is that funds that would have gone to debt servicing and repayment go to social spending instead. HIPC has a number of pre-conditions before debtors may begin negotiations for debt cancellation. These requirements have been difficult for many potentially eligible states to meet. As a result, not all candidate states have been able to complete the process of qualifying.

Debtor states with greater resources may work through the Sovereign Debt Restructuring Mechanism (SDRM), created in 2002. This gathers a debtor’s multiple creditors and organizes “orderly” restructuring encompassing all foreign liabilities. The SDRM eases negotiations, preventing a single minority creditor from stopping a deal acceptable to the majority. Borrowing states want to see debt cancellation, as well as restructuring, included in these negotiations. Many argue that the citizens of debtor states, who ultimately repay the loans, deserve representation in the SDRM.

A coalition of religious groups, development Non-Governmental Organizations, and labor groups—organized as Jubilee 2000—took up the borrowing states’ cause. They pushed for international debt forgiveness. Citing Leviticus 25, they reiterated the Biblical call for remission of all obligations, every fifty years. People from more than one hundred countries have signed petitions supporting debt cancellation. Jubilee 2000 argues that debt rescheduling, reduction, and conditionality cannot guarantee social justice, especially the disproportionate burden repayment places on the poor. Its “Breaking the Chains of Debt” campaign has helped publicize this issue.

Jubilee 2000 and others also have raised the matter of “odious” debt, that is, loans to dictators (e.g., Saddam Hussein), used for their private benefit. Many ask, why hold the citizenry, who neither borrowed the money, nor benefited from it, responsible for repayment? Many argue for the, at least, shared responsibility of lenders, maintaining they have a moral and ethical obligation to lend only to legitimate governments.

Such issues, together with the IMF’s failures in addressing the Asian currency crisis of 1997, the Russian Federation’s 1998 default, and Argentina’s 2001 economic crisis, ensure continuation of this debate. Moreover, larger globalization discussions integrate these concerns. Sharp divides over the IMF among states, leaders, international institutions, and activists remain, with little resolution in sight.

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**See also Debt: Impact on Development; Debt: Relief Efforts; Development History and Theory; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); Neoliberalism; Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)**

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## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM)

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) was initially founded in 1951 as an outgrowth of the International Migration Conference sponsored by the United States and Belgium at Brussels. This conference initially focused on the study of migration movements in Europe, and the permanent organization established to study and to address these movements was known as the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM). ICEM's work gradually began to include study of migration issues and program activities beyond the scope of Europe. Accordingly, in 1980 ICEM changed its name to the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM) to more accurately reflect the increasingly global nature of its operations. In 1989 its name was changed once again to its current designation, the International Organization for Migration. The work of the IOM includes response to migration and refugee emergencies as well as the relationship between development and migration.

### Refugee Resettlement to Development

In its first decade ICEM focused primarily on the processing of refugees, displaced persons, and economic migrants from Europe to other countries. In the aftermath of World War II, Europe was inundated by displaced persons owing to the devastation and disruption of the war. The emergence of the Cold War led to further refugee and migration flows from Eastern into Western Europe, notably during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. ICEM worked to find countries of resettlement for such refugees, provided

medical attention, processed international documents, and arranged for transportation of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons so that they might find permanent settlement in other countries. In its first decade of existence it assisted more than a million migrants. In this work, ICEM closely cooperated with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), other UN agencies, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Although the focus of ICEM's work continued to be Europe, its involvement with refugee resettlement programs brought it into contact with governments throughout the world, and the impact of migration on development arose as a matter of concern. In 1964, ICEM initiated a program in Latin America designed to recruit and place highly qualified European migrants in Latin American countries needing their specialized expertise. As a matter of policy, ICEM saw the importance of matching migrants with professional skills with developing countries in need of such skills to enhance their economic development. As many more developing countries gained their independence in the 1960s and 1970s, ICEM expanded its Migration for Development Program, adding a special Return of Talent Program for Latin America, which encouraged talented Latin American citizens to return to the region, thereby strengthening to pool of talent so desperately needed in several Latin American countries. These Migration for Development Programs, including the Return of Talent Program, were subsequently extended to Africa in 1983 and Asia in 1985. In the early 1980s, ICEM, now known as ICM, participated in the first and second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA I and II), at which the impact of refugee and returnee movements on the development of receiving countries was discussed. In 1990, when ICM became the IOM, it operated programs in Europe, Latin America, Africa, South Asia, and Indochina with assistance reaching 5 million people.

### Contemporary Activities

In keeping with its traditional two-pronged focus on emergency assistance to migrants in special need, IOM continues to offer essential services to migrants fleeing from civil conflict, disasters, and general economic hardship. In 1990–1991, for instance, it returned migrants displaced by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, it assisted about eight hundred thousand displaced Kurds. With the political disruptions in Yugoslavia and former states of the Soviet Union, IOM participated in special

emergency programs to reunify families separated by the events in Yugoslavia, and it offered assistance to former Soviet Republics that faced widespread and large migration movements owing to the changes of government and to complicated demographic realities related to minority populations. In Africa, IOM successfully repatriated half a million refugees in Mozambique in 1993 and it assisted a quarter of a million Rwandan refugees in 1994. In subsequent years, its programs assisted Chechnyans, victims of Hurricane Mitch in Honduras, refugees from Kosovo, and displaced persons in East Timor. Its work extended to victims of earthquakes in India, internally displaced persons in Afghanistan, and refugees returning to Sierra Leone. By 2000, IOM assistance to migrants exceeded 11 million people.

While emergency situations continue to draw the attention of IOM, the organization continues to be mindful of how economic development issues stimulate migration, and how migration affects development. This work includes promotion of the study of migration. To this end, IOM publishes numerous journals and reports. Its journal *International Migration* is a leading publication in the academic study of migration and it also publishes a quarterly journal, *Migration*, on its work, as well as *IOM News*, in an effort to promote wider understanding of migration issues. It also issues reports and publishes books on a wide variety of migration issues. IOM works with governments to train officials responsible for dealing with migrants and refugees. It promotes the study and facilitation of labor migration programs, including the ongoing operation of its Return of Talent Program. It promotes the effective reintegration of refugees and returnees to their countries of origin in post-emergency settings. It helps governments to develop appropriate border control, including counter-trafficking and counter-smuggling policies. IOM programs, then, are aimed first and foremost at the welfare of migrants themselves, but the organization works with governments to explore ways in which migration can be channeled to enhance the prosperity and development of the countries of migration.

Although not formally part of the UN system, IOM is headquartered in Geneva, where it works closely with UN agencies dedicated to humanitarian, human rights, and development-related programs. Migration in all of its forms has become a major issue in international relations, and IOM serves as an important venue where governments, international agencies, NGOs, and academics can share knowledge and information for the benefit of migrants and of nations.

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**See also Migration; Refugees**

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## INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION (IPPF)

The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) was established at the Third International Conference on Planned Parenthood in Bombay, India, in 1952. National family planning associations from India, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, Singapore, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, and West Germany were determined to create a global federation that would have the strength to combat cultures, traditions, laws, and religious attitudes that inhibited a woman's right to control her own fertility. The result is a non-governmental agency that seeks to increase access to quality reproductive health services for under-served populations worldwide.

Starting with just eight member organizations, by 2005 the IPPF included 149 member associations in every region of the world. The IPPF also works in sixteen countries—Equatorial Guinea, Malawi, Seychelles, Sao Tome and Principe, Zimbabwe, Oman, Somalia, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, Tuvalu, Serbia and Montenegro, Tajikistan, Macedonia, and Afghanistan—where there is no local planned parenthood organization. Millions of IPPF volunteers, particularly in the developing world, have assisted IPPF employees in five priority areas: adolescents, HIV/AIDS, abortion, access, and advocacy. IPPF activists attempt to enable people to make informed choices about their sexual lives and to receive care, counseling, diagnosis, and treatment. IPPF maintains forty thousand service outlets that provide counseling, gynecological care, HIV/AIDS-related services, diagnosis and treatment of sexually transmitted infections, mother and child health, and abortion-related services.

Planned Parenthood health centers offer a wide range of services that include family planning counseling and birth control; pregnancy testing and counseling; gynecological care, Pap tests, and breast exams; emergency contraception; HIV testing and counseling; medically accurate sexuality education; screening and treatment for sexually transmitted infections; infertility screening and counseling voluntary

sterilization for women and men; reproductive medical exams for men; safer sex counseling; abortions or abortion referrals; adoption referrals; and referrals for specialized care. Planned Parenthood health centers also offer a wide range of programs that include programs for parents and teens designed to enhance learning about sexuality within the family; presentations on sexual and reproductive health issues at schools, places of worship, and community centers; and workshops and training seminars for teachers, physicians, nurse practitioners, social workers, and other health care professionals. In addition, Planned Parenthood health centers offer a wide range of information resources such as pamphlets, books, newsletters, and videotapes on a variety of topics.

Rapid population growth and highly populated communities contribute to the destruction of forests, misuse of agricultural land, expanding deserts, pollution, and the depletion of non-renewable resources. According to IPPF officials, providing people with access to the information and services they need to regulate their own fertility can help reduce population growth and thus help ease the pressure on the environment.

The IPPF, which is based in London, England, is divided into six geographical associations: the Western Hemisphere; Europe; the Arab World; Africa; South Asia; and Oceania, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Western Hemisphere Region (IPPF/WHR), which was established in 1954, is the only region of the IPPF that is a separately incorporated entity. IPPF/WHR works primarily through a network of forty-six member associations in North America, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Each member association is a private organization established to supply family planning and other related health services according to local needs, customs, traditions, and laws. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA), founded by birth control advocate Margaret Sanger in 1916, is the IPPF/WHR member association in the United States. The PPFA is the largest member association and is a separately incorporated entity. The PPFA does not receive funds from IPPF/WHR and is the only member of the IPPF/WHR that has its own international program for family planning.

The Planned Parenthood Federation of America—International (PPFA International) provides family planning education and services in the developing world. PPFA International's Global Partners program brings US-based Planned Parenthood associations together with family planning associations in the developing world in professional partnerships to share expertise, experience, and ideas. As of 2005,

PPFA International had projects in the following countries: Albania, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Cameroon, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Guyana, India, Ireland, Jamaica, Kenya, Latvia, Malawi, Mexico, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Russia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Vietnam, and Zambia.

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**See also Children and Development; HIV/AIDS; Population Growth: Impact on Development; Public Health; Women: Role in Development**

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## INTERNATIONAL RICE RESEARCH INSTITUTE (IRRI)

The International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) (<http://www.irri.org>) at Los Baños, Philippines, is a nonprofit research and training institution dedicated to the sustainable development of rice cultivation. The IRRI's research aims at increasing rice yields per acre while protecting the environment and preserving natural resources. The centre was established in 1960 by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in cooperation with the government of the Philippines and took up its research work in 1962 under founding director, Robert F. Chandler. The institute's headquarters, including its laboratories and training facilities on a 250-hectare experimental farm, are situated on the main campus of the University of the Philippines Los Baños about sixty km south of Manila. Additionally, the IRRI maintains regional offices in more than ten countries around the globe. The IRRI is one of sixteen nonprofit research institutes making up the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR). The centre receives funding from twenty-one different countries and

organisations such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), and the European Commission.

According to recent studies conducted by the FAO for the International Year of Rice 2004, rice is the staple crop for more than 3 billion people. Today, China, India, and Indonesia are the largest producers of rice, harvesting 166, 134, and 52 million metric tons of rice, respectively, in the year 2003. Rice is the predominant staple food for seventeen countries in Asia, nine countries in the Americas, and eight countries in Africa, providing about 20% of the world's dietary energy supply (compared to 19% provided by wheat and 5% by maize) (source: FAO). Following the centre's mission statement, it is the IRRI's prime goal to "improve the well-being of present and future generations of rice farmers and consumers, particularly those with low incomes." The institute seeks to achieve this primarily by breeding improved rice varieties with higher yields per acre. Furthermore, the IRRI is dedicated to the collection and preservation of information related to rice and rice cultivation. The centre has composed the comprehensive and frequently amended International *Bibliography of Rice Research*; maintains the Rice Knowledge Bank (<http://www.knowledgebank.irri.org>) and RiceWeb (<http://www.riceweb.org>); and publishes major research results, news, and its annual report in its biannual journal, *Rice Today*.

During the 1950s, the world community started to become aware of the ongoing "population explosion" and the food supply problem connected to the demographic development. The Rockefeller Foundation had already invested in agricultural research in Mexico during the 1940s and had succeeded in considerably increasing the local wheat and maize yield. Inspired by the Mexican success story, Warren Weaver and J. George Harrar submitted a paper to the Rockefeller Foundation in 1954 suggesting the establishment of an international rice research institute in Asia. Delayed due to the lack of additional investors, the IRRI was established in 1960 by the Rockefeller Foundation together with the Ford Foundation and the government of the Philippines. Three years later, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations established the *Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de Maiz y Trigo* (CIMMYT) in Mexico based on the earlier research in the region. Together, the IRRI and the CIMMYT became the most important carriers of the Green Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. When research commenced at the IRRI in 1961–1962, the first goal was the breeding of a new variety of rice with a higher yield per acre that is more resistant against pests and more susceptible to artificial fertilizers. IRRI scientists developed an efficient method of rice cross-breeding

and presented the high-yielding rice variety IR8 in 1965. The improved varieties IR5 and IR20 were released in 1967 and 1969, respectively. In cooperation with national agricultural programs, the IRRI managed to spread the first high-yielding varieties (HYV) among Asian rice cultivators and thus brought the Green Revolution to Asia. Together with an expansion of the cultivated area, the introduction of the HYVs led to an increase of Asian rice production from 240 million tons in 1966 to 530 million tons in 1999. Since the mid-1980s the IRRI has been actively involved in genetic engineering and tries to improve the yield and pest resistance of rice by genetically modifying the plant.

In the 1980s the IRRI began its research on rice cultivation and sustainable development. IRRI started to invest in research on organic fertilisers and natural pest control with the help of insects and spiders. Today, integrated pest control (without the use of insecticides), organic fertilising, and the general sustainable development of rice cultivation rank high on IRRI's agenda. However, Green Revolution critics frequently accuse the IRRI of having worsened the situation of rice farmers and the ecosystem with the promotion of high-yielding varieties. The early HYVs in particular demanded a large supply of water and a constant input of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Thus critics identify the agrochemical industry, large petrochemical companies, and large landowners as the main beneficiaries of the Green Revolution. The IRRI's involvement in genetic engineering since the mid-1980s is similarly criticised. The centre is accused of reducing the genetic diversity of rice and advocating the monoculture of hybrid rice varieties. Since the centre's inauguration, multinational chemical corporations have been among the chief donors to the IRRI. Critics accuse the institute of supporting the genetic patent policy of these major agrochemical companies.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### TELECOMMUNICATION UNION (ITU)

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the world's oldest international organization, has been a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) since 1947. It is a forum within which governments and the private sector can work together to coordinate the operation of telecommunication networks and services and advance the development of communications technology. Membership in the ITU is open to governments, that may join as member states, and private organizations, such as carriers, equipment manufacturers, and regional and international telecommunication organizations, that can join as sector members. The ITU's membership includes virtually all the world's nations and over 650 sector members.

The telecommunication age began in 1844 when Samuel Morse sent his first message over a telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington, DC. Within a decade, telegraphy was available to the general public, but since each country used a different system, telegraph lines did not cross national borders. Messages had to be transcribed and translated at frontiers and then re-sent over the telegraph network of the neighboring country. In 1865, to simplify the process, twenty European nations signed the first International Telegraph Convention in Paris, which resulted in the International Telegraph Union (ITU). Following the invention of wireless telegraphy in 1896, the first International Radiotelegraph Conference was held in 1906 in Berlin, which resulted in the first International Radiotelegraph Convention (IRC). By 1927, the IRC was monitoring the allocation of frequency bands to the radio services in existence at the time. In 1932, the ITU and the IRC merged to form the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which was responsible for monitoring all forms of wire and wireless communication. In 1947, after the Second World War, the ITU, with the aim of modernizing the organization, became a specialized agency of the UN. In 1948, the ITU's headquarters were moved from Bern to Geneva, Switzerland.

In 1989, at the ITU conference held in Nice, ITU officials vocalized the importance of providing

technical assistance to the developing world. To achieve this goal, the ITU established the Telecommunication Development Bureau to improve communications in the developing regions of the world. To meet the challenges of the rapidly expanding world of information exchange on the World Wide Web, the ITU insisted on the need for Internet domain names that reflect the geographical and functional nature of the Internet. The ITU has sought to make the Internet available to all people on a nondiscriminatory basis, especially in the Third World. The role of the ITU in the standardization of emerging technologies becomes more important as the world becomes more reliant on telecommunication technologies for communication, commerce, and access to information.

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## INTER-RELIGIOUS RELATIONS

The period of the eighteenth century Enlightenment saw faith in God challenged by faith in reason and rationality. The rise of urban civilisation and the development of science was linked with the collapse of traditional religious ideas. In Europe, secularism became the dominant world view, marginalising religion, increasingly rendering it a private affair. In the rest of the world, colonialism took with it missionaries who declared other faiths as superstition and placed Christianity as the apotheosis of civilised society. Post-World War II development policies saw religious practice as something to be removed if it hindered progress. Now, in the age of globalisation, there is a rise of religious nationalism and a public seeking of spiritual fulfillment. New religious communities have grown as international communication and migration create culturally diverse centres in which sacred space and practice need to be negotiated. Modernity's associated doctrine of plurality has introduced a new phase of inter-religious relations.

### Defining Religion

Human history is in part a record of the quest for religious truth and certainty. Religions and religious

rites have emerged in all cultures in history. This is no surprise, for the religious, spiritual dimension is part of our makeup as human beings (Cook 1994, p. 408).

There is an inherent difficulty in defining religion: it has an aspect of revelation and an aspect of interpretation within every culture. But generally it can be argued that its function is to provide a sense of meaning and order; to provide boundaries to what is ultimately “good” and “true” as points of reference for human action. Religion provides answers for questions about our origins and the reasons for universal dilemmas such as suffering, death, and love. Most religions provide a means for people to deal with their mortality through notions of a non-physical continuity or renewal. Religion provides both limits and plausibility structures, that is, the social reinforcement of particular boundaries, and the knowledge and practices that are possible within them (Berger 1969). Religion has a sacred element, which Madan (1992) defines as particular phenomena, a kind of knowledge, everyday practices, and a typology of social roles, and it can also be linked to the political sphere around questions of legitimacy and authority.

Religion exists in a social milieu. It is a tacit marker of community and consensus about the right way to act. From the point of view of western philosophy, religion has been identified as a projection of needs (Feuerbach); Marx called it the opium of the people, that is, a sign of oppression; Kierkegaard argued that it is passionate, an individual discovering his or her real existential platform from which to make a leap of faith. Two of the most influential writers in European thought on the role of religion in social life were Emile Durkheim and Max Weber.

Durkheim (1965) believed that inevitably social organisation results in the expression of its underlying aspirations or ideal elements in religious symbols. A society’s notion of itself necessitates a particular idea or form of God, and religion therefore is a social manifestation of the sacred. He felt that religion is a set of practices rather than a set of beliefs—the belief only makes sense through ritual, which reinforces collective sentiment and social integration. Society is the source for such common practices and therefore is the source of religion. Durkheim takes a very functionalist view, that is, only looking at religion’s function in society and not substantively examining some of the associated effects of religiosity such as faith. His prediction that science would eventually overtake religion has never really come to pass despite a much-heralded faith in science in the modern world, perhaps because humanity has never fulfilled his requirement of providing science with a moral base.

Weber also emphasised the essential relationship of religion to society—there was no society without religion. His famous thesis, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958), drew the conclusion that Protestant doctrine underpinned the development of capitalist economics by sanctioning new behaviour, including investment, money lending, and the deferral of gratification.

The key to the link between Protestant ethics and the development of capitalism was in rationalising existing (Catholic) religious practice, that is, removing some of what were considered superstitious elements, and developing what was considered a rational theology, system of ideas, and practices. Weber suggested that the Reformation began this process of the rationalisation of ethical life, which then spread out into the economic sphere. The motivating force acting on the Protestant community was religious in nature but the offshoot was economic activity. The Protestant (Calvinist) would plan the activities of the day to ensure his or her life was a model of good actions.

Weber’s ideas have been critiqued over time. There were other transformations occurring in Europe such as the establishment of accounting systems that supported economic development. He is also widely regarded as being too Euro-centric. Amin (1989) argues that the idea that capitalism could only have developed out of a Christian movement is a myth designed to support colonialism. According to Amin, some of the Arabic states were beginning to develop sophisticated economies but their development was hindered by European intervention.

In the case of China, the belief that Confucianism permeated every aspect of Chinese life and obstructed its capitalist development has been questioned by researchers such as Lufrano (1997). He suggested that merchants, retailers, and small business owners from the sixteenth century began to shrug off the hegemony of a Confucian elite and reappropriate Confucian values in their own way, while still accepting the role of loyal, stable citizens. This argument is the basis for recent analysis of the rapid economic development of the industrial Tigers in East Asia, and the thesis that there are in fact Asian values that can underpin economic activity in this region.

The contradiction associated with Weber’s trajectory of economic development today is that once capitalism had become established it no longer needed religion as a motivating force. Once the spirit of capitalism had permeated other areas of life and had in turn rationalised and established practical structures and institutions, then religion was no longer needed. This is the heart of Bell’s (1976) cultural contradiction of capitalism. The early European capitalists were not interested in wealth per se but in leading a good life.

They became rich as a consequence of abstinence, discipline, control, and good investment. In contemporary society, capitalism encourages debt, consumption, and loss of control. Weber himself was very pessimistic about the impact of rationality in European society. He spoke of an “iron cage” of bureaucracy and a feeling of “disenchantment.”

Later twentieth-century writers speak of religion becoming invisible, emigrating from churches, which are now only relics, to new social forms. Personal identification diverges more and more from institutionalised religion, to become something more private and personal. Bellah (1965) speaks of the development of a civil religion, that is, great traditions remain but the religion that plays a public role in society is a diluted, generalised set of tenets without any particular consequences.

This removal of religion from the public to the private sphere is also described as secularisation. This process, linked with rationalisation, was a major foundation stone of development policies that were translocated to the Majority World, including countries with vastly different religious systems.

### **Religion and Development**

The effect of the spread of development and global religions such as Christianity on small-scale societies ranges from the denigration and virtual replacement of local religions, to their syncretic hybridisation, to a resurgence, as shall be seen later in this essay, to combat the ill-effects of development and globalisation. The contact between European traders and military forces from the nineteenth century even led to the creation of new religions such as the Cargo Cults found in Melanesia. Adherents believed that in the new millennium the spirits of their ancestors would return to distribute cargoes of modern goods.

In many cultures, and subsets of cultures, prior to the introduction of systematic modernisation, systems of religious order were integral to everyday life. For example, research into the peasant economy in a Malay village showed a link between economic and social units within structurally defined groups of kin and community affiliations or through other institutions such as religion. These units were in other ways autonomous, ad hoc, informal, and invisible, often forgotten in the development debate. Generally, single-purpose, small-scale, and confined to rural areas to deal with the uncertainties of peasant life, they could include informal lending institutions sometimes based in temples or other religious institutions (Scott 1977).

The impact of first colonialism and later development on processes of rationalisation and denigration

of local religions, and subsequently the dislocation of social organisation, is highlighted if the links between social practice and religion are emphasised. Ways of communication, perceptions of the individual and his or her relationship to the collective, economic and political relationships, time and space, defining boundaries of morality and permissible and non-permissible behaviours, limits and regulations on consumption and production, concepts of justice and punishment, and the use of technology and knowledge can be determined, influenced and reinforced by religious practice and edict.

The process of modernisation saw the reorientation of these boundaries, including boundaries of the sacred, and what is and isn't market inalienable with regard to religious iconography. Development founded on rationality and the renunciation of the metaphysical placed religion outside the field of legitimation of the social order. It proposed an ending that was based entirely on material progression and excluded the spiritual dimension. This linear, monochronic concept of time opposed the polychronic circular understandings of Buddhist and Hindu philosophy, for example.

Development involved a rationalisation of goal setting and goal attainment, and the reexamination of cultural symbols, which in traditional societies tended to have strong religious affiliations (Bellah 1965). In particular, modernism shifted the centre of authority to the individual. The increase in control over the environment included the inner environment of the self, which was also at odds with the communal nature of many religious practices and beliefs. Buddhism is posed with a serious dilemma when faced with a modernity that is based on the “I” as the centre of the social world. Buddhist philosophy suggests that there is no self, no soul. A separate individual is only an intellectual idea.

Secularisation saw the increased removal of religion from the public to the private sphere. In Western society, foundational systems such as politics, economics, and justice do not have overtly religious underpinnings, although it can be argued that justice in particular is founded on Christian moral codes. This is a contentious issue for jurisprudence in contemporary multicultural societies where religious law comes into conflict with civil law, or for human rights activists in countries where religious law opposes the universal declaration of human rights. When codes governing state authority have been secularised, religion no longer functions as a supporter of state decisions, but it still functions as a supporter of the existing identity of an individual claiming exemption from a civil law. Truth, once associated with religion, now became associated with the state and its machinery, and with the idea of development.

Industrialisation, urbanisation, and social plurality have increased the process of secularisation. Highly differentiated compartments for work, social, and religious practices have developed. Some writers declare that time, and even capitalism itself, have become the new gods, and work the new basis for authority and identity. The individual becomes responsible for moral decision making, increasing the regard for the worth and the rights of the individual, and increasing the importance given to concepts such as civil justice to replace communal faith.

As Durkheim predicted to some degree, faith has shifted to science and reason. Development was regarded as a *soteriology*—a doctrine of salvation. According to Bellah (1965), for historic religion to maximise its contribution to modernisation there was a need to:

- Rephrase religious symbols to give meaning to worldly pursuits;
- Channel motivation from religious discipline into worldly pursuits;
- Contribute to national integration but not dominate or sanction as an ultimate;
- Give positive meaning and highly value, that is, sanction, long-term social development as a goal;
- Contribute to the idea of the responsible and disciplined person; and
- Adopt a new role to balance secularism—but in a private, voluntaristic form.

If modernisation was to be successful, religion had to make this transition, or withdraw and allow secular ideologies to take over.

Berger (1969) argues that the decline in religious belief comes about not so much because of scientific rationality and secularism but because of rising plurality, that is, rising challenges and subsequent doubts about existing structures. Modernisation brought with it a plethora of ideas, institutions, and of gods even. The church or temple became just one ideology among others and as an institution it had to justify its existence even in Western countries. Globalisation has heightened this sense of diversity.

A major theoretical response to plurality has been post-modernity; the argument that there is no meta-narrative, no universal or overarching truth. This can engender extreme cultural relativism, that is, what is true and valued is only relevant in a particular cultural context. It can also engender extreme fundamentalism as a search for meaning turns people back to (neo) traditions. Other responses to modernity, none of which are mutually exclusive, include the construction of a reformist vision of traditional religion, compatible with modernity, or the use of modern methods to

defend traditional values, on the grounds of rationalising of means not goals (Bellah 1965). For example, the rise of the Hindu political party, the Bharatiya Janata Parishad (the Indian People's Party, BJP), to power in India meant that they had to reversion some of the language of their rhetoric when faced with the realities of global economics.

There is a tension between spiritual values and economic development even in the West. It is what Bell (1976) describes as a crisis of the self as religious beliefs and values are eroded. Bell claims that a post-industrial society cannot provide a transcendent ethic, therefore there is a need for the resurrection of traditional faith and the restoration of continuity, humility, and compassion for others. This is perhaps a utopian view, although the numbers of Westerners seeking solace in Eastern religion and new sects is probably an indication of the human need for a spiritual dimension (there will be an estimated 67% growth in new religions between 1993 and 2006). Bell has been accused of being a neo-conservative and nostalgic, however his ideas that traditional religious symbols be resurrected is apparent in Majority World countries as a means to reclaim control over the development process.

### **Inter-Religious Relations in the Global Era**

Globalisation (in particular the elements of international communication and migration) has brought religions increasingly in contact with each other. On one hand, there is a movement to use religion as a means to revitalise societies that have been decimated by rationality. This includes western societies. Berger (2001) argues there is a process of "Easternisation" occurring, a movement from East to West. The spread of Buddhism, the growth of communities based on Hindu teachings, the adoption of Islam by marginalised communities particularly in urban centres in the West, pose a challenge to the established Christian church. These cross-cultural challenges also feed into a hardening of boundaries. In the melange of globalisation, identity politics has gained an ascendancy, and religion and religious symbols have played a part in defining nationalist, at times extreme, opposition to the West and the processes of globalisation.

### **Religious Nationalism**

The theorist Samuel Huntington predicted increasing clashes between civilisations, which he delineated by



using, among other elements, their major belief systems. Oppositional movements against westernisation have taken the form of religious nationalism or oppositional movements against central bureaucratic forms such as the state or targets associated with globalisation such as transnational corporations. Examples of such movements include the Khalistani (Sikh) movement in India in the 1980s, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East and South Asia, Jewish fundamentalism in Israel, the rise to power of the BJP in India (the political wing of the Hindu right), and the rise of Christian fundamentalists in the United States. There is an increased importance of links with the global diasporic community in many of these examples. Religious nationalism does not know boundaries in the same way as the state, and new communication technology means that a global community based on religio-cultural affiliations is possible.

Juergensmeyer (1993) documents the rise of religious nationalism in response to what is perceived as a degradation of values and beliefs by the imposition of the westernised state. The modern state is the ultimate secular body and all other markers of identity were expected to be subsumed by it. Nationalism, like religion, is an expression of faith, identity, and loyalty to a larger community, exuding moral legitimacy, that is, a source of values, beliefs, and behaviours (Juergensmeyer 1993). But the state and religion are in fact competing ideologies of order. They both define a “right way” of being in the world and orientate individuals to social organisation that is not always synonymous. It is a dilemma for the state that it must find a way to reappropriate or accommodate religion while still being secular. In many cases, the rhetoric of religious nationalism is of waging a struggle against neocolonialism, with the aim of reinstating a religious order.

With its often confrontational approach to the United States, fundamentalism in the Islamic community is the focus of much debate in terms of poor relations and misunderstanding between religious ideologies and practices. Fundamentalism itself is a loaded term, a western concept, whereas according to Juergensmeyer’s research, for some Islamic religious nationalists there is no clear distinction between religion and politics. Islam is regarded by its proponents in this scenario as a “culturally liberating force.”

The characteristics of religious nationalism include: rejection of secular nationalism and perceptions of Western neocolonialism; the use of religious ideology; and the offering of a religious alternative. The relevance of religion to everyday life and the moral and communal identity of a nation is usually stressed. The underlying reasons for conflict often

involves changes in economic and social order brought about in many cases by modernisation policies, leading to frustrated expectations. The Iranian revolution in the late 1970s that overthrew the more westernised Shah and brought Ayatollah Khomeini to power, is a prime example of this trend.

This opposition is a form of defensiveness, restraining the secularisation of the West, and revitalising local culture by reappropriating religious symbols in new contexts. This reappropriation of culture has also become a mark of localisation in the marketing of global goods, which are now packaged in local frames to be more palatable for consumers. While localisation is critiqued as an extension of the market, the use of religious symbols is to some extent still market inalienable, and therefore these are still powerful when used by religious-based movements.

### **The Revitalisation of Religion**

Bell suggested in the 1970s a return to the unity of the sacred and the secular, in which spirituality will play an integral part in defining “the existential predicaments, the awareness in men [sic] of their finiteness and the inexorable limits to their power . . . and the consequent effort to find a coherent answer to reconcile them to the human condition” (Bell 1976, p. xxix). This again is an idealistic view as it is difficult to assert that even in “traditional” societies the sacred and secular were so united. However, there are religious-based movements currently attempting to at least redress the imbalance between the secular and the spiritual.

While a form of Christianity is said to have played a role in the establishment of capitalism, as noted earlier, its role as a motivating force has become marginalised. Now a full circle appears to have been turned, with Christianity taking on a more radical and syncretic role, again becoming a motivating force this time to undo the damage of maldevelopment. Founded by Gustavo Gutierrez, who rejected the term “development,” the ideas of Liberation Theology have been used throughout Latin America in particular in the 1970s, but also in Africa, Asia, and in the Black community in the US. Gutierrez advocated communities undertake socioeconomic analysis before embarking on critical reflection; liberating the tradition of the Bible that Gutierrez saw as a subversive book; and taking a preferential option for the poor.

The basic idea is that theology can become a corrective. Rather than just a theology of the political order or a new version of a Christian social ethic, it is conceived in the public sphere and becomes a social

medium. It is necessarily political and is an ethic of change rather than order. Liberation theory should rise out of practice, that is, theory should only be verified by its social functions.

Buddhist writers have also used their system of religion to counter what they feel are the ill effects of development. Sulak Sivaraksa has lobbied for the revitalisation of religious institutions such as the temple in Thailand. He argues that larger cultural groupings, such as the religious community, can become a focus for political life. Sivaraksa's translation of development cites four aspects that need to be integrated if it is to be authentic: the culture, spirituality, and the social and economic dimensions of a nation (Sivaraksa 1990). These elements are not mutually exclusive but must be ordered according to a country's particular priorities.

India provides a rich tradition of thought with regard to inter-religious relations and the utilisation of religious resources. It is the birthplace of two of the largest faith systems (Buddhism and Hinduism). It is home to ancient and more recent religions (Jains, Zoroastrians, and Sikhs). It has a Muslim minority that remained after the Islamic Moghal rulers of the Middle Ages departed. And it also has minority populations of Jewish and Christian communities.

With the passing of time there has been evidence of syncreticism—the sight of Shiva lingams in Catholic churches, for example. But there is also a growing voice of dissent from religious extremists opposed to the secular state since its inception in 1947, and to the more recent influx of transnational corporations and western cultural products following economic liberalisation in 1991. The rhetoric of Hindu nationalists increasingly has been one of superiority over what is considered an amoral if not immoral West, particularly represented by the United States, using spiritual and religious behaviour as the yard stick.

The 1990s and early twenty-first century in India have been marred by communal violence and some argue that secularism has failed to make any headway at all (Madan 1992). The rise to power of a Hindu nationalist political party would appear to be linked with people's need for certainty in a period of rapid change, which the state was unable to provide in its secular rhetoric. Much of the rhetoric of Hindu nationalism is in opposition to westernisation or globalisation, again centred on the notion of Hindu values that focus on the family and regulating consumption, as opposed to what is perceived as the materialism and subsequent dysfunction of the West.

As a counterbalance to these more militant voices there are those that wish to rejuvenate India using the cultural resources available to them. The work of Indian writer S. Kappen (1995) outlined his solution

to what he regards as the cultural decay and undermining of identity that has come with modern development. His writings portrayed the position of the divine in contemporary society as an “ungod” because of the role of religion in recolonisation and the monotheism of capital. As a remedy he examined the narratives of dissent in Indian religious traditions, including Buddhism and the medieval Bhakti movement. Kappen stated that there was a need for redefining a sense of the divine more in tune with a true collective vision in which existence could be anchored.

However, like many of the advocates of neo-traditionalism, the vision is idealistic, often relying on ideas of tradition that no longer exist, and not fully encompassing the differences between the philosophy of religion and its practices. Hinduism, for example, is practiced diversely throughout India, with a fundamental impulse to worship, not theorise (Berger 1969). The caste system is problematic as it maintains a social order that ensures a particular sector of society is considered lowly simply by fate. In using cultural resources such as religious symbols in a contemporary context, the distance of time can easily blur the past.

## Conclusion

From the one extreme of cultural imposition has emerged a polarisation: the absolute truth of western modernisation now faces challenges from the absolutism of differently focused religio-cultural claims. The rise of identity politics and a new bout of religious nationalism has seen increased impetus in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries for a genuine ecumenical movement to improve inter-religious understanding. The ecumenical movement is emphasising an interdependence between all things and is often linked with new ideas in the environmental movement that emphasise a kind of eco-spiritualism.

Eck (1993) believes there are three social and political responses to religious diversity: exclusivism (there is no authentic religion but mine), inclusivism (there are other religions but mine is the authoritative one), and pluralism. The first two are implicated in the formation of religious nationalism, and the latter in the formation of real engagement between religions. In each scenario, interpretations will have social and political ramifications.

The search for new terms for a modernity that is not westernisation but is imbued with local religious values as part of the cultural sphere is also part of the task of nationalists and neo-traditionalists. Juergensmeyer (1993) suggests that new forms of the nation-state are

emerging as the state and religion reassess their relationship. His examples include Sri Lanka, India, Iran, Egypt, Algeria, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe. Although vague on how these case studies are different from the modern nation-state, he believes they are creating something new in a synthesis between religion and the secular state, merging cultural identity and the legitimacy of former religiously sanctioned monarchies, and the democratic and organisational structures of contemporary industrial society.

Writers and academics from the Majority World are increasing the available knowledge within development discourse by questioning the motives, methods, and purpose of globalisation. Self-reliance and empowerment programs rooted in religious institutions are representative of the new thoughts and alternatives being devised. New knowledge articulated outside the confines of a monocultural interpretation, using other systems of religious representation and myth, will reinforce the detachment of the power of truth from current global standards.

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**See also Buddhism; Cultural Perceptions; Globalization: Impact on Development; Hinduism; India; Islam; Liberation Theology**

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### INTIFADA

The Arabic term *intifada* is typically translated into English as "uprising." The word refers specifically to the Palestinian uprising against Israeli military occupation of the regions known as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, an occupation that began following the 1967 Six-Day War. The actual translation of the term comes closer to the idea of the "shaking off" or removing of the occupation from these regions.

### The First Intifada (1987–1993) and the Israeli Response

The first *intifada* began in early December 1987 as a spontaneous, grass-roots movement by the Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip against the twenty-year-old Israeli military occupation. Until this point, the occupation had rendered the Palestinian community economically and politically powerless. A lack of citizens' rights, domination by the Israeli political apparatus, and general social malaise well describe the living conditions of the Palestinians during this time.

During the occupation, the political branch of the Palestinian liberation movement was centered outside of western Palestine, first in Jordan, and later Lebanon, and then Tunisia. Thus, while in time, the Palestine Liberation Organization began to play a significant role in the coordination and development of the uprising, most would argue that what made the *intifada* unique was that it represented, for the very first time, a complete and full Palestinian rejection of the Israeli military occupation from *inside* the territories that Israel had conquered and occupied during the 1967 Six-Day War.

Other aspects of the uprising were also unique. The most active Palestinian participants in the *intifada* were young, that is, the *shebab* or Palestinian youth. Moreover, the tactics of the participants were limited primarily to rock throwing, tire burning, and other acts of

protest. Civil disobedience was also employed. While the *intifada* cannot be construed as totally non-violent, the acts by and large were of a non-threatening nature to the Israeli state. Rather, the protesters saw themselves as freedom-fighters fighting against the occupation of their land by outside forces. Their use of rocks, sticks, bottles, and other non-lethal weapons was a result of expedience, and was also symbolic of the “David vs. Goliath” nature of their struggle against the massive strength of the Israeli military forces.

In addition to the use of street protests and repeated confrontations with Israeli soldiers, the *intifada* was also carried out through economic means. The refusal to pay taxes to the Israeli authorities, the holding of general strikes during which Palestinian shops remained closed and shuttered, and the boycotting of Israeli goods (such as *Time* cigarettes, for example) were all used in an attempt to draw attention to the concerns of the Palestinian people living under Israeli military control and economic domination.

The Israeli military response to the Palestinian *intifada* was severe, and disproportionate to the Palestinians’ activities. For example, then Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin suggested during the early days of the uprising that one way of bringing a halt to rock throwing by the Palestinian youth would be to “break their bones.” Such an extreme policy, it was believed, would serve to eventually snuff out any hints of Palestinian resistance; the more severe the punishments meted out, the sooner the *intifada* could be nullified and ultimately extinguished.

Such policies were largely ineffective, however. World public opinion increasingly viewed the Palestinians as underdogs in a conflict in which, historically, Israel had been seen in such a light. Media coverage played a key role in revealing the harsh and at times inhumane treatment of Palestinian youth at the hands of Israeli soldiers. As public opinion began to shift, so too were the Palestinians emboldened to continue their struggle despite the personal risks involved.

The Palestinian *intifada* was not able to sustain itself at the same high level of intensity for long. By the early 1990s, the regularity of the “cat-and-mouse” game played out by young Palestinian rock-throwers and similarly young Israeli soldiers had run its course. At the same time, however, the image of Israel and of the ongoing occupation of the Palestinian territories was severely damaged. It was in this context that a conference was held in Madrid in October 1991 in an effort to bring the Arab and Israeli sides together and, under US auspices, develop a genuine peace process to finally resolve the conflict.

The Madrid meeting led to still further meetings between the two sides, which were arranged secretly in Oslo, Norway. These meetings resulted in the signing

of the Oslo Accords by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, witnessed by US President Bill Clinton, on September 13, 1993, effectively bringing the *intifada* to an end.

It is these Accords that were to have provided a foundation for the eventual end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. From the outset, however, the Oslo Accords were viewed as flawed. While the creation of a Palestinian Authority and the staged withdrawal of Israeli forces from the primary population centers of the West Bank and Gaza did provide the Palestinians with limited autonomy and suggested the eventual creation of a permanent solution to the Palestinian problem—namely the creation of a Palestinian state—the Accords provided only a limited structure within which Palestinian independence might be achieved. In truth, Oslo offered a starting point for independence, but failed to explicitly map out how to move from Israeli occupation to complete Palestinian sovereignty and statehood.

Chief among the obstacles that Oslo failed to resolve were the final status of the disputed city of Jerusalem, the right of Palestinian refugees to return to what is today Israel, the future status of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories following Palestinian independence, and so on. It was these issues that were discussed at length by President Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, and Arafat in the summer of 2000. Camp David II, as this set of meetings came to be known, again failed to resolve any of these issues in a manner that satisfied both sides. This opened the door to yet another uprising, the *al-Aqsa intifada*.

## The al-Aqsa Intifada (2000– )

The *al-Aqsa intifada* derived its name from what was seen as a provocative action by then Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon who, on September 28, 2000, took a well-guarded political contingent to the Temple Mount/al-Haram ash-Sharif where the al-Aqsa mosque is located in a show of Israeli dominance and power. Palestinian riots erupted in Jerusalem in response to this act, and soon spilled over throughout the West Bank and Gaza in a manner similar to the outbreak of the 1987 uprising.

However, the *al-Aqsa intifada* differed from its predecessor in a number of ways. First, this uprising used terror—especially suicide bombings—as its primary tactic. Moreover, most (though certainly not all) such attacks were carried out within Israel itself, not within the occupied Palestinian territories. Perhaps the

most notorious of such actions took place March 27, 2002, with an attack at a Passover *seder* holiday meal in Netanya. Some twenty-two were killed and 140 injured in the attack. Although later attacks at clubs, on buses, and in other public places killed as many or more, this particular attack received a great deal of media attention due to its gruesome nature and timing.

Second, the *al-Aqsa intifada* often took on religious, rather than nationalistic, undertones. Whereas the first *intifada* was fought with the expressed goal of seeking national sovereignty and Palestinian independence, the *al-Aqsa intifada* was often seen to be fought on religious grounds, where the elimination of the foreign, non-Muslim Israeli state from the heart of the Muslim realm (*Dar al-Islam*) was at the center of the new Palestinian struggle. Those who died as a result of suicide bombings during the *al-Aqsa intifada* were seen as *shaheeds*, Muslim martyrs who are to be honored and praised for the sacrifice they have made in striving to cleanse the land of Zionist forces.

As was the case during the first *intifada*, the Israeli response to the second uprising was again severe. Houses throughout the West Bank and Gaza were razed, mass arrests were frequent, and communal punishment was implemented with regularity. And yet, unlike the first *intifada*, world sympathies again shifted to the Israeli side. Suicide attacks against Israel were increasingly viewed as but part and parcel of Arab Muslim terror globally; the September 11, 2001, attacks, and the deposition of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein—a strong supporter of suicide bombings in Israel—served to largely mitigate any hopes or expectations that the *al-Aqsa intifada* would produce any substantive results in the long term.

## Looking to the Future

Today, the *al-Aqsa intifada* appears to have run its course. This is not to say that resistance to the Israeli occupation of some parts of the West Bank and Gaza, and the failure to resolve key disputes regarding Jerusalem, the refugees, and similar issues, do not remain central to the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. But the uprising is no longer seen as providing any hope of moving the situation forward—if indeed it ever had been viewed in such a light.

This is also not to suggest that future Palestinian uprisings, civil disobedience, and terror on the order of the first and second *intifadas* may not continue to occur. So long as the Palestinian people lack a fully sovereign and independent state, frustration, anger, and resentment will continue to plague the cities and towns of the West Bank and Gaza—the very

ingredients that helped spark the first and second Palestinian *intifadas*.

STEVEN C. DINERO

**See also Israel; Middle East: International Relations; Palestine; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Terrorism**

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## IRAN

Iran is a country of 1.65 million square kilometers and a population of 69,018,924 (July 2004 est.), in Southwest Asia, bordering Iraq, Turkey, Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulf, with rugged terrain, marked by mountains and deserts, less than 10% of which is arable. With a GDP in 2003 of roughly \$480 billion, Iran produces about 4 million barrels of oil per day, of which slightly more than 2 million are exported, comprising 80% of its exports.

Iran has a long imperial tradition and national history, carried into the modern era by the Safavid (1501–1722), Qajar (1793–1925), and Pahlavi (1925–1979) dynasties, and the Islamic Republic, declared in 1979. Shah Ismail (1494–1524) and Shah Abbas I (1587–1629), the two most powerful rulers of the Safavid period, built a centralized state on the pillars of Shi'i Islam and a gunpowder-based standing army of converted Christian slaves, or *ghulam*. At its height, Safavid rule extended across Iran into Iraq and Afghanistan, also increasing trade in porcelain,

silk and wool textiles, and other products designed for the growing European market.

Following the overthrow of the Safavids in 1722, and an extended period of internal conflict between competing tribal alliances, Fath Ali Shah (1794–1834) established the Qajar dynasty in 1794. Qajar rule was less centralized and more dependent on tribal leaders than Safavid rule had been, and during the 19th century, *mujtahids*, scholars of Muslim doctrine, emerged as powerful arbiters of political legitimacy, asserted control over the educational and judicial systems, and established strong ties to Iran's urban merchant class, the *bazaaris*. Growing Russian and British competition in Asia increased external political and economic influence in Iran. In 1857, Nasir al-Din Shah (1848–1896) signed a commercial agreement giving British traders advantages similar to those already enjoyed by Russians in Iranian markets, insuring that Iran remained an exporter of raw materials like cotton, silk, and wheat. As indigenous industries declined, carpet weaving was one industry that did grow in the nineteenth century, to meet Western demand for high-quality hand-woven rugs.

Nasir al-Din Shah also launched administrative reforms, expanded state-run education, and created the Cossack Brigade, trained and led by Russian officers, to expand his power over tribal leaders, landowners, and the *ulama*, which in Islam means Council of Learned Men. The reforms had their greatest impact in the cities, while agricultural techniques and productivity remained largely unchanged outside regions cultivating cash crops. Lacking funds for industrial development, Nasir al-Din Shah turned to Europeans for investment and expertise, as with the 1872 Reuters Concession, granting a monopoly to build and operate railroads, along with mineral rights to pay for expenses. Russian pressure, along with popular protest, forced cancellation of the Reuters Concession, and Iran had virtually no railroads until the Trans-Iranian rail was built after World War I.

Opposition to the Reuters Concession came from a coalition of urban groups—*ulama*, *bazaaris*, and an emerging urban professional class. In 1890 another concession gave a British company a fifty-year monopoly over Iranian tobacco. A popular boycott of tobacco, led by the coalition, forced Nasir al-Din Shah both to quit smoking and to cancel the tobacco concession. During the Constitutional Revolution of 1906–1911, the coalition of religious, commercial, and intellectual elites mobilized the people to demand a constitution and an elected parliament. Muzaffer al-Din Shah (1896–1907) eventually agreed to a new parliament, or *Majlis*, and a constitution, but Muhammad Ali Shah (1907–1909) was openly hostile to the constitution and interfered with the *Majlis*.

After he was deposed in 1909, the *Majlis* split between conservatives tied to the *ulama* and landowners, and reformers favoring secularization, expansion of state-run education, and land reform.

In 1911, a financial advisor from the United States, W. Morgan Schuster, was hired to organize the state's finances, increase tax collection, control spending by the royal family, and increase the effectiveness of revenues from oil royalties. Fearing a strong Iranian state, the Russians sent an ultimatum to force Schuster's dismissal. Chief among British concerns was Iran's petroleum, controlled by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, formed in 1908, and taken over by the British government in 1914. Through World War I, Iran faced an increasingly chaotic situation, with an ineffective *Majlis* and a weak ruler, Ahmad Shah (1909–1924), and Russian and British domination of the economy and large amounts of territory.

After World War I ended, Iran was independent and free of foreign occupation, but with virtually no central authority, no trade, and in total financial ruin. Into this situation rode Reza Khan, commander of the Cossack Brigade, who declared himself Reza Shah Pahlavi (1925–1941), and implemented another series of political, economic, institutional, and cultural reforms to strengthen the power of the Shah, and Iran's military and central state, against the *ulama*, landowners, tribal leaders, ethnic minorities, and the Russians and British. Another US advisor, Arthur Millspaugh, was appointed in 1922. In 1935, Tehran University opened, and women were admitted in 1937. Reza Shah also outlawed the veil in urban areas in 1936, and squads patrolled city streets, harassing those not in compliance. Unveiling went along with new styles of clothing, music, and social interaction. The major economic force in Iran continued to be the Anglo-Persian (Anglo-Iranian after 1935) Oil Company, which controlled all of Iran's exports, paying a minor share of profits directly into the Shah's treasury, a practice that made the Shah wealthy, but promoted more corruption than economic development.

During the 1930s Reza Shah sought better relations with Germany, but after the German invasion of Russia in 1941, the British and Soviets jointly occupied Iran, deposed Reza Shah, and with the United States took over the Trans-Iranian Railway to carry supplies, which caused shortages, inflation, and famine in the countryside. The replacement of Reza Shah with his young son Muhammad Reza Shah (1941–1979) allowed the tribal leaders, *ulama*, and the *Majlis* to reassert some autonomy, and following the war, Muhammad Mosaddeq (1882–1967) united a coalition of *ulama*, urban professionals, nationalists, and parties in the *Majlis*, which nationalized Iranian oil in 1951. Fearing a communist takeover, and Soviet

control of the oil, the US CIA and British MI6 sponsored a coup in August 1953 to remove Mosaddeq, and restore Muhammad Reza Shah's power.

Oil revenues, which rose from less than \$300 million in 1960 to \$12 billion in 1974, to \$49 billion in 1978, fueled the Shah's autocratic rule and grand development projects like his "White Revolution." The White Revolution promised land reform and agricultural development, literacy and education, modernization of institutions and economic development, and changes in the status of women. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989) denounced official corruption and oppression, portraying the Shah as an enemy of religion and a puppet of foreign interests. Khomeini's arrest and exile set off a wave of strikes and protests in Tehran and other cities, which the police and military suppressed with force.

Over the period 1963–1978, Iran's GDP increased an average of 12% per year, fueled by increasing oil revenues and state-sponsored economic programs. The Shah also increased military spending, and US advisors helped train the military and SAVAK, the secret police. Most development during this period came in urban areas, especially Tehran, which more than doubled its population between 1963 and 1978. Expenditure of oil revenues on the military, on large-scale industrial complexes, and on the royal family, meant the people suffered the burdens but saw little direct benefit.

By the mid-1970s, increasingly dependent on his military and secret police, and US support, to maintain his legitimacy, the Shah had alienated a wide spectrum of the Iranian population, including ulama, *bazaaris*, ethnic and religious minorities, and the urban middle class. Since moderate reforms were blocked by the Shah, more radical solutions gained rapid support, in particular communism and Islamism. Jalal Al-e Ahmad wrote of "Westoxication," the poisoning of Iran by Western culture and materialism, while Ali Shariati, who had been educated in France, proposed combining Marxist and Shi'i principles in a revolution for equality and social justice. Shariati advocated emulating Husayn, the martyred grandson of Muhammad, to devote one's life to replacing the corrupt, oppressive regime with one based on authentic Iranian Shi'i civilization.

From exile in Iraq, Ayatollah Khomeini reemerged as the spokesperson of a wide spectrum of opponents of the regime, calling for the overthrow of the Shah in favor of *vilayet-i faqih*, "governance of the jurist," in which parliament and popular sovereignty would be overseen by *mujtahids*, acting in the name of the vanished twelfth Imam. When Khomeini supporters protested in January 1978, security forces opened fire. The deaths set off more protests that grew throughout the

year, and the Shah responded ambivalently, knowing that he was dying of cancer, but uncertain of US support, due to President Jimmy Carter's calls to display greater respect for human rights. The protests of 1978 brought together religious opponents, the Westernized urban middle class, ethnic minorities, and merchants in a coalition similar to that of the 1906–1911 Constitutional Revolution. With the economy crippled, and unsure of the loyalty of his own military, the Shah left Iran on January 16, 1979.

Ayatollah Khomeini returned on February 1 to create an Islamic Republic, a hybrid form of parliamentary government with a Council of Guardians, made up of *mujtahids*, whose duty was to ensure that all legislation passed by the Majlis complied with Islamic doctrine and practices. As Supreme Islamic Jurist for life, Ayatollah Khomeini controlled the Council of Guardians. Khomeini supporters faced violent opposition to their control over Iran. The Revolutionary Guards—the military wing of the Islamic revolution—revolutionary courts, and vigilante groups imprisoned, tortured, and executed opponents, suppressing internal opposition. Women were pushed out of the workforce, while new laws enforced dress codes and segregation of the sexes.

The United States recognized the new government and continued diplomatic relations until November 1979, when students took US citizens hostage following the Shah's admission into the United States for medical care. Fifty-three hostages spent 444 days in captivity, being released only on the day the new US president, Ronald Reagan, was inaugurated.

In September 1980 Iraq invaded Iran, setting off a devastating eight-year-long war that caused about five hundred thousand Iranian casualties and billions of dollars in damage. The end of the war in 1988, and the death of Khomeini in 1989, led to some moderation of revolutionary zeal, and more concentration on economic development during the presidency of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

Under the Islamic Republic, Iran's economy has remained dependent on oil revenues, but more effort has been devoted to priorities largely ignored by the Shah, including support for the poor and war widows and orphans, investment in agriculture, rural development, and construction of housing. The demand for labor, and loss of men in the war, also allowed women to rejoin the workforce, and female students now comprise about half of Iran's university students.

Still, inflation, shortages, unemployment and underemployment, embargoes, mass emigration of Iran's technical elite, military spending, and the war have all impeded the development of the Islamic Republic. In the presidential elections of 1997 and 2001, Muhammad Khatami, a reformist candidate, won

nearly 70% of the vote, especially from women and young voters who had grown up in the Islamic Republic on a platform of reform and opening to the West, although religious conservatives have shown their own continuing power.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it appears that two major forces will shape Iran's development in the coming decades: an authoritarian political system, confronting challenges from reform-minded groups seeking restrictions on the power of the supreme leader; and Iran's dependence on the export of petroleum. Thus, the same issues that dominated Iran's development in the twentieth century will continue to shape internal political dynamics and economic development, and Iran's regional and international relations.

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**See also Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC); Iran–Iraq War, 1980–1988; Islam; Islamic Fundamentalism; Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Mossaddeq, Muhammed; Pahlavi, Shah Muhammed Reza**

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### IRAN–IRAQ WAR, 1980–1988

The Iran–Iraq War was the most destructive conflict between two neighboring Third World countries in the

twentieth century. The cost of the war for Iran amounted to \$75–90 billion and for Iraq, \$95–112 billion. These figures do not include the cost of military imports, which ranged from \$10–12 billion for Iran and \$40–50 billion for Iraq. The total casualties of the war (dead and injured) reached 8 million people. The war began on September 22, 1980, when Saddam Hussein's army invaded Iran, and ended, inconclusively, on August 20, 1988. Neither country lost much territory after the termination of the war. In effect, the *status quo ante* was established after eight years of fighting.

The Iranian Revolution of 1978–1979 brought about profound transformations in Iran's domestic and international politics. The new Islamic government in Iran was perceived by Iraq as a threat to its secularist regime. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's triumphant return to Iran in February 1979 coincided with an upsurge of Shia political activism in Iraq. Numerous anti-Saddam Hussein demonstrations in Iraq's holy cities of Najaf and Karbala were reported in early 1979. Anti-regime demonstrations had even spread to Saddam City (now called Sadr City), the poor Shia neighborhood in Baghdad. The genesis of these demonstrations was purely local as they were organized under the aegis of the Iraqi opposition party *al-Da'wa* (The Call). However, many demonstrators carried pictures of Khomeini, along with banners containing slogans such as "Yes to Islam, no to Saddam." Moreover, an eminent Shia scholar and the spiritual guide of *al-Da'wa*, Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Sadr, began to publicly support the goals of the Iranian Revolution and expressed hope that similar ideas would take root in Iraq.

In the months preceding the Iraqi invasion of Iran, both countries routinely charged each other with border violations. Such incidents had been common along the Iran–Iraq border regions even before the advent of the Islamic Republic in Iran, and had never been viewed by either side as a *casus belli*. On September 17, 1980, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein gave a clear signal of what was to follow by denouncing the Algiers Agreement and tearing up a copy of it on television. Ironically, it was Saddam Hussein who had signed that Algiers Agreement in 1975 with the Shah of Iran agreeing to accept the *thalweg* (mid-channel) as the maritime boundary with Iran along the Shatt al-Arab waterway. After unilaterally abrogating the Algiers Agreement, Saddam Hussein proceeded to invade Iran in order to, *inter alia*, conquer Iranian territory, and bring the Shatt al-Arab under total Iraqi control and sovereignty.

During the initial phase of the war, Iraq was able to advance on several fronts into Iranian territory and bomb Iranian military and economic targets. On



September 28, 1980, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 479 urging both sides to declare a cease-fire. Iraq immediately offered to comply if Iran accepted Iraq's complete sovereignty over Shatt al-Arab. Iran, on the other hand, rejected the terms of this resolution so long as the Iraqi forces were in control of Iranian territory. By mid-November, Iraq had captured several major cities, such as Khorramshahr, in the oil-rich Iranian province of Khuzestan. Beginning in April 1981, the newly reinvigorated Iranian army and irregular forces succeeded in preventing the Iraqi forces from any further advancement into Iran, but they failed to evict the occupying forces. Iraq's successful siege of the city of Abadan, which contained the world's largest refinery, deprived Iran of much-needed revenue from its petroleum resources.

Between March and June 1982, Iran recovered its lost territory as the Iranian forces pushed back the Iraqis across the border. For the first time since the war started, the Iranians were able to inflict heavy casualties on the retreating Iraqi forces. On June 9, 1982, Iraq announced its readiness to accept a cease-fire, but Iran refused to accept the offer unless Saddam Hussein was removed from office. Iran then sought to conquer the southern Iraqi city of Basra in July of that year. The battle for Basra required the deployment of nine full divisions and involved the largest infantry combat since World War II. Throughout the course of the war, Iran tried to reach the strategic Basra–Baghdad highway, but it failed to accomplish this important task. By late February, Iran's most significant military victory came in the battles in the Haur al-Hawizeh marshes and the seizure of Iraq's oil-rich Majnoon Islands.

As the Iranians began to achieve some military victories, the United States decided to support Iraq in order to prevent an Iranian victory that, according to Washington's thinking, would have frightened the United States' client states in the region. The first sign of US tilt toward Iraq came in 1982 when the State Department removed Iraq from the list of countries supporting "international terrorism." This allowed the US to extend some \$2 billion in credits to Saddam Hussein's regime, thereby alleviating financial pressures that were pushing Iraq to the edge of bankruptcy. The Reagan administration further extended over \$500 million in loans (through the Export–Import Bank and private corporations) to assist Iraq in the construction of an oil pipeline through Jordan.

In 1983, the Reagan administration dispatched Donald Rumsfeld to Baghdad as its personal emissary to meet with Saddam Hussein and cement the burgeoning US–Iraqi ties and to reassure Saddam Hussein of America's continuing support of his war efforts against Iran. The US–Iraqi military ties were

strengthened after the November 1984 resumption of diplomatic relations between Washington and Baghdad, which had been severed since the 1967 Arab–Israeli war. From the Iranian perspective, the most disturbing aspect of the US tilt toward Iraq was Washington's indirect encouragement of Iraqi attacks on Iran-bound oil tankers in the Persian Gulf. The Reagan administration also offered naval escorts to tankers in the southern part of the Gulf but not to ships approaching Iran's main oil terminal at Kharg Island.

As the Iran–Iraq War continued to escalate, Kuwait became increasingly aligned with Iraq and Iraqi war efforts. Despite Kuwait's declared neutrality in the Iran–Iraq War, it became evident that Kuwait was not only involved in direct financing of the Iraqi war efforts, but it was also a major transshipment point for Iraqi-bound materials. Furthermore, Kuwaiti, as well as Saudi oil refineries, were providing Iraq's energy needs in its war with Iran. Consequently, the Iranian leadership began to view Kuwait as an active ally of Iraq. Iran's warning to Kuwait to desist from aiding the Iraqi war efforts went unheeded. As Iraq initiated and later escalated the so-called "tanker war" in 1984 by attacking Iran-bound commercial ships, Iran's Supreme Defense Council adopted a policy of responding in kind to every Iraqi attack on Iranian ships. Unable, or unwilling, to dissociate itself from the Iraqi war efforts, Kuwait instead sought protection for its ships from outside powers, especially the United States.

The American decision to reflag (re-register) Kuwaiti ships followed the May 17, 1987, incident in the Persian Gulf when the American frigate USS *Stark* was hit by Iraqi Exocet missiles, killing thirty-seven American sailors. In a memorial service for the dead sailors, President Reagan publicly accepted Iraq's apology for this "inadvertent" attack while blaming Iran as the real villain. In his press conference of May 27, 1987, President Reagan called upon the "barbaric country" of Iran to not interfere with Gulf shipping. The Reagan administration's gratuitous verbal attacks on Iran for Iraq's missile attack on USS *Stark* puzzled the Iranian leadership.

The tension between Iran and Iraq reached new heights in the spring of 1988 in a series of simultaneous Iraqi and US attacks on Iranian targets. By that time, the United States was heavily involved in providing intelligence and logistical support to the Iraqi forces and had become an active belligerent in the war against Iran. On April 18, 1988, American naval forces in the Persian Gulf mounted an air and sea attack on Iranian frigates and oil platforms in response to damage inflicted a few days earlier on a US ship by a mine allegedly laid by Iran. Direct US–Iranian military confrontations in the Gulf boosted Iran's political

and diplomatic position by portraying Washington as a direct participant in the Iran–Iraq War, thus damaging US claims of neutrality in the Gulf. Moreover, since the aforementioned US–Iranian clashes coincided with a major Iraqi attack to recapture the Faw peninsula, Iran was convinced that the United States had coordinated its actions with Iraqi forces in order to distract Iran. The Iranian government further accused the United States of providing air support to the Iraqis in their drive toward Faw.

The event that had a profound impact on the course of the Iran–Iraq War was the shooting down of Iran Air flight 655 by the cruiser USS *Vincennes* on July 3, 1988, killing 290 passengers. The United States claimed that the USS *Vincennes* mistook the Airbus jetliner for an F-14 fighter. Furthermore, Washington contended that since hostilities had broken out earlier in the day between US and Iranian forces in the Gulf, the USS *Vincennes* was still in combat mode, and its captain thought that the Iranian passenger airliner was an attacking plane when it failed to respond to warnings issued by the US cruiser. Although the United States expressed regrets about the loss of innocent civilian lives, it began to issue self-serving statements praising the “heroic” US forces in the Gulf. President Reagan called the shooting down of the Iranian passenger jetliner an “understandable accident” because the ship’s crew thought they were under attack.

For many Iranians, the shooting down of the unarmed passenger plane was tantamount to “premeditated murder” and demonstrated the immense difficulty of prosecuting the war against Iraq under excruciatingly adverse conditions. The Iranian government contended that Iran Air flight 655 was a regular flight from the Iranian port city of Bandar Abbas to Dubai. The plane was in the usual air corridor, the same route it traversed five times every week in its regularly scheduled flight path. Its schedule was published and available to all parties, including the US forces and USS *Vincennes*.

Furthermore, Iran rejected the US claim that the jetliner should not have been in a war zone. The only declared war zone in the Persian Gulf was the northeast corner of the Gulf. As a self-proclaimed neutral and non-belligerent party in the Iran–Iraq War, the US had no legal right to unilaterally designate war zones in the Persian Gulf. Besides, the air traffic was normally heavy in the Strait of Hormuz, some seven hundred flights having passed over the area in the ten-day period preceding the destruction of the Iranian jetliner.

Given Iran’s predicament, it became clear that Tehran was finally going to accept the UN Security Council Resolution 598, which had been passed on

July 20, 1987. This resolution called for an immediate cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, a return to internationally recognized boundaries, exchange of prisoners of war, and the establishment of a commission to investigate responsibility for the initiation of the war. Except for the last item, the other provisions of the resolution were identical to the demands of the Iraqi regime. At the time of the passage of Resolution 598, Iraq was on the defensive, its military situation was deteriorating, and Iran was in possession of Iraqi territories along the border areas. But by 1988, conditions had changed, and the tragedy of Iran Air flight 655 had left a profound mark on the Iranian psyche.

Ensuing events, such as Iranian tactical military setbacks, the loss of Iraqi territories held by Iran, worsening economic conditions in Iran, the struggle between the regular armed forces and the Revolutionary Guards over the conduct of the war, and jockeying for power among various factions of the clerical leadership in view of Khomeini’s deteriorating health, all led to a major reassessment of Iran’s tactics and international posture. On July 18, 1988, Iran formally accepted UN Resolution 598 and a month later the Iran–Iraq War came to an end.

NADER ENTESSAR

**See also Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Iraq; Kuwait; Middle East: International Relations**

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## IRAQ

Iraq, a country of 437,072 square kilometers in Southwest Asia, borders Turkey, Iran, the Persian Gulf, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Syria. Its population of 25,374,691 (July 2004 est.) is 75%–80% Arab, 15%–20% Kurdish, and about 5% Turkmen, Assyrian, and other ethnic minorities. About 60%–65% of Iraqis are Shi’i Muslims, and 32%–37% are Sunni.

Before World War I, most of current-day Iraq was ruled by the Ottoman Empire as three separate

provinces, Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra. Through the wartime Sykes-Picot Agreement, the British and French agreed to divide the Arab lands between them, and by 1918 the British occupied all of Iraq. To extend control over the northern provinces, the RAF asked Winston Churchill, Lord of the Admiralty, for permission to experiment with chemical weapons against “recalcitrant” Arabs, to which he replied, “I am strongly in favor of using poisonous gas against uncivilized tribes.” With a mandate granted by the League of Nations, the British suppressed a 1920 popular uprising demanding independence, resulting in about ten thousand Iraqi casualties. Convinced that direct rule would be too costly, the British installed Faysal, son of the Hashemite Sherif Hussain of Mecca, and leader of the Arab revolt during the war, as king of Iraq, founding a Hashemite dynasty that lasted until the revolution in 1958.

Under the terms of a 1922 treaty, the British continued to rule Iraq indirectly, controlling finances and the military. The British-controlled Iraq Petroleum Company, which had discovered oil before the war, paid royalties of about 15%, but retained all control. In 1932 Iraq gained independence, and a seat at the League of Nations, but British influence remained predominant. Iraqi politics was dominated by the British, the Hashemite kings, and advisors who had risen from modest backgrounds through careers in the Ottoman military before and during the war. The most prominent was Nuri al-Said (1943–1958), who served several terms as prime minister. Sunni Muslims, less than half of the population, held the vast majority of cabinet offices, while Shi'i Muslims and Kurds were underrepresented in political office. In 1923, Shi'i *mujtahids* led protests, while Kurds revolted against central authority periodically throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The military also played an increasingly important role in Iraqi politics. In 1936, General Bakr Sidqi, famous for the 1933 massacre of Assyrian Christians in northern Iraq, led the first of a series of military coups that shaped the Iraqi state in the twentieth century.

Pro-German officers staged a coup on April 1, 1941, but a British force invaded to depose the government of Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, and bring the solidly pro-British Nuri al-Said back to power. From 1941 to 1958, pro-British regimes remained in power, and in 1955, Iraq joined Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran in a western-sponsored, anti-Soviet, joint defense scheme known as the Baghdad Pact. But memories of British interference in “sovereign” Iraq’s affairs, combined with the Arab states’ poor performance in the 1948–1949 Arab–Israeli War, shaped Iraqi politics in the post-war period.

By the 1950s military officers were secretly organizing to bring about radical change. These officers, generally born after 1918, were inspired by the Egyptian Free Officers’ Movement, and saw the Hashemite monarchy as illegitimate. Moreover, in 1958, some 80% of population was landless sharecropping peasants. About 1% of the landowners owned 55% of all private land, while Iraq’s tremendous oil wealth remained in the hands of foreign companies until nationalization in 1972.

In July 1958, a coup ended the Hashemite monarchy, with the execution of Faysal II (1939–1958) and Nuri al-Said. The Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) became the center of power as General Abd al-Karim Qasim (1958–1963), son of a small farmer, emerged as the dominant figure in the new government. Qasim began a program of land reform, withdrew from the Baghdad Pact, and established ties with the Soviet Union. Qasim used Iraqi communist support to balance the influence of pan-Arabists, who sought union with Egypt under the leadership of Gamal Abdul Nasser.

Qasim was killed in a coup in 1963, and another coup in 1968 firmly established the power of the Ba’ath (Resurgence) Party. The Ba’ath Party called for Arab unity, the end of western domination, secularism, land reform, expansion of education, women’s rights, and state-led economic development, fueled by oil revenues, which reached \$476 million in 1968 and \$26 billion in 1979.

With the 1968 coup, Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr (1968–1979), chair of the Ba’ath Party, became president, prime minister, and chair of the RCC. His relative and protégé, Saddam Hussein (1979–2001), became vice-chair of the RCC. Saddam Hussein, born in 1937 to landless peasants in the village of Tikrit, had joined the Ba’ath Party in 1957. In 1966, al-Bakr appointed Saddam Hussein secretary general of the party, and from 1968 to 1979 al-Bakr and Hussein established ever-tighter control of the party and state apparatus, purging non-Ba’athists, executing scores of opponents, and promoting relatives and fellow Tikritis to positions of power. Al-Bakr’s retirement in 1979 made Hussein president of Iraq, secretary general of the Ba’ath Party, chair of the RCC, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Saddam Hussein’s rise to absolute power coincided with the Iranian Revolution, which coincided with revolts by Kurds in the north and Shi’i Muslims in the south. Since World War I, Kurds had revolted periodically against British and Hashemite rule. Mustafa al-Barzani led revolts in the 1960s, and in 1974–1975 with Iranian support. After the revolt ended in 1975, Hussein combined policies of granting the Kurds limited

autonomy in northern provinces, while also forcibly resettling about 250,000 Kurds in the Arab south, and manipulating conflicts between Barzani and Jalal Talabani, another Kurdish leader. By the late 1970s Kurds had risen up again, with support from the Islamic Republic of Iran. In 1977 a revolt of Shi'a in the south began, and was one factor in Hussein's decision to invade Iran on September 22, 1980.

Iranian resistance proved stronger than anticipated, and Iranians rallied to stop the Iraqi advance, then pushed the war back into Iraq, before their offensive also bogged down. A war of attrition dragged on until 1988, resulting in about five hundred thousand Iraqi casualties, and about \$100 billion in damages. During a final offensive in 1988, the Iraqi air force dropped chemical weapons on the town of Halabja in the northeast, killing about five thousand Kurdish civilians. In 1984, the Iraqis had begun attacking Iranian oil tankers, and Iran retaliated against Kuwaiti and Saudi tankers carrying Iraqi oil. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia loaned Iraq \$50–60 billion during the war, and the United States openly sided with Iraq, by reflagging tankers in the final year of the conflict, but also by selling Iraq weapons and supplies of anthrax and other materials needed to build chemical weapons.

Deeply in debt at the end of the war, the Iraqis faced the immediate problem of rebuilding infrastructure and the military, a problem exacerbated by a global oil crash in 1986. Kuwait, which had loaned Iraq money during the war, had also increased its oil production beyond its OPEC quota, thus keeping prices down. Saddam Hussein also accused the Kuwaitis of illegally extracting oil from an oilfield straddling the Iraq–Kuwait border, which added to the fact that Iraq had never recognized the sovereignty of Kuwait. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded and occupied Kuwait.

The United States reacted immediately, and strongly, to the invasion and the possibility of an Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia, which would mean Iraqi control of about half the planet's petroleum. The United Nations imposed sanctions and a boycott, while the George H. W. Bush administration constructed an international coalition, including nearly all of the Arab states, and more than five hundred thousand US troops, for Operation Desert Shield (the protection of Saudi oilfields), and Desert Storm (the liberation of Kuwaiti oilfields). Saddam Hussein tried to tie the liberation of Kuwait to the liberation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip from Israeli occupation, and during the war, Iraq launched missiles at Israeli cities, in hopes of pulling Arab states away from the coalition.

Less than a day after the UN deadline for withdrawal, the US began the largest aerial assault in history, with six weeks of around-the-clock bombing

of military as well as civilian infrastructural targets in Kuwait and Iraq. By the time the ground assault began on February 24, Iraq had virtually no defenses, and the Iraqi military retreated piecemeal up the “highway of death.” After one hundred hours, Bush declared Kuwait liberated and the war over, choosing not to continue with an invasion of Iraq.

As the war ended, Shi'a in south and central Iraq and Kurds in the north revolted against the Ba'athist regime. The Iraqi military moved to crush the rebellions, and as troops moved northward, nearly 1.5 million Kurds fled into the mountains, hoping to cross the Iranian or Turkish borders, which remained closed. The US and British governments then imposed “no-fly zones” in the north and south, to protect the rebels and curtail Iraqi sovereignty.

UN sanctions remained in place as inspectors searched Iraq for weapons of mass destruction, and the Ba'athist government tried to obstruct the inspectors and protect its secrets. Under the sanctions, importation of a long list of military and “dual-use” materials, including chlorine, was prohibited. As Saddam Hussein continued to refuse to cooperate with weapons inspectors, the sanctions regime took a huge toll on the Iraqi population. The UN estimated that between 1990 and 2000, more than six hundred thousand people, mostly elderly and children, died as a result of poor hygienic conditions or lack of medicine due to the sanctions. In 1996 the UN agreed to the “oil-for-food” program, which allowed Iraq to begin selling oil in exchange for food and medicine. The oil-for-food program did little to help the Iraqi people, but it did allow the United States to purchase most of the Iraqi oil at below-market prices, and it strengthened Saddam Hussein's position, allowing him to use scarce resources as rewards for loyalty to the regime.

In January 2002, George W. Bush declared Iraq a member of an “Axis of Evil,” and claimed the Iraqis could soon deploy nuclear weapons. When the UN and US allies failed to act with sufficient alacrity, the United States and Britain went ahead and invaded Iraq in March 2003, along with a token number of troops and advisors from countries like Japan and Bulgaria. Within weeks of the invasion, the Iraqi government had fallen and Saddam Hussein had fled into hiding. The Coalition Provisional Authority was set up, and on May 1, George Bush landed on an aircraft carrier to announce, famously, “mission accomplished,” although “insurgents” opposed to the US-led invasion continued to harass and kill occupation troops, civilian contractors, and Iraqis working with the occupation forces, sometimes kidnapping and beheading their captives.

In June 2004 a new interim government came into being, led by acting Prime Minister Iyad Allawi. In

January 2005 Iraqis went to the polls to elect slates of candidates to form a constitutional assembly, charged with writing a new constitution and overseeing elections to form a new elected government. A slate backed by Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani garnered 48% of the popular vote, not enough for a majority in the assembly, while Kurdish voters in the north overwhelmingly supported the concept of autonomy, and Sunni Arab voters stayed away in large numbers.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, three major challenges confronted Iraq: establishing a viable state, a national identity, and popular loyalty; building political institutions and developing the economy; and ending foreign domination and establishing a sovereign position in the region. With the demise of the Ba'athist government and foreign occupation, Iraq has entered the twenty-first century in much the same situation.

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**See also Ba'ath Party; Baghdad Pact; Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Hussein, Saddam; Iran–Iraq War, 1980–1988; Kurdistan; Kurds; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Persian Gulf War, 1991; Persian Gulf War, 2003**

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## IRRIGATION

Irrigation is the application of water to the field by any artificial method enabling it to meet the water requirement of a crop at a given time of its vegetative

cycle so as to ensure that the crop/plant grows even when there is little or no rainfall. The irrigation water can be supplied from surface water resources such as lakes, rivers, or streams, or from groundwater abstracted from open wells or tubewells.

Water requirement for irrigation is dependent on the type of crops and climatic conditions under which the crops are grown. The latest technology ensures scientific determination of the crop water requirements factoring agronomic and meteorological parameters. Traditionally, China, Egypt, and India (including Sri Lanka) have been practicing irrigated agriculture for several thousands of years.

The methods of irrigation can be broadly classified as:

- Surface irrigation, in which the entire or most crop area is flooded;
- Sprinkler irrigation, which simulates rainfall;
- Drip irrigation, in which water is dripped on to the soil above the root zone only;
- Underground irrigation of the root zone by means of porous pots or pipes placed in the soil; and
- Sub-irrigation, in which the groundwater level is raised sufficiently to dampen the root zone.

Rainfed agriculture refers to the practice of cultivation on land with water input only from the available rainfall (having its vagaries of variation in space and time in certain cases, especially in arid and semi-arid areas). Area suitable for cultivation (whether rainfed or irrigated) is termed as "arable" or "culturable" area. Presently, total cultivated area on Earth is about 1,500 million hectares (Mha), that is, about 12% of total land area. Globally, rainfed agriculture is practised on about 83% of cultivated land, and supplies about 60% of the world's food. In other words, from only about 17% of the area that is irrigated, over 40% of the food is produced. In water-scarce tropical regions such as the Sahelian countries, rainfed agriculture is practised on more than 95% of cropland. The risks of crop reduction from rainfed agriculture, however, are more on account of droughts and dry spells. To reduce such risk, the option of supplementary irrigation has proved better.

Globally, while an annual increase of 4 to 5 million hectares of irrigated area was recorded between 1950 and 1980, this fell to just around 2 million hectares per year in the 1990s and later. Reasons for this include rising capital cost to reclaim lands that are relatively more difficult for irrigation, impacts of commodity prices resulting in low returns on investment, problems of operation and maintenance, low efficiency of water use, low level of

water charges and hence revenues, increase in soil salinity levels, siltation, and so forth. To a sizeable extent, donor funding for works launched in developing countries was curtailed after 1990. However, it is being realized that food security would be feasible only with interventions in and support to appropriate irrigated agriculture.

Irrigated agriculture produces 4 to 8 times higher yields than rainfed, besides playing a major role in providing food sufficiency and security as well as in poverty alleviation. It also helps to protect the rainfed crops of the rural people from natural disasters such as droughts and famines. The poor landless people find employment opportunities in construction and maintenance works of irrigation schemes, while the increased agricultural yields mostly from irrigated areas and overall infrastructural improvements help to attract investments in rural agro-based industries. The World Food Summit, 1996, estimated that 60% of additional food required to sustain the world population in the future must come from irrigated agriculture, which needs more investments and sustained efforts at expansion and improvement. For arid and semi-arid areas, irrigation is an essential input for farming, even during the rainy season. Provision of irrigation facilities and watershed development in rainfed areas together can make the agriculture in a river basin sustainable and more productive.

About 70% of freshwater resources are being used globally by the agriculture sector, which nevertheless generates food for the ever-increasing population, especially in the developing countries in the African and Asian continents. However a competition is

growing from the “people” and “environment” sectors for more water allocations. Techniques for increasing the efficiency of water use in irrigation to generate “more crop per drop” are therefore currently being devised. Projections, however, indicate that even with optimistic views about productivity growth, efficiency, and the expansion of irrigated area, 14% more water will be needed for irrigated agriculture in the developing countries by 2030 to cope up with the needs of increasing population by that time. This will require some 220 billion cubic meters of extra storage.

Presently, a total of about 272 million hectares of land are being irrigated throughout the world. The growth of irrigation in India and China has been exceptional. These two countries are the world leaders in irrigated agriculture and together form over 40% of the world’s total irrigated area. The table below presents some salient irrigation- and drainage-related figures for prominent agricultural countries.

Drainage of irrigated lands is an important activity that should receive more attention in the coming decades in order to ensure consolidation of the gains of productivity both from irrigated and rainfed cultivable areas. Not all the irrigated areas are presently covered by adequate drainage, affecting the sustainability of agriculture by way of loss of land due to waterlogging, salinity, and so forth. The International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage (ICID) has focussed particular attention on promoting the best practices regarding irrigation and drainage by water management and water savings, besides measures to improve drainage (including bio-drainage), in recent times.

Table 2: Agricultural statistics for ten countries with largest irrigated and drained area

Country	Population (millions)	% of population economically active in agriculture	Total area (million ha)	Arable land (million ha)	Irrigated area (million ha)	Drained area (million ha)
India	1,050	59	329	170	55	5.8
China	1,288	66	960	136	54	20
USA	287	2	963	179	22	48
Pakistan	144	47	80	22	18	6
Iran	66	26	165	16	8	0.04
Mexico	102	21	196	27	7	5.2
Thailand	63	56	51	18	5	0.15
Indonesia	217	48	190	34	5	0.27
Russia	144	10	1,708	127	5	7.4
Turkey	67	46	78	27	5	3.14
Total	3,426		4,718	755	184	96
World	6,215		13,425	1,497	272	190

From International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage, 2004.

## IRRIGATION

The status of water management systems (supply infrastructure, drainage, irrigation) in agricultural cultivation in different continents is seen in the table below.

While water is an essential input for agriculture, it also needs other inputs like fertilisers, pesticides, seeds, cold-storage facilities, animal/mechanical power, animal husbandry services, market, transportation, electric power, credit, agricultural implements, and services for maintenance.

The establishment of Water Users Associations (WUAs) and transferring responsibility for operation and maintenance of irrigation systems to the associations has been considered a desirable intervention to promote local management of irrigation systems with a strong emphasis on farmers' participation. The participatory irrigation management (PIM) refers to the involvement of irrigation users in all aspects and at all levels of irrigation management. This includes planning, design, construction, maintenance, and financing for the main irrigation system and all subsystems.

Though India has a large irrigated area, the contribution from the irrigated area to the food basket is placed at 52%; the remaining 48% is attributable to rainfed area. Effective water management in irrigated agriculture has assumed significance for the last two decades as water is becoming a scarce commodity and has divergent claimants from various other sectors. The requirements of environment (nature sector) can be aptly addressed if the irrigation water requirement for food security could be reduced with better management practices, thereby sparing water for other purposes like the Nature and People sectors. This is

all the more important for the developing world where the present level of managerial efficiencies is low and water management must have a broader scope. Every country needs to set up its own policies and institutional structures to deal with water in the wider context of national welfare.

The Earth Summit Declaration adopted by 178 participating countries at Rio de Janeiro in June 1992 had addressed the need for ensuring adequate food and water for all people on this globe. Among other requirements, crop production must increase by 3%–4% per annum, mainly by increasing the productivity of irrigated lands. Demands for available freshwater have increased due to growth of population and improved lifestyle. Irrigation requirements for the food sector are largely consumptive. Larger increases are projected in the developing countries in order to meet food security as most of the food produced in these countries is consumed locally. Countries like India and China pursue a policy of self-sufficiency in food.

The water diversions for irrigated agriculture and their significant use for irrigation have been viewed in some quarters to be in conflict with the requirements of environmental protection. In fact, in the hydrological cycle, water unused by plants returns back to surface water runoff or infiltrates to augment groundwater. The water used by the plant also returns mostly to the atmosphere by the process of evapotranspiration or remains as a part of the biomass. ICID endeavours to promote the best practices in irrigation and drainage as well as activities for water saving to ensure more crop per drop of water used in irrigation.

Table 3: Status of water management in agricultural cultivation practices in different continents and categories of countries

Continent	Total area in 10 <sup>6</sup> ha	Arable land in 10 <sup>6</sup> ha	Total population in millions	Water management practice in % of the arable land		
				No system	Drainage <sup>1</sup>	Irrigation <sup>2</sup>
Asia	3,339	547	3,765	56	10	35
Africa	3,031	201	840	92	2	6
Europe	2,299	307	732	77	15	8
Americas	4,016	384	850	72	17	11
Oceania	856	55	31	91	4	5
World	13,425	1,497	6,215	69	13	18
Developed countries	3,877	445	1,137	67	22	11
Developing countries	7,231	903	4,332	69	8	23
Least developed countries	2,433	145	750	87	2	12

From International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage, 2004

<sup>1</sup> In total about 130 million hectares of rainfed areas and 60 million hectares of irrigated areas have drainage.

<sup>2</sup> Irrigation may include drainage as well.

## Country-Specific Issues of Development and Management in Irrigation

### India

India is a large country in South Asia that ranks second in the world in population, next to China, and ranks seventh in the world in land area. The total geographical area of the country is 328.73 million hectares. Agriculture provides about a third of India's national income. Compared with the total geographical area of 328.73 million hectares, the net sown area is 142.5 million hectares (about 77% of the cultivable area in the country). The rainfall in India is confined to three to four months in a year in the form of a monsoon season and varies from ten centimeters in the western parts of Rajasthan to over one thousand centimeters in Cherrapunji in Meghalaya. The principal water resources used in India come from surface waters through rivers and streams, and groundwater. It has been estimated that out of the total precipitation of about 400 million hectare meters (Mham), the water availability is about 186.9 Mham. The average yearly utilisable water resource is estimated at 690 billion cubic meters (BCM). Ninety percent of the groundwater assessed at 432 BCM, is considered for exploitation for irrigation, drinking, and other uses.

Since 1947 when India became independent from British colonial rule, rapid strides in irrigation have taken place with the planned development adopted by India. The initial successive plans assigned a major investment for this purpose until the 1990s. Irrigation development in India has a judicious mix of major, medium, and minor irrigation schemes depending on project location, economic viability, and environmental consideration for equitable and sustainable development. This classification is based on size of projects with major, medium, and minor projects covering irrigated areas of over ten thousand hectares (ha), between two thousand and ten thousand ha, or less than two thousand ha, respectively. As a result of this development, irrigation potential has been planned to go up to about 101 million hectare (Mha) as compared with 22.6 Mha at the time of independence. Food grain production, which was a meager 51 million tonnes (MT) at that time, has increased four fold to about 212 MT at this writing. This has made the country not only self-sufficient, but also an exporter of the food grains. It has been estimated that as much as 52% of the rise in food grain production has been solely on account of an increase in irrigated area.

India has created a total live storage capacity of about 177 BCM. Dams to create additional live storage of 75 BCM are under various stages of construction.

The dams under formulation/consideration will provide an additional live storage of 132 BCM. The present and projected pattern of water utilisation is shown below:

Table 4: Water Utilisation Patterns

Purpose	Present Utilisation (1997)	Future Utilisation (2025)
Irrigation	501	611
Domestic	30	62
Industry	20	67
Energy	20	33
Others	34	70
Total	605	843

All values in the table are in billion cubic meters.

The ultimate irrigation potential in the country is estimated to be 139.9 Mha of which 58.48 Mha, have been developed. The gross irrigated area is 120 Mha and the gross irrigated area under food and non-food crops is 90 Mha. The rainfed area in the country is 110 Mha of which the gross area under food crops is 72 Mha. During the period 2003–2004, the food grain production was 216 million tonnes. The demand for food in the future (year 2025) is estimated to be on an average 345 million tonnes. The country has a comprehensive National Water Policy, April 2002, which among other things addresses all aspects pertaining to irrigation, while the National Agriculture Policy and National Environmental Policy address areas of pertinent interest that affect them.

### China

The People's Republic of China is a country in Eastern Asia with the world's largest population. The rainfall in China varies greatly. The deserts of Xinjian and inner Mongolia receive less than 100 mm of rainfall. Southern China receives 1,000 mm of annual rainfall, while the rainfall is 630 mm in Beijing. Agriculture production is the backbone of China's economy. China can be divided into three zones (not counting Qingzang cold plateau, which has no agricultural production)—the perennial irrigation zone where the average precipitation is less than 400 mm, the unsteady irrigation zone where the average annual precipitation is between 400 mm and 1,000 mm, and the supplementary irrigation zone where the average annual precipitation is more than 1,000 mm. The total internal water resources of China are estimated to be about 2800 BCM, out of which 460 BCM are withdrawn. The irrigated area of the country



stands at 54 Mha. Of this area, 51.16 Mha are farmland, 2.31 Mha are forest and orchard irrigation area, 0.81 Mha are grazing land irrigation area, and 0.467 Mha are for other purposes. The number of reservoirs in the country is 84,905, with a total capacity of 457.1 BCM. Out of these reservoirs, 394 are large reservoirs with storage of 72.4 BCM and 81,893 are small reservoirs with storage of 58.6 BCM. There are more than five thousand large and medium-sized irrigation districts in China, which are the main production areas for commodity food and cash crops. In China, irrigation is managed according to the “Regulations for Irrigation Area Management” stipulated by the Ministry of Water Resources.

The Fourth Session of the Eighth National People’s Congress of China approved the Ninth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and the long-range objectives up to the year 2010. The reform in the water sector in China is focussed on the establishment of five management systems, namely:

- Multi-channel, multi-level investment system;
- Scientific and complete water assets operation and management system;
- Rational and complete pricing system;
- Complete and effective legal and regulation system; and
- High-quality and efficient service system.

### *Pakistan*

Pakistan is a nation in southern Asia that has India, China, Afghanistan, and Iran as its neighbours. The present population of Pakistan is 145 million (2001 est.). The total geographical area of Pakistan is 79.61 Mha. Punjab and Sind are the two provinces in which the real agricultural wealth of Pakistan lies. These areas fall in the Indus Basin. Pakistan has agricultural land potential of about 28.39 Mha. Rainfalls in the country vary spatially—less than ten cm in some parts and more than 50 cm in the other parts. Most of the rainfall occurs during the monsoon period (July to September). The contribution of rain to crops in the irrigated areas of the Indus Basin has been estimated at about 7.4 BCM. The flows of the Indus rivers system constitute the major surface water resources of Pakistan. The average runoff of these rivers is about 199 BCM. The estimated usable groundwater potential in the country is 66.6 BCM. About 95% of the country’s water resources are used for agriculture. The total cropped area in the country is 23.04 million hectares. The present irrigation system comprises three storage reservoirs, twenty-one barrages or

headworks, twelve inter-river long canals, two major siphons, and forty-five main canals. The annual water withdrawn from canals for irrigation is presently about 140 BCM. To stagger the peak flows, three surface reservoirs have been constructed in the past. These are the Mangla reservoir constructed in 1967 on River Jhelum with a live storage capacity of 6.6 BCM, Chashma reservoir on the Indus constructed in 1971 with a capacity of 0.6 BCM, and Tarbela on the Indus constructed in 1975 with a capacity of 11.5 BCM.

The chemical quality of water from the rivers is excellent for irrigation. The quality of groundwater is highly variable in various parts of the country, ranging from completely fresh to extremely saline. In total, 60% of the Indus plain is underlain by useable groundwater. In order to achieve the envisaged growth target in agriculture, irrigation water requirements as estimated for the year 2000 and 2013 would be 176.5 and 254.6 BCM (143.1 and 206.4 Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry [MAF]), respectively. With the three major dams completed, the water availability for the future has been estimated to be 156.2 BCM (126.6 MAF) in the year 2025.

### *Iran*

The Islamic Republic of Iran is situated in the middle-east region of southwestern Asia. The population of Iran is about 71 million (2001). The estimated population for the years 2008, 2021, and 2050 is likely to be 83.5 million, 100 million, and 129.5 million, respectively. About 52% of the country consists of mountains and deserts. Out of the total land area of 165 Mha, 51 Mha are cultivable. The Caspian Sea Coast is Iran’s only region of abundant rainfall at 1600 mm per year. The average rainfall in the country is 250 mm. Agriculture accounts for about 12% of the country’s GNP and employs about 36% of the workers. Only about 12% of the land can be farmed. Wheat and barley are grown on about 75% of the cultivated land. Internal renewable water resources of Iran are estimated at 128.5 km<sup>3</sup> per year. Surface runoff represents a total of 97.3 km<sup>3</sup> per year and groundwater recharge is estimated at about 49.3 km<sup>3</sup> per year. The water withdrawal from surface area is in the order of 38.3 km<sup>3</sup> per year, while that from groundwater is 43.3 km<sup>3</sup> per year.

Based on a comprehensive water study for Iran (Jamab 1996), with proven sources of water that can be extracted using the country’s present technology in the main water basins, it is estimated that an amount of 121 km<sup>3</sup>/year of water can be supplied by the year 2021. Of this, 46.5 km<sup>3</sup>/year will consist of groundwater and the remaining 74.5 km<sup>3</sup>/year of surface water.

This forms 88% of the total renewable water resources of the country, which can be considered as the ultimate development of these resources. Presently, an area of 8.84 Mha in Iran is irrigated while 9.66 Mha is rainfed. The agricultural land availability is not a constraint in the development of irrigated agriculture. The irrigable land is estimated at more than 12 Mha. The policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is that agriculture should become the center and pivot of all development activities. The main qualitative objectives of the water sector in the five-year plans are:

- Securing the water requirements of the various sectoral users of water;
- Increased efficiency in water resource use; and
- Strengthening decision making and management capability in the water sector.

(Source: International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage [ICID])

**See also Pollution, Agricultural; Pollution, Industrial; Water Resources and Distribution**

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## ISLAM

### Basic Facts

With a 2004 estimate of 1.48 billion followers, Islam is the religion of roughly 23% of the world's population (based on CIA Fact Sheet 2004). Most Muslims live in the region that extends from North Africa to Southeast Asia, but Muslim minorities across Europe and the Americas are the second- or third-largest religious communities (Esposito 1999, p. 690). Islam comprises people from almost every ethnicity, including Arabs (19%), Turks (4%), Indians/Pakistanis (24%), Africans (17%), and Southeast Asians (15%). The largest Muslim population is in Indonesia (194 million), and the largest number of Muslim minorities live in India (150 million), China (38 million), Russia (28 million), France (6 million), and the United States (6 million). Most Muslims in non-western countries are indigenous nationals who belong to the local ethnicity and culture. However, the majority of Muslims living in the West are educated immigrants who migrated for various reasons related to the phenomenon of "brain drain" from their original countries.

Muslims believe in the absolute oneness of God, the prophethood of Muhammad (570–632 CE), and the Qur'an as the final message from God to humankind as revealed to Muhammad (The Holy Qur'an, Chapter 33: Verse 40). Muslims grew from a small and oppressed group in Mecca, now in western Saudi Arabia, at the beginning of the seventh century to an established "Islamic State" that overpowered both the Roman and Persian empires by the end of the same century. Islam, then, became the religion of a variety of cultures and a flourishing civilization that spanned over the medieval centuries. The early post-prophetic era, however, witnessed violent tribal disputes in Arabia, which eventually led to the formation of a few politico-religious sects within Islam in addition to the Sunni mainstream (92% of Muslims),

namely, Shia or Twelvers (now 5.8% of Muslims, mainly in Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon), Ibaddis or Kharijites (now 1% of Muslims, mainly in Oman), Zaidis (now 1% of Muslims, mainly in Yemen), and Alawites (now 0.1% of Muslims, mainly in Syria). Eventually, the Islamic State's internal problems, especially political dictatorship, patriarchy, and racial disputes, led to severe deterioration, colonization from outside powers, and ultimate disintegration by the late nineteenth century. The second half of the twentieth century witnessed widespread political liberalization and initiation of modern processes of development across the Muslim world (Esposito 1999, p. 643).

### Islam and Development

According to the 2004 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report, most Islamic countries (i.e., countries with a Muslim majority) rank within the "medium" range of the comprehensive Human Development Index (HDI), which is calculated using indexes of life expectancy, enrollment in education, and standard of living. However, some Islamic countries, specifically the oil-rich Arab states, rank comparatively much higher in terms of income per capita and much lower in terms of female literacy and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), which includes women's political participation, economic participation, and power over resources (UNDP 2004, p. 221). In addition to Muslim minorities who live in developed countries, countries with Muslim majorities that were ranked under "high human development" are Brunei, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates (which collectively represent less than 1% of Muslims). The bottom of the HDI list includes Yemen, Nigeria, Mauritania, Djibouti, Gambia, Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, and Niger (which collectively represent around 10% of Muslims).

Islam is both a belief system and a comprehensive way of life that governs Muslims as individuals, families, and societies. Islamic principles in the form of prescribed "good deeds" and forbidden immoralities play a constructive role, from a development perspective. However, historical interpretations of Islamic scripts that evolved into established traditions in some predominantly Muslim countries do impede development, especially in the areas of politics and women's rights. Nevertheless, modern Islamic scholarship seeks reform through novel reinterpretation theories. Numerous Islamic organizations embrace these theories and work on the ground to materialize reform. However, there is a need for more theoretical

investigation of the concept of development itself in non-western Islamic contexts. The following paragraphs will elaborate on these topics.

### Principles Conducive to Human Development

The Qur'an views humankind as vicegerents on Earth, whose mission is "betterment and reform" (for example, Qur'an 11:88, 26:152). The Qur'an also states, "let there be no compulsion in religion," "the noblest of humankind is the best in conduct," "no bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another," "stand out firmly for justice, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it be against rich or poor," "male or female: you are members, one of another," "if the enemy inclines toward peace, do you also incline toward peace, and trust in God," and that dialogue is "the means that is best" (Qur'an 2:256, 49:13, 17:15, 4:135, 3:195, 8:61, 29:46, respectively). Based on these verses and others, a Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights was announced in 1981 by a large number of scholars who represented various Islamic entities at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Supported by a number of Islamic scripts mentioned in its references section, the declaration contains all basic rights declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), such as rights to life, freedom, equality, justice, fair trial, protection against torture, asylum, freedom of belief and speech, free association, education, and freedom of movement (Bora Laskin Law Library 2004). However, since 1981, a debate is still alive, especially in the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCHR), on whether this Islamic declaration "gravely threatens the inter-cultural consensus on which the international human rights instruments were based" or whether Islam "adds new positive dimensions to human rights, since, unlike international instruments, it attributes them to a divine source thereby adding a new moral motivation for complying with them" (UNHCHR 2003).

On the practical level, there are specific "acts of worship" that Islam prescribes that could contribute to human development. These are, for example, seeking and teaching knowledge, spending and consuming moderately, sponsoring orphans, forgiving debts, assisting the disabled, ensuring hygiene, helping one's relatives and neighbors, treating prisoners of wars kindly, avoiding transgression, being "kind and just" to those of a different religion, and annual donating up to 10% of every Muslim's wealth, which is given to the needy in society and

other social causes (for example, Qur'an 2:177–179, 17:23–38).

Additionally, all forms of corruption are considered “major sins” in Islam, such as bribery, conflict of interest, fraud, and the use of one’s political power for personal gains. The prophet Muhammad was reported to have judged whether an employee has a right to accept a certain gift by asking whether that employee would still have been offered the gift if he or she had never been employed.

### **Historical Interpretations Impeding Development**

Despite the strong moral ideals of the Qur'an listed above, some verses of the Qur'an had been interpreted in ways that serve certain agendas of dictatorship, patriarchy, or violence. For example, the Qur'an states: “To those against whom war is made, permission is given to fight, because they are wronged; and verily, God is most powerful for their aid. They are those who have been expelled from their homes unjustly” (Qur'an 22:39–40). These verses and similar ones had been interpreted a millennium ago to mean that the entire world is divided into two exclusive zones, the “land of Islam” and the “land of war,” which are expressions mentioned nowhere in the scripts themselves. Other verses that encouraged Muslims to fight “for the sake of the oppressed” (Qur'an 4:75) are claimed to have abrogated (i.e., legally annulled) all other verses that advocated mercy, cooperation, and dialogue with any non-Muslim. These binary classifications of the world are still endorsed by some violent political groups.

Certain verses of the Qur'an that encourage Muslims to respect and cooperate with their leaders in addition to verses that mention “security” as a blessing from God are repeatedly interpreted to mean that loyalty to de facto rulers is an Islamic obligation, regardless of their conduct. Therefore, seeking to change unjust leaders, even through peaceful means, is considered an act of deviance that “jeopardizes the blessing of security.” Similar interpretations, historically popularized by the Abbasid dynasty (758–1258 CE), sanction tribal monarchies as the only form of acceptable Islamic regimes and go further to claim that a Muslim ruler should be only from “noble Arab lineages.” Based on these interpretations, resources in some Muslim countries are distributed over citizens based on their lineages, and “noble” rulers have the right to make dictatorial decisions. “Mutual consultation” (Qur'an 42:38), which is a clear Islamic instruction, is interpreted to mean that the ruler should

consult the ruled, but without being under any obligation to follow what they choose.

Other verses, which specifically advised Prophet Muhammad’s female followers to take certain precautions during Medina’s revolts, around 624 CE, to protect themselves from assaults (Qur'an 33:59), are often taken out of their historic context to entail that all women are to be “protected” by isolating them from places of work and even mosques. Such interpretations further render women incapable of making political, legal, financial, or personal choices, or even driving cars. Examples of Muslim groups that have subscribed to such opinions are the Taliban, former rulers of Afghanistan, and the Wahhabis, an extreme Sunni trend influential in Saudi Arabia.

### **Modern Interpretations and Reform**

An Islamic reform movement has been initiated that rejects extreme traditional interpretations, redefining many basic Islamic concepts, and modernizing the Islamic law itself. Fazlur-Rahman, for example, criticized medieval Islamic thought for not producing “a single work of ethics squarely based upon the Qur'an, although there are numerous works based on Greek philosophy” (Fazlur-Rahman 1979:257). He called for a contemporary interpretation of the Qur'an based on ethics and reform of the Islamic law to emphasize “purposes” rather than “quantified actions.” Abdul-Karim Soroush supported new interpretations of the Qur'an that differentiated between verses that are “functions of a cultural, social and historical environment” and other verses that are universal (Kurzman 1998:248). Contemporary Islamic reform started across the Islamic world one century ago with “modernist” Islamic scholars, as will be explained next.

In the first half of the twentieth century, a number of Islamic reformists “sought to reconcile Islamic faith and modern values, such as constitutionalism, as well as cultural revival, nationalism, freedom of religious interpretation, scientific investigation, modern-style education, women’s rights, and a bundle of other themes” (Kurzman 2002, p. 4). Two key pioneers of modern Islamic reform are Mohammad Abduh (1849–1905), the Chief Egyptian Mufti at his time, educated in both Al-Azhar and France, and Mohammad Iqbal (1877–1938), an Indian poet-lawyer-philosopher educated in England and Germany. Both scholars, from both geographical sides of the Islamic world, integrated their Islamic and western education into proposals for Islamic reform. A common theme in both proposals was the reinterpretation and reconstruction of

Islamic thought. Iqbal distinguished between universal principles of Islam, on one hand, and their relative interpretation in practical life, on the other. Abduh wrote a Qur'anic exegesis based on a direct understanding of the Qur'an's Arabic language and without quoting any previous exegete for the first time in Islamic scholarship history.

Through new interpretations of the Qur'an, Abduh and his student, Qassim Amin (1863–1908), promoted education of girls and women, restriction of polygamy, and granting Muslim women divorce rights (Kurzman 2002, p. 61). Their writings eventually influenced Egyptian laws and many other Muslim legal systems. Qasim Amin's book, *Liberation of Women*, published in 1899, initiated women's liberation literature in the Arab world as well as Iran, after its translation into Persian in 1900. Interestingly, women's rights movements in Iran also started due to the works of modernist Islamic (male) scholars. For example, Ahmad Kasravi Tabrizi (1880–1946), originally from Azerbaijan, called for academic and political freedoms and the equality of women and men in education. At present, women's rights activists in the Muslim world are typically women in both Islamic and secular establishments, who promote more advanced forms of social and political equality and development (Krause 2005).

Whether Islam is a "religion that has a political character" is a question posed in 1925 by Ali Abdel-Raziq (1888–1966), an Azhari judge and Oxford graduate, and the topic has sparked heated debates since. In a strong reinterpretation style, Abdel-Raziq quoted numerous Quranic verses and prophetic traditions to prove that Prophet Muhammad had only had "authority as a prophet and not dominion as king, caliph or sultan" (Kurzman 2002, p. 32). Abdel-Raziq's view was that the Islamic law is neutral about political systems; hence, Muslim societies are free to choose any political system they deem suitable, without making any political system an "Islamic obligation." These new interpretations opened up possibilities for Islamic scholars after Abdel-Raziq to call for changing dominant monarchical systems throughout the Islamic world, which have been supported by traditional Islamic interpretations.

Present-day popular Muslim politicians, such as Mohammad Khatami, Iran's fifth president; Benazir Bhutto, former president of Pakistan and the first Muslim female president in modern history; Rachid Ghannouchi, founder of the Tunisian Renaissance Islamic Party; and several others, all have supported democracy and democratic practices based on new interpretations of the Islamic scripts (Khatami 1998; Kurzman 1998). Abdulaziz Sachedina, an Islamic

scholar from the University of Virginia, recently explored the "Islamic roots of democratic pluralism" in the Qur'an and evidences of "civil society" in the early Muslim community that Prophet Muhammad formed in order to "legitimize modern secular ideas of citizenship in the Muslim political culture" (Sachedina 2001, p. 132)

## Islamic Organizations that Contribute to Development

The above Islamic principles of justice and charity and modern interpretations of social equality and political reform inspire numerous Islamic organizations across the Muslim world. These organizations, in effect, contribute to the process of human development in the Muslim world even though they might not have specific agendas for development per se. Organizations are thereby categorized as Islamic if they are attached to mosques or announce mission statements or projects that signify religious Islamic goals. Examples of such organizations are given below.

A large number of organizations across the developing world operate through local mosques in order to offer literacy programs, basic health care, orphan-sponsoring projects, and charity collection and distribution programs. Besides contributing to human well-being, these organizations are indirectly contributing to the process of political liberalization, civil society expansion, and "democratization from below" (Krause 2005). Moreover, several organizations directly promote democracy, minority rights, and cross-cultural dialogue in the Muslim world on an Islamic basis, through academic publications, public lectures, activist awards, and research workshops. Specifically active is the Washington-based think-tank, Centre for the Study of Islam and Democracy (CSID), the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), and the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies.

Muslim women's organizations also contribute to the process of social reform. An important example is Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML), an international solidarity organization that rejects unjust laws and customs resulting from different interpretations of Islamic religious texts and the political use of Islam. Another example is the Sisterhood Is Global Institute (SGI), in Jordan, which led a campaign to outlaw honor killing as un-Islamic. Its founder, Jordanian lawyer Asma Khader, was acknowledged by an award from the United Nations Development Program in 2003.

## Theoretical Considerations for Development

The concept of development is a product of western modernism and has been shaped over the past five centuries by the European and American models. Muslim scholars and politicians have dealt with this concept in a spectrum of ways, although two extreme and rather popular positions can be identified. Traditional Islamic scholars and extreme Islamic political groups reject the concept of development altogether based on its western origin and “centricity” (i.e., self-projection), a critique interestingly similar to the western postmodernist critique. On the other hand, several modern reformers and politicians in the Islamic world, in addition to some western politicians, invite Muslims to give up their heritage and follow the modern western development model as the only way to achieve prosperity and solve their problems. As popular as they are, neither of the two positions has been able to achieve a balance between development values, which has attained an undisputed success in the West, and the Islamic heritage, which represents the core religious and cultural identity of Muslims. Muslim countries cannot prosper if they continue to view the world through medieval eyes and ignore the valuable experience of western development. On the other hand, asking Muslims to dissolve into another’s cultural paradigm is ethnocentric, unsympathetic, and unrealistic. There is a need for Muslim thinkers and politicians to absorb the western experience and integrate its lessons of development into their Islamic heritage and identity. The concept of “human development,” as proposed by the United Nations, could be a basis for this much-needed middle ground. Human development, the 2004 UNDP report states, is about “rejecting claims that cultural differences necessarily lead to social, economic and political conflict” (UNDP 2004, p. v). Human development is about realizing basic human rights, for which Islam called fourteen centuries ago.

GASSER AUDA

**See also Brain Drain; Islamic Fundamentalism; Taliban; United Nations Development Program (UNDP); Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML)**

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## ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

Islamic fundamentalism is a vague term that describes in modern vocabulary the militant ideology of contemporary Islamic movements in the various parts of the Muslim world. However, the term Islamic fundamentalism refers to a group of those Muslims who adhere to the traditional Islamic way of life, accept the traditional Islamic values, and maintain the traditional Islamic worldview. They include reformists (*salafīyya*), conservatives (*usūlīyya*), and the so-called militant Islamists. One important characteristic that is common among them is their rejection of secularism and modernity in all their manifestations, which is a hallmark of the West. This serves to highlight their fundamentalist construct of going back to the basic teachings of the religion of Islam and the *sharī’a* law (Islamic law).

Thus, in order to view correctly the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism and place it in its proper perspective, we need to analyze it by examining how it came to appear in the Muslim world in parallel to what took place in the Western world. It forms a pattern of interaction between the Muslim world and the Western world as it is a reaction against the secularism, which is the outcome of Western modernity, and a resistance to colonial powers at the turn of the twentieth century. As a result, the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism in the Muslim world can be

explained by analyzing the two tendencies that are its characteristic features. The first tendency is featured among the reformists (*salafīyya*) who initially began the movement to achieve independence from the colonial powers and at the same time reform the Muslim society by advocating the return to the Islamic model of society that existed in the glorious past of Islam. Hence, they tended to conceive of the *sharī'a* law as a universal framework in which the Muslim conduct of life must be incorporated and adapted to the consideration of the needs and necessities of modern times. They favored acquiring knowledge of Western sciences and technology and also tried to implement them. Failing to see any success, the conservatives (*usūlīyya*) advocated going back to the roots and basic principles of the *sharī'a* law, rejecting modernity, secularism, and any kind of Westernization. But finding the penetration of the Western mode of secularization in the Muslim world and thwarted by the intrusion of the Western powers therein, some conservatives from among these fundamentalists, whom we have called militant Islamists, may sometimes react radically and take extreme measures of violence.

Both of these tendencies are manifest in today's Muslim world, and, obviously, these Islamic fundamentalists are not successful in realizing their goal. This raises the question of what is the cause of their failure. To find an explanation, one needs to look at the paradigm of modernity and secularism that reigns in every aspect of Western society and operates on all levels of modern life in the Western world. The basic mistake of Muslim reformists was to think that it was possible to borrow scientific knowledge and technology from the West without adapting to the secularization of Western modernity. The Muslim reformists thought that they would restrict modernity by utilizing the achievements of modern Western sciences and knowledge of technology, not realizing that modernity is a Western project that began in the period of Enlightenment. And it claims, as Kant says, to release humankind from past tutelage and makes it rely on reason, knowledge, and autonomy of man. It is true that Islam encourages the pursuit of knowledge and research, but it should be subservient to and in accordance with the Qur'ānic values and ethics. From this one can discern the basic fallacy of thinking of Muslim reformists and the reason for the failure of their movements. Thus, the militant Islamists from among the fundamentalists find themselves at odds when they are unable to keep pace with Western modernity; its rapid progress and developments in science, technology, industry; and its organizational skills in political, social, ethical, cultural, and economic institutions. They feel their failure is due to the Western

intrusion in the affairs of the Muslim world and not knowing better what to do, they resort to violence. It is in this sense that Islamic fundamentalism is a reaction against the West. One can say that there is a sense of urgency on the part of the Western world to be alarmed in the face of this perceived threat from militant Islam, which directs its attacks on the values of secularism as embodied in the West and its path of development. The danger to the Western world is that this trend of violence, due to the religious movement of militant Islam, may spill into it and become a fertile territory for terrorist activities and a constant source of disturbance.

However, even after such a shocking event that the entire world witnessed on September 11, 2001, the extreme form of fundamentalism that manifests itself in militant Islam cannot be characterized as terrorism. Such activities are simply the outcome of desperation on the part of militant Islam. They certainly do not translate into religious revival or reformation, or bring any changes into the society that Islamic fundamentalism intend to achieve.

In short, there has not yet been an emergence of any spontaneity of thought in these Islamic movements after the colonial period that synthesizes various elements of modernity, transforms them from the perspectives of Islamic religious orientation, and constructs them according to the Muslim legacy, traditions, and worldview.

HUSAIN KASSIM

**See also Islam; Taliban**

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### ISRAEL

The State of Israel is located on the eastern Mediterranean Sea, on a land bridge that connects Asia with the

African continent. In general, the country experiences long, hot summers, and brief, wet winters. Climate varies, however; in the mountainous Galilee region in the north, summers are considerably cooler than in the Negev Desert of the south, a desert that comprises roughly 60% of Israel's land mass. Tel Aviv, on the Mediterranean, is known for a hot, humid climate, while Jerusalem, only sixty kilometers inland, is located in the Judaeen Mountains, and often experiences light snow in the winter. Thus, despite the country's small size, a variety of topographies and climates may be found.

Some observers see the creation of the modern State of Israel in 1948 as nothing short of miraculous, while for others, it was the beginning of a long hard struggle against a new form of colonialism that seems to have no imminent ending. What is certain is that the country was born in conflict, and has experienced political strife from that moment onward. For while it is true that the birth of the State of Israel was the ultimate realization of the Zionist dream, Israeli independence is seen from the Palestinian perspective as *al-Nakba*, that is, the catastrophic destruction of Arab Palestine. Israel's entire society, culture, political structure, and economy are, in many ways, directly impacted by the country's ongoing efforts to resolve this inherent contradiction.

## Israel's Raison d'être

The foundation of Israel's creation in the Middle East following the British decolonization of Palestine was premised upon the ideology of Zionism, that is, Jewish nationalism. Developed in western Europe, the early Zionist movement sought to (re)create a Jewish presence in Palestine, and to reconstitute the Jewish commonwealth, destroyed two millennia earlier (68–70 CE). This was to be achieved primarily through *aliyah*, that is, mass Jewish immigration to the land of Palestine. The Zionist motto, “a land without a people for a people without a land,” well explains this ideology. What most early Zionists failed to recognize, however, was that the land of Palestine was not empty at all, but was home to a long-established Palestinian Arab community.

Thus, the founding of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, following the end of the British Mandatory period (1917–1947), was viewed by the Jewish Zionists as the fulfillment of a dream. The subsequent attack by five Arab states on the following day, and the bloody war that ensued, were ultimately overcome by the young Jewish army, and the State was preserved. That said, the war well established the fact

that the Arab world could not and would not accept the existence of what they saw as a colonialist, imperialist State in its midst, and would do everything in its power to, in time, eliminate it and restore Palestine to rightful Arab rule. The outflow of Palestinian refugees from Palestine and into many of the neighboring Arab states only further emphasized to these countries the injustice that the creation of Israel had brought upon the Arab people.

Therefore, the early goals of the State of Israel were twofold. The first priority was the effective absorption of Jewish refugees, primarily from Holocaust-torn Europe and later, in the 1950s and 1960s, from the Arab/Muslim Middle East and North Africa. The second priority was security, insofar as the 1949 armistice with the Arab combatant states did not at all protect the fledgling State of Israel from future military incursions.

Absorption of Jewish immigrants, many coming to the new state with only the shirts on their backs, demanded a huge economic investment. Communal farms, known as *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*, played one key role in the new state. Initiated in the early part of the twentieth century during the Ottoman period (the first *kibbutz* was created in 1910), the movement exemplified the Zionist spirit and mythos of “draining the swamps,” “sowing the fields,” and ultimately, “making the desert bloom.” Moreover, it was typical that these farms be strategically placed, serving not only as agrarian communities, but also as a first line of defense against the Arabs' ability to threaten the young Jewish community, known prior to statehood as the *Yishuv*.

Given the European roots of Israel's founding fathers and mothers, a strong, centralized economy evolved throughout the 1950s as well. Based upon socialist principles, the Israeli political and economic systems relied directly upon planning as the centerpiece of its ideology. Thus, a system of absorption centers was developed very early on (*mercaze klitah*) through which thousands of immigrants, especially those from the Middle East and North Africa, passed prior to taking up permanent residence in the country. Planned new communities, known as “development towns,” were also created throughout the country, designed both to serve as centers of immigrant absorption, as well as to create a de-centralized urban system of “facts on the ground.” Thus, these towns performed multiple functions by establishing a permanent Jewish presence in the country outside of the Tel Aviv conurbation, which helped the Israelis to further lay claim to, as well as to defend, the new state.

Clearly then, the goals of security and absorption often overlapped. The political environment of the



1950s also demanded the development of a strong and prepared military, composed in part of newcomers who typically spoke no Modern Hebrew (*Ivrit*), and who had limited military experience. *Zahal*, the Israeli Defense Force, thus served both to protect the new state from threat, as well as to help absorb new immigrants socially and culturally.

The role of the military was not limited to external defense, however. Internally, the Israeli government also sought to control and pacify the Palestinian Arab community that, as a result of the Independence War, now lived under Israeli sovereignty. While Israeli citizenship was conferred upon these Arabs in 1951, the community remained under military administration until the mid-1960s, largely viewed by the Israeli establishment as the enemy within.

### The Role of the Arab–Israeli Conflict in Israel’s Development

The history of the State of Israel from its establishment in 1948 to the present day has been punctuated regularly by war, guerrilla terror, and communal uprisings. This conflict has played a key role in the State’s economic, political, and social development, and is central to an understanding of Israel’s positioning in regional affairs. It is significant to point out, however, that though the “Arab–Israeli” conflict and the “Palestinian–Israeli” conflict share much in common, the two should not be conflated into a single issue.

On the Arab–Israeli front, Israel was at war with her Arab state neighbors from the inception of the creation of the state. The primary combatant was Egypt, which, under Gamal Abdul Nasser, sought throughout the 1950s to disrupt the Zionist presence in Palestine by allowing *fedayeen* raids to be conducted from Egyptian territory. Israel’s response to these incursions, as well as to the growing sense that an Egyptian-led pan-Arab coalition against Israel’s security had grown to a viable threat against the state, led to the Sinai Campaign of 1956. Sharing the desire to topple Nasser, the British and French assisted Israel in its move against Egypt. Ultimately though, the Eisenhower Administration stepped in, and Israel was forced to withdrawal to the 1949 armistice lines.

The Six-Day War of 1967 may be seen as the most significant war ever fought between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The war was a watershed in Israel–Arab relations, ultimately fostering a split in the Arab–Israeli and Palestinian–Israeli conflicts. Conquering the Sinai peninsula and Gaza Strip from Egypt, the

Golan Heights from Syria, and the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, Israel was able in six days to effectively annihilate any threat against her future survival. The Arab states were understandably devastated; Nasser offered to resign from the Egyptian presidency as a result and, though the Egyptian people refused his offer, he died a clearly weakened leader only three years later.

As for Israel, these conquests in many ways were considerable, yet potentially damaging to her future development. Having moved on the world stage from the role of “David” to that of “Goliath,” Israel now had the unenviable responsibility of governing over 1 million additional Palestinian Arabs who, unlike the Arabs of Israel, were not offered citizenship, and who would remain under military occupation for decades.

Elated and euphoric with a newly found sense of power, the Israeli government began the process anew of settling the conquered lands through the use of “facts on the ground.” Settlements were built, mostly in the West Bank, some in Gaza, and a handful in the Sinai and the Golan. While the ideology behind building settlements in Gaza, the Sinai, and Golan was largely military and defensive, settlement of the West Bank had an altogether different meaning. Known by Jews as “Judaea and Samaria,” this territory comprised much of the Jewish heartland of the Hebrew bible, lands with far greater historic and religious significance than, ironically, those lands upon which the State itself had been established.

Seeking to redress the travesty of the 1967 War as well as to establish himself as a legitimate heir to Nasser, Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat led an attack against Israel on October 6, 1973, the beginning of the Yom Kippur/Ramadan War. Though no land was acquired through this war and the Palestinian plight remained unresolved, the war succeeded insofar as it helped to establish el-Sadat as a strong Arab leader willing to stand up to the by-now formidable Israeli Defense Forces. Having proven himself in war, as-Sadat then offered peace. In November 1977, he traveled to Jerusalem where, in front of the Israeli *Knesset* (Parliament), he offered to make peace with the Israeli State.

The subsequent peace treaty, the Camp David Accords, was signed in 1979 by as-Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and US President Jimmy Carter. In return for Israeli withdrawal from its occupation of the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt offered Israel a permanent peace. The treaty effectively ended the Arab–Israeli conflict though not, despite some minor verbiage in the Accords to the contrary, Israel’s ever-festering conflict with the Palestinian people.

## The Role of the Palestinian Occupation in Israel's Political and Social Development

As refugees or people under occupation, the Palestinian community refused to accept Israel's existence. The creation of the State was known as *al-Nakba*, the catastrophe, which effectively destroyed Arab Palestine as it had been known before the end of the British Mandate.

Thus the Palestinian refusal to accept Israel as a reality was translated primarily into acts of what Israel saw as unacceptable violence and terror. Much of this terror was formalized in the late 1960s, following the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964. Often directed at non-combatants, this reign of terror came to a head when, at the Olympic Games held in Munich, West Germany, in the summer of 1972, Palestinian guerrillas took Israeli athletes and trainers hostage. A rescue attempt was foiled, and eleven Israelis died in the aftermath.

The constant fear of terror, both inside Israel as well as wherever Israelis might travel, took its toll on Israeli society. A "siege mentality" began to develop whereby Israelis felt that, though not actively at war, the terror that the Palestinians carried out against them made security increasingly paramount. This was most clearly seen following the conquest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where civil liberties expected in a democratic state such as Israel suffered under the strain of the need to maintain security. The end result was a military occupation of these Palestinian territories that was heavy-handed and at times, quite brutal. Thus, the occupation of these lands served to damage the development of civil society within the Palestinian community, while at the same time, jeopardized the very nature of the State of Israel as the "only true democracy" in the Middle East region.

The Palestinian uprising (*intifada*) against the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (1987–1993) was a turning point in Palestinian–Israeli relations and indeed, as a result, in Israel's political and economic development as a whole. Armed primarily with stones, the Palestinian protesters (typically young boys) squared off against Israeli tanks in a demonstration of unprecedented defiance. Israel's response was a policy of harsh military actions (shootings with live ammunition, tear gassings, and the like). The nature of the Palestinian *intifada* movement as a grassroots protest against the injustices of the occupation found sympathy worldwide, and brought about pressure upon the Israeli State to finally help resolve the Palestinian problem.

The Oslo Peace Accords, secretly negotiated at Oslo, Norway, and signed by Palestinian leader Yasser

Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and US President Bill Clinton in 1993, appeared to clear the way for the resolution of Israel's conflict with the Palestinians. Following the "land for peace" formula, Israel committed to a staged withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza similar to its withdrawal from the Sinai. In return, the Palestinians offered peace, and the renunciation of future claims to the part of historic Palestine that was now Israel.

At the same time, the resolution of the Palestinian problem allowed Jordan to sign a peace treaty with the Israelis in 1994, and other Arab states to similarly move toward formally recognizing Israel and accepting her into the Arab neighborhood. An Arab boycott against corporations dealing with Israel was lifted, allowing for an unprecedented influx of new direct foreign investment into the Israeli economy. The likes of Intel and other large high-technology firms came to Israel to establish bases in southwest Asia.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was one of a number of Israeli architects of this new economy. Throughout the 1990s, he and others helped foster an era of privatization and movement away from Israel's historic roots as a socialist state. *Kibbutzim* and *moshavim* abandoned their communally oriented ideologies for a more individually based capitalistic economic orientation. With ceasing hostilities with her Arab neighbors and with a newly found emphasis on free enterprise, the Israeli economy boomed.

Significantly, this boom coincided with a major influx of Jewish refugees now free to relocate from the former Soviet Union. Over 1 million new immigrants relocated from the region during the 1990s. Two significant though smaller waves of immigrants from Ethiopia relocated to Israel during the late 1980s and 1990s as well. Socially, politically, and economically, the decade proved to be a particularly successful period of development for the Israeli state.

## Israel in the Twenty-First Century

The outbreak of the *al-Aqsa intifada* (uprising) in September of 2000 once again altered the Israeli political landscape. Now armed with machine guns instead of stones, the Palestinian combatants of the new uprising bore little resemblance to their predecessors of nearly a decade earlier. The Israeli response to this uprising was similar, however, in that once again, Israel followed a policy of disproportionality. Simply put, for every action (roadside attack, killing, assassination) on the Palestinian side, Israel responded with an even greater action—"two eyes for an eye," one

could say. Such a policy was intended to serve as a deterrent to Palestinian activism; in actuality, it did not appear to work, but did apparently serve to further escalate the conflict. The process toward Palestinian statehood and Israeli “normalcy” begun under Oslo in 1993 thus proved to be an excruciatingly slow one.

The death of Yasser Arafat, president of the Palestinian Authority, in late 2004 signaled a possible improvement in Palestinian–Israeli and Arab–Israeli relations. Labeled by the Israeli Government as an “irrelevant” obstacle to peace during the height of the *al-Aqsa intifada*, Arafat remained a symbol of tenacious Palestinian resistance to Israeli interests and demands throughout his seventy-five years. His passing ushered in a new period of reconciliation between Israel and her Arab neighbors that offered new opportunities for the country to finally find a recognized place within a neighborhood that had for so long denied her very existence or legitimacy.

And yet, while the conflict with the Palestinians showed some signs of subsiding in the early part of the twenty-first century, a number of economic and social concerns in Israel not connected directly to the conflict are equally relevant. As Israel has developed economically, the land available for growth has been rapidly shrinking. Resource limitation, most especially fresh water and arable land, continue to plague the country. As Israel urbanizes, these limitations are even more acute. Over 90% of the Israeli population lives on 40% of the land; excluding the desert, Israel is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Though the desert remains largely ignored, the future development of the state will likely rely in part upon its more effective use.

Socially, the future role of two minority populations in Israel is also likely to be significant. First among these is the religious Jewish community, whose population is rapidly growing. This community has placed demands and expectations on the State which, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, put it at odds with secular Israel. The imposition of certain *halachic* (Jewish legal) regulations has created considerable conflict between and among the majority of Israelis, who do not embrace these rules. The prohibition against the national air carrier El Al flying on Saturdays, the ability of drivers to use certain roads during the Sabbath, the sale of pork and other non-kosher products in the country (increasingly relevant since the arrival of the immigrants from the former USSR), and so on have all proven to be potentially explosive areas of national debate.

Lastly, the role of Israel’s Palestinian citizen minority cannot be ignored. The community has consistently comprised nearly 20% of the population throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. Were it not

for the Soviet Jewish immigration, this percentage would by now be far higher. And yet, this community continually argues that it is largely neglected by the State, and is often ignored altogether. It is apparent in all sectors—education, health care, and public services of all kinds—that the Arab community is underserved. Recent politicization of the community and a marked movement toward an association with the Islamic political parties suggest that ignoring this community and treating Arab Israelis unequally may, in the long run, backfire if policies are not altered significantly.

Thus, resolution of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, though central to Israel’s political and economic interests, is but one of many concerns that the State of Israel will continue to contend with in coming years. Born in conflict, the State remains a land of contradictions and uncertainties. That said, it is likely that the early Zionists, were they able to see the modern, high-tech society that has been developed in Israel over the past several decades, might marvel at how their fantastic dream is now an existing, albeit constantly evolving, reality.

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**See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Camp David Accords (1979); Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Palestine; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Palestinian Diaspora; Zionism**

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## ITAIPÚ DAM

Itaipú Dam, located on the upper Paraná River that forms the border between Paraguay and Brazil, is the world's largest-capacity hydroelectric plant, although it will lose the honor to China's Three Gorges Dam when that project is completed. Construction on Itaipú began in 1975, and electricity production began in May 1984. Installed capacity reached 12,600 MW when the last of the planned eighteen generators came online in 1991. Two additional generators brought installed capacity to 14,000 MW in 2004. In 2000, actual production peaked at 93.4 billion kWh, providing 95% of Paraguay's electricity consumption and 24% of Brazilian demand. Itaipú Binacional, the binational state corporation that owns the project, estimates that annual production could exceed 100 billion kWh in favorable years.

Brazil began pre-feasibility studies of the hydroelectric potential of the upper Paraná River in 1956. A territorial dispute with Paraguay in the area of the Guairá Falls was resolved with the Act of Yguazú in 1966, in which Paraguay and Brazil agreed to joint and equal ownership of the hydroelectric energy of the river and to study the utilization of the resource. Importantly, the Act also opened up the Paraguayan side of the border to Brazilian colonists, some three hundred thousand of whom entered the region by 1980.

Argentina was also interested in exploiting the potential electric production of the upper Paraná River. In 1973, Paraguay signed the Itaipú Treaty with Brazil and an agreement with Argentina to construct a major dam at Yacyretá. However, construction at Yacyretá would not begin until 1985, after Itaipú was already producing electricity. Rivalry between Brazil and Argentina had long been reflected in their policies towards Paraguay, and Brazil's greater capacity to sustain financing of the Itaipú project gave it the advantage. However, critics have argued that this "pseudo-rivalry," to use Osny Duarte Pereira's term, masked what was actually collusion between the two powers to gain control of Paraguay's share of this resource.

Construction of Itaipú had significant environmental, economic, and political implications, especially for Paraguay. Creation of the reservoir behind the

dam submerged Guairá Falls, the world's largest waterfalls. Peasant farmers, large agribusiness enterprises, and a growing number of towns moved into the isolated region of the reservoir, home to threatened wildlife and indigenous peoples. The Brazilian "economic miracle" of the 1960s and 1970s helped finance the project. The massive investments in Itaipú helped to generate the Paraguayan "economic miracle," a period of high rates of economic growth fueled by construction and agricultural exports. Paraguay's GDP per capita grew at an average annual rate of 5.07% between 1971 and 1981. Many authors attribute the poor economic performance over the rest of the 1980s (average annual GDP per capita growth at -0.66%) to the conclusion of major civil works at Itaipú. The decline of resources for patronage undoubtedly contributed to the collapse of the regime of Alfredo Stroessner in 1989.

Contracts for civil works, and the associated corruption in the bidding process, created new wealth for well-connected Paraguayan businessmen, who came to be known as the "Barons of Itaipú." Foremost of these was Juan Carlos Wasmosy, President of the National Consortium of Paraguayan Firms, a major contractor. Wasmosy, a member of the long-ruling Colorado Party, won a controversial election to become President of the Republic for the term 1993–1998.

By 1991, when Itaipú was at full production, Paraguay consumed just 1.9% of the total output, but depended on Itaipú-generated royalties and compensations for 35% of the central government's revenue. Royalties paid to both Brazil and Paraguay attracted the attention of local governments on both sides of the river. Brazil passed a royalties law in 1991, calling for distribution of royalties from Itaipú directly to the affected states (Paraná and Mato Grosso do Sul) and municipalities. Departmental and municipal governments in Paraguay successfully pushed a bill through Congress in 1998 for the distribution of royalties to all local governments, but favoring those districts most affected by Itaipú and Yacyretá. These payments are distributed by the Paraguayan central government, not Itaipú.

Nationalists in Paraguay, such as Domingo Laíno, three-time opposition candidate for president, have long called for the renegotiation of the Itaipú Treaty, a proposal Brazil has firmly resisted. The terms of the treaty do not permit renegotiation for fifty years, or until 2023. The treaty requires the parties to sell excess shares of electricity only to the other party, and only at production costs rather than the opportunity cost for alternative sources of energy. Payments for the sale of excess shares are called compensations. In practice, of course, only Paraguay

has excess energy to sell. Brazil has been able to use energy from other sources, made available by the enormous capacity of Itaipú, to sell to Argentina during periods when Argentina suffers energy shortages. Argentina, with a similar arrangement with Paraguay regarding Yacyretá, has been able to return the favor to Brazil thanks to Paraguay's inability to consume its share of the Paraná's hydro-electric production. The prominent critic Ricardo Canese points to this arrangement, and the opposition from Brazil and Argentina to proposals that would allow transfer of energy between the two dams on Paraguayan territory, as evidence of collusion on the part of the regional powers.

The Itaipú Binacional is a state corporation with twelve councilors, two general directors, and a twelve-person Executive Directorate. The posts are evenly divided between Brazilians and Paraguayans. The Binacional is charged with the administration of the dam and with Itaipú's related projects. Not only is Itaipú expected to transfer royalties to the two governments, but it is also expected to generate its own development projects in its zone of influence. Again, it is on the Paraguayan side that the impact is the greatest. In 2004, Itaipú Binacional reported spending US \$15 million in Paraguay to help alleviate problems in the rural sector, spending on education, health, police, road construction, potable water, and even

assisting peasant cooperatives and micro-industries. This is in addition to the monthly payments of over US\$20 million in royalties and compensations.

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**See also Argentina; Brazil; Corruption, Governmental; Paraguay; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Stroessner, Alfredo; Three Gorges Dam**

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## **JAGAN, CHEDDI**

Since 1945, politics in Guyana, characterized by ethnic and racial divisions between the Indo-Guyanese and the Afro-Guyanese, have been dominated by two politicians: Cheddi Jagan (1918–1997) and Linden Forbes Burnham. An integral part in Guyana's struggle for independence from the British, in 1950 Jagan formed the People's Progressive Party (PPP). To broaden support for the PPP, Jagan invited Burnham, who came from an upper middle class Afro-Guyanese family, to join the party. Burnham became the party chairman, while Jagan led the PPP's parliamentary group. Jagan was the prime minister of British Guiana from 1961 to 1964 and the president of Guyana from 1992 until his death in 1997.

Jagan, the son of ethnic Indian plantation workers, was born in British Guiana on March 22, 1918. In 1943, after earning a degree in dentistry from Northwestern University and marrying Janet Rosenberg, a Jewish woman from Chicago, Jagan returned to Guyana and immersed himself in politics. In 1946, Jagan was elected to the colony's legislative body. By establishing the PPP, Jagan hoped to increase the pace of the decolonization process in Guyana. Guyana's ethnic conflict, a result of British Guiana's colonial past when European planters imported vast numbers of African slaves and indentured servants from India to work on the sugar plantations, however, threatened to slow the process of decolonization. The PPP, therefore, was initially a coalition of lower-class Afro-Guyanese and rural Indo-Guyanese. During the 1953 elections, campaigning on a center-left platform,

the PPP won eighteen of twenty-four seats in the Legislative Assembly, a new institution created by the Waddington Constitution that granted a limited degree of local autonomy to the Guyanese people. The PPP's introduction of the Labour Relations Act, however, sparked a confrontation with the British, who saw the legislation as a threat to order and stability. On October 9, 1953, the day after the act was passed, the British government suspended the colony's constitution. The PPP had only been in office for 133 days.

By the time the British scheduled new elections in 1957, an open split had developed between Jagan and Burnham. Regardless, Jagan's faction of the PPP won the 1957 elections. Jagan and his supporters in the new government pushed for more rice land, improved union representation in the sugar industry, and more government posts for Indo-Guyanese. Jagan's veto of British Guyana's participation in the West Indies Federation resulted in the total loss of Afro-Guyanese support. In the 1961 elections, under the new Internal Self-Government Constitution, the PPP won twenty of the thirty-five seats in the Legislative Assembly and Jagan was named prime minister. Jagan's government, however, was quite friendly with Fidel Castro's government, refused to observe the US economic embargo on Cuba, and signed trade agreements with Hungary and East Germany. In 1962, Jagan admitted that he was a communist. Concerned about his Marxist ideology, the United States and the United Kingdom conspired to remove Jagan from office. In 1964, new electoral policies facilitated Jagan's removal from

power. A constant presence in the Guyanese political arena, Jagan won the 1992 presidential elections. By this time, however, he had abandoned his socialist philosophy and began to move Guyana toward a free-market capitalist system. He was dedicated to neo-liberal economic policies and privatization of the state-run industries. Within four years of taking power, Jagan reduced the nation's inflation rate from over 100% to less than 5% a year. He lured foreign investors to Guyana's agricultural, mining, and timber sectors. Before his term was finished, however, Jagan died in the Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, DC.

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**See also Guyana; Northern South America: History and Economic Development; Northern South America: International Relations**

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## JAMAICA

Jamaica, the third largest of the four islands known as the Greater Antilles, forms the northern boundary of the Caribbean Sea. It is located between Cayman Trench and Jamaica Channel, the main sea-lanes for the Panama Canal. Known by the Arawak Indians as "Xaymaca" or land of wood and water, Jamaica has long been noted for its natural beauty. The island, with its capital at Kingston, is 146 miles (235 kilometers) long, varying in width from 22 miles (35 kilometers) to 51 miles (82 kilometers). It is actually the tip of a submerged mountain with its topography marked by valleys and mountains. Two-thirds of Jamaica is covered with sedimentary rock, primarily white limestone. The hot and humid climate is tropical, with temperate patches found inland. The population is estimated at 2,713,130 with 91% descended from African slaves and 1.3% descended from Indian indentured servants. Nearly 20% of Jamaicans live below the poverty line with this percentage expected to grow in future years. The Jamaican economy is heavily dependent on services, which now account

for 70% of the gross domestic product (GDP). The country continues to derive most of its foreign exchange from tourism, remittances, and bauxite/alumina.

Jamaica became a Spanish colony when Christopher Columbus stopped at Discovery Bay in 1494 in search of gold. The Spanish never found much in the way of mineral wealth and almost abandoned the colony in 1513 before focusing on agriculture. Agricultural goods would become the mainstay of the Jamaican economy until the twentieth century. The Spanish focused on cattle raising. When the British invaded in 1655, they began using African slaves to produce sugar. Jamaica soon became the most productive of the British sugar colonies and the one most notorious for extreme brutality against slaves. The island is famed as the world's first commercial producer of rum, a derivative of sugar, and this Jamaican national drink remains a major export. Sugarcane remains a major agricultural product in the twenty-first century along with bananas, coffee, citrus, yams, vegetables, poultry, goats, milk, crustaceans, and mollusks.

Gradual dissatisfaction with direct rule from London in the 1930s prompted Jamaicans to protest against being a British Crown Colony. Labor leaders pushed for increased wages as well as political reform, linking the labor movement closely with politics from its inception. In 1944, Jamaica received a new constitution that provided for the full adult suffrage that labor leaders had demanded and gave more power to local elected officials. Two political parties, the Jamaica Labor Party and the People's National Party, formed to vie for control of the government. On August 6, 1962, Jamaica became independent from Great Britain.

The boom in consumer goods and tourism that followed World War II proved to be a bonanza for Jamaica. The Jamaican government, with the support of Great Britain, made a concerted effort to move the economy from its historical focus on agricultural products and heavy reliance on imported goods. The manufacture of cement, utilizing the large limestone deposits in the hills east of Kingston, began in 1952. Jamaica's abundance of sea and sunshine attracted tourists to Montego Bay, Port Antonio, Kingston, and Ocho Rios. The rise of postwar spending on consumer goods, automobiles, and aircraft led to an increase in the demand for aluminum. Jamaica's limestone contains huge bauxite deposits, especially in St. Ann, Manchester, St. Elizabeth, and Clarendon. Bauxite, composed chiefly of hydrous aluminum oxides and aluminum hydroxides, is the principal ore of aluminum. North American companies invested millions of dollars to establish Jamaican bauxite

mining and to refine the ore to the intermediate stage of alumina. By the early 1960s, Jamaica had become the world's largest producer and exporter of bauxite and alumina. The mining, processing, and export of the mineral have remained mainstays of the Jamaican government with Jamaicans holding jobs at all levels of the bauxite industry. Other major industries included textiles, wearing apparel, light manufactures, paper, chemical products, and telecommunications.

The Jamaican economy began to sour in the late 1960s because of structural faults and a deterioration of living standards as well as political missteps. This decline has continued. The expansion in light manufacturing, food processing, and chemicals had slowed by the end of the 1960s. The Jamaican sugar industry collapsed in the 1970s from slow production and low prices. Kingston, a metropolis of over a million residents with thousands commuting from nearby towns to city jobs, experienced infrastructure problems because of sudden massive growth. Jamaica's population grew faster than available resources. As unemployment rose, economically disadvantaged Jamaicans used an increasing number of illegal guns to commit violent crimes. Depressed economic conditions also led to gang violence fueled by the drug trade. The violence badly damaged the tourism industry and prompted rising numbers of Jamaicans to flee the island. Environmental woes also contributed to Jamaica's tourism decline with heavy rates of deforestation, coastal waters polluted by industrial waste and sewage, and damage to coral reefs.

Jamaica had always been closely aligned with Western countries. During the Cold War, the People's National Party government of Michael Manley sought to better Jamaica's ties to communist Cuba. Manley's actions, in the 1970s, scared both wealthy Jamaicans and investors from the United States who feared a communist takeover of Jamaica. The Manley government also began nationalizing financial institutions and tourism properties to protect jobs. Prosperous Jamaicans emigrated and disinvested. The illegal export of capital, estimated to amount to several hundred million dollars, forced the government to seek other sources of capital.

Jamaica is now heavily in debt. In the 1980s, the government engaged in massive borrowing from multilateral lending agencies, primarily the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. Jamaica's national debt doubled in less than a decade, with little money now available for government projects. The lending agencies now dictate Jamaican economic policy. Inflation is expected to remain in the double digits.

The Jamaican economy faces serious long-term problems. Unemployment is large-scale and crime

continues to hamper economic growth. Interest rates are high. While foreign competition is increasing, the trade deficit grows. The Jamaican government has to maintain its debt payments and resolve these challenging problems.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Caribbean**

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### JARUZELSKI, WOJCIECH

Wojciech Witold Jaruzelski (born July 6, 1923 in Kurow, Poland) was a Polish army general and politician, premier of Poland from 1981 to 1985 and first secretary of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party from 1981 to 1990; council of state from 1985 to 1989, and president of Poland from July 1989 to December 1990.

The German-Soviet invasion of 1939 trapped Jaruzelski and his family. Jaruzelski, captured by the Soviets, was transferred to work in a coal mine in Kazakhstan. In 1943, he joined the Polish army led by the Soviet Union and trained in the Soviet cadet school, Ryazan. After his training, he fought in the battle that liberated Warsaw from the Germans. After the war (1947), he formally joined the Polish Communist Party and reached the rank of brigadier general at the age of thirty-three (1956).

In 1960, he became deputy minister of defense. In 1964, he became a member of the Central Committee and was elected the deputy minister of defense. In 1968, he became the minister of defense. Jaruzelski rose to political leadership due to the troubles experienced by the Solidarity movement in the 1970s. The Soviet Union placed pressure on the Polish communist party to contain the striking workers in Gdansk and other key industrial cities. Jaruzelski was widely respected in the Kremlin and in Warsaw. Many viewed him as the only leader who could best



represent Polish interests but also still maintain a strong relationship with Moscow.

In 1981, facing a national crisis and believing that he had no choice to avoid a Soviet invasion, Jaruzelski authorized martial law. The effort was designed to crush the Solidarity movement and to restore political and economic stability. As a result of his action, he became unpopular with many workers and was viewed as a Soviet puppet who was more interested in Moscow's interests than the Polish people. In 1985, he changed his position to Council of State, which still did not bring much success. Jaruzelski defended his actions as necessary and ones that favored Poland. Years later, he wrote in his defense that he felt that he had no choice but to declare martial law or else fall under direct Soviet control. For example, Kremlin documents indicate that Soviet authorities deployed many divisions of combat-ready troops around Poland's borders and in the western USSR. The Soviet Union also conducted a long series of Warsaw Pact military exercises within Poland.

Jaruzelski's administration ultimately failed to suppress the Solidarity movement and the Polish people who sought a more democratic, multi-party form of government. In April 1989, in the first open election allowed, Solidarity won every open seat in the upper house. Due to the limited number of seats available, the communist party managed to keep control by one seat. The new elections resulted in Jaruzelski becoming president in July 1989. However, by September, Jaruzelski's shaky Communist coalition was forced to agree to a Solidarity prime minister. In December 1990, Lech Walesa succeeded Jaruzelski as the first president of post-communist Poland.

Jaruzelski's views were conservative communism, essentially maintaining the status quo. In 1993, Jaruzelski was charged with criminal conduct for allegedly ordering soldiers to fire on striking workers in 1970, but the motions were dropped in 1996 due to jurisdictional issues. After the collapse of communism in Poland, Jaruzelski, like other former communist leaders, became more moderate in his ideology. For example, in 1998, he stated that the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (which Poland had a minor role in) was a political and moral mistake.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Poland**

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#### JIANG ZEMIN

Jiang Zemin served as general secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) from 1989 through 2003. Although semi-retired, he still holds the most powerful position of Chairman of the CPC's Central Military Commission. During his thirteen-year tenure as CPC's top leader, he managed to maintain the momentum of China's economic reform engineered by Deng Xiaoping in later 1970s, and brought about one of the most remarkable period of economic growth in China's recent history.

Born in Jiangsu Province in 1926 to an intellectual family, Jiang joined the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1946 and participated in the communist underground movement in Shanghai while a college student. He received his college degree in electrical engineering and received some technical training in the former Soviet Union in mid-1950s. Before the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), Jiang worked for many years as a low-ranking factory manager, served several times as a party leader, and acted as chief of a number of research institutes. Little is known about his role in the Cultural Revolution. His rapid ascendance within the party started in 1980 when he was given a position as vice-chairman of the State Commission on Imports and Exports. He later worked for the State Commission on Foreign Investment, and was believed to play certain roles in the creation of the special economic zones (SEZ) in China's coastal provinces. One of the SEZs, Shenzhen, later became a showcase for China success in market-oriented reform. He was appointed as mayor of Shanghai, China's largest industrial city, and later as secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

Jiang's political career took a dramatic turn in 1989 when a major political turmoil erupted in Beijing over the death of the former party general secretary Hu Yaobang. Hu was believed to be unfairly removed by the party's conservative old guards in 1987. Jiang, because of his peaceful handling of the similar turmoil in Shanghai, was hand-picked by Deng Xiaoping to become the party's new general secretary, replacing the more liberal Zhao Ziyang. Lacking political charisma and experience, Jiang was overshadowed by the

still powerful Deng Xiaoping until Deng's death in 1993, when Jiang was appointed president of the PRC.

Under Jiang's leadership, Mainland China has gone through a process of depoliticalization where economic development took precedent over anything else. His era has been characterized as a period of relative political stability and sustained economic growth. China maintained an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth at 8% annually and fulfilled its goal of quadrupling the nation's total GDP. Jiang's other achievement included the peaceful return of Hong Kong and Macao, China's acceptance into the World Trade Organization (WTO), and China's selection as host city for the 2008 Summer Olympics. Jiang also attempted to leave behind a theoretical legacy which has been codified as the Theory of the Three Represents. The theory emphasizes the need for the CPC to adapt to the changing economic and political environment. The new theory laid some ground work for future party and political reform.

However, Jiang was also known for his poor handling of the Falungong, a popular semi-religious group that emerged in the 1990s, and his conservative attitude towards political reform. At the sixteenth Party Congress in 2003, he helped to engineer the first formal, peaceful power transfer within the CPC, and relinquished most of his power to the younger leader Hu Jintao.

BAOGANG GUO

**See also China, People's Republic of; Chinese Communist Party**

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## JIHĀD

The subject of *jihād* is widely misunderstood in the West in the past as well as in the present. Equally, it

has been misused in the Muslim world in the past for political power by Muslim rulers in the name of the religion of Islam. At other times, it was used by Muslims against the Christian world in the past and came to be called "holy war," the phrase being coined during the times of the Crusades. Therefore, it should not be confused with the real meaning of the word *jihād*.

*Jihād* is an Arabic word. It comes from the verb *jahada* and means to strive, struggle, and exert efforts. In the Qur'ān, the word *jihād* is frequently followed by the phrase *fī sabīl allah* (in the path or cause of God). One can strive by serving God in several ways and one of the ways is fighting against the enemy and thereby the association of the word *jihād* with the military connotation. It is true that in the Qur'ān, one finds verses that call for *jihād* and there are also verses which ask for peace. Therefore, one needs to examine the context in which the specific issue is addressed and also how and in what context the idea of *jihād* as just war and war for the cause of religion developed in the formation of *sharī'a* law (Islamic law).

It should be made clear from the very outset that the word *jihād*, which is usually translated as a holy war, is not correct. There is no adjective attached to the word *jihād*. It simply means war. *Jihād* is considered holy because God commanded it and when it is fought in the cause of God. When the Qur'ān provides a direct command to Muslims to fight when they are done wrong, it uses the word fighting (*qitāl*) and not striving (*jihād*). Thus *jihād* in defense of one's life, religion, property and land is a defensive war and is considered a just war. In such a case, Islam does allow the use of force and military action, when all possibilities of reconciliation (*sulha*) are exhausted. Hence, the term fighting (*qitāl*) and its derivatives are employed for the practice of war. Outside the Qur'ān itself, the concepts of *jihād* and *qitāl* came to be associated with one another in the Islamic tradition, but we must keep in mind the implication of the distinction that is ascribed to the prophet Muhammad between the "lesser *jihād*," namely, fighting (*qitāl*) and the "greater *jihād*," namely, striving in the cause of God and not just for the military expansion of the territory of Islam (*dār al-Islām*) or any other such motives.

The classical notion of *jihād*, though it entails the idea of warfare (*qitāl*), has an overwhelming emphasis on the spiritual striving to spread faith and establish peace and order by means of self-discipline and example. Thus the core meaning of *jihād* is inner spiritual striving and purification. It refers to the inner and spiritual striving an individual goes through in fighting against his inclinations, selfishness, and pride. It is an inner and major battle while the fighting and military expeditions are an outward and minor battle.

This becomes evident from the narration of the prophet Muhammad when he returned from a military expedition and said to his companions (*ashāb*, sing., *sahābī*): “This day we have returned from a minor *jihād* (military expedition) to the major *jihād* (self control).

In the *sharī'a* law, *jihād* is considered a collective responsibility (*fard kifāya*) as against an individual responsibility (*fard 'ayn*) unless of course the enemy attacks the territory of Islam or threatens the Muslim community (*umma*). In such a case, it becomes an individual responsibility of a Muslim. It is considered a just war and in that case every Muslim is obligated to participate in it. This war is limited to defensive warfare. For offensive warfare, that is, war for the expansion of the territory of Islam (*dār al-Islām*) and the conquest of non-Muslim territory (*dār al-harb*), the individual members are not obligated to take part in it. Thus the distinction between defensive and offensive *jihād*, namely, just war and war in the cause of religion revolves around the religious obligations of a Muslim in his individual capacity and as a member of the Muslim community (*umma*). This means that *jihād* as just war is the primary and essential obligation incumbent upon every Muslim as an individual and, therefore, sometimes it is called the sixth pillar of Islam. *Jihād* as a offensive combat upon an enemy territory carries not a great priority and, as a matter of fact, is of secondary importance and, as such, depends upon the context in which it is carried out and also in consideration of war ethics as it came to be formulated later in the *sharī'a* law during the time of 'Abbasids.

The notion of *jihād* as war in the cause of religion developed in the *sharī'a* law in a context and in circumstances wherein different factors came into play. The Muslim jurists in the formation of the *sharī'a* law and its regulations had to take into account these factors and accommodate them in construing the *sharī'a* law. The context in which the term *jihād* as a war came into use was in connection with the expansion of the territory of Islam (*dār al-islām*) by the conquest of the non-Muslims (*dār al-harb*) during the time of 'Abbasids. The terms *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-harb* do not occur in the Qur'ān. They were coined later during the 'Abbasid time when there occurred a vast expansion of the territory of Islam. Thus the notion of *jihād* as a war to increase the territory of Islam originated only later. Only the Sunnite jurists considered *jihād* in the sense of offensive war as a collective duty of Muslims in consideration of maintaining mutual relations of the Muslim community with other nations. But the Shi'ite scholars differed in their view because of the context and other political reasons.

Thus the notion of *jihād* as a just war understood as war in defense of religion as it emerges from the Qur'ān does not become an issue for Western modernity, since every nation-state has the right to defend itself and safeguard the rights of its citizens. The problem lies with the *jihād* as an offensive war. But as already explained, it was the political context during the period of 'Abbasids that the *sharī'a* law was formally developing thus forcing Muslim jurists to accommodate the changing conditions that occurred due to the expansion of the territory of Islam so that the Muslim community (*umma*) could maintain its mutual relations (*mu'āmalāt*) and regulate the sanctions concerning worldly affairs (*ahkām al-dunya*) with different religious communities and people.

On the whole, it can be said that *jihād*, as an offensive war, is no more relevant to the Muslim world in the modern context due to the changing conditions that have occurred due to modernity.

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### See also Islamic Fundamentalism

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### JORDAN

The most important aspect of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is its location. It is a small country (about the size of the state of Indiana) strategically positioned along what have been the major trade routes in the Middle East during most of the first two millennia of the Common Era. Early on, this area served as a buffer zone between regional tribes, countries, and empires. The British made a deal with Emir Abdullah I of the powerful Hashemite family

that if he successfully led the Arabs to revolt against the Ottoman Empire during World War II (known as the “Arab Revolt”), that the British would reward him. With the demise of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, Britain acquired protectorate status over what is today Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq. With the Treaty of London in March 1946, Jordan became a kingdom sharing a common border with Iraq as both countries were to be ruled by brothers of the Hashemite family. So that Jordan would not be landlocked, its border was extended to the Gulf of Aqaba where it created the port city of Aqaba along its twenty-six-kilometer coast. Today, Jordan is surrounded by Israel to the west, Syria to the north, Iraq to the east, and Saudi Arabia to the east and south.

Its location has been both a burden and a blessing. The land has few natural resources except for some phosphates and potash located in the Dead Sea region. It has no oil, no natural gas, and inadequate water resources. It receives almost all of its oil from Iraq at reduced rates. It shares a long border with Israel, which has caused Jordan to be drawn into three Arab wars. Although the Jordanian armed forces performed admirably against the Israeli military, they were still defeated, resulting in lost land and hundreds of thousands of fleeing Palestinian refugees. Jordan also borders Iraq, which, during the reign of Saddam Hussein, forced Jordan to make strategic choices about whether to side with the United States-led coalition against Iraq in 1991 (Operation Desert Storm) and again in 2003 (Operation Iraqi Freedom). King Hussein decided to remain neutral in 1991 due to his concern about unrest among Jordan’s majority Palestinian population if he sided with the West against an Arab nation. As a result of Jordan’s lack of support, the Gulf countries expelled most immigrant workers back to Jordan, causing a significant strain on its economy. King Abdullah II decided to side with the West in 2003, and was rewarded with a significant increase in the annual economic and military foreign aid provided by the United States.

On the other hand, because of its location along the historic regional trade routes, the area was developed by successive empires from the Assyrian, to the Roman, and ending with the Ottoman. It also witnessed some of the historic Crusader campaigns during the turn of the first millennium. As such, there are numerous historic forts, castles, and cities within Jordan that are world-class tourist sites, including the famous Nabatean red-rock city of Petra. The natural beauty of the Dead Sea, residing on the lowest point on the Earth’s surface at 1,224 feet below sea level, draws tourists from around the world.

Much of Jordan is located on a desert plateau. Its capital, Amman, sits at 3,500 feet above sea level,

which minimizes humidity. The temperature is moderate year-round, with lots of sun and little rain. As a result, the only area where agriculture can be effectively cultivated is around the Jordan River (which serves as its border with Israel) to the west and northwest.

The population of Jordan is over 5.5 million, with around 3 million people living in and around the capital city of Amman. Over 60% of the population is Palestinian, most with ties to the West Bank and Israel. Over 35% of Jordan’s population is under fifteen years of age. The median age of the population is only twenty-two years old. King Abdullah II, in his early 40s, is older than over 60% of the population. Most Jordanians are Sunni Muslims.

The education system is British-based and comprehensive. King Abdullah II decided to capitalize on his citizens, the country’s most valuable resource, by focusing his country on information technology (Jordan holds the Guinness World Record for most internet cafes on a city block—in Irbid). The government employs more than 40% of the population; nevertheless, Jordan’s unemployment rate hovers around 30%, which is a continuing source of instability. On the other hand, Jordanian expatriates working in other Arab countries send back remittances exceeding US\$1 billion every year, constituting Jordan’s leading source of income.

Although Jordan is a constitutional monarchy, the king maintains extensive legal powers, including the power to appoint the prime minister, other cabinet ministers, all of the military commanders, and all members of the Senate. He even has the power to dismiss the National Assembly, consisting of the Senate and House of Representatives, and rule by decree. The Prophet Mohammed was also a member of the Hashemite family. Hence, the King of Jordan is one of only two kings in the Arab world able to claim direct lineage to the Prophet (the other being Morocco).

Jordan’s Armed Forces are among the best trained in the Arab world. The JAF consists of around 110,000 people serving mostly in the Army followed by the Air Force, Special Forces, and the Navy. King Abdullah II was the Commander of the Special Forces before he was selected to be king by his father, King Hussein. King Abdullah’s full brother, Prince Feisal, became Commander of the Royal Jordanian Air Force in 2002.

Finally, Jordan prides itself on being the peacemakers of the Arab world. It concluded a formal peace treaty with Israel in 1994. King Hussein, although stricken with cancer, was instrumental in the successful conclusion of the Wye Plantation Arab-Israeli summit in 1998. King Abdullah II continues the effort leading Arab states in the global war against terrorism.

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See also Hussein, King of Jordan; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations

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## JUDAISM

Judaism is the religion of the Jewish people and one of the earliest recorded monotheistic faiths. The history and foundations of Judaism constitute the historical roots of other monotheistic religions, such as Christianity and Islam.

Jews understand Judaism in terms of its four thousand-year history. During this period Jews experienced slavery, self-government, conquest, occupation, and exile. Ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenic cultures as well as more modern movements such as the Enlightenment and the rise of Nationalism have influenced them. Thus, it transcends recognized boundaries.

### Historical View

Historians assert that Judaism can be distinguished from other religions that were prevalent when it developed by two characteristics. The first is monotheism. The significance of this belief lies in that Judaism holds that God created people and cares about them. In polytheistic religions, in contrast, humankind is oftentimes created by accident, and the Gods are primarily concerned with their relations with other Gods, not with people.

The second characteristic is the laws that the Torah instructed the Children of Israel to follow. Other religions at the time had temples in which priests would worship their Gods through sacrifice. The Children of Israel, in contrast, worshipped God through everyday actions.

By the Hellenic period, most Jews came to believe that their God was the only God, and so the God of everyone, and that the record of His revelation (the Torah) contained within it universal truths. Jews

began to struggle with the tension between the particularism of their claim that only they were required to obey the Torah, and the universalism of their claim that the Torah contained universal truths.

The outcome of this tension is a set of beliefs and practices concerning identity, ethics, one's relation to nature, and one's relation to God. The subject of the Hebrew Bible is an account of the Israelites' relationship with God since the beginning of time until the building of the Second Temple (approximately 350 BCE).

### Rabbinical View

According to religious Jews, Abraham was the first Jew. Rabbinic literature asserts that he was the first to take on the world and proclaim the folly of worship. As a result, God promised he would have children, starting with Isaac, who would inherit the Land of Israel (then called Canaan) after having been exiled and redeemed. According to the Bible, God gave Isaac's son Jacob the name Israel, meaning "he who struggles with God," and dedicated his descendants to be his nation.

God sent Jacob and his children to Egypt, after they eventually became enslaved, God sent Moses to redeem the Israelites from slavery. After the Exodus from Egypt, God led them to Mount Sinai and gave them the Torah, and eventually brought them to the Land of Israel.

The Torah given on Mount Sinai was summarized in the five books of Moses and together with the books of the prophets is called the Written Torah. The details which are called the Oral Torah were to remain unwritten. However, along the years, as Jews faced persecutions, some of these details were recorded in the Mishna, the Talmud, as well as other holy books.

According to Jewish Law, someone is considered to be a Jew if he or she was born to a Jewish mother or converted in accordance with Jewish Law. A Jew who ceases to practice Judaism is still considered a Jew, as is a Jew who does not accept Jewish principles of faith and becomes an agnostic or an atheist, so too with a Jew who converts to another religion. However, in the latter case, the person loses standing as a member of the (practicing) Jewish community and becomes known as an apostate in said community, though this might not affect his standing with non-practicing Jews.

The basis of Jewish Law and tradition (*Halakha*) is the *Torah* (the five books of Moses). According to rabbinic tradition there are 613 commandments in

the Torah. Some of these laws are directed only to men or to women; some only to Kohanim or Leviyim (members of the tribe of Levi), and many laws were only applicable when the Temple in Jerusalem existed. Less than three hundred of these commandments are still applicable today.

*Halakha*, the rabbinic Jewish way of life, is based on a combined reading of the *Torah*, and the oral tradition—the *Mishnah*, the halakhic *Midrash*, the *Talmud* and its commentaries. The *Halakha* has developed slowly, through a precedent-based system. The literature of questions to rabbis, and their answers is referred to as a practice (in Hebrew, *Sheelot U-Teshuvot*). Over time, as practices develop, codes of Jewish Law are written, the most important one being the *Shulkhan Arukh*, which determines Jewish religious practice until today.

## Jewish Denominations

Judaism today is commonly divided into the following denominations:

1. Orthodox Judaism (includes Hassidic Judaism, Haredi [or Ultra Orthodox] Judaism and Modern Orthodox Judaism)—this denomination holds that God and Moses wrote the Torah, and that the original laws within it are binding and unchanging. While Orthodox Judaism is in many senses what Judaism has been since the Middle Ages, its formation as a movement was a direct response to the formation of Reform Judaism.
2. Reform Judaism (outside of the United States also known as Progressive Judaism, and in the UK as Liberal Judaism) originally formed in Germany as a reaction to traditional Judaism, stresses integration with society and a personal interpretation of the Torah. The original intent was to keep Jews “in the fold” who might otherwise leave the religion and community.
3. Conservative Judaism—outside of the United States is it known as Masorti (Hebrew for “Traditional”) Judaism. “Masorti” is its official title in the State of Israel as well, though most Israelis use the word in a more general sense. According to Conservative Jews, the Torah, while unchanging, is subject to interpretation.
4. Reconstructionist Judaism started as a stream of philosophy by a rabbi within Conservative Judaism, and later became an independent movement.

## Jewish Identity in Modern Israel

Israelis tend to classify Jewish Identity in ways that are very different than diaspora Jewry. Most Jewish Israelis classify themselves as “secular” (*hiloni*) or as “traditional” (*masorti*). “Secular” is more popular among Israeli families of Western (European) origin, whose Jewish identity may be a very powerful force in their lives, but who see it as largely independent of traditional religious belief and practice.

The term *masorti* is most common among Israeli families of “Eastern” origin (Middle East, Central Asia, and North Africa). This term, as commonly used, has nothing to do with the official “Masorti” (Conservative) movement in the State of Israel. There is a great deal of overlap between the two and they cover an extremely wide range in terms of ideology and religious observance.

What would be called “Orthodox” in the diaspora includes what is commonly called *dati* (religious) or *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox) in Israel. The former term includes what is called “Religious Zionism” or the “National Religious” community, as well as what has become known over the past decade or so as *haredi-leumi* (nationalist *haredi*), which combines a largely *haredi* lifestyle with nationalist ideology. *Haredi* applies to a population that can be roughly divided into three separate groups along both ethnic and ideological lines: Lithuanian (non-Hassidic) *haredim* of Ashkenazi origin, Hassidic *haredim* of Ashkenazi origin, and Sephardic *haredim*.

CARMELA LUTMAR

**See also:** Balfour Declaration; Begin, Menachem; Ben-Gurion, David; Christianity; Inter-Religious Relations; Islam; Israel; Meir, Golda; Palestine; Religion; Zionism

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## **KASHMIR DISPUTE**

The Kashmir Dispute is a conflict between India and Pakistan over the possession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the northwest part of India. Kashmir has been part of India since October 26, 1947, when the state, according to India, acceded to India. No official Instrument of Accession, however, has ever been publicly shown by the Indian government. Pakistan claims the state properly belongs to Pakistan. It has been the source of innumerable incidents and three wars between the two sovereign nations. Under the rubric of “national security,” the Pakistani military expends a great deal of time, money, and manpower in the attempt at controlling Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian government, which sees itself in competition with China rather than Pakistan, states that there is no Kashmir issue to discuss. Nonetheless, the Kashmir issue is the most serious threat to peace in South Asia.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was created by the British on March 16, 1847, with the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar. It was a state with an overwhelming majority of Muslim citizens ruled by a Hindu maharaja. From 1925 until 1947 the state was ruled by Mahararaja Hari Singh (1895–1961), a Hindu Dogra Rajput. He acceded to India rather than Pakistan in spite of the fact that Kashmir was over 75% Muslim and in some areas over 90%.

Kashmir became part of India, rather than Pakistan, because of the role of the last Viceroy of British India, Louis Mountbatten (1900–1947). He became Viceroy in March 1947. On June 23, 1947, he announced that India would become independent and would be partitioned between India and Pakistan.

The formerly quasi-independent Indian states, some six hundred of them including Kashmir, would accede either to India or Pakistan. It was expected that Kashmir, because of its overwhelming Muslim population, would join Pakistan.

To delineate the border between India and Pakistan, Boundary Commissions for the Punjab and Bengal were appointed and chaired by British judge, Cyril Radcliffe (1899–1977). If Kashmir was to be connected with India the territory south of Kashmir, especially the districts of Gurdespur and Batala, would need to become part of Indian territory. Radcliffe initially awarded them to Pakistan but then Mountbatten intervened with Radcliffe who reversed himself and awarded them, as well as four other Muslim-majority districts, to India. This gave India access by land to Kashmir.

The Maharaja of Kashmir, however, delayed acceding to either India or Pakistan until Pakistani tribesmen from the northwest frontier spontaneously invaded Kashmir on October 22, 1947, to seize the territory for Pakistan, although Indian troops had been infiltrated into Kashmir long prior to this date. This unorganized foray into Kashmir by Pakistani tribesmen was supported by independent action by officers of the regular Pakistan Army. Accession to India on October 26 by the Maharaja, led to military intervention by India, organized by Mountbatten, who had been appointed the first Governor-General of India, and India was able to secure Kashmir for India with its capital at Srinagar. Pakistan, however, was able to keep the western part of Kashmir, Azad (Free) Kashmir, with its capital at Muzaffarabad.



## KASHMIR DISPUTE

This initial conflict between India and Pakistan led to the first war between India and Pakistan as Indian troops expelled the Pakistanis from Kashmir. On July 18, 1948, the Karachi Agreement established a Line of Control, which has been under observation ever since by nearly forty United Nations observers. A ceasefire took effect on January 1, 1949.

In 1957, Kashmir was incorporated into the Indian union under a new constitution. In 1962, China invaded India in the northeast and many in the Pakistan army believed Pakistan was ready to capture Kashmir. It was not until March 1965, however, when a skirmish developed between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch on the Arabian Sea, that the Pakistan Army believed it was ready to defeat the Indian Army. Demonstrations in Kashmir against the Indian government led to unrest in Pakistani cities and a war atmosphere developed in Pakistan. This was led by Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1927–1979) and his Kashmir Committee. On August 8, 1965, Pakistan launched the clandestine “Operation Gibraltar” against the Indian Army in Kashmir. Four Pakistani soldiers were captured and the operation failed almost immediately. To save Pakistani forces in the area the Pakistan Army then initiated “Operation Grand Slam,” which was launched on August 30, 1965, met heavy Indian resistance, and collapsed in three days. In response, India, on September 6, attacked all along the Pakistani border with the city of Lahore as its main target. India could not break through but it was a debacle for Pakistan as the United States withheld provisions and by September 15, Pakistan had almost completely run out of military supplies. The United Nations Security Council became involved and a ceasefire was signed, the Tashkent Agreement, between Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri (1904–1966) and Pakistan President Ayub Khan (1907–1974) on January 10, 1966, at Tashkent, USSR.

Five years later, when civil war broke out in East Pakistan over the issue of the independence of East Pakistan, India intervened and invaded East Pakistan on December 5, 1971. India easily defeated the Pakistani forces who were cut off from supplies in West Pakistan. India also saw this as an opportunity to destroy Pakistan’s military might and attacked Pakistan all along the West Pakistani border. In a massive, carefully planned attack, military and communications centers and oil and industrial sites were destroyed by Indian naval and air forces. This attack also included Kashmir as India invaded Azad Kashmir and created a new line of control.

Totally defeated, Pakistan’s only real battleground was the United Nation’s Security Council. Debate began on December 8, 1971, when Pakistan was

represented by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. On December 16, 1971, the Pakistani Army surrendered to the Indian Army in Dacca. This led to the creation of the state of Bangladesh and a new ceasefire agreement, the Simla Agreement, signed between Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi (1917–1984) on July 2, 1972. The Simla Agreement committed India and Pakistan to respect the new line of control in Kashmir of December 1971.

At the end of 1989, Kashmiris began to arm themselves to resist what they called Indian occupation. The state government was dissolved and Kashmir was governed by the central government of India. India reinforced its forces in Kashmir accusing Islamabad of fomenting disorder. Declaring that it would not be cowed, Pakistan responded by massing its forces on the ceasefire line and by declaring a national state of emergency citing the infiltration of Indian forces into Azad Kashmir. In the 1990s, the insurgency in Kashmir, aided and abetted by Pakistan, led to the death of some fifty thousand people. Both Hindus and Muslims have either fled, or been forced to flee their homes, and refugee camps exist on both the Indian and Pakistani sides of the ceasefire line. Skirmishes between Indian and Pakistani forces in Kashmir continue.

The Kashmir dispute took on new dimensions with the development of India and Pakistan’s nuclear weapons program. India detonated its first nuclear test at Pokharon in 1987; Pakistan responded very quickly with its own nuclear tests and the development of nuclear weapons and rockets to deliver those weapons. By the beginning of the new millennium, both countries were believed to have numerous nuclear bombs and the means to deliver them.

In 1999, a “glacier” war developed over the Kargil glacier, Point 5353, a 17,397 foot peak in Indian territory, 127 miles north of Kashmir. The Pakistanis captured the glacier but the battle continued for eleven weeks and cost some 1,200 lives. Pakistan eventually withdrew. In October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf came to power in Pakistan in a military coup. The glacier war led to a two-year freeze in official contacts between the two countries. Both sides exchanged artillery fire in Kargil on July 20, 2001, and the area remained a site of conflict as local people exited the area en masse and the state government built hundreds of underground shelters.

Tensions between the two countries continued to remain high and a full-scale war seemed a distinct possibility following the terrorist attack on the Indian parliament in New Delhi on December 13, 2001. Six gunmen stormed into the parliament house with grenades, automatic rifles, and a suicide bomb initiating a ninety-minute battle with security forces. All six terrorists were killed, seven Indians were also killed,

and nearly twenty people hospitalized. The attack bore similarities to a raid on the Kashmir state assembly on October 1, 2001, when thirty-eight people were killed. India blamed Pakistan for the attack on the parliament. Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf immediately condemned the attack as did the All Parties Hurriyat Conference, an umbrella group of two dozen groups in Kashmir demanding self-determination for Kashmir. Nonetheless, the Indian Army went on high alert all along the Pakistani border and the Pakistani Army responded in a similar manner.

The Indian government blamed the Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure), one of the most extremist Muslim separatist groups, for the attack of December 13 and demanded that Pakistani arrest members of the group along with leaders of Jaish-e-Mohammad (Army of Mohammad), another militant group, and seize their financial assets. Pakistan refused to be dictated to by India and relations reached a critical stage as India recalled its High Commissioner to Islamabad on December 21, cut travel links between India and Pakistan, and both armies mobilized for war. Missiles were moved to the Kashmir border with India stating that the missiles were “in position” and Pakistan responding that their missiles were “on alert.” Indian planes flew near the Pakistani border every few minutes and frontier forces exchanged gunfire.

At the end of December 2001, Pakistan gave signs that it was willing to crack down on Islamic militants and thus brake the stalemate between the two countries. On December 24, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf froze the bank assets of the Lashka-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad. In addition, in a speech given on December 25, Musharraf stated that Pakistan had become a “nightmare” because, in part, of the militants. This was a profound change in Pakistani politics, as Islamic militants had almost never been criticized in Pakistan before. It was in line, however, with the September 11, 2001, attacks by Islamic fundamentalists and the American-led war against Osama bin Laden and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Musharraf had aided and abetted the American response and Musharraf’s attack on Pakistani militants was viewed within the worldwide war on extremists. Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, however, stated that the two countries were moving closer to war.

A turning point in the crisis occurred on January 12, 2002, when President Musharraf gave a sixty-two-minute televised address to the nation with the rest of the world listening eagerly. He announced that a number of Islamic extremist organizations had been banned and that strict action would be taken against anyone engaging in terrorism, even in behalf of the

freedom of Kashmir. He promised to end the use of Pakistan as a base for terrorism in Kashmir. In future all madrassas (religious schools) and mosques would be registered and controlled by the government. While he reiterated Pakistan’s position that negotiations should be held with India over Kashmir, and refused to hand over the twenty or more Pakistani citizens wanted by India, the speech was a highly conciliatory one for a Pakistani president and was viewed as nothing less than a breakthrough in the stalemate.

It was hailed as the most important speech given in three decades by a Pakistani leader as it reversed thirty years of state-supported militancy among religious groups. The Pakistani press hailed Musharraf as the savior of the nation. Over five hundred extremists were arrested and five religious groups banned. By the end of January 2002, the threat of war seemed to have passed although tensions remained high and no one believed that the Kashmir issue would cease to bedevil India-Pakistan relations and be the cause of tension, skirmishes, and perhaps even war in the future.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; India; Pakistan**

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#### KAUNDA, KENNETH

Kenneth Kaunda is one of Africa’s pre-eminent statesmen. He led Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia)

to independence in 1964 and served as that country's first president until 1991. In 1953, Kaunda's fierce resistance to the British imposition of the Federation of Central Africa—what became the Federation of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (now Malawi)—culminated in the formation of the African National Congress (ANC). In 1958, he broke from the ANC to form the Zambia African National Congress, of which he was the president until his imprisonment, from May 1959 to January 1960, for inciting political agitation. Kaunda used his time in prison to develop his political philosophy, the *Zambian Humanism*, with which he sought to redefine the main values of Zambian society.

Upon his release, Kaunda became the president of the United National Independence Party (UNIP). Working with Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, Kaunda achieved the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963. With the advent of Zambia's first black government in 1962, when the UNIP won fourteen seats in the Legislative Assembly, Kaunda became the Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare. He was elected the prime minister of Northern Rhodesia, from January until October 1964, when he assumed the presidency of independent Zambia. In addition to these internal accomplishments, Kaunda was at the forefront of Pan-Africanism, together with such notables as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, and Leopold Sédhor.

### **Kaunda's Political Philosophy: Zambian Humanism**

In a number of speeches and books, Kaunda promoted his philosophy of humanism—a human-centered doctrine couched in a high valuation of egalitarianism, communalism, racial equality, and non-violence in political life. First promulgated in 1967, Kaunda's humanism is not much different from the African socialism popularized in the 1960s, and even beyond, by African leaders such as Ghana's Nkrumah and Tanzania's Nyerere with his notion of *Ujamaa* (or familyhood). What sets Kaunda's humanism apart from the others is the primacy it accords to human dignity, Christian ethics, and the principle of non-violence. Kaunda latter equivocated on his position on violence, at the zenith of the Rhodesian liberation struggle, with the realization that the issue of violence can hardly be conceptualized in “either/or” terms. As he puts it in *Kaunda on Violence*, “It does not always follow that the way of non-violence is the more perilous. There may be times when it is the only sane

course of action. Nor is armed struggle always the guarantor of national security” (p. 29). Like other versions of African socialism, Kaunda's humanism derives much of its insights from African traditions. At the same time, Kaunda was pragmatic enough to embrace ideas not only from modern Zambia, but also from the economic and political systems of the East and the West. We thus find Fola Soremeku, once likening Kaunda's humanism, in an article in the *Times of Zambia* (February 12, 1971) to Janus—the Roman god of gates, with one face looking back and another looking forward.

### **Contribution to National and International Development**

With judicious reliance on both private and public sector enterprises, Kaunda made a remarkable contribution to Zambia's post-independence development, especially in the areas of education, health care, manufacturing, and electrification, and also helped alleviate the forms of institutional and individual racism that were so prevalent in Zambian society. Zambia had no more than one hundred university graduates and 1,200 people with secondary education when it became independent, and Kaunda saw education as the first major problem to be tackled if Zambians were to be truly independent. Within eighteen months of the nation's transitional Development-Plan, instituted after independence, the number of secondary school students was doubled; and by the time the first full Development-Plan was completed in 1970, there were more than five times many students in secondary schools as in 1964. Meanwhile, the nation's first university, University of Zambia, established in 1965–1966, had more than one thousand undergraduate students by 1970.

Aided by the high prices of copper (the leading export) throughout the 1960s, Kaunda developed infrastructure across the country: An oil pipeline was extended from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to Zambia in 1969; the Great North and Great East Roads were expanded and tarred; and electricity was extended to many parts of the country. Drawing on his humanist philosophy, Kaunda increased the size and role of the public sector and boosted local control of the Zambian economy, which was dominated by foreigners at the time of independence. To limit personal aggrandizement among politicians and senior civil servants, Kaunda instituted a code of leadership in 1970, a move that caused intense apprehension among the elites. Individual liberties were for the most part respected during the reign of Kaunda, notwithstanding

occasional internal political and ethnic tensions, as well as threats from Zambia's white minority-ruled neighbors. In 1972, faced with increasing opposition, Kaunda made Zambia one party state, banning all parties except his UNIP—quite an ironic, if not unfortunate, move for a leader who advocated for human rights with his humanist philosophy.

In addition to these achievements within Zambia, Kaunda served as the President of the Pan-African Freedom Movement and as the Chairman of the Front Line States. At a great political and material cost, Kaunda offered his country as a base for liberation movements from countries such as Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia. Kaunda was instrumental, with the likes of Desmond Tutu and Julius Nyerere, in the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990. Also, Kaunda was actively involved in the Nonaligned Movement, having served as its Chairman in the early 1970s. In 1991, intense pressure compelled Kaunda to return Zambia to multi-party elections in which his UNIP lost to the Movement of Multiparty Democracy, led by Frederic Chiluba. Kaunda handed over power to Chiluba, who amended the Zambian constitution to prevent Kaunda from contesting in the nation's next election. Kaunda retired from politics in 2000, devoting much of his time to peace and conflict resolution in Africa, through the Kenneth Kaunda Peace Foundation.

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### See also Organization of African Unity

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## KAZAKHSTAN

Lying at the conjunction of Europe and Asia, landlocked Kazakhstan shares borders with Russia to the north, China to the east, and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan along its southern margin. The

country is the ninth largest in the world in area, but contains a population of only about 17 million. Most of this massive state is either arid steppe land or true desert, although the eastern borderlands intersect the Tien Shan and Altai ranges, and Khan Tengri, a peak that lies on the Kazakh-Chinese border, approaches 23,000 feet in elevation. Three large lakes punctuate the dry landscape from west to east: the Caspian Sea, the Aral Sea, and Lake Balkash. Kazakhstan is dominated by a dry variant of continental climate, with lengthy cold winters and relatively short warm summers. Winter temperatures in the northern section of the country average only around 0°F, while summer highs in the south sometimes reach near 100°F.

The foundation of Kazakh ethnicity dates from the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, when Mongol and Tatar elements intermingled with nomadic Turkic peoples occupying this section of the Eurasian steppe. An emergent identity was reinforced through the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate in the early 1500s, which eventually led to the formation of three divisions, or *hordes*: the Great Horde, whose territory lay in eastern Kazakhstan, the Middle Horde which occupied the central and northern steppe, and the Small Horde, living in the lands adjacent to the Caspian in the west. From the late 1600s to the early 1700s, the Kazakh state was nearly overrun by an invasion of the Kalmyks, an Asiatic people from Siberia. This threat forced the Kazakhs to seek assistance from Russia, a request that paved the way for eventual absorption of the Kazakh steppe lands into the Russian Empire. Under Soviet rule, in 1936 Kazakhstan was granted the status of an SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) until declaring independence in 1991. During the period of collectivization under the Soviets (1929–1938), it is likely that at least 1 million Kazakhs starved to death, and the number of livestock in the republic declined dramatically.

Kazakhstan is well endowed with natural resources, and possesses abundant land for crop cultivation and animal husbandry. Wheat is a major crop in the northern reaches of the country, while irrigated cotton, rice, and specialty crops dominate in the south. Much acreage is devoted to pasture, particularly in the drier regions. Large coal deposits are found near the city of Qaraghandy (Karaganda), and significant quantities of valuable ores (gold, silver, chrome, tungsten, zinc, copper, iron) are present throughout the country. Most significantly for the country's future, large deposits of petroleum have been discovered in the west, along the littoral of the Caspian Sea. The industrial base of Kazakhstan is concentrated in the northern half of the country and in Almaty, the former capital and largest city. Industrial output

## KAZAKHSTAN

emphasizes the production of steel, petrochemicals, machine tools, and agricultural equipment.

Significant petroleum deposits were discovered in western Kazakhstan in the late 1960s, and by the late 1980s some 6 billion barrels worth of proven reserves had been identified in the Tenghiz field, lying roughly between the Ural River and the Aral Sea. Foreign oil companies have shown considerable interest in these resources, particularly Chevron, which in the mid-1990s had committed to investing nearly \$20 billion in the region.

A major obstacle to the development of Kazakhstan's oil resources has been the country's geographic isolation and distance from global markets. Several pipeline routes have been proposed that would allow Kazakh oil to reach ports in nearby countries, and when completed will allow for the exportation of possibly seven hundred thousand barrels per day. Kazakhstan's oil, industrial capacity, and relative stability have enabled it to attract a greater amount of foreign investment than any other Central Asian state. Some additional income is collected through a leasing agreement with Russia, which allows the Russian space agency to continue to use the Baikonur Cosmodrome, the main launch site for the Soviet space program.

Environmental damage from the Soviet period continues to plague independent Kazakhstan. Two regions in particular were devastated under the Soviets: the Aral Sea and its environs, and the city of Semey (Semipalatinsk), which is located near the main nuclear testing site used by the Soviet military. Hundreds of atmospheric and underground nuclear tests were conducted in Kazakhstan between the late 1940s and late 1980s, and near Semey high rates for birth defects, certain cancers, and infant mortality have been linked to testing during the Soviet regime. The Aral Sea has undergone an unprecedented decline in recent decades, as the rivers supplying it with fresh water were overused by cotton producers in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

The ethnic geography of Kazakhstan compounds the challenge of constructing a civil society. At independence, Russians accounted for approximately 38% of the population, with Kazakhs holding almost the same percentage, at about 40%. Although the percentage of Russians may have dropped since the early 1990s, several of the northern regions contain either a Russian majority or plurality. The divide between Kazakh and Russian culture has made the effort to create the apparatus of a "Kazakh" state more problematical, as many in the Russian minority resent efforts to make Kazakh a national language and view any movement to reinvigorate Kazakh society's Muslim roots as an attempt to "Islamicize" the country.

The development of democratic institutions has been slow to materialize. Although certainly more democratic than most of its neighbors, even by late 2001 the Kazakh administration continued to operate in an authoritarian mode, limiting the activities of unofficial media and opposition parties, with the greater part of political power concentrated in the hands of President Nursultan Nazarbaev. On the other hand, Kazakhstan has avoided the instability that has troubled some other Central Asian states, and shown the capability to capture badly needed foreign investment. Given its great size, vital resources, and strategic position, Kazakhstan is poised to become a major regional and international player on the global stage.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations; Soviet Bloc**

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## KENYA

The Republic of Kenya is located in the eastern region of Africa. It borders the Republic of Uganda to the west; the Republic of Tanzania to the south; the Indian Ocean to the southeast; the Republic of Somalia to the east; the Republic of Ethiopia to the north; and the Republic of Sudan to the northwest. Bisected by the equator, it lies between approximately 4° N and 4° S and 34° E and 41° E. It has a total area of 580,370 square kilometers, including 13,369 square kilometers of permanent water surface. Kenya's topography is characterized by erosional plains that rise from the Indian Ocean towards the highlands in the central region, forming their base at about 1,500

meters above sea level. The highlands have isolated extinct volcanoes, including Mount Kenya (5,200 meters) in the central region and Mount Elgon (4,321 meters) on the western border of the country. The Great Rift Valley cuts across the country from north to south through the highlands, where it measures 65 kilometers wide and bounded by escarpments of 600–900 meters high. The plains generally incline westwards to Lake Victoria on the southwestern border of the country.

About 84% of Kenya's area has arid and semi-arid climatic conditions. This vast area in the northern, northeastern, and parts of the eastern regions of the country receive unreliable rainfall of less than 760 millimeters annually. Only 16% of the country receives adequate rainfall for cultivation. This agriculturally high potential area is found in the highlands, the Lake Victoria basin and along the coastal strip of the Indian Ocean. The settlement pattern has seen 80% of Kenya's population of 29 million (as per the 1999 population census) concentrated in the agriculturally high potential regions while the rest is found in the marginal areas. Whereas the arid and semi-arid regions are the least populated with a density of three persons per square kilometer, the density in the high potential regions is over 230 persons per square kilometer.

The boundaries of Kenya were drawn up during the colonial period. When the British government took over its formal administrative responsibility in June 1895, the territory was named the East Africa Protectorate. To facilitate communication between the Indian Ocean and Uganda, where they had also established their "sphere of influence," the British started the construction of the Kenya–Uganda railway, which reached Kisumu (then known as Port Florence) on the shores of Lake Victoria in 1902.

Initially, the British did not have immediate plans on what to do with the territory other than securing a way to Uganda from the Indian Ocean. It happened that the Kenya–Uganda railway cut across some of the country's best agricultural land. It was on this land that the British started to experiment with the possibility of establishing commercial farming. A policy decision was subsequently made to embark on large-scale plantation agriculture by white farmers to produce coffee, tea, sisal, and pyrethrum for export. This required large tracts of land for exclusive white settlement. It was made available through the alienation of agriculturally high potential land in the highlands from the indigenous Africans, who were henceforth relocated to agriculturally marginal lands that were labeled "reserves."

This settlement arrangement was accompanied by a racial approach to the development process where

European settled areas were developed at the expense of the "reserves." Africans were barred from growing lucrative cash crops like coffee and tea in order to ensure that they remained poor in order to supply cheap labor on European farms at a minimum wage. They were also restricted to their unproductive "reserves" by introducing identification cards (*Kipande* in *Kiswahili*) that were used to monitor their movement and labor provision. Medical, educational, and other social services were organized on strict racial lines, with Africans getting the worst or none at all, yet they were heavily taxed to fund the provision of the services. This lopsided development formed the basis of the rise of African nationalist movements to fight for independence. Besides the various political organizations that were formed after World War II, the *Mau Mau* rebellion of 1952 was the most effective in the struggle for independence. Though the rebellion was militarily defeated in 1953, the British responded to the uprising by initiating economic, social, and political reforms between 1953 and 1960, culminating in the granting of independence to Kenya in 1963. Jomo Kenyatta, who led the Kenya African National Union (KANU) to beat its archrival, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), during the independence elections, became the first president of the country.

At independence, the KANU government inherited the colonial regime's capitalist approach to socio-economic development. In 1965, it moved to adopt African Socialism as its development ideology through Sessional Paper No. Ten on "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya." This ideology aimed at reviving traditional African society in the midst of a modern monetary economy. Social egalitarianism, mutual responsibility, social justice, equal opportunities for all, human dignity, and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man were some of the objectives of African socialism. They were to be realized through a mixed economy that would combine capitalist and traditional African society ideals. While foreign investment and private ownership of property were to be allowed, there would be control against excessive personal accumulation; provision of social welfare services by the state; and substantial participation of the state and the co-operative movement in the economy. Nevertheless, the structural means to realize these were not put in place, such that the private sector became a leading actor in the economy and provision of social services. Indeed, capitalism formed the basis for the transfer of land in the former "white highlands" to indigenous ownership in order to Africanize agriculture. Land was made available to anyone who had the ability and capacity to purchase without any limits on

accumulation. Co-operative savings and credit schemes were started to enable groups and individuals to raise funds for the purpose. Further private land ownership reforms, including land adjudication, consolidation and registration, were initiated in the early period of independence. These efforts in land reform partly contributed to the predominance of agriculture in the Kenyan economy, despite attempts to industrialize and a flourishing tourist trade.

Kenyan's record of socio-economic development since independence has generally been on a downward trend. Between 1964 and 1973, the country achieved commendable economic growth that translated into improved living conditions of the people. gross domestic product (GDP) grew on average by 6.6%. With per capita income growth rate of 2.6% per year and a steady growth in the provision of social services by both the state and the private sector, the majority of Kenyans were able to satisfy most of their basic needs. During this period, Kenya was referred to as the "African miracle" due to the exemplary economic and general development performance. This good performance was, however, not sustained.

From 1974, the growth rate of GDP declined throughout the remainder of that decade. This was due to the poor linkage between agriculture and industry, especially the reliance on imported intermediate inputs and machinery in the manufacturing sector that could not fuel agricultural productivity; rising oil prices following the first international oil crisis of 1973; recurrent drought; global economic recession; and worsening terms of trade at the international market. By the early 1980s, the rate of economic growth could not keep pace with the rate of population growth, culminating in a tremendous decline in per capita income. This situation reversed the steady and continuous gains in the standard of living that most of the citizens had enjoyed. This downturn in economic performance and the general development process compelled the government to adopt the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) prescribed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in the early 1980s. Nevertheless, the implementation of SAPs did not help much as the rate of economic growth continued to decline. People's living conditions deteriorated with the average growth rate of per capita income falling to 0.4% by 1989.

In 1991, Kenya was hit hard following the suspension of development aid by bilateral and multilateral donors due to bad governance and the violation of human rights by President Moi's regime. This saw the GDP growth rate decline to 2.3% while per capital

income fell to its lowest level of -2.0%. In 1992 and 1993, the GDP growth rate further declined to 0.5 and 0.2%, respectively. This decline in economic performance was reflected in the deterioration of people's livelihoods. The introduction of "cost-sharing" in the provision of social services as prescribed by SAPs, in the midst of increasing unemployment and rising inflation rate, worsened people's living conditions. Most Kenyans became unable to meet medical and educational expense. On its part, the government could not afford to maintain or develop the socio-economic infrastructure.

There were signs of economic recovery in the mid-1990s when economic performance picked up relative to the early years of the decade. The country recorded improved GDP growth rates of 4.8 and 4.6% in 1995 and 1996, respectively. However, this rate dropped once again to 2.3% in 1997 following the suspension of aid by donors, citing corruption and bad governance. Since then, the annual growth rate of GDP has been on the decline. Whereas this rate stood at only 1.8% in 1998, it had declined to 1.4 in 1999. Economic performance in the year 2000 even worsened following the long draught that culminated into the worst shortage of electricity and water in the country. These commodities had to be rationed for consumers, resulting into a sharp drop in the manufacturing sector. The GDP growth rate fell to its lowest ebb of -0.3%. The economy, however, started picking up in 2003 when the GDP growth rate rose to 1.3%.

As in the previous decades, the worsening economic performance from the mid-1990s was accompanied by an increase in the level of poverty. The national overall poverty level stood as 52.6% in 1997. Whereas 53.1% of the population in the rural areas was absolutely poor, 50.1% of the urban dwellers were living below the poverty line. It was estimated that 54% and 56% of Kenya's population were absolutely poor in 2000 and 2002, respectively. The implication is that the level of poverty in Kenya has been rising over the years, but more so in the 1990s decade.

There has been an interesting correlation between the trend of socio-economic development and the growth of civil liberty in Kenya. During the first decade of independence when the country recorded commendable achievements in socio-economic development, there was a relatively competitive political environment that afforded citizens the liberty to participate in the political process as a result of Kenyatta's "princely" style of personal rule. The "prince," unlike the autocrat, does not seek to destroy politicians who represent potential challenge to his power, but plays them off against each other while seeking to bring them into ever-closer dependence on

him. He is a manipulator who avoids committing himself to any course of action, but rather moves with the consensus that he manipulates competing factions to achieve. Thus, Kenyatta created and manipulated various patronage factions to achieve his ends. The competition that ensued among these factions to get Kenyatta's favors, coupled with a semi-competitive parliamentary electoral system, contributed to the evolution of a relatively pluralist political environment that tolerated civic participation in the political system.

Nevertheless, the rising criticisms against the state from the mid-1970s saw Kenyatta change his governance style to autocratic personal rule in order to stamp out critics and assert his authority. It is during this era of increased authoritarianism, when civic liberties were curtailed, that the pace of socio-economic development started to slacken. This worsened during the Moi era following the death of Kenyatta in 1978. Former President Daniel arap Moi's regime was essentially an autocratic personal rule that extended authoritarianism beyond the level Kenyatta had left it. Moi curtailed civic liberty by establishing himself as the master of the political stage and went on to dominate as well as direct all centers of political power, including civil society organizations. Kenya's development record worsened in the meantime. Though increased authoritarianism contributed to the emergence of more civic organizations to demand for political pluralism, culminating into the adoption of a multi-party political system in 1991, democratic governance remained an illusion throughout the Moi era.

A united opposition coalition eventually brought to an end four decades of KANU rule in the December 2002 general elections. In the run-up to the elections, fourteen of the hitherto weak and fragmented opposition political parties formed the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) to challenge KANU and went on to win the election. The NARC government has adopted a laissez faire approach to administration where the president, unlike his predecessor who strode the entire political scene, has given his ministers room to run their ministries without interference. There is remarkable freedom of expression as evidenced by more liberal and critical electronic and print media. The government is also in the process of completing the review of the country's constitution that has been the source of authoritarianism. In the economic field, the government is putting in place structures to revive the economy and there are prospects for improved economic performance and socio-economic development relative to the previous regime.

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## KENYATTA, JOMO

The first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta (1863–1918) was a member of Kenya's largest tribe, the *Kikuyu*. Respectfully referred to as *Mzee*, a deferential term meaning "wise elder," Kenyatta's life was intricately intertwined with the relatively short yet immensely influential era of British colonial rule in Kenya. His tenure as head of state from 1963 to 1978 reflected the incongruity between the initial optimism that enveloped liberation and the difficult realities of governing newly independent, multiethnic nation-states in the twentieth century.

Born Kamau wa Ngengi in Kiambu District, Kenya, in 1893 (date unconfirmed), Kenyatta attended the Church of Scotland Missionary School, where he received primary education and carpentry training. Later, he was employed by Nairobi City Council as water meter reader and stores clerk. He



became active in the *Kikuyu Central Association* (KCA) and in 1929 was sent to London to present the Kikuyu case of grievance for land dispossession to the British Colonial Office. He ended up spending over fifteen years of his life in Europe, in the process taking both a Master's degree and a British wife. While there he adopted his name—*Jomo* means “burning spear” and *Kinyata* a type of beaded belt he favored—and used it to publish *Facing Mount Kenya*. Though ostensibly an ethnographic account of Kikuyu culture, written as his MA thesis under the tutelage of eminent anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, in reality this was a highly symbolic political statement. Here was a major scholarly work on the internal workings of an indigenous African society written by a member of that group. The cover featured Kenyatta dressed in a traditional animal skin cape while fingering the point of a spear.

After his return to Kenya in 1946, organized the World Trade Union Conference and co-founded *Pan-African Federation*. In 1947, he was elected President of the *Kenya African Union*, an incipient political organization thinly cloaked as a trade/labor union. Kenyatta spent the next few years urging his fellow Africans to work hard, shun idleness and alcohol while simultaneously lobbying the colonial government to return Kikuyu land that had been given to white settlers. For both settlers and the colonial administration Kenyatta became symbolic of *Mau Mau*—a guerilla movement based in the Mount Kenya forests. Paradoxically, Kenyatta was not involved in active resistance. Indeed he went to great lengths to disassociate himself from this movement, whose members referred to themselves as the *Land and Freedom Army* and were led by figures such as Dedan Kimathi. Nonetheless, Kenyatta, an articulate and charismatic public figure, was perceived as a threat. Consequently he and five colleagues were arrested, tried, and convicted of treason. They were imprisoned in a remote region of northwest Kenya from 1953 to 1961.

After release from prison, and just prior to Kenya's independence, in a masterfully crafted speech delivered in Nakuru, on August 12, 1963, Kenyatta convincingly reassured three hundred white settler farmers that they had little to fear from him and that their interests would be well represented in his government. To the chagrin of many freedom fighters, his prophesy turned out to be accurate.

He was appointed prime minister of Kenya on December 12, 1963, and elected president exactly a year later. He would be re-elected twice, in 1969 and 1974. Under his slogan *harambee*—“let's all pull together”—the first years of Kenyatta's leadership reflected the euphoria that pervaded post-independence

Africa. While Tanzania to the south took a more socialistic approach to development called *ujamaa* or “familyhood,” based upon the vision of President Julius Nyerere, Kenya under Kenyatta took an unbridled capitalistic tack (Barkan 1984). National income doubled as coffee and tea exports did well on world markets. Schools based upon the *harambee* principle flourished, establishing a basis for universal primary education. Conversely, wealth disparities between rich and poor grew alongside nepotism and political patronage. Ultimately a new label—*wabenzi* (literally “people of the Mercedes Benz”)—came to describe those who profited from Kenyatta's rule.

Kenyatta's first administration also witnessed the coming of one party rule, beginning with the merger of the *Kenya African National Union* (KANU) with the *Kenya African Democratic Union* (KADU) in 1964. This effectively ushered in a pattern of *single party politics*—first *de facto* then *de jure* after 1982—that continued until the end of 1991. Kenyatta's government quickly became highly intolerant of dissent. In 1966, the country's first vice president, Oginga Odinga, resigned and left KANU. He was later arrested and imprisoned over his attempt to found the opposition *Kenya People's Union* (KPU). In 1969, the Minister for Economic Planning, Tom Mboya—like Odinga, a Luo—was assassinated, arousing inter-ethnic tensions between Luo and Kikuyu. A lone Kikuyu youth was later executed for the murder. J.M. Kariuki, an outspoken member of parliament whose slogan was “Kenya has become a nation of ten millionaires and ten million beggars,” was found dead under mysterious circumstances in 1975. No suspects were ever caught. Kariuki was a Kikuyu and a former Mau Mau detainee, but by this time class based politics had come to outweigh both ethnicity as well as sacrifices made during the independence struggle.

Kenyatta died in his sleep of natural causes on August 22, 1978. He was succeeded by Daniel arap Moi, a Kalenjin, who despite the slogan *nyayo*, “foot-steps,” has continued much of the class-related conflict that occurred under Kenyatta's rule.

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**See also Kenya; Mau Mau**

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## **KHAMA, SIR SERETSE**

Seretse Khama was born in 1921 in the village of Serowe in the British protectorate of Bechuanaland. His father Sekgoma Khama was the son of Kgosi Khama III who ruled the central region of the protectorate. Young Seretse's father died when he was four and Seretse's uncle Tshekedi Khama was made his guardian. Tshekedi sent Seretse to boarding school in South Africa and to Fort Hare University College where he obtained a BA degree in 1944. In 1945, he was sent to England to study law and after a year at Balliol College at Oxford he began legal studies at the Inner Temple in London.

In 1947, he met and soon after married Ruth Williams, an act that infuriated Tshekedi who ordered Seretse to return to Botswana and divorce his wife. Seretse did return to his homeland, but his wife accompanied him and he began speaking to the local people. He won their political support and personal loyalty and when the people turned against his uncle, Tshekedi went into voluntary exile.

The prospect of having an African chief with a white wife enraged neighboring South Africans whose Afrikaner nationalist government successfully persuaded the British government to bar Seretse from his birthright, his chieftainship in Bechuanaland. Britain did so because it wanted South Africa's gold and uranium. The British government suppressed a 1951 report that declared Seretse able to rule, and instead declared him unfit. On the basis of this deception it forced both Seretse and Ruth Khama to return to England. In 1952, the new Conservative government made the exile permanent but its treatment of the Khamas received international press coverage and outrage over the racist behavior of the British in their treatment of Seretse Khama. In 1956, British leadership began to separate itself from South Africa's racist government and policies, and Seretse's official exile was lifted. He returned to Botswana in 1961, became the country's founding president, and eventually was knighted.

Upon his return to Botswana, Seretse became the head of the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, which he along with Dr. Quett Masire, who succeeded him as president, had created. The BDP won the emerging nation's inaugural election in 1965 and Seretse Khama became prime minister. In 1966, he became president of the Republic of Botswana and during his

tenure Botswana became a successful economy. Though the country has suffered from a severe HIV/AIDS epidemic since the 1990s, Botswana has some of the continent's most advanced programs to contain and fight the disease. Politically Seretse Khama's legacy was efficient, honest, and open government. Externally he played a key regional role in the creation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

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**See also South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development**

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## **KHMER ROUGE**

In the early 1960s, then "neutralist" ruler of Cambodia (Kampuchea), Prince Norodom Sihanouk, coined the term Khmer Rouge (KR) (literally Red Khmer) to describe the indigenous Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). The CPK had begun as a nationalist anti-French independence movement in the 1950s with ties to the Vietnamese communists. Its leaders were mostly Buddhist, traditionally educated, and rural moderates. By 1962, they had evolved into a more doctrinaire group as a younger group of urban, Paris-educated, anti-Vietnamese Marxist radicals, led by Pol Pot, gained control of the standing committee of the CPK Central Committee. They were known as the party "Center." Pot, born Saloth Sar in rural Kampuchea in 1925 (some say 1928), had gone, on scholarship, to Paris to study but became so involved in the Marxist movement he lost his scholarship and returned, in 1953, to join the communist revolutionary movement in his homeland.

In 1970, Sihanouk was overthrown by pro-American forces led by General Lon Nol. Sihanouk fled to the countryside and, in an effort to regain power, allied himself with the CPK/KR. He soon discovered that the Center was in ever increasing control. Pragmatic to the extreme, the Center officially allied the KR with the Democratic (Socialist) Republic of Viet

Nam (DRV) in the war against the United States and her allies, while covertly purging thousands of CPK members who were moderates and/or Vietnamese-trained. Among those purged in the 1970s were moderates or independents who supported Sihanouk or intellectuals like Hou Yuon. Throughout this period, Pot denounced dissidents for being corrupted by materialist desires and neglectful of ideological purity. In retrospect, it is also clear that these rivalries were fraught with regional overtones since most anti-Center members were concentrated in eastern Kampuchea.

In spring 1975, the KR defeated Lon Nol's forces occupying the capital of Phnom Penh shortly after the chaotic departure of US. personnel in April. What followed was a scene from Dante's *Inferno*. To a nation already devastated by years of war, the KR leaders added Draconian measures for implementation of their twisted vision of Marxist ideological purity. Literally overnight 2 million city dwellers were herded out of urban centers into rural forced labor camps.

At first the rural population supported the KR but soon even they were forced to perform unpaid collective labor. This "Stalinist" depravity included total abrogation of all civil rights and basic liberties. Religion was outlawed, as was land ownership. Rival members of all political parties were rounded up and summarily executed. Families were splintered with children encouraged to spy on their parents and teens drafted into unpaid military service or labor camps. Hundreds of thousands died. According to Ben Keirnan, foremost expert on the subject, of a total population of 7.89 million Kampucheans in 1975, 1.67 million died directly at the hands of the KR during their four-year rule of terror.

In the mid-1970s, the KR reserved a special hell for ethnic minorities undertaking a systematic campaign of genocide by massacring two hundred thousand Chinese, one hundred thousand Cham Muslims, twenty thousand Thais, and ten thousand Vietnamese. In May 1978, they announced a campaign to "exterminate 50 million Vietnamese" and "purify" the Kampuchean population of all Vietnamese culture and influence. This led moderate communists in the "Eastern Zone" to rebel against the KR. While the KR killed nearly 250,000 of the 1.5 million people in eastern Kampuchea, they could not completely crush the rebellion. At the most critical moment, forces of the DRV joined the rebels eventually defeating the KR and occupying Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979. Pol Pot and his KR forces fled to jungle sanctuaries along the eastern border of Thailand. In the 1980s, supported by the Vietnamese occupiers, Eastern Zone moderates like Hun Sen, who became prime minister in 1985, worked to rebuild Kampuchea's economy and bring peace to the war-torn nation.

In 1989, the Vietnamese withdrew their forces and, two years later, the KR, Phnom Penh faction, and two smaller rebel groups signed a pact designed to disarm all factions, bring peace, and lead to free elections. Indeed, the 1993 UN-sponsored elections did lead to a coalition government comprised of several leftist factions including Sen's government faction and (by then) King Sihanouk's party. However, at the last-minute Pol Pot and the KR, who never disarmed, refused to support the elections. Instead, he and his ten thousand-man army continued the bloody civil strife often supported by the People's Republic of China (PRC), mainly because of its conflicts with Viet Nam; powerful Thai elements; and even, at times, the United States who feared Vietnamese domination of the region.

In August 1996, Pol Pot's former brother-in-law and chief collaborator, Ieng Sary, along with four thousand guerillas, defected to the government side. In return for Sary's control of western portions of Kampuchea, King Sihanouk, now titular head of state, reluctantly granted him a royal amnesty. In early 1997, the government coalition began to splinter into a bitter and often violent conflict between the two co-prime ministers, Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Ranariddh. At the same time, new conflicts arose within the KR. Even so, negotiations began between dissident KR leader Khien Samphen and Ranariddh's National United Front to absorb the KR back into a government in opposition to Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party if the KR would purge Pol Pot.

Pol Pot reacted violently by executing long time KR defense minister Sien Sen and fifteen of his family and friends. Pot's forces captured Samphen and the KR negotiating team. But, resupplied by Ranariddh's faction the dissidents finally defeated Pot's faction on June 19, 1997, near Anlong Venh. The sickly seventy-two-year-old Pol Pot surrendered lying on a stretcher. Brother Number One's bloody career was over. However, with peace within reach, on July 6, Hun Sen seized power forcing Ranariddh to flee the country and the KR to return to their jungle hideout. Early that fall, at KR headquarters in Anlong Venh the new KR leaders held a show trial in which Pol Pot, dazed and leaning on a cane, was summarily convicted, not of genocide, but plotting against fellow KR leaders. He was sentenced to life in prison.

Instead of peace, this left KR leaders (whose guilt was as great as Pol Pot's) allied with Ranariddh's military forces in a continuing struggle against Hun Sen's government forces. On April 15, 1998, Pol Pot died but the struggle, albeit sublimated, continued with more than 2 million Kampucheans having paid the ultimate price for Marxist ideological purity. Indeed, thirty years of war and revolutionary violence

have devastated the population, the economy, the social fabric, the political process and the lives of millions of otherwise peaceful people. This once “peaceful kingdom” of rural prosperity is now one of the most underdeveloped nations on earth. Prospects for the future are grim and bloodshed seems to be the endless legacy of the Khmer Rouge.

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**See also Cambodia; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## KHOMEINI, AYATOLLAH RUHOLLAH

The Ayatollah Khomeini (1902–1989) inspired a religio-political revolution against Iranian monarch Shah Reza Pahlavi and founded the Islamic Republic of Iran. Khomeini brought down the Shah with an odd combination of religious mysticism and legalism, and for the last ten years of his life (1979–1989) ruled Iran with supreme self-confidence, even as the country plunged into a disastrous war with Iraq. Khomeini was uninterested in anything outside Persian culture and Shi'a Islam, yet shrewdly used mass media to mobilize religious revolutionaries.

Ruhollah Al-Musavi was born in Khomein, a small town south of Tehran, on September 24, 1902. (“Ayatollah” is an honorific title meaning “the sign of God.” Al-Musavi began using his birthplace as a surname at age twenty-nine.) Khomeini’s father Mustafa Musavi was murdered before the boy was a year old, so he was raised by his mother and an aunt.

Ruhollah received a religious education from his older brother. He studied Arabic and is said to have

memorized the entire Koran. His mother and aunt both died when he was sixteen. In 1919, he began formal Islamic studies under a conservative teacher. The turbulent Persian politics of the 1920s left their mark on the young man. A military officer named Reza Khan seized power in 1921 and four years later changed the country’s name from Persia to Iran. Reza Khan was a Westernizer and modernizer whose ideas echoed those of the Turkish revolutionary, Atatürk. In 1926, Reza Khan crowned himself *shahanshah* (king of kings) and Khomeini began his lifelong struggle against the monarchy. Soon he was under police surveillance.

In 1929, Khomeini married Batul Saqafi, the ten-year old daughter of an ayatollah. Their first son, Mustafa, was born in 1932, followed in time by three daughters and another son. Khomeini taught Islamic jurisprudence in Qom, where his lectures attracted a growing circle of students. In 1937 and 1938, he made religious pilgrimages to Mecca and to the Shi’ite holy city of An-Najaf in Iraq.

British and Russian forces invaded Iran in 1941 to prevent the pro-Fascist Reza Shah from allying with Nazi Germany. They deposed Reza Shah but allowed his son, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi to succeed him. Khomeini declared that “all orders issued by the dictatorial regime . . . have no value at all.” In 1944, with the war still on, he denounced the royal family and called on the nation to “rise up for God.” His call was finally answered thirty-five years later.

By the early 1960s, the Shah’s program of rapid economic development had generated a conservative backlash. Innovations such as voting rights for women and secular education for the masses offended the devout, and the Shah’s land reform program threatened the financial base of the Shi’ite establishment. Khomeini mounted bold public attacks against the government. On March 22, 1963, the Shah sent paratroopers into the *madrasa* (Islamic school) in Qom. They killed eighteen people and arrested Khomeini. When released, the Ayatollah resumed his public denunciations of the Shah. On June 5, 1963, Khomeini was arrested again and sentenced to three months in jail.

In October 1964, Khomeini accused the Shah of treason. This time the Ayatollah was sent into exile, first to Turkey and then to Iraq, from where he smuggled tape-recorded sermons back into Iran. In 1970, Khomeini published a tract, *Islamic Government*, in which he railed against “the Jews and their foreign masters” who were “plotting against Islam and preparing the way for the Jews to rule over the entire planet.”

The Shah, who once styled himself a reformer, was by the late 1970s bogged down in extravagance and

nepotism. His secret police tortured opponents and they may have murdered Khomeini's son, Mustafa. In December 1977, students in Tehran demanded Khomeini's return. A cycle of popular protest and violent repression built up. By September 1978, Tehran was under martial law and protesters were being shot by the hundreds. The Shah prevailed on Saddam Hussein to expel Khomeini from Iraq. This proved to be a tactical blunder, for Khomeini simply moved to France, from where he deftly orchestrated the growing street demonstrations in Iran.

Khomeini's potent charisma derived not from any special oratorical ability but rather from messianic Shi'ite theology. Shi'ites believe in a "twelfth Imam," who vanished a thousand years ago but never died, and whose return will initiate a reign of divine justice on earth. In the minds of many, Khomeini was that Imam.

On January 16, 1979, the Shah departed Iran, leaving a temporary government unable to command popular obedience. One million people marched in Tehran calling for the Ayatollah to return. When Khomeini arrived on February 1, delirious crowds swamped his motorcade. The Ayatollah delivered his verdict on the Shah's designated prime minister, Shahpur Bakhtiar: "I shall slap this government in the mouth. I shall determine the government with the backing of this nation, because this nation accepts me." Khomeini appointed his own prime minister, Mehdi Bazargan, but undermined him by reserving all final decisions for himself.

The Islamic Republic of Iran was established by popular referendum in March 1979. Khomeini called it the "Government of God," and set about erasing "all the corrupt practices of the West." He banned independent newspapers and Western music (except for military marches). A special militia, the Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution, carried out an estimated seven thousand executions of political enemies, petty criminals, homosexuals, and members of religious and ethnic minorities. On November 4, 1979, students entered the American embassy in Tehran, seized fifty-two hostages, and held them for 444 days.

The new Iranian constitution named the seventy-seven-year-old Khomeini *Velayat Faghi* (Spiritual Leader) for life. It was an unrestricted grant of power to a man who claimed that "during my long lifetime I have always been right about what I said." With no experience in running a country, Khomeini could only try to balance the interests of competing secular and religious interest groups. The economy descended into turmoil as the government nationalized banks and factories.

The uncompromising Ayatollah lacked a sense of caution. He denounced both the Soviet Union and the

United States while waging war against Iraq. The war settled into a bloody stalemate because the military advantage lay with the defensive on both sides. Approximately nine hundred thousand Iranian youths lost their lives. Eventually, the Iraqis used poison gas on the battlefields and launched missiles at Iranian cities. Khomeini finally agreed to a cease-fire on August 20, 1988.

The Ayatollah Khomeini died on June 3, 1989. In his last will and testament he denounced the United States as "a terrorist state," King Hussein of Jordan as "a professional criminal," and the House of Saud as "traitors to the House of God." At Khomeini's funeral, eight mourners were crushed to death in a frenzied stampede to touch his body.

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### KHRUSHCHEV, NIKITA

Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev (1894–1971) was born in Kalinovka, Kursk province, Russia, in 1894. He attended elementary school, then worked as farmhand, coal miner, and mechanic. He was active in promoting the 1917 agrarian revolution and joined the Bolshevik (Communist) party the following year. He fought on Red side in Russian civil war and, as a party district committee secretary in Yuzovka region, backed Stalin's faction in intra-party struggle. In 1929, he enrolled in the Industrial Academy in Moscow, where he came to Stalin's notice and rose to become a Central Committee member in 1934.

Appointed the first secretary of Moscow city and regional party committees in 1935, Khrushchev helped to construct Moscow metro (subway) system and to

purge party organizations of Stalin's critics, and became a full member of the Politburo in 1939. During World War II, he served as political commissar on various front councils and reached the rank of lieutenant-general. After the war, as the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers from 1944–1947, he was charged with responsibility for postwar reconstruction, but moved back to Moscow to take a post as the Central Committee secretary. In 1949, he became the head of the party organization in the capital, and soon after Stalin's death in March 1953 won control of the party apparatus.

He did much to dismantle the tyrant's heritage, win popular backing for the regime's policies, and promote socio-economic development. Yet he clung to the Leninist ideology of unremitting class struggle and maintained a belligerent stance towards Western "imperialism" that in 1962 brought the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Millions of prisoners were released from forced-labor camps (Gulag) and the security police, renamed KGB, was brought under the party leadership's control. At the twentieth CPSU congress (February 1956) Khrushchev indicted Stalin for his arbitrary and terroristic methods, thereby irrevocably shattering the defunct leader's aura of infallibility and unleashing a process of critical thought that soon threatened to get out of hand. But the Hungarian revolution (October 1956) was violently suppressed and dissidents elsewhere silenced.

The crisis nearly cost Khrushchev his job. His Stalinist colleagues plotted to remove him but in June 1957 he outwitted them, thanks to the support of pro-reform cadres, and went on to become the head of the Soviet government in 1958, meaning building up an apparatus of loyal officials, some of whom helped to foster a new "personality cult" centered on him. Continuing with his reformist inclinations, he introduced an ambitious new party program at the twenty-second Communist congress in 1961. Yet his position was less absolute than Stalin's had been and many groups, including the military, took exception to his impetuous, populist leadership style. In 1962, under US pressure, Khrushchev withdrew nuclear-armed missiles from Cuba. In October 1964, his colleagues on the party Presidium, many of them his protégés, forced his resignation. Under his successor, Leonid Brezhnev, the USSR reverted to a more conservative course. Khrushchev was allowed to retire in Moscow and despite harassment wrote valuable, if self-serving, memoirs. He died in Moscow on September 11, 1971.

Khrushchev's peasant origins showed in his commitment to better the condition of hard-pressed Soviet farmers. Agricultural prices were raised, delivery quotas reduced, and farm managers' qualifications

improved. Machinery and fertilizer output increased dramatically, as did the cultivation of corn as live-stock fodder. A vast program was launched to grow grain on marginal land in Kazakhstan and other eastern territories. But Khrushchev shunned market-oriented reforms, holding fast to the principle of collectivized agriculture, with its bureaucratic interference and inadequate incentives for producers. Likewise in industry administrative devolution did not make for greater efficiency, since prices were still fixed centrally by the planners, and producer goods, especially for the military, continued to be given precedence over those catering to consumer needs. Even so, there was a better choice of foodstuffs in the shops and the provision of urban housing improved. Public opinion was generally supportive, the popular mood being boosted by propaganda hailing Soviet successes in space exploration (Sputnik I 1957; first manned cosmic flight 1961). Dissent among intellectuals was still mainly confined to cultural issues, in which Khrushchev often meddled crudely, as he did also in scientific decision-making. Under his rule, civil rights remained precarious, yet a generation grew up that proved capable of taking independent initiative after 1985, once the shackles of conformity were again loosened by Mikhail Gorbachev, whose policies Khrushchev up to a point anticipated.

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### KIRIBATI

The Republic of Kiribati (pronounced *kee-ree-bas*) lies in the central Pacific (4° N–3° S latitude and 173°–177° E longitude). Its territory straddles the equator, lying to the west of the International Date Line. Thirty-three mainly coral atoll islands (land area: 810 square kilometers, 313 square miles) are

## KIRIBATI

scattered across 5.2 million square kilometers (2 million square miles) of the Pacific Ocean. Kiribati is part of Micronesia and bordering countries are Tuvalu to the south, the Marshall Islands to the northwest and Nauru to the west. Most of the islands are volcanically formed atolls with a central lagoon surrounded by islets or coral reefs. The nation comprises three administrative units: (1) eight of the eleven Line Islands, including Kiritimati (formerly Christmas Island), (2) seventeen Gilbert Islands including Banaba (formerly Ocean Island), and (3) eight Phoenix Islands. The capital, Bairiki, is on Tarawa atoll.

The population (ninety-nine thousand in 2003) is nearly all Micronesian, with about 30% concentrated on Tarawa. The population is growing at 2.3% per annum and approximately 40% of the population is zero to fourteen years old. Birth and death rates are 31.2 per 1,000 and 8.6 per 1,000 respectively and life expectancy for males and females is 58 and 64, respectively. The official language is English; the other main language is I-Kiribati. I-Kiribati, as the nationals are called, are mostly Christians; about half are Roman Catholic and 45% are Protestant.

Kiribati has few natural resources. Fishing and growing taro, bananas, and coconuts form the basis of the largely subsistence economy and livestock (mainly pigs and poultry) are raised for local consumption. Fish and copra became the chief exports after phosphate mining on Banaba ended in 1979. Development is constrained by the country's remote location, geographic fragmentation and poor infrastructure. Tourism is similarly constrained but nonetheless provides 20% of the gross domestic product (GDP). The country's economy depends on financial aid from Australia, the United Kingdom, Japan, New Zealand, Taiwan, and China. Remittances from I-Kiribati working overseas (mainly in the marine industry) are a significant source of foreign exchange. The GDP in 2003 was \$54 million (\$404 per capita).

A member of the British Commonwealth, Kiribati is a republic with an elected president, cabinet and a forty-two-member, unicameral legislature. The islands were administered (1892–1916) with the Ellice Islands as a British Protectorate that became, in 1916, the British colony of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. The islands gained self-rule in 1971. The Ellice Islands became, with independence in 1978, Tuvalu, and the Gilbert Islands were granted independence in 1979 as Kiribati. US claims to several islands, including Kanton (formerly Canton) and Enderbury, were abandoned in 1979 and, in 1983, the United States Senate recognized Kiribati's sovereignty over the Line and Phoenix Islands.

The elected members of the House of Parliament choose presidential candidates from among their members and those selected compete in a general election to serve as president for a four-year term. In 1994, Teburovo Tito was elected president and reelected in 1998. Anote Tong replaced him as president in July 2003.

Austronesians from Southeast Asia first settled Kiribati between 200 and 500 AD. Samoans migrated to the islands in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Tongans and Fijians invaded in the fourteenth century, remaining as settlers on the islands. European explorers and whalers visited the islands, which were mapped by 1826. Islanders were kidnapped into slavery by Peruvian, British, Australian, and other slave ships to work in Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti, Hawaii, and Central America. Britain proclaimed the islands a British Protectorate in 1892 and annexed Banaba in 1900 after the discovery of rich phosphate deposits.

The Japanese bombed Banaba and landed on Tarawa and Butaritari Islands shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, but by November 1943, after fierce fighting, American forces took control of Tarawa and other islands occupied by the Japanese. In 1945, Banaba was liberated from the Japanese but all but one man of the labor force imported by the Japanese from other islands had been massacred. In 1957 and 1962, Britain used Kiritimati (Christmas) Island, to carry out atmospheric tests of three hydrogen bombs.

Islanders were given more control of their affairs in 1963 and became an independent nation on July 12, 1979. The Banabans sued in the British High Court in 1975 to be compensated for damage to their island from phosphate mining. They also sought independence from Kiribati. They were paid \$9.04 million in compensation and, while the constitution ensures Banabans a seat in the Kiribati House of Assembly, they were not granted independence. In 1999, Kiribati became a member of the United Nations. In order to promote tourism the International Dateline was moved to its present delineation and one of the islands renamed Millennium Island as Kiribati competed with the Chatham Islands to become the first country welcoming the dawn of the twenty-first century.

The climate is equatorial maritime: hot throughout the year with the heat moderated by northwest and southeast trade winds. Temperatures range between 22°C–32°C and humidity is always high: 70%–90%. Strong, tropical storms (typhoons), while rare, can occur at any time of the year but are more common between November and March. Rainfall varies between islands, with those in the far north receiving up to 3,000 mm (118 inches) per year. Islands further south, such as Banaba are drier and can get droughts.

Twenty-one of the thirty-three islands are inhabited and overpopulation on many of the islands is a serious problem. In 1988, over 4,500 people living on more densely populated islands were resettled onto less populated islands. More recently, with a grant of \$400,000 from the Asian Development Bank, five of the Phoenix Islands are being developed as settlements for people from the overpopulated Tarawa Islands. Pollution is not a major problem within the country as a whole but lagoons adjacent to densely populated areas, such as the Tarawa Islands, have sewage pollution as traditional use of tidal areas as latrines continues. The environment on Banaba Island was destroyed by phosphate mining, and Banabans were moved in the 1940s to Rabi Island in Fiji.

Most of the islands are low-lying (one to three meters above sea level; the highest point in the nation is on Banaba Island: eighty-seven meters above sea level). This nation is very susceptible to the sea level rise that will accompany global climate warming. Aside from coastal erosion and flooding, sea level rise will result in salinization of freshwater aquifers on which many inhabitants depend for drinking water. Communicable diseases (respiratory tract infections, diarrhea, and skin infections) are leading causes of morbidity and tuberculosis poses a serious public health problem. Lifestyle changes (smoking, alcohol consumption) and changes in diet (more processed foods) have led to an increase in diabetes, cardiovascular disease and cancers. In 2000, a United Nations Development Program report concluded that HIV/AIDS rates in the nation were as high as those in some African nations.

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**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## KOREA, NORTH

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or Choson to its inhabitants, is situated on the northern half of the Korean Peninsula. Its coasts border on Korea Bay and the Sea of Japan, and its land boundaries are with China, South Korea, and a tiny nineteen-kilometer border with Russia. The climate is continental. Winters tend to be very cold, due to winds blowing from the Siberian plain, with frequent

snowfall. North Korea is also located within a monsoon region, making summers short, hot, and very rainy, with at least one typhoon every summer on the average. The population is estimated at 22,697,553, with a growth rate of 0.98% (CIA est. July 2004). The capital is Pyongyang, located in the southwest of the country near Korea Bay; the population of the capital city is estimated at 2.8 million.

## Histography of North Korea

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China's adoption of market-oriented economic policies and the implementation of *Juché*-based economy has left North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or DPRK) as one of the last bastions of communism as well as one of the most isolated regimes on the planet. Located on the northern half of the Korean Peninsula, North Korea has chosen a self-sufficient course of economic development and been in self-imposed economic and diplomatic isolation since the early 1990s. In contrast with the capitalist south, North Korea has pursued a hybrid model of Stalinist economic development, *Juché* or a self-reliant economic policy. The *Juché* ideology would serve as the central principle of North Korean social policy, politics, economics, international relations, and national defense.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea emerged out of World War II as competing Cold War interests established rival regimes on the Korean Peninsula following Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945, that ended World War II. The geopolitical vacuum north of the thirty-eighth parallel, created by the expulsion of the Japanese colonial administration was quickly filled by Kim Il Sung (Kim Il-sŏng), a Soviet-Korean backed by the Kremlin. In the South, a government ruled by right-wing nationalists supported by the United States seized power. His personal rivalry with South Korean leader Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭng-man), would eventually lead the two fledgling countries into a bitter civil war that would later come to define the Cold War.

From a Cold War perspective, North Korea's importance lay from its geopolitical position as a buffer against the growth and expansion of the international capitalist system in Northeast Asia (e.g., South Korea, Japan, and the United States). While, the Korean War solidified the hitherto disputed borders and the permanent division of the Korean Peninsula, North Korea lay in ruin. What industrial that wasn't destroyed by the retreating Japanese Imperial Army at the end of World War II, was completely destroyed



by American bombing during the Korean War. Thus, at the end of the Korean War, North Korea was faced with the daunting task of developing a viable economy from scratch. The manner in which North Korea pursued its economic self-reliance policy is unique in the history of economic development.

Developing a hybrid economic model of Marxist-Leninism called *Juché*, Kim Il Sung attempted to build an independent, self-reliant national economy through the establishment of a all-encompassing command economy, limiting economic relations with other countries while playing Cold War allies, the Soviet Union and China against each other in order to extract generous subsidies that helped sustain the anemic North Korean economy until the early 1990s when the collapse of the Soviet Union and China's economic reorientation meant the cessation of economic support to North Korea. This created widespread shortages throughout the entire economy, something North Korea has yet to recover from.

### Economic Development—Past and Present

As late as the 1880s, Korea had been an agricultural society, aspiring to industrialization based on the much-hated Japanese model, but without the skills, raw materials or capital necessary to sustain their economic expansion. By the end of the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945) North Korea was primarily an agricultural economy, but inherited a varied industrial base, with considerable manufacturing capability, essential to build a modern economy. Most of the industrial centers were concentrated in and around Pyöngyang, strategically located near ports to connect them with Japan. The Korean War saw the near total destruction of the North Korean economic infrastructure.

Following the war, North Korea pursued what is considered to be the most centralized and planned economic development strategy of any country in the world utilizing a hybrid of Marxism-Leninism called *Juché* (independent or self-reliance). North Korean economic policy and development strategies can be divided into several distinct phases: (1) the Socialist Nation-building period (1945–1960); (2) the Evolution of *Juché* Economy period (1961–1970); (3) the Implementation of the *Juché* Economy period (1971–1980); (4) opening of the *Juché* Economy period (1981–1990); and (5) the Economic Collapse period (from 1991).

Between 1953 and 1960 all agriculture was collectivized, followed by the nationalization of industries. All factories that were owned by the Japanese or their

Korean cohorts were confiscated by the state. The introduction of the *Chöllima* movement, in 1956, was the embodiment of the *Juché* philosophy. The *Chöllima* movement was a mass-mobilization movement to develop light industry and agriculture in conjunction with heavy industry through the utilization of local resources to build local consumer goods industries, thus stimulating the entire industrialization process and the collectivization of agriculture to develop rural areas.

During the 1960s, North Korea achieved faster economic growth and greater economic equality and stability utilizing central economic planning. Agricultural output rose by over 12% annually. Industrial output grew by an estimated 23% during the 1960s. Self-sufficiency had apparently been attained. This belied the fact that economic aid from the Soviet Union and China had been significantly decreased as a consequence of Khrushchev's policy of de-Stalinization and the "Cultural Revolution," respectively. Thus, North Korea was forced to continue its industrialization process without the aid of its closest allies.

In the 1970s, the geopolitical events and faltering economic performance meant that North Korea faced the prospect of establishing economic relations with capitalist countries. As a consequence, Pyöngyang began to emphasize exports, a conflicting plan from its *Juché* policy. Despite its attempts at importing advanced technology from the West, chronic trade deficits coupled with low level of exports meant that North Korea soon defaulted on its international debt obligations.

In the early 1980s, North Korea tried to re-establish economic relations with the outside world as it neared the limits of self-sustained economic growth. The North Korean leadership sought to import advanced technology from the West. Yet, at the end of the 1980s, three-quarters of North Korea's trade was still with China and the Soviet Union. This overdependence on foreign trade with its Communist brethren would come to haunt North Korea as geopolitical events dictated a change in the international environment. The world was moving toward a post-Cold War international order.

Soviet and Chinese assistance to North Korea had virtually disappeared by 1991. North Korea edged closer towards bankruptcy as the Soviet Union and China began to seek payment in hard currency and charge "market" prices. As Pyöngyang became increasingly isolated, both economically and diplomatically, small markets began to appear throughout North Korea. The growth of these new markets did not seem to undermine the cohesive of North Korean society as the state maintained tight controls over daily life.

## Juché

It is hard to pinpoint the origins *Juché* ideology. North Korean historians have attempted to place the origin of *Juché* in the early experiences of Kim Il-Sung. Nonetheless, in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency, Kim Il Sung needed to transform North Korea's war-ravaged agrarian economy through a far-reaching development strategy. Kim developed an alternate economic policy called *Juché* which was not fully articulated until December 1955 when Kim Il Sung introduced *Juché* ideology in response to the political situation of North Korea vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. *Juché* would transform pre-war agrarian society into a modern industrial state through the utilization of domestic resources. Eventually the *Juché* ideology would become the foundation of the entire North Korean economic and political system.

Under the *Juché* economic model, North Korea would implement a self-sufficient inward-looking economic development strategy utilizing planning goals, guidelines, and targets while shunning economic relations with other countries. The major tenets of *Juché* development strategy were: (1) North Korea should seek balanced economic development; (2) Industrialization would be achieved primarily relying on domestic resources; and (3) In order to develop technologies domestically and increase productivity, the state would emphasize human capital formation. In short, North Korea would achieve economic self-sufficiency through the implementation of *Juché* model of autonomous industrialization utilizing indigenous resources and internal demand.

*Juché* slowly evolved from a development strategy to become the official guiding principle in all facets of North Korean life. Kim Il-Sung utilized *Juché* to force North Koreans into a total mobilization system as the North Korean economy began to slow and stagnate. Politics, foreign policy and national defense policy would also be guided by *Juché*'s principle of self-reliance. Thus, *Juché* provided a theoretical basis for North Korea's closed-door policy. By 1965, *Juché* had become a comprehensive political theory. Eventually, *Juché* became a totalitarian political system that encompassed all aspects of daily life in North Korea.

## North Korean Economic Decline

Since 1991, the North Korean economy failed as a result of dual (internal and external) economic

conditions. Domestically, the economy stagnated as a result of ill-conceived *Juché* policies. Internationally, major changes in the international system, including the dissolution of the Soviet Union and China's rapid economic and political reorientation meant the end of generous subsidies that subsidized the North Korean economy and the severing of economic ties with Soviet Bloc countries meant a precipitous economic decline that has seen a shortage in food production followed by a decline in industrial output. The very structure of the North Korean economy compounded the economic downturn as the interdependence of the industrial sector binds the highly integrated economy. A setback in one industry triggers a domino effect in other sectors of the economy.

The unexpected death of Kim Il Sung on July 8, 1994, further strained the economy as his son and successor, Kim Jong-Il declared a three-year mourning period. It is unclear if North Korea will be able to reverse its economic decline. As long as North Korea remains committed to its *Juché* economic policies, the leadership will be unable to introduce the steps required to move away from an inward-looking economic development strategy to outward-looking economic development strategy necessary to resuscitate its deteriorating economy.

North Korea is currently on the brink of disaster. The country has suffered through five successive years of famine. Residents of Pyöngyang reported survive on a combination of food rationing. Much of the population outside of Pyöngyang suffers from an acute food shortage and survives on humanitarian aid.

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**See also** *Authoritarianism; Communist Economic Model; East Asia: History and Economic Development; East Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Asia; Korea, South; Marxism; Rhee, Syngman; Totalitarianism*

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## KOREA, SOUTH

The Republic of Korea, or Han’guk to its inhabitants, is situated on the southern half of the Korean Peninsula. Its coasts border on the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. Its only land border is the demarcation line with South Korea, or the People’s Republic of Korea. The climate is temperate, with a rainy season in the summer. The population is estimated at 48,598,175, with a growth rate of 0.62% (CIA estimate July 2004). The capital is Pyongyang, located in the northwest of the country near the Yellow Sea; its population was 10,276,968 at the end of 2003.

### Histography of South Korea

Geography, culture, and history combined to give South Korea a unique place as the intersection of Northeast Asia. Located on the southern half of the Korean Peninsula, South Korea has been vulnerable to influence by its more powerful East Asian neighbors, China and Japan. Throughout much of recorded history, the Korean Peninsula has been a crossroads of culture, trade, and war because of its strategic geographic location. Japanese rulers considered Korea as a gateway to continental expansion while Chinese emperors’ viewed Korea as a protective

safeguard against foreign invasion of the Eastern border of the Middle Kingdom.

The Republic of Korea (South Korea) emerged out of World War II as competing Cold War interests established rival regimes on the Korean Peninsula following Japan’s surrender on August 15, 1945, that ended World War II. The geopolitical vacuum south of the thirty-eighth parallel, created by the expulsion of the Japanese colonial administration was quickly filled by Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭng-man), an American-backed Korean expatriate whose personal ambition outweighed the needs of nascent republic. His personal rivalry with North Korean leader Kim Il Sung (Kim Il-sŏng) would eventually lead the two fledgling countries into a bitter civil war that would later come to define the Cold War.

From a Cold War perspective, South Korea’s importance lay from its geopolitical position at the intersection of conflicting great powers (e.g., the People’s Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the United States). While, the Korean War solidified the hitherto disputed borders and the permanent division of the Korean Peninsula, much of South Korea lay in ruin. Seöul was completely devastated and millions of people were left homeless. Deprived of pre-war industrial resources located in Pyöngyang, the restoration of the economic base of South Korea would be seen as the pivotal in the struggle against Communism. As such, the integration of South Korea into the international capitalist system was of primary importance to the United States to buffer South Korea against Communist influence.

### Economic Development—Past and Present

Following World War II, South Korea could hardly be thought of as a candidate for economic development that would shape the course of the latter half of the twentieth century. Prior to the colonization of the Korean Peninsula, Korea had been an isolated agrarian kingdom that had been forcibly opened through ‘gunboat’ diplomacy in the later half of the nineteenth century.

As late as the 1880s, Korea had been an agricultural society, aspiring to industrialization based on the much-hated Japanese model, but without the skills, raw materials, or capital necessary to sustain their economic expansion. As such, the Korean government found itself vulnerable to external economic and political pressure. During their colonial occupation, the Japanese built the beginnings of an economic infrastructure—a road and rail network—albeit to serve their needs; the export of raw materials needed

to support military expansion and conquest throughout Asia. It has been argued that the Japanese laid the foundation for the latter development through the introduction of comprehensive educational system coupled with the spread of literacy. In addition, the Japanese oversaw the development a native bureaucracy, the emergence of an entrepreneurial class that would serve as a base to economic development.

The years between 1948 and 1960 saw a brutal civil war, the permanent division of the Korean Peninsula, and the emergence of an authoritarian government in South Korea that combined civil and military administration to govern the state with military-like discipline. The Korean War laid waste to much of the economic infrastructure as well as depriving South Korea of industrial resources. In the years following the civil war, South Korea had a crippled economy and was heavily dependent on foreign—primarily American—aid and assistance. It wasn't until the adoption of export-led development in the 1960s that economic development took off thereby reducing their dependence on American aid.

By the early 1960s, South Korea had many of the necessary ingredients for rapid economic growth: integration into the post-war international political and economic order, access to foreign capital and technology, an entrepreneurial class and cadre of low-cost, educated workers. The coup d'état that led to installation of Park Chung Hee (Pak Chông-hŭi) as president of South Korea signaled a turning point in the economic development of South Korea. Park's primary focus was on attaining national wealth and power through economic development. As such, the government established the basic strategy for economic development to which it adhered to for the next forty years. The first part of the strategy was the introduction of the first Five-Year Economic Development Plan in 1962 which established the basic guidelines for development: economic development was to be achieved through industrialization; economic development was to be achieved under government direction and control; foreign capital inflow was to be reduced; and growth was given a higher priority than income distribution and uneven economic development. Nonetheless, during the 1960s the rate of growth of South Korea surpassed that of all developing countries.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the South Korean government export policy gradually shifted from export of labor-intensive manufactured goods to an export policy that emphasized gradual export substitution in capital skill-intensive industries. The shift in policy was a change from earlier policy in that emphasis went from maximizing export growth to strengthening competitiveness. The government

introduced a variety of legislative measures designed to restructure competitive industries, introducing market mechanisms, stimulating private initiatives as well as enhancing price stability.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the second oil crisis and Korean domestic political turmoil gave rise to difficulties as the Korean government experienced the first negative growth since the implementation of the first development plan and a huge current account deficit. The government undertook a series of structural adjustment measures to enhance economic efficiency. The priority of the Korean economic policy shifted from growth to stability and actively encouraged the adjustment of duplicated investment and liquidation of troubled enterprises. At the same time, opening of the economy and deregulation were pursued on a case-by-case basis as part of the move to private initiative in economic management.

### **The Rise of the Korean “Tiger”**

The success of South Korean economy is one of the unsurpassed stories of the post-World War II era. Beginning in the early 1960s, South Korea had one of the most dynamic economies in the world. Devoid of natural and physical resources, South Korea would enjoy a cumulative rate of growth that far exceeded that of most of the other Third World countries during the same period.

Different theories have been posited as to explain the successful pattern of development in South Korea. Much of the debate centers on the political basis of economic development. Did South Korea have culturally built in conditions that pre-disposed South Korea for the phenomenal growth that has fascinated policymakers and theorists alike? While it is agreed that economic growth in South Korea, and East Asia (e.g., Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong) for that matter, was based in large measure on government intervention in support of light export manufacturing. Others argue about the role of the state. Initially, observers posited that trade liberalization, private enterprise, and the restricted role of the state in economic affairs led to economic development. Later, scholars questioned the previously held assumption that the state played an indirect and minimal role in economic development as evidence suggested that centralization of power in the bureaucratic polity enhanced economic development.

Much of the development literature suggests historical and developmental conditions under which state economic development is possible: international

relations with states and multi-national corporations, access to export markets as well as development resources, including large amounts of capital and technology. This is called the neo-classical model, which is based on free market economics forces. According to this model, South Korea benefited from privileged access to US and foreign markets. The economic benefits, in turn, were used to strengthen and sustain economic growth.

Despite continued US development assistance and increasing levels of foreign direct investment by multi-national corporations in South Korea, economic development did not stimulate general development of the South Korean economy; democracy did not take root, nor was their equitable distribution of income. This school of thought argued that economic links between the developing world and the capitalist system produced exploitation and economic stagnation. This is called the dependency school. Scholars asserted that economic integration of a developing country into the capitalist system encouraged import-substitution led growth that created a structural imbalance that created dependency on foreign capital and technology that would constrain development.

Neither of these models can fully explain the unique set of circumstances that led to the remarkable economic development achieved in South Korea. What is agreed is that state economic intervention is an essential component of growth. South Korea fit that model as it had a series of authoritarian governments that combined civil and military administration to govern the state with military-like discipline through the implementation of comprehensive state-managed economic programs through its control of extensive bureaucracy fostered close collaboration between the government and tightly-held commercial conglomerates (*chaebol*). Furthermore, what is known is that economic growth in South Korea was stimulated and conditioned by a number of international, social, political, and cultural factors.

### ***International Factors***

Following the Korean War, the Republic of Korea little or no economic infrastructure. What little industry that was left by the Japanese was destroyed during the Korean War. Following the Korean War, the United States wanted a capitalist democracy and opposed any leftist influence. As such, the integration of South Korea into the international capitalist system was of primary importance to the United States to buffer South Korea from Communist influence. The eventual adoption of export-oriented policies that stimulated the rapid economic development coupled

with the protectionist policies of South Korea allowed the development of capital and technology-intensive industries with entrée to the capitalist system thereby allowing privileged access to US and other Western markets.

### ***Domestic Political and Social Factors***

Outside pressure(s) cannot entirely explain economic development and growth in South Korea. Certain domestic conditions and circumstances existed that laid the foundation for the rapid transformation from an agrarian society into an industrial society. In contrast with other developing nations, the absence of any organized class opposition to industrialization in South Korea allowed for the rise of an entrepreneurial class. This removed the political barriers to the transfer of landed wealth and into commerce and industry thereby strengthening economic growth. Social factors also played a key role in industrialization. South Korean workers were not only highly-skilled but comparatively inexpensive.

### ***The Role of Culture***

It is generally acknowledged that a unique set of cultural traits aided in the economic development of South Korea. In spite of centuries of foreign invasion and colonization, Korea remained relatively homogeneous. This gave people a sense of unity—*han min-jok*—which the government was able to tap into and manipulate. The South Korean government was able to subordinate sub-state loyalties to clan or region and use cultural nationalism as an ideology to mobilize support for development planning. Furthermore, the government was able to tap into the immediate past memory of the Japanese colonial occupation to intensify nationalist feelings and the sense of national pride of Koreans to match or outdo the achievements of their former colonial masters.

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**See also East Asia: History and Economic Development; East Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts; East Asia; Korea, North; Neoliberalism; Rhee, Syngman**

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## KUBITSCHKEK, JUSCELINO

Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira (1902–1976), president of Brazil and builder of Brasília, was born in a decayed diamond-mining district of Minas Gerais, a state once wealthy from colonial gold mining. His father, of Czech descent, died before he was born. His mother earned a meager income as a school teacher.

To rise out of poverty he studied to become a doctor, working as a telegraph operator. He married into a socially prominent family and established a thriving surgical practice in the state capital, Belo Horizonte.

Coming to the attention of the local political establishment, he was named mayor of Belo Horizonte in 1940. Having successfully raised himself out of poverty, he resolved to use public office to do the same for his society, emphasizing economic development through industrialization. Benefiting from increased world demand for minerals from Minas Gerais during the Second World War, Kubitschek used revenue from exports to enhance the physical infrastructure of his city by improving roads, electricity, and sewage. He even inaugurated a modernist architectural complex in the city, bringing together the leading Brazilian architects, landscape designers, and painters.

Elected governor of Minas Gerais in 1950, he again concentrated on improving infrastructure; he expanded the number of roads, bridges, hydroelectric plants, schools, and clinics. Improvements in transportation and energy were fundamental in order for the state to achieve economic development and modernization.

In 1955, he won election as president of Brazil, basing his appeal on an alliance with populist political forces and upon a program of national economic development that outlined a sequence of goals that his government would achieve. He promised that in his five-year presidential term there would be “fifty years of progress in five.” He further promised that he would move the federal capital from Rio de Janeiro to a new city in the central highlands, to be named Brasília.

His plan for economic expansion concentrated on the development of industry and physical infrastructure. The Kubitschek government had as its goals specific increases in the production of iron, steel, cars, roads, electricity, etc. It achieved dramatic increases in production together with a wider distribution of national income. These accomplishments made of Kubitschek an enduring symbol of successful, democratic civilian government in Brazil.

Brasília was built in the central highlands of Brazil in order to transfer the center of power and population to the interior of the country. The futuristic city highlighted Kubitschek's effort to modernize the country and brought together the country's chief architects, planners, painters, sculptors, and landscape designers. It was a symbol of Kubitschek's goals for national economic development and modernization.

Although his presidency was successful in terms of achieving its industrialization goals, it spurred a cycle of inflation that burdened the Brazilian economy well into the end of the twentieth century. Moreover, conservative and military forces scorned him for his political alliance with populist and radical elements and for the alleged corruption of his administration.

Kubitschek had his political rights denied by a military regime that came into power in 1964. He died in 1976 in an automobile accident between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

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### See also Brazil

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## KURDISTAN

Kurdistan constitutes the geographical area where Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria converge. Before World War I, Kurdistan was divided between the Ottoman Empire (mostly) and the Persian Empire. Following World War I, Kurdistan was divided among five different states. Turkey has the largest portion (43%), followed by Iran (31%), Iraq (18%), Syria (6%), and the former Soviet Union (now Armenia and Azerbaijan—2%) (Izady 1992).

Kurdistan is landlocked and mountainous. Although the rugged terrain contributes to the lack of Kurdish unity, these mountains have protected the Kurds from being fully conquered or assimilated by their neighbors. The Zagros range constitutes the most important portion of these mountains, running northwest to southeast. Portions of the Taurus, Pontus, and Amanus Mountains also rise within Kurdistan.

The climate of these mountains is cool throughout the year. Central Kurdistan, however, enjoys a lower elevation and thus a warmer, even relatively balmy climate, though summers can be very hot and humid. Winters in most areas are bitterly cold and snowy. These climatic contrasts have been sharpened by deforestation due to overgrazing, logging for fuel or construction, and the effects of war. In contrast to most other parts of the Middle East, much of Kurdistan enjoys adequate and regular rainfall. Agriculture products include corn, barley, rice, cotton, tobacco, and sugar beets. Animal husbandry (goats, sheep, cows, and buffaloes) continues to be a mainstay.

Because of its water (in the Turkish and Iraqi parts) and oil (in the Iraqi section), Kurdistan has great economic and geostrategic importance. Despite being economically underdeveloped compared to the non-Kurdish areas of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, Kurdistan witnessed a tremendous amount of economic, political, and social modernization during the twentieth century. Indeed, Iraqi Kurdistan's economy surpassed that of the rest of Iraq in the late 1990s due to the oil-for-food-program funds it received through the United Nations (UN). The Turkish, Iranian, and Syrian portions of Kurdistan still lag behind economically.

The Kurds are a largely Sunni Muslim, Indo-European-speaking people. They are distinct ethnically from the Turks and Arabs, but related to the Iranians.

No reliable estimates of the Kurdish population exist, as most estimates are politically biased. A significant number of Kurds have assimilated into the Arab, Turkish, or Iranian populations. In addition, Kurdish enclaves exist outside of Kurdistan, while communities of Turks, Turkomans, Arabs, Assyrians, among others, live within Kurdistan.

A reasonable estimate counts 12 to 15 million Kurds in Turkey (18% to 21% of the population), 6 million in Iran (11%), 4 million in Iraq (20% to 23%), and eight hundred thousand in Syria (7%). At least one hundred thousand Kurds also live in parts of the former Soviet Union, while recently a Kurdish diaspora of more than 1 million has risen in western Europe, with more than five hundred thousand Kurds in Germany. Some twenty thousand Kurds live in the United States.

The Kurds were Islamicized in the seventh century CE and today constitute a mixture of various groupings, the result of earlier invasions and migrations. The Kurdish language (which is related to Iranian) has two main variants, Kurmanji (or Bahdini) spoken mainly in the northwest of Kurdistan, and Sorani spoken mainly in the southeast. In addition, Dimili (Zaza) is also spoken in parts of Turkish Kurdistan, while Gurani is spoken in sections of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. These Kurdish dialects (or languages) are only partially mutually understandable.

Until recently, Kurdish tribes received more loyalty than any sense of Kurdish nationalism. In the various Kurdish revolts of the twentieth century, significant numbers of Kurds from other tribes have supported the government because of their antipathies for those rebelling. The aghas (feudal landlords or tribal chieftains) and sheikhs (religious leaders) continue to command strong allegiances.

## Turkey

Ataturk's creation of a secular and purely Turkish state led to three great, but unsuccessful Kurdish revolts in the 1920s and 1930s. As a result, the Turkish authorities decided to eliminate anything that might suggest a separate Kurdish nation. A new Kurdish insurgency began in the 1980s and continued until the end of the twentieth century when Abdullah (Apo) Ocalan, the leader of the *Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan* (PKK) or Kurdistan Workers Party was captured by Turkish authorities and sentenced to death. Turkey's candidacy for European Union membership forced the government to suspend Ocalan's execution.

## Iraq

The Kurds in Iraq have been in an almost constant state of revolt since World War I. Mulla Mustafa Barzani (1903–1979) eventually emerged as the leader and fought the Iraqi government with his *peshmerga* (literally, those who face death, or guerrillas) for more than half a century. Despite his conservatism and tribal mentality, he was the guiding spirit in the establishment of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in 1946, and at the height of his power negotiated the March Manifesto of 1970 which provided for Kurdish autonomy under his rule. When Iran and the United States withdrew their support in return for Iraqi concessions in 1975, Barzani's uprising collapsed. His son Massoud Barzani eventually emerged as the new leader of the KDP, while Jalal Talabani established his Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) as a rival. The two Iraqi Kurdish parties have alternated between cooperation and conflict ever since. They also have suffered from such horrific repression as Saddam Hussein's chemical attack on Halabja in 1988 and genocidal *Anfal* campaigns of 1987–1988.

After the Gulf War and failure of the ensuing Kurdish uprising in March 1991, Kurdish refugees fled to the mountains. The United States reluctantly created a safe haven and no-fly zone in which a Kurdish state began to develop in northern Iraq. A 1991 UN Security Council Resolution condemned the treatment of Iraqi Kurds and demanded an end to the oppression. Never before had the Kurds received such official international mention and protection.

The KDP and PUK battled from 1994–1998. The resulting instability and power vacuum drew in neighboring Turkey, Iran, and Iraq since for reasons of state none of them wanted to see an independent Kurdistan. The United States finally brokered a successful cease-fire. There are now two separate rump governments in Iraqi Kurdistan.

By the late 1990s, the economic situation had begun to improve in Iraqi Kurdistan due to the oil-for-peace funds, the cessation of internal fighting, and border customs collected by the KDP on its frontier with Turkey. A relatively free, liberal, and prosperous civil society began to develop both in the KDP and PUK regions. The problems of Saddam Hussein and numerous internally displaced persons continued, however.

## Iran

Until these developments in northern Iraq, the short-lived Mahabad Republic of Kurdistan (1946–1947) in

northwestern Iran represented the only Kurdish state in the twentieth century. This was destroyed and its president Qazi Muhammad hanged. Iranian agents also assassinated Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI) in 1989 and his successor Sadegh Sharafkandi in 1992.

The Kurdish movement in Iran has been less developed than in Iraq or Turkey. The Iranian province of Kordestan represents the only usage of the term in any state for even part of the historical territory of Kurdistan.

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### See also Kurds

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## KURDS

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Kurds had enjoyed an effective or actual independence in the homeland of Kurdistan. Although at other times, the Kurds—or rather, their princes—had paid homage to various powers in the area, this had never mounted to a direct rule. The introduction of technological innovations in armament mustered by their neighboring imperial powers, however, gradually ended this independence. What has followed to the present day is a relentless state of rebellion and warfare by the Kurds.

Kurdistan consists basically of the mountainous areas of the central and northern Zagros, the eastern one-third of the Taurus and Pontus, and the northern half of the Amanus ranges. Despite its mountainous



nature, Kurdistan has more arable land proportionately than most Middle Eastern countries.

Although presently an Indo-European-speaking groups with a strong European genetic admixture, Kurds, like most other large nations, are culturally and genetically an aggregate group. Genetically, Kurds are the descendants of all those who came to settle in Kurdistan, and not any one of them. Thus, ancient peoples such as the Kurti, Guti, Mede, Mard, Carduchi/Gordyene, Adianbene, Zela and Khaldi, each constitute only *one* ancestor and not *the* ancestor of the modern Kurd.

The earliest evidence so far of a unified and distinct culture (and possibly, ethnicity) by people inhabiting the Kurdish mountains dates back to the Halaf culture of 8,000–7,400 years ago. This was followed by the Hurrian cultural period, which lasted for nearly 4,000 years from circa 6,300 to 2,600 years ago. The Hurrians divided into many clans and subgroups, who set up city-states, kingdoms and empires. By about 4,000 years ago, the first vanguard of Indo-European-speaking peoples were trickling into Kurdistan. They formed the aristocracy of the Mitanni, Kassite, and Hittite kingdoms. Meanwhile, around 3,800 years ago, the name “Kurti” (Kurd) made its first debut into ancient records for a people and a kingdom located on the south shores of Lake Van and the Hakkari heights.

By about 3,000 years ago, the trickle had turned into a flood, and Hurrian Kurdistan was fast becoming Indo-European Kurdistan. By 300 BC, Kurds had established important dynasties in Anatolia. These had become Roman vassals by the end of the first century BC. In the east the Kurdish kingdoms of Adiabene, Sophene, Gordyene, Cortea, Media, and Kirm had, by the first century BC, become confederate members of Parthia. By the third century BC, the use of the name Kurd (Greek: Kurti; Latin: Cyrti) for the people inhabiting modern Kurdistan and other Kurdish colonies had become prevalent in the classical Graeco-Roman texts.

While all larger Kurdish kingdoms of the west gradually lost their existence to the Romans, in the east they survived into the third century AD and the advent of the Sasanian Persian empire. The last major Kurdish dynasty, the Kayosids, fell in AD 380. Smaller Kurdish principalities (called the *Kofyâr*, “mountain administrators”) however, preserved their autonomy into the seventh century and the advent of Islam.

The eclipse of Sasanian and Byzantine power by the Muslim caliphate, and its own subsequent weakening, permitted the Kurdish principalities and “mountain administrators” to set up new, independent kingdoms. The Ayyubids stand out by the vastness of their

domain. From their capital at Cairo they ruled territories of Libya, Egypt, Nubia, Yemen, western Arabia, Syria, the Holy Land, Armenia, and much of Kurdistan. As the custodians of Islam’s holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, the Ayyubids were instrumental in the defeat and expulsion of the Crusaders from the Holy Land.

By AD 1500, there were over a score of independent and autonomous Kurdish kingdoms and principalities. None, however, showed any serious inclination for a unification of Kurdistan. The advent of the Safavid and Ottoman empires in the area in the sixteenth century, their division of Kurdistan into two uneven imperial dependencies, and their introduction of heavy artillery and a scorched-earth policy into Kurdistan was a new, and devastating development.

Nonetheless, this is when for the first time, Kurdish authors begin calling for a unified Kurdish kingdom to guard the land and foster Kurdish culture and language. Thus the historian Bitlisi wrote in 1597 the first pan-Kurdish history, the *Sharafnâma*, as Ahmad Khani, the collector and versifier of the national epic of *Mem-o-Zin*, called in 1695 for a Kurdish state. Kurdish nationalism had been born.

It is noteworthy that, prompted by externally-induced national distress, a century earlier than Europeans the Kurds were writing of the need for a unitary Kurdish ethno-national state—a “nation-state.”

The disintegration of the Ottoman authority highlighted by the virtual independence of Egypt and Arabia, meanwhile, persuaded the ancient, autonomous Kurdish princely dynasties to sue for full independence. The first of these was the principality of Soran (central Kurdistan). In the early 1830s, a scion of the Rewandid dynasty, Dostakid Prince Muhammad, embarked on establishing an independent kingdom of Kurdistan. At his capital of Rewanduz, he established foundries to forge artillery and firearms, enabling his army in 1834 to score a major victory against the Ottoman forces that included the Prussian officer Helmuth von Moltke (future general and conqueror of Paris in 1871). Prince Muhammad’s realm spread to cover the entire central Kurdistan, including Arbil and Kirkuk, where justice and law reigned supreme. A contemporary visitor, J. Baillie Fraser, wrote:

The great contrast which is observed between Turkish and Koordish territories. In the former, all villages were deserted, the inhabitants having taken flight to avoid the government imposts... On the other hand, no sooner did [one] reach Altoun Kupree [on the border], than all people flocked out, wearing flowers on their heads as on holidays, and shouted and cheered... They depend on no country but their own for the supply of all their

wants. Everything they require is produced at home, and while their mountains form impregnable defenses against foreign invaders, their rugged sides and valleys, with little effort, produce abundantly everything they desire to cultivate, and afford a never-failing supply of wood, water, and pasture.

Prince Muhammed's undertakings were aborted when a local grand mullah was bribed to issue a religious edict in 1836, forbidding Muslim Kurds from fighting the Ottoman Sultan/Caliph. Deserted, Prince Muhammed surrendered and was murdered in captivity at Trabzon the following year.

With the fall of Soran, the neighboring principality of Jezira (modern Cizre), under Bokhti Prince Badir (1802–1868) pursued the same goal by establishing links with other Kurdish princely houses at Muks, Bitlis, Kars, Hakkari and even the Ardalans in Persia, extending his dynasty's influence to most of Ottoman Kurdistan by 1840. To his diverse subjects, Badir attracted the allegiance of the Christian Armenian, Assyrian, and Chaldian inhabitants of Kurdistan. Awakened to the threat posed by Prince Badir and other Kurdish royalties, the Ottomans, now resuscitated by vast military support from Prussia/Germany, brought their full force against the fledgling Kurdish kingdoms. After three years of full-scale war, by 1848, the Ottomans had succeeded in shelling all Kurdish princely capitals into surrender. Jezira/Cizre, the ancient and charming capital of the Bokhti principality, was utterly leveled.

By 1867, the House of Ardalan—the last autonomous Kurdish principality in Persia—had been likewise extinguished. For the first time in history, the Ottomans and Persians now ruled all of Kurdistan directly, via governors.

The loss of independence and/or autonomy of Kurdish provinces created a political turmoil in the land which was to be further exacerbated after the end of WWI and the effective fragmentation of Kurdistan into five isolated sectors.

## Modern Times

Following World War I, the territories of the Ottoman Empire which contained three-quarters of Kurdistan was divided between the European winning colonial empires. The Treaty of Sèvres (signed between Ottoman state and the European victors on August 10, 1921) anticipated an independent Kurdish state to cover a small portion of the former Ottoman Kurdistan. A larger portion—in fact the entire northern Kurdistan, from Van to Ardahan, from Bitlis to Bayezid—was scheduled at Sèvres for inclusion in a

planned independent “Armenia.” Luckily for Kurds, none of this came to pass.

Unconcerned with the natives' call for independence, France and Britain divided former Ottoman territories according to their own needs, with Kurdistan apportioned to the new states of Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. The Treaty of Lausanne (signed June 24, 1923) formalized this division. Kurds of Persia/Iran and Russia/USSR, meanwhile, were kept where they were before by Teheran and Moscow. Even though Lausanne dashed the Kurds' hope for independence for the rest of the twentieth century, it saved them from the ethnic cleansing that had been openly planned and partly implemented by the Armenians in large portions of the Kurdish territories scheduled by the Treaty of Sèvres for inclusion in an independent Armenia.

The drawing of well-guarded state boundaries dividing Kurdistan has, since 1921, afflicted Kurdish society with such a degree of fragmentation that its impact is tearing apart the Kurds' unity as a nation.

The 1920s saw the setting up of a Kurdish Autonomous Province (“Red Kurdistan”) in Soviet Azerbaijan. It was dissolved in 1929. In 1945, Kurds set up a Kurdish republic at Mahabad in the Soviet occupied zone in Iran. It lasted one year, until the Iranian army reoccupied it.

After the fall of the monarch in Iraq in 1958 and the effective exit of Britain from that state, the successive juntas attempted at centralizing the power in Baghdad, thus running afoul of the Kurds who had enjoyed a benign autonomy under the British mandate and the monarchy. War broke out between the Kurds, led by the charismatic tribal leader and the head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Mustafa Barzani, and Baghdad, culminating in a Kurdish defeat in 1975. This led to a political split among the Kurds, leading to the emergence of a rival, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan party (PUK), headed by Jalal Talabani.

A year earlier in 1974 and as a preventive measure, the Iraqi Kurds had been offered by Baghdad a limited autonomy in about half the Kurdish territories which went into effect in 1975. Ever since, they have enjoyed an official autonomous status with varying degrees of actual autonomy in a portion of that state's Kurdistan. By the end of 1991 and the conclusion of the Gulf War I, they had become all but independent with the help of the United States. By 1995, however, the Kurdish government in Arbil (the autonomous region's capital) was engaged in a factional fighting between various Kurdish warlords. In August 1996, the Barzani faction called the Iraqi army into Kurdistan to help it dislodge the rival Talabani faction. An American brokered cease-fire stopped the bloodshed by distributing the income from Iraqi oil,

transit fees (and various other licit and illicit trades) equitably among the two primary Iraqi Kurdish factions: the Barzani and Talabani parties.

The Gulf War II in 2003 saw an unusual cooperation between the Iraqi Kurds on the one hand, and the Coalition Forces on the other. The fruits of this atypical Kurdish cooperation and wise choice of ally culminated in the enshrinement of Kurdish autonomy in three Iraqi Kurdish provinces (comprising about 60% of the Kurdish-inhabited regions of Iraq) in the provisional constitution of Iraq (March 2004)

Since 1987, the Kurds in Turkey—by themselves constituting a majority of all Kurds—have waged a war of national liberation against Ankara's seventy years of heavy-handed suppression of any vestige of Kurdish identity and its rich and ancient culture. The massive uprising had by 1995 propelled Turkey into a state of civil war. The burgeoning and youthful Kurdish population in Turkey is now demanding absolute equality with the Turkish component, and failing that, full independence.

In the Caucasus, the fledgling Armenian Republic in the course of 1992–1994 wiped out the entire Kurdish community of Red Kurdistan (Lachin, Kelbajar, Zangelan). Having ethnically cleansed its Kurdish inhabitants, Armenia has effectively annexed Red Kurdistan's territory that separates the Armenian exclave of Nagorno-Karabakh from Armenia. The fate of Red Kurdistan should serve as a model of what was in store for northern Kurdistan, had it been included into Armenia in 1920 by the provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres.

Following World War I and until 1991, Kurdistan was administered by five different sovereign states, with the largest portions of land respectively in Turkey (43%), Iran (31%), Iraq (18%), Syria (6%), and the Soviet Union (2%). Since the dissolution of the USSR in the year, Kurds find themselves natives of an additional five states which include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. (Kurds of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are deportees.)

Iranian Kurds have lived in that state and the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514. Excepting occasional spells of independence, the other three-quarters of the Kurds lived in the Ottoman Empire from 1514 until its break-up in 1918. The French Mandate of Syria received pieces, and the British incorporated central Kurdistan or the "Mosul Vilayet" and its oil fields at Kirkuk into their Mandate of Iraq. The Kurds in Russia/USSR had passed into that sphere when territories were ceded by Persia in 1807–1828, and by the Ottomans in 1878.

Today the Kurds remain the only ethnic group in the world with indigenous representation in four world geopolitical blocs: the Arab World (in Iraq

and Syria), NATO (in Turkey), the South Asian-Central Asian bloc (in Iran and Turkmenistan), and the Russian-dominated bloc (since 1991, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia). As such, the Kurdish nation as a whole lacks a natural ally, and each of her nine fragments must deal with different settings, alliances, countries, and political realities within different world power blocs. This has rendered a pan-Kurdish external (or even internal) policy impracticable if not self-defeating.

M. R. IZADY

**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Iran; Iraq; Kurdistan; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Minorities/Discrimination; Turkey**

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### KUWAIT

The state of Kuwait lies at the northwestern end of the Persian/Arabian Gulf. It encompasses 17,818 square kilometers (about 7,000 square miles) of land, including several islands, the most important of which are Failaka, a repository of ancient ruins off the coast of the Salmiya district, and Warba and

Bubiyan, low, marshy flats lying off the northern coast. Kuwait's topography slopes gently from west to east but is mostly level, except for one "mountain" in the south and a ridge in the north. It has a hot, desert climate. There is a short period of cold weather in the winter. Dust storms occur mostly during spring. Summer temperatures can rise very high, occasionally surpassing 50°C (122°F). The 2003 population of Kuwait was estimated as 2.4 million persons, 37% of whom are Kuwaiti citizens. The vast majority of citizens are Muslims, approximately 30% of whom are Shi'i and the rest Sunni.

Desert nomads roamed for centuries across what are now Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia looking for water for their flocks; however, the political community grew from an urban nucleus on the seaside, settled early in the eighteenth century by refugees fleeing a prolonged drought in the central Arabian Peninsula. "Kuwait" is thought to be a diminutive of *kut*, or fort, but the community also was known as Qrain. In 1752, the Sabah family was chosen by community leaders to provide Kuwait's rulers but, until the late nineteenth century, Kuwaiti merchants and ship owners were richer and more powerful than the Sabahi amirs. Merchant wealth came from pearling and from buying and selling goods transported by dhow across south Asia, the Arabian Peninsula, and east Africa.

The balance of power between rulers and merchants changed with the reign of the amir Mubarak (r. 1896–1915), the only Kuwaiti ruler to come to power through a coup. Having killed his predecessor, Mubarak did not hesitate to bring other political forces to heel. He played the Ottomans off against the British in a mostly successful attempt to preserve his autonomy, ensure access to income independent of taxes paid by the merchants, and guarantee that the right of succession would be limited to his direct descendants. In return, Mubarak surrendered authority over Kuwait's foreign policy and as-yet undiscovered oil reserves to Britain.

Oil is the foundation of the modern Kuwaiti economy. Its exploitation rescued Kuwait from economic devastation resulting from tribal warfare, British competition in the transit trade, and the loss of markets for natural pearls caused by the advent of cheaper cultured pearls. The Kuwait Oil Company (KOC), a joint venture owned by a British and a US oil company, discovered oil in 1938. KOC began commercial exports of crude in 1946. Production capacity expanded rapidly, spurred by a British and US-led boycott of Iranian oil in the early 1950s. Kuwait is estimated to possess about 10% of global oil reserves. It was a founding member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960. In spite of extensive overseas investments, Kuwait continues to

depend on oil sales for more than 90% of its GDP. It produced about 2.4 million barrels of crude per day in 2004.

By the mid-1950s, under the amir Abdullah al-Salim (r. 1950–1965), generous programs were inaugurated that distributed a large portion of the nation's oil income to the citizen population in the form of social services and cash payments. Health care and income support raised the quality of life for Kuwaitis along with their life expectancy, which rose from less than forty-five years in pre-oil Kuwait to nearly seventy-eight years in 2004. Education is compulsory for girls and boys between six and fourteen years of age. By 2003, 90% of Kuwait citizens ten years or older were literate. Most Kuwaitis are employed in the public sector but recent changes in employment policies such as the requirement that social allowances go to citizens working in the private sector as well as to government employees are making private-sector employment more attractive. Virtually all unskilled labor and workers employed in hazardous industries are foreigners whose wages are substantially lower than what Kuwaitis earn. The disparity in living standards between citizens and non-citizens is visible in nearly every aspect of life in Kuwait.

Kuwaiti citizenship was shaped by two experiences of invasion. Wahhabi raiders from Saudi Arabia invaded Kuwait from the south in 1920, reaching Jahra, an agricultural settlement to the west of the city, in October. Anticipating attack, the amir Salim (r. 1917–1920) called upon the residents to build a wall around the city. Toiling throughout the hot summer, the Kuwaitis completed the wall some weeks before Jahra, which Salim himself went out to defend, was attacked. The invaders were defeated at Jahra but the citizenship laws of the modern state defined as originally Kuwaiti only those families who had resided in the city in 1920, during the construction of the wall.

The second invasion occurred in August 1990 when Iraq seized Kuwait and claimed it as Iraq's "nineteenth province." The Iraqi occupation lasted until the end of February 1991 when an international coalition led by the United States expelled Iraqi forces and liberated Kuwait. The occupation was a defining event that united Kuwaitis as citizens but also divided them according to their experiences inside or outside the country during this period. Liberation marked a resumption of democratization. In 1992, responding to pressure from Kuwaiti citizens and governments that had spearheaded the liberation effort, the Kuwaiti government ended a six-year suspension of the constitution and parliament with parliamentary elections in October.

Despite this, Kuwait is not yet a democratic state. Women are not permitted to vote or run for political

office, while the relationship between parliament and government leaves the lion's share of power with the latter, still firmly controlled by the Sabahi. Kuwaitis are not eager for revolutionary change in their country but across the political spectrum and hope for its gradual transformation into a constitutional monarchy. Civil society, buttressed by traditional institutions like family businesses and the *diwaniyya* (weekly home-based meetings), supports a highly diversified collection of religious and secular voluntary organizations and political movements. They contribute significantly to Kuwait's democratic potential even though some Islamist groups oppose democratization and seek to make religious law (*Shari'ah*) the basis of the legal and political system.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Persian Gulf War, 1991**

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### KUWAIT FUND FOR ARAB ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development ("the Fund") is a lending institution that finances development projects in Third World states. It operates as a public corporation managed by a board of directors with up to eight members appointed and formally chaired by the prime minister, who may delegate these powers to the minister of finance. The Fund's daily operations are overseen by the director

general, who is appointed by decree of the Emir on the recommendation of the board of directors. Since 1986, the position of director general has been held by Bader Mishari al-Humaidhi. In 2003, the Fund's management was transferred from the ministry of finance to the ministry of foreign affairs.

The Fund was established on December 31, 1961, shortly after Kuwait gained its independence from the United Kingdom. It was the first aid agency in the developing world. Originally endowed with an operating capital of Kuwaiti dinar (KD) 50 million (KD 1 = \$3.43, March 3, 2005) this was increased to KD 200 million in 1966, KD 1 billion in 1974, and KD 2 billion in 1981. Within a decade of its inception, the Fund had extended loans to all Arab states, with the exception of oil-producers Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. The Fund's mandate was originally limited to other Arab states. In July 1974, as high energy prices swelled the Kuwaiti treasury, its scope was extended to include all developing countries. Despite this broader mission, the Fund has been most heavily involved in Arab countries (53% of all loans), followed by South Asia and the Pacific (21%), and West Africa (9%).

While it has no formal restrictions on the type of projects it can sponsor, the Fund focuses mainly on transportation (32% of all loans), energy (22%), agriculture (16%), water and sewage (11%), and industry (11%). As of December 7, 2004, it had made 659 loans over its lifetime. Tunisia, Yemen, and China had the greatest number of loans, at twenty-nine each. Egypt had received the most credit, at KD 322 million. The Fund had also committed KD 328 million to fellow development institutions, the most important of which was the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, at KD 169 million. Its loan commitments totaled KD 3.4 billion, disbursements reached KD 2.7 billion, KD 1.5 billion of which had been repaid.

The Fund is empowered to extend loans not only to sovereign states, but also sub-national governments, development institutions, and private non-profit corporations. Its assistance can take the form of direct loans, guarantees, joint financing with other agencies, advisory services, or capital subscription for development institutions or enterprises. The recipient must be a developing country, or, in the case of a non-state borrower, a national of a developing country. The Fund does not provide budgetary or balance of payment assistance. The criteria for evaluating project finance applications include: (1) economic justifications; (2) environmental impact; (3) total cost; (4) managerial capacity; and (5) technical viability. Interest rates are determined on a case-by-case basis, averaging 3.5% annually with a mean maturation

period of twenty-two years. In general, the Fund funds a maximum of 50% of the total cost of a project and uses the Kuwaiti Dinar as its unit of account. The board of directors may grant exemptions from both these rules for reasons related to the nature of the project or the economic circumstances of the beneficiary country. The Fund does not require recipients to purchase any goods or services from Kuwait.

During the Fund's first two years of existence, the World Bank ("the Bank") provided it with an advisor to guide it in its operations. The legacy of this early tutelage remains visible, for example in the Fund's tendency to privilege large infrastructure projects. There are, however, significant differences between the two organizations. The Fund limits itself to providing loans, whereas the Bank openly seeks to influence recipient states's fiscal policy. The Bank funds not only individual projects, but sectors of the economy and government institutions as well. The Fund's smaller size allows it to have an average project cycle of six months, as opposed to eighteen for the Bank. As the first Arab aid agency, the Fund has served as an example to other oil-rich governments in the creation of similar entities. The most prominent of these are the Abu Dhabi Fund for Development, established in 1971, and the Saudi Fund for Development, founded in 1974. Moreover, the Fund has played a major role in building and financing a number of multilateral aid agencies. These include the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development in 1968 (headquartered in Kuwait), the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa in 1974, and the Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation (also headquartered in Kuwait), the OPEC Fund for International Development, and the Islamic Development Bank, all in 1975.

Officially, the Fund's sole purpose is to foster development in the Third World. However, the government has also recognized it as one of Kuwait's foreign policy tools. Jordan's 1970 military action to expel the Palestine Liberation Organization resulted in a suspension of the Fund's most high-profile activities there. Tentative approval for a loan to Iraq was withdrawn under government pressure in 1973, following the latter's occupation of a Kuwaiti frontier post. Egypt's establishment of diplomatic ties with Israel led to a freeze on new loans, though the Fund honored its pre-existing commitments. Liberia suffered similar consequences when it restored diplomatic ties with Israel in 1983. Shortly after the 1990 Iraqi invasion, Kuwaiti Emir Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah announced before the UN General Assembly the cancellation of all outstanding interest payments due to the Fund. This amounted to arrears of KD 12.4

million, shared by forty-three countries. Conversely, aid to Jordan, Sudan, and Yemen was suspended when they supported Baghdad.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development**

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## KYRGYZSTAN

The Kyrgyz Republic (also known as Kyrgyzstan and by convention called Kirgizia until 1991) is located in Central Asia, bordering with China in the east, with Tajikistan in the south, Uzbekistan in the west, and Kazakhstan in the north. The country has a land area of 198,500 square kilometers (76,640 square miles) and is the second smallest in the Central Asian region.

The population of Kyrgyzstan is estimated at just over 5 million (2004). It is predominantly rural with only around 35% of the people living in cities and towns. The country's capital city, Bishkek (known as Frunze between 1926 and 1991), is home to seven hundred thousand people (2001) or 14% of the population. Kyrgyzstan has a population growth rate of 1.44% and it is estimated that its population could double by 2044. Kyrgyz and Russian share status as official languages; Uzbek is also spoken. The major religion is Islam, with 75% of the population; 20% are Russian Orthodox.

For centuries, the Kyrgyzstanis have been engaged in animal husbandry, raising horses, sheep, goats, and cattle. The mountainous land can support millions of sheep, but only 7% of the countryside is arable. Relations between Kyrgyzstanis and their neighbors have often been interrupted by devastating wars and military conflicts, which have had a negative effect on Kyrgyzstan's economic and social development. Consequently, Kyrgyzstan entered the nineteenth century as a feudal country with most of the population engaged in subsistence economy. Gradually, the Russian Empire established political control over the Kyrgyz land.

Major economic and social changes were brought to Kyrgyz society with the arrival of the Russians in the nineteenth century. The Russian Revolution of 1917, which was directed against the imperial regime and promised social justice, had profound effects on the Kyrgyz elite. In 1924, with Soviet assistance, Kyrgyzstan was established within its present borders, becoming a Soviet Autonomous Oblast (province), a constituent part of the Russian Federation. The Kyrgyz Communist Party came to power, to remain the single ruling party for the next sixty-six years.

The Soviet concept of development in Kyrgyzstan included radical political and economic changes, state control of all types of economic activities and central state planning. At the same time the government suppressed basic political freedoms; however, it eliminated mass illiteracy, developed extended free education and medical services to all sectors of the population, and installed a comprehensive welfare network. Between the 1930s and 1980s the government forced all farmers to join large-scale farming centered around *kolkhozy*, state-controlled collective farms (specializing in animal herding, cotton, silk, etc.). During and after World War II, it emphasized state-led industrialization which included defense, heavy industry such as agricultural machinery, light industries such as textile and garment, and mining in antimony, gold, uranium ore, and so on. As in most socialist countries, almost all economic activities in Kyrgyzstan were state-controlled, and private entrepreneurial initiatives were limited. Until the 1990s, the Soviet Union and the East European countries remained Kyrgyzstan's main trading partners, and the chief market for its products. According to official statistics, the Kyrgyzstan economy grew at an average annual rate of 6% to 9% between the 1930s and 1960s, but was stuck at 2% to 4% in the 1970s.

Major changes came in the middle of 1980s with the relinquishing of the centrally planned economy, and the introducing of limited democratization and economic experiments within the socialist system. These changes were largely peaceful, since they were initiated by the ruling elite under the influence of the Gorbachev's *perestroika* policy. In 1990, the Constitution of Kyrgyzstan was amended and the first multi-party election for the *Jogorku Kenesh* (Parliament) was held. The CPK was challenged by the newly formed Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan and some others. The CPK gained almost 80% of the seats in the new Parliament and formed the government, but its representative, Apsamat Masaliyev, lost the Presidential election to Dr. Askar Akayev, a candidate supported by the opposition.

## Recent Development

Kyrgyzstan declared its independence from the USSR on August 31, 1991. President Akayev showed great toleration toward the opposition and promoted genuine reforms, liberalizing the political system and introducing a new Constitution (1993) and a new unicameral Parliament (1994). However, as Akayev won two consecutive presidential elections (in 1995 and 2000) there was evidence of increasing authoritarianism. It is important to note, however, that the transition in Kyrgyzstan was largely peaceful and, unlike many Third World countries, its military does not play any active role in its politics. After the parliamentary elections in 1995 and 2000 the *Jogorky Kenesh* emerged as a stronghold for opposition.

In the economic area, from the early 1990s the Kyrgyzstan government adopted an IMF-designed program of radical economic changes (the so-called shock therapy approach). This program is based on three main mechanisms: rapid mass-privatization, rapid price liberalization and currency reform with the assistance of international organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF. The government quickly abandoned the centrally planned economy and focused on mass-privatization, promotion of private entrepreneurship, liberalization of its trade, and opening up the national economy to international investment. It was able to privatize most of the enterprises in the industrial and agricultural sectors, establish a freely convertible currency system (Kyrgyzstan's *Som* was introduced in May 1993 and has remained relatively stable), and achieve macroeconomic stabilization. At the same time, the state downsized the social welfare system, and privatized medical services, educational institutions and the pension system. Due to its rapid and extensive economic liberalization, Kyrgyzstan became the first among the Commonwealth of Independent States to be accepted into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1998.

However, the state's sudden change of the economic policy and withdrawal of subsidies, combined with the disintegration of the Soviet market, led to a steep de-industrialization and transitional recession affecting almost all sectors of the economy. According to the IMF, Kyrgyzstan's economy declined at an average annual rate of 4.1% between 1989 and 1999 (between 1992 and 1995 the industrial sector alone declined at an average annual rate of 20%), while the United States was experiencing a decade of unprecedented growth. The country increasingly relies on the export of raw materials to the international market, and it is extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices for its major export products—gold

and agricultural products. Kyrgyzstan needs considerable foreign direct investments and international assistance to modernize existing technologies and to conduct major economic changes. However, both local and foreign investors are reluctant to invest in the economy due to the small size of the market, the weakness of the legal system and the inability of state institutions to implement property rights and contract law.

Agriculture, industries, and services are the three main pillars of post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan's economy, contributing 39.4, 26.4 and 34.2% respectively to the gross domestic product (GDP) (2000 World Bank estimate). Kyrgyzstan's exports are narrowly based on sales of raw materials in international markets. The country's main exports are nonferrous metals (accounting for almost 41% of total export earnings in 1998), garments and textiles, electricity, and agricultural products. The mining industry is largely concentrated around the single largest mining field, Kumtor. The country depends heavily on imports of machinery, fuel, industrial consumer goods, and food products. Due to the transitional recession and the disappearance of aid from the former USSR, Kyrgyzstan's economy increasingly relies on foreign aid and credits. Total external debt has reached almost \$1.4 billion US dollars (2001), quite a large figure for a nation of only 5 million people.

Despite macroeconomic stability and success in structural changes, the economic changes led to a steady decline in living standards among pensioners, rural people, and women with children. The country remains one of the poorest countries of the former

Soviet Union, with 52% of population living below the poverty line (2001 estimate) and a sizeable number of people are leaving for other countries in search for jobs and better standards of living. In 2001, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) put Kyrgyzstan in ninety-second place out of 162, behind all the former Soviet countries except only Moldova, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations**

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## **LAAR, MAART**

Born in 1960, Maart Laar proved to be one of the most influential politicians to emerge during the intense period of economic, political, and social transition in post-independence Estonia. Laar was credited with Estonia's rapid advancement towards European integration during the 1990s.

Laar was born in Viljandi, Estonia in 1960. Laar received a BA in history and later an MA in philosophy from the University of Tartu. From 1990–1992, Laar served on the Estonian Congress and Estonian Committee, as well as the Supreme Council, positioning himself to become an active participant in Estonian politics. The thirty-one-year-old, self-professed “grandson of Margaret Thatcher,” was chosen by president Lennart Meri as prime minister in 1992. Laar would serve as Estonian Prime Minister from 1992–1994 and again from 1999–2002.

Expectations were enormously high for Laar's first government, led by the *Isamaa* (Fatherland) party. The young parliament members were perceived as being intrinsically honest in comparison to the former Soviet governments. The ambitious Laar set out upon a course of reforms and programs to realign Estonia with Western Europe. Laar established a radical neoliberal economic regime; including the elimination of all tariff restrictions and replacing the existing tax code. The progressive income tax was replaced by a fixed, flat rate of 26% in the hope of allowing individuals greater economic choices. Unlike Laar's peers in other successor states of the Soviet Union, Laar was most concerned about leading Estonia toward a

clearly Western orientation rather than the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). While this policy proved to stimulate economic growth, it led to great economic hardship for many Estonians.

The harsh reforms set in motion by *Isamaa* and Laar's personal arrogance ultimately led to the failure of his first government. *Isamaa* mandated strict new legislation concerning the Russian population in the country, demanding that the nation's five hundred thousand former Soviet citizens register for residency or risk expulsion from the country. The severe economic dislocation caused by the market reforms led to questions of major social implications, including a rising crime rate. Local elections in October 1993 only served to prove the public's growing discontent with the *Isamaa* government. Of sixty-four seats on the Tallinn City Council available, only five went to Laar's party. In response, Laar stated that Estonia could either move forward toward European integration or find itself as a full member of the CIS. This arrogance, and accusations of corruption proved to be Laar's first undoing. After the revelation that 2.3 billion Soviet rubles were withdrawn from circulation and sold to Chechnya without parliamentary consent, a vote of no-confidence was held, and Laar stepped down on September 26, 1994.

Laar reemerged as prime minister in 1999 after parliamentary elections, creating a coalition government consisting of *Isamaa*, the Estonian Reform Party, and the Moderates' Party. The government's main concern was preparing Estonia for formal European Union accession and the expansion of the

high technology sector of the economy. Laar resigned from office in January 2002 amidst growing tensions within the coalition and was replaced by Siim Kallas.

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**See also Estonia; Vähi, Tiit**

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## LABOR

Labor encompasses primarily the physical activity of work, though following a Marxist view the idea of labor-power is often implied. Labor-power is the worker's need/ability/desire to sell his or her work to employers, in return for compensation, which can be in the form of wage, salary, or non-monetary means, as has been the case historically in many developing countries. For example, in the late nineteenth and even the early twentieth century, mining workers, who lived and worked in very remote areas, often received so-called company-tokens which they could—or had to—exchange for expensive food and other life-supporting commodities. In the process, workers frequently became indebted. In many developing countries, share-cropping is a familiar sight. In return for their work, peasants are entitled—more often by tradition than by legal contract—to a certain and perhaps negotiated share of land or of the harvest. Thus land, and more specifically land ownership, has been and continues to be of crucial importance for peasants all over the developing world.

Labor not only describes the physical activity of work or the laborer's need to sell his/her work to any given employers, but most importantly, labor connotes a social relationship—and thus also a relationship of power, including also (mutual) dependence—between two or more categories of social actors. History has seen an endless number of variations of that social relationship, including slave-labor, wage-labor, and more recently so-called full-time labor, part-time labor, sub-contracted labor, outsourced labor, stock-holding labor, informal labor, and more. Following both Marx and Weber, the relationship between labor and employers is a class relationship that has also a political dimension to the degree to which labor, that is, workers, are interested in (a) obtaining suffrage (more the historic case of European than developing

countries) and (b) improving wage and working conditions, in short, improving their social rights (as understood by TH Marshall). In their pursuit of social rights, workers most often appeal to the state and in so doing can choose between two political approaches: revolution or reform, although the latter may have its own variations, for example, the so-called “third way” (Europe), “corporatism” (Latin America) or, more recently and adopted worldwide, the “neo-liberal” phase. Historically, workers have not been very successful in bringing about major socio-political and economic changes via revolution. Reasons for this are complex and multiple. Following Marx, workers need to organize in the labor movement, which in turn helps workers obtain “true consciousness” which in turn prepares them for the revolution and the seizure of political power. The role of working-class parties has often contributed to the improvement of workers' social rights, but at the cost of accommodation and postponement of revolution. Despite unprecedented industrialization, no country has ever produced a pure working-class political majority; hence even revolution by suffrage alone (as compared to the violent overthrow of the so-called bourgeois state) has not occurred. The country that came closest to that was most likely Chile in 1970, in which a Socialist was elected President, with a program to gradually move from capitalism to socialism. But even there, working-class parties were not able to control Congress, and political divisions led the country to the brink of civil war in 1973. With the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of Communism, Cuba and North Korea notwithstanding, radical working-class parties where they still exist(ed), have become more accepting of capitalism and democracy. Hence the role of working-class parties—or of parties who claim to represent “the working people”—becomes crucial for workers' interest, and this is nowhere more evident than in the Social-Democratic types. And while this option puts the revolution forever on “hold,” workers have obtained substantial gains over the last two centuries.

Yet, for many workers in developing countries, even this “second-best” scenario (Social Democracy) remains elusive, in part precisely because many countries have not been able to industrialize to the degree to which this has occurred in developed countries. In other words, they have not been able to “repeat” the development path taken by the developed world. Therefore, agriculture remains a crucial economic activity and peasants often labor in conditions similar to those a century ago. Thus, in part as a result of structural conditions related to economic development, working-class parties in most developing countries remain small and mostly bereft of any

major political power. In developing countries, modernization of agriculture is relatively widespread, though the effects on labor are heterogeneous. In some cases, increased use of technology has had positive effects on wages and/or working conditions, but the trade-off to this economic policy is frequently unemployment or low job creation that usually cannot keep up with population growth. Hence, in many developing countries, the countryside has had an ambiguous view on modernization. Many workers and families welcome better jobs, but many realize that work in and of itself is not always an improvement to working and living conditions. Often, too, there is fear that modernization replaces or changes culture and customs.

With the end of Keynesian economic policies and Import-Substitution Industrialization (especially in Latin America), so-called neoliberalism has become the latest economic “model.” Most if not all Latin American and Asian countries (see here especially the “NICs”—the newly industrialized countries of Southeast Asia) have over the past two to three decades adopted that neo-liberal model in one way or another. One important consequence of this has been the reduced role of the state in the economy. For many developing countries, this has not been an easy choice and favorable macroeconomic indicators do not always tell the whole story. Not surprising then, many workers in developing countries are beginning to resent Neo-liberal economics. Those workers who are organized in labor unions often resort to strikes and protests in order to defend what they believe to be their interests and rights. However, unionization has witnessed a major decline beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and as rule, unions in developing countries do not enjoy the kind of “strength” witnessed in developed countries (especially Northern Europe). Therefore, workers often have to rely on their own luck in finding work that permits them a livable wage. Nevertheless, many democratic governments of the developing countries were eager to adopt neo-liberal policies, in part because of the conviction that state-led development had contributed to low productivity, inefficient enterprises, budget deficits, and more.

While the social division of labor frequently denotes workers’ position in any given economic and political structure, the sexual division of labor calls attention to the way in which males and females experience work differently—as workers but also often as husbands and wives, fathers and sons, and daughters and mothers. In other words, the dual structures of work and household affect women differently from men. Domestic labor is still mostly a female place, underpaid, and not sufficiently appreciated by state, economy, and society of all countries.

To what degree developing countries “lag behind” in their cultural, economic, and political recognition of female labor is very much debated in academia. And even though Modernization and Dependency Theory of the 1960s and 1970s, respectively, each had their own insights to the “problem,” it is clear that equality for female labor, at work and at home, is still a major challenge in the new millennium of developing and developed countries alike.

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### LAKE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION

The Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) was created by the Fort Lamy (N’Djamena) Convention signed on May 22, 1964, by the heads of state of four countries that share the Lake Chad, namely, Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, and Chad. The Central African Republic was admitted as the fifth member state in 1994, which more than doubled the area of the new Lake Chad Conventional Basin, from 427,300 square kilometers to nearly 1 million square kilometers. Lake Chad was once the sixth-largest lake in the world, but since 1964, the lake level has continuously fallen with the surface area reducing from about 25,000 square kilometers in the 1960s to less than 2,000 square kilometers today, while its volume has decreased by close to 60%. There are several reasons for this shrinking of Lake Chad but perhaps the biggest reason was the severe droughts in the region in the 1970s and 1980s, combined with diversion for irrigation. Despite its low level readings, according to the Famine Early Warning Systems Network,

hydrological station readings indicate that the levels are slowly rising.

The Lake Chad Basin is a source of life, socio-economic diversity, and biodiversity for this region of the world. The population of the conventional basin, according to its Executive Secretary Abubakar B. Jauro, is about 20 million distributed as 2,550,000 in Cameroon, 193,000 in Niger, 11,376,000 in Nigeria, 5,048,530 in Chad, and about 634,283 in Central African Republic, respectively. A majority of this population survives directly from the practice of agriculture, nomadic and semi-nomadic animal husbandry, and fisheries. There are more than 150,000 fishermen living on the lake's shores and its islands. According to the WWF International and its Living Waters Programme, the current estimate of annual fish production from the lake is sixty thousand to seventy thousand tonnes. The raising of cattle, sheep, and camels is also economically important, together with the cultivation of some traditional crops. The most common system is the lake-bottom cropping or receding moisture cultivation, which has been a response to the contraction of Lake Chad. In addition to direct support for livelihoods, according to the WWF International and its Living Waters Programme, the lake also plays an important socio-economic role in regulating annual water supply, recharging ground water, and helping to control flooding. WWF International also reports that over one hundred species of fish have been recorded from the upper Chari system, while over 120 species are known from the lake itself and the lower reaches of the Chari River. Furthermore, the region is also notable for the Kuri ox, a domesticated breed of *Bos Taurus longifrons* at risk of extinction.

The LCBC was established for the regulation and planning of the uses of the waters and other natural resources of the convention basin. Today, the LCBC is also mostly concerned with, but not limited to, collecting, evaluating and disseminating information on projects prepared by member states and to recommend plans for common projects and joint research programmes in the Lake Chad basin; drawing up common rules regarding navigation and transport; examining complaints and promoting the settlement of disputes and the resolution of conflicts; promoting regional cooperation, coordinating regional programmes; and planning, mobilization, and following up of national projects with regional implication.

JOSE DA CRUZ

**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Cameroon; Central Africa: History and Economic Development; Central Africa: International Relations; Central African Republic; Chad; Environment: Government Policies; Niger;**

**Nigeria; Sustainable Development; Water Resources and Distribution; Wildlife Preservation**

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### LAND DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS

Land distribution patterns reflect and underpin social power so that changes in patterns of land ownership necessarily involve changes in the structure of society itself. Land reform means the redistribution of land and other agricultural resources to reduce or eliminate the concentration of assets in the hands of a small number of powerful and wealthy elites. Land reform entails a comprehensive overhaul of the way in which agricultural land is held or owned, the methods of cultivation that are employed, or the relation of agriculture to the rest of the economy. The term *agrarian reform* is also used to refer to a fundamental change in access to and use of land in a broader sense to include agricultural institutions, such as credit, taxation, rents, and cooperatives. Sitting governments or political parties introduce such reforms to resolve or prevent economic and political crises. The main objectives are to abolish exploitive control of farms and related labor and to generate economic development on behalf of poor peasants and indigenous peoples who rely on land for livelihood and welfare. Governments often intervened to transfer land ownership from an established landed class to the state or key constituents in the countryside. Although land reform resulted in lower agricultural productivity in some cases when it included collectivization, it generally increased productivity when land was redistributed directly to the tiller.

Land reform has its origins in the classic eras of Greek and Roman empires, but land redistribution is more closely associated with the Enlightenment period and the major liberal democratic revolutions in Western Europe and the United States. The equitable distribution of land and the right to own land as a fundamental human right lie at the heart of democratic egalitarian societies as envisioned by the

US and French experiences. However, centuries of enclosure and eviction in much of Europe created a vast displaced population whose only recourse was to migrate to the industrial centers. Peasant uprisings were based on the demands of small freeholders, yet the modern state, the crown and the church resisted the restructuring of land ownership to protect the interests of aristocrats and oligarchs. In the wake of the abolition of slavery in the United States after 1865, freed people of African descent sought fundamental shifts in social relations in land tenancy and labor conditions in southern states. Many former slaves became family farmers, often working land they rented through various sharecropping arrangements, although many blacks continued to work in relationships reminiscent of slave-like dependence on white landlords.

## Latin America

The creation of new nation-states in Latin America in the nineteenth century eliminated communal ownership of land among indigenous communities. A variety of liberal dictatorships designated vast land holdings in private individual or family titles causing many indigenous communities to lose their customary property rights to private estate owners. Farm land was often sold without consent or just seized outright. By the late nineteenth century, many indigenous villages disappeared and native peoples were forced into destitution as agricultural laborers and miners. The desperate need for land reform was a major force behind the Mexican revolution of 1910. Emiliano Zapata championed the resurrection of communal land access which was given official legal status in Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution. State-held *ejido* land was distributed to poor indigenous cultivators in perpetuity. However, amendments to Article 27 in 1992 weakened *ejido* restrictions on the sale and division of land into individual parcels.

The onset of the Cold War introduced an ideological dimension to struggles for access to land. From 1952 through the 1970s, a wave of nationalist revolutionary movements in Latin America led governments to implement agrarian reforms on behalf of constituents among the rural poor. The reforms failed to address marginalized indigenous peoples, notably Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. Military rule in Brazil in the 1970s and 1980s spawned intense pressure for land reform led by the Landless Peoples Movement. Land reform in Chile under the government of Salvador Allende (1970–1973) was reversed once the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet took power in 1973.

The communist regime in Cuba embarked on agrarian reform after 1959 through the nationalization of the sugar sector that was mainly responsible for lucrative agricultural exports and miserable rural living standards. The goals were to increase production and rationalize labor inputs, but state intervention led to inefficiency and resistance.

The modern history of Central America is replete with conflict over land. The repression of peasant uprisings in El Salvador in 1932, and the subversion of a genuine attempt at agrarian reform in Guatemala in the early 1950s, eventually led to the emergence of revolutionary guerrilla organizations that advocated land redistribution. In El Salvador, a military coup by junior officers in October 1979 installed a provisional government that proposed limited land redistribution. The Basic Agrarian Reform Law promulgated in March 1980 affected about 15% of farmland. Additional provisions allowed renters or sharecroppers to claim legal titles, and several commercial banks were nationalized to reallocate credit to the reformed sector. The Christian Democratic government attempted to utilize land reform as a disincentive for landless peasants to join the guerrilla insurgency. In Guatemala, the overthrow of the democratic government of Jacob Arbenz in 1954 catapulted the country into a ferocious civil war for the next four decades. The issues of land reform and indigenous rights to land were central features of the peace accord sponsored by the United Nations in 1996. Upon the fall of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua in 1979, the Sandinistas embarked on agrarian reform primarily with the property of the Somoza family and its closest allies. The revolutionary government collectivized some rural production in cooperatives and state farms, but did not intend to attack the non-Somoza landed elite. However, in July 1981, the regime announced broader legislation that permitted the confiscation of large tracts of abandoned, idle, or underutilized land. When the Sandinistas lost the presidential election in 1990, the new government privatized state land and dismantled agricultural cooperatives.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

The African national liberation movements against colonial rule subsumed tribal and peasant demands for land under a broad agenda of political self-determination and popular will. The socialist experiment in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere aimed to persuade the peasantry to accept the moral rectitude of the control of land by the state. However, the

policy of rural resettlement became coercive in the 1970s. The use of militia against farmers who rejected the village scheme poisoned relations between the regime and the countryside. Kenyan tribal and agricultural elites circumvented pressures for wholesale restructuring of land ownership in the 1970s, while the state attempted to resettle and title land to over a million progressive small farmers. The government's efforts to register titles, consolidate fragmented holdings, and adjudicate subsequent land disputes were hampered by intransigent relationships between local land patrons and clients that cut across ethnic, regional, and family lines.

In Zimbabwe, the Lancaster House agreement in 1979 protected the position of white farmers who were allocated twenty seats in parliament. Land reform, specifically the redistribution of white-owned land to landless black peasants, was promised but was delayed to smooth the transition to black majority rule. During the 1980s, the government of Robert Mugabe increasingly moved away from its Marxist rhetoric and toward support for political and economic liberalization in southern Africa. Yet, under pressure from the democratic opposition, Mugabe announced a controversial program of land redistribution in 1997. About 1,500 white-owned commercial farms, nearly half of the country's total commercial farmland, were designated to be seized without compensation and divided among landless blacks and blacks with only small landholdings. The ongoing process of land reform in South Africa is a direct response to the history of land dispossession during the colonial period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Natives Land Act of 1913 and subsequent legislation in 1936 creating *native reserves* for African populations, and the forced resettlement of 3.5 million Africans into *homelands* by the apartheid government after 1948. The democratic government led by the African National Congress embarked on a multi-pronged approach to land reform in 1994. The program addressed restitution, redistribution, and tenure security. However, political, fiscal, and technical problems slowed progress during a decade of democratic rule.

### Global Perspective

Other notable cases of land reform are connected historically to world war and revolution in the twentieth century. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917 led to a type of land reform known as collectivization in which all arable land became state property and peasant farmers cultivated and harvested under

state control. Land reform was an essential part of the transition to democracy in Japan after World War II. United States occupation forces supervised land redistribution that transferred over 80% of Japan's cultivated land from absentee landlords to permanent tenants by 1949. Taiwan and South Korea adopted limited land reforms in response to the Maoist revolution in China in 1949 and the ideological split of the Korean peninsula in 1953, respectively. In China, dynastic rule and warlord competition, combined with Japanese occupation and a debilitating civil war in the 1920s and 1930s, contributed to the acute concentration of land in the hands of estate owners and foreign exporters with ties to the nationalist regime. The communist regime redistributed land among the peasant population in the form of massive communes. This policy had disastrous effects on food production and led to starvation in the countryside. The commune system was abolished in favor of market-oriented agriculture in the 1980s.

Indigenous peoples regard themselves as belonging to their lands. Land reform became an essential element of the movement for sovereignty among aboriginal peoples and indigenous communities in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The movement for political independence from British rule in Scotland in the late 1990s also hinged on profound land reform. Scotland has one of the most concentrated patterns of land ownership in the world. Upon the promulgation of the independent Scottish parliament, an array of public officials and intellectuals advocated land reform as a means to achieve fairness in access to land and to secure the public good through land use policies.

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**See also Agriculture: Impact of Globalization**

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## LANDSBERGIS, VYTAUTAS

Vytautas Landsbergis, with Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel, is one of the Central Europe's "velvet revolution" beacons: a musician who went on to liberate his country, Lithuania, from the Soviet/Russian domination.

Landsbergis was born on October 18, 1932, in Kaunas, Lithuania. He graduated the Lithuanian Conservatoire in Vilnius in 1955. He began his career as a tutor in 1952 at M.K. Čiurlionis Music School and remained in the teaching profession until entering politics in 1990. He authored ten books in musicology, arts and history of music, five books on political developments, and a volume of verses. His chief topic of research and writing is the life and work of Lithuanian artist and composer M.K. Čiurlionis, for which he was awarded the Lithuanian State Prize. He was also actively involved in musicians' community life, including as a head of M.K. Čiurlionis Society, Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the International M.K. Čiurlionis piano and organ competition, and M.K. Čiurlionis Competition Foundation.

On June 3, 1988, Landsbergis was elected member of the initiative Group of the Lithuanian Reform Movement "Sąjūdis," during Sąjūdis Founding Congress on October 22–23 of the same year—to the Sąjūdis Seimas (Assembly) and Seimas' Council, and a month later, Chairman of the Sąjūdis Seimas' Council. Since December 15, 1991, he has been Sąjūdis' Honorary President. He has chaired the Lithuanian Conservative Party—Homeland Union—since its founding in 1993.

On March 26, 1989, the city of Panevėžys elected Landsbergis to represent Lithuania in the USSR Congress' of People's Deputies. Following his election to the Supreme Council of Lithuania on February 24, 1990, he was elected on March 11, 1990, to lead the Council as its President and Head of State. In this capacity, he chaired parliamentary session, which declared the independent Republic of Lithuania's re-establishment, and was part of the Baltic States Council (1990–1992), chaired Commission for the New Constitution (1990–1991), and led the State Delegation to the negotiations with the USSR. Under his leadership Lithuania resisted the armed violence and Moscow-imposed blockade and achieved an agreement for withdrawing Russian troops from Lithuania.

Landsbergis is a staunch anticommunist. He firmly opposes Russian Soviet domination over Baltic countries as well as over other territories, especially Caucasus. As a politician, he advocates individuals' freedom, civil society, and private market economy.

On June 13, 2004, Landsbergis became a European Parliament Member. With money from the Norwegian People's Peace Prize he established the Vytautas Landsbergis Foundation to support care and education of handicapped children and young performing artists.

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**See also Glasnost and Perestroika; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Lithuania; Soviet Bloc**

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## LANGUAGE, INFLUENCE ON DEVELOPMENT

### Development

The measure of human progress through most of the twentieth century was the country's economic performance computed on the basis of gross domestic product (GDP) and the annual income per capita. This approach to development ignored all non-economic factors as indicators of progress. Toward the end of the last century new indices were recognised as crucial components of development and now feature prominently in the World Bank and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Development Reports. For example, a country's development rating takes into consideration the country's human rights record, the proportion of its population that has access to clean water and sanitation, basic education, health services, and so on.

Language, being a significant aspect of culture, merits consideration when human development and progress is being computed. For example, access to good education depends to a large extent on the medium of instruction, the selection of which is part of a people's educational language rights (ELRs). In a situation where children are introduced to school education in a strange language, they are disadvantaged and therefore denied one of their fundamental human rights.

In recognition of the importance of language as a right, the United Nations (UN) **Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Religious, and Linguistic Minorities**, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1992, has the following clauses:

**Article 1.1:** States shall protect the essence of the national or ethnic, cultural or religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.

**Article 4.3:** States should take appropriate measures so that, whenever possible persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.

Unfortunately for most of the developing countries, the national languages are minority languages since the countries have adopted ex-colonial languages as their official languages. This means that most of the crucial public functions such as court

and parliamentary deliberations, education, mass communication, and public administration are carried out in foreign languages, mainly English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish in the case of Africa. The implication of this state of affairs is that the majority of the citizens in these countries are excluded from the management and control of the critical national institutions which are entrusted with the development matters in the country. The lack of participation by the majority in the development programmes can be seen as a language-related problem and unless this is redressed through a deliberate national language policy, its effects will continue to manifest themselves in the form of reduced productivity of individuals, limited national integration and slow national economic-industrial progress.

### Language, Thought, and Culture

Culture is a shared way of life, which includes: shared social identity, shared attitudes, shared knowledge and skills, and a shared communication system. These shared attributes are those aspects of the group's life which by consensus the group members have agreed upon as valuable to the community. Language as a medium of expression is considered to be the embodiment of that culture and for many, language and culture have meant one and the same thing.

According to Ong (1982:74), since "the spoken word proceeds from the human interior and manifests human beings to another as conscious interiors as persons, the spoken word forms human beings into close-knit groups."

Language is, therefore, critical in shaping human consciousness and the definition of self and identification of dialectical relationships in the physical and nonphysical world.

The critical relationship between language and culture can be traced back to the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis, which in its strong form proposes that language structure determines the manner in which one thinks and perceives the world around him. In Whorf's (1956) words:

The linguistic system fashions the ideas, it is the programme and the guide of individual mental activity, the cause of their analyses of impressions, the cause of their syntheses which operates his mental stock.

The deterministic view of the relationship between language and thought has been criticised by many sociolinguists. First, the hypothesis is preoccupied with people living in a monolingual and homogeneous speech community and disregarding the many

language-contact phenomena such as code-mixing and borrowing. The hypothesis also ignores the dynamic nature of language and the deliberate actions of speakers on their language. In other words, speakers are not helpless before the grammar of their language; they can willingly and consciously change their language.

Notwithstanding the sound criticisms of linguistic relativity, the hypothesis in its weak form has continued to influence the discussion on language and culture, especially in the area of language maintenance and the protection of minority languages for cultural advancement of their speakers. The influence of language on the way people identify themselves as a social group cannot be gainsaid and the loss of a language is still regarded as a devastating cultural loss.

Of all the modes of identification, the language system is the most salient and symbolic. In most developing countries, thus, the existence of many languages has been viewed as a source of political conflict and economic backwardness. This perspective has its roots in the eighteenth century when language and nationality were seen to be the source of cultural and political strength by European states. Language was also strongly regarded as representing the cultural origin of humankind. One of the best known thinkers of that era was Herder, who associated language with the national culture, the integrity of the nation and the way a country's citizens think. According to this view "culture derives from the people, language expresses the spirit of the people, the love of the nation" (Williams 1992).

The question that arises from this position is what happens to the developing nations that have had to adopt a foreign language as a national language and have to deal with many indigenous languages? Can a foreign language still express the 'spirit of the people'? Can the country's citizens think in a non-native language? Can the love of a nation be expressed in an imported language? Or can true development be achieved through a non-native language? In his discussion of multilingualism as a resource in the developing countries, Bamgbose (1994), however, gives the following arguments to disentangle language from ethnicity and nationality:

1. If the relationship between language and ethnicity was that strong, a member of an ethnic group would not speak more than one language. In fact, the reality in many African countries is that children grow up with more than one language, some of which they learn simultaneously at home and in the neighbourhood.

2. If the argument was valid, members of different ethnicities would not speak the same language. One linguistic universal according to Noam Chomsky is that all humans are born with a Language Acquisition Device (LAD) which enables us to acquire any natural language. Language is, therefore, not culture-specific; that is, acquiring language is an innate predisposition which has nothing to do with the cultural surrounding in which one is born.

3. The absence of a common language does not preclude ethnic identification since boundary-marking can occur through other means such as religion, literary tradition, types of food and eating habits, architecture, aesthetic values and customs. For example, the Abasuba of Kenya have virtually lost their language to the extent that the few that speak it are bilingual in Olusuba and Dholuo. However, the Abasuba still identify themselves as a distinct cultural group from the Luos. Similarly, the Irish, Scots, and Welsh have adopted English as the primary language but they still would insist on being identified as the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh people and not as the English people. The objection to the strong link between language and ethnicity is summed up by Eastman (1984) as follows:

What we have changed is our 'language use aspect' of our ethnicity but 'the primordial sense of who we are and what group we think we belong to, for the remainder remain intact.

Cultural identification does not depend only on the material aspects of culture such as architecture or literary works; it has its very strong anchor in the way members of a community would like to be identified and the way they perceive themselves to be different from "Others." The non-material aspects like attitudes, sense of history, myths, and stereotypes might for some groups, play a more important role in boundary-marking than language, architecture or mode of dressing. We can, therefore, achieve development through a language other than our own provided some conditions are meant, as we see in the next section.

### Language Planning for Development

The surest way to avoid the possibility of using language to achieve unfair socio-political advantage is to plan for all languages in the same way we plan how to exploit other national resources for development. The

Republic of South Africa, for example, recognised this and the 1996 Constitution Chapter One **Founding Provisions** Section Six (Two) reads:

Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take political and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

The fact that the state has a constitutional responsibility to protect, recognise, and develop minority languages, speakers of these languages will feel safe within the national borders of their country and would be in a state to think of development. The Organisation of African Unity also took up the language issue quite seriously and drew up the **OAU Language Plan of Action for Africa** to be used as a blueprint for national language planning projects, aimed at liberating Africa from linguistic imperialism. The following are three of the seven objectives outlined in the document:

- (1) To encourage each and every member state to have a clearly defined language policy;
- (2) To ensure that all the languages within the boundaries of member states are recognised and accepted as a source of mutual enrichment;
- (3) To liberate the African peoples from undue reliance on the utilisation of non-indigenous languages as the dominant, official languages of the state in favour of the appropriate and carefully selected indigenous African languages in this domain.

The main issue with the use of non-indigenous languages is that they inhibit intellectual development of the African children and retard economic and industrial development. The use of European languages for education in the early years of primary school does not allow children to exploit their creativity and other cognitive abilities to the full. Although there is some merit in using European languages in education, research shows that there is greater benefit if children learn educational concepts in school through their mother tongues for at least six years before they change over to a non-indigenous medium. The argument is that children easily transfer literacy skills to a new language once they have mastered the skills well in their mother tongue. (Cummins 1984).

In government administration, it is increasingly being recognised that the use of an unfamiliar language in the provision of public service tends to alienate sections of the population and leads to disinterest and apathy. European languages as official languages in Africa are seen as languages of *exclusion* since they lock out the majority of the population from the management of the affairs of their country. This, according to Vic Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000), leads to:

- Restricted access to knowledge and skills;
- Low productivity and ineffective performance in the workplace;
- Inadequate political participation by the public, manipulation, discrimination, and exploitation by the ruling powers, national division, and conflict; and
- Linguistic and cultural alienation.

At the core of planning for minority languages is the **allocation of functions** for each language so that they acquire **social prestige**. When a language is assigned an important task, for example, medium of education, it acquires new importance. When there is deliberate state intervention to make sure a language has a function for its users we are talking of **status planning**. That is, the language is given enhanced status. Status planning bestows social prestige on the language and adds group pride to its speakers. Since the members of the community see their cultural and political worth in the new linguistic status of their language we also talk of **ethnolinguistic vitality**. The ultimate goal of language planning for minority languages is to **revitalise** them so that they enter active use in important domains of public life, such as education, the mass media, judicial administration, and parliamentary debates. Increased employment of these languages in important public domains assures them continued existence lest they go into disuse and begin to **decline** or become **obsolete**. Languages which are neglected gradually get displaced by *stronger* languages, what we call **language shift**, and eventually die.

In economic development discourse, the use of indigenous languages by the Asian *Tigers* and their phenomenal economic and industrial progress have been cited. There may not be a neat causative relationship between language and economic and/or industrial development, but it is instructive to note that the two Koreas, Malaysia, Indonesia, and earlier, Japan, have carried out their development programmes in the indigenous languages. In Africa, Tanzania may not have experienced an industrial takeoff as is the case with the South Asian countries cited here, but it has used Kiswahili effectively for mobilisation of its citizens; achieving over 90% literacy rate and becoming the most unified state in Africa. The political maturity of Tanzania is demonstrated by the regular national elections and the peaceful changeover of leadership since the retirement of the first head of state, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, a feat that has been achieved by very few African countries. Although political integration is not a sufficient condition for a country's development, it is certainly a necessary one and it

cannot be achieved without a well coordinated language policy.

KEMBO-SURE

See also **Language, Influence on Politics**

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## LANGUAGE, INFLUENCE ON POLITICS

### Language as a Tool

In the empirical and deductive tradition, the study of language was regarded as scientific and language as an autonomous object which could be studied in the same way that we do materials and substances in the physical sciences (Bloomfield 1935). The positivistic view was challenged later by Chomsky's Generative Grammar revolution of the 1960s, which emphasised the cognitive character of language (Chomsky 1965). The positivistic approach as well as the generative grammar, however, excluded the

social and affective aspects of language from linguistic theory, arguing that those areas would not be objectively and empirically handled.

However, in recent years the study of language as a social reality has given rise to new disciplines in linguistics such as: Critical Linguistic Study (CLS), Sociolinguistics, Politics of language, Pragmatics, and Discourse Analysis. These disciplines differ only in the degree of emphasis of certain aspects of language, but they all agree on the centrality of the dialectical relationship between society. In this respect they all regard the primary data as coming from language in use and not some idealised texts and speakers. They all study language in context.

In a society or country where two or more languages/varieties are spoken, a language or variety reflects and reinforces the power-sharing patterns in the community. The language of power is often in short supply and the privileged group endeavours to limit access to it by the underprivileged groups. Language, in this sense, becomes a significant site of class struggle as it is regarded as a critical factor of production alongside human labour and land.

According to the Deficit Hypothesis, developed by a British sociologist, Bernstein (1972), working class children are exposed to the variety of language which does not promote critical and creative thinking and this he called the **restricted code**. On the other hand, middle class children are exposed to what he calls the **elaborated code**, which allows for divergent and rational thinking. According to Bernstein (1960), working class children were disadvantaged at school since the school demands the use of the elaborated code with the consequence that children from working class homes fail to develop their potential in the education system dominated by middle class speech forms and discourse styles.

If we agree with Bernstein's categorisation then language becomes a factor in deciding who fails and who succeeds in an education system and thus reflects and reproduces class categories. Middle class children succeed in school, come out and occupy civil service and important private sector jobs, and thus monopolize and control decision-making institutions in the country. Children from poor families content themselves with low-level jobs that require minimal manipulation of the officially declared respectable code.

### Language and Power

The emergence of nation states in earnest in eighteenth century Europe saw the monopolisation of

power by the political elite and language became a formidable tool in the exercise of power. For example, the state decided which language or variety to be used for what purposes in which institutions. The thinking then was that a single language was desirable for state administration; that is, one language used throughout the country would ensure effective collection of taxes, uniform application of law, and equitable delivery of education and health services.

In the developing world the same notion was inherited from ex-colonial administrations, which promoted the European languages in the administration of the colonies and marginalised all the local languages. The small elite group who were trained in the foreign languages replaced the European officials and entrenched in the administrations the use of European languages as official languages of their independent states.

Even for the few countries which adopted local languages as official such as Tanzania, India, Indonesia, and Algeria, the elite have often circumvented the spirit of the language policy by sending their children to private schools which provide education through European languages. The graduates of the private schools are often preferred by employers, especially by multinationals who find them suitable candidates for the promotion of corporate culture globally. In countries where the foreign language is official, critical jobs in both public and private sectors are reserved for those candidates with 'good' mastery of European languages. The result is that European languages are equated with political power and economic prosperity whereas the local languages are associated with servitude and poverty.

In most of these countries one of the qualifications demanded of those wishing to be members of the legislature is proficiency in the official language. Since proficiency in a foreign language is acquired only in school, the great majority of the population is excluded from the law-making process. Besides, the fact that only those who can speak a European language become candidates, the electorate are disfranchised in a sense that they cannot vote for the person they want if he cannot speak the official language to a level acceptable to the ruling elite. In Kenya, the Minister of Local Government has proposed a bill in parliament requiring mayors of all towns and cities to have university degrees whereas such requirement does not exist for members of parliament and the head of state. One of the complaints about the present mayors is that some of them can hardly speak English. English therefore becomes a justification to exclude a section of the population from running the affairs of their country.

The area where the choice of a foreign language is most controversial is education. The choice of a foreign language as medium of instruction is in a way interpreted as a strategy by the ruling elite to limit access to higher education. The fact that the majority of the underprivileged children have limited exposure to the official language, they often fail not only in the language as a subject but also the other subjects taught through the language. School drop-outs and educational failure can thus be explained partly by the choice of medium of instruction adopted by an education system.

In rural Africa, children go to school with proficiency in two or more languages, but at school none of those languages they speak is taught or used to teach school subjects. One of their first reactions is that their languages and the related cultures are useless and irrelevant to them if they have to succeed in the life. The fact that the local languages are so devalued, their speakers are disempowered and are persuaded by the artificially created circumstances to disrespect them.

A national language policy which marginalises the majority of the population on the basis of their linguistic background is consistent with a political plan which concentrates power in the hands of a small group and few institutions which control the state apparatus. The language of the elite and the relevant institutions is therefore the language of power and control.

### **Democratisation of Linguistic Ecology**

Language can be used to promote greater political participation as it can be used for exclusion. The first step to ensure participation is for the state to ensure protection and recognition of all languages. That is, learning of and through one's mother tongue should be recognised as a human right. Secondly, every citizen must be guaranteed public service in the language of their choice, preferably their mother tongue.

By providing education and other social services through a familiar medium more people are brought into active participation in the affairs of their country and therefore enabling them to determine their political future. It is a step towards political inclusion of the critical population of the nation.

Another strategy is to ensure equitable and effective provision of foreign-language education. The intranational and international importance of a foreign language demands that all children receive

quality language instruction to the level that no one is disadvantaged on the basis of speaking a non-standard variety or that they were not exposed sufficiently to the official variety. Access to adequate foreign-language teaching would then be considered a child's human right as is general education.

Democratisation of language policy entails the abandonment of the dichotomy between the official language and other languages. There should not be a situation of either the foreign language or the indigenous language(s). Languages in this sense are all regarded as cultural, social and economic resources whose utilisation must be deliberately and carefully planned for the benefit of all.

Whenever necessary, language policy decisions should be guided by a constitutional provision specifically guaranteeing protection and recognition of all languages. This is what the Republic of South Africa has done having experienced a historic tragedy of balkanisation along linguistic and racial lines. The South African new constitution recognises eleven official languages but also guarantees protection of all non-official languages. This is a recognition that language policy, to a large extent, determines who does what in which political institution.

Deliberate government moves to democratize the linguistic environment are motivated by the recognition of multilingualism as a resource and not a curse. The protection and recognition of all languages is an endorsement of the policy of pluralism.

KEMBO-SURE

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## LAOS

Laos, officially the Lao People's Democratic Republic, is a landlocked country, covering approximately 91,400 square miles (236,800 square kilometres), surrounded by China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, and Myanmar.

The terrain is mostly forest-covered mountains, with deep river valleys and abundant wildlife. The Annamese Cordillera lies along the Vietnamese border with many secondary mountain ranges. The highest point is Mount Bia at 9,245 feet (2,818 metres). There are two significant plateaux: the Plain of Jars in the north, characterized by grassy, scrub-covered, limestone and sandstone hills; and the Bolovens Plateaux in the south, having fertile basaltic soil and a high rainfall, but mostly undeveloped, covered by brush and tall grass. Limestone karst landscapes are found in central areas, with fertile lowlands lying along the eastern banks of the Mekong River. All the major rivers in Laos flow into the Mekong, which forms the border with Myanmar and most of Thailand. The Mekong floods regularly along its southern reaches.

The climate is tropical monsoon with cooler temperatures in mountain regions. During the wet season, from May to October, the average rainfall is 1,778 millimetres (70 inches). Temperatures range from minimums of approximately 16°C (60°F) in the cool months of December to February to maximums of approximately 32°C (90°F) during March and April. The average temperature from May to November is 27°C (80°F).

Laos' ethnically and linguistically diverse population of 5,660,000 (2003), mostly living in rural lowland areas, makes it the most sparsely populated, least urbanized Asian country. The population is young, with a high birth rate offset by high infant mortality.

## History

The Kingdom of Lan Xang formed from numerous small principalities in 1353, covering modern Laos and much of northern and eastern Thailand. In the 1700s, Lan Xang was dissolved into three kingdoms centred on Luang Prabang, Vientiane (the current capital), and Champassak. Siam (Thailand) captured these lands, but France entered in 1893. Following treaties with Siam in 1904 and 1907, France gained control over the area now known as Laos. In 1953, after Japanese WWII occupation, the French granted independence, but Lao nationalists began a

protracted civil war. After a series of failed coalition governments, the Pathet Lao, supported by communist Vietnam, gained control in December 1975, immediately embarking on radical socialism. The fall of communism in the USSR forced Laos to liberalise economic and social reforms. The US trade embargo was lifted in May 1995. In July 1997, Laos was admitted to ASEAN. Kaysone Phomvihanh led Laos from 1975 until his death in 1992. Nouhak Phoumsavane became President, succeeded by Kham Thai Siphandone in 1998.

## Economy

Laos remains one of the world's poorest countries. Gross national income (GNI) is \$310 US dollars and gross domestic product (GDP) is \$2 billion US dollars (World Bank 2002). The GDP growth rate has slowed from 7.3% in 1999 to 5% in 2003. Agriculture's share of the GDP is 57.5%, industry, 17.7% and services sector, 24.7%. Main exports are hydro-electricity and timber products. Large disparities exist between urban and rural areas where most of the population survives on subsistence agriculture. Poor roads and no railways hinder economic growth. Freedom from civil war and liberalization of government controls are beginning to bring economic growth, but much of the annual budget is still met by foreign aid.

## Development Since 1954

Prior to 1953, apart from road construction, the French did little to develop Laos. The following two decades of civil war precluded any significant development in spite of massive amounts of US aid. Concerned that Laos would fall to communism, from 1955 to 1963, the USA contributed more assistance per capita to Laos than any other country including South Vietnam. Much of this funded the Royal Lao Army, built road and communication networks of military value, and disappeared into the pockets of Lao officials. Between 1953 and 1959, military spending equaled \$184 million, but only \$1.3 million went to over 90% of the population engaged in agriculture.

Small improvements in living standards were achieved, mostly in urban areas. Three years of primary school education was compulsory, but many villages had no school and only about 30% of children attended. Very few continued to secondary education.

Education and health systems suffered a lack of trained personnel. Three hospitals were established with foreign aid, but there was no medical school. Most Lao still survived on subsistence agriculture. Industry was rudimentary, the legal system outdated, and transport and communications inadequate.

Between 1964 and 1974 development in Laos was non-existent due to the Vietnam war, during which Laos suffered heavy bombing by the USA.

The next decade from 1975 to 1986 was characterized by the new communist government's attempts to create a centralized socialist economy including agricultural collectives, nationalized industry and commerce, and 're-education camps' for dissenters, resulting in 10% of the population fleeing to Thailand. US aid ceased, partially replaced by aid from Vietnam and the USSR. Thailand seriously restricted trade. Inflation and drought forced the government to request rice from the United Nations (UN).

In 1986, recognizing the failure of the reforms, the government pragmatically began to liberalize controls. Collectivization was abandoned and the New Economic Mechanism endorsed. Self sufficiency in rice was achieved, but problems were caused by high reliance on foreign aid, lack of trained personnel and corruption. More children enrolled in school but education standards fell. More health clinics existed, but trained personnel and medicines were severely lacking. Malaria and other endemic diseases increased. However, personal and religious freedoms improved. Buddhist festivals were permitted again, although monks were obliged to study Marxism-Leninism.

A difficult period of rising prices, poor investment decisions, drought and reducing hydroelectricity production (Laos' main export) in 1987 and the collapse of the USSR, forced Laos to reform the state sector and allow foreign investment, leading to liberal investment laws, improved relations with Thailand and increased international aid.

In 1991, the constitution was adopted. Legal, economic, and environmental reforms continued. Following Vietnam's example, Laos continues to pursue economic reforms while maintaining a one party socialist political system. In 1994, the first bridge (built with Australian aid), across the Mekong to Thailand was opened, symbolizing the opening of Laos to increased trade, tourism, and international influence. A road transport route between China and Thailand is being constructed through Laos. Massive hydro-electric projects have been constructed, with more planned. The impact of increased foreign trade, tourism, and HIV/Aids upon Laos' fragile traditional culture is a concern as are environmental pressures such as deforestation, pollution, soil erosion, and ecological damage caused by the illegal logging,

slash-and-burn agriculture and hydroelectric dam construction.

The reforms have improved the economy, but Laos is still developmentally about thirty years behind its neighbours. Poverty and health indicators are extremely poor. Low education standards, weak legal system, inadequate infrastructure, and heavy reliance on foreign aid hinder Laos' development, but relative political stability, continuing reforms, and openness to foreign investment are encouraging.

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**See also Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION ASSOCIATION (ALADI)

The Latin American Integration Association, more commonly known in Latin America as the Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración (ALADI), was established in 1980 by the governments of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. ALADI replaced the defunct Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), which had been formed in 1960 to create a common economic market for its members through progressive tariff reductions. Although regional trade in Latin America increased during the 1960s and 1970s, it did not approach the lofty goals expounded upon in the Montevideo Treaty of 1960. LAFTA's failure can be blamed on the lack

of adequate transportation infrastructure between neighboring nations, the absence of strong trading links between neighboring countries, the incompatibility of goods being offered by member nations, and differing levels of national development. In addition, the larger nations in the association consistently valued their domestic markets over the potential of expanding into regional markets. The larger nations, which were engaged in aggressive import substitution industrialization, continued to protect their nascent industries behind tariff barriers. Although LAFTA's deadline to eliminate tariff barriers by 1973 was extended to 1980, the association was doomed to fail. On August 12, 1980, eleven Latin American foreign ministers, realizing that LAFTA's goals were untenable in the immediate future, disbanded the organization and signed the Montevideo Treaty of 1980, which resulted in the creation of ALADI. Unlike LAFTA, ALADI, which is headquartered in Montevideo, Uruguay, has no deadline for the implementation of a common economic market in Latin America. ALADI has the more limited goal of encouraging free trade in Latin America.

All Latin American nations are eligible to join ALADI. On August 26, 1999, Cuba became the twelfth full member of the association. Nations with observer status include Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Panama, People's Republic of China, Portugal, Romania, Russia, South Korea, Spain, and Switzerland. Observer organizations include the Andean Development Corporation, the European Community, the Inter-American Development Bank, Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture, the Latin American Economic System, the Organization of American States, the United Nations (UN) Development Program, the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, and the World Health Organization.

ALADI supports the creation of an area of economic preferences, with the ultimate goal being the creation of a common economic market in the region. ALADI encourages tariff preference for products originating in the member countries; regional economic agreements, such as the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); and favorable conditions of economic engagement for the less developed members, such as Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay, within the association. In addition, ALADI supports the promotion and regulation of trade, the development of complementary economies, and market expansion.

Recent economic difficulties in the economies of the larger member states, such as Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela, has limited the ability of ALADI to



implement its agenda. Nevertheless, although economic cooperation and development has not proceeded as quickly as originally envisioned, there has been progress toward lowering trade barriers in the Americas, especially since the creation of MERCOSUR in 1991 and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994.

MICHAEL R. HALL

**See also Central American Common Market (CACM); Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); United States–Dominican Republic–Central American Free Trade Agreement**

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## LATVIA

The Republic of Latvia covers approximately 64,500 square kilometers of territory on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Latvia shares borders with Estonia to the north; Belarus and Lithuania to the south; Russia to the east; and the Baltic Sea on the west. Latvia consists of low-lying plains with rolling hills in the eastern part of the country. Latvia has a maritime climate, consisting of cool, wet summers, and moderate winters. Latvia has few natural resources. The primary Latvian resource is peat. Peat bogs cover nearly 10% of the nation's total land. In addition, timber, gypsum, and amber consist of the remainder of Latvia's resources. In an attempt to lower the reliance on foreign sources of energy, major hydroelectric plants have been constructed along the Daugava River. The estimated population is approximately 2.3 million, with an estimated declining population at  $-0.71\%$ . Riga, the capital city, and its metropolitan area consist of 1 million inhabitants. Other important cities are Daugavpils, an industrial center in the north; and Leipaja, an ice free port.

Due to political instability caused by the 1917 Russian Revolution and Germany's defeat in World War I, Latvia first became an independent nation in November 1918. Prior to 1918, the territory of Latvia

was subject to German, Polish, Swedish, and Russian hegemony, dating to the thirteenth century. Latvian independence, however, was threatened by the presence of Soviet and German troops still occupying Latvian territory between 1919 and 1920. National sovereignty was not secured until the signing of the 1920 Latvian-Russian peace treaty.

Janis Cakste was elected Latvia's first president in 1920. The 1922 constitution established a democratic system of government. Throughout the 1920s, the large number of political parties created a plethora of weak coalitions within the Saeima (parliament), resulting in widespread political instability. Based on a claim of a Communist conspiracy to overthrow the government, Prime Minister Karlis Ulmanis declared a state of emergency in 1934. Ulmanis abolished political parties and suspended parliament. Most Latvians, however, tacitly supported the Ulmanis dictatorship as a justification to preserve democracy in Latvia. Ulmanis maintained power throughout the 1930s. As a result of a secret protocol contained in the 1939 German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, Latvia was incorporated into the Soviet Union in August 1940. World War II and the Soviet occupation created lasting consequences in Latvia's demographics. Due to Soviet exiles and murders; the Holocaust; wartime casualties; and emigration; nearly three hundred thousand Latvians were killed, deported, or fled the country. Sovietization policies increased the ethnic Russian presence to over 30%, while simultaneously decreasing the ethnic Latvian presence to 55%.

Gorbachev's liberalization of the USSR during the 1980s, led to a renewed spirit of Latvian nationalism. Following the failed August 1991 coup in Moscow, Latvia regained its independence from the Soviet Union. In September 1991, the Soviet government recognized the independence of Latvia, which was admitted to the United Nations later in the month. The first parliamentary elections were held in 1993, leading to Guntis Ulmanis's election as president. In the hope of undertaking a more western orientation, Latvia became an associate member of the European Union (EU) in 1995.

Latvia began the arduous task of implementing sweeping economic reforms in the hopes of creating a western style market economy. As a result of being fully incorporated into the Soviet command economy, the primary reform was the privatization of all Latvian industries. Economic policies restricted government spending; loosened restrictions on the banking system; eliminated price control; and lifted regulations on small businesses. Due to the disintegration of the USSR and Latvia's few natural resources, the industrial sector entered a period of crisis, resulting in

low output and high unemployment. The economy did not start to grow until 1994. Growth was temporarily halted in 1995 due to a major banking crisis. The crisis led to the government establishing a stronger regulatory institution to control the banking system. The establishment of the Latvian currency, the *Lat*; and the economic growth during the late 1990s attracted large amounts of foreign investment and created one of the most stable economies among all former Soviet republics.

The estimated 2004 gross domestic product (GDP) was \$23.9 billion. The service sector contributed 70.9% of the GDP, whereas industry consisted of 24.5% and agricultural production 4.5%. Despite non-membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Latvia's primary trading partner is Russia. Russia purchases nearly one-quarter of Latvia's exports, and in return contributes one-fifth of the nation's imports. Other major trading partners include Germany, the United Kingdom, Finland, Sweden, and Lithuania. Major exports include forestry materials, foodstuffs, machinery, and textiles. Imports consist primarily of energy sources, as well as industrial machinery and textiles. Latvia is a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the World Trade Organization, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Domestic politics in the post-independence period have been marred by disputes over economic transformations, social policies, and fighting corruption. The severe economic dislocation caused by the faltering industrial sector in the early 1990s and the banking crisis of 1995 proved to be major catalysts in the collapse of many coalition governments in the Saeima. There were constant strains between political parties that promoted free trade and foreign investment and those that demanded higher tariffs to protect the agricultural sector. Due to fears of the large Russian minority, the Saeima passed legislation in 2002 requiring all elected officials to be fluent in the Latvian language. Later this legislation was repealed to assist in the EU accession process. Recent legislation, however, such as the February 2004 law mandating Latvian as the official language of instruction in schools has upset the large Russian-speaking population. Despite such problems, in comparison to other eastern European countries, Latvia has made great strides. In 1999, the Saeima elected Vaira Vike-Freiberga as president—the first female president in Eastern Europe. Vike-Freiberga was reelected in 2003. In May 2004, Latvia became a full member of both the European Union and NATO.

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See also **Ulmanis, Guntis**

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## LEBANON

The Lebanese Republic is situated at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, bordered to the south by Israel and to the east and north by Syria. It has approximately 225 kilometres of coastline and is about 80 kilometres at its widest point. There is a narrow coastal strip that rises quickly to a mountainous interior, although the northeast of the country is dominated by the fertile Biqa' Valley. Lebanon has a Mediterranean climate with hot, dry summers and cool, wet winters with heavy snow falling in the mountainous regions. The population is estimated at 3.8 million, with an estimated annual growth rate of 1.3%. Its capital since independence is Beirut with a population estimated at over 1.6 million.

The mountainous nature of much of Lebanon had provided an effective sanctuary for religious minorities for hundreds of years, and it is the relationship between these groups, and with foreign powers, that has had the most profound effect on Lebanon's development. Due largely to the longstanding French links with one of these minorities, the Maronite Christians, the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 promised France mandatory control over the Syrian territories of the Ottoman Empire after its defeat. In 1920, the State of Greater Lebanon was established, appending surrounding areas to the Christian-dominated Mount Lebanon in order to make it economically viable. The newly created entity was unpopular with many Sunni Muslims and, in order to reconcile the differences between the confessional groups' attitudes to the new state of Lebanon, an unwritten agreement known as the National Pact of 1943 was struck between the leading Christian politician Bishara al-Khoury, and the Sunni Riad al-Solh. The Pact established a *modus vivendi* between the different confessional groups in their relations with the new state, including the apportionment of political representation. Using the 1932 census figures

as the basis, the number of parliamentary seats was set as a ratio of 6:5 favouring the Christians, and the positions of President, Prime Minister, and Speaker were to be filled by a Maronite Christian, Sunni Muslim, and Shi'a Muslim respectively. Independence from France was formally achieved in 1943, and the last French forces left Lebanon in 1946.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Lebanese state largely prospered owing to unwillingness by the political elite to invoke their confessional differences over fundamental domestic or regional political issues. Ultimately though, the inability of the informal political arrangement to reform in the face of demographic changes (particularly the increasing size of the Shi'a Muslim minority), and the impact of regional political issues such as the Palestinian situation, plunged the country into a ruinous civil war between 1975 and 1990 that killed more than one hundred thousand people. The civil war was ended with the signing of the Ta'if Accord, and since that time the country has been under the political influence of neighbouring Syria, given the permanent stationing of tens of thousands of its troops in Lebanon. The conventions of the National pact were largely retained, although parliamentary seats are now divided equally between Christians and Muslims, and the powers of the President have been reduced.

Lebanon's relatively weak central government has meant that the country has been hostage to the vagaries of regional politics, and has suffered from foreign military intervention for many years. The Cairo Agreement of 1969 gave Palestinian militias, resident since 1948, freedom of movement to launch operations against Israel from Lebanon's south, and their numbers were boosted following the expulsion of Palestinian guerillas from Jordan in 1970. Israel conducted a limited invasion of Lebanon in 1978 and a full-scale one in 1982 in an effort to destroy the Palestinian presence. The 1982 invasion resulted in an occupation of Southern Lebanon by the Israelis, and also led to the emergence of the Shi'a militia group Hezbollah, which was fostered by their co-religionists from Iran. The Israelis withdrew in May 2000 in the face of mounting casualties from Lebanese guerrilla groups including Hezbollah. Syria entered Lebanon as part of an Arab peacekeeping force in 1976, and has maintained a large military presence since that time.

Lebanon's liberal banking laws and cosmopolitan national makeup had made it the regional financial and tourism capital during the 1960s, but the civil war put an end to Lebanon's financial and recreational dominance. Since the end of the civil war, reconstruction of war-torn Beirut and national economic infrastructure became a priority. Impressive gains have been made in that time with much rebuilding

completed, government revenue being received and inflation brought under control. Much of the reconstruction, however, was financed through heavy borrowing, and the burgeoning national debt has been serviced through cuts to government services and large contributions from donor countries. The economy has been heavily reliant on the services sector, particularly banking, since prior to the civil war, although it has some industrial capacity (oil refining) and agricultural exports such as citrus fruits, grapes and olives. The per capita gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated at \$4,800 in 2003, and 28% of the population was living below the poverty line (1999 estimate).

The adult literacy rate is approximately 87%, and the country possesses several universities, the most famous of which, American University of Beirut, attracts regional and international students. The quality of Beirut's health system had made it a regional health care centre prior to the civil war, and it is slowly regaining this reputation to a degree, although the public health system is still recovering. Life expectancy for males is sixty-nine years and seventy-four years for females. The infant mortality rate is twenty-five out of one thousand live births. While Lebanon produces many well-educated graduates, employment opportunities are limited and many have to emigrate to find work. The unemployment rate is estimated to be 18%.

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**See also Christians in the Middle East; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Palestinian Diaspora**

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### LEE KUAN YEW

As Prime Minister of Singapore from 1959 to 1990, Lee Kuan Yew (b. 1923) was the leading figure in its

transformation into a flourishing and dynamic First World economy. The small population and size of the island enabled him to be involved in the minutiae of policy formulation and even implementation. At different times he took particular interest in defence and economic planning, industrial relations reform, and social welfare policy. Although he resigned the Prime Ministership in 1990, he continued as an influential cabinet member with the title Senior Minister.

Born in 1923, Lee's first job was as a transcriber in Japanese Propaganda Department. He went on to study law at Cambridge University, where he took first class honors and was admitted to the London bar in 1949. He returned to Singapore the following year and worked as an attorney for the next several years, representing many trade unions. The speed with which the Japanese military routed the British in Southeast Asia in early 1942 had shocked Singapore and shattered the idea of British superiority, and Lee led the struggle for independence through the formation of the People's Action Party (PAP) in 1954. As the PAP leader he became Singapore's first Prime Minister in 1959.

In the early 1960s, it seemed obvious that Singapore needed the Malay hinterland as a market and source of raw materials, food, and water. Singapore joined the Malaysian federation in 1963 to meet those needs, but it was soon clear that the Malay leadership on the peninsula wanted to control Singapore's Chinese majority. Lee broke away from Malaysia and created the independent Republic of Singapore in 1965.

Economic development, defence, and social harmony were the major challenges facing Lee in the mid 1960s. Pragmatism and realism rather than ideology guided his search for solutions. Lee's commitment to open markets and economic competition was combined with selective government intervention in the economy and society. Lee chose ministers who shared his thinking about development to fill key positions. These included the first three Finance Ministers Goh Keng Swee, Lim Kim San, and Hon Sui Sen. Lee followed their advice to switch from his initial emphasis on import replacement to export promotion as the central plank of trade policy.

Even though international trade continued to be essential it alone could not ensure sustained economic growth. Lee created a Tourist Promotion Board to boost tourism and this industry soon provided many jobs in services like transport, catering, and cleaning. The British military presence contributed 20% to the gross domestic product (GDP) so Lee was alarmed in 1968 to hear of their plans to withdraw. He tried to persuade them to delay the process but when this failed he appointed Hon Sui Sen to oversee the conversion of the military bases and

equipment to profitable civilian uses. Lee also took a direct role in building the Singapore Armed Forces as well as cementing alliances with other Commonwealth countries in the Five Power Defence Agreement. Race riots involving Chinese and Malays during the 1960s were dealt with through the rigorous but non-discriminatory enforcement of the criminal law. Later Lee oversaw changes in housing laws to ensure that the Chinese, Malays, and Indians, who make up nearly the whole population, would live in mixed neighborhoods.

The Central Provident Fund (CPF) was set up by the colonial government as a pension scheme in order to create a social security without a welfare state. Lee gradually increased the amount that workers paid into their individual CPF accounts and extended its functions so that workers could draw on savings to purchase homes and pay for medical services. The Housing Development Board (HDB) was established in 1960. Its slum clearance project was completed in the 1960s. The HDB built homes that workers bought with their CPF funds. Home ownership also secured support for the government, contracts for the building industry and employment for building workers.

An important part of Singapore's economic transformation was the creation of industrial estates the most famous of which was Jurong. Lee was keen to attract multinational corporations (MNCs) for their capital, technology transfer and as providers of skill enhancement. Finding Singapore's tax breaks, stable economy, strong work force, and infrastructure assistance a hospitable environment, many MNCs set up factories, offices, and training facilities. Lee particularly admired leaders of US MNCs for their drive to succeed and innovate and willingness to transfer technologies and skills. Texas Instruments, National Semiconductors, and Hewlett-Packard were three of many US MNCs to make long-term commitments in Singapore.

In 1968, the Economic Development Board was created to co-ordinate various aspects of development. Lee encouraged a corporatist model of co-operation between government, business and labor. Industrial Relations Tribunals mediated disputes and from 1972 a National Wages Council set pay rates so that raises were not higher than either productivity growth or the capacity of business to pay. In the 1980s, Lee encouraged a shift from industry to company unions to promote worker-employer co-operation at the workplace level. He supported the formation of trade union co-operatives which provided cheap goods and services to their members. These included taxi and insurance services and retail stores.

In the 1980s, Lee encouraged a shift of emphasis from manufacturing to services in computing,

information technology, business and banking. Although he continued to welcome foreign capital, new investments could increasingly be financed by Singaporeans' own savings. The Government Investment Corporation, established in 1981, was the conduit through which money flowed from the CPF to various businesses and investments.

Lee has been criticized for Orwellian social engineering, repressive laws, and interference with his citizens' privacy. For example, in the early 1980s Lee oversaw the creation of a Social Development Unit whose task was to encourage highly educated people to marry and have more children. Tax incentives and other measures reinforced this goal. Lee was concerned that the high birth-rates of the poorly educated and the low rates for the well-educated would gradually lower the quality of the people and adversely affect the country in the long-term. Laws proscribing chewing gum, an Internal Security Act that allowed lengthy detention without trial, and media laws that restrict freedom of the press have attracted criticism and ridicule.

Lee ruled Singapore for three decades before resigning as Prime Minister in 1990, though he was immediately appointed Senior Minister in his successor Goh Chok Tong's cabinet. Perspectives on Lee's achievements differ markedly. Some regard him as a visionary politician and statesman who within a generation turned Singapore from a poor country into a prosperous nation with a highly-educated population and few of the social problems that afflict the modern West. Critics of Lee emphasise his authoritarian streak, the structures and forces that undermine the democratic institutions, and the resulting usurpation of politics by administration.

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**See also Goh Chok Tong; Singapore**

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### LEGAL SYSTEMS

More than 260 nation states ('states') exist around the world today. Each recognises a set of laws that regulates its relations with other states, as well as possessing a legal system that governs its own citizens. The laws that regulate a states' relations with other states are known as international laws, while those laws that govern the behaviour of a state's citizens within its own boundaries are known as municipal or domestic laws.

International law regulates three types of international relationships: between states, between states and persons, and between persons in different states. These relationships are often referred to as public and private international law. Public international law is a distinct body of law in its own right dealing with relations between states, and between states and persons. Private international law, also known as conflict of laws or laws of conflicts, deals with persons (natural or juridical) where there is a conflict between states. However, in recent years it has become difficult to differentiate between public and private international law as the lines between them have become increasingly blurred. Contemporary international law now regulates any conduct that falls outside state boundaries.

During the twentieth century, three dominant legal families could be identified: (Romano-Germanic) civil law, (Anglo-American) common law, and Sino-soviet (socialist) law. However, the failure of communism in the early 1990s resulted in the demise of Sino-soviet law and as a result it is no longer necessary to consider it as a dominant legal system. While Marxist-Leninist thought and socialist law still have a role to play in some states, for example, China, North Korea, Cuba, and Algeria, most of the former communist states have turned to the civil law.

Civil law is the dominant legal system in Europe, as well as forming the basis of most legal systems in Central and South America, parts of Asia and Africa. Its codificatory style of law-making made it a much more amenable system to adopt than common law with its origins embedded in case law and precedent. Common law can be found in most of the former colonies of the British Empire. In the Middle East and parts of Asia, Islamic law plays an important role in the legal system of the state. Islamists will argue that Islamic law (*Shar'iah*) is a complete set of laws, not just a religious law system, and that because it is God's will it is superior to man-made laws. It is also possible to identify elements of customary law influencing the legal systems of many states.

Cultural, economic, political and, perhaps today most importantly, religious factors shape not only

political systems but also legal systems. While the legal systems of common law countries such as the US, Australia, and Malaysia are all based on common law principles, significant differences still exist between the laws of each state. A similar comparison can be made between civil law states such as France, Germany, and Brazil. These factors not only produce differences among states with common systems, but can also lead to more profound consequences. For example, the collapse of communism in the early 1990s resulted in the demise of Sino-Soviet law; the growth of the European Community has led to the development of a new legal system (European Community law); the weakening of the nation state because of globalisation has heightened the influence of various religious movements and their laws in parts of the developing world; rejection of western values in non-Western states resulting in a resurgence of customary law.

## The Civil Law System

### *The Meaning of the Term “Civil Law”*

The term *civil law* has several meanings. First, it can mean a reference to an entire system of law that has its origins in Europe and which establishes all basic principles of law in a Code through the adoption by a parliamentary body of an authoritative and exhaustive set of rules of law. Second, in a civil law system it can be a reference to private law, which governs the relations between citizens and corporations, as distinct from public law where the State is a party. The distinction is important because there are different hierarchies of courts dealing with public and private law. Third, it can be used to describe the substantive body of private law that is based on the French Civil Code of 1804, and can be contrasted with commercial law which is not regulated by the Civil Code. Finally, it can be a reference to the type of proceedings that might be commenced in a common law system to regulate disputes between private individuals and provide the injured party with a remedy, as distinct from the criminal law which involves offences against the State by a person and which involves punishment if the person is found guilty. It is in its first sense that civil law is most relevant here.

### *Origins*

The origins of the civil law system, also known as the continental European system, can be found in Roman

law, and in particular the four compilations (or codification) of Roman laws, known as the *Corpus Juris*, by the Roman Emperor Justinian (527–565 AD). However, it was not until the beginning of the 11th century AD when scholars began to study and interpret the *Corpus Juris Civilis* that Roman law began to form the basis of a common law of Europe. Even then it took a further five centuries to produce a common law of Europe (the *jus commune*), consisting of a mixture of local statutes and customs based on Roman law (or the *Corpus Juris*) and reinforced by canon law (or the law of the Church). Over the following three centuries civil law became codified as *droit coutumier* or customary law, that were local compilations of legal principles recognized as normative. From these sources developed perhaps the two most influential civil law systems as they formed models for most other contemporary civil codes and are the basis of modern civil law: the French Napoleonic Code and the German Civil Code. While both Codes are different in style and tone, they are both based on laissez-faire economics and autonomous rights for citizens.

The prototypical civil law country is France. In 1804, the French Napoleonic Civil Code was enacted. It set out flexible general rules in clear and concise language for use by its citizens, producing Europe’s first single system of law. Structurally similar to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, its authors relied heavily on the *jus commune*, as well as incorporating many of the principal ideas of the French Revolution including the right to own property, freedom to contract, and the autonomy of the patriarchal family.

The German Civil Code was enacted almost a century later. Like the French, the Germans relied on the *jus commune* and made extensive use of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, but unlike the French they focused on the underlying principles and organisation of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The German Civil Code, the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (the “BGB”) was issued in 1896, and came into effect on January 1, 1900. The BGB unified private law in the German Empire, emphasising the individual and their need for freedom to achieve social justice. The language of the BGB is precise and technical and was meant for the use of civil lawyers rather than the layperson.

### *Features*

The essence of a civil law Code is twofold: first, it is independent of government and secondly, it contains a comprehensive statement of rules, many of which are framed as broad, general principles so as to deal with any dispute that may arise.

Under the civil law, the judge's role is inquisitorial. It is limited to the application of the law to the facts of each case. If there was no law to cover the situation, the judge was expected to refer the case to the legislative body which would then pass a law to deal with the situation. However, the reality has proved to be rather different with the legislative bodies discovering that they could not make laws quickly enough to meet all the different circumstances coming before the courts. As a result an unwritten system of judicial precedent similar to, but not the same as, that found in common law systems where lower courts will generally follow the decisions of higher courts has developed over time. The difference between the two legal systems is that civil law judges are not *per se* bound to follow previous decisions of higher courts, as are their counterparts under common law, but the reality is that the previous decisions do have *de facto* authority, particularly under German law where some recourse to case law is necessary.

Under the civil law, unlike the common law, it is the judge who investigates the facts and when arriving at a decision, based on deductive reasoning rather than the inductive reasoning found in common law systems, s/he will not (publicly at least) state reasons for that decision to the parties. The judiciary in civil law countries does not play the central role in interpreting and 'making' the law as it does in common law jurisdictions. However, the reasons for the particular outcome of a case are kept, albeit confidentially, as part of the court file which other judges can then access. Outwardly at least, the common law application of the doctrine of precedent and the need to follow previous decisions in like cases cannot apply. However, the reality is somewhat different and civil law courts may choose to follow previous decisions if they feel them to be appropriate although the Code is still central in the decision-making process.

In civil law states there is a sharply drawn distinction between private law (the law of persons, family law, property law, the law of succession, the law of obligations, commercial law, and labour law) and public law (constitutional and administrative law), the latter having been treated in a variety of ways in the civil law states with some countries establishing special agencies to deal with public law matters while others have created Constitutional Courts. In the majority of civil law systems, criminal matters aside, the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts is limited to dealing with disputes governed by the private law. This can be contrasted with the common law system which does not provide a separate court to deal with public law matters, instead providing different remedies for the private citizen.

## The Common Law System

The phrase 'common law' may be used in at least three different ways. First, it may refer to the basic principles of law originally found in the written decisions of judges, rather than relying on codification of the law. English law was never influenced by Roman law in the way that continental Europe was: English common law was already well established by the time that a common law of Europe was developed. Today, common law includes case law derived from the common law courts and courts of equity, as well as statute law and while the common law is increasingly turning to the use of comprehensive codes, their importance, application, and validity are still determined through case law. Second, it may be used to describe the decisions of judges in the common law courts as distinct from the decisions made in the courts of equity. Finally, it can be a reference to that body of legal rules that can be found in countries that have adopted or adapted the English system of law and which predominantly consist of law made by the judges. The term 'common law' is being used here to both describe a legal system and that part of English law which has been applied or accepted in other jurisdictions around the world.

## Origins

The origins of the common law system can be traced back to William the Conqueror. In order to consolidate his position, he began to centralise the legal system. He appointed a number of judges and instructed them to begin administering a uniform system of law in the name of the King—the common law. To assist judges in their decision-making, the judges began keeping records (known as plea rolls) setting out not only the facts and judgement of each case, but often the reasoning behind the judgement. This enabled judges in later similar cases to follow the decisions of the judges in the earlier cases. It is the common law's reliance on court decisions or precedent that is the principal feature distinguishing it from Romano-Germanic civil codes.

By the fourteenth century, the common law was procedurally both complex and very strict. To overcome the deficiencies of the common law, litigants began to petition the King to hear their pleas. By the fifteenth century, Courts of Chancery had been established to administer this new body of law—known as equity law—but the growth of this jurisdiction led to clashes with the common law. In 1620,

James I decided that in the event of a conflict between equity and common law, equity would prevail.

The role of Parliament as a law making body began after the forced signing of the Magna Carta by King John in 1215. Legislation was made initially by the King after the meeting with Parliament was over. However, by the reign of Henry VI (1422–1461), laws were being framed and discussed by the two Houses of Parliament. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the majority of law came from Parliament in the form of statutes to consolidate or fill gaps in existing law. Where a conflict arose between statute law and case law, statute law prevailed.

### Features

The common law system does not provide a separate court to deal with public law matters, instead providing different remedies for the private citizen. Under the civil law system, there is a sharply drawn distinction between private and public law with separate courts to deal with each.

The procedural basis of common law is adversarial or accusatorial. The parties are required to produce appropriate evidence and to be responsible for proving their case. The judge's role is to ensure that the parties observe the rules of procedure. The judge is not expected to take an active role in the proceedings to get to the truth of a matter, as would be the case in a civil law system.

Certainly one of the main distinguishing features of the common law system is its use of case law as precedent. A precedent is a judgement or decision of a court of law cited as an authority for the legal principle embodied in its decision. This is known as *stare decisis*, which literally means “to stand by a decision.” The doctrine of precedence seeks to ensure that people will be treated equally and fairly over a long period. This gives everyone the opportunity to conduct their affairs in the knowledge that certain rules and procedures operate to make it possible to predict, with a fair degree of certainty, what the likely outcome will be in the event of a dispute.

In order for precedent to operate there has to be in existence a court hierarchy where the lower courts will be bound by the decisions of higher courts. Precedent may be binding or persuasive. In the case of a binding precedent, each court is bound by the decisions of courts of the same level or higher, whether or not the judge believes a decision is correct, unless the judge can ‘distinguish’ the case on its facts, or law, or both from the precedent. It is only the *ratio decidendi* (the reason for the decision) which can create a binding precedent. Anything else said in a judgment

about the law is classified as *obiter dicta* (sayings by the way), and is at best only capable of being of persuasive value.

### Common Law Countries

The application of English law to new colonies depended on whether it was a conquered or ceded colony, or a settled colony. In the case of the former, it was recognized that a legal system was already in existence and the laws of the conquered people continued to exist, thereby creating a form of legal pluralism where common law co-existed with customary and/or religious law, unless or until they were repealed by statute, for example, Malaysia, India.

Where the new territory was regarded as *terra nullius* or unoccupied land, that is there were no settled inhabitants or there was no recognised legal system, the settlers took with them the law of England, for example, North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

### European Community Law

The development of the European Union (EU) or ‘European Community’ has led to the growth of a new regional legal system—European Community Law. While it has its roots in the Franco-German civil codes and has been influenced by common law traditions such as precedent, it also has its own distinctive legal characteristics. As a result, it falls somewhere between an international organisation and an association of states and can best be described as “supranational,” a regional system but one created by law.

### Origins

The driving force behind European unification was the desire for peace. The establishment of a unified Europe was seen as being one way to reduce the chances of war between the Community's Member States. Unity would only endure where equality could be established. To that end, not only are all Community citizens equal before the law, but no State is to have precedence over another.

Unlike the civil law and common law legal systems, the history of European Community Law is relatively recent with a history that can be traced back to the 1950s and post-World War II Europe. The Treaty of Paris in 1951 and the Treaty of Rome in 1957



laid the foundations for the establishment of the European Community (EC) when they created the European Coal and Steel Community (1951), the European Atomic Energy Community (1958), and the European Economic Community (1958).

The *Single European Act 1986* committed EC Members to establish a progressively free single market with four basic freedoms—free movement of goods, persons, services, and capital—and its rules on competition. The *Treaty of Maastricht* in 1993 which established the creation of the European Union (EU) and established the EU as an international organisation in its own right. The ‘European Economic Community’ was renamed the ‘European Community’ to give recognition to its change from that of a purely economic community to a political union but it did not otherwise affect its status. The legal acts of the respective bodies of the EC still constitute legal acts of the Community and have precedence over national law of the Member States.

The Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 made substantial changes to the Treaty of Maastricht. Of particular legal significance was the greater emphasis on safeguarding of fundamental rights of EU citizens, and the adoption by the EU of a co-decision procedure (the legislative procedure involving the European Parliament and the Council), with the European Parliament now playing a much greater role in the legislative processes.

In 2001, the European Council met to consider establishing a Constitution for Europe. Among other issues, this included recommending a merger of the Treaties and the attribution of legal personality to the EU. The constitution, discussed for two years and passed at the European Convention of 2003, aims to streamline decision-making in an expanded EU of twenty-five members, with agreement expected to be reached among member States in mid-2004.

### *Features*

Unlike the written Constitutions that establish the legitimacy of most States, the EU constitution is not contained in a comprehensive constitutional document (yet). The EU is dependent on law for its unification, and its existence.

Member States are not absorbed into the EU, nor do they lose their national identities when they become members. They are, however, expected to limit their legislative sovereignty in the interests of solidarity and unity, requiring them to not only observe the Community treaties and secondary legislation but to also implement it and bring it into existence. Where the direct rights and obligations of the Community

citizen conflict with a rule of national law, Community law will have supremacy as long as it has been made in accordance with the Treaties.

Fundamental rights and civil liberties are firmly established in the constitutions of EU Member States with the individual a main focus on the Community, although the Treaties establishing the European Communities do not spell out any details of fundamental rights. However the Court of Justice of the European Communities has established a body of case-law to serve as a basis for safeguarding fundamental rights through a number of provisions in the Treaties dealing with equality and equal treatment. The direct applicability of Community law principles confers rights and imposes obligations directly on Community institutions and the Member States, as well as the Community’s citizens.

The European Court of Justice (ECJ) is the highest and only authority on matters of Community law, with each member State sending one judge, and together with the Court of First Instance, the only authority. The ECJ has sole responsibility for monitoring, interpreting and developing Community law and to achieve these ends, the Court’s work involves legal advice in the form of opinions as well as adjudication. The Court of First Instance was established to relieve the pressure on the ECJ. It is a constituent component of the Court of Justice, but in organisational terms it is an autonomous body with its own Registry and rules of procedure.

### *European Community Law Countries*

Currently there are twenty-five member countries of the Economic Community, placing it only behind the United States as a political and economic superpower. From the six founding States in 1951—Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—it has grown to a membership of twenty-five States. The United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland joined in 1973. In 1981, Greece became a member and was followed by Portugal and Spain in 1986. Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined in 1995 in what had by then become the European Union following the adopting of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993. Of these fifteen Member States, only the United Kingdom and Ireland have common law systems.

In 2004, ten new States were admitted to membership, and the Greek side of Cyprus, Malta, and eight from the old Soviet bloc—the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Applications for membership have also been received from Turkey (1987), Switzerland (1992, though processing of the application

subsequently stopped), and Bulgaria (1995). A referendum in Norway resulted in voters rejecting membership in 1993 and Greenland voted by referendum to leave the EU in 1982.

## Islamic Law

Within Muslim society, there is no separation between church and state as in Western countries. Government, religion, and law are one and the same. It follows that Islamic law (*Shar'iah* or the path to follow God's law) will be an integral part of Islamic religion. *Shar'iah* contains the rules by which a Muslim society is organized and governed and may be viewed by westerners as a moral code more concerned with ethical behaviour than as being a legal system in its own right. This is because it controls, rules, and regulates all public and private behaviour as well as prescribing specific rules for religious matters.

### Origins

*Shar'iah* is derived from a number of sources rather than relying on one source for its broad knowledge base. The first and primary source of guidance and rulings in *Shar'iah* is the *Qur'an*, which is authoritative in Arabic only. As it is considered to be the direct word of Allah, it is the final arbitrator.

The second source of Islamic law is the *Sunnah*. It consists of the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad and helps to explain the *Qur'an*, detailing concepts, laws, and practical matters stated in the *Qur'an*, as well as providing rulings on some matters not explicitly stated in the *Qur'an*. It is a complementary source to the *Qur'an*, but it cannot be interpreted or applied in any way that is inconsistent with the *Qur'an*. The content of the *Sunnah* is found in *hadith*, or traditions. *Hadith* are statements passed through a reliable chain of communication to present adherents directly from the Prophet and its importance is judged on its reliability.

The third source of Islamic law is known as the *Ijma* (or consensus). The *Ulama*, or Muslim religious scholars may be consulted on a range of issues that are not found explicitly in the *Qur'an* or the *Sunnah* and when the *Ulamas* reach a consensus on an issue, it is interpreted as *Ijma* and forms part of the *Shar'iah*. Islamic judges are then able to examine the *Ijma* for solutions to problems that come before them.

The fourth element of *Shar'iah* is that of *Qiyas*, or analogical reasoning. The *Qiyas* are not explicitly found in the *Qur'an*, *Sunnah*, or given in the *Ijma* and can be used by a *Shar'iah* judge (or *Qadi*) to decide new case law.

### Features

The closing of the door of *ijtihad* (deducing rules of law through juristic reasoning from original sources) in the tenth century AD, three centuries after the founding of Islam, by the Sunnite Muslim authorities declaring the principle legal issues of the *Shar'iah* to be complete. The effect has been to produce a legal system that is often at odds with the modern world. Attempts to reopen the door of *ijtihad* by Sunnites have been vehemently opposed by traditionalists. Shi'ite Muslims have always recognised *ijtihad*.

One of the important features of *Shar'iah* is its emphasis on the correlation between rights and obligations or duties.

Unlike Western thinking, under *Shar'iah*, law is perceived as constituting an integrated part of social organisation and is not seen a separate branch of human activity. Law is seen as an expression of God's will and as a consequence, from an Islamic perspective, it is difficult to imagine a secular state or secular legal system.

### Islamic Influence

There are over 1.5 billion Muslims worldwide. They make up 25% of the world's population. There are thirty-five nations with population over 50% Muslim, and there are another twenty-one nations that have significant Muslim populations. There are nineteen nations which have declared Islam in their respective constitutions. Islamic law is the principal source of law in Iran and Saudi Arabia.

## Sino-Soviet (Socialist) Law

A majority of comparative lawyers regard socialist law as a family of law separate to the civil law family. While it is possible to identify a number of similarities between the two systems, principally in the codificatory style of law-making, the use of civil law institutions and the role of legal scholars as a source of law, it is the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology that differentiates the two systems, and distinguishes it from any other systems for that matter.

In socialist countries, the Communist party, as the dominant (and often the only) political party, viewed the legal system as a political tool to be used by the State and its agencies to promote its political aims and objectives. Law was considered to be subservient to the economy and the creation of a new economic order to safeguard worker's interest.

Certainly one of the most important distinguishing features of socialist law was its treatment of property. Under socialist law, property was classified as either socialist property or personal property. Socialist property involved collective ownership through the State of any property which contributed to the means of production, including farms, while personal property was the property owned by individuals for their own personal needs. Other distinguishing characteristics of socialist law included the lack of separation of powers; the role of the courts as advocates of government policy; and the inability to criticise either party policy or the legal system.

The triumph of capitalism over socialism by the early 1990s resulted in the collapse of communism in most countries around the world and led to the decline of the socialist legal system as a dominant legal system. Indeed, as a result of the collapse of communism, many of the former socialist States have returned, or turned, to civil law. While countries such as North Korea, Uzbekistan, and Cuba have retained large elements of socialist legal theory, most of the remaining communist countries, such as mainland China, have slowly lost many of the distinctive command economy features that highlighted their legal systems, as they move to adopt more free-market economies.

## Customary Law

Customary law consists of rules that have developed in the community and become accepted by the community as establishing a pattern of behaviour that is binding on the members of that community. For customary practice to become accepted as customary law, it is generally accepted that it is necessary to first establish consistent and recurring action, and secondly that the citizens of the community recognize the custom as binding. The origins of both the modern codification of civil law and common law can be traced back to customary law. In addition, many Asian and African states still contain aspects of indigenous custom in their legal systems, for example, the use of *chotei* procedure (conciliation) under Japanese law and tribal law in the case of many West and East African states.

## Hybrid Systems

To a layperson a hybrid system is usually taken to mean one where more than one legal system co-exists, but to a comparative lawyer this usually means where common law and civil law types of law can be found operating together as a result of colonisation, annexation, occupation, or adoption. The laypersons understanding of 'hybrid systems' is used here for convenience. It is being taken to mean any country which has two or three types of laws or legal traditions operating all at the same time, and is what many comparative lawyers would describe as legal pluralism.

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## LESOTHO

The Kingdom of Lesotho is a small country surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. Formerly known as Basutoland, the kingdom gained independence from Great Britain and is now an independent, limited monarchy.

The Basuto tribe developed only recently in Africa's history. It resulted from the disruption of the "Wars of Calamity" brought about by Shaka, king of the Zulus, in the early nineteenth century. While many Bantu, Suto, and Nguni clans were disrupted by

the Zulu raiders, a minor chief named Moshoeshoe gathered those he could on the plateau of Thaba Bosiu, near the Caledon River in what is now north-west Lesotho. Moshoeshoe was then able to avoid conflict with the Zulus.

Soon after Moshoeshoe's organization of the remnants of the original tribes in 1823, another conflict, this time with the European Dutch settlers known as the Boers, developed. In the early 1800s, the Boers began to move away from coastal south Africa as the British came in greater numbers, and by 1831 they had begun to move into the area inhabited by the Basuto. Reports of Boer mistreatment of Africans led Moshoeshoe to seek the protections of the British. In 1848, Moshoeshoe agreed to permit Great Britain to control the territories around the area he controlled.

Relations between Moshoeshoe and the British deteriorated soon, however, and in 1852 the Basuto and British fought one another. Moshoeshoe diplomatically brought the fighting to an end, and despite clashes with British settlers over the next few years, the Basuto remained free until the Great Basuto War, fought against the Boers, led Moshoeshoe to ask the British for formal protection again.

The Boers, who were Calvinists, had angered the British through their religious repression of Protestant missionaries in the region, and Great Britain agreed to annex Basutoland, placing it under local British control in the province of Natal.

Following Moshoeshoe's death in 1859, Basutoland was formally annexed into Britain's Cape Colony in 1871. The increase in British influence made the region more productive and profitable, but when British forces attempted to disarm the Basuto the tribal members resisted, fearing that without weapons they would be unable to protect themselves from the Boers. Following the "Gun War," which went badly for the British, the Basuto were eventually allowed to keep their weapons, and in 1883 Basutoland was disannexed. The next year, Moshoeshoe's son, King Letsie, agreed that the Basuto would become British subjects and British rule was established in Basutoland.

The British had learned to accept some tribal customs in their dealings with Africans, and in Basutoland this meant that Letsie, the Paramount Chief, was in fact still in control of the territory. This freed the British from having to deal with internal conflicts among the Basuto. Only the Basuto were permitted to own land, and eventually the Basuto (with British encouragement) developed a National Council to provide some degree of representative government. However, over several decades of this indirect rule Basutoland did not prosper and by the 1950s efforts to revise the power structure were made by the British.

A constitution was put in place in 1959 and elections were held in 1960 to form a new government, although Basutoland would still be one of Britain's High Commission Territories (along with Swaziland and Bechuanaland). This government, the Basutoland National Congress, took power on March 12, 1960.

Basutoland's geographic location, totally surrounded by the nation of South Africa, was the basis for a new concern. When Great Britain ruled South Africa as well as the High Commission Territories some degree of consistency could be established for the region. However, the Republic of South Africa was established and withdrew from the British Commonwealth. South Africa had developed its *apartheid* policy of racial segregation and exclusion, and with Great Britain's influence in southern Africa reduced, Basutoland's status as a colony was seen more as a liability than an asset. In 1963, a constitutional commission recommended rapid independence for Basutoland, and on October 4, 1966, the British territory of Basutoland formally became the independent nation of Lesotho, a constitutional monarchy.

Since independence Lesotho has been ruled sometimes by democratic institutions, but the government was overthrown by force by the military in 1998, resulting in widespread violence and destruction of property. Order was restored by intervention from forces from South Africa and Botswana in 1999, and Lesotho had orderly parliamentary elections in 2002.

The economy of Lesotho is largely dependent on employment in South Africa. While most of the adult workforce in Lesotho survives by subsistence farming, nearly one-third of the adult males work as migrant laborers in South Africa, which provides economic benefits for the families of the workers. While such use of migrant laborers is seen by some as exploitation, it does provide a means by which some wealth can be transferred from prosperous regions to others.

Lesotho's primary industrial export is electricity generated by the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, a joint venture between South Africa and Lesotho. This project began in 1984 and is expected to be complete by 2020.

The cooperation between Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana in the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) creates a regional trading bloc that has contributed to economic development in the region.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations; Southern African Customs Union (SACU)**

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### LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Liberation theology arose within Roman Catholicism in Latin America as an effort to reinterpret the message of the Gospel while confronting political oppression and economical deprivation. It seeks to express religious faith by helping the poor and working for political and social change. The intellectual roots of this movement can be traced to certain European theologians, such as J. Moltmann and D. Bonhoeffer. Its ecclesiastical and social origins were made public in 1968, after the Latin American Bishops' Conference in Medellín, Colombia. That final declaration can be seen as a milestone, with its clear affirmation of the rights of the poor and denunciation of the industrialized nations, accused of enriching themselves at the expense of the exploited and deprived masses of the Third World.

Drawing inspiration from certain aspects of Marxist theory, emphasis was placed on the liberating potential of social action, at the level of the local community or of global revolution. Without denying eternal life, salvation is thus seen in terms of achieving the kingdom of God on earth, through the creation of a society based on justice and equality. In the words of one of the founders of the liberationist movement, the mission of the church is "at all times to protest against injustice, to challenge what is inhuman, to side with the poor and the oppressed" (1971). The ultimate justification for this position is to be found in the nature of God, conceived as being historically engaged against oppression and injustice. The fundamental act of divine liberating immersion is found in the Incarnation and the universal value of Jesus Christ resides in his total commitment of struggle for the poor and the outcast.

Opposing a conventional theology that legitimises the interests of the powerful, a truly liberating theological reflection was seen emerging out of an historical commitment, praxis of engagement in the interests of the poor. An important aspect of this focus on

social action was the creation in various Latin American countries of hundreds of grassroots religious communities ("comunidades de base"). During the period of widespread social unrest and civil war in Latin America, in the decades of 1970–1980, many of these communities were targeted by repressive regimes as feared hotbeds of revolutionary subversion. Thus, tens of thousands of their members, leaders, nuns, and priests, became the victims of repression, particularly in Central America. The progressive Archbishop of El Salvador, Mons. Oscar Romero, was murdered in 1980, an outrage tragically repeated in 1989, with the murder of the liberation theologian Ignacio Ellacuría and several of his close associates.

From the beginning liberation theology was criticized by conservative church circles and the Vatican for a dependence on Marxist tenets and proclivity for revolutionary violence. Several of its representatives were sanctioned and silenced, as in the case of the Brazilian Leonardo Boff. Critical voices from within Protestantism pointed to the insistence by liberation theologians of salvation through social change and the neglect of the personal and emotional aspects of religiosity. They were also quick to remind that liberation has always been at the heart of Christianity and that Scripture rather than praxis should continue to be the fundamental theological guideline.

Liberation theology has undergone significant development over the years, partly as a result of changed political conditions—not the least the fall of Eastern European socialism—and above all, as in any intellectual movement, through the development of thinking expressed by its proponents. Although perhaps not in the sense anticipated by its early adherents, liberation theology has, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, diversified and expanded in several directions. It now includes the liberation of women from patriarchal structures, the liberation of ethnic groups and minorities within nation states, and an increased awareness of the need to address, in the face of global ecological degradation, the nature of the relation between man and nature; in other words, to liberate theology from the fetters of an older perspective of domination and move on to develop a perspective of stewardship and participation.

Most significantly, there has been growing interest in the specifically theological meaning of the concept of liberation. Without renouncing the essential commitment for a more just society, there is an increased inward focus on the importance of scripture as a basis for theological reflection and personal spiritual development, as can be seen in the work of, among others, Aloysius Pieris in Sri Lanka, and bishop Pedro Casaldáliga in Brasil.

There has been, in general, a shift away from an early idealisation of socialism without abandoning a critical stance against capitalism and the neo-liberalism of globalization.

At the same time, the expansion of liberation theology into other parts of the world, such as Africa, Asia and the Middle East, has resulted in the acceptance of the cultural implications of its basic tenets. Among other things, this means that the constructive realisation that the idea of an ultimate reality as a personal being that creates the cosmos out of nothing and summons human beings to a redeeming encounter with his divine Self, is almost nowhere to be found outside Semitic monotheism. This means, for instance, the beginning of a dialogue on equal terms with Aymara religion in the Andes of South America, with religious syncretism in Brasil or with Maya religion in Central America. It means also the emergence of a Black Theology in North America and a generous and open-minded attitude towards what can become a portentous long term cultural meeting with the vast tradition and rich symbolism of Asian religiosity.

Thus, there are today not one but several liberation theologies. There are various regional issues to assume, as when Christian Palestinians invoke a liberationist outlook in their struggle to attain nationhood, and there is also the challenge of formulating a viable alternative to the mechanisms within the current process of globalization that maintain and even aggravate poverty and inequality for millions of human beings.

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### LIBERIA

Liberia, like neighbouring British Sierra Leone, was born of mixed motivations to spread Christianity and Western civilisation to Africa, while ridding the

United States of an undesired class of freed Blacks. In 1816, the American Colonisation Society, with the support of a US congressional grant, began to transport freed slaves back to Africa. Following the US abolition of the slave trade in 1819, the settlements proved a dumping ground for recaptive slaves seized by the American anti-slave trade squadron. Between 1822 and 1892, over sixteen thousand freed slaves were resettled in scattered settlements under the control of the Society's various state chapters.

In 1831, the Maryland chapter broke with the Society and established its own Maryland County colony. Such chapter rivalry was reflected in fragmentary administration, though not development assistance. Many of freed blacks had urban skills, not applicable to the frontier conditions, and found themselves in competition with indigenous peasants. Some became absentee planters, using recaptive labourers to grow sugarcane, coffee, rice, and so forth. Many turned to petty trading, some to illicit slave trade—the most viable economic venture available.

Britain refused to recognize the sovereignty of the American Colonisation Society and the United States was ambiguous; it refused to accept responsibility but tended to oppose British and French territorial ambitions. The Americo-Liberian seized the initiative, declaring Liberia a republic, on July 26, 1847. Maryland County was subsequently annexed in 1857.

Until the 1890s, Monrovia controlled only isolated coastal enclaves. The dominant Americo-Liberian elite, with their Christian faith, American colonial lifestyle, and racial prejudices, looked down upon the indigenous 'savages' and the captives as only slightly better.

In 1869, Edward Roye of the new True Whig Party became the first fully Black Liberian president. An educated and financially successful businessman, Roye sought to offset falling revenue with a series of British loans, commencing a downward debt spiral. Roye's death in 1871, under mysterious circumstances, led to a brief revival of Republican power, but triumph by the True Whig Party in 1877 ushered in over a century of one-party rule.

The economy was increasingly threatened by a glut of tropic produce and imperial shipping cartels undercut the older Americo-Liberian coastal cutter trade. Simultaneously, Liberia was forced to defend its territory against British and French imperialism by demonstrating its 'effective-control' of the interior, resulting in clashes with indigenous rulers.

President Arthur Barclay (1904–1912) introduced a system of 'native administration' based on British 'Indirect Rule' through native chiefs, who received a share of local revenue. He also increased ports of entry, thus legitimising a trade the state could not

control, and initiated a new loan agreement, negotiated by the famous British explorer, Sir Harry Johnston. The new loan was to retire existing debts, some \$800,000 in 1906, with the balance used for development by the British Liberian Rubber Corporation. In return, a British official was placed in control of Liberian Customs. Much of the money disappeared when Harry Johnston's Liberian Development Company collapsed. When Pres Barclay tried to renegotiate the loan, the British government insisted on greater controls over Customs and a Liberian Frontier Force under British Officers. Increased British hegemony aroused French demands and American intervention. US Afro-American officers replaced the British officers.

In 1912, the United States organised an international loan of \$1.7 million, to pay off Liberia's debts, but Liberian Customs was placed under an American-chaired international receivership. Government retrenchments, continued corruption, and falling terms of trade, exacerbated by the sharp wartime decline in trade with Germany, Liberia's largest trading partner, led to native uprisings amongst the Kru and Kpelle. British hostility to Liberia's wartime neutrality and support for the Kru was thwarted by American intervention. The Kru were brutally crushed and Liberia subsequently followed the US into declaring war on Germany.

In response to an attempted Anglo-Dutch rubber cartel, in 1927, Harvey Firestone sought a ninety-nine-year lease on a million acres, in return for a 5 million dollar loan to Liberia and the replacement of the international receivership by US control of the budget. The world price of rubber collapsed shortly thereafter but not repayments on the loan.

The other scandal of the 1930s concerned exploitative contract labour from Liberia to Spanish Fernando Po. The League of Nations pilloried Liberia, though Spain and other colonial exploiters were largely ignored. Liberia's international reputation was resuscitated during World War II, when it became the principal source of Allied rubber with the expansion of Firestone's investments, and a base for air-strikes against North Africa from what became Roberts Field airport outside Monrovia.

President William Tubman, inaugurated in 1944, adopted a US "open door" policy to promote foreign investment and, unlike his predecessors, encouraged some local participation in government. He died in 1971 and was succeeded by William R. Tolbert, who continued the free-enterprise policies but sought a less conservative image and strengthened ties with West African nations. An attempt to promote domestic rice production through higher prices led to demonstrations in 1979.

In 1980, Master Sgt Samuel K. Doe assassinated Tolbert and overthrew the government. Doe abrogated the constitution and ruled in conjunction with a People's Redemption Council (PRC). He doubled army pay and publicly executed thirteen former ministers in a backlash against more than a century of Americo-Liberian political and economic exploitation of the indigenous population. Despite international protests, the United States recognised the regime and increased the level of assistance.

Doe won the 1985 presidential elections and his National Democratic Party of Liberia secured a majority, amid accusations of electoral malpractice. Many opposition figures died under suspicious circumstances. Then, in 1989, Charles Taylor of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia launched an invasion from Cote d'Ivoire, supported by Gio tribesmen. The ensuring civil war, with its complex tribal factions, was fueled by an illicit diamond and drug trade, in exchange for arms.

Despite intervention by Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) the brutal fighting continued. Doe was eventually captured and tortured to death by a rival warlord. The war created desperate food shortages and a total breakdown of civil society, with hundreds of thousands of refugees.

There were numerous peace conferences and discussion, leading to elections in 1997, won overwhelmingly by Charles Taylor on a platform of vote for continuing atrocities or me. Taylor murdered, imprisoned or drove out his rivals, holding onto power with the support of illicit diamond smuggling by his RUF allies in neighbouring Sierra Leone. In 2002, rebels of Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) seized control of most of the north and advanced on Monrovia. By 2003, the rival rebel Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) controlled most of the west. Under pressure from rebels and facing an indictment by the United Nations (UN) Special Court in Sierra Leone, Taylor fled into exile in Nigeria.

A multi-party transitional government was established in 2003; and under President Gyude Bryant, a local businessman, a UN-sponsored disarmament program was initiated.

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**See also West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## LIBYA

The country's conventional name is Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya or most commonly known as the *Libyan Arab Jamahiriya* is situated in north Africa, next to Egypt and Algeria.

The northern part of Libya has a typical Mediterranean landscape and climate, with an average rainfall of about fifteen inches annually and temperatures ranging from 86°F to 46°F. Towards the middle and southern part of the country the average rainfall decreases gradually, it becomes very dry and the desert takes over most of the territory: more than 90% of the country is desert or semi-desert. Southern Libya has a desert climate with daytime winter temperatures ranging between 59°F and 68°F, falling below zero at night. During the summer months, there is virtually no rainfall and temperatures soar to over 122°F.

The present population is estimated at 5.6 million, with a growth rate of about 2.37% annually. Libya is between the countries with the lowest population density in the world. The urban population is 86%, a high value in the region. The port of Tripoli, the capital city, has a population estimated at 1.7 million. The official language is Arabic, with Italian and English also understood in major cities. Most people's religion is the Sunni Muslim, which accounts for approximately 97% of the population.

Libya was formerly occupied by the Roman Empire, inherited by the Byzantines until it was conquered by the Arabs. During the sixteenth century, the Turks invaded and imposed a series of dynasties until 1912 when the Italians, by Mussolini's order,

conquered the native tribes. After World War II, the territory was assigned to France and Great Britain but soon Libya gained and declared its independence on December 24, 1951, before any other African country that had been formerly under European control. Libya was proclaimed a constitutional and hereditary monarchy and Sheikh Sidi Idris was proclaimed King Idris I. During Idris's mandate, Libya maintained a tendency favourable to the western countries until on September 1, 1969, a small group of military officers led by Muammar Qaddafi staged a *coup d'état* against King Idris, a fact later known as *The Libyan Revolution*. The new regime abolished the monarchy and proclaimed the new Libyan Arab Republic. Qaddafi's political system was a combination of both Socialism and Islam (Muslims beliefs) which he called the *Third Universal Theory*.

During the 1980s, Libya incurred in some conflicts with the United States all of which resulted in a boycott by the United States to Libya. Later, in 1992, the United Nations (UN) Security Council condemned Libya to political and economical isolation during the 1990s. UN sanctions were suspended in 1999 and finally lifted in 2003 after Libya resolved the Lockerbie case. Libya then began establishing important reforms such as privatization of the country's oil sector and the incorporation of Libya to the World Trade Organization, giving up in some way to Qaddafi's socialist philosophy.

Since 1959, Libya's oil and petroleum export revenues have accounted for more than 90% of its earnings. Libya's economy depends primarily upon revenues from the oil sector, which contributes practically all export earnings and about one-quarter of the gross domestic product (GDP). In 2004, the GDP was estimated at \$35 billion with per capita income of \$6,400, quite high for the region. The non-oil manufacturing and construction sectors account for about 20% of the GDP and agriculture sector only contributes with 8% of the GDP. Because climatic conditions and poor soils limit agricultural activities, Libya imports about 75% of its food.

Despite Libya's relatively strong economic growth and high per capita income, unemployment remains high as the country's population grows rapidly and new jobs are not created rapidly enough. The unemployment rate was estimated at 30% in 2001. Libya has a relatively poor infrastructure (i.e., roads and logistics) having only a well-developed net of oil pipelines from the inner part to the sea.

However, the incomes generated by the petroleum exploitation have allowed the government to implement social welfare plans, which have improved the people's living conditions. All health international standards show that Libya's health conditions have



improved in the last five decades. Between 1970 and 1985, the number of medical doctors and dentists increased seven times and the number of hospital beds tripled. A net of public hospitals and health centres provides free and medium quality health service accessible for all citizens. The infant mortality rate experienced significant improvement: it passed from being 105 infants (per 1,000 live births) in 1970 to only 16 in 2002. Also the under-five mortality rate passed from being 160 per 1,000 live births in 1970 to 19 in 2002. As a result of this the general life expectancy at birth has improved from being 58 years in 1970 to 72 years in 2002 (UNDP 2004). Consequently the country is qualified among those with medium human development by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP 2004), which situates it better than any other African country. Progress included eradication of malaria, malnutrition, and significant gains against trachoma, tuberculosis, and leprosy. However, diseases such as typhoid, infectious hepatitis, rabies, meningitis, and venereal diseases remain a problem.

Primary education between six and fifteen years in Libya is free and compulsory. The primary school enrolment ratio was 96% in 2000. Secondary school is attended until the age of eighteen and scholars have the chance to enter one of the twelve universities. The major universities are the University of Garyounis in Benghazi and the Al-Fateh University in Tripoli. The adult literacy rate has improved a lot in the last decades: it was 60% in 1985, then 75% in 1995 and finally it reached 81% in 2002.

A project called the Great Man Made River project, is being implemented to bring water from underground aquifers beneath the Sahara to the Mediterranean coast, which will reduce the country's water shortage and its dependence on food imports by encouraging the development of agriculture.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: North Africa; Libyan Cultural Revolution; North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations; Qaddafi, Muammar**

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#### LIBYAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Libyan Cultural revolution was launched in April 1973 on the Prophet Muhammed's birthday anniversary by Libya's charismatic leader Colonel Muammar Qaddafi. Libya's monarchy had been overthrown in a bloodless coup by Qaddafi and a troupe of fellow officers in 1969. With Qaddafi as the chair of the Free Unionist Officers, Libya was to embark on a path to full independence from foreign influence, to Arab unity, socialism, and freedom. By 1973, dissatisfied with the progress of the "revolution" Qaddafi had consolidated enough of a powerbase to lead the revolution in a new direction. Qaddafi announced that drastic measures were required to preserve the revolution. The Libyan state and society would be revolutionized along the guidance of Qaddafi's Third Universal Theory, which he elaborated in the three volumes of the *Green Book* published soon afterwards. The pillars of the new Libyan state were egalitarianism, socialism, pan-Arabism, and anti-imperialism. Qaddafi's Third Universal Theory was offered and recognized as a third and uniquely Arab alternative to capitalist and communist development.

The Libyan Cultural Revolution was apparently modeled after China's Cultural Revolution, but Qaddafi denies this. Its goals were (1) to replace all imperialist laws with revolutionary laws, (2) to weed out counter-revolutionaries, (3) to foster an administrative revolution that would sweep away bourgeois bureaucracy, (4) to replace the state bureaucracy with people's committees, and (5) to eliminate all imported and foreign ideas. Qaddafi hoped to combat bureaucratic inefficiency and resistance in the state while simultaneously instilling the people of Libya with revolutionary fervor and participation.

The most important innovation of the Cultural Revolution was the People's Committees. The People's Committees were to be the primary instrument of the revolution, and they were created at all levels to take over administration and governance. People's Committees were formed to administer universities, private business firms, schools, farms, public utilities, government bureaucracies, the broadcast

media, and municipalities. Thousands of government bureaucrats were fired. Estimates vary, but by August 1973 from one thousand to two thousand People's Committees were created. The People's Committees replaced all alternative forms of representation in government. At the top of this new system was the General People's Congress (GPC). Later Qaddafi would add "Revolutionary Committees" to guide the People's Committees. Qaddafi's intention was to bring Libya "true democracy," instead of Western representative democracy. Qaddafi renounced his formal titles, but remained the head of the army and the Leader of the Revolution, hence, the de facto ruler of Libya.

The Cultural Revolution also brought forth other reforms; Libya was to be egalitarian, socialist, and Arab. Properties were seized from landlords and given to their occupants. Private property was abolished. Workers were encouraged to take over their places of employment and create a system of self-management. Retail trade was to be abolished. Libyan embassies were converted into people's bureaus. The Libyan army was demobilized and replaced by a People's Army, and military training was made mandatory from high school age onwards for both men and women. Private savings accounts were eliminated.

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**See also Libya; North Africa: History and Economic Development; Qaddafi, Muammar**

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## LITHUANIA

Lithuania, situated on the east coast of the Baltic Sea, covers approximately sixty-five thousand square kilometers. Lithuania shares borders with Belarus, Latvia, Poland, and the Russian Oblast of Kaliningrad. Lithuania mainly consists of lowlands with rolling hills in the east. Lithuania has a maritime climate in the west and a continental climate in the east. Summers and winters are moderate although the climate in the east is more variable. Lithuania lacks an abundant supply of natural resources. What resources are

available include peat, sulfates, limestone, chalk, sand, gravel, and amber. There are limited oil and gas holdings available offshore. Lithuania, however, is an exporter of electricity with its nuclear power industry. The population is estimated at 3,608,000 with a declining population of  $-0.33\%$  annually. Vilnius, Lithuania's capital, is the major urban center consisting of 16% of Lithuania's population with 518,000 inhabitants. Other important cities include Kaunas, Klaipeda, and Siauliai.

Unlike Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania acquired statehood prior to the twentieth century. Through a dynastic marriage in the fourteenth century and the threat of an expanding Muscovy, the kingdoms of Lithuania and Poland were united by the Union of Lublin in 1569. The union created a Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. The Polish partitions of the late eighteenth century resulted in Lithuania's incorporation into the Russian Empire. As a result of World War I and the 1917 Russian Revolution, Lithuania declared its independence in February 1918. There were major issues that plagued Lithuania's claim to independence. Immediately following Lithuania's declaration, Bolshevik forces invaded Vilnius and established a pro-Bolshevik government. The provisional government, exiled to Kaunas, organized a national army to expel the Bolsheviks. Due to Polish ambitions, Lithuania lost the Vilnius region to Poland. Kaunas served as Lithuania's capital during the interwar period. A permanent constitution was drafted in August 1922 officially creating an independent, democratic Lithuania. The constitution called for a unicameral legislature, the Seimas, and an elected president. Due to the ineffectiveness of competing liberal and conservative politicians in the Seimas, President Antanas Smetona led a military coup d'état on December 17, 1926. Smetona expelled liberal members of the Seimas and changed the constitution, granting him supreme authority until fleeing the country in 1940.

The secret protocol contained in the September 1939 German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact relegated Lithuania to a German sphere of influence. Later in September, however, Lithuania was shifted to the Soviet sphere. In exchange for the possession of Vilnius, Lithuania signed a mutual assistance pact with the USSR in October 1939, paving the way for Soviet annexation. In August 1940, Lithuania became a constituent member of the USSR. Nazi Germany occupied Lithuania from 1941-1944, resulting in 200,000 Lithuanian casualties including an estimated 160,000 Jews. Following the defeat of Germany, the USSR systematically exiled as many as 350,000 Lithuanians to prison camps. Although many

Russians immigrated to Lithuania, it was not of the same magnitude in comparison to Estonia and Latvia. Liberalization of the Soviet system and the *Sąjūdis* (Lithuanian Movement for Reconstruction) led to a renewed demand for independence. In March 1990, Lithuania became the first Soviet republic to declare independence. However, it was not until August 1991 that the USSR recognized Lithuania's independence claim. Lithuania undertook the path of a more western orientation by becoming an associate member of the European Union in 1995.

Lithuania's economic reorientation was initially very turbulent. High-energy costs and price deregulation gave way to sharp inflation, plunging Lithuania into depression during the early 1990s. Lithuania's gross domestic product (GDP) dropped significantly each year until 1994. The privatization of the agricultural sector established many small inefficient farms throughout the country. The introduction of a new currency, the *Lita*, in 1993, helped establish a more stable economy. The *Lita*, initially tied to the US dollar in 1994, however, was pegged to the Euro in 2002, reflecting Lithuania's ambition to join the European Union. Lithuanian goals for European Union (EU) accession were secured by becoming an associate member in 1995. Lithuania was rocked by a banking crisis in 1995. The government due to embezzlement charges closed Lithuania's two largest banks—the Innovation Bank and the Litimpeks Bank. The 1998 Russian economic crisis caused a recession in Lithuania in 1999. Despite this tumultuous period, Lithuania's economy emerged as one of the strongest of former Soviet republics.

The 2004 estimated GDP was \$40.8 billion. The service sector contributes 63% of the GDP, whereas industry consisted of 31% and agricultural production 6%. Lithuania's major imports and exports include mineral products, textiles, machinery, transportation equipment, mineral fuels, metals, and consumer goods. Other important trade partners include Germany, Poland, Latvia, the United Kingdom, France, Denmark, Sweden, Estonia, and Switzerland. Lithuania is a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the World Trade Organization, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Public discontent due to Lithuania's rapid economic transformation and corruption plagued Lithuanian politics in the 1990s. Lithuania's first post-Soviet government collapsed under pressure from a population suffering from a decline in living standards and growing unemployment. Since the mid-1990s, living standards have improved, but Lithuanian politics faced mounting pressure due to corruption in the public

sector. Lithuania's first president, Algirdas Brazauskas, demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius in February 1996 after allegations that Slezevicius withdrew his personal savings from Innovation Bank two days prior to the bank's collapse. Brazauskas decided not to run for reelection in January 1998, paving the way for Lithuanian-American ecologist Valdas Adamkus's presidential election. Adamkus is widely credited for attempting to eradicate corruption in Lithuanian politics and leading Lithuania towards full EU and NATO membership. Lithuania became a full member of the EU and NATO in May 2004. Despite widespread popularity, Adamkus was defeated in the January 2003 runoff election to former Prime Minister Rolandas Paksas. Paksas, however, was impeached and removed from office in April 2004 due to implications of personal contacts with Russian organized crime and threats to national security. Adamkus was reelected president in July 2004.

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See also Landsbergis, Vytautas

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### LOMÉ CONVENTION

The Lomé Regime, a political framework within which economic processes are carried out, comprises four conventions entered into between the European Union (EU) and a group of African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries (ACP) from 1975 to 1999. Each convention lasted for five years. Against the backdrop of the failed attempt by the developing countries at the United Nations (UN) to usher in a New International Economic Order (NIEO), Lomé I (1975) was touted as an example of an equitable world order. An increase in the number of ACP states adhering to this regime from forty-six in Lomé I, to fifty-eight in Lomé II, sixty-six in Lomé III, and to seventy-one in Lomé IV (bis) in 1999 begins to validate this contention. Seemingly, the regime's signature products—trade and aid and provisions and

Europe's commitment to promoting industrialization in the ACP states—were its principal baits. The preferential treatment granted ACP products under Lomé was more attractive than the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), privileges granted by most developed countries to imports from developing countries. However, a critical examination, shows that the regime's impact on the development of its ACP partners has been minimal. Changes in the international environment such as the end of the Cold War and the growth of neoliberalism as promoted by the Washington consensus, the advent of the World Trade Organization (WTO) rules as well as the increase in EU membership and the signing to the Maastricht Treaty have led to a change in the Lomé "spirit" which privileged partnership.

Under Lomé, about 97% of ACP products were allowed free entry into the EU market. Instability in earnings from primary commodity exports (groundnuts, cotton, and hides) were compensated, to a large extent, by the Stabilization of Export Earnings (STABEX) facility as well as SYSMIN which aids mineral producing countries (copper, cobalt, manganese, and phosphates) if their production is affected by circumstances such as a fall in world prices or a political crisis. Despite these, the ACP share of EU's overall imports continued to decline, from 20.5% in 1975 to 16.6% in 1985. Seen through another prism, imports from the ACP between 1975 and 1992 grew by 2.28% as compared to those from Latin America, the Mediterranean, and Asia which increased by 5.97%, 5.87%, and 11.7% respectively. Rules of origin stipulations and the imposition of non-tariff barriers (NTBs), to a large extent, helped to stymie its growth. Under the rules of origins provision, no less than 50% of the value added in ACP goods must originate from the ACP states and/or the EU. Studies have shown that Commonwealth Africa cannot benefit from this provision "because they have only between 20% and 48% of value added as a proportion of their gross value" (Cosgrove Twitchett 1978). Also contributing to trade distortion was the threat of the imposition of non tariff barriers, though outlawed by the Treaty. A threat by the United Kingdom, for example, to invoke the Safeguard Clause in the Treaty forced Mauritius to conclude a voluntary export restraint restricting its textile exports to the EU (Parfitt 1981). Other impediments include supply side factors such as the effects of natural disasters, drought desertification and the lack of capacity. The composition of ACP exports, however, changed as twenty-eight states developed a capacity to export some seventy new commodities to the EU.

The aid package increased from European Currency Unit (ECU) 4,362 million in Lomé I to 5,409 million, 8,500

million, and 12,000 million for Lomé II, III, and IV respectively. Consisting of mostly grants and soft loans, they were administered by the European Development Fund (EDF). Under the first three conventions, about 70% of the funds were set aside for the projects under the National Indicative Programs (NIPs). Decisions over funding amounts were, however, the prerogative of the EU. The remainder of the non-programmed EDF aid was allocated to other mechanisms, notably STABEX and SYSMIN. Until 1990, STABEX funds had to be repaid. That these funds were inadequate is demonstrated by their failure to completely compensate for shortfalls. Payments were more than halved in 1980 and 1981 and in 1987 claims amounted to over ECU 803 million while the fund had only ECU 375 million. Financing for the fast disbursing Sectoral Import Programs (SIPs) for the import of necessary inputs in sectors such as agriculture and industry was introduced under Lomé III. Despite the increase in absolute terms of the aid package, it decreased considerably over time from the vantage point of its per capita value. It dropped by 30.9% between Lomé I and II and 12.5% between Lomé II and III (European Report, 1988).

Lomé was also committed to promoting industrialization among the ACP states. The Industrial Development (CID) was to serve as the lead structure in this process. But it was hobbled by several factors. Funding for the transformation of the ACP economies, despite the guarantees, were never put in place. Even when this finally occurred, the funding was grossly inadequate. The CIDs budget, for example, was increased from ECU 40 million in Lomé III to 60 million in Lomé IV. This paled in the face of demands which increased dramatically, jumping from 575 projects in 1994 to 1,248 in 1995. Of those approved in 1995, only 400 could be funded. Even the European Investment Bank could not fill this lacuna. For a five-year period in the 1980s, Edwin Carrington, the Secretary General of the ACP notes, it could only disburse one third of the ECU 600 million over a five-year period. Over this period, the African Development Bank had invested over 1 billion US dollars (Parfitt and Bullock 1990).

Lomé IV bis, concluded for a twenty-year period after a fifteen-month debate of the European Commission's Green Book focuses on the fight against poverty. ACP attempts to protect their *acquis* were to no avail. Given the tendency in the EU to align its policies with those of the WTO and the Washington consensus, STABEX, SYSMIN, non-reciprocity and trading preferences have disappeared. But to cushion the shock, the European Union conceded that the present trading regime be maintained during a

preparatory period (2000–2008). The parties shall also use this period to negotiate a new trading accord that would be put in place between 2008 and 2020 (Crozet and Lopez-Caniego 2000). Aid has been streamlined as it now consists of three instruments only: long-term, regional, and investment assistance. Conditionalities similar to those in the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programs have been introduced. An early sign of the rapprochement was the insistence of the EU that Malawi accept conditionalities, prior to their definition by the Bank, as a basis for financing its SIP.

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### LUMUMBA, PATRICE

When Belgium rushed to grant independence to the Congo on June 30, 1960, Patrice Lumumba rapidly emerged as a key political contender for national leadership of this enormous country.

In the colonial division of Africa at the 1885–1886 Berlin Conference, King Leopold of Belgium became the only head of state to acquire his personal colony, the Congo Free State. Intense international pressure brought to bear on the abusive imperial rule of the country resulted in the takeover of the colony by the Belgian Parliament in 1908. Between then and 1960, Belgian governmental paternalism and protected private mining enterprise utterly failed to prepare the colony for independence.

Belgium's grudging reluctance to allow any indigenous political participation in the colony ultimately

led to civil riot in the capital in 1959 and worsening unrest, which brought a complete breakdown of civic order. Hastily granted independence, agreed to only in January 1960, allowed for the first national elections only a month before the end of Belgian rule. No single party showed sufficient strength to form a government. The two leading contenders agreed to share the two main offices. Joseph Kasavubu became president and Patrice Lumumba assumed the prime minister post.

Within days after independence, the army mutinied and two outlying provinces immediately seceded. In the midst of chaos, the mineral-rich state became a pawn in the Cold War, which prompted the dispatch of a large United Nations peacekeeping force, staying in place until June 1964. Among all political rivals, only Lumumba appeared to stand for a unitary, centralized government, in part perhaps because he came from a minor tribal group in the country's distant interior. He served only two months as prime minister before he was incarcerated by rivals and thereafter murdered in January 1961 by opposition elements.

A fiery orator and leader of the only political party to seek national representation, he lacked the skills of coalition building to secure a national government. Viewed as visionary and martyr by his supporters and mercurial and diabolical by his opponents, he collected enemies easily. Intense, high energy, and uncompromising, he became engulfed in internal factionalism, seized upon as a symbol by anti-imperial elements elsewhere on the continent, and supported by Moscow seeking ideological gain in the emergent Third World.

The importance of Patrice Lumumba lay in his brief leading role as an indigenous, Third World, anti-imperial spokesman, and early pursuer of a wider, non-tribal, political posture, which simulated a nationalist impulse. Africa's pre-colonial history, characterized by massive internal people migrations with no common sense of destiny, followed by colonial-drawn artificial borders and imperial rule, left Sub-Saharan Africa without a common legacy of organizing political sentiments on a macro scale. Factionalism, clientelism, and tribalism, as opposed to nationalism, for the most part have governed Africa's political relations. Lumumba tried to change that course for his country.

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## LUTHULI, ALBERT

Albert John Luthuli (1898–1967) (also spelled “Lutuli”), Africa’s first winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace and the president-general of the African National Congress (ANC) from 1952 until his death, is recognized as the father of the non-violent campaign for civil rights in apartheid South Africa.

His exact birthday unknown, Luthuli was born Albert John Mvumbi (Zulu for “continuous rain”) Luthuli around 1898 in Southern Rhodesia where his father served as a Seventh-Day Adventist missionary at the Solusia Mission Station (near Bulawayo) among the Matabele people. After his father passed away around 1906, Luthuli and his mother returned to their native Groutville in the Natal region of South Africa where his grandfather served as chief of a small Zulu community, an elective post that Luthuli, after many years of being a teacher, applied for in 1935 and won. This became the first occasion when Luthuli’s Christian faith (instilled through his family and education) was tested by the everyday realities of the country’s racial politics. In 1946, while chief, Luthuli also briefly served as a member of the Natives Representative Council, a board of black South Africans advising white senators who “represented” the black population at the parliament. The board was abolished after it protested the government’s violent suppression of the black miners’ 1946 strike at the gold mines of Witwatersrand.

Luthuli joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944, and became the president of the party’s Natal province office in 1951. When on June 26, 1952, Luthuli led the party’s non-violent “Defiance Campaign” against the discriminatory laws passed by the Afrikaner National Party, which ruled the country since 1948, the government deposed him from his Chieftainship, an act which only made Luthuli’s political stature more prominent. In response, Luthuli wrote “The Road to Freedom is Via the Cross,”

a speech issued in public barely a month before the ANC elected Luthuli its President-General in December 1952.

Regardless of the repeated bans the government issued against the ANC under the “Suppression of Communism Act,” Luthuli remained politically active and was arrested and brought to court along with 155 others for high treason in December of 1956 (a charge he was acquitted of a year later for lack of evidence). Luthuli continued to organize successful, peaceful strikes throughout the late 1950s, but after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, when state forces crushed a peaceful protest of black Africans protesting the pass-laws, and the government outlawed all African (black) political organizations, Luthuli began to experience his growing irrelevance as a tempered voice within his now banned party. On December 16, 1961, a day after Luthuli returned from Oslo as the first African to receive the Nobel Peace prize for his non-violent struggle against racial discrimination, Unkhonto we Sizwe (“The Spear of the Nation”), ANC’s military wing dramatically announced its emergence by attacking government installations. Luthuli’s non-violent campaign had been abandoned and a new era was dawning for resistance against apartheid.

Luthuli remained as ANC president-general until his death on July 21, 1967, when he was hit by a train while on his regular walk near his small farm where he had been living in government-enforced isolation.

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**See also African National Congress; Apartheid; South Africa**

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## MACAU/MACAO

Macau is located in East Asia approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) southwest of Hong Kong, bordering China. It comprises Macau city and the islands of Taipa and Coloane. The country has a land area of 21 square kilometers (8.3 square miles). Comparatively, the territory of Macau is a quarter of the size of Manhattan. Macau is linked to the Chinese province of Guangdong by a narrow land corridor.

The population of Macau was estimated at 469,903 in July 2003, and it is virtually all urban. In 2003 the birth rate stood at 12.07 per 1,000 and this low level is mainly attributed to the effect of urbanization. The death rate in that year stood at 3.85 per 1,000. The estimated population growth rate is 1.72%, although unofficial estimates show higher figures due to high net migration rate, which, according to the *CIA World Factbook*, stands at the level of 8.93 migrants per 1,000. Macau has one of the highest population densities in the world, at around 22,370 people per square kilometer (or 58,100 per square mile).

Macau was established as a Portuguese colony on the small islands on the Pearl River in 1556. Gradually it became an important international trading port that remained under Portuguese control until the twentieth century. Its significance as a trading center rose over several centuries as the Chinese government maintained a policy of voluntary isolation from the world, allowing international trade only in few assigned ports. Portugal proclaimed Macau a free port in 1849. However, in the nineteenth century the importance of Macau declined with the rise of the British colony

of Hong Kong. In 1951 Portugal officially made Macau an overseas province, and in 1974 the new democratic Portuguese government offered Macau back to China. On December 20, 1999, Macau was officially returned to Chinese jurisdiction. Macau became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC) with a "high degree of autonomy" in domestic affairs and remained so for a period of fifty years, under the principle of "one country, two systems." In 1999 Edmund Ho became the first governor appointed by China's central government. He replaced General de Rocha Vieira, the last Portuguese governor of the territory. According to the Macau's Basic Law, the territory's legal code, the governor has a strong policy-making and executive power, which is limited only by the central government in Beijing and by the Macau legislature.

Traditionally, the Macau economy has relied on manufacturing and services. Macau, like Hong Kong and Singapore, has an export-oriented economy, which benefits from growing trade with Western Europe and the United States. Throughout the twentieth century it specialized in manufacturing various products for export and servicing international merchants and bankers. Throughout the twentieth century the Macau administration has maintained a free-market economy, which, in combination with local entrepreneurship and political stability, contributed to economic growth. Macau's main exports are textiles, clothing, and services, though it stays behind Hong Kong and Singapore in the proportion of value-added production. Tourism also plays a significant



role in the national economy. However, it was the gambling industry that greatly contributed to the image of Macau as a major tourist destination among residents of Southeast Asia and China. Gambling is the main source of revenue in Macau, accounting for 44% of total revenue (1999). The pataca, the Macau currency, is linked to the Hong Kong dollar at the rate of 1.03 patacas per Hong Kong dollar. Unlike South Korea, Thailand, or Indonesia, the pataca has remained remarkably stable. The gambling industry also attracted highly organized criminal syndicates, the so-called “triads,” which are involved in gambling, illegal trafficking of persons, prostitution, and pirated production of various goods, including music and computer CDs. During the 1990s the government made considerable efforts to restrain and eliminate the power of these criminal groups. This campaign contributed to a decrease in violent crime, although experts say that the “triads” still have considerable stakes in the various sectors of the local economy.

### Recent Development

Since handover in 1999 Macau has continued to attract investments and technologies to its manufacturing industry (mainly textiles, clothing, toys, and electronics) due to its low cost and efficient range of production for export to Europe and the United States. However, the manufacturing sector share in the gross domestic product (GDP) has been steadily declining due to the strong competition from China’s Special Economic Zone in Guangdong. The Macau administration has considered liberalizing and promoting further its gambling, tourism, and financial industries in order to attract new investments and obtain additional sources of revenue. Between 1997 and 1999 the Macau economy experienced three consecutive years of recession caused by the Asian financial crisis of 1997. However, the country experienced a remarkable recovery between 2000 and 2004. The travel and gambling industries were also hit by the region-wide fear of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003 and in 2004, although Macau itself managed to escape an outbreak of SARS.

Macroeconomic stability and success in structural changes brought prosperity and better living standards to Macau. The country’s average incomes remain far above that in the neighboring People’s Republic of China, and immigrants continue to travel to Macau searching for jobs and better standards of living.

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**See also East Asia: History and Economic Development**

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## MACEDONIA

### Location

Macedonia, officially referred to as Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), is located in southeastern Europe. Macedonia occupies a strategic and central position in the Balkans as a communication axis between the cities of Belgrade in Serbia-Montenegro and Thessaloniki, Greece. With a land area of 25,713 square kilometers, Macedonia, a landlocked country, is surrounded by Albania to the west, Bulgaria to the east, Greece to the south, and Serbia-Montenegro to the north. The population of 2,046,209 (July 2001) is divided among Slavic-Macedonian (64.2%), Albanian (25.2%), Turks (3.8%), Gypsies (2.7%), and Serbs (1.8%).

### Land and Climate

Macedonia is a mountainous country. The highest peak, Golem Korag, lies along the Albanian border (2,753 meters). The country is bisected by the Vardar River running from northwest to southeast. Three major lakes are divided by at least one frontier: Lake Ohrid, Lake Prespa (west), and Lake Doiran (southeast). The Macedonian climate is continental with warm and dry summers and relatively cold winters. Macedonia is located in an area of seismic risks. In 1963 an earthquake heavily damaged the capital city Skopje (six hundred thousand inhabitants).

## Current Economic Situation

Macedonia is a poor country with limited resources (chromium, lead, zinc, manganese, tungsten, nickel, low-grade iron ore, sulfur, and timber). The industrial sector is dominated by light industry, though overall underdeveloped and outmoded (oil refining, mining, textile production, and manufacturing). Agricultural products include wheat, corn, other vegetables, rice, and tobacco. Tourism is also an important sector around the lakes of Ohrid and Prespa.

Macedonia faced an irregular transition after its independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. The UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, one of Macedonia's major markets, and two Greek embargoes (1992, 1994) damaged economic growth until 1995. Although the economy improved after 1995, these results were undermined with the bombing of Serbia (1999) and the Albanian insurgency (2001). The GDP was negative until 1995. It went from 2% in 1996 to 4% in 1998, 0.3% in 2002 then rose to 2.8% in 2003. Between 1992 and 2001 Macedonia benefited from about 570 million Euros, mostly in grants, from the European Union. Germany, Greece, Italy, and the US are the major trade partners. Like most of the ex-communist states, Macedonia suffers from corruption and a substantial "gray economy," which for 1998 was estimated to account for about 50% of the Republic's GDP. Unemployment is constantly rising: 32% in 2000 and estimated at 44% in 2003.

## History Until 1945

The history of Macedonia is linked to a larger area, an historical region also named Macedonia. It included the northern part of modern Greece and the south-western part of Bulgaria. At the end of the fourteenth century, like most of the Balkan Peninsula, the historic Macedonia was integrated into the Ottoman Empire. From the nineteenth century on, the destiny of Macedonia was marked by turbulence with the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of new states as Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria competed to integrate Macedonian territories within their borders. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, created in 1893, fought to promote Macedonian national identity.

The Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 brought a radical solution: partition. The treaty of Bucharest, signed on August 10, 1913, established the departure of the Turks and the division of the Macedonian territories amongst four states: Greece (Aegean Macedonia,

51.3%), Serbia (Vardar Macedonia, 38.4%), and Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia, 10.1%), while Albania was granted a small territory. Each of these states began to assimilate the population into their respective territories and the name Macedonia disappeared from the European map.

During 1945–1946 the part of Macedonia that had been integrated into Serbia became one of the six republics that constituted Yugoslavia under the name Yugoslav Socialist People's Republic of Macedonia.

## Macedonia's Developments After 1945

After 1945, for the first time, the Yugoslav government provided a national Macedonian frame. National institutions were created, a president and a parliament were elected, a language had been agreed upon in 1947, the Macedonian Orthodox church was reestablished in 1958, and the Macedonian Academy of Sciences created in 1967 promoted Macedonian culture and strengthened national identity. Until Tito's death (1980) Macedonia remained under the control of Belgrade. The creation of Macedonia served the purpose of establishing a difference between the Slavs living in this country and those living in Bulgaria or in Serbia. Under Tito's regime, Macedonia benefited from substantial economical and financial aid that contributed to setting up a modern infrastructure. However, social progress remained slow and limited. Macedonia's people have undergone a major transition from a traditional patriarchal rural society to a mixed urban industrial-agricultural society with 40% still living in the countryside.

Macedonia's departure from Yugoslavia in 1991 is considered as a success story as the country remained at peace during the war of 1991–1995 when Yugoslavia collapsed. On September 8, 1991, following a referendum, independence was proclaimed.

The transition toward democracy was realized with the establishment of a parliamentary system: a new constitution was adopted (1991), a multiple political party society emerged, and elections have been held every four years. The president Kiro Gligorov (1991–1999), a major political figure since the 1960s, was succeeded by Boris Trajkovski, who died in a plane crash in February 2004. The ex-prime minister Branko Crvenkovski was elected president. However, corruption plagues the system as clientelism, as with the rest of the region, is endemic.

The development of Macedonia has been challenged by two major issues: First, the international recognition was delayed by Greece's opposition to the use of the name and flag, considered as Hellenic symbols. In

1993, the UN recognized the state under the temporary name FYROM, a move that was followed by most of the EU states. Greece lifted its embargo only in 1995. Bulgaria was the first Balkan state to recognize the independent Macedonia in 1991, but it denied the existence of the Macedonian nation. Albania established diplomatic relations with Skopje in 1993.

Second, the status of the Albanian minority has led to a continuing major crisis. They are concentrated in the western part of Macedonia around the city of Tetovo. Following independence, Skopje has had an uneasy cooperation with the Albanians: since the elections of 1994 Albanians participate in the political arena and hold legislative, ministerial, and administrative positions. However, Albanians ask to be recognized as “constituent people” and continue to feel treated as “second-class citizens.” In 1999, during the war in Kosovo, around 350,000 Albanian refugees entered FYROM, threatening to disrupt the fragile political balance. Later many returned to Kosovo but tensions grew.

In 2001, the country narrowly escaped civil war when Albanian rebel members of the National Liberation Army took up arms and started major fights around Tetovo. The Albanians were divided between moderate and nationalist elements: some were asking for full equality with the Macedonians while others defended the creation of “greater Albania” or even “greater Kosovo.” In June of that year, EU officials negotiated a cease-fire that was followed by the Ohrid Agreement, signed in August, in which NATO soldiers would disarm the guerrillas. In November, the parliament modified the constitution granting broader rights to the Albanian minority. Albanian became one of the country’s two official languages. However, the situation remains volatile. The country still needs international security assistance. UN and NATO forces have maintained a presence since 1993 and 1997, respectively.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations**

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### MACHEL, SAMORA

Samora Moises Machel, third of five sons in a family that was relatively well-off by local standards, was born on September 29, 1933, at Chilembene, now the Chókwe district, Gaza province, in southern Mozambique. His father, Mandande, retired from the gold mines of South Africa and invested in agriculture and cattle.

Declining an offer to enter a seminary, in 1952 Samora began a nursing course in the Miguel Bombarda Hospital in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) to become a full-time nurse in 1954. When the Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO, was formed in Dar es Salaam in June 1962 under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane, Samora was ready to join it. In 1961–1963 Machel was chased and interrogated by the Portuguese political police PIDE, and he decided to leave the country.

Machel was among the second group of FRELIMO recruits sent to Algeria for military training in 1963. On his return he was put in charge of the Kongwa training camp in Dodoma, and entered the war zones of Mozambique in November 1965. A year later, Machel was appointed military commander of FRELIMO. In April 1969 after Mondlane was killed, Michel was elected to lead the movement, confirmed by the Central Committee in May 1970.

Machel was independent Mozambique’s first president. He initiated a single-party Marxist state, nationalized all industry, and abolished private land ownership. He was a devoted Marxist, who firmly believed that centrally planned collective economy will bring prosperity to his country and all Africa. With Mozambican support, Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, achieved independence in April 1980.

In September 1980 formal ranks were introduced into the armed forces, and Machel himself became

Marshal of the Republic. In 1982, to prevent South African attacks, he requested negotiations, which resulted in the Nkomati Accord on Non-Aggression and Good Neighborliness, signed on March 16, 1984, by Machel and P. W. Botha of South Africa. Samora Machel continued the search for peace in the region, which involved negotiations with Presidents Banda of Malawi, Kaunda of Zambia, and Mugabe of Zimbabwe. In the fall of 1986 Machel threatened to place missiles along the border with Malawi and close it to traffic. On October 19, Samora Machel flew to Zambia for a summit meeting to discuss a solution to destabilization with the presidents of Zambia, Angola, and Zaire. He never returned—the Tupolev 134A in which he flew crashed mysteriously into a hillside at Mbuluzi in South Africa, killing Machel and all thirty-four members of his team.

STEPHAN E. NIKOLOV

See also **FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique); Mozambique**

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## MADAGASCAR

Madagascar is an island country 250 miles off Africa's southeastern coast. At 224,500 square miles it is the world's fourth-largest island. The narrow shape, 995 miles long and 360 miles wide, is significant as it contributes to great climatic differences between regions. Madagascar's total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is \$5.5 billion (2003), making it one of the world's smallest economies. Madagascar has one of the world's lowest levels of development, and 72% of the population lives in abject poverty.

Madagascar has a population of approximately 17.5 million people, growing at 3% per year. While this makes for a relatively low population density, the scant 5% of arable land creates agricultural pressures for a vast portion of the island's inhabitants. A 30% urbanization rate, increasing rapidly, creates a further development challenge.

Madagascar is generally considered to have eighteen ethnic groups. People of the largest ethnic group, the *Merina* of the central highlands, tend to have stronger Indo-Malay features where coastal groups tend to have darker African features. This

ethno-racial divide is also the most important socio-political divide in Madagascar's history.

Europeans first came to Madagascar in 1500. Feudalism began to grow with the fomentation of a caste system and monarchism which, as in Europe, grew out of feudal centralizing tendencies. A *Merina* Monarchy began to take seed in the eighteenth century. Small lordly kingdoms reacted to hostilities by supporting the rise of King Andrianampoinimerina in 1787. When his son Radama took the throne in 1810 he created an alliance with the British. By the time he died, eighteen years later, most of the island was under *Merina* control, and a class system began to rise with coastal peoples at the bottom.

In the 1880s and 1890s Madagascar felt the blows of both British and French expansionism. The French sought to overtake the island while certain *Merina* groups sought, in vain, British support to repel them. On August 6, 1896, France deposed Queen Ranavalona III and made General Joseph Gallieni governor. Madagascar was colonized by the French.

From 1896 to 1946 the French ruled directly but used the *Merina* Monarchy as an organizational mechanism. As a result, *Merina* benefited disproportionately in terms of trade, jobs, education, and quality of life. In 1947 rebels, seeing the relatively small numbers of French soldiers and hearing rumors of American support for their cause, attacked military garrisons and settlers. The response was epic. By the time rebels surrendered in March 1949 an estimated one hundred thousand people were killed by French soldiers, soldiers brought by the French from Senegal, and *Merina*. The *Merina* divide from coastal peoples, especially *Betsimisiraka* of the northeastern coast, was made all the greater.

At independence it was clear that a *Merina* president would lead to conflict. Philibert Tsiranana, an ethnic *Tsimihety*, was an original provincial assembly delegate who became prime minister in 1958. When Madagascar became independent in 1960 the French supported his rise to power. Adamantly pro-French, many accused him of fostering neo-colonialism. By 1969 political patronage, economic favoritism, and poor liberalization left the economy in tatters. Tsiranana was ousted by General Gabriel Ramanantsoa, a *Merina* from a high caste, in 1972 in what many Malagasy consider to be the country's "real" independence. Violence against *Merina* rose as the economy continued to slide. Ramanantsoa's power was gradually being undermined by General Richard Ratsimandrava in 1973. Also *Merina*, Ratsimandrava was more palatable to the population as he came from a slave caste. When Ratsimandrava ousted Ramanantsoa in February 1975, his intended reforms and inclusiveness threatened the bourgeois *Merina* establishment.

He was assassinated six days later. The military directorate appointed the Foreign Minister, Lieutenant-Commander Didier Ratsiraka, to head of state. A *Betsimisiraka* who spoke perfect *Merina* dialect and French, he was seen as someone who could win the hearts of the coast while enriching the *Merina* elite.

While nominally in the Chinese tradition, Ratsiraka's government was more anti-Western than it was pro-ideology. In December 1977 Ratsiraka introduced a new investment plan leading to the massive nationalization of private industry. The result was catastrophic. Within three years inflation was rampant, national debt was mounting, and the currency was kept afloat only by unrealistic political controls over exchange rates. In 1981 Madagascar requested the assistance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The 1980s saw the rise of a small elite class in Madagascar through the opening of doors to the West. However, economic rationalization meant a significant devaluation of the currency and a 25% freefall in gross domestic product. Life for the majority poor became much more difficult. To maintain power, Ratsiraka became politically more autocratic. Elections were merely ratifications of leadership. The only candidates who could run were members of the socialist National Front for the Defense of the Revolution (FNDR). Opposition leaders fled to France where they formed their own alliances. Civil society groups formed, such as the Council of Christian Churches of Madagascar (FFKM). These both became political forces directly challenging the president's authority.

Heading into the 1989 elections, a strong and growing opposition fragmented and President Ratsiraka gained ground in the legislature, winning a sizable victory in the presidential elections. However, his successes were his undoing as it led to a groundswell of support for his ouster. With no Soviet Union to turn to, Ratsiraka had to turn back to France and the West. He instituted more economic reforms, but it was too little too late. On June 10, 1991, Zafy Albert, head of the *Hery Velona* (Living Forces) opposition coalition, led a one hundred thousand-person civil servants strike, bringing the country to a halt. Zafy set up a parallel government and forced Ratsiraka into a transitional government on October 31, 1991. A new constitution was written and adopted and new elections were held in November 1992. After a second round of elections Zafy became the head of Madagascar's first democratic republic.

Madagascar's third republic was a significant break from the past. A referendum in September 1995 changed the character of the Constitution, shifting power from the prime minister to the president. While a successful revolutionary, Zafy proved to be a

less-than-impressive president. His efforts to centralize power brought accusations of political malfeasance. He also suffered from the persistent divide between *Merina* and the coastal population. He was accused of corruption and exceeding his constitutional power and was impeached in July 1996.

In the elections that followed, the only viable choices presented to voters were the former autocrat claiming he was reformed or the recently impeached Zafy. Ratsiraka became president again in 1997 and his AREMA party gained control of the legislature a year later. A 1998 referendum pulled power from the capital to Ratsiraka's base in the provinces. The country saw modest economic gains, but satisfaction with Ratsiraka both at home and abroad was low as he sought to re-establish his personalized network of rule.

Six months before the December 16, 2001, presidential elections it appeared there was none of the growing field of candidates who could challenge Ratsiraka. Then Marc Ravalomanana, the handsome, popular mayor of Antananarivo, declared his desire to run. Ravalomanana is a self-made man—founder of Tiko, the country's largest food products company. He campaigned on a slogan for national unity and change, promising to use his business acumen to move the country forward.

By election day it was clear Ravalomanana was the favored candidate. However, the National Electoral Council (CNE) of the sitting Ratsiraka government shut down the transparency of the vote-counting process. Both Ravalomanana and a committee of independent observers said that Ravalomanana had won better than 50% of the vote. But the CNE said he won only 46.6%, requiring a run-off election. Fearing electoral manipulation, Ravalomanana refused to stand in a run-off. The matter went to the High Constitutional Court (HCC), but Ratsiraka had stacked the court prior to the elections so it let the results stand. Ravalomanana took his cause to the streets. By the end of January 2002 more than half a million people took to the streets of the capital, Antananarivo, and the country was shut down. On February 22 Ravalomanana declared himself president. This set off a maelstrom and the country was Balkanized between Ratsiraka supporters in the provinces and Ravalomanana supporters in the capital. Heated military and diplomatic actions ensued until Ratsiraka was ultimately forced to flee from Madagascar on June 14, 2002.

Ravalomanana's presidency has been characterized by both a political and an economic sea change. Politically, he has worked to grow the business class while strengthening democratic institutions. Economically, he rapidly entered into a liberalization program,

which drew significant support from the World Bank and the IMF. Both of these actions have deepened Madagascar's relationship with liberal democracies around the world, most notably the United States and Germany.

RICHARD R. MARCUS

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## MAGHRIB PEOPLES

The region known as the *Maghrib* (pronounced and sometimes written as Maghreb) corresponds to the modern North African states of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and the disputed region of the Western Sahara (currently under Moroccan sovereignty). Mauritania is often associated with the region in both social and political terms, but due to geography and a more heterogeneous population, it can best be termed an intermediate state between North and sub-Saharan Africa. The term Maghrib is itself an Arabic term meaning “west” and people throughout the Arab world sometimes refer to North Africans (minus Egypt) as *al-Maghribi*, or westerners. The region is dominated by the Sahara desert and Atlas Mountains, while the majority of the population (roughly 90%) lives along the more fertile Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts.

The inhabitants of the region are predominantly Caucasoid “Arab-Berbers,” but this term implies a complete and even fusion of the two groups, which is not the case. Arab (in the Maghrib sense) can best be termed a linguistic classification that covers an expansive area, whereas the Berbers are the region's dominant group in both genetic and historical terms. In fact, most Arabs are believed to be *arabized* (those who adopted the Arabic language, culture, and Muslim faith) Berbers and other peoples as well as some

being of actual partial Arab ancestry. The Berbers (derived from a Greek term meaning *foreigner*) refer to themselves as the *Imazighen* or free men and are the region's earliest known inhabitants. They appear to have expanded from their North African base further south into the Sahara even before the arrival of Islam. Both displaced and mingled with black sub-Saharan peoples in what is today Mauritania (a term that was once used to denote a region overlapping Morocco and Algeria), as is often the case with many of the Tuareg, who are well-known in the west as the Blue Men due to their distinctive blue robes. Interaction with sub-Saharan Africa has had a significant impact throughout the Maghrib for centuries, with some groups showing partial sub-Saharan ancestry, and cultural aspects such as music have definitive black African roots. In contrast, numerous theories abound about the origins of the Berbers, who do not appear to be of sub-Saharan origin, with the latest identifying them with the Capsian culture that inhabited the region between 9000 and 7000 BCE. The Berbers appear to have migrated from their Red Sea homeland as part of a larger Afro-Asiatic group that dispersed many millennia ago and settled in North Africa, with some having reached as far west as the Canary Islands (a people there called the *Guanche* are believed to be of partial Berber descent). Modern self-identifying Berbers appear to be a majority only in Morocco, where estimates place the population at roughly 60%. There is also an active minority in Algeria (up to 33% of population), particularly in the Kabyle region, that is quite prominent and vocal about Berber cultural rights. Small numbers of Berbers are also found in Tunisia and Libya where the arabization process has significantly reduced any overt examples of Berber culture. By contrast, Mauritania has a more stratified society with Arab-Berbers acting as a single unit, but one that is outnumbered by the so-called black Maurs and sub-Saharan peoples. Unlike their Maghribi neighbours, the vast majority of people in both Tunisia and Libya simply identify themselves as Arabs.

The Maghrib peoples are a complex combination of groups who have settled in the region over time. Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines have been prominent invaders and immigrants to the region. Christianity took root in the region a few centuries after the death of Christ and prominent figures such as the half-Berber theologian St. Augustine of Hippo played a pivotal role in the early years of the faith. During the seventh century CE, Muslim Arabs conquered the region and named it the Maghrib, but it was not until the second millennium that the majority of the region's inhabitants became nominal Arabic speakers and Islam fully supplanted

Christianity. Adding to the cultural landscape were Iberian Muslims and Jews who were forced to flee to North Africa following the Spanish *Reconquista*. Ottoman Turks took control of most of the North African coast by the 1600s and during their reign, Barbary pirates and corsairs terrorized European and American vessels. Finally, European expansion resulted in French control of Algeria and Tunisia during the nineteenth century and Morocco by the early twentieth century. Spain also emerged as a dominant power in Morocco and the Western Sahara region, and later Italy would attempt to colonize Libya. During this period large numbers of *colons* (colonists) arrived from southern Europe and France, and they eventually made up 10% of the population in Algeria alone. During this tumultuous period, the colons dominated all aspects of sociopolitical life, and this persisted until their expulsion following the various independence movements that culminated with Algerian independence in 1962. Spain is the exception as they continue to hold two small city-states called Ceuta and Melilla along the Moroccan Mediterranean coast.

The modern states of North Africa reflect these nineteenth- and twentieth-century borders and do not correspond to any specific ethnic or linguistic cleavages. Currently, the countries of the region associate with each other through the Maghrib Union and are prominent in the Arab League as well. Sunni Islam, the Arabic language, and a rise in Berber nationalism as well as the use of French (except in Libya) in aspects of public life are some of the common traits found in various parts of the region. Mauritania has a different situation due to the ethnic and linguistic conflict between its “white” Arab-Berber minority and the largely sub-Saharan majority. In addition, millions of North Africans have moved to Western Europe for various reasons ranging from early movements of Francophiles who fled after various independence movements to those seeking better economic prospects. Their cultural impact has altered the landscape, particularly in France, with some signs of assimilation as well as cultural conflict. Remittances by guest workers have been important for the economies of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

The region remains largely undemocratic by Western European standards. Democracy has had a sporadic history in the region with Algeria having reversed elections when Islamists won preliminary elections in 1991, while Tunisia has moved towards some plurality recently by allowing opposition parties. Morocco has a monarchy that allows multiple political parties to take part in its government, while Libya continues to be dominated by the vague yet totalitarian regime of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi. Mauritania has had

elections since 1991, but accusations of fraud and single-party dominance have marred progress there as well. Islamic jurisprudence and tradition play a substantial role throughout the region, ranging from the more secular societies of Algeria and Tunisia to the so-called Green Law found in Libya. The impact upon women’s rights has been fraught with difficulty, but some limited progress has been made in Algeria and Tunisia where women are increasingly entering the workplace, while Berber women, especially those in villages at the foothills of the Atlas Mountains, often go unveiled and share many responsibilities with men as they have since pre-Islamic times.

Economic development has transformed the region and globalisation has helped to integrate it into the world economy, with the EU emerging as an important trading partner. Oil and natural gas play prominent roles in terms of regional income for Libya and Algeria, while Morocco and Tunisia have more mixed economies. Tunisia is also engaged in significant manufacturing and has become an important tourist attraction due to its appealing Mediterranean climate, inexpensive environment, and stable sociopolitical landscape. Agriculture is quite important in Morocco and Mauritania, but remains limited due to unpredictable rainfall. Capitalism and free enterprise have expanded throughout the region in recent years with mixed results. Urbanization is a continuing trend as more and more people have moved to the cities seeking employment. Literacy and education have made inroads throughout much of the region with some Maghribis studying abroad as well. The Maghrib has emerged as the most economically vibrant region of Africa and is more on a par with the Middle East to which it is culturally, historically, and ethnically very closely linked.

ALI AHMED

**See also** *Algeria; Berbers; Libya; Mauritania; Morocco; North Africa: History and Economic Development; Tunisia*

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## MAGSAYSAY, RAMON

Ramon Magsaysay (1907–1957) was born at Iba, the capital of Zambales Province, Philippines, on August 31, 1907. Son of an artisan, he graduated from Jose Rizal College in 1932. He worked as a mechanic at Try Transportation Bus Company in Manila where he became general manager.

Early in World War II, Magsaysay served with the Philippine 31st Infantry Division. During the Japanese occupation he fought as a guerrilla and became commander of the Zambales Military District composed of some ten thousand fighters located near Mount Pinatubo. The Japanese army put a never-collected reward of fifty thousand pesos on his head.

In February 1945, US General Douglas MacArthur appointed Magsaysay as military governor of Zambales. In 1946 he ran as a Liberal for his nation's House of Representatives and won with the biggest margin in Zambales history. He served as a member of the House Committee on National Defense. Reelected in 1949 he became the committee's chairman.

In April 1950 Ramon Magsaysay journeyed to Washington, DC, seeking grants-in-aid. There he met Colonel Edward Geary Lansdale, who would become his lifelong friend and mentor.

That same year, President Quirino asked him to become Secretary of National Defense and Magsaysay quickly accepted. He instituted many reforms to counter widespread corruption within the armed services: He raised the pay of his soldiers. He made constant and unannounced visits to military units. He ordered military lawyers to represent civilians who could not afford to hire one. His soldiers labored on public works projects. And he harshly punished military crimes.

Magsaysay instituted a system whereby anyone throughout the country who had a problem could send a free telegram to him, and he promised that it would be answered within a few days. The first year he received fifty thousand of them—and answered all of them.

He fought the *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (People's Anti-Japanese Army) commonly known as the Hukbalahaps, or Huks. Having fought as leftist guerrillas during the war, they were infuriated by the central government's treatment of their demands and began an insurrection. Official efforts to destroy them failed.

Sometime earlier Colonel Lansdale had been assigned to the Philippines. His instructions were to support Magsaysay in the struggle against the Huks, to encourage his social engineering, and to groom him for higher office. The two men planned and initiated ways to improve life in the Philippines and sought methods that would be successful in the war against the Huks. Magsaysay began by basing anti-Huk tactics on small—rather than large—unit attacks. Lansdale suggested to him dozens of ideas on conducting psychological warfare against them.

The anvil of peace held out to the Huks was the promise of “land for the landless.” If they surrendered and turned in their weapons, the government would provide for them, on the island of Mindanao, an acreage of fifteen to twenty-five acres, farm tools and animals, seed, initial start-up food, a home with electricity—an unheard-of luxury among Asia's teeming multitudes. This program, known as the Economic Development Corporation (EDCOR), broke the back of the guerrilla movement. As early as 1955 over 1,500 Huks had quit their rebellion.

In 1953 Magsaysay agreed to run for the presidency against Elpidio Quirino. He won handily, his campaign supported by voters wearing pins emblazoned “My Guy, Magsaysay.” His popularity remained immense.

On March 16, 1957, he made a political trip to Cebu along with twenty-five others, including members of his cabinet, aboard his presidential plane, *Mount Pinatubo*. After ten busy hours he and the others filed aboard his plane for the return flight to Manila. The aircraft took off just past 1 AM on March 17. A few minutes later and twelve miles out, the *Mount Pinatubo* crashed against the side of Mount Manunggal. All aboard died.

CECIL B. CURREY

### See also Philippines

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**MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD,  
DATO SERI**

Considered the major architect of the so-called Malaysian economic miracle of the 1980s and 1990s, Dr. Dato Seri Mahathir bin Mohamad (b. 1925) (pronounced Mahat'hir) was the prime minister of Malaysia from 1981 to 2003. Throughout his career as the leader of the Malaysian government he continuously advocated and propagated active intervention of the government and state institutions in economic development and economic restructuring of the country. During his term in office Malaysia experienced one of the fastest rates of economic growth in the region.

Mr. Mahathir was born in Alor Setar, Kedah. He graduated from the University of Malaya in Singapore in 1953 and was working in the government medical services until 1957. He became actively involved in politics from 1945, when he joined the Kedah Malay Union and Kedah Malay Youth Organization. He joined the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the leading political party in Malaysia, and won a parliamentary seat in 1946. Mahathir was highly vocal in his criticism of the UMNO leadership for not addressing the economic and social imbalances and growing disparity among the major ethnic groups in the country, i.e., Malays, Chinese, and Indians. In 1969 he was expelled from the UMNO and lost his parliamentary seat. In 1970 Mahathir published the highly controversial book *The Malay Dilemma*, in which he outlined his views on the problem of Malays and Malaysian development. The book was banned by the government, but it won the author substantial popularity among ordinary members of the UMNO and among the Malay community. With the change of leadership in the UMNO, Mahathir was readmitted to the organization. In 1974 he won a parliamentary seat and was appointed as the minister for education. In 1976 he became the deputy prime minister and in 1978 he acquired the portfolio of the minister for trade and industry. In 1981 Mahathir Mohamad became the president of the UMNO, the prime minister, and the minister for home affairs.

As the prime minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad launched the "Look East Policy," which envisioned rapid economic growth of the country through developing new work ethics, adaptation of new technologies, and developing quality education. He believed that to achieve these goals the Malaysians had to turn to the so-called "Asian values." He also promoted an economic strategy that was based on three pillars: state-led industrialization of the country; measured privatization, and a concept of "Malaysia Incorporated" (the latter meant positive relations

between private and state sectors of the country). Mahathir-led government continued to use five-year indicative plans, which were introduced in the middle of the 1960s, as a basis for the official development strategy "Malaysia 2020." Malaysian five-year indicative plans target certain economic growth and social changes and allocate public resources for priority sectors of the economy and for infrastructure development. Malaysia had never instituted centralized control over the state's economy at the level seen in China or the former USSR. Among the priority projects controlled by the five-year indicative plans were the national car (Proton) scheme, construction of a large steel complex (Perjawa), and several other large industrial enterprises. Some of the projects, especially in heavy industry, proved to be controversial, as the international organizations, such as the IMF and World Bank, were highly critical of the Malaysian government subsidies to the loss-making enterprises and of protectionist tariffs, which Malaysia temporarily established in several sectors of the economy. Yet, the Malaysian government was successful in attracting electronic assembly plants to the country in the 1990s, which made Malaysia the world's third-largest producer of integrated circuits and one of the leading producers of domestic appliances. Some of the world's largest corporations, such as Dell and Microsoft of the USA, NEC and Mitsubishi of Japan, and others, opened their branches in Malaysia. In the mid-1990s Mahathir launched the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) project, aiming to attract leading multinational corporations to move their assembly and Research and Development (R&D) to Malaysia, thus transforming the country into the world's leading player in information technology. As part of the project, the Malaysian government decided to move federal political and administrative institutions into newly built Putrajaya City on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. However, the Asian financial crisis in 1997 and the US's new economy crash in 2000 severely undermined the MSN project and the Malaysian information technology sector.

However, it was the extraordinary reaction of the Mahathir-led government to the Asian financial crisis in 1997 that placed Mahathir and his government in the center of criticism by the international financial institutions. In 1997 Malaysia was heavily affected by the Asian financial crisis that started with the currency collapse in neighboring Thailand. Unlike Indonesia and Thailand, however, Malaysia became the only country in Southeast Asia to reject the IMF's package of conditions and financial assistance. Mahathir, blaming international speculators for creating the crisis, opted for direct state intervention in dealing with it. The government imposed temporary restrictions

on the currency exchange market, instituted tough capital-control measures to contain capital outflow, and introduced some other measures, which were against the recommendations of the IMF. The Malaysian currency, the Ringgit, was pegged to the US dollar at a fixed rate of RM3.8 per US dollar (according to the IMF, out of 16 larger emerging market economies only China and Malaysia have pegged their currencies). As a result, the Malaysian economy experienced a much milder recession than neighboring Indonesia or Thailand, although the economic recovery and new direct foreign investments were slow to occur.

Mahathir also initiated several political and constitutional changes between 1983 and 1992. The power of the Malaysian king (constitutional head of the Malaysian Federation) and sultans (heads of the states) was considerably reduced and the royal immunity from legal prosecutions was removed. In 1997 and 1998 Mahathir was involved in a bitter conflict with Mr. Anwar Ibrahim, his deputy and official successor-to-be. The conflict started as a personal dispute over the economic policy in reaction to the Asian financial crisis, but grew into a battle of political personalities and political factions within the UMNO. Anwar Ibrahim was sacked from the government and unsuccessfully tried to relaunch his political career as a major opposition figure and the leader of the movement for democratic reforms. He was arrested and put on trial over sexual and corruption charges, which he vigorously denied. In 2000 Anwar was sentenced to nine years of imprisonment. This trial and sentencing provoked widespread national and international criticism of Mahathir Mohamad and his government for authoritarianism in dealing with political opposition and independent mass media. The prime minister dismissed the criticism, insisting that it was a purely criminal case.

In the international arena Mahathir regularly voiced his grievances against the western domination over the international economy and “unfair treatment” of the developing countries by western governments, international organizations, and multinational corporations. He played an active role in strengthening regional free trade and cooperation within the ASEAN and APEC, although he resisted opening the Malaysian economy for international or regional trade. In 2003 he voluntarily resigned from all his official positions.

RAFIS ABAZOV AND ALFIA ABAZOVA

**See also** Malaysia

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### MALAN, D. F.

Daniel Francois Malan was an Afrikaner nationalist politician born in Riebeeck West in 1874. He began his career as a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church. His political career was launched when he became the founding editor of *Die Burger* (“The Citizen”) newspaper in 1915.

When J. B. Hertzog formed the National Party (NP) in 1914, Malan became the NP’s Cape provincial leader. *Die Burger* became a leading advocate of Afrikaner nationalism under Malan. The NP (deploying the slogan “South Africa First”) opposed South Africa being a British dependency and opposed English being the sole national language. In 1924 an NP/Labour Party coalition came to power under Prime Minister J. B. Hertzog. Malan became Minister of the Interior in Hertzog’s government (1924–1934). Under this government Afrikaans was made a national language, given equal status to English (1926); South Africa achieved a measure of autonomy from Britain (the Balfour Declaration, 1926); and South Africa got a new flag (1928). In 1934 Hertzog and Jan Smuts formed the United Party (UP). The NP ceased to exist. Malan regarded Smuts as pro-British Empire and pro local (Anglo-run) capitalism. He saw Hertzog as having capitulated to British imperialism. Consequently, Malan refused to join the UP. Instead he founded the “Purified” NP. These “purified” Nationalists were opposed to British colonial domination; wished to create an Afrikaner-controlled republic, independent of Britain; and advocated state interventionism to overcome Afrikaner poverty. Malan’s “Purified” NP advocated Christian Nationalism—an ideology arguing that all groups had a right to their own sovereign states. Malan’s Christian Nationalists saw themselves as engaged in a struggle against three “foreign,” “materialist,” and “Godless” ideologies, namely capitalism, fascism, and communism. Capitalism’s single-minded pursuit of profit was opposed as “Godless materialism”. Fascism was rejected as “unChristian,” and Communism was especially passionately opposed because it advocated materialist atheism. In the 1940s Malan’s NP fought a struggle

against both the local Nazis (*Ossewabrandwag*) and Smuts' capitalist "integrationism," advocating instead for "separation" of South Africa's ethnic groups under the slogan "apartheid" (separate-ness). Smuts' capitalist "integrationism" was seen as "unjust" because it was grounded in a white supremacist segregation logic, while Malan's NP argued their apartheid policy represented a "just" (and Christian) separation based upon "cultural autonomy" and "mutual respect" (for cultural differences). The local Nazis were opposed for their resistance to democratic-constitutional government and their radical, unchristian attitude toward "others."

In 1939 Malan and Hertzog's Nationalists came together to form a "Reunited" NP. This Reunited NP, led by Malan, defeated Smuts' UP in 1948. Malan became Prime Minister. The 1948 elections ended Anglo political domination, initiated the Afrikanerization of South Africa; and launched the era of "separate-ness" (apartheid). Under Malan apartheid's early foundations were laid. Malan appointed both the Sauer and Tomlinson Commissions to examine South Africa's racial problems. The Sauer Report (1948) codified the basic apartheid program, advocating political-partition/"vertical separation," and the halting of black mass migration to the cities. The Tomlinson Report (1955) proposed the partition of South Africa into eight states. Seven of these "homelands" would be built from existing "black reserves" to which new land would be added. From the Sauer and Tomlinson Commissions grew the apartheid model. Following the Sauer report Malan advocated black tribes "develop along their own lines in their own fatherlands"; separate "black homelands" be created; and African detribalisation (and migration to the cities) be stopped. Racially mixed marriages were prohibited (1949) and racial segregation enforced by the Group Areas Act (1950); Communism was banned (1950); and "internal passports" were created for black people (1952). Malan tried to take coloureds off the voters roll (1951), but this legislation was overturned by the High Court. Malan retired as Prime Minister in 1954. Under Malan, ANC support dramatically increased due to the Defiance Campaign (1952). Malan's vision of development can be summed up in the term "*volkskapitalism*" (people's capitalism). This involved encouraging Afrikaner businesses to deliberately challenge Anglo capital and an "affirmative action" project to upgrade Afrikaners impoverished by capitalism following the Boer War (1899–1902). Malan's NP captured the state and used it to create opportunities for Afrikaner advancement. This generated an ethnic-patronage system (e.g., public service jobs). A separate Afrikaner education system (schools, colleges, and universities) was built to upgrade the NP's

constituency during the 1950s–1960s. Separate Afrikaner socioeconomic structures were created alongside and parallel to Anglo structures. The parallel infrastructure was paid for by taxing businesses (generally Anglo-owned). The trade-off was that the state facilitated the exploitation of black workers by the business sector. Under Malan, a racial-capitalist framework was consolidated, which meant businesses could—even after paying tax—generate substantive profits from exploiting black workers. This laid the foundations for significant capital accumulation and industrialization in the 1960s. Malan died in 1959.

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### See also Apartheid; South Africa

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## MALAWI

Malaŵi, formerly the British colony of Nyasaland, is an elongated, landlocked country in Southern Africa (land area: 94,080 square kilometers). Surrounded by Mozambique to the east, south, and southwest; Zambia to the west; and Tanzania to the north, Malaŵi is dominated by the southern end of the East African Rift Valley. Lake Malaŵi (area: 29,600 square kilometers) fills 580 kilometers of the rift valley along the eastern border. The lake is drained by Malaŵi's only large river, the Shire, which flows through much smaller Lake Malombe, and the low-lying Shire valley to its confluence with the Zambezi. The central plateau of Malaŵi is hilly with elevations between 750 and 1,250 meters. In the north, the rolling grasslands of the Nyika and Viphya plateaus rise to over 2,500 meters. The isolated massifs of the Mulanje and Zomba Mountains dominate the south of the country. Altitude varies from thirty-seven meters above sea level (Shire Valley) to the summit of Mount Mulanje (3,050 meters above sea level).

The climate is tropical and monsoonal with a wet season (November–May) and a dry season (May–November). The dry season is mostly cool but hot and humid prior to the first rain. Maritime influences ameliorate the dry season in the Shire Highlands with periods of light, misty drizzle, locally known as

*chiperoni*. Mean temperatures in October range from 21°C in the highlands to 29°C at low altitudes. Corresponding figures for July are 15°C and 22°C, respectively. Areas above one thousand meters are cool with annual temperatures ranging from 14°C to 18°C. Temperatures in the lower Shire Valley may reach 37°C. Frosts occur at altitudes above 1,800 meters. Rainfall varies between six hundred and three thousand millimeters depending on altitude, but most of the country receives sufficient rain for at least seasonal, dry-land farming.

The predominant vegetation is savanna woodland (*miombo*), adapted to the monsoonal climate. Evergreen forests grow where soil water remains plentiful. Grasslands are found on high plateaus. Wildlife in Malaŵi is largely restricted to national parks and game reserves and includes elephants, giraffes, lions, leopards, zebras, monkeys, and several antelope species. Hippopotamuses and crocodiles inhabit large rivers and lakes. Fish diversity in Lake Malaŵi is very high with over four hundred species, most in the family Cichlidae.

Bantu speakers colonized Malaŵi between the first and third century AD. At the time of early European (mainly Portuguese) contact, Malaŵi was peopled by small, localized tribes each owing allegiance to a chief. Colonization by Yao and Swahili speakers from the coast saw the establishment of trade in ivory, skins, copper, and slaves with the Arabic commercial center in Zanzibar. The Yao established political control in southern Malaŵi and the slave trade peaked in the nineteenth century, controlled by Swahili speakers and Yao.

The arrival of missionaries, notably David Livingstone, inspired further exploration and strong anti-slavery sentiments in Europe. The Church of Scotland established a station in 1876 that developed into the present-day commercial capital, Blantyre. A British Consul was appointed in 1883 and the country became a British Protectorate in 1891. The slave trade ended, and the colonial period resulted in construction of railways and roads and the occupation of much land by foreign settlers who developed coffee, cotton, tea, and tobacco estates, particularly on the rich soils of the Shire Highlands. African smallholder farming initially focused on food crops but expansion into the cash crops of cotton and tobacco was promoted in the 1960s and now constitutes a significant component of the economy.

In 1944, the Nyasaland African Congress was formed as the first indigenous political party. A federation of the colonial entities of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland was formed in 1953. The Federation was disliked by much of the African population in Nyasaland, and poor social

conditions and land alienation fostered political dissent. The return of Dr. Hastings Banda after 40 years in exile provided leadership and united anti-colonial political factions into the Malaŵi Congress Party (MCP). The independence struggle culminated in the dissolution of the Federation in 1963 and independence for Malaŵi in 1964. In 1966 Malaŵi became a Republic, with President Hastings Banda as its first Head of State. Banda concentrated power in his own hands and established a one-party dictatorship. He declared himself life president in 1971. Through Banda's anti-socialist views and recognition of the apartheid regime in South Africa, aid and capital investment from the West and South Africa fostered a strong economy in the 1970s. The capital was moved from Zomba to Lilongwe to consolidate Banda's power in the region where his support was strongest. Those suspected of opposition to his rule were imprisoned, executed, or assassinated and potential rivals went into exile. Proponents of human rights criticized Banda's regime and in 1992 Roman Catholic bishops circulated a pastoral letter decrying the lack of political freedom, economic inequalities, and human rights abuses. This act precipitated civil unrest, reductions in foreign aid, and the development of political parties opposed to the MCP. A referendum held in 1993 indicated support for the creation of a multi-party state. Despite significant civil unrest instigated by the Young Pioneers, the military wing of the MCP, political change occurred with free elections held in 1994. Of the 193 seats in the National Assembly, the United Democratic Front (UDF) won eighty-four, the MCP won fifty-five, and the Alliance for Democracy won thirty-six. In the presidential elections, Bakili Muluzi defeated Banda. The UDF also won the election held in 1999 with ninety-four seats. Under President Muluzi, Malaŵi has regained some investor confidence but corruption scandals have plagued his two administrations. Economist Bingu wa Mutharika was elected president in May 2004. Muluzi and the United Democratic Front supported his candidacy.

The population of 11,651,000 (2003 estimate) is growing at 2.21% with 47% of the population in the zero to fourteen years age group. With a population density of 98 persons per square kilometer, Malaŵi is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa. Life expectancy at birth is 37.9 years (2003). Only 14% of the population lives in urban areas; the balance lives on smallholdings growing maize, cassava, millet, sorghum, groundnuts, rice, and fruit and vegetables to feed themselves, selling any surplus in local markets. Malaŵi's population is dominated by Chewa and Nyanja. Other ethnic groups include Tumbuka, Yao, Lomwe, Sena, Tonga, Asian (mainly Indian), and European. Religions include traditional animist,

Christianity, and Islam, the latter two of which spread into Malawi with the slave trade.

Malawi is one of the least developed countries in the world. Poor infrastructure, limited access to seaports, and few mineral resources have hindered economic development. The economy is largely agricultural and major exports are tobacco, tea, sugar, cotton, coffee, peanuts, and wood products. In 2001, agriculture provided 40% of GDP, 90% of export revenues, and 85% of the country's employment. Malawi's principal trading partners are South Africa, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Mozambique. Mineral resources include limestone and coal and unexploited deposits of uranium and bauxite. Industrial development is limited to food processing, tobacco products, soap, furniture, footwear, and textiles. Artisanal fisheries operate on Lakes Malawi, Malombe, and Chilwa. Labor was a major export in the 1970s, with some 250,000 Malawians employed outside the country, most in South Africa. Migrant labor is much reduced now. The government has recently introduced market-based interest rates, removed direct control on credit, and improved access to finance for both local and foreign investors.

The government faces major challenges in meeting the demands of the growing population for education and improved access to health services. In 1998, 59% of the population had attended primary school. A further 8% had attended secondary school and only 0.3% had a post-secondary school education. HIV/AIDS infection rates are rising and this disease is putting additional stress on health resources already stretched through the prevalence of endemic diseases such as malaria, schistosomiasis, leprosy, and tuberculosis. Recent surveys suggest that 20% of the sexually active population in urban areas is HIV positive. Health problems also include high levels of under-five mortality, high rates of maternal mortality, malnutrition, and contaminated drinking water. Malawi has traditionally been self-sufficient in food, but malnutrition among children became more common in the 1990s. In 2002, the World Bank approved a \$50 million drought recovery package to provide famine relief. Pressure to increase agricultural production has led to increasing deforestation and soil erosion.

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### MALAYSIA

Malaysia is a federation of thirteen states that incorporates the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, excluding the island/state of Singapore, and two territories in North Borneo, Sabah and Sarawak (but not the enclave of Brunei). Its capital is Kuala Lumpur, and its population is approximately 25 million, divided among three principal ethnic groups: Malays or *bumiputera* ("sons of the soil") are the majority, with approximately 52%; ethnic Chinese make up approximately 35% and Indians make up approximately 10%. There are other minorities as well, including hill tribes generically referred to as *orang asli* (literally, "original people"). Islam is practiced by approximately 55% of the population, Christianity is practiced by approximately 35%, and Hinduism and Buddhism account for approximately 7% each (religion loosely follows ethnic lines). The climate is tropical, with rainy and dry seasons dictated by monsoons (seasons differ depending on location).

Malaysia was a British colony, and the British ruled through local sultans. The regions in Borneo were run privately by the North Borneo Trading Company (this region became Sabah) and by the descendants of James Brooke, a British adventurer who became known as the "White Raja" (this region became Sarawak). The British consolidated the territory following World War II, and began moving toward decolonization. Because the ethnic Chinese controlled a disproportionate amount of wealth, the majority Malays were concerned with the first system that the British proposed, the Malayan Union Plan. In response, the British created the Federation of Malaya Plan, which favored Malays in terms of representation, but in turn angered ethnic Chinese, triggering the Malayan Emergency and a Chinese-led communist scare. The conflict eventually lessened in intensity, and Malaya became independent in 1957, led by Tunku Abdul Rahman and his United Malays National Organization in alliance with the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Malaysian Indian Congress. In 1963, Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak were incorporated into the Federation of Malaysia. Just two years later, Singapore peacefully left the Federation over ethnic and political differences (Singapore is predominantly ethnic Chinese). The alliance formed by Tunku became the *Barisan Nasional* (National Front) in 1973, and remains the predominant force in Malaysian politics. Malaysia's long-serving prime

minister, Mahathir Mohamad, stepped down in 2003 after twenty-two years in that post, and was replaced by Abdullah Ahmad Badawi.

The British introduced extractive industries and widespread cash cropping during their reign. Tin mines in the interior employed mostly imported Chinese labor, and rubber and palm oil plantations employed Chinese and Indian migrants. The colonial legacy of producing cash crops for export to provide raw materials for the British (and others) continued after independence until the early 1970s, when the Malaysian economy began to expand into other sectors including manufacture, and most recently, information technology. Malaysia's economy grew rapidly, with a significant drop in poverty and a rise in wages. Foreign investment poured in, spurred by Malaysia's stability, openness, and lower degree of corruption than some of its neighbors. Malaysia's stability during the Mahathir years was enforced through severe restrictions on the press and political opposition, backed by willing courts, and supported by Mahathir's insistence on the existence of a set of "Asian Values" that were appropriate to the region but distinct from Western ideals of human rights and democracy—an argument shared by the leaders of neighboring states, especially those of authoritarian regimes (although the "Asian Values" claim is debated among civil society in the region, and is seen as a way for leaders to consolidate their power without opposition).

In 1990, Mahathir instituted "Vision 2020," a plan to have Malaysia "fully developed" by the year 2020 through a series of five-year plans (similar to five-year plans that Malaysia had already been implementing). Vision 2020 calls for universal primary education, emphasizing human capital, eradicating poverty, increasing the role of *bumiputera* in the economy, increasing private sector investment, and other ideals (one physical manifestation of Vision 2020 is the Petronas Towers, currently the world's largest building). The plan was temporarily sidetracked during the 1997–1998 economic crisis, but Malaysia has emerged much better off than some of its neighbors. One significant casualty of the economic crisis was Anwar Ibrahim, Mahathir's Deputy Prime Minister. In the early phases of the economic crisis, activists took to the streets in support of *reformasi* (reform), as they did in Indonesia. Anwar became a figure in support of this reform movement, and criticized publicly Mahathir's economic policies, only to be sacked, leading him to turn to more open rivalry for political power. Unlike Indonesia, however, the reform movement did not oust the leadership, but rather lost much of its steam as Anwar was tried and found guilty of sodomy, charges largely perceived to be trumped up. The *reformasi* movement provided somewhat of a

spark for traditionally weak civil society in Malaysia, including the founding of the opposition National Justice Party by Anwar's wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail. Civil society in general, however, remains weak and not deeply rooted. Anwar was released six years to the day after being imprisoned, under Malaysia's new Prime Minister, Badawi.

Racial tension between *bumiputera* and ethnic Chinese remains, although it seldom boils to the surface as in Indonesia. As part of Mahathir's development plan, *bumiputera* are favored through a sort of reverse affirmative action, in which the majority population benefits in order to lessen differences among ethnic groups. Under the plan, new businesses must include *bumiputera* as part owners, *bumiputera* are assigned quotas at universities and access to scholarships, and other incentives are offered as a means to offset the disproportionate wealth of the ethnic Chinese. Short- and long-term problems associated with Malaysian development include urbanization, the equitable distribution of wealth, the fate of *orang asli* (mostly in Sabah and Sarawak) in their attempts to modernize without losing their culture or being taken advantage of, and environmental problems associated with rapid industrialization. Unlike most of its neighbors, Malaysia does not have any serious separatist movement threatening the unity of the state.

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**See also Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## MALDIVES

The Republic of Maldives is a country consisting of a group of atolls in the Indian Ocean, southwest of India. The numerous coral reef islands, 1,190 in total, form an archipelago of twenty-six natural atolls. The climate is tropical and hot all year. The humid and rainy season takes place between June and August and the dry season between November and March. The Maldives population is estimated at 298,000, with a

growth rate of about 1.4% annually. The capital city, Male, unlike any other island in the country, is a city of high-rise buildings and paved roads. It houses about one-third of the country's population with seventy-five thousand inhabitants.

In olden times, the islands provided the main source of cowrie shells, then used as currency throughout Asia and parts of the East African coast. Historically, Maldives has had a strategic importance because of its location on the major marine routes of the Indian Ocean. Therefore, already in the year 1558 the Portuguese established themselves in the country. Later they were expelled by Maldivian rebels and the country came under the influence of the Dutch, and from 1887 on, of the British as a protectorate, but Maldives has always had a significant level of self-government and freedom. Maldives remained a British crown protectorate until 1953 when the sultanate was suspended and the First Republic was declared under the short-lived presidency of Muhammad Amin Didi. However, a year later the sultanate was restored. As in many other states, finally, on July 26, 1965, Maldives gained independence under an agreement signed with Britain. In a national referendum in March 1968, Maldivians abolished the sultanate and established a republic on November 11. The British continued to maintain an air base on the island of Gan in the southernmost atoll until 1976. The Second Republic was proclaimed in November 1968 under the presidency of Ibrahim Nasir who ruled until 1978. That year Maumoon Abdul Gayoom was elected president, a position that he acquired by winning all the intervening elections by a large amount of the votes.

The Maldivian's religion is Islam, which was introduced early, in 1153 CE, as the cornerstone of their history. From then on, the King adopted the Muslim title and name of Sultan Muhammad al Adil, initiating a series of six dynasties consisting of eighty-four sultans and sultanas that lasted until 1932 when the sultanate became elective.

Maldives' estimated gross domestic product (GDP) for 2002 was \$1.25 billion, with a per capita income of about \$3,900. The economy is based on tourism, its largest industry, and also on fishing, its second largest. Since the first establishment of a resort in 1972, the number of tourists has gradually increased. In the year 2000, tourist arrivals exceeded 466,000. This industry accounts for approximately 20% of the GDP and more than 60% of Maldives' foreign exchange receipts. In second place is the fishing sector, which employs about 20% of the labor force and contributes about 10% of the GDP. Fish is also the major export on the islands, along with cowrie shells, fish meal, and copra, sent to their main export partners: the United States, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. The imports are what

the island can't produce: rice, sugar, wheat flour, petroleum products, and intermediate and capital goods.

Agriculture and manufacturing continue to play a lesser role in the economy, constrained by the limited availability of cultivable land and the shortage of domestic labour. Only subsistence crops such as coconuts, bananas, breadfruit, papayas, mangoes, taro, betel, chilies, sweet potatoes, and onions are grown. Industry consists mainly of garment production, boat building, and handicrafts, and accounts for about 18% of the GDP.

Maldives is situated among the countries with a Medium Human Development level, ranking eighty-four in the general list of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2004). The life expectancy at birth for both males and females is sixty-seven years (2002), much better than it was thirty years ago (fifty-one years in 1975). The adult literacy rate is at about 97%, quite high for the region, due to the good educational system of the islands. The modern schools, run by both the government and private sector, provide primary and secondary education. Primary school enrolment is over 98% and secondary school enrolment over 44%.

The health expenditure in 2002 was 5.6% of the GDP, similar to the Netherlands or other developed countries. Also, almost 100% of the population is immunized against tuberculosis and measles. The infant mortality rate is 58 per 1,000 live births, much better than it was in 1975 (121 per 1,000). Notable achievements have also been made in the control of communicable diseases. There has been no indigenous case of malaria seen for the past ten years. The health services are organised under the Primary Health Care approach. These services are provided through a countrywide referral network of Family Health Workers, at least one in each inhabited island; twenty-seven Atoll Health Centres; four Regional Hospitals; and a central-level hospital in Male. In 2000 there were 226 doctors in the country, with a ratio of 8.4 per 10,000 population. There were also a total of 470 beds in the hospitals, giving a population-to-bed ratio of 577 to one.

So as to solve the scarcity of fresh water and to prevent water-borne diseases, through the help of Danish aid, desalination plants have been installed. Also, sewage systems have been installed to prevent the country from pollution- and water-borne epidemics, among other diseases.

More recently, the tsunami (a giant tidal wave generated by an earthquake in the ocean) generated in December 2004 in the Indian Ocean saw many parts of Maldives sink under sea water and many people end up homeless. This situation created severe social problems for the country's inhabitants.

Another potential problem for the country is the global warming effect as it is said that this could increase the mean sea level and make the atolls disappear under the ocean.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Asia**

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## MALI

The West African landlocked Republic of Mali lies south of Algeria, surrounded east to west by Niger, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Senegal, and Mauritania. The northern half of Mali lies in the Saharan and Sahelian zones, where aridity is exacerbated by the harmattan. The area is home to only about 20% of the population; migration southward or abroad is frequent. The southern region, where rainfall is heavier, is covered by the savanna and thin forests. Population density is high only on the fertile lands around the Senegal and Niger Rivers. The latter crosses the country from west to east, deviating northward in a wide bend forming a large interior delta, which moderates the climate and irrigates the land. Poverty due to climate is exacerbated by high population growth. After 1973, recurrent droughts leaving in their wake famine, dead cattle, dry wells, and villages buried under sand, have made Mali one of the poorest nations on Earth. Since 1992, due to better management and free market trade, the country, while remaining poor, is no longer subject to famine and remains eligible for international aid.

Agriculture employs 82.4% of the population and constitutes 45% of the Gross Domestic Product. The main crops are millet, sorgho, rice, peanuts, and cotton. The cotton crop, grown mainly for export, has become essential to economic development. Next in importance is cattle-raising, which represents 20% of the Gross National Product and is also exported.

Fishing, a traditional activity in interior waters, is an important source of food. Salted, some fish is also exported to neighboring countries. Mali has mineral resources, but exploitation is embryonic. The only mineral presently exported is gold, obtained by panning. The industrial and service sectors provide little employment to date.

Mali's past wealth did not come from the resources of its land, but rather from its location at the crossroads of trans-Saharan trade routes where caravans successively spawned the empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and the Bambara kingdoms, between the eight and the eighteenth centuries. Economic and social conditions gave rise to major cities, which became centers of Islamic learning. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, Malian empires vanished, as European seafaring shifted trade centers to the Atlantic coasts. In the nineteenth century the area saw successive Islamic jihads and the spread of French colonialism.

In control of Mali, the French amalgamated it with their other West African holdings into the Federation of French West Africa (AOF) in 1895. They neglected Mali's development because the country lay far from the coasts. After World War II, Mali, like all AOF members, progressed toward independence. The 1950s saw the emergence of a Malian leader Modibo Keita, co-founder of a new political party, the Sudanese Union. After a brief unsuccessful attempt at federation with Senegal in 1959, Mali became the Republic of Mali in 1960, and Keita its president.

A Marxist, Keita adopted socialist policies and established close ties with communist nations. Eager to erase all traces of colonialism, he Africanized civil service, nationalized key sectors of the economy, instituted agricultural collectivism, and declared currency independence. Results were disastrous; food production plummeted, requiring major purchases abroad. Keita had to reverse course and request French support for the Malian currency.

Notwithstanding his international prestige as one of the major representatives of African nationalism, he was unable to stabilize Mali. He responded to protests and strikes with repression, purges, and a Maoist cultural revolution. In 1968 he ordered the National Assembly dissolved and the party's political bureau closed. He was overthrown in a bloodless coup in November of the same year, led by junior army officers, and spent the rest of his life under house arrest.

Lieutenant Moussa Traoré, who had led the coup, became head of state and promised democracy and economic liberalization, which never occurred. He did not cancel those socialist programs that were popular, but rather sought international aid to implement



them. However, in order to receive the latter he had to restructure the economy and cut governmental spending. The changes caused widespread unemployment and economic hardship, which triggered unrest. To pacify the country, Traoré instituted several reforms. He dismissed some corrupt officials, gave civilians partial access to government, and made minor economic concessions. Foreign donors balked at these and suspended aid. As the government found itself unable to meet payrolls, rebellion spread. Discord even arose within the military junta.

Willing to undertake structural adjustment, Traoré, however, rejected any form of democracy and remained in total command as president and head of the military-sponsored political party, the Mali People's Democratic Union (UDPM). Corruption was rampant. Costly wars caused additional destabilizing expenditures. Rebellions by nomadic Tuareg in northern Mali generated upheavals; only after Traoré's fall from power did negotiations begin to bring fruit.

Traoré did endeavor to improve conditions by increasing the yield of subsistence farming and introducing new agricultural techniques for the cultivation of the main cash crops, peanuts and cotton. However, his attempts were overshadowed by his obsession with absolute power. Opponents took advantage of the small steps towards liberalization, forced upon him by foreign pressure, to organize. Matters came to a head when, in 1991, young people took to the streets and Traoré ordered soldiers to shoot into the crowd. There were close to one thousand victims. Shortly thereafter he was arrested by paratroopers prodded by lieutenant-colonel Amadou Toumany Touré, who took over the reins of government and appointed a provisional government to draft a new democratic constitution and hold free elections. These resulted in Alpha Oumar Konaré of the Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) becoming president in 1992.

Konaré reestablished democracy and tried to mend political enmities by commuting Traoré's death sentence to life imprisonment and sponsoring a national forum charged with revising the constitution and electoral laws to strengthen guarantees against a return of one-party rule.

Changes were numerous and positive and under Konaré's presidency progress was made with regard to resettlement of the Tuareg. However, the regime was burdened by inherited foreign debts, which required unpopular structural adjustments.

Presidential elections in 2002 were won by Amadou Toumany Touré, briefly interim president in 1991–1992. Although there were claims of electoral fraud, Touré's win was ultimately validated by the country's Constitutional Court, but Touré, widely popular prior to his election win, faces significant problems.

Instability within his government and perpetual economic difficulties keep Mali among the world's poorest nations, despite France's 2002 promise to write off 40% of the country's debt.

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**See also West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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### MALVINAS/FALKLANDS

Nearly three hundred miles east of the southern coast of Argentina lie two main islands and about two hundred smaller islands, occupying an area of 4,618 square miles. Under British control since 1833, and claimed by Argentina, these islands are referred to by the British as the Falkland Islands, while the Argentines called them *Islas Malvinas*.

With approximately three thousand English-speaking inhabitants, the islands' economy was largely dependent on wool exports until 1990. Since then, the selling of fishing licenses to foreign fleets to fish within the islands' fisheries accounts for their principal source of revenues. Additionally, there are indications of possible oil deposits on the ocean floor.

Originally settled by the French in 1766, the islands were ceded to Spain in 1769. Argentina, after gaining its independence from Spain, claimed the islands and settled them in 1823. In 1833, Great Britain invaded the islands and expelled the Argentines.

In the 1900s, Argentina undertook diplomatic efforts to recover the islands. Great Britain responded by extending its sovereignty over the South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, also claimed by Argentina. After World War II, the slogan of “Malvinas Argentinas” became an important component of General Juan Domingo Perón’s nationalistic rhetoric, but there were no attempts to recover the islands either by diplomacy or by force.

Argentina’s quest to recover the islands was strengthened in 1960 when the United Nations General Assembly approved Resolution 1514 calling for self-determination for colonial possessions. In 1965, the General Assembly passed Resolution 2065, urging Argentina and Great Britain to proceed with negotiations concerning the islands’ sovereignty and taking into consideration the interests of its inhabitants.

For seventeen years, both countries engaged in negotiations. Argentina’s position was clear: it wanted sovereignty over the islands. Great Britain, on the other hand, interpreted the interests of the inhabitants as their wishes to remain British.

Frustrated by British delaying tactics, the military junta led by General Leopoldo Galtieri decided to put into effect a plan to recover the islands by force. Judging a British military response to be minimal and believing that Argentina’s covert military aid to the Contras in Nicaragua would convince the United States to press the British into a diplomatic solution favorable to Argentina, the junta continued its recovery preparations. Furthermore, the junta believed that Third World nations would support the takeover as a just war against colonialism.

The recovery attempt was scheduled for July 1982. However, the junta was forced to implement the plan ahead of schedule when a series of protests against its economic policies spread throughout Argentina in March. In an effort to neutralize public discontent, the junta launched “Operation Rosario.” On April 2, 1982, Argentine commandos landed on Port Stanley (Puerto Argentina) and quickly occupied the islands and South Georgia. By late April, twelve thousand Argentine troops were on the islands.

Reaction in Argentina was ecstatic as demonstrations in support for the junta’s action occurred throughout the country. Stunned by “Operation Rosario,” British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who had been experiencing a wave of unpopularity, ordered a twenty-eight thousand-man task force to set sail for the islands on April 6 and declared a two hundred-mile exclusion zone around the islands.

At the United Nations Security Council, Argentina suffered a diplomatic setback when the Council passed Resolution 502, calling for the immediate withdrawal of Argentine forces and urging a diplomatic

solution. On the other hand, member nations of the Organization of American States—with the exception of Chile, Colombia, and the United States, which abstained—sided with Argentina.

United States Secretary of State Alexander Haig shuttled between Buenos Aires and London, offering possible diplomatic solutions, only to be met with intransigence on both sides. By April 25, the British had regained South Georgia and on April 30, the United States joined the European Common Market in imposing economic sanctions against Argentina. Moreover, the United States began giving the British logistic and intelligence support.

On May 1, the British began bombarding Puerto Argentina. The following day, Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry offered a mediation plan calling for an Argentine and British withdrawal, resumption of diplomatic negotiations, recognition of the islanders’ interests, and an interim international administration. Both sides appeared favorably inclined to accept the plan and a jubilant Belaúnde announced that an accord would be signed that evening. However, at 4:00 PM, the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, which was sailing toward the mainland, outside the exclusion zone, was torpedoed by the HMS *Conqueror*, leaving 360 sailors dead. President Belaúnde’s plan dissipated with the *Belgrano*’s sinking and the war intensified as Argentine planes sank the British destroyer *Sheffield* two days later.

On May 27, British forces launched an offensive at Goose Green, which was defended by Argentine conscripts. While the conscripts were no match for the British, the Argentine air force proved to be extremely effective. Although it lost fifty-seven planes during the campaign, the air force sank nine British vessels and damaged thirty-two others. By June 11, however, the British had surrounded Puerto Argentino and on June 14, the Argentines surrendered.

The Argentine defeat not only resulted in the junta’s downfall, but with the exception of the air force, it discredited the military. Ironically, the defeat opened the way for democratic rule, as elections were held in 1983. Although Argentina has remained politically stable, its civilian leaders have been unable to effectively deal with a perennial economic crisis caused by industrial stagnation, hyperinflation, and a gargantuan foreign debt. In Great Britain, the victory resurrected Thatcher’s popularity, but for many years, the government had to devote a large share of its budget to the defense of “Fortress Falklands.”

Diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Argentina have been reestablished. Although Argentina still maintains its sovereignty claims over the islands, it has declared that it will no longer use force. Great Britain, on the other hand, has rejected

proposed Argentine negotiations concerning the islands, and the possibility of a solution for their future appears bleak.

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**See also Argentina; Malvinas/Falklands War, 1982**

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## MALVINAS/FALKLANDS WAR, 1982

The Malvinas/Falklands War in 1982 was a conflict between Great Britain and Argentina for possession of a group of two large (East and West Falkland) and two hundred small islands in the South Atlantic, three hundred miles east of Argentina. The origins of the dispute date to eighteenth-century claims by Spain and Great Britain. Argentina gained independence from Spain in 1822 and claimed the islands as national territory and established settlements. In 1833 Great Britain took the islands and expelled the Argentinean settlers and named the islands the Falklands. The islands proved useful for raising sheep and by the twentieth century were home to some two thousand British subjects. Argentina never relinquished claim and referred to the archipelago as the Malvinas. Argentina renewed interest in the Malvinas during the first presidency of Juan Perón (1946–1955). Perón used the issue to raise nationalistic fervor as part of his vision for a "greater Argentina." The United Nations encouraged the two parties to resolve the issue in a 1965 resolution. While the islands were thought to be of little economic value to Great Britain or Argentina, negotiations were stalled by the islanders who desired to remain under Great Britain. A later complicating factor was the possibility that the waters surrounding the islands had vast deposits of oil.

Juan Perón returned to power via election in 1973 but died on July 1, 1974. His third wife, Isabel, who had served as his vice president, assumed the presidential

sash. Argentina, largely due to Perón's policies during his seventeen-year exile, had suffered political instability. His death and Isabel Perón's ineffectiveness as a leader led to even more chaos. Isabel Perón was overthrown by the Argentine military in 1976, which established a military junta to run the country.

By 1982 the military regime had proved ineffective in dealing with Argentina's economic malaise and was increasingly repressive in dealing with dissidents. In an attempt to regain a measure of popular support, the army commander and head of the junta, General Leopoldo F. Galiteri, ordered preparations for the invasion of the islands. Galiteri surmised that the nearing 150th anniversary of the British takeover of the islands would rally the average Argentine citizen to the cause. In addition, the British had reduced their military forces on the islands and seemed not to be as committed as they once were to retaining possession.

On April 2, 1982, Argentine troops landed on East Falkland near the capital of Stanley. A small contingent of Royal Marines briefly resisted but was soon captured. Argentina proclaimed possession and placed the two thousand islanders under a military governor. Initially, the bold attack had the effect that Galiteri desired and there was an outpouring of patriotic support for his regime. However, the international community was shocked and the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution supporting the British position. The United States attempted to mediate a withdrawal of Argentine forces to be followed by negotiations, but this attempt failed. Great Britain, led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, assembled a naval task force and vowed to retake the islands.

As the British task force steamed the eight thousand miles to the islands, the British nuclear-powered submarine *H.M.S. Conqueror* sunk the Argentine cruiser, *General Belgrano*. On April 18, crack troops of the British Special Air Service began infiltrating the islands to prepare for the main task force. Successful raids were conducted on Pebble Island on May 15, resulting in the destruction of a radar station, eleven aircraft, and supply dumps. These raids were followed by an amphibious assault on Port San Carlos, which provided an adequate harbor and bridgehead for the campaign to take the capital of Port Stanley.

After securing the bridgehead, British forces crossed the island and engaged the Argentine army at Goose Green on May 27. The battle at Goose Green was a significant British victory and opened the way for the siege of Port Stanley beginning on June 11. For three days and nights there was fierce fighting in the hills on the outskirts of the capital. However, Argentine forces had been effectively cut off from supply from the mainland by superior British

air and naval power. On June 14 all Argentine forces on East Falkland surrendered.

On June 20 the British declared an end to the war. Argentine casualties included 746 men killed, 1,336 wounded, and 11,400 soldiers who became temporary prisoners of war. British losses included 256 killed and 777 wounded. Only three civilian residents of the islands lost their lives in the brief conflict.

The outcome of the war boosted the prestige of Margaret Thatcher and her Conservative Party, which soon won reelection. The hard-fought victory also made Britain determined to hold the islands and to commit additional force to deter any future Argentine aggression.

For the Argentine military government, the war was an unmitigated disaster and led to the resignation of General Galiteri and the return to civilian rule in 1983. In addition to losing political power, the Argentine military lost its credibility with the public. Soon there were calls for investigations of human rights abuses. The war was also a setback for Argentina's economic and social development. The war was costly and Argentina entered a period of hyper-inflation. In addition, any immediate prospects of obtaining the Falklands and exploiting petroleum deposits were lost. On the other hand, Argentina needed to focus on its domestic problems and could no longer use the Malvinas issue as a reason not to do so.

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**See also Argentina; Malvinas/Falklands**

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## MANDELA, NELSON

Nelson Mandela was born into the Thembu royal house in the tribal lands of the Xhosa people in Transkei, South Africa. Growing up in the royal residence after the death of his father, Mandela was exposed to the ideals of democracy within the context of the tribal council, parliament, and judiciary.

Enrolled in the University College of Fort Hare, Mandela studied English, anthropology, politics, native administration, and Dutch Roman law. Mandela became active in student government, advocating

change through greater representation for the underclassmen and the residents. At the end of his second year, in 1940, he was expelled for refusing to accept his elected position on the Student Representative Council (SRC). A majority of the students boycotted the elections in an effort to air their grievances. Mandela believed his refusal to accept the election results was morally right and, that the SRC did not have the confidence of the majority of the student body. His decision set the stage for his future activism.

Arriving in Johannesburg in 1941, Mandela found work as an articled clerk (a lawyer's apprentice) in one of the largest firms in town. He began attending meetings of the African National Congress (ANC). As he became increasingly interested in the liberation movement, he enrolled in the law program as the only African student at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits). While at Wits, Mandela became friends and political allies with a variety of people from all racial groups who would later become leaders in the anti-apartheid movement.

As Mandela's political acumen grew, he began to devote his life to the liberation struggle. In 1943, Mandela, along with a number of his contemporaries, approached the president of the ANC with their intention to form a Youth League and initiate a campaign to mobilize mass nationwide support for the liberation movement. The ANC president supported this new commitment and the Youth League was officially formed in 1944 with Mandela serving on the Executive Committee. The ideology animating Mandela was African nationalism—the idea that African liberation would only come at the hands of Africans themselves and not from the blind adoption of foreign ideologies such as communism or Western democracy.

In 1948, the ANC adopted Mandela's Youth League-inspired Programme of Action only after the Afrikaner National Party came to power in an all-white election and the government began to enact increasingly repressive apartheid (racial segregation) laws. The new policies of the Youth League advocated the use of boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience, non-cooperation, and mass demonstrations as a means to fight against the National Party regime. Furthermore, the Programme called for the attainment of full citizenship rights for all races, direct parliamentary representation, and free and compulsory education for all children. This new agenda would set the social, political, and economic course of interactions with the South African government for the next forty years. The development of South Africa was intricately entwined with the anti-apartheid liberation struggle; the government's effort to maintain its power; and the political, economic, and cultural status

of its white population. The liberation movement would ultimately set up a power dynamic between white and black, rich and poor, developed and undeveloped that would adversely effect and destabilize not only South Africa but also the entire region.

A number of Mandela-led ANC initiatives during the 1950s brought the wrath of the apartheid state. The 1952 Campaign of Defiance was a nationwide civil disobedience campaign designed to resist the burgeoning apartheid system. The 1955 Congress of the People's adoption of the Freedom Charter called for the end of racial discrimination, equal rights for all, and a participatory democracy. The Charter was a rallying cry for the liberation struggle and a blueprint for the future South Africa. Shortly after, Mandela and others were arrested on charges of high treason and conspiracy to overthrow the state. The Treason Trial lasted more than four years, at the end of which Mandela and his co-defendants were found not guilty.

With all channels of peaceful protest exhausted, in 1961 the ANC made the decision to put aside their nonviolent principles in order to combat the growing repression and violence of the state. With Mandela as the commander-in-chief, the ANC formed *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) as its military wing. Mandela left the country in 1962 to gain international support for the anti-apartheid liberation struggle. Upon his return he was again arrested and charged with illegal exit from the country and incitement to strike. He was convicted and sentenced to a five-year prison term. While serving this sentence he, along with a number of his colleagues, were charged with sabotage. The subsequent trial, known as the Rivonia Trial, drew the attention of the world to South Africa's liberation struggle and condemned Mandela to a life sentence.

During the 1980s South Africa came under increasing international pressure to end apartheid. Finally, the National Party government was forced to capitulate and begin negotiations with the liberation movement. After refusing on a number of occasions to be conditionally released, Mandela began meeting with government officials in 1988 to discuss the future of South Africa. In mid 1989, he met with state president P. W. Botha shortly before Botha's resignation due to health problems. Late in 1989 many of Mandela's political prison-mates were released. In December 1989, Mandela then met for the first time with Botha's successor, F. W. de Klerk. In February 1990 the ban on the ANC and other political organizations was lifted after thirty years. On February 11, 1990, Nelson Mandela was unconditionally released from prison.

The difficult work of forming a government of national unity, which included the dismantling of the apartheid system, was to begin. Mandela became

president of the ANC in 1991, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize along with F. W. de Klerk in 1993, and was inaugurated the first democratically elected president of South Africa on May 10, 1994. During his five-year term as president, the ANC government enacted the Reconstruction and Development Programme, which was a socioeconomic program to reconstruct South Africa and reconcile it with its past. Furthermore, the government, led by Mandela, enacted the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a means to shine the light on the hidden truths of the apartheid era and heal the wounds it had caused.

Mandela retired to private life in 1999, near the village of his birth in the Transkei. He continues to be a prominent statesman and advocate for social justice and travels the world as the struggle of his life continues.

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**See also Apartheid; De Klerk, Frederik W.; South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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### MAO ZEDONG

Mao Zedong (1893–1976), elected leader of the Communist Party of China from 1945 to 1976, is said to have developed Marxism-Leninism by adapting it to the special situation in China and merging it with elements of traditional Chinese thought. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) adopted Mao Zedong Thought as its leading ideology and still clings to it, although after Mao's death most of his theoretical contributions made after the CCP's rise to power were criticized as being left deviationism.

Mao was born December 23, 1893, in Shaoshan, Hunan, China, to a peasant family. He was educated in China and became a librarian at Beijing University, where he encountered Marxist debates and became a Marxist under the influence of the Russian Revolution of 1917. He was one of the founders of the CCP in 1921, but not acknowledged as one of its leaders until the Long March (1934–1935).

He was elected leader of the CCP in 1945 at the Seventh Congress of the CCP, and Mao Zedong Thought was declared the guiding principle of the Party. He proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949.

Mao Zedong's thinking on questions of development was mainly aimed at formulating a strategy of the Chinese revolution in which China's peasantry was mobilized to fight with military means for political aims. With the end of internal and external wars, Mao had to shift focus from military concerns to political and economic strategies in overcoming poverty in China. Instead he led the country into the Korean War and mobilized the population against class enemies both outside and inside the party. Mass mobilization was for him the main tool to avoid the kind of fossilization and degeneration he observed in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

Mao started developing his ideas on a post-colonial future in China in the early 1940s. He blamed imperialism for having hindered the evolution of capitalism in China and therefore asked for a transitional period of "new democracy" to be inserted between the semi-colonial and semi-feudal present and the socialist future. During the "new democratic" period, the Communist Party was supposed to take over a leading role in society, guaranteeing that China could make up for its underdevelopment without having social inequality arise. Different forms of property rights would coexist, and different parties were allowed to articulate the political interests of their respective memberships. This kind of rationally planned and restricted capitalism was supposed to give enough room to accelerated economic growth while at the same time paving the way for a socialist future under proletarian dictatorship.

After the Communist takeover in 1949, however, Mao grew suspicious about his own theories and stressed that class struggle would have to go on even after the rise to power of the Communist Party. Much in contrast to the mainstream in the then-international Communist movement and to most leading members of the CCP, he did not believe that the main contradiction in socialist societies was the contradiction between underdeveloped means of production and the highly developed organization of production. For him

the contradiction between bourgeoisie and the working classes was still of major importance, which is why he heralded the continuation of class struggle as the top priority for guaranteeing development in the political, social, and economic sense of the term. Whoever propagated to shift the focus of the Party from political revolution to economic development would meet with Mao's suspicion if not be criticized for right opportunism and empiricism.

According to this theory, the problem of the shortage of capital was to be solved by making use of the enormous manpower China was endowed with; the low productivity of China's industry was to be overcome by the growing motivation and consciousness of the workers. That is why these workers were to be trained politically and not technically, and their motivation was not to be fostered by economic incentives but rather by convincing them politically of the bright future of socialism in China.

As this strategy of overcoming underdevelopment by mass mobilization met with criticism inside and outside the Party, Mao Zedong saw his suspicion proven and replied to his critics by using his position as the charismatic leader of the Party to directly mobilize the masses against them and accelerate the speed of reform. That is how he changed his ideas of slowly expropriating the so-called "national bourgeoisie," depriving her of the opportunity to contribute to economic development in China; he also turned away from earlier thoughts of land reform as "giving land to the tillers" and instead introduced the system of "People's Communes," hoping for private and collective ownership to disappear from the countryside as soon as possible. Intellectuals having been attracted by the CCP in great numbers in the hope of a privileged position as consultants for the new regime, were selected as targets of vigorous attacks beginning in the early 1950s, instead of being mobilized as political supporters and experts. With inner party struggle as a direct reflection of conflicts between social classes, Mao hoped for the nation to reach the classless society of communism as soon as possible. Even when he saw that his plans could not be realized, he still envisaged China as, by moral and political standards, the most advanced socialist country of the world. As a consequence, he was suspicious of international contacts and wanted the country to be self-reliant and self-contented.

Every time Mao Zedong succeeded in putting his theories into practice, the country was hit by a major economic crisis. During the Great Leap Forward (1957–1958), the mobilization of the peasant population was supposed to quickly raise China's steel production, but instead left the country with a severe shortage of grain. In 1966, with the launching of the

Cultural Revolution, the industrial sector was severely disturbed so that after ten years of political turmoil, the economy was at the fringe of collapse and several parts of the country again were hit by severe famine. Under the conditions of crisis, Mao realized that the legitimacy of the Communist regime was subverted by its lack of economic success. He was therefore willing to divert from his theories and agreed to the policy of readjustment introduced by Zhou Enlai in the aftermath of the Great Leap.

He continued to serve as the chair of the CCP until his death on September 9, 1976.

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**See also China, People's Republic of; Chinese Communist Party; Chinese Revolution; Communist Economic Model; Deng Xiaoping; Marxism; Nationalism, Definition; Zhou Enlai**

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### MAQUILADORA PROGRAM

The Maquiladora Program is a set of international trade policies and regulations that permit a business firm of the United States, or another "originating" nation, to temporarily transfer goods to Mexico, where they receive added value with minimal or no tariffs being applied to the goods so long as they are shipped back to the originating nation. Almost all instances of the Maquiladora Program involve the United States as the originating nation. The intended benefits of this program are low labor costs for the firm, lower prices for consumer goods, economic development for Mexico, and political good will. Critics point out that these benefits come at the expense of job loss for the originating country, creation of "sweatshop" working conditions in Mexico, and greater international dependence for the originating country.

The term "maquiladora" is derived from the Spanish verb "*maquilar*," which historically referred to the milling of wheat into flour, the "*maquila*" being a portion of the product given as payment to the miller and to other workers instead of cash wages. The modern meaning of "maquilar" is "to assemble" and "maquiladora" is generally translated into English as either "bonded assembly plant" or "twin plant." A bonded assembly plant is a factory that is authorized by the Mexican government to temporarily import goods duty free. Once the goods have been combined through an assembly process, or in other ways have received additional value, they are then re-exported to the originating country or, less frequently, to another country. While in Mexico, the goods are under the supervision of Mexican customs officials who insure that the goods are delivered directly to the factory, are kept separate from other goods, and that they do not leave the factory until they have been modified. In certain circumstances, a bond must be posted by the firm as a guarantee that the goods will leave Mexico in a timely fashion and not be sold on the local market, thereby avoiding normal duties. The advantages of the Maquiladora Program to the firm are convenience and financial in that they do not pay tariff duties unless the goods are sold in Mexico, and the wage rates are lower than in the originating country.

A twin plant, sometimes referred to as a "production sharing plant," is a common arrangement for taking advantage of the Maquiladora Program whereby a US firm locates two factories in close proximity but on opposite sides of the US–Mexican border. The plant on the US side of the border prepares materials for assembly and the plant on the Mexican side of the border does the assembly work. This twin plant arrangement minimizes transportation time and costs and it allows for centralized management control. Several paired US–Mexican border towns have experienced economic growth because of twin plant activity and have developed extensive cross-border relationships. Examples include Los dos Laredos (Nuevo Laredo, Mexico and Laredo, Texas) and Los dos Nogales (Nogales, Mexico and Nogales, Arizona). The Maquiladora Program is, essentially, a program of the Mexican government, created in the mid-1960s to replace the earlier "Bracero" program.

As discussed by Kelly (2001) there are three ways to establish a Maquiladora Program in Mexico. The most common method is to establish a wholly-owned subsidiary in Mexico that would own and operate the maquiladora. The second method is to use a shelter operation that invests in facilities, hires employees, and manufactures products for a fee based on labor

costs and profit. The shelter operator generally relies upon the manufacturer to provide the equipment required for the plant. The third method is to use a subcontractor whose charges are based on unit cost rather than labor cost, and who is usually responsible for obtaining equipment.

## Background of the Maquiladora Program

Because of the drain on factory, railroad, and agricultural labor caused by the Second World War effort, the United States faced labor shortages in the early 1940s. Mexican immigrants, legal and illegal, helped to fill the need, especially in the agricultural sector. In order to provide for the regulation of working conditions of this international work force, the United States and Mexico entered into an agreement known variously as “The Mexican Farm Labor Supply Program,” “The Mexican Labor Agreement,” and “The Labor Importation Program of 1942–1964.” Perhaps the most widely recognized name given to the program is, simply, the “Bracero Program”—from the Spanish noun *brazo* (arm) indicating physical labor. From the US perspective, the program was created to obtain badly needed temporary workers for US farmers, but it was also intended to insure that Mexican workers were provided with basic necessities as required by Mexican statutes governing the treatment of workers in Mexico. US support for the program was made available through Public Law 45 of 1943. Specifically, the US statute made funds available for the following: the recruiting and transportation of workers, their families, and necessary property; furnishing of health, medical, and burial services, training, subsistence, protection, and shelter for workers and their families; advancing sums due from US employers; personnel, and expenses to carry out these purposes.

The Bracero program was modified several times until it was discontinued in 1964. In 1948, the contractor role was moved from the US government to the individual farm employer. Through Public Law 78, enacted in 1951, the US Congress modified the program substantially to allow the Secretary of Labor to arrange for recruitment of Mexicans for temporary agriculture work only when there were not enough US workers available. Major criticisms of the program were that enforcement methods were intimidating and insufficiently staffed, that it was creating an artificial labor market and reducing employment opportunities for US citizens, and that it was keeping a cap on US wage levels.

From 1949–1959, the number of Braceros increased from 8,500 to 84,000 and then dramatically

decreased due to agricultural mechanization. In 1962, Bracero wage rates were raised sharply to a level determined to protect the wages of US workers. In addition, because so many Mexicans were attempting to enter the United States, Mexico was experiencing a labor shortage crisis. Opposition from workers’ unions and the Kennedy administration tipped the balance, and when Public Law 78 was presented for renewal in 1963, the US congress extended it for only one year and it finally came to a formal end on December 31, 1964.

Immediately after the termination of the Bracero program, illegal immigration increased dramatically, although many workers were not successful in finding work in the border region. A number of studies were conducted to determine how to fill the needs of Mexican workers for employment and US manufacturing firms for low-wage workers. These studies led to several initiatives, one of which was the Border Industrialization Program (BIP), which made it possible for foreign-owned firms to build assembly plants in Mexico; these assembly plants became known as maquiladoras.

The BIP was enacted by the Mexican government in 1965. The major objectives of the BIP were to continue developing the economies of the country through attracting foreign investment and to provide employment opportunities for workers that had lost jobs due to the termination of the Bracero Program. The underlying strategy of the BIP was to take advantage of US Tariff Schedule 807, which allowed certain goods to be exported from the United States to another country where they would be modified and then re-exported to the United States with no tariff duties attached. “Tariff Schedule 807” is a classification found in the Tariff Schedule of the United States (TSUS), which was implemented in 1963 and replaced in January of 1989 by classification “9802” of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (HTS). The HTS is administered by the United States International Trade Commission (formerly United States Tariff Commission). The founding legislation for this provision is the Tariff Act of 1930 (Hawley-Smoot), which is currently included as Chapter Four of Title 19 (Customs Duties) of the Code of the United States of America. The major mechanism used to achieve the goals of the BIP was the establishment of maquiladoras as described above.

## Development of the Maquiladora Program

Although the BIP provided the opportunity for maquiladoras to be established and to operate, several



## MAQUILADORA PROGRAM

modifications since 1965 have resulted in a more formalized, more highly regulated and controlled program. In order to provide for more standardization, the Mexican Government issued the Maquila Decree on December 22, 1989. This decree, as amended several times, is the basis for the Maquiladora Program as it operates today. Specifically, the Maquila Decree (*Decreto para el Fomento y Operación de la Industria Maquiladora de Exportación*) established the Mexican Secretariat of Commerce and Development (SECOFI, later renamed Ministry of Economy) as the governmental agency responsible for the regulation of maquiladoras and the agency that issues permits for operation of a maquiladora. Further, it specified that while the maquiladora is a registered Mexican corporation, 100% of the capital investment, ownership, and management of the firm may be foreign. Similarly, it specified that the firm is entitled to import, duty free, on a temporary basis, all equipment and materials necessary for operation of the business. Also, it allowed that land may be completely owned by the foreign investors except for two narrow strips along the US border and the coasts. Maquiladoras may be located anywhere in Mexico except Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey because of congestion already present in those cities.

A major element of the decree relates to the application of Mexican labor laws, which are the most restrictive aspect of the program. Among the labor requirements are: (1) every salaried and hourly employee must have a written employment contract; (2) maximum work week of six 8-hour shifts; (3) calculation of wages on a daily rate with a seventh non-working day included; (4) payments to social security and national housing funds; (5) paid pregnancy leave, profit-sharing, national holidays, vacations, and severance benefits; and (6) payment of normal corporate income and asset taxes.

On December 24, 1993, the Maquila Decree was amended and, essentially, the effect was to relax several regulations. It was no longer required that 100% of the firm's product be exported; time limits for temporary storage of tools, materials, trailers, and containers were extended; a restriction on the manufacturing of textile products was removed; and the time limit on the application of sanctions by SECOFI was extended. With the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, trade between the United States and Mexico grew rapidly, yet direct influences on the operation of maquiladoras and on the trends in overall maquiladora output were minor. Analysis conducted by Gruben and Kiser (2001) indicated that certain aspects of NAFTA may have encouraged maquiladora growth, some had little impact, and others may actually

have discouraged maquiladora growth. They determined that US industrial production in general, and international currency and wage variability specifically, had the greatest influence on maquiladora employment.

One major difficulty that NAFTA initially posed for the maquiladora program, however, was Article 303 of the NAFTA agreement, which required that tariff duties be applied to all materials used in manufacturing that had originated outside of NAFTA countries. This was particularly problematic in the electronics industry, which had traditionally imported electronic products from Asia as components for products that were assembled in maquiladoras and then exported to the United States. An ingenious solution to this problem was developed by the Mexican government with the establishment of Industrial Sector Promotion Programs (PROSEC) through a decree issued on December 31, 2000. PROSEC stipulated that a firm would be in literal compliance with Article 303 if the items brought in from a non-NAFTA country, to be assembled with other components for re-export to a NAFTA country, had not traditionally been available in Mexico. So long as this opportunity to import such items was available to all Mexican firms, and no Mexican firm would supply the items, then Article 303 would not have an effect on the maquiladora.

On May 12, 2003, the Maquila Decree was amended once again. These modifications resulted in clarifying five distinct forms of maquiladoras: maquila operation (excludes services); industrial maquila (manufacture and transformation of goods); holding maquila (manages two or more operations under one firm); services maquila; submaquila. In addition, the 2003 amendments require more detailed proposals by firms desiring to establish a maquiladora, expand NAFTA regulation exceptions to the European Union and the European Free Trade Association, and, in general, provide greater regulatory specifications.

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**See also 807 Industries; Caribbean Basin Initiative; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Mexico: History and Economic Development**

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## MARCOS, FERDINAND

As the sixth president of the Republic of the Philippines, Ferdinand E. Marcos (1917–1989) took office in 1965 amid heightened expectations and with the good will of most Filipinos. He won the election running on an anti-corruption platform, and vowed in his inauguration speech “to make this country great again with the help of the masses.” Even when he declared martial law in 1972 and effectively ended twenty-six years of democracy, many Filipinos welcomed the event and expected some good to come from it. After all, Marcos had been raised by parents who passed on to their son a notion of excellence in everything he would attempt. Born in Sarrat, Ilocos Norte, in 1917, Marcos was valedictorian in his grammar school and high school and only narrowly missed being valedictorian of his graduating 1935 class at the University of the Philippines Law School. In 1939 he made the highest score in history in the national bar examination. During World War II, he carried out guerilla activities against the Japanese occupation and served in the US Army’s 14th Infantry Division, then returned to Ilocos Norte in 1946 and began a criminal law practice.

He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1950 and married Imelda Romualdez, a former Miss Manila, in 1954. Five years later, he won a Senate seat and worked his way up the political ladder to election as President of the Senate in 1963. Two years later, he was elected President.

Despite the veneer of reputability, Marcos’ corruption had begun while he was a congressman and head of the import control board, where he took huge bribes for approving import licenses. As only a representative in congress on a small salary, Marcos had already become a millionaire. As president, his lust for personal aggrandizement acquired epic proportions. While corruption seemed a characteristic of many politicians in the Philippines, the scale of the plunder carried out

by Marcos and his cronies defied the imagination of his cohorts. A conservative estimate would be that Marcos looted, diverted, and laundered around \$5 billion in public assets in extraordinarily complicated legal and semi-legal schemes.

Marcos did not end corruption and smuggling (as he promised many times) but, instead, brought it into Malacañang (the presidential palace). He did not create new, productive jobs (as he promised many times) but, instead, created a swollen bureaucracy loyal only to him. By the late 1960s discontent grew as the economy faltered. In 1968 a dozen former university students reorganized the banned Philippine Communist Party, formed the New People’s Army, and prepared for a long rural guerrilla war.

The following year, in an allegedly fraudulent election, Marcos won a second presidential term, the first time in Philippine history that a president had been elected to a second term. Major disturbances rocked the Philippines, and more than two thousand demonstrators marched on Malacañang.

The economy spiraled downward, the gap between the rich and the poor widened, and protestors filled the streets of Manila. On September 23, 1972, Marcos imposed martial law. Supposedly aimed at the multiple rebellions of Manila students, communists, and the Muslims in the southern Philippines, the declaration of martial law was itself a prime example of the corrupt Marcos. Marcos knew that he needed a specific incident to make martial law acceptable to the public, and that incident was the alleged machine gun attack on Secretary of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile’s car by communists. After the fall of Marcos, Enrile himself confessed that the attack had been faked. Citing the threat of communism, Marcos sent his troops throughout the country to arrest scores of opposition politicians, journalists, students, and others critical of Marcos’ rule as well as to shut down newspapers and broadcast stations. (Marcos had already put his relatives and ethnic mates in charge of the armed forces.)

He rewrote the Constitution to empower himself even more, and over the next five years his security forces imprisoned more than seventy thousand people. Many, however, at first welcomed martial law, accepting Marcos’ explanation, enjoying the decline in street violence, and expecting improvements in the economy, which did, indeed, show some initial signs of strength.

Meanwhile Marcos and his cronies encouraged export-oriented growth, with exports such as sugar and coconuts, and created a small number of huge enterprises that were controlled either privately by Marcos intimates or by the government, which itself came to control more than three hundred

corporations in a Mussolini-style collusion between industry and government. First Lady Imelda Marcos squandered public funds on public-relations projects such as a multi-million-dollar center for the arts.

In August 1983 opposition leader Benigno Aquino returned from exile in the United States and was assassinated upon his arrival at Manila International Airport. General Fabian Ver, military chief of staff and a cousin of Marcos, was charged with Aquino's slaying, along with twenty-five other army officers. In November, bowing to US pressure, rioting in the streets of Manila, and calls from the Philippine business community and the Roman Catholic church, whose priests proclaimed a pastoral critique of Marcos in churches throughout the Philippines, Marcos set presidential elections. When Ver and the others were acquitted, Aquino's widow, Corazon, announced as candidate for president. The election was held in February 1986, and the consensus was that Aquino won despite widespread fraud by Marcos supporters. Nevertheless, the Marcos-controlled National Assembly proclaimed Marcos the winner. Aquino called for a nonviolent campaign of strikes and boycotts.

Later in February both Marcos and Aquino took the oath of office in separate ceremonies. Marcos' ceremony, however, was attended by only a handful in Malacañang, while Aquino's ceremony was attended by half a million or so in the great central park of Manila, Rizal Park. Later that day, Marcos took a helicopter to the US air base in central Luzon and then flew on to exile in Hawaii.

After twenty years of rule, Marcos left the country with a historically greater gap between rich and poor, a starved economy that was way behind neighboring countries, and an even stronger Muslim and communist insurgency.

In 1988 Marcos and his wife were indicted by the US government, mainly on charges that they used embezzled money to buy real estate in the United States. Marcos was, however, too ill to stand trial, and the charges were dropped. He died in exile in Honolulu in September 1989, and was finally laid to rest in the Philippines three years later.

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**See also Aquino, Benigno and Corazón; Philippines; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## MARSHALL ISLANDS, REPUBLIC OF

The Marshall Islands people have had development thrust upon them, as well as pursued their own development concerns. Commitment to a cash economy has increased as the population has grown from less than twenty thousand after World War II to fifty-six thousand in 2005. Local resources are not adequate to provide for today's needs such as food, housing, medical care, and education. The current push towards privatization is dependent on further outside assistance.

### Political Developments

The Marshall Islands gained independence in 1983 after almost forty years of administrative rule by the United States as part of a United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). Previous colonisation by Spain, then Germany, Japan, and the United States, as well as the aftermath of World War II, fought on their territory, has left a number of alternative foreign ideologies which Marshallese have made their own. The desire to control their own affairs has been mitigated by the need to finance administrative programmes.

The new Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) elected to continue its relations with the United States under a Compact of Free Association, signed in 1987, for a period of fifteen years, and a second Compact was signed in 2004 for a further fifteen-year period. In return for allowing the United States to continue to use Kwajalein atoll as a Missile-Testing Range, the RMI receives an annual injection of funds from Washington, decreasing over the next fifteen years; a community fidelity fund for the future; and access to certain US federal programmes. It has control of its own internal affairs.

The Constitution of 1983 provided for a parliamentary-style government headed by a president and

Cabinet with a Legislature and a Council of Chiefs charged with monitoring traditional affairs. The first commoner president, elected in 1999, followed a president who had held dual authority as senior *iroij* (chief) and elected president, and thus commanded much respect. The commoner President Kessai Hese Note marks a new era in RMI politics as he strikes a path toward improved solvency, greater accountability, and the people's concerns (Pollock 2004). The matter of land rights as the basis for collateral for loans looms large as outside demands for financial sustainability come face to face with the foundation of Marshallese identity—land.

RMI maintains its position in the Pacific by its close collaboration with its neighbours and former TT members, Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia. The nation is also an active member of the Pacific Forum, and other Pacific-wide agencies such as the Secretariat for the Pacific Community, Forum Fisheries Agency, and Pacific Arts Association.

## Economic Development

Marshall Islands' resources remain underdeveloped. As a nation of twenty-six atolls and low coralline islands, surrounded by a large section of the Pacific Ocean, land resources are minimal compared to the potential of their marine resources. During Trust Territory times, little was done by the United States as trustee to further economic development other than to triple the TT administrative budget after 1963 (Hanlon 2001).

RMI relies on external inputs in the form of aid and grants. The United States provides 70% of government income, with Japan, ROC/Taiwan, and Australia contributing small additional amounts. The Asia Development Bank provides advice and funding in line with US policies. Concessional loans amounted to 18% of all external assistance in 1999–2000, but the amount varies from year to year (Hughes 2001).

The financial situation of the government remains precarious, heavily dependent on these outside sources. For households, the four Section 177 communities—Bikini, Enewetak, Rongelap, and Utrik—have assured quarterly income from their nuclear compensation claims, but the rest of the population must rely on income from a few government jobs, and expectations from the growth of private business. The subsistence sector on the outer islands has diminishing income from copra (dried coconut meat), together with use of local foodstuffs from breadfruit, pandanus, taro, and fish. Transportation to these twenty-four scattered atolls is a vital link.

Copra has been the main source of earned revenue since German times, but its export value is diminishing. The activities of fisheries have increased since independence, with Taiwanese fishing boats having a notable presence in Majuro lagoon. For many Marshallese, fishing is a recreational activity, but attempts by Marshall Islands Marine Resources Association to develop it as an economic resource are thwarted by difficulties of transportation, fresh water, and marketing. Pearl fishing, the shrimp industry, and marine conservation are growing.

Tourism struggles. High costs of transportation to the mid-Pacific, and limited hotel facilities hamper further development. Dive Bikini offers opportunities for underwater exploration of the WWII battleships that the United States sank in Bikini lagoon as part of their nuclear tests.

Urbanisation by outer islanders seeking jobs and social services in either of the two urban centres, Majuro or Ebeye (Kwajalein atoll), now accounts for 60% of the resident population. Polarisation of urban and outer island lifestyles is a development trend being addressed by loans and grants supported by agencies such as ROC/Taiwan (Marshall Islands Journal 2005). Downsizing the public service in 2001–2002 has placed greater pressures on households seeking cash to feed and support their members. Some 10% of Marshallese have established communities in US states.

## Social Developments

Under the UN Trust Territory administration, social development was largely unplanned and unmonitored. The Marshall Islands administration drew on its funds to provide education, health, and transport facilities, but these met only minimal needs.

Advanced health and education facilities have been centred in the two urban areas. While clinics and primary schools provide basic services on outer atolls, the hospitals and secondary schools contribute to increased urbanisation. Youth assistance programmes are offered both through government- and church-funded agencies. The churches play an important role in social support. Women's affairs are coordinated through a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), Women United Together Marshall Islands, which links outer islanders with urban women, as well as with church and secular groups. With fewer than ten women in elected or appointed government positions, gender relations appear unbalanced. Yet women provide the strength for all communities.

The media in the form of a newspaper (*Marshall Islands Journal*), radio, and television provide for social commentary. These media have become more vocal over issues associated with settlement of the second Compact, and thus their future.

## Conclusions

The major issue facing Marshall Islands development is the degree of control they can exercise over their own future. RMI government relies on financial support derived from US need for continued use of Kwajalein Missile Range. The degree to which that dependence will reduce over the next fifty years will stem from marine projects, fishing, possibly mining, and other global developments. The country's strategic location in the mid-Pacific may become a casualty of global warming and sea level rise, or it may prove vital in future world developments.

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**See also Asian Development Bank; Ethnic Conflicts: Oceania; Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations; United Nations Trusteeship Council**

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## MARTINIQUE

Martinique is a French *département d'outre-mer* (overseas department) in the Caribbean. The northernmost

of the Windward Islands, Martinique occupies 1,060 square kilometers of territory. The island, which is sixty-five kilometers long and twenty kilometers wide, is located between Dominica to the north and St. Lucia to the south. Fort de France, the capital, is located on the western side of the island. Mt. Pelée, the highest point at 1,397 meters, is in the north. The northern half of the island is much more mountainous than the southern half. Beaches on the northern half of the island have black sand, while beaches on the southern half have white sand. Most of Martinique's 430,000 people are French-speaking Roman Catholics of African descent. The most famous person born in Martinique was the Empress Josephine (ne. Beauharnais), the daughter of wealthy sugar plantation owners and the wife of Napoleon Bonaparte.

When Christopher Columbus discovered Martinique in 1502, it was occupied by hostile Carib Indians. Spain's attempts to settle the island during the sixteenth century were frustrated by fierce resistance from the Indians. In 1635, a group of French settlers established the first permanent settlement on Martinique at St. Pierre. In 1640, the French built a large fort above the harbor at Fort de France. By 1660, the French successfully removed the Indians from the island and established a successful sugar-producing colony based on African slave labor. The British intermittently occupied Martinique from 1794 to 1802. French planters, frightened by the excessive violence that accompanied the French and Haitian Revolutions, willingly accepted the British occupation. The French planters, who were able to sell their sugar in British markets, prospered during the British occupation. Although Martinique was eventually restored to French control, the importance of the sugar industry declined after slavery was abolished in 1848.

On May 8, 1902, Mt. Pelée erupted, destroying the colonial capital of St. Pierre and killing the town's twenty-nine thousand inhabitants. The only survivor was a prisoner—Louis Auguste Cyparis, who eventually joined the Barnum and Bailey Circus—locked in a solitary confinement dungeon in the jail. Before the eruption, St. Pierre had been known as the Paris of the West Indies. French Governor Louis Mouttet, eager to keep the population in the city for the upcoming May 11 elections, ignored the minor explosions that began at the end of April and prohibited people from leaving the city. Although St. Pierre was eventually rebuilt, the capital was moved to Fort de France.

Repeated attempts by the inhabitants of Martinique during the twentieth century to gain greater autonomy often resulted in violence. The enhanced racism and authoritarianism exhibited by the Vichy government after it came to power in 1941 shattered the illusions that the people of Martinique had about

color-blind French brotherhood. A significant number of people on the island began to embrace the philosophy of *negritude*, which urged black people to reject cultural assimilation and emphasize their African heritage. Author Aimé Césaire (b. 1913), the mayor of Fort de France from 1945 to 2001, consistently sought greater autonomy for the island. Basing his ideas on a blend of *negritude*, anti-colonialism, and communism, Césaire believed that the political assimilation of the French colonies into the French Republic would guarantee the human rights of the people of Martinique.

In 1946, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana officially became French overseas departments. Although Martinique was offered independence in 1958, the inhabitants, motivated by economic factors, voted to continue their relationship with France. As an overseas department of France, Martinique is entitled to elect two representatives to the French Senate and four representatives to the French National Assembly. The French president, on the advice of the French Minister of Interior, appoints a governor, known as a prefect, to represent the interests of the French government in Martinique. The power of the prefect—Yves Dassonville since 2004—is largely ceremonial. Local power is vested in a General Council consisting of forty-five members and a Regional Council consisting of forty-one members. The presidents of the General and Regional Councils are elected by their respective members. Claude Lise was elected president of the General Council in 1992. Alfred Marie-Jeanne, president of the Martinique Independence Movement (MIM), was elected president of the Regional Council in 1998.

By 2004, agriculture, once the mainstay of the island's economy, only generated 5% of the island's revenue. Banana exports have surpassed sugar exports as the primary agricultural commodity. Although limited attempts at light industry have been implemented, tourism has become the most important source of foreign exchange. Revenue from tourism, which was enhanced by a large increase in the number of US cruise ships visiting Martinique, was hurt by the tragic events of September 11, 2001. Hurricanes have had a negative impact on both agriculture and tourism. France continues to provide huge subsidies.

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**See also** Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; French Guiana; Guadeloupe

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## MARXISM

Marxism is the name given to a critical theory of society first elaborated by Karl Marx, a German philosopher of the nineteenth century who lived most of his adult life in England, that became one of the principal currents of socialist thinking, first in Europe and then worldwide. Endorsed by the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democratic party led by V. I. Lenin, it became the official ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and hence of the government of that one-party state, after the “October Revolution” of 1917; it retained this position, often under the more accurate label “Marxism-Leninism,” until the dissolution of Communist political dominance there in the early 1990s. Meanwhile, within the institutional framework of the Third Communist International, Communist parties in many nations submitted, in varying degrees, to centralized political and ideological control exercised by the Soviet leadership in the name of Marxist theory. In the aftermath of World War II, a number of the nations of Eastern Europe as well as China, North Korea, and later North Vietnam acquired Communist governments, and Communist parties played important roles—often in hostile opposition, sometimes in temporary collaboration—in the political life of many developing nations as well as in some developed ones, notably France and Italy. By the end of the twentieth century, Marxism or Marxism-Leninism remained the official ideology of North Korea, China, Vietnam, and Cuba, and it continued to claim many intellectual adherents, although far fewer than in previous decades.

## The Marxism of Marx

As Marx's friend, collaborator, and popularizer, Friedrich Engels, recounted it, Marx drew on three main intellectual traditions—those of “utopian socialism”

(a label they attached above all to the theories of the Count de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen), of early capitalist economic theory beginning with Adam Smith, and of G. W. F. Hegel's philosophy, with its dialectical view (that is, development as taking place through successive internal oppositions) of history and reality in general. On this account, socialism moved from mere utopian wishful thinking to being a scientific worldview when Marx derived "the secret of surplus value" from his analysis and internal critique of bourgeois political economy and used Hegel's method, purged of its idealistic conception of history as the self-unfolding of "Spirit" or God in the world and understood instead in a purely materialist way, to demonstrate that capitalism would eventually have to collapse through its own internal contradictions.

By the "secret of surplus value" Marx meant the perception that human labor power is treated as a commodity like any other within a capitalist economic system, inasmuch as it, too, is bought and sold on the market, but that it has the unique capacity of being able to produce more than it costs—that is, more than the subsistence wage paid to the worker for his or her upkeep, plus reproduction of the next generation of workers. Agreeing with Smith's premise that labor is the ultimate producer of value within this exchange system, Marx contended that the difference between the amount of time needed for the worker to add enough value to the product on which he or she is working in order to earn subsistence, on the one hand, and the total amount of time (per day, week, or year) that the worker has agreed to work in order to be hired, on the other, constitutes "surplus value" extracted by the owners of capital. Marx's early, more ethically-oriented work, notably his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (which were not widely known until the mid-twentieth century), emphasized the *alienation* of workers—from their own life-activity, from its products, and from one another—in this competitive system wherein they are ostensibly free but in fact must work, under conditions not of their choosing, just in order to live. In the great classic of his later years, *Capital (Das Kapital)*, Marx combined these insights with a more complicated and mathematically oriented analysis of the workings of the system to demonstrate that it tends in the direction of a polarization between a relatively few owners of large concentrations of capital and the vast majority of workers, the proletariat, who will eventually be in a position to wrest the means of production away from the owners with comparative ease.

Although nothing in Marx's complex analysis of the variable factors in the system (which includes, e.g., the possibility of achieving vast and rapid increases in

productivity through automated machinery, and the great expansion of capitalist trade and exploitation to other parts of the world that were not yet fully capitalist in the mid-nineteenth century) led deductively to the conclusion that it would reach its final crisis anytime soon, Marx himself expected that this crisis was imminent. This is clear in his *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) and in numerous personal letters. Engels, who outlived Marx by twelve years, had more doubts, especially as industrial workers, especially the more skilled ones, though on the whole still living in miserable circumstances, began here and there to enjoy some small prosperity. Disputes that were at once both theoretical and practical broke out within the large German Social Democratic Party and similar parties elsewhere over whether, *inter alia*, to treat Marx's analyses as scientific predictions of an inevitable future and hence in no need of active implementation, or as implying the necessity of violent revolutionary action in order to be realized.

### Imperialism and the Marxism of Lenin and His Successors

Lenin, who treated the first of these views as an anti-Marxist heresy that he labelled "Economism," strongly supported the latter view. He argued that, particularly in light of the extremely repressive political conditions of Tsarist Russia, the formation of a group of professional revolutionaries who would serve as the "vanguard" of the proletariat was required. Moreover, he believed that it was unnecessary for Russia, with its relatively underdeveloped industry, to wait to "catch up" with Western capitalist countries before undergoing a Marxist revolution. He saw World War I, which to him was essentially a struggle between the principal European imperialist powers for control over colonies in the rest of the world, as providing the occasion for just such a revolution in backward Russia, which could then spark similar upheavals worldwide. The collapse of the Tsarist army and weaknesses in the provisional government headed by A. F. Kerensky enabled Lenin's Bolsheviks to take power from the latter within a few months of the revolution's formation. After a brief period of comparative openness, the new regime, menaced by both armed domestic opposition and the dispatch of expeditionary forces to portions of the Russian territory by several Western governments, and disappointed by its lack of success in encouraging revolutionary uprisings elsewhere, became authoritarian and repressive, insisting on an ideological conformity that enthroned a rigid interpretation of Marxism as official dogma.

The civil war ended and the expeditionary forces left, but Joseph Stalin, Lenin's successor as General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and hence supreme director of the international Communist movement as well as ruler of the federation that took as its name the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, intensified these tendencies. He drove his former comrade Leon Trotsky into exile—thus incidentally spawning a rival version of Marxism, Trotskyism, which insisted on the need for a worldwide revolution and regarded the Soviet regime as a bureaucratic betrayal of Marxist principles—and conducted bloody purges of other former rivals, of dissidents, and of rural small landholders. He also promoted rapid, forced industrialization and created a chain of “*gulags*,” or slave labor camps, for political prisoners. His substitution, in effect, of a new form of Russo-centrism for the Marxism of Marx may, however, have helped him to rally citizens behind him in repulsing Hitler's invasion during World War II, at the end of which Stalin was accorded control over the group of Central and East European countries that (with the slightly later addition of Czechoslovakia) became known as the Soviet Bloc or the Warsaw Pact. By the time of Stalin's death in 1953, the superpower rivalry and struggle called the Cold War, thought to oppose the Communist “East” (a geographical designation given greater apparent legitimacy as a result of the success of the Marxist revolution in China under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung) to the democratic “West,” was conducted to a considerable degree in ideological terms, with “Marxism” being identified by both “camps” as the ideology of Communism.

### Western Marxism and Other Marxisms

While there had always been adherents of Marxism, besides Trotskyites, who treated it more as an insightful philosophical method to be employed in social criticism than as the rigid, deterministic, scientific worldview that Soviet Marxist “orthodoxy” claimed it to be, the development of schools of thought known collectively as “Western Marxism” was strongly abetted by a widespread post-World War II revulsion against the many remaining vestiges of European colonialism, to which Marxism's revolutionary spirit seemed clearly opposed, as well as, on an intellectual plane, by the new dissemination of Marx's early, “humanistic” writings. Among the best-known Western Marxists were members of the German “Frankfurt School” of critical theory, notably Herbert Marcuse and, from a later generation, Jürgen Habermas. Future postcolonial leaders in Africa and Asia had often come

into contact with, and been inspired by, Marxist thinking during their studies in France, the United Kingdom, and other Western countries, and the existence of growing numbers of self-described Marxists who did not accept Communist Party discipline was a further encouragement to many of them to advocate and pursue socialist policies when they attained positions of influence. One example, among many, of such intellectual fertilization that was also political in nature was the endorsement given by the prominent French philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre, during the long Marxist phase of his career, to the writings and work of Franz Fanon, the Martiniquan-born psychiatrist who threw in his lot with the Algerian revolution against French domination. A center of Marxist-inspired resistance to the intellectual hegemony of the Soviet version of Marxism, one that provided special encouragement to East European Marxist dissidents, was the “*Praxis Group*” of independent-minded but still avowedly Marxist philosophers in Yugoslavia, a country posed as a more or less neutral buffer between East and West, and of which the long-time President, Marshal Tito, contributed significantly to the creation of the movement of developing “Third World” countries during the 1950s. In Latin America, too, Marxism inspired many revolutionary and reform movements (including an important hybrid Marxist-Christian movement known as “liberation theology”), particularly in the wake of Fidel Castro's ascendancy to power in Cuba and subsequent self-avowal as a Marxist and Communist.

### Dénouement

The “Thaw,” a loosening of political and ideological constraints that was initiated by Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, who also made public some previously-concealed facts about Stalin's enormous excesses, for a time rendered more thinkable a climate of genuine debate and criticism within the officially Marxist countries similar to that promoted by Western, Yugoslavian, and some Third World Marxists. It was soon nullified, at least in large measure, by Soviet suppression of a popular worker-supported government in Hungary that had briefly replaced the Soviet-sponsored one. This 1956 event already occasioned widespread loss of hope for serious reform of Soviet socialism and, given the common though not entirely justified identification of the two, a concomitant decline in Marxism's attractiveness to many and an increasing cynicism concerning it. Equally or perhaps even more damaging along the same lines was the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, another Warsaw



Pact member state, where Prime Minister Dubcek had been attempting to carry out internal reforms known as the “Prague Spring.” Twenty-one years later, the “Velvet Revolution” in that same country met with little or no military resistance and heralded the break-up of the Warsaw Pact, the end of Communist Party dominance, and the eventual dissolution, into separate, smaller entities with often highly nationalistic orientations, of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and even Czechoslovakia itself. Marxism had always been touted as a unique combination of theory with political practice; so it is not surprising that the disappearance of so many actual regimes that had claimed to be Marxist, combined with the aggressive advocacy, on the parts of Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, and other Western leaders, of such capitalist practices and institutions as privatization and global free markets that are the objects of Marxism’s severest criticism, has led to a palpable decline in its influence. Nevertheless, there are those who continue to find elements of classical Marxism to be of use in generating new critical social theories, particularly with respect to the current course of global development.

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See also **Communist Economic Model**

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### MAU MAU

*Mau Mau* was an armed anti-colonial rebellion that broke out in 1952 and took to the use of violence to compel the colonial government in Kenya to address African grievances. Its activities were concentrated in central Kenya, particularly among the Kikuyu ethnic group; but the uprising was not simply a Kikuyu affair. It recruited fighters from various ethnic groups in Kenya, like the Luo, Samia, and Banyala of Western Kenya; the Maasai of Southern Kenya; the Kamba of Eastern Kenya; and the Meru of Central Kenya. That the rebellion started in central Kenya, with the Kikuyu as the majority of its fighters, was due to the fact that British colonialism started there and the Kikuyu were the most exposed to the colonial pinch.

The colonial administration in Kenya created the economic, social, and political conditions that contributed to the outbreak of the rebellion, for it was essentially a reaction to the sustained underdevelopment of the Africans throughout the colonial period. The inception of colonialism in Kenya saw many Africans, especially the Kikuyu, lose their fertile land to the European settlers in the highlands. Whereas this disrupted African agriculture, pastoralism, particularly among the Maasai, was also disrupted as Africans were henceforth confined to specific geographical localities known as “reserves,” where grazing land was inadequate. In addition, smallholder agricultural production in the “reserves” was confined to subsistence farming, for Africans were barred from growing cash crops. In the midst of this economic downturn, the colonial administration imposed heavy taxation on Africans to compel them to provide cheap labor on European plantations. The colonial administration also introduced the carrying of identification cards (known as *kipande* in Kiswahili) in order to restrict the movement of Africans into other areas that would have satisfied their economic interests. This arrangement cemented an economic squeeze for Africans.

There was also the color bar in the social realm. Besides racial segregation in the residential areas, social services were provided along racial lines. Africans attended separate medical and educational institutions, which were often poor compared to those of the Europeans and Asians. Moreover, it is the missionaries who attempted to provide such services to the Africans and not the government, yet Africans paid taxes. Whereas missionaries were making great effort in this regard, their rejection of African culture drew yet another bone of contention between the Europeans and the Africans, especially among the Kikuyu who insisted on practicing female circumcision to the

chagrin of the missionaries. The resultant tensions and quarrels with the missions led, among other things, to the establishment of independent schools by the Kikuyu. Other communities in the country complained of the generally poor conditions regarding health, education, employment, taxation without representation, police brutality in the urban areas, and so forth.

Landlessness was, however, the immediate cause of the uprising. The demobilization of soldiers who had fought in the Second World War increased the demand for land among the Africans. Whereas white soldiers were settled on fertile land to engage in lucrative cash-crop farming, African soldiers were not given land but only a small amount of money to start a business. The frustrated soldiers concurred with an emerging radical African mass in the conclusion that only force would compel the colonial government to address African grievances, particularly the land question. To this end, a mass political movement emerged under the leadership of the Kenya Land Freedom Army (KLFA), an underground force that targeted the colonial administration and its African sympathizers. The assassination of Chief Waruhiu, who was reputed for serving the interests of the colonial administration, in Kiambu on October 7, 1952, was linked to the activities of this movement.

The declaration of a state of emergency by the governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, on October 20, 1952, in order to track down the activities of KLFA, exploded into an open violent rebellion against British authority in the name of *Mau Mau*. In response to the guerrilla war in the forests, the British put up a fierce military campaign that saw thousands of Africans lose their lives while many others were arrested and detained. By 1953, the rebellion had been militarily defeated, but occasional skirmishes continued into 1956.

Despite the military defeat, *Mau Mau* paved the way for economic, social, and political reforms in the remainder of the 1950s, which contributed to development among the African population. In the economic sphere, the colonial government set up a commission under R. T. M. Swynnerton to make recommendations on how to avoid a similar rebellion in future. This commission came up with "a plan to intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya" in 1954, which was christened The Swynnerton Plan. Among other things, it recommended land reform for the development of African agriculture as the first step in the then-expected agrarian revolution in Kenya. Land was to be consolidated and registered under individual title deeds. This marked the onset of private land ownership among Africans in Kenya.

The Swynnerton Plan also recommended that Africans be allowed to grow cash crops. This enabled Africans to participate in the cultivation of profitable export crops like tea, coffee, and pyrethrum as well as dairy production. With the privatization of land tenure, African farmers could obtain credit against land titles for the improvement of agricultural production. Agricultural extension services were also extended to African farmers for the first time, partly for the purpose of ensuring that agricultural credit was utilized properly. This transformation of African agriculture laid the foundation for economic development.

*Mau Mau* also forced the colonial regime to embark on political reforms that saw greater African participation in the colonial state from the mid-1950s. Political activities and organizations that had been proscribed were allowed. Various constitutional reforms were also made specifically to improve on the representation of Africans in the Legislative Council and Local Authorities. These political reforms paved the way for Kenya's independence in 1963. It is against this background that *Mau Mau* has been credited with facilitating the granting of independence to the country.

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#### See also Kenya

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#### MAURITANIA

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is located in Northwestern Africa. It is bounded on the west by the North Atlantic Ocean, with a 754-kilometer coastline. It is bordered on the north by Western Sahara, the northeast by Algeria, the southeast by Mali, and the south by Senegal. Around 40% of the nation is composed of the Sahara Desert and about 30% is semi-desert. There is a narrow band of fertile land along the Senegal River, the only permanent stream.

## MAURITANIA

Climate is constantly hot, dry, and dusty; average temperature in January is 16°C–20°C, in July 30°C–32°C; precipitation is about fifty to four hundred millimeters annually. Terrain is mostly barren, flat plains of the Sahara, with some central hills, and a narrow band of fertile land along the Senegal River. Most of the population—estimated at 2,998,563 (July 2004)—is concentrated in the capital city of Nouakchott (population 612,000), Nouadhibou (population 113,000), and along the Senegal River in the southern part of the country.

Territory of present Mauritania has been settled since the end of the Neolithic Era. About the beginning of the first millennium it was colonized by nomadic Berbers, and during the eighth to ninth centuries most of the population converted to Islam. In the eleventh to twelfth centuries Mauritania was the cradle of the Almoravid movement, which spread Islam throughout the region and for a while controlled the Islamic part of Spain. European traders began to show interest in Mauritania in the fifteenth century. First the Portuguese established a coastal observing station to facilitate naval travel, and this was followed by the Dutch, English, and French.

In 1814, direct French rule was instituted, and in 1920 Mauritania was made part of French West Africa. In 1946 Mauritania was given the status of an overseas territory under France, and in 1958 it became an Islamic republic within the French community. Two years later, on November 28, 1960, it obtained independence under President Moktar Ould Daddah. Morocco for a time tried to absorb it. In 1978, Daddah was ousted by a military coup d'état instigated by a military committee. The committee was dismissed in 1981 by Col. Maaouya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya, who was elected head of state in December 1984, and reelected in 1992 and 2003.

In 1989 ethnic tension with Senegal mounted, but it improved by 1992. Mauritania annexed the southern third of the former Spanish Sahara (now Western Sahara) in 1976, but had to retreat three years later because of raids by the Polisario guerrilla front seeking independence for the territory. Opposition parties were legalized and a new constitution adopted in 1991. Two consequent multi-party presidential elections were widely perceived as being flawed. In reality, Mauritania remains a one-party state, with the Democratic and Social Republican Party (PRDS) ruling almost unopposed. Politics continue to be tribally based. In 2003–2004, three failed coup attempts were staged by dissident army officers, and there has been suppression of Islamic radicals who form the backbone of the civilian opposition. In the end of 2004, about 180 military personnel and civilian opposition figures went on trial at a remote military barracks in

the desert, charged with plotting to overthrow the president.

This country still experiences ethnic tensions between the dominant Maur (Arab-Berber) population and its 30% black minority. Nearly 100% of the population are Muslims. Mauritanian claims to the Western Sahara have been dormant in recent years.

Half the Mauritanian population still depends on agriculture and livestock for a livelihood, even though repetitive droughts in the 1970s and 1980s forced many of the nomads and subsistence farmers to the urban areas. Mauritania has extensive deposits of iron ore, which account for nearly 40% of total exports. Because of the decline in world demand, production has dwindled. The coastal waters are among the richest fishing areas in the world, but over-exploitation by foreign vessels endangers this key source of revenue.

In the past, drought and economic mismanagement resulted in a buildup of foreign debt. In February 2000, Mauritania qualified for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and in December 2001 received strong support from donor and lending countries. In 2001, exploratory oil wells in tracts eighty kilometers offshore indicated potential extraction at current world oil prices. The Chinguetti offshore field was to be the first to start production in the first half of 2005, producing around 75,000 barrels per day for export. The even bigger neighboring Tiof field was scheduled to follow.

An investment code adopted in December 2001 enhanced the opportunities for direct foreign investments. Negotiations with the IMF involve issues of economic reforms and fiscal discipline. In the meantime, the government underscores reduction of poverty, improvement of health and education, and promoting privatization of the economy. Per capita GDP was estimated in 2003 at \$1,800.

There are 717 kilometers of railways, 7,720 kilometers of highways of which only 830 kilometers are paved, and some ferry traffic on the Senegal River. Of the country's five maritime ports, only the one near Nouakchott is deepwater (opened in 1986). There are eight airports with paved runways, out of a total of twenty-four, of which only three are able to receive large aircrafts. The literacy rate among the adult population is less than 42% (among males, almost 52%; among females, 32% [2003 estimate]). Reforms provide for unification of the education system, promotion of vocational and technological training, strengthening of education in sciences and foreign languages, and both civic and confessional teaching. The main academic institution in Mauritania is Nouakchott University, founded in 1981, and there is also the National Institute of Pedagogy. Mauritania officially banned slavery only in 1981, but despite

official denials, it still exists. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) data from 1995, there are approximately fourteen physicians and sixty-two nurses for every one hundred thousand people. Life expectancy for males is fifty years and 54.5 years for females (2004 estimate). The population growth rate is 2.91% annually (2004 estimate) and the infant mortality rate is 72.35 deaths for every one thousand live births.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; Morocco; Senegal; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## MAURITIUS

Mauritius, a 1,860-square kilometre island of volcanic origin, lies in the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar. The topography is varied: from the central highlands the land slopes to the coastal plains, most extensive in the north and east where sugar is the dominant crop. The climate is tropical and the island lies within the cyclone belt. The economy is healthy: per capita Gross National Income (GNI) in 2003 was \$4,090 and growth rates during the period 1983–2003 averaged over 5%. The country includes the island of Rodrigues, five hundred kilometres to the east, which is significantly less prosperous and culturally quite distinct.

Uninhabited when discovered by Europeans, Mauritius was first permanently settled by France in 1722 and transferred to British administration in 1814. Economic development in the British period was synonymous with sugar- and slave labour-fuelled growth; following the abolition of slavery in 1835, indentured labourers from India were imported to work in the

cane fields. Today the island's largely French-speaking population of 1.2 million may be subdivided into Hindu (approximately 50%) and Muslim (20%) Indians, Creoles of mixed African and European ancestry (30%), and small but economically significant Chinese and Franco-Mauritian ("white") minorities.

Towards the middle of the twentieth century, stagnant sugar output levels and rapid population growth raised concerns about the island's future. The colonial administration, recognising that independence was inevitable, commissioned an economic survey of the island that would provide a framework for future policy. The ensuing report, published in 1961 and known as the Meade report, was a thorough, influential, and somewhat pessimistic analysis of the island's economy. It made it clear that economic diversification and industrialisation were essential if the island were to have any hope of achieving real and sustained growth.

Policies established in the 1960s were initially aimed at encouraging import substitution industrialisation (ISI). Although not without results, ISI failed to have the desired impact, both for want of a sufficiently skilled workforce and due to a reluctance on the part of the sugar estate owners to invest their capital. Consequently, when Mauritius acceded to independence in 1968, sugar still accounted for 95% of export earnings and the first post-independence government shifted emphasis to manufacturing for export. It established an Export Processing Zone (EPZ), aimed at attracting both foreign and domestic capital into an industrialization program through an attractive package of incentives including tax relief; subsidies, and credit facilities; assurances of good infrastructure; and a competent, cheap, and reliable labour force. At the same time, quotas and preferential tariffs guaranteed sugar sales in Britain and the EEC, providing a reliable source of revenue for economic growth.

Based principally on textiles, the EPZ was a success but it was dependent upon the health of the sugar sector. In the early 1970s, while world sugar prices were extremely buoyant, Mauritius produced several bumper crops and the resultant profits fuelled growth. Sugar profits also funded investment in the tourism sector and in services, as well as providing increased government revenue, thus permitting improvements to social services and general infrastructure development.

The worldwide recession in the mid-1970s, competition from other developing nations, and two devastating cyclones led to an economic downturn and rising external debt. In 1979 the government was obliged to implement an IMF-imposed program of structural adjustment that included state disengagement from the economy and a greater emphasis on free market forces. Nevertheless, the government

maintained its commitment to social programs, including free education and health care; these policies were costly, and there was little improvement in the economy until the mid-1980s, when a healthier international climate finally allowed renewed growth in the increasingly important tourism sector and accompanied a similar increase in industrial output, again largely in textiles.

Since the 1980s the government's emphasis on continued diversification has led to growth in the financial services sector, particularly in offshore banking, as well as in transport (flag-of-convenience shipping) and other offshore operations. Annual growth rates have regularly been on the order of 6%–7% and unemployment remains low. The public health and education systems are both free and of high quality; literacy rates and life expectancy are high, while infant mortality and population growth rates are low. Nevertheless, some 10% of the population, excluded from the benefits of economic growth, continues to live below the poverty line.

The success of Mauritius may be attributed to several factors, and some are clearly more important than others. A stable democratic system, based on the Westminster model, is a reflection of a more fundamental feature of Mauritius, that of its identity as a European colonial construct. Descriptions of Mauritius as an “enigma” and a “miracle” among developing African states are misleading: Mauritius is not an African country except in a geographical sense, and that only tenuously. Economically and politically, Mauritius is a creation of the colonial world and as such has always been firmly inscribed within the Western economic system.

If Mauritius was formerly underdeveloped, then this was a result of the island's place in this system and not, as was the case in most African countries, its absence therefrom. Social, economic, and political constraints on capitalist development are noticeably absent in Mauritius; the educational system is resolutely Western, and the country has also benefited from a predilection for a strong, socially committed state, inherited from post-Second World War Britain. An emphasis on social policies, including social security and equality of income, has been a feature of all Mauritian governments regardless of their political orientation, and it is of note that there have only been three prime ministers in the thirty-five years since independence. The role of domestic capital in local investment has also been important: unlike many other developing nations, Mauritius is less subject to the whims of foreign investors.

Other advantages, such as the lack of a standing army (removing the risk of military intervention in the political process), the small size of the island

(facilitating infrastructure development), and the country's ethnically diverse population, have also contributed to Mauritius' success. This last feature has hitherto been far more of a help than a hindrance: inter-ethnic tension is rare; no group is dominant socially, economically, or politically, and as a result of its cultural diversity Mauritius maintains a range of links with various parts of the Indian Ocean and beyond.

Despite the successes, the government is aware that there is no cause for complacency. Diversification notwithstanding, the economy remains dependent upon external markets and the economic base remains narrow: textiles, tourism, banking, and sugar. Furthermore, the country's success has depended upon privileged access to European markets under the terms of the Lomé Convention and not upon free market forces. Continued diversification and increased competitiveness are thus seen as priorities as growth rates start to slow and unemployment increases.

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### MBEKI, THABO

Thabo Mbeki (b. 1942) became president of the Republic of South Africa in 1999. He was born in Idutywa, Transkei, on June 18, 1942. His father, Govan,

joined the ANC as a student (1935), later was elected chairman (1956), and spent twenty-three years in prison alongside Nelson Mandela, who was later to become the first majority-elected president of the Republic of South Africa (1994).

Mbeki attended high school at Lovedale and joined the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League at age fourteen. He was expelled from high school following student strikes, and continued in home study, ultimately earning a master's degree in economics from the University of Sussex as a correspondence student. Two years after the government banned the ANC, in 1960, Mbeki was sent overseas for his higher education. He served in a number of ANC positions abroad, including posts in London, Zambia, Swaziland, Nigeria, and Botswana, and received military training in the USSR. He did not return to South Africa until 1990.

While abroad, Mbeki rose in prominence in the ANC. He became a member of the ANC National Executive Committee in 1975 and was appointed political secretary to the ANC president in 1978. As the director of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (1984–1989), Mbeki acted as the organization's chief international spokesman. Meanwhile, he led ANC delegations in secret talks with the South African government and the private business sector, which resulted in the unbanning of the ANC and release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela in 1990. Mbeki was elected chairman of the ANC in 1993 and president of the organization in 1997. Two years later, he was elected president of South Africa.

Polished and charming, easygoing, and politically pragmatic, Mbeki proved to be an excellent choice to advance the ANC from a political liberation movement and guerrilla army to success at the ballot box. However, compared to Mandela, Mbeki appears more detached and less a man of the people.

The largely peaceful evolution of South Africa from a nondemocratic, national security state with deep racial, political, and economic distortions to the continent's largest democracy, most successful economy, and regional leader has both domestic and international implications. Its 43 million people, 75% of whom are black, share understandably higher expectations with the end of apartheid rule. Its white minority citizens (13%), tracing their African origins to the establishment of a naval refreshment station by the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, also stand as claimants to South African heritage.

The decade of the 1990s saw more than forty African governments hold national elections, marked dramatically by Mandela's election in 1994. The South African national economy accounts for 40% of

Sub-Saharan Africa's gross domestic product. Nevertheless, Africa on the whole has more wars, the most poverty, the highest number of displaced peoples due to civil war, climatic catastrophes, and pandemic disease, including the most AIDS casualties of any world region. South Africa shows the most capabilities and potential of any state in its region and on the continent. The state carries a heavy burden of high expectations among the G-7 advanced, industrial nations. A common perception is that as goes South Africa, so goes the continent.

Mbeki's opposition quickly points to the nation's standstill economic growth, a 40% adult unemployment rate; the free fall of the national currency in the world market; the worst per capita murder rate in the world; and inability to provide clean water, adequate housing, medical care, public education, and jobs. Mbeki's repeated denials of the link between HIV and AIDS have detracted from his image in South Africa and globally. On another front, his refusal to criticize Zimbabwe president Mugabe for sponsoring violent attacks on his political opposition and the forcible takeover of white-owned farms generates moral and political outrage.

President Mbeki has tried to build upon Mandela's success at reconciliation of bitter ethnic hostilities and to pursue transformation that ensures political, economic, and humanitarian advancement.

JAMES E. WINKATES

**See also Apartheid; Mandela, Nelson; South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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### MEIR, GOLDA

Golda Meir (1898–1978) was instrumental in the creation, development, and survival of the State of Israel. As an early pioneer, she was familiar with every aspect of the Jewish occupation of Palestine. She was one of Israel's biggest promoters abroad, personally raising the millions of dollars to assure its

survival. Although the primary focus of her activities was labor, she held many political posts throughout her career, eventually becoming prime minister. Her primary goal was to help establish a homeland in which Jews from anywhere in the world could find refuge.

She was born Golda Mabovitch in Kiev, Russia. She immigrated to the United States as a child in 1906 and lived in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the child of a carpenter father and grocer mother. As a young woman, she worked with her father for the People's Relief Committee. She taught Yiddish to children at a Labor Zionist Party school, joining the Party herself at seventeen and engaging in both speechmaking and fundraising. After marrying Morris Meyerson, she emigrated with him in 1921 as part of the Third *Aliyah*, or wave of Jewish immigration, to Palestine.

Meir's contribution to the development of Israel can be divided into three phases: the work she did during the Jewish occupation in Palestine under British Mandate Rule; her World War II and pre-independence activities; and her political involvement after the formation of the State of Israel in 1948.

### **The Jewish Occupation of Palestine (1921–1939)**

Golda Meir's contribution during her early years in Palestine consisted primarily of working on behalf of the *Histadrut* (General Federation of Jewish Labor). Shortly after arriving in Palestine, the Meyersons applied for permission to join Merhavia, a kibbutz, where they lived for two years before her husband's health required them to return to Tel Aviv and then Jerusalem, where, over the next four years, she bore and raised two children. She eventually returned to Tel Aviv to work for the Histadrut.

Her first job with the Histadrut was that of secretary of the Women's Labor Council in 1928. This council ran the workingwomen's farms that trained immigrant girls in agricultural skills. Meir served as a labor representative during that time to a number of international conferences abroad, but much of her work involved talking about the conditions of Jews in Palestine and raising funds in the United States, working on loan as national secretary of the Pioneer Women in the United States.

Eventually, she was appointed to the Executive Committee of the Histadrut and remained there for fourteen years, working on setting up an unemployment fund and resolving the myriad problems associated with immigration, which increased considerably after Jews from Germany began to

enter Palestine. It was during this time that she got to know people such as David Ben-Gurion and Levi Eshkol, who would play important roles in the establishment of the State of Israel, as well as in Meir's own career. As chair of the Board of Directors of the Workers' Sick Fund, Meir continued to raise funds for the Histadrut and was instrumental in establishing its shipping business through her US fundraising efforts. The purchase of ships would be the means by which European Jews found their way to Palestine.

In 1939, when the British issued a White Paper reversing their position on the establishment of a Jewish state and limiting Jewish immigration to a maximum of seventy-five thousand Jews for five years, while also restricting the purchase of land by Jews in Palestine, Meir shifted her focus away from labor problems to helping as many Jews as possible find their way to Palestine.

### **World War II and Pre-Independence Activities (1939–1948)**

Following Ben-Gurion's position, "We shall fight Hitler as if there were no White Paper and fight the White Paper as if there were no Hitler," Meir served on the War Economic Advisory Council during World War II, assisting the British with the war effort and negotiating fair wages for Jewish civilian workers, but also working to get as many Jews into Palestine as possible in spite of the illegality of the process. The so-called Committee of the Illegal Immigration met in her apartment, and she personally wrote some of their leaflets.

In 1946, Meir organized a hunger strike to protest the British exclusion of two ships of Jewish refugees headed for Palestine. The ships were eventually released and refugees allowed to enter. Later, Meir became acting head of the political department of the Jewish Agency, becoming its leader when Moshe Shertok was imprisoned and Ben-Gurion was kept out of Palestine under threat of arrest.

In 1947, the United Nations Commission of Inquiry recommended an end to the British Mandate and the partition of Palestine into equal parts, an act that the Jews accepted but the Arabs did not. Meir was part of the Zionist negotiations with the British and worked actively to raise \$50 million in the United States to arm the State of Israel in anticipation of the war of independence it would have to fight once the British withdrew. On May 14, 1948, the day of that withdrawal, Golda Meyerson was one of thirty-eight signers of the Proclamation of Independence that created the State of Israel.

## The State of Israel (1948–1978)

After the formation of the State of Israel, Meir held diplomatic and cabinet posts, but for the most part continued to raise money, to work to solve the problems of the new state, and to assure its survival. She was Ambassador to the Soviet Union, appointed in 1948. In January 1949, Israel won its war of independence and an armistice was declared. The first elections were held and Meir became a member of the Israeli cabinet, working as the first Minister of Labor, a job that involved responsibility for housing, job training, buildings, and roads for what she called “my seven good years.” During this time, there was an ever increasing migration to Israel and increased unemployment and inflation. Meir oversaw the building of permanent public housing, a network of roads, and other projects for which she continued to raise money on trips to the United States and Europe. In this post, Meir was instrumental in the passage of labor laws limiting the maximum number of work hours, providing national insurance, and guaranteeing paid maternity leave.

In June 1956, Meir became Foreign Minister of Israel, and it was at this time that she officially changed her name from Meyerson to the Hebrew *Meir*, which means “to illuminate.” In this post, she represented Israel at the United Nations, which was especially important following the Sinai War in 1956. Meir also played a key role in extending knowledge and assistance to many developing African and Asian countries, sending experts to assist and inviting foreign students to come to Israel, and providing fellowships for that purpose as part of her International Cooperation Program.

After serving as Secretary General of the Labor Party, Meir retired in 1968, only to be called upon six months later in 1969 to become Prime Minister of Israel after the death of Levi Eshkol and to avert a potential Labor Party split. She held the office until 1974, when disillusionment with her party’s handling of the October War (also known as the Yom Kippur War) and its high death toll led to a general loss of confidence in the Israeli military leadership. She resigned the office on April 11, 1974.

When she died of cancer on December 7, 1978, she was given a state funeral without eulogies, according to her wishes. It was attended by dignitaries from all over the world.

SUSAN LOVE BROWN

**See also Arab Nationalism; Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Balfour Declaration; Begin, Menachem; Ben-Gurion, David; Egypt; Ethnic Conflicts;**

**Middle East; Israel; Judaism; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Palestine; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Palestinian Diaspora; Sadat, Anwar; Zionism.**

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## MENCHÚ TÚM, RIGOBERTA

Rigoberta Menchú Túm, a Quiché-Maya Indian woman, was born to a relatively poor family on January 9, 1959, in Chimel, a village in the province of El Quiché, Guatemala. It is Central America’s poorest and most populous country with approximately 14.3 million people, half of whom are direct descendents of the Maya Indians. Although Maya are the majority population in Guatemala, historically they have been an oppressed group. Menchú Túm’s family are *Quiché*, the largest of the country’s twenty-two Indian groups.

Rigoberta Menchú Túm is perhaps the most famous indigenous person in the world and certainly the most famous Guatemalan. She first rose to international prominence in the early 1980s when her *testimonio*, told to Venezuelan anthropologist Elizabeth Burgos-Debray, was published in Spanish. The *Testimonio, I, Rigoberta: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, told the story of the condition of Guatemala’s indigenous population from the 1954 military coup that ended Guatemala’s nascent democratic regime through the impact of Latin America’s longest-running civil war and the subsequent series of military governments. While the book was banned in Guatemala, it won the prestigious “Casa de las Americas” prize for best testimonial, which helped provide Menchú with an international forum for her message. This authority to talk on behalf of indigenous people in Guatemala was further enhanced when she was awarded the UNESCO Prize for Education for Peace in 1990.



The country's military regimes governed without respect for individual rights or traditional Indian rights. The military regimes' stated motivation was to fight communism in the country. The regimes' counter-insurgency operations had a profound impact on the majority Indian population. As the military strengthened its position in Guatemala, its leadership became increasingly repressive toward the indigenous population. In particular in the early 1980s, General José Efraín Ríos Montt let loose a wave of repression against the indigenous population in the countryside, forcing them to join self-defense militias or to be killed. Indeed, in a 1982 *New York Times* article, the General articulated his policy toward the indigenous people stating, "If you are with us, we'll feed you; if not, we'll kill you." Government repression was aided by right-wing death squads, most notably the *Mano Blanca* (White Hand), that were given free reign to act against the indigenous peoples.

It was this military repression that drew the Menchú family into the country's political life and eventually many of them were killed as a consequence. Rigoberta's father, Vicente Menchú, a peasant activist and smalltime landowner, was killed during the occupation of the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City in January 1980. The occupation ended in an inferno that reduced the embassy to rubble and killed thirty-nine people including the Spanish Ambassador, many of his staff, and the protestors who had taken over the embassy to protest government human rights violations. The cause of the fire is still inconclusive; the military accused the occupiers of torching the building, but the occupiers' sympathizers have consistently blamed the military.

Later in the same year, Rigoberta's mother, Juana Túm Kótojá, was kidnapped by the military and was never seen again. As the violence worsened, Menchú Túm left Guatemala and sought refuge in Mexico.

By the mid-1980s the country began a gradual return to democratic rule. A new constitution and new government institutions, including a more independent Supreme Court and a Human Rights Ombudsman's office, were created. But this process remains incomplete even with the most recent elections of January 2004. Violence against human rights workers remain a persistent problem.

Menchú Túm's work toward a resolution to the 36-year civil war in Guatemala was recognized on the anniversary of the five hundredth anniversary of the European colonization of Latin America in 1992 when she was awarded the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize. Rigoberta Menchú used the money from the prize to establish the Rigoberta Menchú Túm Foundation (RMTF) in Guatemala, Mexico, and the United

States. The Foundation fights for Human Rights and the rights of Indigenous Peoples, and facilitates peace processes both in Guatemala and abroad.

According to Arturo Arias, a noted Guatemalan academic and novelist, prior to her return to Guatemala in 1988, Rigoberta Menchú Túm was a virtually unknown figure in her native country, even among the Mayan people. This was changed in a flash by the Guatemalan military through their handling of her return. Menchú Túm was asked to return by the administration of President Vinicio Cerezo (1986–1991) to show to the world that Guatemala was now a full-fledged democracy governed by the Rule of Law. Menchú Túm returned to her country with three other exiled leaders of various banned opposition groups. When Menchú Túm's plane touched down in Guatemala City, she was immediately arrested, but the increasingly independent Supreme Court demanded her release. The military's heavy-handed treatment of Menchú's return was on the front pages of newspapers around the world, including in Guatemala.

Menchú was involuntarily thrust into the middle of an ongoing "culture war" in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s when some leading universities required that her book, *I Rigoberta*, be taught in place of some European classics. Moreover, US anthropologist David Stoll's fieldwork investigations into the veracity of Menchú Túm's *testimonio* of Guatemala's civil war revealed some inconsistencies between Menchú's own account of the fate of her family and reports of other Guatemalans on her family's life. The media picked up on the debate and the story appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* in 1998. The newspaper article sparked an international debate concerning the accuracy of Menchú's version of events in Guatemala's civil war and added a new chapter to the culture war, reigniting the shrill debate between the left and right of the political spectrum both in Guatemala and in universities across the United States. Menchú's book and the resulting debate about factual accuracy also raised a discussion about the role of *testimonio* as a form of literature.

Despite the debate surrounding Rigoberta Menchú's account of the fate of her family, there is little doubt that she has had a profound impact on alerting the world to the repression and violence in Guatemala and the needs of indigenous people around the world.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Mexico and Central America; Guatemala**

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### MENEM, CARLOS

Carlos Saul Menem was the flamboyant president of Argentina from 1989–1999. Menem was born in 1930, the son of Syrian immigrants. Raised as a Sunni Muslim, Menem converted to Catholicism in his youth. Menem was trained as a lawyer. He has had a contradictory but interesting role in Argentine history as a president with populist appeal who carried through conservative economic reforms, who was indicted on corruption charges, and who has re-emerged as a political force. Menem also seemed to provide strong leadership to Argentina after a long period of economic decline.

Menem is a member of the Peronist Party, with long-standing ties to the CGT (*Confederación General de Trabajo*) labor union and the Peronist leadership. The Peronist Party was geared around the charismatic Juan Peron, who had developed a strong and deep popular appeal as well as ties to Argentina's labor unions. Following a military coup, Peron had been in exile in Spain through much of the 1960s. Peron made a brief return to Argentina in 1973, before he died. The Peronist movement, now led by Peron's second wife, stuttered amidst a growing economic crisis, which precipitated a military coup in 1976. Menem served as governor of the province La Rioja from 1973–1976 and from 1983–1989. As a prominent member of the Peronist Party, Menem was imprisoned by the military government in 1976. Amidst continuing hyper-inflation, and the disgrace of the loss of the war with the United Kingdom over the Falklands/Malvinas Islands, the military finally gave up power.

Democracy was restored to Argentina in 1983 and Raul Alfonsín of the Unión Cívica Radical was elected president. Although Alfonsín was successful in stabilizing democracy in Argentina, the economy continued to suffer from both high inflation and

unemployment. Menem surprised many in winning the 1989 presidential election, garnering 49% of the vote. He was an old-style Peronist candidate, promising a return to government intervention and spending and a reduction in unemployment. Menem took the party by surprise, when, after taking office, he adopted the opposite set of policies. Menem traveled to the United States and Great Britain soon after taking office. In 1990 he gave pardons to military officers for human rights abuses. Menem also passed major economic reforms by decree in early 1990. He engaged in tight fiscal and monetary policies and moved toward privatization of key industries, including ENTEL (telecommunications); Aerolíneas Argentinas (the national Airline); YPF (the national oil company); and the electricity system (dominated by SEGBA). He liberalized the economy, opening up Argentina for investment through the elimination of restrictions; eliminating export taxes and most quota restrictions on imports; and reducing other import duties. Menem completed his full-scale transformation from former labor leader to neoliberal with new labor regulations. Menem's erstwhile minister of the economy, Domingo Cavallo, tied the Argentine currency to the dollar in 1992, which seemed at the time to pay big dividends in terms of increasing investment in the country and stabilizing national accounts, particularly in controlling inflation. Menem made important steps forward in the MERCOSUR (see Southern Cone Common Market [MERCOSUR]) integration process. Menem was hailed as a hero and economic statesman at that point, and used his popularity to push through a Constitutional amendment permitting him re-election. He was easily re-elected in 1995, with 50% of the vote but no close contender. Menem seemed to have created a new, more moderate wing of the Peronist Party around his "revolución productiva," called "Menemismo," though dissidents formed the FREPASO alternative.

By the late 1990s, however, unemployment remained in the double digits in the country. Wage data do not reveal any significant increases during the 1990s. The exact reasons for the Argentine meltdown remain controversial, but many analysts suggest the maintenance of the fixed exchange rate was unnecessary after inflationary expectations had declined. As well, there is some evidence that the privatizations had little lasting effect on overall levels of external debt or the fiscal deficit, and much of the investment in the country remained in quickly withdrawn portfolio capital accounts. Brazil's devaluation in 1999 hastened the end of the Argentine "boom," with an accentuation of a balance-of-trade deficit adding to these long-term problems. By 2001, confidence in Argentina began to quickly erode, setting up the financial crisis that

began in that year. Menem's political career took a nosedive with the economic downturn and came to a seeming end. His attempt to change the Constitution again to allow for a third term failed. He was tied to a corruption scandal involving arms sales to Croatia and Ecuador in 2001. Though the Supreme Court ruled that there was insufficient evidence, Menem's political career seemed over.

Based on public exasperation of the seemingly feeble state responses to the economic crisis and a search for stability, Menem attempted a comeback in the 2003 special presidential elections, which had been called on account of the collapse of the government due to the economic crisis that began in 1999. Menem appeared a strong candidate at first, winning the first round of the primary with 24% of the vote. However, as rival Nestor Kirchner pulled away, Menem withdrew from the race. Nonetheless, Menem has continued to work behind the scenes as a political leader. Amidst the depression Argentina entered into starting in 2002, Menem somehow became a renewed symbol of nationalism with the appeal of former elements of the Peronist Party.

ANIL HIRA

**See also Argentina; Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development**

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### MENTAL HEALTH

While almost all aspects of health are low priorities on global and national agendas, mental health has

always been among the lowest. Countries with inadequate or struggling economies pay little attention to health in general, putting what few resources they have into creating political, economic, and military security. The resources that are committed to health go to urgent and visible public health issues and the provision of basic human needs. Mental health is no less urgent and no less of a threat to development, but it is far less visible—and thus often overlooked.

Common definitions of mental health encompass psychological well-being and reasonable adjustment to one's life. Mental illness includes an extensive range of disorders and disabilities that vary from mild to severe, including Alzheimer's disease, autism, depression, epilepsy, learning disabilities, schizophrenia, and substance abuse. In 2000, mental and behavioral disorders accounted for 12.3% of the global burden of disease, with an estimated 450 million people affected worldwide (World Health Organization 2001). Populations in both industrialized and developing countries experience mental illness; such illnesses place an even heavier burden on those in developing or transitioning countries, who lack services, treatment, and support due to the problematic political, economic, social, and health care environments. Availability, access, and quality of mental health services in developing countries vary considerably, and are usually seriously deficient.

Many of the barriers to access for physical health care are magnified for mental health care. These barriers include travel and housing expenses to often very distant health care clinics, prohibitive official or unofficial costs (bribes) of health care, poor quality of treatment, lack of medicines, and stigma or psychological costs. For example, patients in India may have to spend the equivalent of several months' salary for transportation to a clinic (Narayan 2001). In areas of Africa, nearly 90% of epilepsy patients do not have access to anti-convulsant medications (Weissman, Ustun, and Eisenberg 1999).

Additionally, mental health care diagnosis and treatment is seriously lacking in many developing countries. Doctors and other health care workers lack training in mental health, and thus fail to diagnose distress and disorders. This is understandable, perhaps, given the immediate physical health problems they must treat under comparatively difficult circumstances, but health care workers in developing countries thus fail to address the overlap between physical and mental health. There is also the common misperception that mental health disorders remain untreatable. Along with a lack of resources, the lack of attention to mental health explains these deficits and misperceptions.

In the mid-1990s, the Global Burden of Disease study utilized the Disability Adjusted Life Years (DALYs) method for measuring disability as well as mortality indicators. (Each DALY is equivalent to one healthy year of life lost.) Though mental health diagnosis by health care practitioners is limited, surveys of clinic patients and other tools do enable researchers to estimate incidence of mental illness. Once disability was added to the equation, five of the top ten causes for lost disability-adjusted life years in the world were related to mental health. The burden of mental and behavioral disorders exceeded DALYs lost to HIV/AIDS, cancer, and tuberculosis. Depression, alcohol abuse, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia topped the list (Murray and Lopez 1996).

Mental health's historic "Cinderella" status means there have been far fewer comprehensive studies of its impact in developing countries than one might expect. It may be one item included in larger public health studies, but until recently, few development studies focused solely on mental health or its overlap with physical health or development issues. Despite continued debate over specific causal effects and cross-cultural applications, there is growing recognition that mental health is integrally related to not only physical health but also development issues such as poverty, economic productivity, political instability, conflict, provision of basic human needs, social cohesion, and human rights. These relationships are complex and inseparable, particularly for the most common mental and behavioral disorders.

The World Health Organization (WHO) updated the Global Burden of Disease study in 2000; three mental health disorders rank in the top twenty causes of lost DALYs: depressive disorders, alcohol abuse, and self-inflicted injuries. Additionally, among ages 15–44, the top two causes of years of life lived with disability (YLDs) are depressive disorders and alcohol abuse (WHO 2001). While most people in developing countries remain mentally healthy, they face increased risks due to the political and economic environments. Depression, substance abuse, and suicide thus have a significant impact in developing countries. Cultural differences, dislocations, and violent conflict further complicate the impact of these three disorders. The process of development itself creates both benefits and challenges to progress toward mental health in developing countries.

## Depression

Depressive disorders, specifically unipolar depressive disorders, seriously impact societies throughout the

world, and caused the fourth-highest burden of disease in 2000. For all age groups, among both men and women, depression caused 4.4% of DALYs lost. The situation is even bleaker for ages fifteen to forty-four, where depression ranks number two at 8.6% of DALYs. It is also the second leading cause for women in that age group. Estimates suggest that, by 2020, depression will account for 5.7% of DALYs, making it the second leading cause of burden of disease for all age groups of both sexes (WHO 2001).

Depression presents both psychological and physical symptoms. Feelings such as worthlessness, inadequacy, sadness, hopelessness, and diminished pleasure in life combine with sleep disturbances, weight changes, fatigue, headaches, and chronic pain. A diagnosis of depression comes when these symptoms are present over a period of time. Both biologic and social in origin, depression can be episodic or chronic, mild or severe. Chronic depression is most common, and disrupts an individual's ability to function at home, at work, and in society. Treatment, at least in the Western world, includes medication and psychotherapy.

Studies show a high incidence of depression in developing countries, with up to 30% of women and up to 40% of all health care patients exhibiting symptoms of depression. In Africa and Latin America, surveys suggest that depression is the main reason that one-fifth to one-third of all patients seeks care. Lack of mental health training, cultural differences, and stigma, however, often prevent the diagnosis. Patients present their physical rather than psychological symptoms. This not only inhibits diagnosis and treatment of depression, but also can lead to unnecessary health care costs as doctors seek to address the physical condition only (Desjarlais *et al.* 1995; Patel 2001).

Links between socioeconomic conditions and depression remain ill-defined, though studies generally conclude that uncertain political and economic conditions in developing and transitioning countries place populations at higher risk for depression. Unfortunately, citizens of these countries, if diagnosed, have less access to treatment for depression. Medications may be expensive or unavailable. There is considerable question as to whether Western psychotherapy would be effective treatment in other cultures. Most authors call for further research to determine best practices for treating depression in developing countries.

## Substance Abuse and Dependence

Substance abuse and dependence are increasingly common in developing countries, with alcohol the

most common addiction. Substances used vary across regions and include alcohol, tobacco, opium and heroin, cocaine, sedatives, stimulants, and solvents. As a cause of burden of disease, alcohol dependence ranks in the top twenty, accounting for 1.3% of DALYs lost. For men ages fifteen to forty-four, alcohol dependence is the fourth leading cause of burden of disease, at 5.1% of DALYs lost (WHO 2001).

Health care professionals distinguish abuse from dependence. Abuse, or harmful use, occurs when substance use prevents individuals from functioning economically and socially, leads to physical or mental damage, drives individuals to seek more despite harmful consequences, and results in withdrawal symptoms when usage stops. Dependence goes beyond abuse and entails a compulsive need to take the substance, inability to control use, withdrawal symptoms when usage is reduced or stopped, neglect of personal and other needs, and continued use regardless of consequences to self or others (Desjarlais *et al.* 1995; WHO 2001).

Desjarlais *et al.* (1995) point out that “drug abuse is often a consequence of rapid social change (even social turmoil) brought on by factors such as rapid modernization and urbanization, civil strife, disease epidemics, and extreme economic hardships.” These conditions are all too common in developing countries and create vulnerable populations. Alcohol, for example, can create feelings of relaxation and freedom that are desirable to individuals facing social and economic difficulties. However, it also depresses the nervous system and can lead to depression, violence, and impaired functioning. Excessive, long-term drinking leads to physical complications such as cirrhosis and mental health complications such as psychotic episodes and hallucinations. Alcohol abuse is directly linked to accidents, interpersonal violence, and suicide.

Treatment for alcoholism is very limited in developing countries. Alcoholics receive treatment only for disorders and wounds resulting from substance abuse, not for the addiction (Patel 2001). Studies encourage policy makers and health care workers in developing and transitioning countries to alter policies and perceptions to focus on treatment of dependency. Addressing alcohol dependence is important because alcohol abuse has consequences for communities and societies as well as individuals: increased crime, violence, traffic accidents, unemployment, and reduced productivity. It is difficult to quantify the cost of alcohol dependence to developing societies, but estimates suggest it costs at least 1% of a developing country’s gross domestic product (GDP).

The vulnerability of developing and transitioning country populations to alcohol, tobacco, and other

substance dependence is exacerbated by the economic benefits associated with substance sales. Governments tax sales of alcohol and other legal substances and thus gain substantial revenues. Health professionals insist that the human cost outweighs any economic gain and indirect costs of alcoholism, such as health care, lost productivity, and law enforcement exceed revenues collected. They seek changes in government policies related to alcohol sales and consumption. Governments remain unconvinced, and the tension between the economic gains and human costs of alcohol dependence remains. A mid-1980s campaign against alcohol in the Soviet Union illustrates this point. For nearly three years, the government limited hours for alcohol sales, jailed those selling alcohol illegally, increased vodka prices, and had police arrest those drinking in public. Estimates suggest the campaign saved over half a million lives and reduced mortality rates in Russia. However, the campaign also reduced government revenue, perhaps by as much as 10% of indirect taxation, and is blamed in part for the Soviet Union’s subsequent financial collapse.

Though many cultures accept usage of traditional drugs, substance abuse and dependence place an increasing burden on developing and transitioning societies. Without mental health and policy intervention, substance dependence will likely continue to limit opportunities for development.

### Suicide

Depression and alcohol abuse are related to each other and to self-inflicted injuries and suicide. In 1995, for countries that reported such statistics, suicide was one of the top ten causes of death (Desjarlais *et al.* 1995). The World Health Organization considers suicide a serious public health problem. The Global Burden of Disease 2000 study ranks self-inflicted injuries, including intentionally killing oneself, eighteenth among causes of burden of disease at 1.3% of disability-adjusted life years lost. Suicide rates are consistently higher among men worldwide; suicide is the seventh leading cause of death for men ages fifteen to forty-four, accounting for 3.0% of DALYs.

Suicide rates vary considerably, geographically and culturally. As well, statistics on the subject are unreliable and sometimes unavailable. The general perception that suicide occurs primarily in industrialized countries is, however, a myth. As of 1995, the country with the highest rate of suicide was Sri Lanka (Desjarlais *et al.* 1995). Between the 1980s and 1990s, suicide increased nearly 62% in Mexico and 54% in

India, but decreased by 5% in the United States and 14% in Japan. These overall figures may disguise increases in regions within countries or in particular age groups (WHO 2001). The human cost of suicide is clear for both victims and their survivors. The economic cost is less clear.

Desjarlais *et al.* (1995) assess determinants of suicide, considering severe stressors as well as psychiatric disorders. The relationships between severe stressors and suicide are often indirect or inconsistent across countries. They find no direct link between suicide and modernization or urbanization, though social forces related to modernization do affect suicide rates. These forces—all of which can be present in developing countries—include economic insecurity and unemployment, social instability, political repression and protests, and both collective and domestic violence. The authors conclude that “simply put, personal troubles might be less important than social problems,” particularly in developing or transitioning countries. Other studies reinforce this conclusion as they document increases in suicide during civil war, ethnic conflict, and their aftermath. Preventing such severe stressors is key to reducing suicide, but remains a challenge in most developing and transitioning societies.

These four examples demonstrate the presence, complexity, and severity of mental health disorders in developing countries. And, of course, many more are present. The Global Burden of Disease 2000 study documents years lived with disability (YLDs) as well as DALYs. Conditions affecting years lived with disability also include Alzheimer’s, schizophrenia, panic disorders, obsessive-compulsive disorders, and post-traumatic stress disorders. In fact, for men ages fifteen to forty-four, the top four causes of YLDs are all mental health disorders (WHO 2001).

Many factors complicate mental health in developing countries. Political, economic, and social conditions are as important as biological predispositions for depression, substance dependence, suicide, and other mental health disorders. Developing countries experience conditions that are more extensive than or not present in industrialized countries. Cultural differences complicate mental health. Treatments for many mental health disorders are determined in industrialized countries and there is a question of effectiveness in other cultural contexts, as noted above with regard to depression. The status of women provides another example of cultural complications. Worldwide, men have higher rates of suicide. In China in 1998, however, suicide was the leading cause of death in rural areas among women but ranked third among causes of death for men (WHO 2001). Explanations include the low status of women in China, the reproductive

repression they face, more general constraints on life choices, and a culturally based tradition of suicide and the threat of suicide as a “lever of domestic power and form of protest” among Chinese women (Desjarlais *et al.* 1995).

Disasters and dislocations also seriously complicate mental health in developing and transitioning countries. Industrialized countries have stronger support systems and economic reserves to deal with both natural and man-made disasters. International organizations suggest up to 50 million people are displaced, either within their own countries or as refugees. The situations that prompted flight are also likely to prompt mental distress or severe stressors that contribute to mental disorders. Refugee and internally displaced populations have little access to health care of any kind. Relief planning gives increasing attention to mental health services but obstacles to their effective provision are numerous, including funding, safety, and overwhelming numbers of people needing assistance. Again, cultural differences also serve as a challenge; many argue the diagnosis and treatment of post-traumatic stress disorders are specific to Western culture. Nonetheless, there is general recognition of the significant impact of disasters and dislocation on mental health.

Conflict and state or structural violence are usually treated as a category separate from disaster, as they involve longer-term stressors. War, ethnic conflict, state terror, and political repression all create serious political, social, economic, and psychological threats to mental health. These threats can be direct, such as immediate psychological trauma, and indirect, such as disruptions of communities, cultures, and traditions. Estimates suggest up to one-half of all populations affected by conflict suffer mental distress or disorders. Post-traumatic stress disorder is common in these situations. As most social services break down during conflict, what little mental health care was available is likely to disappear. Thus, while difficult, preventing such conflict and violence is deemed the most effective means of preventing the resulting mental distress. With regard to treatment in or after conflict situations, Desjarlais *et al.* (1995) argue that the impact of conflict and violence is mitigated in resilient, unified communities and therefore suggest community-level mental health interventions would be more effective than individual-level therapy.

A successful process of development may itself diminish these complications to mental health by reducing conflict and dislocations and through cultural changes that accompany modernization. More generally, development may improve the political and economic environments and thus reduce some stressors, increase resources for mental health, and lead to

better support systems. But development does not automatically increase mental health. The preconception that industrialized countries suffer from more suicides may be false, but it grew out of the fact that psychosocial disorders (and attention to them) did increase in many countries when their economies were growing rapidly. Even positive developments like increased life expectancy complicate mental health, as individuals will live long enough to experience Alzheimer's disease or other age-related mental disorders.

When the 1996 Global Burden of Disease (GBD) report was issued, a stunned public health community realized just how neglected mental health had been throughout the world. The World Health Organization's World Health Report 2001 focuses on "Mental Health: New Understanding, New Hope." It bluntly acknowledges that the public health community has long neglected the importance of mental health to overall well being. Current attention to mental health will give it priority on global health agendas and, perhaps, national agendas. However, the significant political, economic, and social challenges in developing and transitioning countries remain unchanged, making it difficult for them to immediately address mental health or, indeed, health in general. As Desjarlais *et al.* (1995) point out, "To think about mental health, then, we must consider a range of interrelated forces that, at first glance, might not appear to be 'mental health' problems." Until these interrelated forces are successfully addressed, mental health may well remain a low priority in developing and transitioning countries.

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**See also Public health; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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**MEXICO: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Mexico forms the southern part of North America and stretches into Central America. Its borders are with the United States to the north and with Belize and Guatemala to the east. Mexico's long coastline borders three bodies of water: the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. Mexico is the third-largest country in Latin America: at 761,600 square miles, it is approximately three times the size of Texas. It is home to an estimated 105 million people; in addition, more than 20 million Mexicans and their descendants live in the United States. Approximately 20% of the population, or 21 million, live in metropolitan Mexico City.

Mexico is a country of great geographical diversity. Two major mountain ranges, the Sierra Madre Occidental and the Sierra Madre Oriental, run parallel to the Pacific and Gulf Coasts before meeting in the Sierra Volcánica Transversal and tapering off in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The peaks of the Sierra Volcánica include Mexico's highest mountains: the Citlaltépetl (also known as Pico de Orizaba), the Popocatepetl, and the Ixtaccíhuatl. These mountain ranges contribute to a great variety of climate and terrain ranging from the deserts of the north to the tropical rainforests of Chiapas. As a result, Mexico numbers among the most diverse developing nations in terms of mineral and agricultural resources. Mexican mineral exports have had a significant impact on global markets. In the late eighteenth century, what was then the Spanish colony of New Spain was the world's largest silver producer, and by the 1890s, silver pesos provided cash flow in South and East Asia. By then, copper mining had transformed the border state of Sonora, and shortly thereafter, an oil boom began in the Gulf states. Today, Mexico is one of the world's leading oil producers not affiliated with OPEC (Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries). Agricultural products include coffee, flowers, fruit, and sugar, along with basic foodstuffs

such as corn, which is thought to have originated in Mexico. However, only 13% of the country's territory is arable, and Mexico depends on imports for feeding its growing population.

This population is as diverse as the country it inhabits. Prior to the age of European exploration, what is now central Mexico was the most densely populated area of the Americas. The Aztec empire alone was home to an estimated 16 million to 25 million people, and millions more lived in the east, where the great Mayan civilization had once flourished. The conquest by Spain beginning in 1519 not only brought colonial rule, but also exploitative labor systems and epidemics unknown to the indigenous people—diseases that wiped out approximately 90% of the native population during the century that followed. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, a miscegenated society emerged in Mexico that combined indigenous, European, and African elements, while the indigenous population slowly began to recover. Despite this ethnic mixture, Mexico is still home to more than 16 million indigenous people, and the country features sixty-two living indigenous languages in addition to Spanish, the official language.

The Mexican economy forms a bridge from the highly developed North American economies of Canada and the United States to the less developed economies of Central and South America. In the last fifty years, Mexico has emerged as one of the more highly industrialized countries of the developing world. Service and industrial occupations amount to 82% of all employment, and remittances from migrant workers in the United States constitute an important source of national income. In 2003, per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was estimated at \$9,000, after Argentina the second highest among the independent nations of Latin America but less than one-fourth that of the United States. Even before the 1992 signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), a treaty that will create a single North American market by 2009, the economic linkages between Mexico and the United States overwhelmed ties to other regions of the world. In 2003, the United States absorbed 87.6% of Mexican exports, and 61.8% of Mexican imports were of US origin.

Wealth has always been unevenly distributed in Mexico. In 2002, the poorest 10% of the population enjoyed just 1.6% of household income, while the top 10% accounted for 35.6%. The Gini index—a key measure of social justice that increases with inequality—reads 53.6 for Mexico, compared to forty-four for the United States and twenty-five for Sweden. By way of comparison, this figure resembles that of Chile and

Peru, whereas the Gini index for Brazil, the country with which Mexico is most frequently compared in terms of economic performance, is 60.8. In general terms, the distribution of wealth follows ethnic lines, with the more European elements of the population enjoying greater access to economic opportunity as well as political power.

While the Spanish conquest and colonial period sowed the seeds of this inequality, the two centuries since independence have featured several attempts to redress the imbalance. The independence movement began in 1810 with the Hidalgo Revolt, a movement rooted in the peasantry of central Mexico. In the 1850s, the Liberal Reform swept an indigenous leader—Benito Juárez—to power even as the Liberals disentailed the Catholic Church and handed its land over to private investors. Landless peasants, including the indigenous army of Emiliano Zapata, played a key role in the Mexican Revolution of 1910, along with workers, the middle classes, and disaffected members of the elite, and the Constitution of 1917 enshrined land reform and the rights of workers as important and inalienable rights. During the 1920s and 1930s, a succession of governments put some of these promises into practice. At each juncture, however, popular demands for social change confronted powerful advocates for the status quo that included landowners, political bosses, entrepreneurs, and foreign investors. Hidalgo was captured and shot by colonial authorities; Juárez's liberalism eventually gave way to the authoritarian dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz; and the Mexican Revolution finally fell under the control of a single party that controlled the presidency from 1929 to 2000. Renamed the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, or Party of the Institutional Revolution) by President Miguel Alemán Valdés in 1946, this ruling party epitomized both popular demands for change and the efforts of a new elite to co-opt and even to thwart those demands. This became obvious as recently as 1994, when a rebel army that called itself the EZLN (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, or Zapatista Army of National Liberation) rose up in protest against NAFTA, an agreement the rebels believed to be prejudicial to indigenous peasants in the southern state of Chiapas and in Mexico in general. Mexican history since 1945 has therefore followed three basic trends: rapid industrialization and urbanization; a deepening crisis of legitimacy of the PRI that finally cost the party its hold on power; and increasing integration into the North American (and hence, global) economy. These trends occurred over the course of three phases: the so-called Mexican miracle (1948–1968), a populist era (1968–1982), and the neoliberal era (beginning in 1982).



A time of rapid economic growth and industrialization, the Mexican miracle was rooted in growing US demand for Mexican export products. The immediate postwar period had been a time of economic crisis. As Mexico had helped the Allied war effort in large part by furnishing strategic raw materials, the postwar drop in demand for such products hurt the Mexican economy severely. At a time when the end of the war removed a major stimulus for the US economy, US businesses also turned away tens of thousands of Mexican workers hired under the Bracero Program in the early 1940s, adding pressure to a labor market already straining under the weight of a growing population. At the same time, mounting inflation, particularly in foodstuffs and other items of necessity, confounded the expectations of many Mexicans that the Allied victory in the war would benefit them.

Faced with this slump, the Mexican government joined other large Latin American nations in embracing the advice of the Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch, the president of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America. Prebisch had diagnosed the reliance on externally driven development—the export of raw materials to pay for imported industrial goods—as the cause for the economic underdevelopment of Latin America. According to Prebisch's analysis, trading raw materials for manufactured products constituted an “unequal exchange,” as the prices of most raw materials tended to decline in the long run in comparison to those of manufactured goods. To solve this problem, Prebisch proposed government-assisted import-substitution industrialization (ISI) programs accompanied by a protectionist trade policy. Picking up on an industrialization project that had brought many light industries to Mexico over the course of the preceding sixty years, the Mexican government joined those of Argentina and Brazil in making a strong push toward state-assisted modernization. This effort did not imply a move toward autarky so much as it changed the type of dependence on the United States and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe. Instead of buying hardware from the United States, for example, Mexican companies purchased the machinery needed to produce such hardware. Another phenomenon was the opening of foreign-owned assembly plants in Mexico during the 1950s and 1960s.

With the help of strong US demand for Mexican products and a growing interest in Mexico as a tourist destination, ISI produced results that looked impressive: an average growth rate of 8% in the 1948–1968 period, accompanied by great strides in literacy and health care. Aside from Mexican companies, many multinational corporations began

production in Mexico. For example, in 1966, Volkswagen began to produce its signature Beetle automobile in its new plant in the city of Puebla. Likewise, *maquiladoras*, or partial assembly plants, dotted the northern states close to the US border, from where the maquiladoras shipped their products to be fully assembled in the United States. The result was a more urban society: Mexico City grew from 650,000 inhabitants in 1945 to 20 million fifty years later, and other metropolitan centers such as Guadalajara, León, Monterrey, and Puebla also experienced exponential growth. Much of this growth attested to the fact that poverty was on the rise even as national income improved, as a ring of *ciudades perdidas*, or shantytowns, came to surround Mexico City and other metropolitan areas.

This effort relied on a ruling party that centralized power in the presidency with a corporatist model developed in the 1920s and 1930s, and particularly following the influence of Presidents Alvaro Obregón, Plutarco Elías Calles, and Lázaro Cárdenas del Río. The PRI not only worked to take power from the military *caciques* who had continually defied central authority in the two decades following the Revolution of 1910, but it also claimed to represent the revolution itself. By incorporating several mass-based organizations, including the CNC (*Consejo Nacional Campesino*, or National Peasant Council) and the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos*, or Confederation of Mexican Workers), the PRI mediated social conflict at the same time that it supported the president in carrying out the ambitious industrialization program and engineered a string of electoral victories. The resulting balancing act provided a friendly environment for investors even while a succession of presidents decreed higher wages and new benefits for workers.

If this system worked fairly well during times of economic growth and political stability, the late 1960s put it to a severe test. After 1966, the global economy slowed down at the same time that an opposition student movement emerged in Mexico—a movement heavily influenced by similar trends in countries such as France, the United States, and West Germany. These students decried the PRI state as a one-party dictatorship that did not allow dissenting voices to be heard. For the student movement, the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City became a prime opportunity to showcase its concerns, as the Mexico City Olympics were the first ones to be held in a developing nation. On October 2, 1968—only two weeks before the opening of the Olympic Games—Mexican security forces massacred hundreds of student protesters in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Tlatelolco, Mexico City, and the PRI had shed its mask as the defender of the

revolution. At the same time, the student movement had shown the degree to which Mexican society and culture reflected global trends. Not only was this movement just as politicized as those in the United States and Western Europe, but it also represented a counterculture: in 1970, Mexico featured its own version of the famed Woodstock music festival near the small town of Avándaro.

By then, Mexico had entered a populist era in which the PRI government again invoked the social and political promises of the Revolution of 1910. Presidents Luis Echeverría Álvarez (1970–1976) and José López Portillo (1976–1982) represented themselves as latter-day versions of former president Cárdenas, a beloved icon of the Mexican left wing who had died shortly before Echeverría's inauguration. Across Mexico, former adherents of the student movement decapitated at Tlatelolco went underground: some joined urban guerrillas, and others—like the rebel Lucio Cabañas—organized a rural uprising in the state of Guerrero near the resort town of Acapulco. Between 1970 and 1976, abductions and political assassinations rocked Mexico: the guerrillas killed a wealthy Monterrey industrialist, Eugenio Garza Sada; Cabañas' forces kidnapped a federal senator; and a revolutionary group held for ransom Echeverría's father-in-law, Guadalupe Zuno Hernández.

Echeverría responded to this popular challenge with a mixture of coercion and co-optation. He sent over ten thousand federal troops into Guerrero to carry out a scorched-earth policy that killed hundreds of innocent bystanders along with Cabañas and twenty-seven of his closest collaborators. He also knew, however, that he needed to make concessions to the proponents of reform, many of whom desired more radical change in Mexican society than he was prepared to offer. Thus, Echeverría revived the long-dormant land distribution program, parceling out more land to peasants than his four predecessors combined; he lowered the voting age to eighteen, and he inaugurated an ambitious profit-sharing scheme designed to increase the gross pay of workers. To detract from his own “dirty war” against guerrilla insurgents and other opponents of his regime, he also offered asylum to South Americans fleeing the recently established military dictatorships of Chile (1973) and Argentina (1976). While the Mexican government thus muzzled its own opposition, Mexico City became the cultural capital of Latin America as the new home of hundreds of dissident intellectuals from the Southern Cone.

For his part, López Portillo built on Echeverría's populist style. The discovery of new oil deposits fueled optimism in government circles about Mexico's

future as an economic power at a time of high oil prices. And yet, the crisis that had begun in 1968 continued to fester. Corruption was rampant, and criticism of the PRI's stranglehold on the political process even resonated in the government-sponsored newspapers. Like Echeverría, López Portillo attempted to use an active foreign policy to cover up the domestic shortcomings of his regime (see Mexico: International Relations). Convinced that the gushing oil wells constituted a sort of cornucopia, the president attempted to translate newfound economic riches and diplomatic successes into political capital. He also borrowed heavily from foreign banks to finance ambitious social programs and government subsidies for housing and food.

This effort to revive the populist rhetoric of the 1920s and 1930s to cover up the shortcomings of the PRI state failed in the aftermath of the debt crisis of 1982. In a climate of high interest rates and falling oil prices, the Mexican government defaulted on its mounting foreign debt. In a panicked effort to prevent massive capital flight, López Portillo nationalized the country's banks, but it was already too late. By June 1983, the peso had fallen 85% against the dollar, and over the course of the administration of López Portillo's successor, Miguel de la Madrid, real incomes fell almost 40%. To reestablish creditworthiness with foreign banks, de la Madrid accepted a severe austerity program prescribed by the International Monetary Fund. This program not only mandated a balancing of the government's books, but also enjoined de la Madrid to sell off state-owned assets and end the fifty-year experiment in making the state a major player in the economy.

The de la Madrid administration ushered in the most recent period in Mexican history: the neoliberal era. De la Madrid and his successor, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–1994), officially dismantled the image of the PRI as a revolutionary party, and Salinas even led a successful effort to strike many of the nationalist and social reformist provisions of the Constitution of 1917. In doing so, de la Madrid and Salinas publicly likened the restructuring and privatization to Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika* in the Soviet Union, even though Mexico, unlike the Soviet Union, had never left the path of state-sponsored capitalism. Salinas also spearheaded the effort to win approval of NAFTA in Canada, Mexico, and the United States, and he considered the passage of NAFTA his signature achievement. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the sale of state-owned assets and a global economic recovery marked a brief return to the growth rates of the 1950s and 1960s. Not even the Zapatista rebellion of 1994, which plagued the last year of Salinas' government and that of his successor,

Ernesto Zedillo—a last-minute replacement for Luis Donaldo Colosio, Salinas' hand-picked successor who was assassinated under mysterious circumstances in April 1994—could dispel the optimism that reigned in government circles. The following year, however, Mexico once again entered a downward cycle with the peso crisis of 1995, and ordinary Mexicans were again hit hard as their currency lost almost two-thirds of its value. Although the crisis passed fairly quickly, thanks in part to swift intervention by the US government, Mexicans dubbed the time they lived in the “*décadas perdidas*,” or lost decades—a far cry from the upbeat rhetoric from the national government.

As his own term neared a close, Zedillo realized that the PRI had finally reached the twilight of its undisputed rule. Already in 1988, Salinas had won a highly questionable victory over the left-wing opposition candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas amidst allegations of fraud. Since that time, the PRI had steadily lost influence in northern Mexico to a conservative opposition party, the PAN (*Partido de Acción Nacional*, or National Action Party). Zedillo understood well that his own legacy could either consist of prolonging the rule of the PRI by illegal means, or serving as the president who at long last brought democracy to Mexico. As a result, he consented to a wide-ranging electoral reform that gave greater opportunities to opposition parties at the precise moment when the PAN offered a charismatic leader, the former Coca-Cola executive Vicente Fox Quesada. In July 2000, Fox's triumph in the national elections ushered in a new era in Mexico—one in which the PRI is only one of three major parties. Although Fox's rule has been overshadowed by yet another economic crisis and inefficient government, Mexico is today more truly democratic than at any other point in its history. It remains to be seen whether political democracy can translate into greater social justice or sustainable economic development that benefits the majority of the population.

JÜRGEN BUCHENAU

**See also** Fox, Vicente; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI); Salinas de Gortari, Carlos; Zapatista National Revolutionary Army (EZLN)

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## MEXICO: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Mexico is the only developing nation that shares a land border with a highly industrialized society. As a result, since independence in 1821, Mexican international relations have centered first and foremost on the country's relationship with the United States. For Mexicans today, the secession of Texas (1836) and the US–Mexican War (1846–1848) hold far more traumatic memories than the French Intervention (1862–1867) because these military engagements with US forces resulted in the annexation of half of the nation's territory. Among more recent instances of US intervention, Mexicans remember the occupation of Veracruz (1914) and the Punitive Expedition against Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa (1916–1917). Distant in time, these events burned themselves into the national consciousness and made national icons out of Villa and others who resisted the United States. And yet, Mexicans have long recognized that the relationship with the United States is vital for the economic development of their country.

As a result, Mexican foreign policy has sought to take advantage of US capital and technological know-how while attempting to limit direct attacks on the country's sovereignty. In this scheme, relations with countries other than the United States have sought to mitigate the powerful influence of Mexico's northern neighbor, either by seeking European investments and immigration to balance US economic

influence, or by encouraging nationalist and anti-imperialist movements in Latin America. Therefore, President Porfirio Díaz (1876–1880 and 1884–1911) courted British, French, and German investments even as he oversaw what came to be known as the “Pacific Conquest” of Mexico by US investors, and he supported Central American leaders critical of US influence such as Nicaragua’s José Santos Zelaya. Similarly, the governments of the Mexican Revolution (1910–1940) sought to force foreign investors to obey Mexican laws, and in 1938, President Lázaro Cárdenas even expropriated the foreign-owned oil industry—all at a time when US investments in Mexico had reached a new high. Finally, President Manuel Avila Camacho supported the United States and its allies in World War II but turned a deaf ear to US demands to extradite ethnic Germans and Japanese and to nationalize property held by Axis nationals and Mexicans of German and Japanese descent. Instead of confiscating this property and closing down German and Japanese mercantile establishments, as many Central and South American governments did, Avila Camacho placed them under the supervision of a government agency.

Since 1945, this effort to enjoy the benefits of the vicinity of the United States without its attendant risks has become even more complicated. As the Cold War began to polarize world politics, migration and the maturation of transnational business networks integrated Mexico into an even closer relationship with the United States. To add to this trend, World War II had left the United States as the only regional power in the Caribbean era. These incentives to support the US side, however, were at least partially offset by the enduring legacy of an anti-imperialist foreign policy dating back to the nineteenth century. This legacy, and the social forces that sustained it, prodded the Mexican government to support social revolution and criticize US intervention. Furthermore, the very strengthening of US power dictated a policy that showcased Mexico as an independent nation rather than an ally of the United States.

At the end of the war, Avila Camacho’s first foreign-policy priority was to assist the project of import-substitution industrialization (see Mexico: History and Economic Development). Avila Camacho and his successor, Miguel Alemán Valdés, maintained close ties to the Monterrey Group, the country’s most important network of industrialists. With the help of the Mexican state, the Monterrey Group participated in joint ventures with US multinational corporations that accelerated the industrialization project. As US exporters could not meet the burgeoning Mexican demand for manufactured items,

and since industrialization provided opportunities for the export of capital goods, the US government supported Mexican import-substitution industrialization. As a result, postwar US–Mexican relations were harmonious. In 1947, Alemán and US President Harry S. Truman exchanged state visits in an unprecedented show of goodwill. During his visit, which coincided with the centennial of the US–Mexican War, Truman honored the *niños héroes* (boy heroes), the young cadets from elite Mexican families who had died defending Chapultepec Castle against the advancing US forces.

Alemán also moved to improve relations with Mexico’s former enemies during World War II. Even before the resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan in 1952, the president took steps toward normalization by returning government-administered German property to its owners. However, the appropriately named president, whose last name translates to “German” in the Spanish language, disappointed many Japanese-Mexicans whose property had been sold during or immediately following the war.

Alemán began a diplomacy that distinguished itself for its support of the United States in the Cold War and by its anticommunism. Mexico backed the United States on a variety of matters ranging from the Korean War to Eastern Europe, and it maintained cool relations with the Soviet Union. The anticommunism of Alemán and his successor, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, resulted in part from personal conviction, in part from ceaseless US mass media propaganda in Mexico, in part from the Mexican government’s desire to discourage radical protest movements, and in part from a keen sense of political opportunity. In the fall of 1949, the communist triumph in China had heightened the US fear of a world revolution. By the summer of the next year, the US involvement in the Korean War had led to a complete military mobilization. As mobilization entailed lucrative contracts for Latin American mineral exporters, an anticommunist stance could help procure these contracts for Mexico. The victory of World War II hero Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 1952 US presidential elections made an anticommunist diplomacy even more important. As the CIA-assisted coup d’état in revolutionary Guatemala (1954) demonstrated, Eisenhower intended to quash economic nationalism and socialism in Latin America. In this context, anticommunism was a strategy of political survival.

As the case of Guatemala revealed, however, this anticommunist stance found its limits in the matter of US aggression in Latin America. To avoid US hostility, Mexican diplomats presented their objections at an international diplomatic forum. On the occasion

of the Tenth Inter-American Conference held in Caracas in March 1954, US Secretary of State John F. Dulles presented a resolution against communist subversion in the western hemisphere. Seeing the resolution as a thinly veiled cloak to justify US intervention in Guatemala, Mexican diplomats introduced a number of motions designed to weaken it. When a majority of the delegates defeated most of these motions, Mexico joined Costa Rica and Argentina as the only countries to abstain from the final vote. Although the Ruiz Cortines administration remained silent throughout the coup d'état, it also allowed supporters of the ousted Guatemalan government free entry into Mexico. This stance constituted a compromise between the demands of geopolitics and the business elite on the one side and the nationalist left led by ex-President Cárdenas.

By the late 1950s, new President Adolfo López Mateos found conditions ripe for a more assertive and independent foreign policy. Throughout a decade of rapid economic growth, Mexico's international prestige had grown immensely, and the recovering European and Japanese economies took notice of its potential as a trading and investment partner. Furthermore, international issues played an increasing role in political discourse. Labor and peasant unrest prompted by the unequal distribution of the fruits of economic growth prompted López Mateos to display a nationalist foreign policy. In particular, the triumph of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in Cuba left a great impact on Mexican public opinion, and López Mateos found himself between an anti-Castro business community and largely pro-Castro popular organizations. In addition, the beginning of decolonization in Africa and the emergence of champions of the so-called "Third World" such as Egypt's Gamal Nasser weakened the dominance of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in the United Nations General Assembly and provided new openings for criticism of US policy.

López Mateos' foreign policy was remarkably balanced between friendship with the United States and these new opportunities. López Mateos maintained cordial relations with US President John F. Kennedy. In 1961, Mexico embraced the Alliance for Progress, a program designed to forestall Castro-type revolutions in Latin America with US-sponsored economic and social reform. A year later, Kennedy proclaimed during a visit to Mexico City that the goals of the Alliance for Progress were identical to those of the Mexican Revolution. Nonetheless, López Mateos also sought to open up new economic and political partnerships around the globe. His government gravitated toward the nascent Non-Aligned Movement, and Mexico became one of the founding

members of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). The president was particularly proud when Mexico City was selected as the host city for the 1968 Summer Olympics as the first (and so far only) Latin American city to host the event.

The Cuban Revolution revealed both the possibilities and the limits of this new foreign policy. Initially, López Mateos welcomed Castro's victory. When Castro proclaimed himself a socialist, however, the Mexican government ceased to praise the Cuban leader. Instead, López Mateos defended Cuba's right to self-determination and maintained that posture in the face of enormous US pressure after the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961 sponsored by the CIA. Not even the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 could make a dent in this opposition to US intervention. While López Mateos joined Kennedy in condemning Castro for requesting Soviet nuclear missiles, he cautioned that his action did not imply acquiescence to a US invasion of Cuba.

This policy of reserved toleration of the Cuban Revolution continued into the succeeding decade, albeit accompanied by an increasing distance between the Mexican and Cuban governments. Under President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964–1970), Mexican politics moved to the right at the same time when Castro made sporadic efforts to encourage Latin Americans to emulate his revolution. Invoking the same arguments that it had used in the defense of the Cuban Revolution, the Mexican government opposed what it viewed as interference in the internal affairs of other nations. Far from being an issue of international principles, this stance sought to discourage the Mexican left from seeking Cuban assistance. In fact, however, Díaz Ordaz need not have worried, as Castro never aided subversive movements in Mexico. The Cuban leader either spared Mexico because of its principled diplomatic efforts, or he feared US reprisals if he were to stir up trouble in a country that bordered the United States. In any case, however, Díaz Ordaz did not share his predecessor's tolerance for Castro's revolutionary experiment. Mexican–Cuban relations deteriorated during his administration, and the Cuban hijacking of Mexican commercial airliners in May and June 1970 led to a low point in relations. Nonetheless, he never publicly condemned the Castro regime, and the appearance of tolerating the Cuban Revolution and defying US policy therefore remained.

From 1970 to 1976, the presidency of former Secretary of Gobernación Luis Echeverría Álvarez, the man whom many Mexicans considered responsible for the massacre of hundreds of student protesters at Tlatelolco, witnessed a turn toward an even more independent foreign policy. Echeverría sought

to recover the ground his party had lost at Tlatelolco by shifting official rhetoric dramatically to the left. As part of this effort, Echeverría proclaimed himself a champion of the “Third World” and asserted that Mexico would assume a position of leadership in what is now known as the Global South. Continued by his successor, José López Portillo, this self-proclaimed leadership role increasingly clashed with US policy, particularly as regarded Mexican positions in the United Nations and toward social revolution in Cuba and Central America. Taking advantage of a number of international trends that allowed a degree of independence from US objectives, this assertive Mexican foreign policy was designed above all to make people forget Tlatelolco.

The international panorama offered an opportunity for a more independent foreign policy. At the time, the United States was bogged down in Vietnam and engaged in a process of détente with the Soviet Union. In Latin America, Mexico increasingly appeared to represent a “middle way” between two opposing tendencies: the rise of military regimes in Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, and revolutionary nationalism in Cuba and Salvador Allende’s Chile. In the early 1970s, it appeared unlikely that the United States would launch a military intervention against either the Chilean or the Cuban Revolution, and Echeverría believed that Mexico enjoyed an unprecedented margin for an assertive foreign policy.

Thus encouraged, Echeverría launched a diplomatic offensive on several fronts. Pointing to the unfavorable terms of trade of most developing nations, he called for global economic justice with vaguely defined references to a new commodity price structure. He also nationalized the tobacco and telephone industries, pointing to these sectors as examples of foreign exploitation. The Mexican president also invented himself as a critic of the Cold War. He became one of the leaders of the “nonaligned movement” within the United Nations and maintained a dialogue with Castro. To make his point even clearer, he posed for photo ops with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, a symbol of anti-Zionist and anti-“American” sentiment in the Middle East, and he openly befriended Chilean leader Salvador Allende. When a CIA-assisted coup overthrew Allende, Echeverría granted asylum to thousands of Chileans fleeing the ensuing repression. After another coup overthrew Argentine president Isabel Perón three years later, Echeverría opened Mexico’s doors to Argentine refugees as well. Mexico’s status as a safe haven for South American refugees detracted attention from Echeverría’s own “dirty war” against Lucio Cabañas and other insurgents operating in the Mexican countryside after the Tlatelolco massacre.

If Echeverría had primarily asserted Mexican objectives in the United Nations and in exile policy, López Portillo returned to Mexico’s traditional role as a middle power in Central America. In May 1979, the López Portillo administration broke relations with the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua. Two months later, the Sandinista leadership of a movement that had fought Somoza since 1963 arrived in Managua aboard a Mexican jet to begin eleven years of revolutionary rule in Nicaragua. In the first years of the revolution, López Portillo generously lavished favors on the “new Nicaragua.” Awash in petrodollars, the Mexican government awarded \$39 million in cash and goods to the Sandinistas. When US President Ronald Reagan began to undermine the Sandinistas, whom he regarded as the work of Cuban-Soviet subversion, López Portillo helped Nicaragua on the diplomatic front. He sponsored a US–Nicaraguan dialogue in the Mexican port town of Manzanillo, and he also unsuccessfully took up the subject of Nicaragua in the course of two meetings with Reagan in the first half of 1981. That same year, López Portillo also participated in an attempt to end a protracted civil war in El Salvador between a government controlled by right-wing death squads and left-wing opposition groups. In August, he and French President François Mitterrand issued a joint communiqué that recognized both opposition groups, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), as “political forces representative of the Salvadoran people.”

If the year 1981 was the high watermark of Mexican foreign policy in the postwar period, the following year forced López Portillo into retreat. Citing Soviet influence in the Sandinista junta and alleging Nicaraguan aid to the rebels in El Salvador, the Reagan government trained and armed thousands of Nicaraguan exiles, also known as Contras, in bases in Florida and Honduras, from where they launched forays into Nicaragua as part of an undeclared US war on the Sandinistas. At the same time, Mexico entered a severe economic crisis due to the collapse in oil prices and mounting foreign debt. As a result, Mexico soon returned to the cautious policy that had marked the 1950s and 1960s. New President Miguel de la Madrid shifted from lending direct assistance to the Sandinistas to seeking a mediated solution to the multiple crises in Central America. De la Madrid undertook this effort through the Contadora group made up of Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela.

De la Madrid’s course proved prudent, as relations with the United States demanded his full attention. In particular, undocumented immigration complicated relations. During the 1970s, the number of undocumented Mexicans in the United States had grown

rapidly; after 1982, the effects of the economic crisis added significantly to these numbers. Even while the US Congress debated measures to crack down on further immigration, the increasing trafficking in illicit drugs came to the fore as another explosive issue.

In the face of these difficulties, de la Madrid and his successor, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, decided to cast Mexico's lot with the United States and embrace neoliberal policies (see also Mexico: History and Economic Development). The culmination of these policies was the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which not only set Canada, Mexico, and the United States on the path toward a common market, but also committed Mexico to relinquishing its postrevolutionary tradition of economic nationalism. If Echeverría had been a trendsetter for developing nations in the 1970s, the Harvard-trained Salinas became a poster child for the wave of globalizing policies that swept the developing world in the late 1980s and 1990s. Other moves toward free trade made Mexico a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and ultimately resulted in the signing of free trade agreements with Chile and the European Union. NAFTA set off acrimonious debate in Mexico, where Salinas had faced a stiff electoral challenge from Lázaro Cárdenas' son, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who had broken ranks with the ruling PRI. The younger Cárdenas decried NAFTA as an attack on national sovereignty and a move to make Mexico an economic appendage of the United States. In particular, he worried that the treaty would reverse seventy years of land reform in Mexico, a process that had turned more than 80 million acres of land over to peasant cooperatives. This critique, however, paled in comparison to the response of a guerrilla group in Chiapas. On January 1, 1994, the day that NAFTA took effect, the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN, or Zapatista Army of National Liberation) began its uprising, in large part to protest the adverse effects of the treaty on land tenure and social justice in Mexico. The EZLN successfully distributed its message by means of radio, television, and the Internet, however, it could not reverse the neoliberal trend.

Within a year after the beginning of the Zapatista uprising, new Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo confronted a turbulent landscape. In March, the assassination of Luis Donaldo Colosio, Salinas' hand-picked successor, had rocked Mexico. Investors responded immediately by taking money out of Mexico, pulling down the country's foreign currency reserves by more than \$10 billion within one month. The ensuing capital flight undermined the Mexican currency. On December 19, Zedillo allowed the peso to fall 15% against the dollar. The devaluation turned

into a free fall, and the currency continued to decline for a few years until it leveled off at ten new pesos to the dollar (ten thousand old pesos): one-third of its 1994 value. Just as in 1982, the Mexican government stood at the brink of default, and it was only after US President Bill Clinton put together an emergency loan package that it averted even more serious consequences. Resulting in the second precipitous drop of living standards since 1982, this crisis shook the faith of many Mexicans in neoliberalism and spelled the end of the PRI's hold on power. Ironically, however, the end result was the triumph of a movement even more committed to neoliberalism than Zedillo's PRI. In July 2000, the victory of former Coca-Cola operative Vicente Fox, the candidate of the opposition *Partido de Acción Nacional* (PAN, or National Action Party), in the presidential elections spelled the end of seventy-one years of PRI rule and also ushered in the rule of a man who vowed to further improve relations with the United States.

As Fox has discovered, however, the Mexican government is still caught in an uneasy balancing act between the United States and nationalist demands at home. In early 2003, during Mexico's most recent term as a member of the UN Security Council, the Mexican delegate confronted the efforts of US President George W. Bush to win United Nations support for the impending war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Aware that the vast majority of Mexicans opposed the Bush administration on this matter, Fox instructed the delegate to vote against the United States. Even in an age when transnational networks have weakened the nation state, it still behooves the Mexican government to pay attention to dissenting voices that desire a greater distance from the interests of Mexico's powerful northern neighbor.

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**See also Mexico: History and Economic Development; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**

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## MICRONESIA, FEDERATED STATES OF

The Micronesian archipelago in the western Pacific Ocean includes four island groups located south of the Marianas and west of the Marshall Islands, including the high volcanic islands around Pohnpei, Kosrae, and Chuuk (Truk), and the low-lying group around Yap. The 607 islands and islets of Micronesia are scattered across an expanse of ocean larger than Western Europe, but in total land area these chains comprise only 607 square miles. Archaeological evidence of advanced human occupation dates from at least 500 BCE, and Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century named the islands the New Philippines. In 1899 Germany acquired most of the islands from Spain, but lost them to Japan in World War I. Japan established garrisons on the main islands, and in World War II these outposts were used to launch attacks on other Pacific islands, including Guam. The harbor at Truk served as Japan's main naval base in the region. After World War II, the United States assumed administrative authority over the islands.

Japan's early administration in Micronesia was managed by its "South Seas Bureau," a governmental entity headed by a civilian governor. The Bureau worked through the village chiefs on the main islands, using them to collect taxes from and communicate

official pronouncements to the local population. There were isolated instances of native resistance, including the burning of a Japanese school and social restrictions enforced against those who collaborated with the Japanese; the Japanese made occasional arrests of the resistance leaders.

Micronesia's commercial development accelerated in the 1880s, when Japan's ships carried the islands' copra, coconut, and coconut oil exports. In 1906 Japanese companies controlled 80% of the total trade with German Micronesia, and by the start of World War I, much of the agricultural production, fishing, and freight and passenger services to the islands were Japanese-controlled. Once in power, Japan provided capital to develop phosphate mines, sugar plantations, and fishing. While Japanese were barred from owning land, they did lease land from local owners. The colonial government, meanwhile, seized commonly held acreage on the larger islands and allocated it to support the influx of Japanese colonists in the 1930s. Later, the Japanese military seized additional land for military facilities.

The United States' wartime "island-hopping" strategy in the Pacific largely bypassed Micronesia, and in 1944 Japan abandoned the base at Truk. The United States seized the islands, which came under US Navy administration. The United Nations later placed the islands under US authority in a unique "strategic trust" arrangement that obligated the United States to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of local inhabitants, including aiding their preparation for self-government.

In actuality, US defense concerns took precedence and the welfare of the population was generally neglected. US interests in the region centered upon nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands to the east. In 1962 the Kennedy administration launched an investigation of living conditions in the islands, and subsequently ordered that US federal welfare programs be extended to all the US trust territories in the Pacific. Income support, housing assistance, and medical programs were introduced, and Peace Corps volunteers were dispatched to teach and build housing and local facilities. By the late 1960s these initiatives began attracting people to the principal islands, away from traditional homesteads on outer islands. Higher unemployment soon emerged, as agricultural and traditional pursuits were abandoned in favor of widespread dependence upon federal welfare programs.

Other US-funded assistance initiatives expanded after 1979 when a constitutional government, known as the "Federated States of Micronesia" (FSM), was formed and entered into a "Compact of Free Association" with the US government. Envisioned as the



final stage of local political evolution preceding full independence, the arrangement saw Washington provide the islands with access to federal aviation regulation, weather prediction, and postal services, as well as several programs aimed at attracting capital investment and creating jobs. Such subsidies were estimated at more than \$2.5 billion over a fifteen-year period beginning in 1986, when President Ronald Reagan signed the legislation that put the “compact” into effect. Micronesia’s transition to full independence was completed in 1991, and the FSM joined the United Nations that year. Even so, the FSM still retains many elements of its “compact” relationship with the United States, including continuing receipt of economic development assistance.

In 2000 the FSM’s population was estimated at 118,000, with an annual growth rate of around 2%. Universal education and the rights to reside and work in the United States have produced a trained yet mobile work force. The lack of domestic employment opportunities has caused substantial levels of emigration by young workers to Guam and the mainland United States. Remittances from these migrant workers to family members in the FSM constitute an important source of household income throughout the country.

Domestic economic activity is concentrated in the subsistence agriculture and fishing industries and in the modern government services sector, including education, utilities, and the administration of government programs. Bilateral economic aid from the United States, Japan, and Australia supports numerous official FSM initiatives. In 2003 US and FSM negotiators reached agreement on renewal of the “compact” subsidies made available to the islands. The United States pledged to provide at least \$1.8 billion in economic assistance to the FSM over twenty years, while also continuing its annual contributions to a trust fund designed to finance future economic development requirements in the FSM. Despite post-September 11 security concerns, Washington agreed to permit FSM citizens’ continued immigration to the United States.

As a member of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the FSM receives loans that stimulate private sector growth, including expansion and modernization of FSM’s deep-water fishing industry. The ADB, aware that waterborne diseases affect at least 5% of the FSM population annually, has also granted loans to modernize water supply facilities. With electricity transmission to private homes limited and supplies to businesses unreliable, priority has been assigned to upgrading the islands’ electricity grid. New sewers, pumping stations, wastewater treatment plants, underground electricity transmission lines, and a power

generation station are being built, with most improvements concentrated on the principal islands. Environmental remediation efforts have also been made where aging facilities have created contamination hazards.

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**See also Asian Development Bank; Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## MIDDLE EAST: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Middle East occupies a strategic geographical location at the crossroads of three major continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa. The area defined as the Middle East for the purposes of this work stretches from Turkey in the north, to Iran in the east, Israel in the west, and the Arabian Peninsula in the south. These countries are Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Yemen.

The size of these countries varies from the smallest being the tiny island of Bahrain, which has an area of only 665 square kilometers, to the neighboring kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which has an area of 1.960 million square kilometers. Iran is the next-largest country, with a total area of 1.648 million square kilometers.

The value of the Middle East has long been measured in terms of its oil, despite the fact that only a small number of countries have significant oil reserves. In the 1930s and 1940s, exploration for oil rights by US and British companies in the Gulf countries made the region important for Western interests. However, it is only since World War II that oil has been produced and exported in commercial quantities. Continuing Western dependence on oil as an energy source heightens the importance of oil-exporting Middle Eastern countries today.

## Society

Most of the countries in the Middle East share similarities in ethnicity, language, and religion. However, given the vastness of the region, there are also exceptions.

The majority of the population in the Middle East is ethnically Arab and shares Arabic as a common language. But though most countries are Arabic-speaking, there are differences in regional dialects. The spoken Arabic of a Jordanian Arab does not sound the same as that of an Arab from the Gulf states, though the two may still be able to understand each other. The written, classical form of Arabic is standard throughout the Middle East, however. All Arabs therefore share a linguistic and ethnic bond.

Turkey and Iran are exceptions to the predominantly Arab Middle East. The Turks and the Persians are the two largest non-Arab ethnic groups in the region. Linguistically, they also differ. Turkish is the dominant language of Turkey, while Farsi is used in Iran. The Kurds are the fourth-largest ethnic group, and they are spread out in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. They have their own Kurdish language, though as citizens of Arab countries, their linguistic rights are not officially recognized.

Religion is another issue on which, superficially, the Middle East appears to be homogeneous. The majority of people in the Middle East are Sunni Muslims. Iran and Iraq are unique because they have predominantly Shi'a Muslim populations. Iraq has an approximately 60% Shi'a population, while Iran is 89% Shi'a. Two smaller countries, Bahrain and Yemen, have Shi'a majorities.

The significance of Sunni-Shi'a differences in the Middle East is based on politics. Since the Iranian Revolution brought an Islamic theocracy to power in Shi'a-dominated Iran in 1980, the country's neighbors have experienced fears of similar Shi'a uprisings. In Iraq, Saddam Hussein's ruling regime was predominantly Sunni and therefore feared a revolt from the

majority Shi'a population. In the case of Saudi Arabia, the monarchy feared a challenge to its strict political control and puritan Wahhabi religious ideology from the Shi'a minority in the Eastern Province.

Religious identity drives politics in Lebanon. The Lebanese political system stands out in the Middle East because it is based on confessional politics. However, the system failed under pressure from rising tensions between the four religious minorities. Conflict between Maronite Christian and Muslim groups erupted into a fifteen-year-long civil war beginning in 1975.

Israel is an exception in the Middle East as a non-Muslim country, one with a predominantly Jewish population. Though there were small Jewish communities in other countries in the region, there was generally a migration to Israel after 1948. Israel has a mixture of secular Jews, Ashkenazi, and Sephardic Jews, in addition to a small minority of Arab-Israeli citizens. The Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza are not counted as part of the official Israeli population.

## Geography

Much of the Middle East is arid land and does not receive much precipitation. The topography varies considerably, from valleys to desert to mountain ranges. There are limited fertile, agricultural areas, and these are dependent on access to water and irrigation systems.

The coastal regions of Yemen, eastern Turkey, the Tigris and Euphrates valleys in Syria and Iraq, and the coast of the Mediterranean in Lebanon are all examples of agricultural areas. Mountainous areas are found in the Taurus mountains in Turkey, the Elburz and Zagros in Iran, and the highlands of Yemen. Major river systems include the Tigris and Euphrates in Iraq and Iran; the Kizil Irmak, or the Red River in Turkey; and the Litani, Orontes, and Jordan Rivers that pass through Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and Syria.

Water is a valuable natural resource in the Middle East. Access to water resources is the basis of territorial or border disputes along the Shatt al Arab (between Iran and Iraq) and the Jordan River.

Lack of uniform rainfall in the region is the reason why agricultural output is concentrated in certain countries. The Middle East is a net importer of grain. Turkey and, interestingly enough, Saudi Arabia, both produce wheat, and sometimes have a wheat surplus. In terms of tree crops, the Mediterranean countries produce olives, citrus fruits, and dates.

## Political Systems

Political systems vary across the Middle East, ranging from monarchies to authoritarian military rule to parliamentary republics. Jordan and the Gulf countries of Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, and Qatar are all ruled by kings or shaikhs. The Shah of Iran was overthrown in 1980 by the Iranian Revolution. The Revolution replaced the monarchy with a theocratic republic, an Islamic regime of rule by jurists, led by Ayatollah Khomeini.

The military has played a dominant role in politics in the region, whether overtly or covertly. In Syria and Iraq, military coups in the late 1960s resulted in the consolidation of authoritarian dictatorships under Ba'ath Party leaders Hafez al Asad and Saddam Hussain, respectively. The Iraqi regime was overthrown by US military intervention in 2003, while Syria maintains the same political system under the leadership of Bashar al Asad, the son of Hafez al Asad. In contrast to Syria and Iraq, which experienced an uninterrupted stretch of thirty years of authoritarian rule, the Turkish military has stepped in only intermittently, in 1960, 1971, 1980, and 1997, in Turkish politics. The rest of the time, elected civilian governments have been in power.

## Impact of Colonialism

The impact of colonialism has been uneven in the Middle East. The strategic location of the region made it important to both the British and French, as they divided up the region amongst themselves after WWI. In some cases, these colonial powers shaped the map of the region. Jordan (initially known as Transjordan) and Iraq were both created as artificial states in the early 1900s, with Arab kings who would be willing to protect British interests in the region set on the throne. In Jordan, the Hashemite family continues to rule up to the present day, with the current ruler, King Abdullah. In Iraq, the monarchy was overthrown by military officers in 1958. The third country affected by British colonial rule is what is known today as the State of Israel. Israel was created in 1948, after the British Mandate in Palestine ended and the British withdrew from the region.

The French had control over Syria and Lebanon, which lasted until the mid 1940s when the two countries became independent. The French policy of divide and rule kept the various ethnic and religious minorities living in the area under separate administrative units. This instigated political instability,

which continued after independence, as well. For example, the French favored the Christian Maronites of Mount Lebanon under the guise of the French imperial, religious, and moral duty to protect Christian communities of the region. This preference alienated the Muslim communities, which made up the majority of the population. In Syria, French colonial policies marginalized the Alawi and Druze religious minorities from the majority Sunni Muslim population. When Syria became independent in 1946, the new political state had to contend with the distrust between these groups.

In contrast to these four countries, others in the region had limited interaction with colonial powers. The Arabian Peninsula remained uncolonized, although the British had negotiated treaties with the ruling sheikhs of Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and Oman, in order to maintain the stability of its empire. The British were particularly concerned about their trade routes and established a port at Aden, at the southern tip of the Peninsula.

## Economy

### *Development*

The contrast between oil-exporting countries and non-oil-rich countries in the Middle East is responsible for different paths toward industrialization and economic development in the region. While oil-rich Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have experienced high gross domestic product (GDP) per capita income growth, other countries such as Jordan and Yemen have lagged behind. According to the UN Human Development Report, Yemen had a GDP per capita (in purchasing power parity terms) in 2002 of \$870, while the UAE had the highest for the region, at \$22,420. The gap between these two countries is emblematic of the uneven distribution of per capita income in the region.

Human development has lagged significantly in the Middle East as a whole, despite rapid levels of industrialization and urbanization in the last few decades. There is a vast gap between the highest- and lowest-ranking countries in the region, according to the 2004 Human Development Index (HDI). Israel has the highest rank of twenty-two, while Yemen has the lowest at 149. The HDI ranking looks at indicators such as life expectancy, school enrollment, literacy, and income, in order to determine the overall state of human development in a country.

A comparison of GDP per capita income and HDI rankings illustrates the fact that even though some

countries may be doing well based on GDP per capita, such as the UAE and Qatar, their populations are lagging in overall human development. These countries had an HDI rank of forty-nine and forty-seven respectively, behind Israel's twenty-two. However, Israel's GDP per capita value was lower than theirs. Israel's GDP per capita in 2002 was \$19,530, while the UAE had \$22,420 and Qatar \$19,844 (United Nations Development Program [UNDP] 2004).

When looking at the difference between the HDI rank and the GDP per capita rank, most countries received a negative value, meaning that their per capita income was higher than the overall well-being of the population. The only countries that had positive values were Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and Yemen, indicating a balanced growth pattern in economic and human development. It is noteworthy that with the exception of Israel, the other countries are on the lower end of the GDP per capita scale (UNDP 2004).

## *Oil*

Oil plays a critical role in shaping political and economic development in the Middle East. Oil was first discovered in the region in the early 1900s, but commercial exploration and production did not occur until the middle of the century. The British were the first to claim concession rights to oil exploration and production in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Iraqi Petroleum Company were the first foreign oil companies in the region. Saudi oil was not discovered until the 1930s, when a US oil company, Standard Oil of California (SoCal), gained concession rights from the Saudi king, King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud.

The importance of oil was such that the Middle East became a strategically important region to Western countries, especially to the United States. By 1948, seven Western oil companies controlled oil concessions in the region. Four were US—Standard Oil of New Jersey (later Exxon), Mobil, SoCal, and Texaco; one was British, British Petroleum; and the last was a joint British–Dutch company called Royal Dutch-Shell.

Today, the state controls oil output and export in each of the oil-rich countries. This has resulted in a unique type of rentier state, a state in which the government relies on oil revenues to drive economic growth and sustain the material well-being of its population. The government becomes the primary distributor of oil profits in the form of subsidies and loans to its people. In particular, it does not tax its people in return for their acceptance of the state's distribution

of benefits (Beblawi 1987). Saudi Arabia is a classic example of a rentier state. The challenges for rentier economies will be discussed in more detail below.

Today, there is a gap between oil-producing and non-oil countries in the Middle East. Though the general image of the Middle East is often that of an expanse of sand with oil rigs dotting the desert, in fact, there are only a few major oil-exporting countries: Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates. Saudi Arabia is the leader, with approximately 25% of the world's petroleum deposits located in the country. It also accounts for the majority of the region's oil exports, at 6.652 million barrels of crude oil a day. According to OPEC statistics, the UAE and Iran are the next-highest oil producers and exporters, after Saudi Arabia. Iran exports 2.396 million barrels of crude oil a day, while the UAE exports 2.048 million barrels a day. Iraq was also a major exporter until the first Gulf War in 1991. Since the second Gulf War, its oil production and export remain uncertain since its infrastructure was destroyed during the war.

Global oil prices have fluctuated drastically in the last fifty years. They are affected by events in the region in addition to general market supply–demand conditions regulated by OPEC. Price fluctuations are marked by several notable highs and lows. For example, in 1973–1974, the OPEC oil boycott almost quadrupled the price of oil per barrel. Later, at the outbreak of the Iran–Iraq war in 1980, disruption in oil production in these two countries resulted in another price hike. However, the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s saw a worldwide decline in oil prices, resulting in lower revenues for petroleum-exporting countries.

The regional implications of fluctuations in oil prices include changes in the amount of Arab aid from Gulf countries to non–oil-producing countries. For example, Saudi Arabia gave aid to Iraq during the Iraq–Iran war in the form of grants and loans. Syria was a recipient of aid from its wealthier Arab neighbors, as well. When oil revenues declined, it meant that the non-oil, aid-recipient countries received less Arab assistance as well. In the Syria case, this was partially responsible for an economic crisis in the early 1980s.

Oil-exporting countries also attract many workers from non-oil countries, since they have a high demand for labor needed to maintain the petroleum industry. There is a significant amount of labor migration in the region to the Persian Gulf countries, mainly from Jordan, Syria, and Yemen. When oil revenues declined, labor remittances from these workers back to their home countries also declined, affecting those economies in a ripple effect that permeated the entire region.

The domestic implications for oil-rich countries are also important to note. Oil is a non-renewable resource. Its supply is limited, and therefore countries that are heavily dependent on oil revenues to maintain their political and economic systems face an eventual cessation. This requires not only a diversification of the economy to include non-petroleum-based sectors of production, but also a move away from rentier economic systems.

In conclusion, oil is both a boon and a blessing for the Middle East. For the countries that have been lucky enough to have significant petroleum reserves, it has spurred rapid industrialization and modernization processes, which have allowed a dramatic increase in growth. However, these same countries also face the instability of being dependent on the fluctuations of oil prices and therefore a certain degree of political and economic instability in the long term, as well. At some point, when the oil reserves run out, they will face a rude awakening. For example, Saudi Arabia has already had to face tighter spending controls as a result of low oil revenues in the 1990s and it continues to struggle with the challenge of economic diversification.

### *Foreign Aid*

Foreign aid has played an important role in the economies of some Middle Eastern countries. Israel is one of the largest recipients of foreign aid in the Middle East, primarily from the United States. A 2003 estimate placed external aid from the United States to be at \$662 million. This aid is directed toward economic and military expenditures.

The Soviet Union and Gulf Arab countries have also been aid donors in the Middle East. Syria was dependent on Soviet aid during the 1970s and 1980s, until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. Syria also received aid from richer Gulf Arab countries. After 1979, when oil prices declined, Arab aid to Syria decreased drastically over the course of several years, from \$1.6 billion in 1980 to \$500 million in the early 1980s (Heydemann 1993).

In general, there has been a steady decline in aid flows to the Middle East in the past two decades. In 1980, the aid-to-GDP ratio was 7%. In 2000, it was a little above 2%. However, in periods of strategic importance in the aftermath of conflict, there have been temporary spikes in aid levels. For example, after the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement in 1979, after the first Gulf War in 1991, and after the Oslo Agreement in 1995, there were momentary increases in aid to the region (World Bank 2003).

### *Labor Force*

The oil-rich countries in the Persian Gulf have traditionally had small populations, and have needed to import labor from outside in order to meet their needs. In the mid-1970s, there was a wave of labor migration to these Gulf countries, in particular from Jordan and Yemen. From 1975 onward, about 40% of the Jordanian workforce, including Palestinians, worked abroad. By 1981, remittances from these workers were valued at 27.8% of the Gross National Product (GNP). With the fall of oil prices in the 1980s, the Jordanian economy also suffered from a decrease in remittances.

Expatriate workers in the Gulf also come from the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. The numbers of Asian workers in the Gulf countries increased dramatically in the 1970s and 1980s. There are several reasons why there was a demand for nationals from these countries. First, the need for skilled and semi-skilled labor was not being met by workers from Arab countries. Second, the labor supply in Asian countries was cheaper and the labor market was more organized. Lastly, these non-Arab workers were less likely to stay permanently in the Gulf countries, and therefore were less likely to be politically troublesome as members of society in the long term. Three decades later, these expatriate workers are still considered “temporary workers,” even though many of them have spent their entire working lives in the Gulf countries.

The political ease with which governments can expel expatriate workers was demonstrated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Yemeni workers in Saudi Arabia were roundly expelled because the Yemeni government professed support for Iraq. Palestinians working in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were also “punished” for Arafat’s support for Iraq by expulsion from these two countries. These actions demonstrated the fact that expatriate workers are politically expedient pawns, which the government can manipulate when it is under pressure.

The current outcome of this labor migration is that there is a significant expatriate population with the skills and human capital to run the country’s businesses and industries in most of the Gulf countries. In Saudi Arabia, there are roughly 7 million expatriate workers. In the UAE, the foreign population outstrips the local population.

This dependence on foreign human capital has handicapped economic development in these countries, creating a lack of qualified workers from within the national population. There has been political pressure in the past decade to substitute expatriate workers with nationals in Saudi Arabia, as the country has faced increasing unemployment rates,

high population growth, and economic slowdown because of low oil prices. The relative success of this policy of “Saudization” remains to be seen.

### *The Need for Change*

Economic activity in the Middle East has relied up to now on several factors: oil revenues, a state-dominated public sector, foreign aid, and workers’ remittances. The economic model based on these factors is no longer sustainable in the long term. Factors such as high unemployment rates, inefficient state-dominated economies, declining foreign aid levels, and lower oil prices are spurring a move toward economic reforms in the region.

First, as noted earlier, dependence on oil revenues has made the economic patterns of oil-exporting countries dependent on global oil price fluctuations. A decline in average (real) oil prices over the last twenty years has put an end to the rapid burst of economic growth that characterized the Gulf countries in the 1970s. In addition, the fact that oil is a non-renewable energy resource means that these countries also have to look at other ways to sustain GDP growth in the long term. Thus, rentier states such as Saudi Arabia have had to focus on diversifying their economy to focus more on non-oil sectors in the 1990s. Currently, oil revenues make up about 75% of the Saudi budget, and account for 45% of the GDP. The Kingdom has encouraged some private-sector growth in order to balance GDP growth from the oil sector, but change has been incremental.

The United Arab Emirates is an example of a Gulf country that has been more successful in making this transition to an emphasis on non-oil sectors. Despite the fact that it has the world’s third-largest recoverable oil reserves and significant natural gas reserves, it has focused on growth in non-oil sectors of its economy, as well. It spent the 1990s diversifying to include petrochemicals, fertilizers, cement, aluminum, tourism, trade, and manufacturing sectors. By 2000, these non-oil sectors of the economy accounted for 70% of the GDP, and 43% of exports. Overall GDP growth has averaged 7% a year since 1993.

Among its policies for encouraging private-sector growth and trade has been the creation of twelve free trade zones, of which Dubai’s Jebel Ali free trade zone is the largest. Companies established in the free trade zone are allowed to have 100% foreign ownership, which is in contrast to other Gulf countries where there are significant government restrictions on foreign investment and ownership in companies. In addition, the UAE has a strong telecommunications and trade infrastructure, which has also fostered foreign

investment. However, despite the economic success of the UAE, the country remains dependent on foreign labor for its human capital. About 90% of the labor force is composed of expatriate workers, mostly from the Indian subcontinent, other parts of the Middle East, and the Philippines (World Bank 2003).

Another factor that characterizes economic development models in the Middle East is a strong state dominance in the economy and especially in the public sector. In the 1970s and 1980s, under the leader Hafez al-Asad, the Syrian economy was dominated by state-run industrialization efforts. The combination of a socialist-oriented economy and an authoritarian political system created a closed and ultimately inefficient development process. Ultimately, economic crisis propelled the Syrian government into instituting a series of limited economic reforms. Since the 1990s, Syria has had to move away from the state-dominated model and toward allowing the private sector greater flexibility for economic participation, though it is debatable as to the real extent of this private-sector participation (Anderson 2001).

Socialist economies are not the only ones that have strong government control. As a rentier state dependent on oil revenues, the Saudi government also exercises far-reaching domestic economic control. Oil revenues have allowed the government to institute a system of heavy subsidization of basic resources, in addition to provision of healthcare, education, and other social services. Royal patronage of industrialists and indirect royal ownership of private-sector ventures is also common in Saudi Arabia (Anderson 2001).

One of the realities causing a shift away from heavy state dominance in the public sector is the shortage of jobs. A lack of jobs has created high rates of unemployment in many countries. For example, Syria has a 2002 estimate of 20% unemployment. The 2004 estimate of the unemployment rate in Saudi Arabia is 25%. Iran has a 15.7% unemployment rate, based on 2004 estimates (*CIA World Factbook* 2004). In addition, these countries also have a high percentage of young people who will be entering the workforce shortly, only to find that the government-subsidized jobs that their parents had are no longer available to them. Encouraging private-sector growth as a source of potential employment for the growing population is an imperative for countries that have traditionally relied on a highly government-subsidized economic system.

### **Political and Economic Reforms**

For the past two decades, there has been pressure for political and economic reforms in the Middle East

that will open up the countries to foreign trade and investment as well as allow greater political freedoms to the populations. The underlying assumption in this line of argument is that the current state is temporary, and that these countries are in the process of developing in the direction of greater economic and political openings. To some degree, this assumption is valid, since most countries have state-dominated economies and limited political rights and freedoms. With the exceptions of Turkey and Israel, which have elected leadership, ruling regimes in most other countries remain entrenched in power on the basis of dynastic rule or military/authoritarian power.

Popular political representation, political accountability of the leadership, and greater economic and political participation for women are all key political reform issues. Some countries, such as Bahrain and Qatar, have taken steps in this direction by allowing reasonably free elections. In October 2002, Bahrainis elected members of the lower house of Bahrain's reconstituted bicameral legislature, the National Assembly. Women candidates were allowed to vote and to run for office for the first time in these elections. But unfortunately, no female candidates won a seat. The same outcome took place in Qatar's municipal elections in 1999, where, again, none of the six women candidates won any seats. However, it is important to note that these were the first democratic elections in these countries, in a region where if there are any elections, their results are usually predetermined by the state.

Jordan and Oman are other examples of countries with limited female political participation. The Jordanian assembly has reserved seats for women in the House of Representatives, and in 2003, three women were also appointed to cabinet positions. Oman has two female members on its consultative council, but they are not elected positions.

The role of civil society in creating democratic governance is also important to note. Debate on this issue centers around what constitutes civil society in the Middle East, whether it exists, and its prospects for future development, given the authoritarian nature of the state in most countries. State responses range from repression to limited openings for civil society. Thus, the response to these questions is not clear-cut. In Iran, the post-Revolution Islamic regime has cracked down on all forms of opposition that do not conform to the state's ideological position, and continues to restrict political freedoms of the population. The government routinely arrests journalists, activists, and other members of civil society organizations who voice any critique or opposition to the regime.

In contrast, Qatar has permitted limited political reforms, most recently embodied in changes to the

country's constitution in 2003, which allow for the right to assembly and the right to establish associations. The most far-reaching policy, though, was the removal of all domestic restrictions on freedom of the press by Emir Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani in 1995. This paved the way for the 1997 launch of Arab TV satellite channel al-Jazeera. The channel has shaped the development of civil society in the region through fostering debate and discussion on sensitive issues that governments have traditionally not been willing to tackle on state-controlled media.

One line of argument on the issue of political and economic reforms in the Middle East is that market-oriented economic reforms need to take place in conjunction with political reforms that allow for greater power-sharing between the state and its people. However, the competing line of argument states that economic reform can and does occur without recourse to political liberalization. In other words, the two do not necessarily have to go together. Syria is an example of an authoritarian state that instituted economic liberalization reforms from 1982 to 1992 without engaging in significant changes to its political system.

The debate on how far-reaching and how meaningful democratic political reforms can be, or how much they can change the distribution of power in the political system, continues. While there may have been political reforms that are democratic in nature in the Middle East, few of these reforms have led to a definitive establishment of a full-fledged democracy. In contrast to political liberalization, moves toward economic liberalization have been relatively more extensive in the region. The extent to which this economic and political development process will result in meaningful change in the Middle East remains to be seen, however.

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**See also Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO); Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Iran; Iraq; Israel; Jordan; Middle East: International Relations; Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC); Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Syria; Turkey**

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## MIDDLE EAST: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Cultures have crossed and contended in the Middle East since the beginning of recorded history. In ancient times the region witnessed the rise of empires and the wars between the Persians and the Greeks leading to conquests of Alexander the Great and the Roman Empire. In general, three types of struggles have occurred there—geo-political, ethnic, and religious. In the Middle Ages, after the Arab conquests of the seventh century, religious wars erupted between the Moslems and the Byzantine Christians on their border in Anatolia. The conquest of Anatolia by the Seljuk Turks in 1070 led to the Crusades from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries when Western Christians were temporarily able to control certain portions of the areas.

The basic ethnic conflicts among Moslems centered on Persians, Arabs, and Turks. The geo-political conflicts revolved around Persia, Egypt, and Syria. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Moslem Ottoman Turks came to rule the entire region excepting Persia but including even the European Balkans. After reaching their height in the sixteenth century, the Ottomans began to retreat as European powers took over their lands in Europe and various Moslem war lords and independent pashas carved out their territories around the Empire.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the Great European powers began to wrest concessions from the Ottoman Empire, known as “the sick man of Europe,” and gain control over its economy. In World War I the Ottomans sided with the Central Powers, and France and England secretly planned to carve up its territory with the Sykes-Picot agreement. Russia, which also had hoped for spoils, was eliminated after the Bolshevik Revolution. At the same time, the British sponsored a revolt by the Arabs against Istanbul and, with the Balfour Declaration, promised the Jews a homeland in Palestine.

After World War I the Turkish Republic under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk managed to retain its

independence through war and agreements with the victorious Allies. Atatürk renounced claims to the other Ottoman territories, which the Allies, particularly Great Britain and France, took over directly or indirectly through League of Nations mandates or prewar agreements. The interwar period, however, witnessed much unrest as various leaders fought each other for control, national movements attempted to overthrow foreign rule, and radical and secular movements fought traditional leadership. During the Second World War there was more disruption, especially after the fall of France in 1940. The Allies were for the most part able to keep the Axis out of the Middle East (excluding North Africa where Italy had colonies), but the idealism of national liberation grew even stronger.

After the war British imperialism around the world began to disintegrate and the countries of the Middle East took shape based on traditional and colonial formations. In the postwar world several major issues and factors determined the course Middle East politics. First was the question of liberation and the establishment of modern nation-states; second, the relations of the great powers with the countries of the region; third, the role of oil in the world economy and the politics of the region; fourth, the attempts by strong persons to dominate the region; fifth, the clash of various political groupings in the region, e.g., radicals as opposed to traditional monarchists, secularists vis-à-vis various religious parties, and rival ethnicities; and last but certainly not least, the question of Israel and Palestine.

The issue of national liberation concerned the attempts by the Middle Eastern countries to wrest control from European occupation. During World War II the Free French allied to the United Nations stated it would not continue French rule over Syria and Lebanon (their League of Nations mandates). However, when victory was won, Paris was reluctant to relinquish control. After several months of negotiations in April 1946, the French left and Syria and Lebanon gained independence. London's position in the region was stronger since unlike the French, England did not lose to Germany and had continued occupation of its mandates and territories during the war. However, in 1923 London had already recognized partial independence of Jordan and in March 1946 granted it full independence under Emir Abdullah who became king. In 1949 the country officially became the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan. Palestine was divided into a Jewish and Arab state by United Nations resolutions in 1947, and the British left. In the subsequent war between the Jews and the neighboring Arab States in 1948, the Jews won and established Israel, occupying more territories than the



UN had allotted. The remaining areas were taken over chiefly by Jordan, but an independent Arab Palestine state was not formed.

Saudi Arabia was granted full independence in 1932 but it still depended on British and US subsidies. Egypt, too, was formally recognized as an independent monarchy in 1923, but the British continued to exert control over the government and British troops remained in the country. Anti-British sentiment was prevalent in the country and after the fall of the monarchy in 1952, conflict between London and Cairo reached the level of hostilities culminating in the Suez Crisis of 1956. In the small states of the Arabian Peninsula, Britain retained its protectorates until 1968 when it withdrew its troops. Kuwait remained under British protection until 1961 when London recognized its independence, but it still relied on Britain, the United States, and other states to protect it from Iraq, which had coveted its oil-rich territory since 1938. Bahrain declared its independence in 1971, and signed a treaty of friendship with Great Britain. Oman and Qatar received full independence about the same time. Bahrain followed Saudi foreign policy and had difficulty with Iran over its pro-Western policies. In 1990 Bahrain supported with air bases and ports the coalition against Iraq. Abu Dhabi led the move for the creation of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) out of the seven small trucial states after the British left in 1973. The UAE, threatened by Iran and Moslem fundamentalism, helped found the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), an alliance of the small Gulf states, in 1981 and joined the Arab League and the UN in 1991. It quarreled with Iran over disputed Persian Gulf islands and also supported the Desert Storm coalition. On the southern end of the Arabian Peninsula the two states of Yemen and North Yemen gained independence in 1977, and in 1990 they united.

Iran, which was technically independent, in fact really lay under the domination of Russia and Britain in the nineteenth century. With the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet renunciation of concessions in Iran, the British were left in control. In the 1920s Reza Khan rose to power and in 1925 had himself crowned as Reza Shah Pahlevi. Reza Shah promoted the ethnic difference of the Iranians from the Arabs and in fact changed the traditional name of the country, Persia, to Iran (Aryan), to emphasize their links with the Indo-Europeans, the linguistic group to which the Farsi language belongs. In the 1930s, to counteract British influence, Reza Shah made commercial concessions to Nazi Germany. During World War II the Soviets and British invaded his country and forced him to abdicate in favor of his son Mohammed Reza Shah.

After the war the nationalist Mohammad Mossadeq came to power, ousting the Shah, but his anti-Western policies, including nationalizing the oil industry, led to a Western-backed coup, bringing back Mohammad Reza Shah. The shah now was dependent on the West and maintained power through dictatorial instruments, especially the secret police he created—SAVAK.

Neighboring Iraq had been part of the Ottoman Empire and Britain obtained a League of Nations mandate over the country after the war. In 1932 London granted the country independence under King Faysal. The military, however, gained control of the country, and during World War II, the British occupied the country. Between 1945 and 1958, riots, upheavals, martial law, and coup d'états punctuated Iraqi life. The country was divided religiously between Moslems and Christians and the Moslems between Shiites and Sunnis. There was also a significant Kurdish minority. There was contention between the younger and older political leaders, dissent in the army, and disputes between the young King Faysal II and his regents. There was popular unrest over the Palestine crisis, and anti-Western feeling because of British and US concessions over the country's oil resources and the monarchy's pro-Western policies. Finally in 1958, a group of army officers ousted the king.

In the years after World War II, the Middle East was also a battleground in the Cold War. The lead in Western interests in the region was assumed by the United States. Their opponent was the Soviet Union. The two major issues were oil and the Israeli–Palestine conflict. In addition, Britain and France joined Israel in 1956 to prevent Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt from seizing the Suez Canal. The Western oil companies pushed their governments to maintain treaties with the Middle East countries that gave them favorable concessions, but the oil-rich nations looked to their own advantage. However, since the Soviet Union backed radical governments, the traditional monarchies tended to favor the West. These included Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran under the shah, and most of the small states of the Persian Gulf—Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Bahrain. On the Israeli–Palestine question, even the conservative governments sided with the Palestinian Arabs. The West took a more ambivalent stance—supporting Israel's right to exist, but at first reluctant to appear too pro-Israeli. The Soviet Union initially supported the creation of Israel, in part on the hope it would become a socialist ally in the immediate postwar years. Furthermore, the horror of the Holocaust coupled with the need to resettle survivors and rebuild Europe made the existence of a Jewish homeland important

to both the Soviets and the West. However, in the 1950s Moscow turned away from Tel Aviv, giving complete support to the Palestinians. After the Six-Day War of 1967, Moscow and most of its allies broke off relations with the Jewish state. Furthermore, the Western states, chiefly the United States, supplied Israel with arms. Washington was also giving arms to its allies in the Middle East—Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey. Domestic politics in the United States made support of Israel important for Washington's position.

Although communist parties existed in the Middle East, they never made much headway in domestic politics. The Soviet Union then supported anti-Western nationalist states in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt whom Moscow supplied with arms. They also maintained friendly diplomatic relations with the shah, even though the latter was clearly in the pro-Western camp. Turkey, which had a long history of hostility with Tsarist Russia, joined the Western camp. Ankara joined the United Nations coalition in Korea and even became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Furthermore, Iran and Turkey, two Moslem but not Arab countries, recognized Israel. Washington and London formed the Middle East Treaty Organization (also known as the Baghdad Pact, where its headquarters were located) in 1955. Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Great Britain were founding members. Like NATO, it was directed against the Soviet Union and especially interested in protecting the oil resources of the region. In 1959, after the fall of the king, Iraq left and the headquarters moved to Ankara, and the United States became an associate member. The organization was renamed the Central Treaty Organization or CENTO. In 1979 the Shah fell and the organization was dissolved.

Ankara invaded Cyprus in 1974 and established the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which received no other recognition. Then Turkey moved closer to the Soviet Union in the 1970s, mistrusting the Western position on Cyprus. However, it still leaned more toward the West, seeking trade relations with the European Union. It supported the coalition against Iraq in 1991, but the strength of the Islamic party in the country caused problems with this pro-Western stance.

A number of Middle East states joined the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) starting with Egypt in 1964, three years after the start of the organization. Others that have joined over the years include Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the UAE, and Yemen. The NAM tried to develop policies for those countries not associated with either the West or the Soviet bloc.

Oil resources have played a major role in the politics and international affairs of the region. It has brought great wealth to a number of the states, especially those of the Arabian Peninsula. Oil is also found in Iran and Iraq, but only in limited amounts in Turkey. It is not found in Israel, Jordan, or Lebanon. In 1961 the oil-rich countries joined a number of others from around the world to form the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to regulate the production of oil. This cartel, along with increasing world demand, helped to drive the price of oil to increasingly high levels. However, in general, except for some isolated cases, OPEC based its policies on economic rather than political issues. Saudi Arabia did carry out a short oil boycott in 1973 over Washington's support of Israel. By 1984 the Saudis had gained complete control of ARAMCO, the Arabian-American Oil Company.

Another factor determining the domestic and international politics of the Middle East has been the rise of strong personalities who have attempted to play a dominant role in the region. The first of these in the postwar world was Colonel Gamul Abdul Nasser of Egypt. In 1952, on a strong anti-Western nationalistic policy, he led a coup d'état against the dissolute king of Egypt, Farouk. In 1958 he convinced Syria to unite with Egypt in the short-lived United Arab Republic, which ended in 1961 after a coup in Damascus brought new leadership that wished for independence. In 1964 he became the first Arab leader to join the NAM, disassociating Egypt from either bloc in the Cold War, although he signed treaties with both sides and in fact stood close to Moscow, inviting Soviet military advisors into the country along with Soviet arms. However, the main issue that Nasser as well other Arab leaders used to promote themselves was the Palestinian cause. Nasser, like many others in the Arab world, called for the elimination of the Jewish state, and he participated in two wars with Israel. In 1956 he announced his plans to nationalize the Suez Canal, which Egypt operated under international regulations. He planned to use the tolls to finance his project to build the Aswan dam for irrigation. This provoked Britain and France, who had interests in the Suez Canal Company, to join Israel in the seizure of the canal. Israel, aroused by Nasser's bellicose pronouncements, support for Arab raids, their ban from using the canal, and his blockade of the Straits of Tiran at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba, readily agreed. The three countries easily occupied the canal but they were not backed by Washington, and the United Nations forced them to leave. Nasser reached a compromise settlement, paying off the shareholders of the canal company and ending the

blockade of the Straits of Tiran. For the Egyptians he emerged a hero.

In June 1967 the tension between Israel and its neighbors once more was raised to fever pitch as a new Syrian government began making raids into Israel and amassing troops on its borders. The Syrians egged Nasser to join in and he sent his troops into the Sinai Desert, which was being guarded by UN peacekeepers. He also renewed his blockade of the straits of Tiran, closing Israeli access to the Red Sea. When Jordan also joined the coalition, Israel struck first and in six days completely defeated all its adversaries, seizing their land including the Sinai, the West bank of the Jordan, as well as all of Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights. Nasser's plans for Arab leadership were over, although he remained a hero to the Egyptians who rejected his offer to resign. The Soviet Union replaced the planes and armaments he lost in the war, but he turned to Washington to seek some peace overtures with Israel. Three years after the 1967 war, Nasser died suddenly of a heart attack.

Although from North Africa rather than the Middle East, the Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi played a major role in the politics of the region. Qaddafi seized control of Libya in 1969 when he overthrew King Idris I. The Arabs of North Africa had not shown much interest in the Palestinian question before 1967, but Qaddafi used the issue to try to unite Arabs from the Middle East with those of North Africa. However, he was never able to make much headway in his goal to get other leaders to follow him. He sought a union with Egypt, Tunisia, and the Sudan, but geopolitical and ideological conflicts prevented these alliances. In fact, in 1977, as a result of the more conservative policies of Nasser's successor Anwar Sadat, an inconclusive war between Libya and Egypt erupted. Qaddafi also supported guerilla movements around the world, culminating with his support of the terrorists responsible for the bombing of Pan American Airlines Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. In 1986 the United States air force conducted air raids over the country, injuring one of Qaddafi's daughters. The UN placed sanctions on Libya because of its terrorist activity. Qaddafi ultimately gave up his support of terror and in 2004 promised to dismantle efforts to create weapons of mass destruction, as a result of which relations with the West improved.

Another figure who must be counted as one of the strong leaders of the Middle East is Yasir Arafat. Although he never had a state to rule and therefore lacked the base to be a dominant political leader like Nasser, his position as leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) gave him the authority to mobilize large number of sympathetic Arabs and Moslems and direct Middle Eastern politics. Arafat

took over direction of the PLO in 1969, replacing the ineffectual Ahmed Shuquari as a consequence of the Arab defeat in the 1967 Six-Day War. In the beginning of his leadership, he was committed to the total destruction of Israel and its replacement with a Palestinian state where Jews, Christians, and Moslems may live, but where Jewish immigration would not be permitted. He used terror and attacks on Israel as the method of achieving this. He was behind the hijacking of airlines and assassinations in order to achieve his goals, but in the end this was unsuccessful. His use of raids into Israel and a policy of guerilla warfare earned him the title of terrorist by his enemies and freedom fighter and revolutionary by his friends. In 1972 he made a speech before the United Nations General Assembly, which saluted him as a hero. Although he was able to build a cohesive following of Palestinians living in refugee camps in Jordan, Egypt, and elsewhere around the world, he was never fully accepted by other Arab leaders, and they did not push hard to achieve an independent state or resettle the Palestinian refugees. Nevertheless, his popularity forced them to pay heed to his leadership, and international Arab organizations permitted the PLO to join as a recognized entity.

After the Gulf War of 1991, in which the United States led a coalition of both Western and Middle Eastern States to expel Saddam Hussein of Iraq from Kuwait, there was a renewed effort to settle the Palestinian-Israeli issue. This was continued by President William (Bill) Clinton after he replaced George Bush who had led the Gulf War. The talks led to agreements in the Oslo Accords and an historic meeting between Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in the United States, including a handshake between the two. However, the agreements did not last. An Israeli extremist assassinated Rabin, and a new wave of terror by Palestinians hit Israel. Arafat did not follow up on the peace proposals and lost real control of the Palestinians, unable to stop the terror. The Israelis blockaded him in his citadel on the West Bank, not allowing him to leave until his death in 2004.

Saddam Hussein, the ruler of Iraq, was a charismatic leader, the head of the Ba'ath Party. He had been one of a group of officers who overthrew President 'Abd al-Salam 'Arif in 1968. Gradually Hussein assumed absolute control of the country by ousting his colleagues. A member of the minority Sunni sect, he kept strict control over the majority Shiites and another minority, the Kurds of the north. He brutally suppressed the Kurdish revolt of 1988 using poison gas. He also joined other Arab states in the wars against Israel. Like Nasser he aspired to be a leader of all Arabs, but he ran into difficulties with other

leaders in the area. In 1981 the Israelis bombed his Osirak nuclear research laboratory out of fear that he was planning to build bombs. He also had a border war with the Iranians after the Shiite religious revolution in that country in 1979 that brought down the shah. The war lasted eight years (1980–1988) without much change. During that period he was supported by the United States, as Tehran was an avowed enemy of Washington.

Hussein now felt emboldened to add oil-rich Kuwait to his realm, believing Washington and the West would not intervene. However, the move caused a coalition of Western and Middle Eastern states led by the United States to declare war and utterly destroy his forces, driving him from Kuwait, but leaving him in Iraq. The United Nations imposed a series of sanctions on Baghdad to force him to allow inspections of his armaments. His refusal to comply over the next decade led to numerous air raids and bombings of his country. Hussein in the meantime looked for new support in the Arab World. As religious fundamentalism became a popular movement among Moslems, he turned from his previous secularism and attempted to put on a religious front. In 2002 President George W. Bush, the son of the president who had ordered the Gulf War, invaded Iraq to topple Hussein, whom he believed was in contact with the al-Qaeda terrorists who had bombed New York's World Trade Center the year before and was building weapons of mass destruction. Although both beliefs were erroneous, the US-led coalition toppled and arrested Hussein, but found itself in a difficult war in Iraq fighting anti-US insurgents.

Another factor in Middle Eastern politics has been the rivalry of various movements and governments in the regions. After the war, most of the countries were controlled by monarchies, the majority of which claimed descent from the prophet Muhammad. In Iran the monarch was the shah, the son of the ruler who had declared himself to be a king. These monarchies tended to be authoritarian and conservative. Some, like in Saudi Arabia, ruled by Islamic law. Some shared the largess they achieved through oil wealth with their citizens. Most monarchs also tended to be pro-Western. However, in the 1950s and 1960s secular radical movements attempted to seize power. The most successful was the Ba'th movement, a form of Islamic socialism. Ba'th parties were successful in Syria and Iraq.

Another form of conflict involved ethnic confrontations. Most prominent were the struggles between the Kurds and the various countries they inhabited—Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. Their attempts to establish an independent Kurdistan failed, and they suffered various forms of harassment for their efforts.

In Turkey, Kurdish leaders were censored and imprisoned. In Iraq, Saddam Hussein attacked Kurdish villages with poison gas. Some conflicts were geopolitical. Saudi Arabia and Oman fought over their border in the 1950s and confronted Nasser who supported North Yemen and railed against the Saudi monarchy. Qatar and Bahrain, who were allied in the GCC, still argued over the ownership of the Hawar islands. There were also religious conflicts. In Lebanon, Moslems and Christians fought a civil war (1975–1976), causing neighboring Israel and Syria to invade and occupy the country. The country was virtually destroyed, and finally found itself under the domination of Syria. The Iraq–Iran War was a war between Sunni-led Iraq and Shiite Iran, but it also involved an Arab country, Iraq, against non-Arab, Persian Iran.

Perhaps the most important issue of post–World War II Middle Eastern foreign policy is the Palestinian–Israeli issue. During World War I, the Arabs hoped to regain the lands of their medieval caliphate from the Ottoman Empire and were allied to the British who supported their revolt. Furthermore, Jewish Zionists, who had been purchasing land from the Sultan since the 1990s, also hoped for a restored Jewish homeland there as London had promised in the Balfour declaration. However, after the war, Palestine was controlled by the British under a League of Nations mandate. The term “Palestinians” then designated Jewish immigrants who continued to work for the Zionist goal of resettlement. Jewish–Arab battles occurred throughout the interwar period, and Britain limited the number of Jews allowed to immigrate into the area. This became a critical issue during the rise of Nazism in the 1930s and especially during the years of the Holocaust in World War II when only limited immigration was possible and even then difficult. In the immediate postwar years, the British still barred many of the survivors, although a number were able to enter the region both legally and illegally. Strife between the Arabs and Jews continued and the Jews began a war of terror against the British. In 1947 the United Nations voted to divide the region into Jewish and Arab portions, and in May 1948 when the British left, the Jews declared their new country called Israel. Arab armies from Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, and Iraq invaded the Jewish portion to eliminate the state, but not only did the Israelis drive them out, they also occupied more than their allotted portion and encouraged the Arabs to leave the area although many still remained. With the armistice, fighting ended, but the Arab states refused to recognize the legitimacy of Israel. The Palestinian Arabs who left settled in refugee camps where they remained for the rest of the century.

While Israel continued to develop as a modern state, welcoming more Jews, Arabs from refugee camps from time to time entered into the country to commit acts of terror. Meanwhile, the Arabs still living in Israel were better off in many ways than those in the refugee camps, but lived as second-class citizens. After the initial influx of Holocaust survivors, it was difficult for Tel Aviv to persuade Jews from Europe and the Americas to immigrate, so the Israelis looked for immigrants from the Arab countries and from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It was hard, however, for the 5 million Soviet Jews to get permission to leave the country. Eastern Europe was a different story and at various times from the 1940s to the 1960s, large numbers entered from Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland.

As mentioned above, in 1956 Israel joined Great Britain and France against Egypt, after Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. Nasser in his attempts to become the leader of all Arabs had consistently supported anti-Israeli propaganda and even the raids from the Sinai into Israel. During the war, Israel drove the Egyptians back to the canal and occupied the Sinai, but Washington did not support the alliance and the United Nations restored control of the canal to Egypt. Nasser continued to promote anti-Israeli propaganda, but the Jewish state became less of an issue in his policies and in Arab politics in general, although Arab states refused to recognize the country. However, in the mid-1960s the Ba'ath party, which had seized power in Syria, stepped up guerrilla attacks on Israel. In May 1967 the relations between Israel and her neighbors reached a crisis when Jordan and Egypt blockaded the port of Elat, cutting off Israel's access to the Red Sea. After a stalemated debate in the United Nations Security Council where the Soviet Union backed the Arab action and the United States supported Israel, the Israelis struck against all its neighbors on June 5, quickly defeating their armies in the "Six-Day War."

Israel was now in control of the entire Sinai, the West Bank of the Jordan, the whole city of Jerusalem where they had moved their capital, and the Golan Heights of Syria. Furthermore, Israel was now seen to be the dominant military power of the Middle East. When Anwar Sadat took over in Egypt after the death of Nasser, he planned another war against Israel. In 1973 this broke out on the holiest day of the Jewish calendar, Yom Kippur. Despite some initial successes and significant Israeli casualties, the Arab forces were unable to regain territory.

Although it had shown that Egypt could stand with Israel in battle, the Yom Kippur War profoundly affected Sadat as he lost his brother, an Egyptian pilot, in the war. The Egyptian leader now was

prepared to make peace with Israel. He traveled to Jerusalem, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin went to Cairo. The two leaders, under the auspices of President James Carter, then went to Washington and worked out a negotiated peace. The two countries changed ambassadors, and Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt. The other Arab countries condemned Sadat as a traitor, but Sadat and Begin shared the Nobel Peace Prize for 1978. Three years later, a Moslem extremist assassinated Sadat while observing a military parade commemorating the Yom Kippur War, just as in 1995 a Jewish extremist had assassinated Yitzhak Rabin for negotiating with Arafat.

In 1985 Israel left Southern Lebanon but still maintained control of the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and Gaza. Thus Jerusalem had a large number of Palestinian Arabs under its control. In 1987 the Palestinians, especially the youth, reacted with stonethrowing attacks on Israeli forces, the *intifadah*. Israeli forces retaliated with water cannons and rubber bullets, causing a number of injuries. Against terrorist invaders they responded with harsher actions. During the Gulf War of 1991, Washington persuaded Israel not to retaliate against Iraq, which had sent Scud missiles against the country trying to break up the coalition against it, which included a number of Arab countries. Jordan recognized Israel in 1993 and King Hussein became the custodian of the Moslem Holy Places. In 2000 Palestinian organizations like Hamas and Islamic Jihad began a systematic use of suicide attacks (the second *intifadah*) with individuals who were mostly teenagers—men and women, moving into crowded areas in Israel with bombs strapped to their bodies. Once again Israel responded with force, invading Palestinian areas trying to destroy terrorist bases. The most serious invasion took place in February 2002 when they invaded the headquarters of Arafat, although they had promised Washington that they would not kill the Palestinian leader. Jerusalem also built a wall separating Israeli land from Palestinian territory, causing a great deal of controversy and condemnation from the United Nations and the World Court. Jewish settlements on Palestinian land have been condemned by both friends and foes of Israel alike. However, attempts by the government to remove them have aroused dissent inside the country, causing domestic political difficulties.

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**See also Arab-Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Bahrain; Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Hussain, Saddam; Iran; Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988; Iraq; Israel; Jordan; Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Kurdistan;**

**Kurds; Kuwait; Lebanon; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Mossaddeq, Muhammed; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Oman; Qatar; Sadat, Anwar; Saudi Arabia; Syria; Turkey; United Arab Emirates; United Arab Republic (UAR); Yemen**

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## MIGRATION

Differences in living standards and opportunities explain why an increasing pressure for migration exists between countries of the Southern and Northern Hemispheres, as well as among countries of the Southern Hemisphere. As economies expand, as communications, transportation, and education offer people access to modernity, people move within their

countries and abroad. Powerful social, cultural, economic, political, and psychological factors facilitate migration from the South to the North or from the South to more developed countries in the South.

In the 1980s, the report of the Brandt Commission (*Common Crisis: North, South: Co-operation for World Recovery*), which received its name from its president, the former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, favoured a global project to promote Third World development that would, among other things, bring work to the labour force rather than the labour force to the work. However, a global redistribution of employment has not proved possible, and in the 1990s the emphasis was on development of the countries of the South to allow these countries to become more competitive internationally.

## Historical Overview

Why is industrial transformation generally followed by rural-to-urban migration, which contributes to urbanization? Some theorists suggest that internal and international migrations are induced by the same processes of social and economic development. The volume of emigration is determined by the degree of economic integration between the sending region and the region of destination.

In pre-industrial societies, economies are characterized by an agricultural sector organized around village-based peasant agriculture. When elites outside the peasantry, such as landed aristocrats, political leaders, capitalists, foreign companies, or international agencies try to substitute capital for labour, and to create markets, peasant agricultural production is destabilized; peasant farm workers begin to be underemployed, and redundant to agricultural production. The economic development of the peasant agricultural production contributes thus to the creation of markets, and the selling of labour. Peasant farmers may work as sharecroppers or as daily wage workers. Markets created for the purpose of economic exchange emerge: markets for land, capital, labour, food, consumer goods, and so forth. These processes weaken individuals' social and economic ties to rural groups and let appear large-scale migration.

In Britain, these processes took place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Massey 1988); a similar process occurred in Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century (Cardoso 1980). One of the most important reasons for migration is the uneven economic development of different regions or countries (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973). Rural–urban migration thus brings about a progressive

urbanization of societies. In European countries, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, urban areas did not absorb all of these rural–urban migrants. Large groups immigrated instead to countries overseas. This immigration is generally regarded as an outcome of economic development under a market economy.

The cyclical nature of industrialization in urban areas, linked to a constant pressure for out-migration from rural areas, creates large groups of possible migrants who respond to development processes. When no political-administrative barriers exist, a demand for immigrant workers in a foreign country, and a wage differential that covers the cost of relocation are sufficient to let appear international migration. The uneven geographic distribution of economic growth within countries and between countries leads to a structure of emigration: as an economy enters a difficult economic cycle, there are other overseas destinations with economic development, and a demand for labour. Furthermore, in more recent years, the declining real costs of transportation and communication let increase the net returns to international movements. The construction of railroads and roads, and the establishing of phone, radio, and television communications led to an integration of developing countries into international markets. People's personal networks became increasingly connected to communication systems of developed economies overseas. Consequently, development rendered international movements easier, and cheaper.

The immigration to developing countries can be explained by the creation of a pool of migrants through capital formation, market creation, and by disparities in economic development across time and space. This structural condition for international movements is accentuated by improvements in transportation and communication systems. It becomes clear that every country and region that has developed its economy has experienced migration. However, there are differences among countries in the amount of emigration: nineteenth-century France experienced rather low levels; during the same period, Britain experienced a mass exodus. Differences between countries depend on the state of the world economy, colonial relationships, technologies, and political factors. The economic links between the developing country and the country of destination are, nevertheless, important factors of explanation. In general, an increasing integration and interdependence let increase the volume of migration.

B. Thomas demonstrated this fact for the developing Atlantic economy of the nineteenth century. The link between the Mexican oil boom and the US economic boom of 1982–1987 has been clearly

established, too (Massey 1988). Recruitment of workers from less developed countries by agents from more developed economies was widely used in history: European workers came to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in the 1960s, Western Europe recruited workers from major trading partners, especially former colonies (Castles and Kosack 1973; Massey 1988).

Emigration was thus a common response to economic development not only in Europe, but in developing societies, too. Internal migrations are linked to the same economic and social development as international migrations. Workers respond to differences in wages, urbanization, and education. With the growth of economic integration, large-scale movements of labour between countries occur. Massey indicated a close relation between the onset of industrial development and the migration flows (the beginning correlation is 0.59) and later peak of emigration (correlation is 0.49) (Massey 1988). B. Thomas studied figures on emigration from Britain, Ireland, and Germany with economic development in the United States, and Britain from 1830 to 1913. D. Thomas (1941) studied population movements in Sweden between 1750 and 1933. She found that US business cycles were positively correlated with emigration; and rural–urban migration was positively correlated with the Swedish economic cycle. The work of these scholars shows that emigration is closely linked to economic development. The transformation of peasant economies created a constant rural out-migration directed to internal or international centres. Emigration fluctuated with the changes in the European economy.

## Theories: Migration and Development

This subsection addresses the question of whether migration triggers development or does development trigger migration. The large international and internal income differences have been considered by sociological theory (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973) as one of the most important factors bringing about internal or international migration. Hoffmann-Nowotny showed that migrants from poorer European countries move to richer countries. He studied this phenomenon in Switzerland and Canada in the 1970s. Schuerkens' study of the Congo (Brazzaville) and Sudan (1981) was influenced by this approach. In this study it was found that regional economic, urban, and educational differences influenced the direction and the level of migration. However, poorer regions contributed only

on a small scale to internal migrations, whereas regions which were situated on a higher level of development contributed to a much higher degree to internal migrations.

In many parts of the developing world, migration processes led to high rates of urbanization during the 1980s and 1990s, processes that demonstrate these mutual links. Today, it is no longer obvious that an increase in per capita income reduces migration, as Hoffmann-Nowotny and I suggested in our studies. The statement that the best migration policy is development policy, which means that an increase in income would reduce out-migration, is challenged. According to Fischer, Martin, and Straubhaar (1997), the relation between migration and development is actually considered with the concept of a “modified inverted U-curve.” They wrote: “Development often first enhances and thereafter reduces the scope and incentives for migration, but the sequencing of enhancement and reduction is usually different for different types of migration.”

Classic economic theory considers that sending regions obtain benefits from out-migration for their development processes. Another economic school argues that out-migration may be an obstacle for the development of the sending areas. The “brain-drain” discussion is linked to this second approach: high-level migrants drain poor countries of valuable resources that are needed for development. Migration may further development in the core countries at the expense of the poor periphery. Whether so-called *convergence* or *divergence* processes (countries either get closer to each other or still increase their differences) predominate depends on the particular economic development of a region. Empirical studies indicate that migration seems to have positive short-term effects for regions of out-migration and in-migration. In the long term, empirical studies suggest that migration does not strongly influence the development process. There seem to be “turning points” in development when migration becomes more important.

One of the simplest economic explanations of migration is that people move with the aim to improve their situation. On an international level, this would mean that large groups of migrants move from poor to rich regions. However, the total number of migrants is rather small: it is estimated by international organizations, such as the International Labour Organization, the International Organization of Migration, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as about 1.5% of the world population. Furthermore, most migrations are internal rather than international in spite of large international income differences. South-to-North migrations are

small compared to South-to-South migrations, for instance, from West Africa to Nigeria, or from Southern Africa to South Africa. The direction of migration flows reveals the predominance of cultural and historical links as well as geographical distance. As mentioned above, the largest migration flows come from countries that are not the poorest ones. Moreover, the position of countries in international migrations changes over time. Changing income levels induce a rise or a fall as an emigration area; for instance, sending countries are becoming receiving countries: Italian migrants went to Germany in the 1960s; in the 1990s, Italy had already become an immigration country for African immigrants.

Fischer et al. emphasize that “international migration is *partly* dependent on differences in income and development between macro-level areas.” Lack of comparable data and measurement problems render international comparisons of migration groups rather difficult. Nevertheless, Fischer et al. “calculated correlation coefficients between the net number of people born abroad in percent of total population and relative average real per capita GDP.” They found the following correlations:

These scholars concluded their study by writing: “Despite plenty of reservations to be made as far as the data used are concerned, the calculations derive a relation between the net stock of foreign-born people and GDP per capita which is overall positive, with a correlation value of +0.46.” In fact, the correlation of Europe is quite strong with +0.81. The correlation coefficients for the Middle East (+0.89) and the United States (+0.73) are high, too. The low coefficients for Africa and the former Soviet Union let us presume that in these regions, political reasons for migration are more important than economic reasons.

In order to differentiate still more the relation between development and migration, Fischer et al. restricted their migration typology to three migration subgroups:

Table 1: Correlation coefficients

Region	Note	Correlation value
World	Ex-Soviet Union excluded	0.46
Europe	Maghreb and Turkey included	0.81
Africa	Maghreb excluded	0.43
United States		0.73
Middle East	Turkey excluded	0.89
Far East and Australia		0.73
Ex-Soviet Union		-0.19



- a. Internal (short-distance) migration
- b. International (long-distance) migration of low-skilled workers
- c. International (long-distance) migration of high-skilled workers.

They understand by high-skilled workers those migrants who are “qualified for employment above, say, the level of simple manufacturing jobs.”

Regions with low per capita income levels usually do not participate in international migration flows because of lack of financial possibilities. In these regions, people exploit natural resources or work in agriculture. Countries that are more developed are frequently known for having large spatial (rural–urban) inequalities that lead to internal migration movements. In these countries, international migration can be attractive for high-skilled migrants who possess the necessary financial means and information about other life-possibilities abroad. Yet, the majority of the population has at their disposal no financial means to realize a migration. Countries with still higher per-capita income try to reduce internal regional differences. Thus, they slow down incentives for internal migration. Nevertheless, financial possibilities to engage in international migration increase, and more low- and high-skilled people will decide to move because of higher possible benefits of out-migration. But most of the people will not leave their place of residence.

The *convergence* effect of migration can be shown when differentiating the impact of migration on development in both the short- and the long run. Migration influences wages in emigration and immigration regions in the short term to medium terms. Migrants who sent parts of their income to the country of origin (*remittances effect*) influence the economy of their home countries. Migrants’ contribution to the financing of public services in the country of immigration causes effects on public transfers. The availability of labour may furthermore lead to changes in the production structure and may influence the terms of trade of both countries. What about the quantity effect of labour in the South (abundant) and in the North (scarce)? Migration from the South to the North decreases wages in the North and increases them in the South.

Neo-classical growth models have often been tested empirically. These tests reveal that convergence takes place, but at a slow rate of about 2%–3% per annum. However, most of the growth can be explained by changes in technology and not by neo-classical convergence processes. It is a matter of fact that one finds convergence within Northern countries and Southern countries as two different groups, but

rather little convergence between the South and the North.

Marx, Myrdal, Hirschmann, and Wallerstein argued that migration increases rather than decreases development differences in the world. These scholars think that technological progress does not spread from the Northern core to the Southern periphery. For them, as Fischer *et al.* wrote:

Wages and/or returns on investment will therefore remain lower in the disadvantaged region. The latter can only catch up by improving its technology and efficiency, which becomes more difficult once factors of production begin to leave. If in the extreme case all input factors were mobile, the disadvantaged location would in the long run face a total outflow of production factors, until ‘the last turns off the light.’

Immigration into economically more important areas strengthens their position as core economies, while smaller economies lose their competition effects. Structural changes or the integration of markets, which induce migration flows and their direction, may determine which economy becomes core and which periphery. “The mobility of people is therefore one of the potential determinants of core-periphery structures” (Fischer *et al.* 1997).

In conclusion to this issue, we can say that empirical case studies let appear the co-existence of the convergence and divergence theses related to migration. Periods of economic development of regions and countries exist when migration causes divergence effects. They may be followed by periods when migration induces convergence effects. The actual link between migration and development thus remains an empirical question studied in concrete situations.

Fischer *et al.* concludes in the following manner:

For most countries, the impact of international migration on development tends to be positive but essentially short-term. Especially labour-market and balance-of-payments problems are frequently eased, sometimes some growth effects due to increased consumption are noticeable. Convergence, rather than divergence effects of migration on development are usually detected. But migration rarely seems to be able to induce the far-reaching social and economic changes that are required to advance the development process in most countries of the South.

## Remittances

Central to the links between migration and development are remittances, a part of migrant workers’ earnings sent back from the country of employment

to the country of origin. These remittances depend on the rules and characteristics of workers abroad; levels and types of economic activity in sending and host countries; and the difference in wage, exchange, and interest rates. These factors influence the decisions of the migrants and their families on remittances: whether they spend funds in their country of origin or spend them abroad; whether they remit through official or informal channels; how they use their earnings, for consumption or for investment.

Remittances are private transfers and only a part of them flows through official channels. Estimates about official remittances can be derived from the International Monetary Fund's *Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook*. Nevertheless, data are not reported for all countries and some countries report them in different categories of the balance-of-payments statistics. Three categories are of relevance: workers' remittances, migrants' transfers, and labour incomes. World Bank studies include all three categories when analysing remittance flows. But not all scholars follow this definition, a fact that results in an extreme disparity of research results. A recent study found that nominal remittance credits increased from US\$43.3 billion in 1980 to US\$65.6 billion in 1989 (Russell 1992).

For many international emigration countries, remittances constitute sizeable proportions of exports, imports, and GDP. In some countries, remittances can be 25%–50% of the value of merchandise exports and 10%–30% of merchandise imports. Yet, remittances are volatile, and countries may experience economic shocks following the disrupting of flows. There is evidence that remittances constitute an important mechanism of money transfer between developed and developing countries. The nominal net transfers (that is, credits minus debits) from developed to developing countries rose from US\$21.1 billion in 1980 to nearly US\$31 billion in 1989. In 1988, official development assistance was US\$51 billion, a fact that revealed the minor influence of development aid as a means to reduce migration pressures (Russell 1992).

What about the use of remittances? There is some contradiction in the empirical evidence on this point, which results from the fact that, for instance, expenditures of migrants are not separated from those of non-migrants. In general, migrants have to choose between consumption and investment expenditures. But analysts do not agree on the effects in the wider economy. Some scholars argue that remittances are used for the purchase of land and housing, jewelry, and general household consumption, rather than *productive investments*. They conclude that remittances do not stimulate regional or national development.

Another group of scholars argues that migrants save and invest, and that expenditures for land, housing, and jewelry have positive multiplier effects in the wider economy, and reduce government spending on infrastructure, subsidies, and services.

There is empirical evidence to support both points of view. For instance, Sahelian migrants in France often hold low- or unskilled jobs in France. A significant portion of their savings is utilized by migrant associations to finance the social infrastructure of their home villages: schools and dispensaries. Yet, the households of these migrants use remittances primarily for consumption (food, clothing) (Condé *et al.* 1986).

Evidence on the consequences of remittances for development is mixed, too. Scholars found no *automatic mechanism* by which international migration and remittances resulted in development. The effects of migration on poverty depend on the extent to which poor people migrate. In Pakistan, scholars found that remittances raised the average income of migrant households by nearly 31%. However, migrants come often from above-average income households. Remittances may increase income inequality, as scholars found in Egypt, where upper-income households produce a greater part of migrants. Direct economic aid from overseas relatives often raises income levels, the material quality of life, and the social position of those left behind. For Pakistan, scholars argued that remittances were equally distributed over the national population. One of the major migration dilemmas of the sending countries is whether they should subsidize the development of emigration areas or try to maximize the development impact of remittances at the macro level (Russell 1992).

### High-Level Skills Migration and Return Migration

It is rather difficult to identify professional categories who migrate. The notion of *brain drain* was coined in the United Kingdom to stigmatize the migration of British physicians or biologists who left for the US in the decades following the Second World War. Despite theoretical and ideological controversies, the notion was implanted and began later on to include migrations from the countries of the South to those of the North, if these migrants possessed qualifications that were likely to be absent in their country of origin.

The central question about this topic is: which experiences losses and/or gains, the country of origin

or the country of settlement. It is difficult to measure the contribution of international highly qualified migrants in both contexts. Do they contribute to the scientific progress in their country of origin? Would they produce the same output in their own country? Do they try to establish links from their country of settlement with elites in their country of origin? In fact, this problem is confronted with two viewpoints. *Internationalists* analyse this sort of migration to the countries of the North as a normal phenomenon of an international market, by arguing that qualified manpower goes to places where optimum salaries and productivity exist. In contrast, *nationalists* argue: (1) the international economy does not permit an equal distribution of expert knowledge, which tends to go to the North and is missing in the South; and (2) highly qualified migration movements are artificial, because they are induced by select migration policies of the countries of settlement with the aim to raise their own gains. This second argument was retained by the United Nations for international policy measures. Politics that favoured return migrations could be integrated into national development policies.

The idea of returning to the country of origin is linked to international migration, even if this idea remains mythical or virtual. It contributes to the identity formation of the migrant during his or her residence in an alien country. The migrant's decision to return is associated with taking stock of his or her life: the outcome of costs and benefits of a return migration influenced by professional, economic, familial, cultural, or emotional factors. Several countries, such as Taiwan and South Korea, implanted national policies to invite their elites to return to their countries of origin. Financial measures and a strengthening of the exchange of ideas between the expatriated elites and the national scientific community should contribute to these endeavours. Return migration is thus potentially a real development factor. In this sense, the International Organization of Migration created a programme to favour the return of highly qualified manpower to South America, Asia, and Africa. The TOKTEN (Transfer of knowledge through expatriate nationals) programme of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) tried to gather the expert knowledge of expatriates in numerous agricultural, scientific, and technical programmes. Yet, this programme does not plan a definite return, but rather the utilization of the expert knowledge of expatriates in the countries of the South. Furthermore, the creation of specialized research institutes, in India and South Korea, for instance, offers conditions that are able to attract expatriates who are looking for international co-operations and worldwide collaborations.

## Policy Measures

Theories developed to understand processes of international migration focus on very different causal mechanisms. Policy measures are thus influenced by various models and policy makers might attempt to regulate international migration by changing wages and employment conditions in destination countries; by promoting economic development in origin countries; by establishing programmes of social insurance in sending societies; by reducing income inequality in places of origin; by improving futures or capital markets in developing regions; or by some combination of these actions. Or one might advise that all of these programmes are fruitless given the structural imperatives for international movement growing out of global market relations (Massey *et al.* 1998).

Given the importance of contemporary international migration flows, policy measures on international migration will be most important in the following decades. *Durable solutions* have to be found to emigration pressures through improved international relations. In an increasingly international economy with open borders for movements of information, commodities, and capital, it is difficult to close borders for people. A long-term solution for the reduction of international migration seems to be sustainable development in poor countries, which enables economic growth and integrates the growing labour force. Measures may include national strategies, trade policy, development aid, and international relations.

A labour-sending country needs to assess its domestic development strategy in order to find the sources of migratory pressure. This would reveal the possible breaks between the macro-economic development strategy and trade and labour policies on one side, and the migration objectives of the country on the other side. In the past, many countries adhered to the import-substitution approach with neglect of the export sector, and a low use of the abundant labour force. This policy meant less employment in the organized sector, and low earnings in the agricultural and informal sectors, which, in turn, encouraged emigration. These policy inconsistencies can obviously be corrected. An employment-oriented policy will therefore focus on the dynamic use of low-cost labour and a systematic focus on a growing technological level, an upgrading of existing products, and a production of higher-value goods. Labour with more skills may be employed gradually; foreign direct investment and aid may contribute to the industrialization and economic growth of the country. This strategy has been followed by Asian NICs, which were able to control their emigration pressure. Even if this strategy has to be

adapted to the particular historical situation of a country and the world economy, its different elements continue to be essential for migrant-producing countries.

Since 1986, many countries with an abundant labour force have announced unilateral trade liberalization in order to benefit from an open trade policy. An absence of trade barriers in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, for instance, would mean growth and employment in migrant-producing countries of the Southern Hemisphere. On the other hand, a rising level of trade protectionism would weaken trade reforms in countries with an abundant labour force. Often, it is important to diversify the export sector, with special attention to the development of trade in services, which creates employment. This way has been successfully adopted by some Asian countries in the computer industry. Nevertheless, changes will only come gradually, because of the fact that politicians are not willing to confront their own labour force in times of recession.

Development aid is another strategy to reduce international migration over the long term. Several decades of development policies have resulted in a still-growing gap between poor and rich countries. Inequality within the countries of the South has also grown between the wealthy elites and the impoverished masses. Credit policies controlled by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank led to increased debt services in many countries, and meant an increased dependency from the North.

Development aid can be used at three levels. At the macro level, it can support programmes that tackle the generation of employment and income, demographic change, human capital development, promotion of trade, and foreign investment. At a micro level, it can focus on particular regions that produce migrants. At an intermediate level, development aid can target sectors such as the services sector, and small enterprises in the informal sector, which are important to migration flows. Results of these methods may be mutually reinforcing.

Aid can act as a facilitator to increased foreign direct investment and improved technologies. The newly industrializing countries in East Asia were able to increase their development by widening their links with foreign companies. The availability of low-cost labour in these countries was one of their assets. Nevertheless, in the contemporary world economy, a certain development of the human capital and infrastructural facilities is needed to attract foreign direct investments. Technical and financial aid programmes may be helpful to prepare countries of the South for the inflow of foreign direct investments. As conditions for investments improve, governments may be in a better position to deal with foreign companies.

Another course of action concerns micro-enterprises in the informal sector, where millions of people in the developing world earn their living. Development aid can improve the productivity and labour-absorption capacity of these enterprises through training, supply of credit, the development of co-operatives, and so forth. The growing interest of international donor countries in this sector can be linked to the policies to reduce emigration. Aid-financed projects can target small-scale industries and agro-based industries linked to rural and regional development.

The World Employment Programme of the International Labour Office has developed a programme of study to examine the prospects for relieving migration pressures through official development assistance, with possibilities appropriate to the particular problems of source regions: regional development in Mexico; urban job creation in Sri Lanka and the Philippines; rural development in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan; population programmes in Algeria and Tunisia, and so forth.

## Case Studies

What about the present magnitude of migration? According to Appleyard (1992), a large proportion of the estimated 1 million permanent migrants each year to the so-called traditional receivers (United States, Canada, Australia) are from developing countries and as many as 70 million persons, mostly from developing countries, work either legally or illegally in other countries.

The potential for emigration is much more important: the majority of the world's present and projected future population lives in developing countries. According to Golini *et al.* (1991), developing countries have the capability of employing in only twenty years an additional number of workers (733 million) much greater than the 1990 stock of the entire developed world (586 million). The central issue here is whether enough jobs are available for these large groups of people. The prognosis is not favourable, with high rates of unemployment or underemployment in the countries of the South. Therefore, emigration pressures from developing countries will be one of the most acute development problems of the coming decades. The Human Development Report stated that unless trade barriers are reduced, South-North migration (and South-South migration) will increase. Aid, similar to the Marshall Plan, has been suggested as an appropriate measure in light of the differences between the North and the South. This aid could help to reduce inequalities and, in turn, emigration

pressures, even if, in the short term, emigration resulting from development would increase.

## Conclusion

“[T]he almost inevitable global population of 11 billion within a century will create increasing emigration pressures in developing countries” (Appleyard 1992).

The question of how long the inequality gap between rich and poor countries can continue widening, and the policy of the developed countries to manage flows of economic resources, including labour, from the South to the North according to their own interests, are certain to remain major topics of the political debate for the following decades. In our increasingly integrated world system, it is important to examine population movements that seem to be an important element in the changing world order. A broader knowledge of international migration flows, and of the impact of decisions of governments and individual migrants on patterns, causes, and impacts of migration will contribute to insights on the new world order of the twenty-first century.

In order to understand more deeply the actual migration and development patterns, case studies based on country- or region-specific macro-conditions are needed. A uniform South does not exist and the effects of migration on development will not be the same for all countries of the South. A dynamic theory of migration and development has to consider the mutual links of migration and development, the influence of a beginning development on migration, and the effects of migration on development. Such a theory should connect theoretical approaches originating from different disciplines.

The analysis of the development–migration link leads us to expect growing international migration flows between the South and the North. More and more people of the South are included in the world economy. Their level of per capita income increases. These processes induce migration as an option for increasing parts of populations in the South. However, development processes are subject to very complex determinants and not just to the mobility of people. In most cases, migration is a minor factor of development, although this may be due to the rather limited scale of migrants. In the short run, empirical evidence suggests that migration has had positive effects for countries of emigration and immigration. However, long-term impacts of migration are rather difficult to identify, because of the complexity of real situations.

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**See also Labor; Population Growth: Impact on Development; Refugees**

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## MILITARY AND CIVILIAN CONTROL

### Civil–Military Relations in Theory and Practice

The issue of civilian control of the military involves the proper role that the national armed forces occupy in relation to a country’s political institutions and centers of decision-making power. While government

by civil authorities has prevailed in both the industrialized and Communist countries, the intervention of the military in politics has been a standard occurrence in the majority of developing nations since the Second World War. The extent to which armies are involved in political activity is therefore a critical aspect of development, as it can affect the prospects for establishing democratic governance or maintaining the stability necessary for achieving economic prosperity.

In traditional theories of civil–military relations, the officer corps is instilled with the doctrine of “professionalism,” or conservative values that create an ethic of political neutrality and subservience to national leaders. In the former Soviet Union and the socialist republics of Eastern Europe, its equivalent was referred to as the commissar system, in which the agenda of the military was directly controlled by the ruling party through a political officer who presided over the command unit at every level of its organization. This “civilian control model” also asserts that a clear division between the army and civil institutions is best maintained when military doctrine is oriented toward the traditional task of defending national sovereignty against external threats.

However, in reality military command structures do not always adhere to these restrictions. In a nation that won its independence from a colonial power through armed struggle, the military may be regarded as the founding stone of the republic. Thus, it can be repeatedly called upon to reinforce the status quo in periods of crisis or change. In other settings, the government may integrate the functions of the military bureaucracy and party ministries, giving them a direct stake in political decisions. Further, it is apparent that military officers also possess their own political interests and goals. The policies of an incumbent government regarding salaries, status, and general privileges afforded to the national army can motivate officers to react to or even challenge the present regime. The delicate balance between abstention and direct involvement in politics is especially pronounced in countries that are still undergoing a transition between types of political and economic systems. Such issues are particularly pertinent to the structural characteristics of developing countries, and have a considerable impact upon whether efforts at democratization and market reform will be successful.

### **The Nature of Civil–Military Relations in the Developing World**

The role of the military in the structure and function of the modern state has traditionally been separated

into three areas: (1) *military security*, or the defense of national sovereignty from foreign powers; (2) *internal security*, or the protection of the state from subversion from within its territorial boundaries; and (3) *situational security*, or the preservation of state power against unforeseen social or environmental changes. In many nations of the Third World, the second category has been the primary concern of the armed forces. This preoccupation with maintaining internal stability is often linked to the inability of some governments to effectively manage the shocks created by such conditions as economic crisis, ethnic tensions, or increased demands for participation. In the Western European experience, the formation of state bureaucracies involved the recruitment of both civil and military elites for the essential tasks of governance, among them the provision of an adequate national defense, the preservation of public order, and tax collection. In circumstances in which the process of state construction is incomplete or being redefined—in effect, the developing and transitional societies—the orientation of the military toward these concerns gives it an inherently political purpose. The absence of broad popular legitimacy, combined with the weakness of post-colonial institutions, have caused many leaders in the Third World to resort to military force to suppress dissent and consolidate their political power. In this situation, national military organizations were most often arrayed not in the defense of civil society, but against the populace for the purposes of preserving the existing government. It is this fundamental distinction that calls the professional ethic into question, and further contributes to conditions for a politicized military.

### **Models of Civil–Military Relations in the Developing World**

An examination of civil–military arrangements across developing countries reveals that the nature of the polity and the balance of political forces in the process of state-building are often related to the government’s policies on deployment and defense posture. The function and purpose of national armies are therefore strongly conditioned by the characteristics of the institutional order in which they are situated. In more than a few post-colonial nations, the military has played a predominant role in the founding and consolidation of the state. Revolutions or wars of national liberation often place former commanders at the helm of the new regime whose experience with the practice of governance is limited. Therefore, when subsequent leaders are faced with the necessities of

political or institutional reform, the army is frequently referred to as a source of authority. Conversely, some militaries are said to act as a “moderating power,” which intervenes only in the event that the effectiveness of the incumbent government is threatened by internal polarization or institutional failure. The various models of civilian control employed by developing country governments reflect such distinctions. For example: in Turkey, the army serves as guarantor of the secular state; in China, it has representatives within the Communist party apparatus; in several South American countries, it has ruled in direct collaboration with the dominant civilian party. Conflicts of interest between conservatives and reformers within ruling parties, or opposing factions in coalition governments, may also involve military leaders who support one policy position or another. In this manner, the political agendas of military elites are expressed even where there is no motivation to interfere directly in the decision-making process.

### Prospects for Civil–Military Relations in the Developing World

In the contemporary world climate, there has been a major shift away from the prevalence of authoritarian and socialist regimes in many countries toward democratic governments and market-based economies. This change of conditions also stands to have a significant impact on the issue of civilian control of the military in the developing nations. In particular, it calls into question the purpose that militaries will serve in these new systems, as well as their ability to adapt to the decentralized environment of deliberative governance. If a regime transition coincides with the resolution of internal conflict such as a guerilla insurgency, the armed forces must convert their strategic doctrine from counter-offensive to peacetime operations. If economic reforms increase the number of actors in society that are involved in production and distribution, then the military may become a participant in the management of industries and facilitating foreign investments as well as national defense.

However, the global trend toward participatory government in Third World states does not entirely eliminate the threat of military intervention in politics. Attempts at restoring or introducing competitive electoral processes have sometimes been unsuccessful. The holding of elections without substantial restructuring of institutions might allow a reversal to authoritarianism. This could invite the military to play a more prominent role in managing an uncertain

political environment. The problem of maintaining civilian oversight in the course of democratic transitions is especially pronounced in circumstances where pacts or constitutional arrangements may allow militaries to retain their previous positions of influence. Additionally, traditional national security doctrines directed at controlling subversion by organized dissident groups may take considerable time and effort to reform. If the army maintains a doctrine in which mass protest is identified as a threat to public order rather than a popular expression of grievances, serious violations of civil liberties could result. Thus, the issue of maintaining politically neutral and effective national armed forces will continue to impact the politics of developing countries in the years to come.

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**See also Military and Development; Military and Human Rights**

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### MILITARY AND DEVELOPMENT

The role played by the armed forces in the economic and political development in developing countries has varied enormously from situation to situation. In some cases the military has been a primary agent of change, while in all too many others, it has hindered development.

The concept of “development” is a decidedly Western one. It has been generally assumed that economic development and political development are interdependent processes that lead countries to adopt systems that approximate the forms enjoyed by the advanced industrial democracies. Economic development

generally entails the adoption of new technologies, industrialization, and diversification of production away from a purely agriculturally based economy. While elites in developing countries have for the most part desired economic development, the commitment to the Western view of political development goals has varied considerably. This view of political development ideally includes the establishment of a democratic republic, with civilian control of government and guarantees of basic political freedoms. Civilian control over the armed forces is the *sine qua non* of proper civil–military relations in this model of political development.

Several national military institutions have played pivotal roles in economic modernization, industrialization, and technology acquisition through the influencing, or even the imposition of, specific policies. It has been less common to find military institutions in developing countries that have been as adept or as enthusiastic in fostering political development, in the sense of establishing democratic institutions and protecting basic civil rights, though some armies have supported democratic civilian rule.

### **Military Attitudes**

One common stereotype of the military institution sees it as essentially conservative. There are many good reasons for this view. However, the military has often shown itself to be the motor for social, political, and economic change in the appropriate circumstances. The military has often been the elite group most outspoken in its call for modernization, political development, or industrialization. Especially in those regions where conflict between the rapidly advancing Western European states and non-Europeans was most constant, the internal struggles within the non-Western powers pitted the military and other elites against traditionalists. The military officers often literally bore the brunt of these conflicts against Western forces, and were most anxious to adopt the means that Westerners were using to defeat them in battle.

A striking example of the military playing this sort of revolutionary role may be found in the late Ottoman Empire and in the Turkish Republic that replaced it. Within the declining Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century, it was mainly the officer corps, along with the more cosmopolitan segments of the middle classes (physicians, students, and merchants), that struggled against the traditionalist rulers in order to adopt not only military tactics and weaponry from the West, but also technological know-how,

industrialization, and political practices. Officers were among the most forceful backers of the Constitutional (Tanzimat) Movement in the mid-nineteenth century, which sought to limit the power of the sultan. They were among the leaders of the various quasi-nationalist movements, the Young Ottomans, and later the Young Turks, which advocated the adoption of European political arrangements and concepts in the Empire. The military tended to support modernizing policies as the only means for stopping the encroachment of European powers, and of resisting the breakaway nationalist movements in the Balkans. They opposed an extremely conservative sultanate and religious establishment, which were reluctant to adopt any Western innovations, on the premise that the non-Muslim powers could not possibly have superior methods and institutions. In the view of these traditionalists the answer to this apparent decline was not to adopt Western ways, but to redouble efforts to reassert the traditional ways of Islamic civilization.

The Ottoman Empire was broken up after World War I. A shadow of the former Empire tenuously ruled the Anatolian Peninsula, but under British, French, and Italian spheres of influence. Mustafa Kemal, one of the few recognized military heroes of the Ottoman army during the war, was infuriated that the sultan had signed a humiliating treaty with the European powers, and was doing nothing to stop Greek penetration into Anatolia. He and his followers revolted against the Empire, drove back the Greeks, and established the Republic of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal, taking the surname Atatürk, then instituted a series of sweeping reforms meant to reorient Turkey toward Europe, to modernize its institutions and mores, and to bring the new republic into the “modern” world. Among these innovations were the promulgation of a new European-influenced constitution and a civil code borrowed from the Swiss, the expansion of education, and the granting of women’s suffrage. Policies were also introduced and enforced that were intended to Westernize Turkish culture, such as the adoption of a new Latinized alphabet, the standardization of surnames, and the banning of the fez. Policies were also introduced to modernize and expand industry and trade. The army became the repository for and defender of the philosophy culled from the program of Atatürk, known as Kemalism. Since the 1920s, the military has remained the bastion of Kemalist republican modernization and secularism, defending it against challenges by Marxists no less than by Islamist movements.

Similar modernizing aspirations could be discerned in Latin American officer corps in the mid-nineteenth century. Middle-level officers were often frustrated by



the inability or unwillingness of the civilian elites to effectively pursue economic modernization. As the Latin American republics fell further behind Europe and North America, they were more easily exploited by outside powers, particularly Britain. Though these officers were educated in the new professional manner of the European officer corps, this training made them all the more painfully aware of just how far their countries lagged behind, especially in the areas of industry and technology. Many soon came under the sway of the philosophy of Positivism, which derived from the works of the French philosopher Auguste Comte. Distilled into its Latin American version, Positivist ideas emphasized a dynamic program of modernization and education, especially in the sciences, which would create the conditions that would lead these weak republics out of the doldrums. Positivist clubs and parties were formed throughout the hemisphere. The new doctrine was particularly popular among army officers. In many states the military as an institution began to pressure their governments to adopt more forward-looking policies. The movement was perhaps strongest in Brazil, where, after a military-led coup ousted Emperor Pedro II and established a republic in 1889, the motto of the Positivists, "Order and Progress" (*Ordem e Progresso*), was prominently displayed on the new national flag. Some modernization did occur in limited regions of certain Latin American countries, but overall, what progress there was came in fits and starts. In countries like Brazil and Mexico, where Positivist officers had taken power or held influential positions, it was not long before their progressive policies were abandoned for baser political practices.

### **Civic Action and the Military in Newly Emerging Nations**

Until World War II, most of Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean were still under the direct control of the great European empires. But very soon after the end of the War, the imperial systems began to weaken and break apart, beginning with Britain's withdrawal from India and Palestine in 1947. Some colonies were supposedly being "guided" toward independence, while in many others local independence movements began to grow. Some of the guerrilla groups fighting for liberation would become the nuclei of national militaries once independence was won.

Most of the former colonies were woefully underdeveloped upon achieving independence. Infrastructure was minimal, and usually nonexistent outside of the region of the capital city or major ocean ports.

There was generally very little industry. Education in the Western sense barely existed outside the largest cities. In many cases, political elites were inexperienced at ruling, and economic elites were often unprepared to compete in a worldwide industrial and trading system dominated by the advanced European and North American countries.

Policy makers and political scientists in the West began to recommend models of government and economic systems for the so-called "Newly Emerging Nations." Western theories of "developmentalism" advocated a series of steps that would lead emerging states to expand their middle classes, achieve "take-off" in economic modernization, and establish democratic republics.

The conditions in these new independent states varied so widely that the notion that one meta-model could fit all cases was soon revealed to have been surprisingly naive (though competing models advocated by the Soviet Union, and later by China and Cuba, proved no less so). These new states were confronted with so many pressures and handicaps that it was hard to know where to begin the process of development. Many of the Asian and African states were made up of dozens, sometimes hundreds, of tribal, ethnic, linguistic, "national," and religious groups. The international boundaries of these artificial states divided identifiable groups more often than they united them. With such natural disunity and inter-group rivalry present in so many of these new states, "nation building" became a top priority for the new political elites.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Western scholars and policy makers began to tout the idea that the armed forces in developing countries were ideally suited to act as the main institution for fostering national unity and political development in the newly emerging nations. This nation-building and nation-serving function was known as "civic action." In such new and weak states, national government agencies were struggling to professionalize, and to expand their authority and legitimacy from the capital cities out to the more remote regions. The military was assumed to be the most organized and efficient institution with a national scope. It was poised, according to advocates of this model, to undertake a variety of activities that could help to push the country forward. Its engineering units could be employed to build roads, bridges, irrigation systems, and other elements of infrastructure. Its national scope would allow it to draw people from the disparate ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups, and socialize them into a new national identity. The structure of the army could also be used to teach useful new skills to recruits, and improve the health of recruits from

impoverished areas. The army would also be in a position to represent the new national government in extending essential services to the populations in remote areas.

Another assumption of this policy derived from the less naive notion that an army was essentially a fighting force. In a situation where the government was weak, where few other national authorities existed, and where local loyalties were a constant threat to national unity, it might be necessary to make sure that the army was gainfully employed in productive projects, so that they would not readily revert to using force against the government, or against national minorities.

However, the very attributes that recommended the armed forces for civic action programs also made it the strongest single entity within the government. By virtue of its monopoly of arms, many military institutions would pit themselves against other government agencies or political parties, sometimes from frustration at the inefficiency of the bureaucracy, or at its corruption, and sometimes at the behest of officers who were little more than warlords and political bosses. Despite the promise of civic action in theory, the military often became a major obstacle to political development rather than its sponsor.

While many of the newly independent countries struggled with the perplexing problem of nation building, there were some that managed to achieve a certain satisfactory level of political development, at least according to the idealized model. India is a particularly striking case of a newly independent state with multiple and competing linguistic, religious, and national groups, which nevertheless managed to create a reasonably stable democratic republic. Most notably for this discussion, the military very closely followed the model of an institution that serves elected civilian political leaders. The military is a very influential organization in Indian society, due in no small part to India's international security environment, as well as its pretensions to regional power status. Its military industries have been the focus of significant investment, and there were hopes here, as in many other third-world countries anxious to modernize, that such investment would yield industrial and technological spin-offs for civilian industry. Scholars still differ as to whether government investment in military industrialization contributed to civilian industrialization, or whether these funds might have been better invested in the civilian economy or spent on the provision of social services. Nevertheless, India does offer an important example of the viability of the Western model of civil-military relations in developing countries.

## **Economic Development Precedes Political Development**

The dependent position of almost all newly independent nations, as well as those few that had achieved independence in the nineteenth century (mainly in Latin America), persisted, and was a constant source of frustration for the political and economic elites. A variety of strategies were tried, and alliances were made with one or the other of the rival Cold War powers to achieve advantage. But development remained elusive.

By the 1960s, a very small and varied group of states, most controlled by the military, embarked on rigorous courses of economic development. These regimes pursued the establishment of heavy industry, often centered on arms production, and the acquisition of cutting-edge technologies. In those states ruled by the military, most notably South Korea and Brazil, military control allowed for the suppression of dissent from opposition politicians and intellectuals, and especially from those social groups that suffered most from the imposition of these policies. Military governments were also able to co-opt those elites who benefited directly from the new growth, and who therefore went along with government control over investment, credit, and financing, and establishing production priorities (usually oriented toward exports). Among those states that successfully modernized, there was no one pattern that was followed. In countries like Israel (with a Western-style parliamentary regime) and Brazil, industrialization was led in large part by the arms industries, which received special attention from the government. In South Korea, Taiwan, and Chile, arms industrialization was eventually pursued, but this was not the primary focus of industrial policy. The salient common denominator among these successfully industrializing states was that in none of these cases was the developmentalist model prescribed by Western policy makers and academics followed, even if there was some element of civic action thrown into the mix. In all the successful cases, there was extensive government involvement and direction of economic policy, usually accompanied by strong protectionist measures.

Of course, neither military control, nor influence over the government, nor centralized government control over the implementation of economic policy was a guarantee of successful industrialization. For example, the People's Republic of China was characterized by extensive inter-penetration between the leadership of the ruling Communist Party and the upper echelons of the armed forces. Government and Party exercised extensive control over economic

policy, and the military was politically influential and received preferential treatment from the regime. However, industrial policy was erratic, and was for several decades determined more by ideological imperatives than by pragmatic concerns. Defense industries were established, but were isolated from other sectors of the economy. With the extensive economic reforms initiated in the late 1970s, the segregation of defense industries from the rest of the economy was ended. At the same time, the presence of high-ranking military officers in the Communist Party leadership was diminishing. Insofar as recent Chinese economic modernization can be judged successful, it has been achieved in part because of the relative de-politicization of the military. Seen in this light, the case of China provides an important alternative scenario to that of Brazil, Chile, Israel, South Korea, and Taiwan as discussed above.

Success in industrialization and technology acquisition on the part of military regimes or states with strong defense needs, and therefore an extremely influential military institution, are not the norm. Most developing countries ruled by military regimes that undertook such policies ultimately failed to achieve positive results. Other military or one-party regimes with centralized control over economic policies simply transformed into kleptocracies or autarchic authoritarian states.

### **Neoliberal Globalization and Military Concerns**

In the 1980s and 1990s, many authoritarian regimes collapsed and were replaced by democratic systems (some became authentically democratic, others only nominally so), most notably in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union. This also meant that the armed forces in these countries took on a new role, now serving elected civilian leaders (or, at least, civilian ruling elites), following the Western model of civil–military relations.

With the end of the Cold War and the subsequent emergence of the era of globalization, most developing countries still remained woefully behind in terms of both economic and political development. Neoliberal ideology has become the dominant paradigm for development and the policy model that international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization impose upon economically struggling countries. While there is still a great deal of variation in the response of the people in developing countries to neoliberal globalization, from enthusiastic embracing

of its prescriptions, to resignation, to outright resistance, these policies present a unique problem for military officers.

The neoliberal paradigm calls for a reduction in the role of the state, fewer regulations, less government involvement in economic affairs, the privatization of government enterprises, reduced subsidies, and the scaling back of protectionist policies. Barriers to international investment and the flow of capital and profits were to be gradually eliminated. Advocates of these policies promise economic growth and modernization to those who faithfully follow the new rules. Professional officers, as noted above, have often been at the forefront of movements for economic modernization and industrialization. Therefore, the promise of these new policies holds a certain attraction for the military. On the other hand, critics of neoliberalism claim that wholesale adoption of these policies could lead to the erosion of national sovereignty and the surrender of decision making to foreign actors and international capital markets.

As an essentially nationalistic institution, dedicated to the defense of the nation and to its independence and sovereignty, some officers are inclined to fear neoliberalism as a very real threat to national independence. Indeed, the most extreme neoliberal visionaries speak of an end to the traditional nation-state, an idea that constitutes a major challenge to the worldview of professional officers, which sees the state as the essential expression of the nation. Many officers therefore find themselves in a painfully ambiguous situation as a result. By embracing neoliberalism, their countries may take advantage of massive foreign investment and have access to cutting-edge technologies, but at the cost of compromising their national sovereignty. By resisting global neoliberal institutions such as the World Trade Organization, their countries may preserve national autonomy but cut themselves off from the most dynamic international markets.

There is no single pattern that developing countries have followed since achieving independence. Likewise, there is no single pattern of civil–military relations in developing countries, or of military influence or involvement in economic and political development. With the current trend toward democratization in many developing countries, there is an expectation that their armed forces will become increasingly professionalized. Professionalization should then reinforce military support for the Western civil–military paradigm.

DAVID SCHWAM-BAIRD

**See also Military and Civilian Control; Military and Human Rights**

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## MILITARY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

### Historical Background

Rules of armed conflict have existed for centuries, if not millennia. Medieval European knights along with warrior castes such as the Samurai of Japan had their rules of chivalry and codes of honor that applied to battle situations. Generals and kings saw the practical benefits of rules limiting unnecessary killing and property destruction, since the victors benefited from those who remained alive to work the land and businesses that survived the war intact. The modern rules of human rights in the context of armed conflict are called “international humanitarian law” (IHL). They developed primarily in Europe and have spread to the rest of the world. Contemporary international law

divides IHL into two sets of rules: those justifying the initiation of war, known in Latin as *jus ad bellum*, and those governing the conduct of war, *jus in bello*.

### Jus ad Bellum

Christian theologians maintained that countries should engage in just wars only. The seventeenth-century Dutch philosopher Hugo Grotius wrote that for a war to be just, it must be initiated by a legitimate sovereign for a just cause after more peaceful alternatives have failed. The amount of force employed should not exceed that which is needed for the justified objective, and the war should be undertaken with peace as its ultimate goal. In the twentieth century, various theorists maintained that the war against fascism, national liberation struggles against colonial powers, and humanitarian interventions to protect subjugated people against tyrannical rulers constituted just wars.

The United Nations Charter confines just wars to self-defense and humanitarian interventions, initiated by the Security Council. The Charter prohibits the acquisition of foreign territory by force. Charter Article Two states that, “All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.” Article 51 holds that, “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations.” In 1991, an American-led armed force with a UN Security Council mandate employed military might to oust Iraqi forces from their illegal occupation of Kuwait, and in 1999 North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces, without a UN mandate, bombed Serbia to force the Belgrade regime to stop ethnic cleansing of Albanians from Kosovo. Both of these operations were justified by the principle of humanitarian intervention, since they were engaged in to protect the human rights of subjugated peoples.

### Customary Jus in Bello

Once war has been initiated, its conduct is subject to the rules of armed conflict or *jus in bello*. This branch of IHL relies on treaty law as well as customary law. The latter consists of those customary principles of war that the leaders of most states regard as legally

obligatory, even though they may violate them in practice.

The customary international law principle of proportionality concerns the interrelationship between weapons, targets, and resulting damage. In general, a warring party should attack military targets with weapons whose destructive power does not significantly exceed that which is necessary for the legitimate objective. Attacks violate the principle of proportionality and human rights if they kill or injure civilians or damage civilian property to a degree that is excessive in relation to the anticipated military advantage of the attack. Under most conditions, the use of nuclear weapons would violate IHL because such weapons would cause civilian casualties and environmental damage disproportionate to the value of the military targets they destroy.

The principle of discrimination obligates warring parties to carefully discriminate military from non-military targets, both in their selection and aiming of weapons. Area bombardments that by their nature do not distinguish between military and civilian targets are prohibited. The use of biological or chemical weapons, whose lethal power can be carried away in the atmosphere to unintended areas and victims, are also illegal. Germany's World War II rocket attacks on London and the United States' atomic bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima all involved indiscriminate weapons and excessive civilian deaths, thereby violating the principle of discrimination as well as other IHL principles.

The principle of military necessity requires that attacks be confined to those non-civilian targets that contribute directly to the enemy's military strength. Combatants are justified in attacking targets whose nature, location, purpose, or use makes an effective contribution to military action and whose total or partial destruction, capture, or neutralization, in the circumstances of the time, offers a definite military advantage. Legitimate military targets include: an enemy's armed forces, barracks and installations, war ministries, munitions and fuel dumps, vehicles, airfields, rocket launch ramps, and naval bases. Legitimate infrastructural targets include those communication facilities, railway lines, roads, bridges, tunnels, and canals that are of fundamental military importance. Legitimate military-industrial targets include factories producing weapons, transportation vehicles, communications equipment, or other products for military purposes. Generally, libraries, museums, concert halls, hospitals, civilian homes, schools, and cultural monuments are not targets justified by military necessity. Attacks on them violate IHL.

Related to the principle of military necessity is the principle prohibiting the use of weapons that cause

unnecessary suffering or superfluous injury. In 1869 a number of European powers issued the St. Petersburg Declaration, which established the principle prohibiting the employment of weapons that cause unnecessary suffering. The European leaders reasoned that the only legitimate object during war is to weaken the enemy's military forces by disabling the greatest possible number of its military. Therefore, weapons that unnecessarily aggravate the sufferings of disabled soldiers are contrary to the laws of humanity. Poisoned bullets, barbed bayonets, and dum dum bullets designed to flatten on impact are generally regarded as prohibited because they cause unnecessary suffering and superfluous injury. This principle also prohibits the use of explosive projectiles filled with undetectable, clear glass fragments that make soldiers' wounds more difficult to treat.

### **Twentieth-Century Tribunals and Humanitarian Law Codes**

While World War II was still raging, the Allies began a series of meetings to plan the creation of a post-World War II tribunal to try major war criminals of the European Axis powers. Meeting in London in August 1945, US, British, French, and Soviet representatives reached an agreement establishing the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg. Article 6 of the IMT Charter listed the following acts as IHL crimes falling within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal and for which there would be individual responsibility:

1. Crimes against peace: namely, planning, preparation, initiation, or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements, or assurances;
2. War crimes: namely, violations of the laws and customs of war ... [including] murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity; and
3. Crimes against humanity: namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war, or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with

any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.

The first two categories of violations concerned international relations, specifically war between states. The second category was based on the Hague Convention of 1907, signed by a number of European states.

The third category—crimes against humanity—attacked the very heart of state sovereignty by defining gross human rights violations against citizens by their own governing powers as international crimes subject to universal jurisdiction. Crimes against humanity covered atrocities committed by Germans against German citizens as well as against others. This, of course, included the Nazis' treatment of Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and other "undesirables" in concentration camps, factories, and so forth. Prior to the IMT, a government's violations of its own citizens' human rights, with few exceptions, was considered internal affairs not covered by international humanitarian law.

The IMT also firmly established the principle of individual responsibility for gross human rights violations. In its 1946 "Opinion and Judgment" the Court wrote: "Crimes against international law are committed by men, not by abstract entities, and only by punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced." The IMT had no provisions for securing indemnity for victims.

In the first and most famous of the IMT trials, twenty-two notorious Nazi figures—including Herman Wilhelm Göring—were prosecuted. Hundreds of other Germans were prosecuted by the Allied occupying powers under Control Council Law Ten. US General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Allied Commander in Japan following the war, created the Tokyo Tribunal, modeled after the IMT, to prosecute senior Japanese officials.

## The Interim Years

After World War II, the International Committee of the Red Cross, a private organization headquartered in Switzerland, codified much of then-existing IHL in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1977. Together, the 1949 Geneva Conventions list the human rights duties that warring parties have toward the wounded and sick on land or at sea, prisoners of war, and civilians. The Conventions contain a list of grave breaches of IHL that

includes: willful killing; torture or inhuman treatment (including medical experiments); willfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health; extensive destruction and appropriation of property not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly; compelling a prisoner of war or civilian to serve in the forces of the hostile power; willfully depriving a prisoner of war or protected civilian of the rights of a fair and regular trial; unlawful deportation or transfer of a protected civilian; unlawful confinement of a protected civilian; and taking of hostages.

Additional Protocol I of 1977 expanded the list of grave breaches to also include: making civilians and non-defended localities the object or inevitable victims of attack; the perfidious use of the Red Cross or Red Crescent emblem; transfer of an occupying power of parts of its population to occupied territory; unjustifiable delays in repatriation of POWs; apartheid; attack on historic monuments; and depriving protected persons of a fair trial. Under the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol I, states must prosecute persons accused of grave breaches or hand them over to a state willing to do so. Protocol II of 1977 addresses human rights duties and violations in the context of internal war.

Countries that have ratified the Geneva Conventions are required to instruct their military personnel about the Conventions' contents. For this purpose, the US Army uses Field Manual 27-10: The Law of Land Warfare.

## UN War Crimes Tribunals

During the fifty years after Nuremberg, an estimated 250 armed conflicts occurred, causing approximately 170 million human casualties. Due to the Cold War division within the UN Security Council between the Western and Communist camps, it failed to address IHL violations in a unified way. Consequently, until the 1990s, political and military leaders responsible for war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity generally enjoyed impunity. Eventually, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the specter of atrocities on the doorstep of Western Europe, the Security Council acted creatively and in unison.

There were many astonished by the brutality of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia that erupted in June 1991 and intensified thereafter. As part of the UN response to the conflicts, the Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. By utilizing Chapter VII, the Security

Council obliged all UN member states to cooperate with the Tribunal and to honor any lawful requests it makes for assistance under its statute.

The ICTY differs from the post-World War II Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals. Unlike its predecessors, the ICTY does not have the competence to adjudicate crimes against peace. Its jurisdiction covers war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Secondly, whereas its predecessors dealt only with IHL violations associated with an international armed conflict, the ICTY is empowered to adjudicate IHL violations committed in the course of conflicts within or between the states of the former Yugoslavia. Thirdly, the ICTY is not the organ of a particular group of victor states, but an organ of the international community and consists of judges from many different countries, regionally disbursed and representing different legal traditions.

The ICTY was authorized to apply the established rules of international humanitarian law, which bind all states. These include the laws applicable in situations of armed conflict as embodied in: the four Geneva Conventions of 1949; the Hague Convention of 1907; the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948; and the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of 1945.

Articles Two to Five of the ICTY Statute empower the Tribunal to prosecute civilian persons accused of ordering or committing grave breaches of the four Geneva Conventions, violating the laws or customs of war, committing genocide, or being responsible for crimes against humanity.

Statute Article Three, "Violations of the Laws and Customs of War," is based on the Annex to the 1907 Hague Convention, which was subsequently reaffirmed by Article 6(b) of the Nuremberg Charter. Its list of violations includes: the employment of poisonous or other weapons calculated to cause unnecessary suffering; wanton destruction or devastation of cities, towns, and villages not justified by military necessity; attack on or bombardment of undefended towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings; seizure, destruction, or willful damage of religious, charitable, scientific, art, or educational institutions or of historic monuments; and plunder of public or private property.

Article Four of the ICTY Statute replicates Articles Two and Three of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) and defines genocide as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group: killing group members; causing serious bodily or mental harm to group members; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions calculated to bring about its complete or partial physical destruction; imposing measures

intended to prevent birth within the group; and forcibly transferring children to another group. Persons who commit genocide or who attempt, conspire, or incite others to commit genocide are punishable.

Statute Article Five, "Crimes against Humanity," follows the Nuremberg Charter. It empowers the Tribunal to prosecute persons responsible for the following crimes against any civilian population committed during an international or internal armed conflict: murder; extermination; enslavement; deportation; imprisonment; torture; rape; persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds; and other inhumane acts. The crimes constituting "ethnic cleansing," a term closely associated with the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, are covered by Articles 2–5.

The ICTY, located in The Hague, the Netherlands, has been actively prosecuting Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims suspected of IHL violations.

In 1994 Rwanda erupted into one of the most appalling cases of genocide that the world had witnessed since World War II as radical Hutu attempted to eliminate moderate Hutu and Rwanda's entire Tutsi population. The UN Security Council, having just created an international criminal tribunal for humanitarian law violators in the European states of the former Yugoslavia, decided it could do no less for African Rwanda. Consequently, it created the UN Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, modeled after the earlier one for the former Yugoslavia. The Security Council authorized the ICTR to apply existing international humanitarian law applicable to non-international armed conflict. The humanitarian law included in the Tribunal's statute consists of crimes against humanity (as defined by the Nuremberg Charter), genocide, Article Three Common to the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and Additional Protocol II.

ICTR Statute Article Three, "Crimes against Humanity," is based on Article 6(c) of the Nuremberg Charter, but it eliminates the requirement that such crimes must have been committed "before or during the war." Consequently, crimes against humanity do not need a war nexus.

Article Four of the statute empowers the ICTR to prosecute persons committing or ordering to be committed serious violations of Article Three common to the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and of the Additional Protocol II thereto of 1977. These violations include: (a) violence to life, health, and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular murder, torture, or mutilation; (b) collective punishments; (c) taking of hostages; (d) acts of terrorism; (e) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape, enforced prostitution, and any form of indecent assault; (f) pillage; (g) sentences or executions rendered extra-judicially or without

due process; and (h) threats to commit any of the foregoing acts.

The ICTR, located in Arusha, Tanzania, has successfully prosecuted a number of high-ranking Hutu officials responsible for the mass murder of fellow Rwandan citizens. Neither the ICTY nor the ICTR can compensate victims for injuries, medical expenses, pain and suffering, destroyed property, rehabilitation, and so forth. However, both can order the return of any property and proceeds acquired by criminal conduct to their rightful owners.

## The International Criminal Court

On July 16, 1998, after fifty years of effort, the international community endorsed the creation of a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) by a vote of 120 to 7 with 21 abstentions. This historic step took place in Rome at a United Nations diplomatic conference. Only Libya, Iraq, Qatar, Israel, Yemen, China, and the United States voted no.

The Court is designed to bring to justice those who commit the most serious IHL violations, including genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and aggression (to be defined later by a special law commission). It also criminalizes the recruitment of children under sixteen years into militias. In order for the ICC to become a reality, its statute, officially entitled the "Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court," must be ratified by sixty states.

The ICC's jurisdiction will extend to IHL violations committed in both international and internal armed conflicts. Because the ICC will have jurisdiction over the citizens of many more states than any of its predecessors, its potential for contributing to the cessation of IHL violations, achieving justice, contributing to the reconciliation of the parties, and deterring future humanitarian law violations is greater.

The Rome Statute is also designed to secure indemnity/compensation for victims. Article 79 directs the Assembly of States Parties to the Statute to create a trust fund for victims and their families. It also authorizes the ICC to order money and property collected through fines and forfeitures to be transferred to this fund. Article 75 directs the ICC to establish principles for determining the amount of restitution, compensation, and rehabilitation it may award victims and their families. The ICC may assess convicted persons the cost of the above or it may authorize awards from the Trust Fund.

Like its predecessors, the ICTY and ICTR, the ICC is designed to guarantee the due process and other rights of victims and defendants as recommended in

the most recent human rights conventions. Hence, it should be a model court for the protection of human rights of victims and defendants.

## Conclusion

Some IHL violations most probably have been committed in most wars. Modern democratic states appear to regard IHL more seriously than others. IHL violations are quite common during military conflicts within or between undemocratic countries that are afflicted with severe economic problems and intense competition for resources. During such conflicts, certain unscrupulous political or military leaders convince at least some of their followers that the enemy's inhumanity justifies the worst kind of treatment.

Advocates of IHL within the militaries of technologically advanced states claim that modern weapons that can be more precisely aimed at legitimate military targets, markedly diminish the number of civilian casualties and IHL violations. As recent military conflicts have shown, however, even so-called "smart bombs" can kill civilians, in violation of IHL, when they are negligently deployed or deployed with inaccurate intelligence.

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**See also Military and Civilian Control; Military and Development**

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## MILOŠEVIĆ, SLOBODAN

One of the most influential and notorious politicians of the 1990s, the Serbian Communist Party leader, president of Serbia and of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a decade, Slobodan Milošević is a



controversial figure. To many Serbs he embodies the modern vision of Greater Serbia; to others he is simply “the butcher of the Balkans.” Milošević presents himself as a moderate nationalist technocrat. His personality is marked by stubbornness and conservatism.

Milošević was born August 20, 1941, in Pozarevac, Serbia, to a father who was a teacher of religion and a mother who was an ardent communist. Milošević’s father left the family when he was in elementary school; he committed suicide in 1962. Milošević’s mother also killed herself, in 1974.

Milošević graduated with a law degree in 1964 and started his career in the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia. He achieved Belgrade party leadership between 1984 and 1986, but remained an obscure technocrat until 1987 when, on the six hundredth anniversary of the battle of Kosovo, at which the medieval Serbian statehood was crushed by the Turks, he gave a seminal speech in front of a 1-million-strong crowd and became the symbol of historical Serbian resistance.

His rise to power as chief secretary of the Serbian Communist Party was supported by his mentor and godfather, Ivan Stambolić, who became president of Serbia in September 1987, on the fermentation ground of suppressed but growing nationalism in the fragile country. However, in December of that year, Milošević forced his former mentor’s resignation from office. In 2000 Stambolić was kidnapped and murdered.

By the end of the 1980s, Milošević became the speaker of the dominant Serbian stratum of the Yugoslav society, who were angered by the marginalisation of Serbians under Tito and who opposed the federal autonomy granted in 1974 for the provinces Voivodina and Kosovo, which contained large ethnic Hungarian and Albanian minority populations. Milošević pursued a policy of ethnic homogenization as well as conservation of the territorial integrity and unity of Yugoslavia. His first action of Serbian ethnic dominance in 1989 after being elected president of Serbia was the abolition of the autonomy of Voivodina and Kosovo.

Acting against the tide of economic and political changes, he clung adamantly to the socialist economic model. Despite proclaiming political pluralism, he maintained the state-directed economy. Milošević managed to maintain a low profile in the media, yet preserve the nationalist and populist bases of his power.

## **The Creator of Greater Serbia**

After the collapse of the Soviet bloc, each new nation tried to redefine itself and its borders. The Serbians

were frustrated not to have achieved a Greater Serbia. They considered themselves the core element of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, fostered by their relative majority status in population, and the Slavic resistance against Turks and Germans in the Balkans. They felt it was time to convert Serbian ethnic dominance, under the guise of Pan-Slavism, into the presence of Greater Serbia.

In January 1990, Milošević worked to reduce the powers of the republics, which would empower the relative majority population, the Serbs, causing the final rift in the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Croatian and Slovenian delegations leaving the congress. Soon afterward he founded the Socialist Party of Serbia and orchestrated the transformation of Serbia into a republic, whose first president he became after the elections of 1990.

In response to Serbian threats of hegemony led by Milošević, Slovenia and Croatia seceded from the federation in June 1991, followed in September by Macedonia and in March 1992 by Bosnia and Herzegovina. The secession was unrecognized by the Serbian-dominated federal leadership and the Yugoslav army went to war to crush it.

The Serb minorities in Croatia and Bosnia demanded that their sections of the territories remain in Yugoslavia. On the incitement of Milošević, the Serbs of Croatia (580,000 or 11% of the population) started organizing their own secessionist state, called the Serbian Republic of Krajina. It encompassed the Serbian majority enclaves and one-third of the Croatian territory. The Yugoslav army fought to secure the Serbian majority enclaves of Croatia and Bosnia, the latter with a 1.6 million or 32% Serbian population, demanding independence if their annexation to Serbia would not be possible.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia led to the collapse of the internal markets and to hyper-inflation aggravated by the arms embargo, which turned into a general embargo against Serbia. In 1992 the inflation rate reached 8,700% and the war efforts led to an 11% decline of the gross domestic product (GDP). At the height of the war, financed through hyper-inflation, the inflation rate reached to a staggering 300,000% in 1993, leading to currency reform in 1994. In spite of a new convertible dinar linked to the strongest European currency, the German mark, an even greater recession of -19% followed, during the Kosovo war.

Increasing international outrage about ethnic cleansing as well as economic recession led Milošević to the conviction that the creation of Greater Serbia had to be postponed, but that an advantageous peace could be negotiated in Bosnia and win also the sympathy of the West. In 1995, Milošević began

presenting himself as the moderate, pro-western leader, and therefore a suitable treaty counterpart to Bosnian Serb leaders. He shifted to a cautious approach toward Serbian unification. On behalf of the Bosnian Serbs he had negotiated an advantageous peace treaty with Franjo Tudjman on behalf of the Croats and with Alija Izetbegovic, the Islamist leader of Bosnia, under US pressure. Under the Dayton Agreement, Milošević secured 49% of the territory for the 32% Serbian community. By bringing an end to the war, he was credited in the West as a pillar of stability, while hard-line Serbians considered him a traitor to the Greater Serbia ideal.

The West had supported Milošević's regime following the overturned local elections of 1996, despite democratic opposition. Later, in 1997, Milošević recognized the opposition victory, but he retained his power in the form of federal presidency of Serbia and Montenegro. In 1998, his regime fell from the West's good graces following the start of a hard-line Serbian crackdown on Kosovo Albanians.

### The Savior of Kosovo

After "losing" the Croatian war due to international pressure and obtaining only a moderate victory in Bosnia, the Serbian nationalist anger turned inward against the loudest minority voice, that of ethnic Albanians looking for self-determination and eventual unification with Albania. In 1998 the so-far peaceful resistance of the Albanian majority turned into an armed uprising, which led to brutal Serbian army offensives and police reprisals.

The Albanians called for international intervention as the campaign caused their mass exodus—840,000 Albanians fleeing to neighboring countries. The West, fed up with aggressive nationalism and intent on avoiding a new Balkan war, called in NATO forces, which engaged in air strikes against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from March to June of 1999. This resulted in Serbia's subsequent military withdrawal from Kosovo in spite of a desperate attempt of the Serbian parliament to drive Russia into the conflict by declaring union with it. Milošević's popularity initially increased during the bombings, but then began to fall.

### The Downfall

Yugoslavia held presidential elections in September 2000. Despite Milošević's confidence that he would

win, the opposition received a majority of the votes. Milošević refused to acknowledge the election results, leading to mass demonstrations and, consequently, his regime's downfall. Vojislav Kostunica became president and Zoran Djindic, a pro-western liberal reformer, became prime minister. Djindic had Milošević arrested in 2001 on charges of abuse of power and regime-linked corruption. On June 28, 2001, as a result of an ultimatum by the US Congress that made Milošević's prosecution a condition of economic aid to Serbia, Milošević was extradited to the War Tribunal in The Hague, where he was charged with genocide and war crimes.

LASZLO KOCSIS

**See also Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe; Ethnicity: Impact on Politics and Society; Serbia; Socialist Economic Model; State-Directed Economy; Territorial Disputes; Tudjman, Franjo; Yugoslavia**

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### MINORITIES/DISCRIMINATION

Where discrimination and intra-state conflicts are being discussed, there is often talk of minorities. Underneath the global structure of currently 193 states there are probably some ten thousand ethnic, national, religious, linguistic, and other minorities. In addition to these "old minorities," thousands of migrant communities constitute "new minorities" in a very large number of states. To place the content of ethnic, national, or religious conflicts on a par with that of minority conflicts is, in many cases, mistaken. The terms minorities and discrimination seem in need of elucidation; the main frameworks for them are the nation state and the international community at large. Unfortunately there are only a few studies that compare various regional and local attempts at dispute resolution within the framework of state

policies on minorities and nationalities. The states' interaction with the minorities in their territory range, in ascending order, from racial segregation; through unilateral assimilation and ideas about melting pots (social and racial amalgamation); to purely formally equal integration; to the replacement of unitary-cum-homogenist ideas with the notion of "diversity in unity"; and, ultimately, to inclusion, respect, protection, and encouragement for otherness on an equal basis—for example, within the framework of multicultural tolerance and affirmative action, and for ethnic and national minorities in the form of autonomy arrangements, free association, or federalism. More far-reaching demands by the latter minorities, which claim the status of nations or nationalities, point to structural differences between minority and nationality policy. Generally, the term "minorities" is applicable in most countries of Asia-Pacific, the Americas, and Europe. In most of Africa the term doesn't make sense since there is no national or ethnic majority; this reflects the fact that Africa is culturally and ethnically the most heterogeneous continent.

The concept of minority, and the reality, in which minorities are created and obliged to live, point up a variety of facets that are often ignored in the debate about minority, religious, or ethno-national conflicts. The most important seems to be that the concept of minority is essentially ascriptive in nature: as a rule, it is the state that decides what makes a minority and to which circle of people the term will apply. The state itself is often dominated by, or in the ownership of, a particular ethnic group that defines itself as a majority but often is not one in demographic terms. National censuses and demographic statistics are hot issues and often just one more battlefield for all actors concerned. Statistics are usually presented according to predetermined political conditions. In extreme cases, an ethnic group apostrophized as a minority is only a political minority, measured in terms of power, while demographically it constitutes the majority (as in the case with the Oromo in Ethiopia or the Mayan peoples in Guatemala). The case of large transnational minority peoples (such as Berbers in a dozen northern African counties or Kurds in five West Asian countries) seems similar.

In the international discourse about the minority question, the dual concept of national minorities has come into increasing use in recent years. This is a consequence of the increased attention that has been paid to the contentious minorities issue in post-Cold War Europe and the Former Soviet Union; but it also means that a compromise formula has been found, ostensibly bridging or unifying the varying usages in Eastern and Western Europe.

The concept of minorities requires elucidation for a variety of other reasons as well. Many nationalities that find their rights curtailed by states, or are harassed, discriminated against, threatened, or persecuted by them, do not regard themselves as minorities; they do not share the socio-psychological characteristics of classic minorities—on the contrary, some even cultivate a robust nationalism.

### Forms and Definition of Discrimination

Discrimination means that the dominant ethnic or national majority mostly regards national minorities as subordinate segments of the state's society, whereby it may deny them basic rights and freedoms; impede their social, cultural, and economic development; and obstruct political representation and participation. Minorities have special phenotypic and cultural peculiarities ascribed to them. These kinds of ascribed markers are looked down on by those segments of the state society that are dominant (either in terms of power or numerically). Some traditional societies, among them most indigenous peoples, derive their distinctiveness and reproduce themselves on the basis of their non-integration into market economies; in a few cases they have developed a whole series of autonomous, self-supporting modes of production. But many more minorities are vulnerable and find no way of escaping discrimination.

There is a vast scope of different forms of discrimination against minorities. The victims are usually members of a multitude of non-dominant groups. Minorities exist in almost every state, only their composition between indigenous minorities (national or language minorities), religious communities of belief and origin, diverse migrant communities, asylum-seekers and refugee populations, and so forth, and their proportion of the resident population may change from country to country. Specifically targeted are undocumented migrant workers, Muslim communities in Islam-phobic environments, (semi)nomadic peoples, and women of minority groups. Gender, ethnicity, belief, and illegality are factors that profoundly contribute to appalling situations of multiple discriminatory practices.

Discrimination against minorities has structural features that are generated by the way economic, political, and social institutions operate. Structural racism categorizes and marks people, makes minority members visible, and denies such people equal access to jobs, education, medical facilities, social welfare, leisure, and habitation. Governments, local and state administrations, the education system, domestic

companies and transnational corporations, and (not least) the media are part of the apparatuses that form a *dispositif* against different categories of minorities; these are the forces producing “others” and “aliens” and shaping public attitudes toward others, such as national minorities, and aliens, such as the new minorities of migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and trafficked people.

The worst form of discrimination is the one based on what is perceived as race or colour. As a rule, racist discrimination in the developed world is not perceived as the splitting up of a population but as hostility toward an alien group of others (as opposed to its own breed of us-self); the terms of racialization and scapegoating, coined in a decade-old debate by social scientists, is essential to understand the nature of new domestic racism that replaced the old colonial racism. With the increase of new minorities in the past decades, racists found it easier to construct scapegoats and to blame aliens and minorities for socioeconomic losses. In the Americas the legacies of racial discrimination against Native Americans, Blacks, and Hispanics are still powerful and destructive; compared with that, the new Asian minorities suffer less discrimination due to above-average income and education. There is an increasing tendency in the developing world for post-colonial states to claim as citizens or to reject a number of nationalities, such as ethnic minorities and/or indigenous peoples.

Globalization does not exclude fragmentation, as exhibited by the global trend toward an increase in intra-state conflicts. While discrimination toward ethnic minorities was, in empirical-cum-historical terms, one of the most dangerous sources of conflicts and wars both in the post-colonial wars of Africa (since the period of decolonization) and, since 1989–1990, in the former socialist states—with two-thirds of current wars being susceptible to “ethnic” interpretation—violence against minority groups again became a reality in Europe, in its eastern and southeastern parts, in Yugoslavia and the Caucasus. If we take the examples of Bosnia (Serbs versus Croats) or Rwanda (Hutu versus Tutsi) and compare these with objective attributes (see next section), we will find very little or no ethnic distinction at all. Often ethnicization and racialisation occur on the basis of minor differences. The decisive factors are not the perceived differences but the interest of political elites to use them as resources for their power struggle and as a source for mobilizing the mobs. Those conflict types suitable to ethnic and racial interpretation—with ethnicization or racialisation as mobilizing forces—seemed to grow fastest in the South (underdeveloped), although they have been prominent for quite some time, and appear again in the North (developed), as organized violence against

minorities, racial and ethnic discrimination, or “ethnic cleansing.”

In fall 2001 Rwanda’s parliament passed a law imposing prison terms and a fine on any person practicing discrimination and segregation. This is one of the lessons drawn from the devastating 1994 genocide. The new law aims at enforcing positive discrimination in favour of vulnerable groups like the Batwa minority (1% of the populations of both Rwanda and Burundi). The law gives a comprehensive legal definition of discrimination as “any act, utterance or writing aimed at depriving a person or group of persons, their rights, by reason of sex, ethnicity, age, race, color, opinion, religion, nationality or origin.”

### Minorities and Ethnic Communities

The term “ethnic groups” is used as a technical term; according to linguists there are some 6,500 ethnic core groups worldwide. The general supposition is that religions, like nationalities, generate a transcendent identity-forming link, whereas ethnicity, though identity forming, has a divisive effect. This supposition does not seem to fit all cases. Connections (or rather conflicts) between religion, nationality, and ethnicity ought not to be denied. One of several possible approaches to the subject focuses on attributes based on clusters of special features or social specializations, which are both seen as constituting “ethnic markers.”

Ethnic markers are only relevant within the framework of inter-ethnic relations. Often they only become a major focus of perception when situations of conflict arise. The attributes of an ethnic community include, as a minimum, a self-reproducing community with a name, a culture, a distinct language, a memory, and solidarity between its members. These attributes by no means constitute a definitive checklist; they are, rather, an attempt to get closer to the problem of ethnicity, the individual elements of which need to be examined more closely and be defined in detail for each concrete instance. An ethnic community in the position of a non-dominant group may be regarded as a national minority or nationality—a nation without its own state—if, despite the claims to dominance and sovereignty from outside, it constitutes a distinct space of communication and interaction, i.e., it is able to form or maintain a public sphere of its own; it has a particular mode of production and life identifiable with it, and is able to reproduce it; it maintains some form of political organization; it has settled an identifiable area of land (more than a

neighbourhood) or a demarcated territory; it is distinctive, i.e., its members identify themselves or are identified by others as members of this particular community.

In the case of migrant communities, several of these attributes do apply while others are obviously obsolete due to changed life conditions. Ethnicized or racialised characteristics are only relevant within the framework of inter-ethnic relations and it is primarily in conflict situations that they become a major focus of perception. The same characteristics—particular sociocultural practices, for example—may be totally unimportant in various situations of interaction, but in a different context they may suddenly acquire huge significance. For example, skin colour and other phenotypic features are of secondary importance in most societies of the Southern hemisphere; but in Western societies, physical characteristics are one of the main distinguishing features.

### Ways to Combat Discrimination

Combating discrimination, racism, and destructive ethnicization and the prevention of violence are political imperatives for the twenty-first century. The task to explore policy strategies and measures to address these problems starts with rethinking definitions and core concepts. Efforts to accommodate ethno-cultural difference are an essential part of anti-racist strategies; they have conflict-preventive force and contribute to the long-term transformation of intra-state conflicts. The main topics are laws against discrimination, cultural and other autonomies, collective rights, self-governance, and nationality policies. The political-cum-humanitarian concern is to ensure that all possible means of avoiding violent forms of multi-ethnic interaction are exploited, strengthened, and made more attractive to the majority populations.

An important approach in improving mutual relations between majorities and minorities is the policy option that discrimination toward non-dominant groups should be outlawed and that some measure of temporary and targeted affirmative action should be institutionalized. However, it comes as no small surprise to realize that only a third of the respondents in Eurobarometer polls (regularly made by the EU) agree with outlawing discrimination, though 60% were classified as more or less tolerant. Nevertheless, in 2000, an EU Council directive incorporated the principle of racial equality and a second directive established a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation.

As a rule, the victims of discrimination and xenophobia are members from among a multitude of “minorities-at-risk” (Gurr 2000). When talking about discrimination, most West Europeans first think of migrant communities (especially Muslim communities) as victims, while people in the Americas, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa think of indigenous, religious, and ethnic minorities; historic nationalities; and other non-dominant groups. But even in the enlarging European Union, the population of indigenous non-dominant groups is numerically exceeding that of migrant communities by far. Many minorities are either permanently confronted with everyday discrimination and racism (for example, the sad examples of 15 million Roma all over Europe, 30 million Afro-Americans, and 180 million Dalit of India), or they are discriminated upon in different ways by the respective demographic majorities or otherwise dominant groups. Anti-discrimination policies ought to address the rejection of non-dominant groups by large national-chauvinists groups among the majority populations in many states.

The focus should be on activities that are essential to combat discrimination of manifold minorities. Among others, a list of essentials to such policies has to include combating and outlawing militant chauvinism and racism. The conception of new policies for preventing and combating discrimination follows strategies that are targeting its structural, institutionalized, and organized forms. The political-cum-humanitarian concern to find ways of avoiding structural and direct, personal forms of discrimination leads on to the questions of how ethnic and cultural difference can be acknowledged and recognized; how destructive forms of interaction between states and communities and between majorities and minorities can be prevented; how violent, militant forms of racism and xenophobia can be effectively combated; and which institutions, legal measures, and policies are most appropriate for these purposes.

### Structural Prevention of Conflicts Between Majorities and Minorities

Regarding forms of structural prevention of troubles, the word “structural” implies that new frameworks and institutions are created to avert discrimination and possible direct violence and reduce structural violence, mainly all forms of discrimination against non-dominant groups. Johan Galtung developed the concept of structural violence in the 1970s, based on his path-breaking distinction between direct personal

violence and structural violence; Galtung also reflected on cultural violence, e.g., values that promote/justify violence and superiority complexes that result in aggressive attitudes. Structural prevention aims at ending discrimination, repression, injustice, and racism, which are ingrained in many state policies and which are also inherent part of the cultural attitudes held by many dominant groups.

However, there are practical problems politicians face in promoting preventive measures and policies—beyond rhetoric. When it comes to implementing declared policies, the difficulties are threefold: the unspectacular and long-term character of many such measures makes them not really attractive if quick results are required, the difficulty in measuring their effectiveness, and a number of rather diverse institutions—measures and policies have preventive character but they often remain unrelated or only partially implemented.

In preventing discrimination against minority groups there are no easy solutions. The great diversity of cultural and political characteristics exhibited by different types of minorities demand different regulatory mechanisms. Steps to mitigate and pre-empt destructive forms of interaction between majorities and minorities should be prioritised. The classic solutions for indigenous minorities range from cultural autonomy, special rights, and territorial self-governance, to forms of de facto sovereignty. Protection of ethnic and national minorities by means of a variety of autonomy arrangements did not begin until the twentieth century, triggered by a worsening of the so-called “minorities problem” in Europe, as a result of revolutions and the regroupings in the wake of two World Wars.

Account should be taken of positive policies of a number of multinational states when it comes to looking for methods of preventing and dealing with latent or open ethno-national conflicts. Many states have been able to pursue active and successful policies of prevention of troubles by making concessions and negotiating offers involving elements of reactive minority protection and proactive nationality policy, in Europe most prominently by granting home rule for the Faeroese and the Inuit in the Kingdom of Denmark from 1948 onward. Others have—often with limited success—used similar offers to try and resolve armed conflicts that have already escalated (for example, the regionalization and granting of autonomy to Basques, Catalonians, Andalusians, and Galicians in post-Franco Spain).

Nationality policies are generally conceived of as solutions to discrimination but not to conflicts that are smoldering or have already erupted. Some procedures aim more at containment, or pose the

nationality question in a purely sociopolitical context. But such policies are part of the problem that they claim to be solving. A detailed comparison ought to be made of the different approaches to nationality policy pursued by selected states such as Denmark, Italy, Spain, and the former USSR (maintained in the Russian Federation). This might include comparison with lessons learned from affirmative action in the United States as well as autonomy and constitutional arrangements realized in the past fifty years in China, India, and Panama, and more recently, in Colombia, Australia, Nicaragua, and Ethiopia.

One factor of major importance in preventing discrimination toward minorities is not only the focus on basic rights of these groups (and the granting of citizenship and autonomy/self-governance) but also the extension of international norms and standards of protection for non-dominant minorities. The role of multilateral regimes in preventing discrimination of minorities and resolving latent and violent conflicts should be discussed more systematically in order to draw the “lessons learned” from it. Critical reviews should focus on the activities undertaken by NGOs in protecting minorities, the efforts of the Council of Europe in regard to national minorities, similarly the efforts of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as well as the efforts of the UN Human Rights Commission to work out minimum standards for the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples. New paths in this direction have been embarked on with the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities issued by the Council of Europe, which laid great emphasis on the protection of national minorities, and the creation of the institution of a High Commissioner for National Minorities within the OSCE. Legal instruments are not sufficient in themselves in promoting good relations between majorities and minorities. In addition to such standard-setting activities, more confidence-building and practical measures at the grass-roots level aimed at increasing tolerance and understanding between citizens belonging to different ethnic communities are required.

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### MIXED ECONOMY

Different countries engage different economic systems to allocate scarce resources. In the *command (planned)* economy, the government decides what, how, and for whom to produce. The government sets the economic objectives and the course of action. There is no private ownership and no market incentives. In the *free market (capitalist or laissez faire) economy*, households and firms (private sector) have freedom to make their own economic decisions. Price mechanism is the main force in the market. Prices of products are determined by the demand for and the supply of such products.

A *mixed economy* has the features of both command and market economies. It functions in the framework of a capitalist market with the intervention of the government. A mixed economy embraces the mixture of private and public decision making and ownership. The government and the private sector work closely with each other to determine what, how, how much, and for whom to produce. The private sector is encouraged to create jobs, income, and wealth within the legal framework. However, the main objective of the private sector is profit maximization, not serving the public. Thus, the government has to intervene when there is market inefficiency. Certain industries considered essential to national sovereignty and security may be nationalized. Yet, there are exceptions in some countries. McTaggart (2003) observed that some economies are based on

custom or religion such as the caste system in India or the Islamic banking systems in Middle Eastern countries. The secular government may be less powerful and have to compromise with religious leaders in making decisions.

Overall, the level of government intervention varies from country to country.

### Private and Public Sectors

In a mixed economy, the economic activities are performed by both the public and private sectors. Private enterprises usually engage only in business that can maximize profits and the interests of stakeholders. However, some industries in the economy are not attractive enough for the private sector, so the public sector will take the lead in industries that are vital for national security or cannot generate enough profit to attract the private sector. Recently, *privatization* has been introduced to release the burden of public sector inefficiency. The most common form of privatization is to sell public sector enterprises to private owners. Because they must turn a profit, private owners have more incentive to better manage the business. In addition, *deregulation* has been implemented in some industries that were previously controlled tightly by the government, such as airlines, banking, telecommunication, energy, and water supply. On the other hand, the government may continue regulating industrial and business standards to improve job opportunities, workplace safety, occupational health, consumer protection, free and fair competition, and so forth.

### Forms of Government Intervention

In a mixed economy, the government provides the legal framework and ensures the enforcement of law. The most popular forms of government intervention are economic regulations (price control, setting quotas, promoting free and fair competition), social regulations (workplace safety, occupational health), and fixed business standards. Trade legislation contributes to the stabilisation of the economy. Anti-discrimination acts prevent some groups of people (minorities, the disabled, women, indigenous people, etc.) from being marginalised from the mainstream of society.

Allocation of scarce resources to meet public need is also a type of government intervention. The government directs some amount of resources to provide goods and services (roads, defense, policing, currency,

programs that care for the elderly and those that promote health) that are essential to the public and the country and that cannot be effectively and efficiently produced by the private sector.

Lastly, the government has to competently manage government revenue and expenditures by redistribution of income through taxation and subsidies.

### When, Why, and How Can the Government Intervene?

The government often intervenes when there is market inefficiency. Market failure has many indicators.

The first indicator is *public goods* possessing two characteristics, non-exclusion and non-rivalry. Non-exclusion means nobody will be excluded in the usage of public goods whether or not they pay for them. Non-rivalry means everybody can enjoy the same level of satisfaction when consuming the same product. A good example of public goods is the street light. The private sector will not provide this type of goods due to the “free-rider” problem in which people want to use but do not want to pay for such goods. The government will have to provide such vital goods and services in order to promote economic stability and maintain a minimum standard of living for citizens.

The second indicator of market imperfection is externality. *Externality* refers to the external costs or benefits generated from economic transactions that are incurred by third parties who are not involved in such transactions. In *negative externality*, external cost is incurred during the production process when Marginal Social Cost (MSC) is bigger than Marginal Individual Cost (MIC). For instance, a chemical factory can generate external costs by polluting the air and the water with its chemical waste, which affects the environment. External cost is incurred during the consumption process when the Marginal Social Benefit (MSB) is smaller than the Marginal Individual Benefit (MIB). For example, many people drive cars, which may cause congestion and noise. Individuals can enjoy some benefit by driving their own cars, while the benefit to the society is minimal. In this case, the external costs are environmental problems. Thus, the government has to reduce the amount of negative externalities by levying taxes that may increase the prices of cars (if the sellers do not absorb the taxes), impose charges, or tighten the issue of permits/licenses. *Positive externality* can be incurred during the production process when the MSC is smaller than the MIC. Research and development is a good example since the total cost incurred by the

society is smaller than the cost paid by a firm. External benefit is generated during the consumption of a product when MSB is more than MIB. When individuals travel by public transport, the social benefit of getting less noise and congestion is much higher than the individual benefit. Therefore, the government encourages the consumption of such products by providing goods and services at lower prices or subsidizing the needy. More incentives to preserve the environment are also implemented to improve market performance.

Third, *asymmetric* information is another indicator of market failure. Some consumers may not have sufficient knowledge of or receive distorted information about products they want to buy or consume. Their ignorance may harm them physically, emotionally, or financially. The government may intercede by providing accurate information and setting policies, regulations, standards, or codes of conduct to prevent businesses from misleading the consumers. The government encourages the establishment of business and consumer associations or watchdogs and works closely with them to address these problems.

Fourth, *monopoly* occurs when there is only one supplier of products that have no close substitutes in the market. Other competitors can hardly enter the market because of high overhead costs, economies of scale, a franchise with exclusive rights, and legal barriers (government license and patents). In this case, one monopolist firm is the price setter and dominates the market. Customers will suffer because of higher price and lower quality. Thus, a mixed-economy government will discourage monopoly by promoting free and fair competition. Antitrust law has been introduced in the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries to eliminate sole market power. However, in some industries, natural monopoly is acceptable. *Natural monopoly* happens when the cost of producing a product will increase when there is more than one supplier in the market. Nevertheless, the government also regulates natural monopoly.

Fifth, the government needs to intervene when there is *economic inequality*. Inequality may arise because of the provision and usage of merit goods. *Merit goods* possess two main characteristics: (i) the private sectors can provide merit goods but at a very expensive price, and (ii) the more consumers consume merit goods, the more the society can enjoy their benefits. To address the inequality, the government will transfer some payments from the higher-income class to the lower-income groups in terms of social security, price subsidy, or manipulation of income tax. People with higher income have to pay more taxes, while the unemployed, the needy, or the disadvantaged will receive social security. In some countries,



## MIXED ECONOMY

the farmers receive price subsidies that go against the international agreements on free and fair trade.

A mixed-economy government not only protects consumers but also supports businesses. Fiscal and monetary policies are utilised to stabilise the economy. Other macroeconomic policies are taken into account in order to solve the problems of high unemployment and inflation rates.

### Advantages of a Mixed Economy

Since a mixed economy is the combination of command and market economies, it has all the strengths and weaknesses of these two systems.

In a mixed economy, individuals and firms have the freedom to decide what they want to do as long as their activities are within the legal framework. Both public and private sectors can operate in the market and can substitute for or complement each other. Competition gives more incentive to the market and allows customers the choice of more varieties of products with better quality and at cheaper prices. Both consumers and firms are protected by rules and regulations.

A government may help allocate scarce resources more efficiently. Some countries have economic committees that help all sectors in the economy make better economic choices and decisions.

Property ownership rights encourage people to protect their own possessions and thus can address the problem of “common property” and waste of public resources.

### Disadvantages of a Mixed Economy

Similar to the free market, there is little protection for individuals in the mixed economy. In some countries, the government can provide financial assistance to the needy (social security to the unemployed, the disabled, or the aged; or grants to new parents or first-time home buyers). In other countries, there is no such assistance or only very limited, short-term assistance.

Redistribution of income may inadvertently create inequality. It is not easy to measure externalities and their consequences, to apply different levels of assistance to different groups or levy different levels of taxes to firms. There is no incentive for the firms to implement “good practices” if, for example, the cost incurred by using advanced technology, which can

reduce negative externalities, is higher than the amount of taxes they have to pay.

Lack of knowledge and information about the market and the inefficient performance of public servants may cause inconvenience to the public and create opportunities for bureaucracy, red tape, and corruption.

Ineffective regulations may immobilise factors of production. Input factor immobility and the time lags between the policy making and implementation processes can cause economic disequilibrium. Poor management of price controls may cause shortages and surpluses of some products and the economy may fall into a recession.

Too many restrictions will create disincentives in the market. Too frequent changes in policies related to taxation, subsidies, ISO standards, and so forth also make it difficult for firms to comply.

In short, each system has its own advantages and disadvantages. However, political stability, good leadership with clean government, and proper economic policies, which can encourage both private and public sectors as well as civil societies to share the burden of allocation of scarce resources, will help countries achieve their goals and objectives.

HA THI THU HUONG

**See also Capitalist Economic Model; Communist Economic Model; Development History and Theory; Free Market Economy; Marxism; State-Directed Economy**

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## MODERNIZATION

Bridging the disparity between economically rich and poor nations—whether referred to as developed and developing countries, First World and Third World, the North and the South, or industrialized and non-industrialized economies—has been a major impetus for interest in modernization. Thus modernization may be understood as the planning and management of economic development and concurrent social

change, which together would facilitate, in principle at least, the emulation of developed countries by the less-developed. The issue was particularly topical in the immediate post–World War II era as many former colonies gained their independence as nations from European powers. Colonialization was a subtle form of modernization as the colonists' society was promoted as an example of progress, advancement, and superiority. In the immediate post-colonial era, especially, developing countries were keen on economic progress but wary of the accompanying cultural imperialism or “Westernization,” as it was commonly called. The term modernization is closely linked with the terms social change and economic development, though the latter terms tend to be the more contemporary and commonly used, while the former is now largely associated with a particular school of thought. Before discussing explanatory theories of the twentieth century, the roots of modernization thought in the previous century are worth exploring briefly.

### Theoretical Origins

The social, cultural, political, and economic changes in Europe brought about by the Renaissance in the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century were the catalyst for differentiating between previously medieval and presently modern societies. Thus, modern societies were defined as being composed of autonomous and enquiring individuals who by their reliance on reason and experience in turn stimulated the growth of scientific and technological innovation. The Industrial Revolution in Europe brought about widespread socioeconomic change and prompted much interest by scholars in how societies could, should, or did indeed develop. The ideas of Charles Darwin about evolution in the natural sciences also influenced thinking in the social sciences, particularly the notion that societies might evolve through incremental stages toward a utopian ideal of economic, social, and technological advancement. The industrialized society that developed consequently would be increasingly characterized by democratic participation, social mobility, education, bureaucratic organizations, rational planning, market economics, and secular institutions. These constitute much of the ideals of modernity and thus the process of modernization to the present day.

The ideas of three European thinkers of the nineteenth century on industrialization, social change, and economic development have stood the test of time, though their approaches are somewhat divergent. Emile Durkheim was concerned with how societies

are organized, and saw a contrast between what he saw as traditional and modern types of societies. The former was characterized as undifferentiated, while the latter was characterized by the division of labor and consequent interdependency of its members. While Durkheim did not explain exactly how modernization takes place, apart from it being a natural outcome of population growth, his ideas influenced modernization thinkers of the twentieth century. Max Weber held the view that Calvinist Protestantism motivated people to seek this-worldly success to demonstrate to others, as well as to themselves, that they had been predestined for eternal salvation. Not without controversy did he conclude that the requisite willingness to accumulate for longer-term success was prior to, and provided the ideological change instrumental in, the rise of modern capitalism, and thus industrialization and modernization. Karl Marx, on the other hand, believed that the ideological structure of society was based upon the modes of production. Changes in the economic infrastructure were for him the prime agents of social change and modernization, and thus were not value-free. While all three thinkers examined the rapid social change of their times, they differed on its antecedents and consequences, thus influencing different schools of thought on modernization.

### Underdevelopment to Industrialization

Modernization is concerned with the process of transforming an underdeveloped country into a developed one. Development is defined as social and economic progress by countries considered developing, less developed, or Third World. Its achievement is measured primarily by economic growth, as well as statistics such as food self-sufficiency, nutrition, health care, life expectancy, shelter, communications, employment, literacy, and education. More recently, other indices have been gradually introduced such as human rights, environmentalism, quality of life, and so on. Countries are then classified into developed versus developing countries, the latter term growing in preference to the value-ridden “less-developed” and “underdeveloped.” But the much larger category and quite diverse nature of developing countries has precipitated the creation of sub-categorization schemes by various intergovernmental agencies or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These have resulted in such classifications as newly industrialized countries (NICs), least-developed countries (LDCs), big emerging markets (BEMs), middle-income economies (MIEs), and the like.

Generally speaking, economic, social, and political development is considered to be achieved through modernization, namely by following the model of the developed countries, through their aid and investment, training, and transfer of technology to developing countries. In the name of “nation-building” in the newly post-colonial country, the state often takes a significant role in the planning and management of development, with the help of Western agencies. As a consequence there is disenfranchisement of civil society out of fear that any dissent expressed might undermine progress. The expectation is for the country as a whole to achieve economic growth and thus all its citizens will experience a significant increase in financial income and material well-being. But economic reversion rather than development is possible and indeed has happened, to the impoverishment of its people. Many in developing countries that have embarked on the road to modernization have experienced uneven development, inequitable structures, even discrimination and oppression. Blame has then been placed inappropriately on colonialists up to 50 years after independence, though some blame may be justifiably assigned to foreign multinational corporations (MNCs), in collusion usually with corrupt and incompetent leadership in the developing country.

Modernization is closely linked to industrialization or the mechanization of production processes through the use of electricity, steam, oil, and other forms of energy. This technological change is characterized by shifts from personal labor to machine process, individual workshop to factory, crafted to standardized products, agricultural to mineral inputs, and from small-scale to large-scale production. Industrialization results in the declining emphasis on primary production or agriculture amidst growth in size and importance of secondary production or industry and tertiary production or services. The need for raw materials as well as markets for finished products prompted much of the colonialization imperative of previous centuries. One legacy has been the interdependence of nations and economic imperialism or neo-colonialism by multinational corporations. While industrialization developed in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, it took thinkers like Eisenstadt to argue that by no means need it be a phenomenon confined to the West but rather one replicable through the world, and thus the means of modernization for the developing world.

### Modernization Theories

Although development and social change are recognized as complex multi-causal processes, there was

still a tendency among modernization theorists to see economic factors as the pre-eminent determining ones. Walt Whitman Rostow, for instance, claimed that with adequate preparation an economy would take off into a period of self-sustained growth through mass consumption, which is taken as a litmus test of a modernized society. The newly independent third-world countries in the postwar era were most interested in this viewpoint but soon came to realize that the influx of capital was not a sufficient factor in and of itself. The rapid modernization of some countries but not others, despite similar levels of capital investment, was put down to the lack of appropriate social institutions, human resource development, and appropriate cultural values. David McClelland, in particular, pointed out the critical importance of people having an “achievement motivation” if a society was to develop or modernize through innovation and risk-taking. Such an argument belies the continuing influence of Weber on modernization thought.

While this initial paradigm espoused certain socio-demographic and structural prerequisites for modernization globally, research in developing countries actually undermined these notions and demonstrated the ahistoricity, paternalism, and ethnocentricity of such functionalism and thus modernization theories. For one thing, capitalism grew out of the peculiar European feudal system of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries that has few equivalents elsewhere. For another, the path of modernization in the so-called West subsequently has not been without social and economic crises as it is made out to be when upheld as a model for the developing world. Each national society is composed of multiple sub-systems of social, cultural, and economic organization that differentiate one society from another. It is such differences that extend or limit the choices that a society has in relation to the process of modernization. Whether politically, economically, socially, or culturally, the developing world is simply not composed of homogeneous developing nation-states as modernization theorists presuppose, let alone clones of the developed world prior to industrialization. Thus the wholesale transfer of institutions, practices, and policies from the developed to the developing worlds, particularly through financial and technological aid, is no guarantee of modernization.

### Functionalist Interventions

Structural-functionalists analyze how functions adapt to maintain a stable social structure composed of mutually dependent sub-systems, or fail to adapt

resulting in dysfunctions. Influential on sociologists of this century, the structural-functionalist Talcott Parsons believed in the inevitability of modernization resulting in economic growth, universal education, and political democratization worldwide. Modernization theorists advocated precipitating dissatisfaction with traditional life as a means of stimulating aspirations for the material benefits of modern society. The role of media in modernization, as the functionalists theorized, was to democratize access to and choice in cultural products, and facilitate gradual cultural change without threatening the social system. In fact, modernization was seen as a process by which empathy with the idea of social mobility was fostered through the media. Notably, Daniel Lerner claimed that the media was a key accelerator of the transition into modernization along with urbanization, literacy, and political participation. Consequently, specific media policies were prescribed for developing countries as a means of achieving modernization and its benefits. The media were believed to aid in widening horizons, promoting empathy with different lifestyles, focusing attention on social mobility, raising material expectations, and changing attitudes and values, among other helpful effects for modernization.

Many governments in the developing world introduced television as a means of promoting modernization, either directly through development programming or indirectly through Westernized entertainment programming. But influential as structural-functionalism was in media development, research on its effects in the developing world bore equivocal results. Indeed, when Everett Rogers investigated diffusion of innovations, he found that the media were important to the earliest stage of awareness of innovations but it was interpersonal communication that was critical to the final stage of their adoption. Marketing and advertising have also been considered as benefiting modernization through encouraging competition, production efficiency, product innovations, and lower prices, as well as subsidizing the mass media. However this appears an argument for the dominance of commercial broadcasting emphasizing entertainment over public broadcasting focusing on education. Investigating the effect of modern institutions in developing countries, sociologists found that schools, the factory workplace, and the media were equally powerful in influencing modernization.

## Dependency Theories

Taking a more radical or critical approach, dependency theorists argue that underdevelopment is caused

not by sociocultural factors but by politico-economic ones, namely the exploitation of developing countries by capitalist developed ones. This view originates with Marx who explained historical transformation of societies through the growth of capitalism, which in turn was due to the exploitation of the working class. Lenin expanded this model to incorporate the relationship between imperial powers and their colonies. The need to update this Marxist perspective led to the dependency model, which asserted that persistent underdevelopment of a society was a symptom of its place within an exploitative world capitalist system. Even though many developing countries may be politically independent from their previous colonizers and seem to have national sovereignty, they are still subject to neo-colonialism. A form of economic and political dependency, this is achieved through developed-country investments in developing countries, infrastructural distortion of the latter's economies, and suppression of any independent policies by the developing world. As such, any effort to achieve economic development such as import substitution is fraught with difficulty, and even aid from the developed world can serve to perpetuate the exploitation.

The only alternatives left open to each developing country were to isolate itself from the capitalist world system, or seek to have the terms of international trade radically revised. The former alternative was tested by some countries such as those of the former Second World, which sought to set up a socialist-communist world system and found it wanting. The latter solution is currently being pursued via the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and resultant World Trade Organization (WTO) with greater impetus since the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. But dependency theorists are skeptical of the value of GATT and WTO for developing countries, especially those in financial strife and coming increasingly under the control of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), which are themselves driven by US foreign policy. After all, the Third World's lobbying over the 1970s and early 1980s for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) through the United Nations was impeded by the United States and other first-world countries, which preferred GATT as their platform since in it the developing countries were not a collectivity. Thus some thinkers from or sympathetic to the Third World consider the WTO to be a thinly-veiled attempt by the developed countries to control world trade and provide opportunities for their multinational corporations to dominate third-world markets. In what is sometimes described as recolonization, developing countries seem to be forfeiting their already limited economic sovereignty in their desire

for integration into the capitalist global economy controlled by the industrialized First World, without any guarantees of affluence. But as critics of structural-functionalism, dependency theorists tend to err in the opposite direction by propounding theories emphasizing the forces of conflict and disruption, and often failing to acknowledge the forces for social order and stability.

### World-Systems Theories

Through his study of modernization in Africa, Wallerstein became convinced that the state was not the valid unit of analysis when the economic system, of which it was a part, spanned the world. Thus he formulated “world-system” theory, a variation of dependency theories which states that a global economic system exists through which capitalist-developed or core countries and their multinational corporations exploit developing or “periphery” countries through low prices for raw material and high prices for finished goods. As part of the system, semi-peripheral countries were both dependent on the core countries and exploitative of the periphery ones. In his later prognosis, global integration of this system in favour of the inequitable status quo between nation-states would result in resistance, fragmentation, and its ultimate collapse, but for the buffer of semi-peripheral states.

Thus world-systems theory might be seen as merely a reaction to the inadequacy of modernization theory, which had used developed nations as the basis of comparison for developing countries, but which failed to demonstrate political and economic relations between the two systematically. Criticisms of world-systems theory revolve around its simplistic one-dimension analysis of causality, namely economic exploitation. The assumption that the world system is formed by developed and developing nation-states in an unequal relationship is questionable when it can be argued that the world system preceded the existence of these nation-states and was even instrumental in the latter’s formation. Some critics have put forward alternative models of geopolitical factors, primarily citing political power rivalry between nation-states. Those from the classical economics school would argue instead for the theory of comparative advantage, which holds that all countries involved are better off through unrestricted trade than if they did not trade at all. Therefore peripheral countries choose to trade with the core because they find it to their advantage, core countries need not coerce them to do so, and peripheral countries are not necessarily exploited when core countries progress.

### Third-World Applications

Many First World thinkers have defended the value of capitalism in bringing about economic development in the Third World. Like others before and since, Berger is persuaded that the efficient productive power and high standard of living of the masses generated in advanced industrial nations of the First World are being replicated in those Third World nations which are well incorporated into the global capitalist system. Of particular interest are Asia’s newly industrializing countries, such as South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, which seem to demonstrate that genuine economic growth can occur despite state intervention in the economy and their relative dependency on the global capitalist system. But as in the First World, capitalism promotes a class system that permits social mobility, individual autonomy, and democratic processes, though these are slow processes given the traditional culture and society of the Third World. This contrasts with the failure of industrial socialism of the Second World, but it need not necessarily imply that there is an intrinsic link between it and inefficient economic systems and authoritarian political culture. The commitment to capitalism in many Asian, African, and Latin American countries has not resulted in sustained economic development, and in some cases has resulted in dire economic strife, requiring rescue by the IMF and World Bank. Others have questioned whether the authoritarian control by governments in some of these capitalist countries in pursuit of such economic progress is a cost worthy of the ideals of modernization to which societies are to aspire. For this reason, Herman Daly and John Cobb devise an alternative measure of economic activity, which incorporates the negative costs that traditional economists have long ignored. They point out that not only are developed nations depleting natural capital and actually achieving negative growth, but developing countries involved in modernization are also being drawn into the same self-defeating process instead of aiming at sustainable development. Recent decades have seen adverse reactions in some countries to cultural consequences of rapid modernization. Most notable among these are probably Iran, where the religious leaders succeeded in bring about a revolution against the modernizing impetus of the last Shah, and Cambodia, which under the Khmer Rouge attempted to turn back to a pre-industrial era. While there have not been recent reversals, the turn of the twenty-first century sees creeping influence of cultural and religious fundamentalist movements in developing countries opposed to Western neo-colonialism

and imperialism, both cultural and economic. There has also been an astounding growth of networks of informal social movements and non-governmental organizations, which question the purported benefits of modernization and point out the obvious disadvantages for various sectors of society in both the developed and developing countries.

## Role of Culture

Modernization involves changes in individual attitudes, values, and behaviors, as well as in social organization. Cultures conducive to modernization are said to have their roots in that of nineteenth-century Western and Northern Europe where industrialization first began, and then spread to parts of the world that were settled, rather than simply colonized, by its migrants—namely North America, Australasia, and to a lesser extent South Africa. In much of the developing world, the impetus to modernization has come from socially marginal groups and entrepreneurial subcultures, many of which predate colonialization but were co-opted or at least tolerated by European colonialists. Widely acknowledged examples of these are the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Gujerati Indians in East Africa, and the Lebanese in Latin America. Among the indigenous peoples of developing countries, it was often the traditional elites, such as landowners and royalty, who collaborated with colonial authorities and post-colonial leaders in their agenda of modernization and industrialization, though sometimes it was a new educated or merchant class that was at the forefront. The crony capitalism or corrupt links between business and government that have bedeviled many developing countries, even some of the successful models are symptomatic of this phenomenon.

There has been a tendency since Durkheim and Weber to contrast tradition and modernity, and to imply that traditional culture with its orientation to the past, emphasis on kinship, and fatalistic worldview is an impediment to modernization. Harrison, Huntington, and other contributors to their recent edited volume argue that culture matters immensely in economic development and political democratization, and by implication that there are modernization-prone and modernization-averse cultures. Not only are cultural attitudes and values explanatory variables of the wide variation of modernization among developing countries, but these can also comprise a dependent variable in that economic development changes cultures in turn. But any survey of societies in the

developing world would soon reveal the inadequacy of any typology of traditional, pre-industrial versus modern, industrialized societies. Even in the most modern of societies, traditional elements such as kinship and religion persist, while some groups in so-called traditional societies have capitalized on opportunities to adopt modern economic practices. The conservatism and passivity that are said to permeate traditional societies may have more to do with their historical experience of exploitation from inside or outside the country such as via colonialization and imperialism. Hence, the allegations of idleness and non-ambition may be revealing of the failure of authorities, colonial or national, to understand the complex social and economic structures that pre-existed in local communities. These have often proven to be more sustainable and functional than the large-scale or national projects being imposed in the name of modernization based on a Western industrialized model.

## Counting the Costs

Modernization is often proffered by its proponents as a panacea for the economic and social ills of countries in the developing world. Although academics have long expressed reservations over the claimed benefits of modernization, only in recent decades, even years, has there been much popular dissent in both the developing and developed world. Life-expectancy and infant survival rates are higher in modernizing societies, but these lead to rapid population growth with which developing countries are not ready to cope in terms of infrastructure. There might be a decline in infectious and parasitic diseases, but a rise in unhealthy lifestyle and the stress-related and degenerative illnesses associated with modernized societies. Migration to cities in search of jobs and a more materialistic lifestyle often results in unfettered urbanization, shantytowns, inadequate services, high unemployment, crime, and other forms of urban blight. Rising expectations by the masses about consumption, fueled by advertising and the media, cannot realistically be fulfilled in many developing countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Currently the much less populated developed world utilizes the lion's share of the world's energy and natural resources. If the developing world were to catch up with the developed world in terms of standard of living, the depletion of resources would be at an alarming and unsustainable rate. Yet the de-industrialization of the developed world and adoption of a lower standard of living by its citizens seems an unrealistic hope. At the same time, many

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developing countries are determined to emulate the social and economic practices of the developed West, and even those that are succeeding seem to have acquired massive debts. E. F. Schumacher's seminal idea of intermediate development is less about the why and how of development than it is about what is appropriate for developing countries wishing to modernize. His proposal of appropriate technology or incremental, small-scale innovation may be a valuable solution but there has been little interest in it by governments in developing countries, except for some rural communities. It is certainly not supported by aid agencies and multinational corporations from the developed world who have vested interests in promoting their large-scale technologies to developing countries.

### Late Capitalism and Globalization

Perhaps in response to the criticisms of Immanuel Wallerstein's view of monolithic global capitalism, other theorists adopt a more multi-causal perspective on modernization. With the onset of the postmodern age, nation-states are seen as co-players along with multinational corporations (MNCs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other inter-governmental bodies (IGOs) on the world stage. In lieu of Marxist and non-Marxist periodizations, Scott Lash and John Urry offer a three-stage model of the development of capitalist economies: liberal, organized, and disorganized. The present "disorganization" of capitalism in the industrialized nations they attribute to four trends: the rise of multinational corporations and international financial markets, the decline of mass industries, devolution of government and dispersion of population, and the growth of a "service class" of white-collar professionals. Through their analysis of the major developed economies of the late twentieth century, Lash and Urry demonstrate that they are collectively well on the road from being modern to the next stage of being globalized, postmodern societies.

Worldwide changes in technology, education, and mass communications have led in turn to new consequences in social issues, conflict, and political institutions in the capitalist West, liberalizing the communist world and developing countries alike. One widely acknowledged outcome is the declining political interest in nationalism and increasing popular support for supra-national entities and ethnic identities. Increasing regionalization and globalization seem also to make a mockery of domestic economic policy in the West because Western countries generally fail to consider developments in other countries, particularly

in the Third World. This is quite evident in the intransigence of the economies in the developed world at the turn of the twenty-first century to domestic policies designed to create growth and employment. These policies fail simply because they do not recognize the changed global political and economic environment of which the nation-state is a part.

Globalization is conceived of in contemporary academic literature as a process of linking individuals and organizations that transcends the boundaries of the system of nation-states that comprise the manifest world political-economic system. Thus events and decisions in one part of the world come to have significant consequences for communities in other, often quite distant parts. Hence, Giddens conceives of globalization as influenced by four factors: capitalism, the inter-state system, militarism, and industrialism. Globalization is seen as a natural outgrowth of modernization when traditional social institutions in any country are superseded by global ones. Achieved through better communications, this phenomenon results in a greater sense of world citizenry or of interdependence on a global basis among individuals. The lynch-pins of economic and political globalization today are said to be the worldwide growth of capitalism with its accompanying processes of commodification and marketization. In recent years, globalization seems to have superceded modernization as the primary focus of social change, and this might be thought of as an inevitable outcome of the modernizing process.

### Modernity Versus Postmodernity

Down through the ages modernity has been a term used to contrast a present era with a previous one regarded as outmoded. Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth century considered themselves modern in relation to the ancient and medieval societies. In our era, modernity has been the badge of modern industrialized society and is characterized by a disdain for the past and a love of novelty. Modernity defines people as autonomous individuals within a free society rather than primarily as members of an ascribed collective. It favours reason and rationality, which undergirds scientific discovery, technological advancement, and material progress considered vital to modernization. Modern society and culture is based on industrialization, bureaucracy, the nation-state, and economic growth. As such the fragmentation of post-colonial nation-states, the globalization and marketization of the economy, hybridization of cultures, the resurgence of religion, subjectivism in

morality, among other symptoms that have occurred in recent decades have suggested to some thinkers that the world has entered into a postmodern age. Whether this applies equally to the developing world as to the developed one in which such views are formulated, remains an unresolved issue.

Postmodernism may be thought of as the skeptical aftermath of the optimistic humanism and technological utopianism of the modern industrialized era. Like globalization, postmodernity is a phenomenon over which there is little consensus of definition. Some thinkers portray postmodern society primarily as a consumer society characterized by fragmentation and chaos, pastiche and schizophrenia. Thus distinctions between reality and imagination are eroded, making impossible a comprehensive grasp of postmodernism. Others consider postmodernism to be in continuity with modernism and simply the cultural logic of late capitalism. Societies seem to be converging in economic and technological aspects but diverging especially in social aspects, while staying the same in yet other aspects. Cultural hybridity, for instance, takes a range of forms from mimicry, syncretism, and creolization, to global *mélange* and counter-hegemony, a phenomenon evident in the Third World across the arenas of television, music, theatre, sport, food, movies, and a range of popular culture. Perhaps globalization ought to be seen as an openness to cultural eclecticism that characterizes postmodern societies as a late consequence of modernization.

AMOS OWEN THOMAS

**See also Capitalist Economic Model; Communist Economic Model; Development History and Theory; Industrialization; Mixed Economy; Newly Industrialized Economies (NIEs); Socialist Economic Model; State-Directed Economy; Technology: Impact on Development; Third World; Underdevelopment**

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## MOLDOVA

The Republic of Moldova lies in the southeast part of Central Europe. Its neighbours are Ukraine in the north, south, and east, and Romania in the west. Its surface area is 33,700 square kilometers and its population is about 4,446,455 inhabitants (CIA estimate July 2004). The capital city of Moldova is Chişinău. Beginning in the nineteenth century the present Republic of Moldova was known as Basarabia. The population is divided as follows: Romanians 64.5%, Ukrainians 14%, Russians 13.5%, Găgăuzi 3.5%, Bulgarians 2%, Jews 1.5%. On the whole over sixty nationalities are represented here. Regarding religions practiced here, 98% of the population are Eastern Orthodox; 1.5% are Jewish; and the remaining 0.5% are of varying religions, including Baptist. The landscape of Moldova is composed of plains and low hills and the climate is temperate. The forests, which used to cover a quarter of the country, represent less than 10% nowadays.

In the fourteenth century the Principate of Moldova was established, which included the territories east of the Nistru and the Black Sea. In 1792, Transnistria was annexed to tsarist Russia and transformed in a “gubernia” (county), with the capital at Tiraspol. After the Russian–Turkish war of 1806–1812, won by the Russians, the Tsarist Empire took the territory between the Prut and the Nistru (that belonged to the feudal state of Moldova) and gave it the official name of Basarabia. In 1917 the Communist Revolution led by Lenin took place and the tsarist regime was abolished. On December 2, 1917, the Country’s Council (Parliament) proclaimed the Democratic Federative



Moldavian Republic, which voted in the independence of the new republic in January 1918. On March 27, 1918, the Country's Council proclaimed the union with Romania. In 1924, Moscow approved the forming of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova, on the territory of Transnistria, then a part of the Ukrainian Socialist Federative Republic.

Beginning in June 1940, the Soviet Army initiated its piecemeal occupation of Moldavia and, when completed on August 2, 1940, changed the territory's name to Socialist Soviet Moldavian Republic. The occupation of Basarabia and North Bucovina meant a real tragedy for the population. A terror regime was set up, much persecution took place, many people were deported, and there were even massacres among the Romanians. On June 22, 1941, the marshal Ion Antonescu, the leader of the Romanian State supported by the people and the political power, started the war against the Soviets and reintegrated Basarabia into the Romanian frontiers. After three years of Romanian administration between 1941 and 1944, Basarabia was occupied again by the Red Army as a result of the front evolution during the Second World War.

The Paris Peace Treaties (1947) established the Soviet–Romanian frontier according to the borders in existence on June 22, 1941. Between 1944 and 1953, hundreds of thousands of Moldavians were killed, locked in labour camps, or deported to Siberia by the Soviet government. Through a political diversion the Romanian language (a Romance language) in Basarabia was called the “Moldavian language” and adopted the Russian characters.

After Mihail Gorbaciov took power in the USSR, he introduced the “glasnost” and “perestroika” policies. The Democratic Movement in Moldova was founded in 1986. It organised a great meeting on August 27, 1989, which imposed the Romanian language as an official language and restored the Latin alphabet. After the Communist regime had fallen in Europe, the Chişinău Parliament adopted the Declaration of the Sovereignty of the Socialist Soviet Moldavian Republic on June 23, 1990 (which had Transnistria as one of its territorial components). On May 23, 1991, a new name of the country was adopted—the Republic of Moldova. According to the Constitution, Moldova became a presidential republic. The legislative powers belong to the president and to the Parliament and the executive powers belong to the Council of Ministers, named after legislative elections. In December 1991, Moldova joined the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The economy of the Republic of Moldova is mainly agricultural, and consists of cereal, tobacco, sugar

beets, sunflowers, and vineyards. The main industrial branches are food processing, textiles, and heavy machinery or home improvement construction (tractors, television sets, washing machines, etc.). The most important natural resources are imported from Russia, which creates an economic dependence. After 1990, the Republic of Moldova took important steps toward democracy and a free market economy but the transition has been difficult. Most of the population lives in poverty, and corruption increased. The new liberal prices started the process of privatization but foreign investments remained scarce, because of the political instability and the complicated bureaucracy. In 1992, Transnistria (with the tactical support of Russia, which has established an important military arsenal in the area) proclaimed itself an autonomous republic, starting a civil war. The Transnistrian crisis remains unresolved, and the breakaway region has yet to be recognized by any country or international body. Moldova is a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and is the first of the CIS countries to be fully admitted into the European Council. Furthermore, Moldova signed the Cooperation Treaty with the European Union, in which it is stated as the final goal that Moldova integrate into the European Union. While the liberal and democratic parties desire this orientation toward the West, the conservatives look more toward Moscow, especially after the Communist victory in the 2000 elections.

Moscow declared (in 2004) that, to resolve the Transnistrian crisis, Moldova and Romania should reunite their borders, giving the example of the unification of the two German states. Transnistria would then be part of the Russian Federation. But such a reunification would slow Romania's integration process considerably; therefore the Romanian political class rejected the project, although it still remains a possibility for the future.

ILIE RAD

**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Commonwealth of Independent States; Romania; Soviet Bloc**

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## MONARCHIC GOVERNMENT

Monarchy, possibly the oldest form of government, is rule by one. A monarch stands alone above his or her subjects rather than as one among them: his or her role and demeanor are parental rather than partisan. In Benedict Anderson's words, the monarch occupies the "high center" in a "dynastic realm," one from which tiers of subjects cascade downward. The monarch's sovereignty radiates outward, gradually attenuating into porous frontiers where boundaries marking one realm from another mix imperceptibly together. Monarchical authority partakes of the divine, modeled in scriptures and demanded by priests. The "Mandate of Heaven" legitimizing the Emperor of China was inferred from its absence. Calamities like earthquakes, hurricanes, plagues, crop failures, and military defeats signified the withdrawal of heavenly approval of a ruling house and conferred permission on subjects to overthrow it.

Aristotle thought that monarchy was the best government, disinterested and free from internal conflict. But every ideal has its evil opposite. For monarchy, it is tyranny, a self-interested rather than a disinterested high center. To the tyrant, the subject is a means to satisfy his or her desires, whims, and perversities. While religious strictures might reduce or regulate the propensity of populations to rise up against tyrants, they offered no protection against them. The horrors of tyranny encouraged philosophers and revolutionaries to think of ways to curb monarchical power.

Philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau sought to restrain the power of rulers through contracts and laws. Constitutional government evolved as customary practice and in discrete formal documents, creating permanent institutions independent of monarchs and rules of engagement circumscribing their interaction. Revolutionaries overthrew monarchies, replacing them with new forms of rule by the few and, gradually, by the many. The popular image of the nation slowly shifted from a hierarchy cascading from a high center to a horizontal arrangement of equal citizens. Yet these changes were neither uniform nor worldwide. The

career of Belgium's King Leopold II is an extreme example of how European imperialism kept tyranny alive abroad despite democratization at home. His rule over the Belgian Congo was ruthless and brutal. It suppressed all native opposition and was intolerant of freedoms for native residents.

After World War II, imperialism became untenable and former colonial possessions gradually became independent. Conventional wisdom also predicted the end of monarchy despite lingering remnants in such places as Britain, Japan, and Scandinavia: other monarchical survivals would be like them, merely ceremonial. In the words of Walter Bagehot, they would be "dignified" rather than "efficient." While a vestigial monarch might reign, he or she no longer would rule.

Yet several years into the twenty-first century, efficient or ruling monarchs remain, most of them in the Middle East and North Africa. This can't be explained simply as the result of tradition; some of these regimes are relatively new. The end of imperialism did not automatically lead to the end of monarchy. Some former dependencies did overthrow emperors and monarchs. Others still have theirs, the result perhaps of a combination of crafty adjustments by rulers and second thoughts by citizens that their neighbors' efforts to end monarchy in places like Egypt, Iraq, Iran, and Syria had merely produced another, more efficient form of tyranny. Observing that monarchies appear to be more resilient than expected, scholars have tried to explain why.

Lisa Anderson suggests that monarchies persist for psychological reasons. Monarchs are uniquely able to act as nation-builders because their authority depends on their personal qualities, especially military valor, and because they evoke primordial loyalty. Loyalty comes from religious authority and is ceremonially reinforced in rituals like the annual ram sacrifice in which the King of Morocco plays a dominant role. The monarchies of the Persian Gulf present themselves as epitomes of Arabian tribal values and call upon primordial loyalties to the "family" of the nation. The monarch is thus a *pater familias*, the legitimate representative of his (or her) family/subjects who wields life-and-death power over them.

Explaining the persistence of monarchy in oil-exporting countries, Hazem Beblawi combines a tacit image of the monarch as father-provider to an elaborate picture of the state as the owner of oil revenues. Monarchs of such "rentier states" stay in power as long as they can earn enough money from foreign oil sales to buy off likely revolutionaries and provide high levels of welfare to their populations. Yet the rentier state thesis does not explain the overthrow of the monarchy in Iran or the persistence of the monarchy of Jordan.

Michael Herb argues that the persistence of monarchy results from well-crafted institutions able to adjust to the pressures of modernity. He says that “dynastic monarchies,” which include Morocco and the Persian Gulf kingdoms and emirates, are resilient because of the structure of interests within the ruling class. In dynastic monarchies, kingship is not passed from father to son but rather by consensus among powerful ruling family members. Errors in judgment that produce an obviously incompetent ruler can be rectified by the same procedure. Other family members control key positions in government, thereby eliminating power bases that could be occupied by potential revolutionaries. Yet dynastic monarchies in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have failed to remove moribund rulers while the late King Hussein of Jordan decided suddenly on his own to substitute his son Abdullah for his brother Hassan as Crown Prince. While these situations demonstrate the stability of dynastic monarchies, they also illustrate their fragility.

The continuation of monarchical rule in the twenty-first century is undoubtedly the result of effective statecraft, but it also reflects good luck and a hospitable international environment. Most of today’s ruling monarchies were able to find protectors during the Cold War and, until recently, could expect outside support to counteract some effects of internal opposition. Any explanation for the persistence of monarchy thus must include a role for external actors and conditions as well as psychological and structural supports for this ancient form of rule.

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### MONEY LAUNDERING

Money laundering is the process through which criminal and illegal money is “laundered,” creating the illusion that it is legally earned. Laundered money

refers only to money that goes against anti money-laundering legislation and is not necessarily synonymous with dirty money. Dirty money is money that violates any laws in its origin, movement, or use. Therefore, defining money laundering as the handling of any sort of criminal or tax-evading proceeds is inaccurate. The United States, for example, still maintains dozens of categories of criminal money that remain outside the anti money-laundering legislation.

Anti money-laundering legislation varies from country to country. In some countries, for example, it is an offence to launder the proceeds of another person’s criminal conduct. In others, laundering is regarded as an ongoing offence; hence, the actual timing of the criminal activity is not seen as relevant. Therefore, what in one country may be considered as laundered money may not be so regarded in another.

It is estimated that every year the equivalent of one trillion US dollars is laundered worldwide. According to Raymond Baker, a leading money-laundering expert at the Brookings Institution, approximately half of this sum is generated by violent criminal activities, such as organized trafficking in drugs, weapons, or people. The other half is illegal capital flight—tax-evading money derived from kickbacks, bribes, falsified invoices, and sham transactions by overseas nationals who place that money into outside secure accounts, mostly in US institutions.

### Money Laundering and Terrorism

Terror organizations also use money-laundering techniques to move money around the globe. Terrorists finance their operations through criminal activity, or they may also use funding from legal sources. In either case, terrorist groups utilise financial networks in the same way that other criminal groups do. Consequently, after the events of September 11, several countries have changed their anti-money laundering legislation. Special measures have been taken also by the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF). Established by the G-7 Summit in Paris in 1989, the FATF initially developed forty recommendations. Members of the FATF comprise twenty-nine countries and jurisdictions—including European, North and South American, and Asian major financial centres—as well as the European Commission and the Gulf Cooperation Council.

After September 11, the FAFT expanded its mission in order to focus on eliminating terrorist financing. It issued new international standards to combat terrorist financing, and is involved in identifying the systemic weaknesses in the anti-money

laundering programmes of certain jurisdictions. The FAFT also attempts to identify emerging new methods and trends used for laundering money.

## Laundering Drug Money

To counteract the anti-money laundering policies, Latin American drug traffickers have developed the Black Market Peso Exchange. This system is elusive to traditional monetary controls because it does not involve the physical movement of cash from one country to another.

In the early days of the Medellin drug cartel, cash was flown back to Colombia by the same planes that took the drugs to the United States. Once in Colombia, the process of converting dollars into pesos was very slow and required the help of local bankers. Drug traffickers had to store huge amounts of cash. One Colombian drug trafficker buried so much cash on his property that when it rained heavily, the floods washed US dollars downstream, clogging the sewage system. US dollars are of no use to the Colombian drug cartel or to the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the terror group acting as its militia, or to the Shining Path/Sendero Luminoso in Peru. Members of these organizations need domestic money to pay local growers, to buy protection, to bribe politicians, to recruit, and to purchase arms and explosives.

In the 1990s, drug traffickers and terror groups infiltrated the Colombian currency black market and transformed it into the Black Market Peso Exchange. The drug traffickers ship to and sell the narcotics in the United States; in exchange they receive US dollars in cash, which they hand over to a money broker inside the United States. The broker agrees to exchange it at a discount to the official rate, generally around 40%, and to deliver the corresponding pesos in Colombia within a few weeks. The broker then distributes the cash to a vast staff of runners, who deposit it in small amounts into thousands of US bank accounts under their names. Once the money is in the bank, it is “clean.” To avoid being monitored by the US monetary authorities, bank deposits and purchases are always below the \$10,000 limit imposed by the IRS. Breaking down large sums of deposits into several transactions of less than \$10,000 is illegal in the United States.

At the same time the broker has an office in Colombia where locals go to buy foreign products, ranging from US cigarettes to TV sets, which they acquire using pesos. The purchases are done with an exchange rate that generally is 20% above the official

exchange rate. The US money broker buys the goods in the United States using the drug money deposited by its runners, often from companies that know the origins of the funds; the broker then ships the products to his or her office in Colombia where they are sold for pesos. These pesos are then used to pay back the drug traffickers.

The Black Market Peso Exchange is also used by South American professionals to send dollars to their children studying in the United States. According to the IRS, from 1999 to 2003, the volume of money laundered via the Black Market Peso Exchange increased from US\$1 billion to \$6 billion.

## Origins of Money Laundering

The history of money laundering is that of hiding money or assets from the state to protect it from confiscation or taxation. People have used money laundering to move money resulting from crime, but also to hide it from governments, including oppressive regimes. Two thousand years before Christ, merchants in China hid their wealth from rulers. Often, they invested it in businesses in remote provinces or even outside China. Thus, the birth of the offshore industry and tax evasion coincides with the advent of money-laundering activities.

Through the ages, the principles of money laundering have not changed. What has changed are the mechanisms. When gold coins were worth their weight in gold, it was immaterial what country had issued them. The value of the coins was determined by the quality and quantity of the gold. Melting the coin was an easy and efficient money-laundering technique. Today, gold remains one of the main non-currency means of holding money, including laundered money.

The use of the term “money laundering” is a modern phenomenon. It is linked to the rise of the famous US gangsterism, which originated from the Prohibition of the 1920s—the banning of the sale of alcohol in the United States. Organized crime utilized several mechanisms to disguise the illegal origins of profits generated by the import and sale of alcohol and other “rackets” such as gambling. The money was in cash, often in small-denomination coins, and could not be deposited into banks unnoticed. So they used businesses, such as laundries that generated profits in coins, to filter through their profits. This is how the term “money laundry” was born.

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**See also Banking; Black Market/Shadow Economy; Terrorism**

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**MONGOLIA**

Mongolia (also known as Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] until 1992) is located in Inner Asia, bordering with China in the south and Russia in the north; a small strip of the Chinese territory in the west separates Mongolia from Kazakhstan. The country has a land area of 1,565,000 square kilometers (604,250 square miles); comparatively, the territory of Mongolia is slightly smaller than the state of Alaska, the largest state in the United States.

The population of Mongolia was 2,712,315 (July 2003, CIA estimate), up from 1,564,000 in 1979. It is predominantly urban with about 58% of the people living in cities and towns. The country's capital city, Ulaanbaator (Ulan Bator), is home to about 780,000 people or almost one-third of the population. Mongolia has a population growth rate of 1.42% (CIA estimate 2003) and it is estimated that its population could double by 2050. Major languages include Khalkha Mongol (90%), Kazakh (4%), Russian, and Chinese. The major religion is Tibetan Buddhist Lamaism, 96%, with the remaining 4% practicing Shamanism and Christianity.

For centuries, the Mongols have been engaged in animal husbandry, raising horses, sheep, goats, and cattle. The vast dry prairie land can support millions of sheep, but only about 8% of the countryside is arable. Until the twentieth century, relations between Mongolia and its neighbors have often been characterized by devastating wars and military conflicts, which have had a negative effect on Mongolian economic and social development. Consequently, Mongolia entered the twentieth century as a feudal

country with most of the population engaged in subsistence economy. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Chinese and Russian Empires competed with each other to establish political control over this strategically important area.

The major economic and social changes were brought to Mongolia after the national revolution of 1920–1921. The Mongolian People's Party, with Soviet assistance, successfully fought its opponents, and in 1924 the Mongolian People's Republic was declared. However, it took many decades before the international community recognized the MPR, and only in 1961 did the country become a member of the United Nations. The Mongolian People's Party (renamed the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1924) remained the single ruling party for the nearly seventy years.

Under Soviet influence, the Mongolian government introduced radical economic changes, including state control of all types of economic activities and central state planning. It eliminated mass illiteracy and developed extended free education and medical services for all sectors of the population, but at the same time the government suppressed basic political freedoms, banned opposition, and did not allow private entrepreneurship. In the 1930s, the government forced all farmers to join large-scale farming centered around *negdels*, state-controlled collective farms. The *negdels* traditionally specialized in animal herding, grain, and so forth. During and after World War II, the government developed the industrial sector of the country with major investments from the Soviet Union. The state-controlled industrial enterprises included agricultural machinery, mining, and light industries such as shoes, garments, and food processing. During the Socialist era, all economic activities in Mongolia were state-controlled, and private entrepreneurial initiatives were limited. Until the 1990s, the Soviet Union and the East European countries remained Mongolia's main trading partners and the chief market for its products. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Mongolian economy grew at an average annual rate of 6.0% between 1979 and 1989, which was one of the highest growth rates in communist countries.

Under domestic and external pressures, the Mongolian government introduced major changes in the late 1980s, abandoning the socialist economic model in favor of a centrally planned economy and total political and economic control. These changes were largely peaceful since they were initiated by the ruling elite under the influence of the neighboring Soviet Union and China. In the early 1990s, the international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank together with the Mongolian

government formulated a program of radical economic changes (the so-called shock therapy approach). This program was based on three main mechanisms: rapid mass privatization, rapid price liberalization, and currency reform. Under this program, the state privatized major sectors of its economy including housing, catering, retail, and agricultural enterprises; allowed private ownership of the land; liberalized its domestic and international trade; and opened the national economy for international investors.

Initially, the country experienced an economic slow down and a “transitional recession.” According to the IMF, Mongolia’s economy declined at an average annual rate of 0.1% between 1989 and 1999, while the United States experienced a decade of unprecedented growth. However, after the completion of the first stage of the reform, the national economy experienced moderate annual economic growth of about 3%–4%. Due to its rapid and extensive economic liberalization, Mongolia was accepted into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1997.

Mining, agriculture, and agricultural product processing are the three main pillars of the Mongolian economy. The modern Mongolian economy largely relies on export of raw materials to international markets. The country’s main exports are copper concentrate (which accounted for almost 47% of its total export earnings in 1998), cashmere (the country produces almost 30% of world’s cashmere), textiles, and meat products. The mining industry is largely concentrated around the second- and third-largest Mongolian cities, Erdenet and Darhan. The country depends heavily on imports of machinery, fuels, industrial consumer goods, and food products since it has very limited industrial capacities. Due to the transitional recession and disappearance of aid from the former USSR, Mongolia’s economy increasingly relies on foreign aid and credits. Total external debt has reached almost US\$1.037 billion (World Bank estimate 2002).

## Recent Development

Transitional reforms in Mongolia conducted throughout the 1990s with World Bank and IMF assistance brought mixed results. On the one hand, they disassembled the state control over the economy, allowed private entrepreneurship, and diversified international trade partners. On the other hand, they brought widespread poverty; a diminishing social welfare system, especially health care and education; a rise in organized crime; and extreme income polarization. The country increasingly relies on the export of raw

materials to the international market, and it is extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices for its major export products—copper and agricultural products. Mongolia needs considerable foreign direct investments and international assistance to modernize existing technologies and to conduct major economic changes. However, both local and foreign investors are reluctant to invest in the economy due to the small size of the market, the weakness of the legal system, and the inability of state institutions to implement property rights and contract law. In addition, small private farmers, without state support, have become highly vulnerable to environmental changes and extreme weather conditions.

Despite macroeconomic stability and success in structural changes, the economic changes led to a steady decline in living standards among pensioners, rural people, and women with children. In 2004 the World Bank classified Mongolia as a low-income economy with a Gross National Income (GNI) per capita of \$430, with about 52% of its population living below the poverty line (2002 est.). In 2003 the UNDP’s Human Development Index (HDI) put Mongolia in 117th place out of 175, behind Bolivia, Honduras and Equatorial Guinea, but ahead of Gabon and Guatemala.

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## MONTENEGRO

Montenegro is a small democratic republic located on the west Adriatic coast of the Balkan Peninsula between Bosnia, Serbia, and Albania. A mountainous country with 120 miles of coastline, it covers slightly over forty-nine thousand square miles. Its sandy beaches are suitable for tourism, and its climate ranging

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from continental to sub-tropical along the coast allows for general as well as specialized farming. The mountains, however, rise sharply, causing obstacles for communication into the interior. The rivers of Montenegro have cut deep gorges in the area creating spectacular scenery, and the low level of development has left much of the country's mountains, rivers, and forests in a pristine condition.

Many Montenegrins consider themselves to be Serbs. Yet a separate Montenegrin national consciousness has persisted, encouraged by a post-World War II Yugoslav governmental philosophy emphasizing the federal character of the country. Montenegrins speak a dialect similar to Serbo-Croatian and the majority belong to the autocephalous Montenegrin Orthodox church, but their pre-1919 history is separate from that of Serbia except for a short period in the Middle Ages when they were part of the Serbian empire. According to the 1991 census, 62% of the population identified themselves as Montenegrin and only 9% as Serbian. The country's 620,000 population also has a large Albanian and Muslim minority.

Formally part of the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period, the country was in fact an independent monarchy led by its Eastern Orthodox bishop, a member of the Njegoš dynasty. In 1852 Prince Danilo secularized the dynasty, whose independence the European powers recognized in 1878. In 1919 his son Nikola (proclaimed king in 1910) reluctantly left the throne as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929), which the victorious World War I Allies created under the rule of the Karađorjević family, absorbed the tiny mountain monarchy. During World War II the Axis powers broke up Yugoslavia, recreating the Montenegrin kingdom, but linking it to the Italian monarchy. After World War II when the victors once more restored Yugoslavia, Montenegro returned to the state.

In 1945 Josip Broz-Tito established Communist rule in the country and changed it into the Yugoslav Federation of Republics. Montenegro became one of six autonomous republics. In 1948 Tito broke with Josef Stalin and successfully established a separate Communist course from the Soviet Union emphasizing decentralization in the economy.

During the period between the world wars, Belgrade paid little attention to the economic development of Montenegro. Many Montenegrins left the country for better opportunities elsewhere. Because of the area's poverty and its pan-Slav traditional friendship with Russia, many Montenegrins supported the Communist Party, and thus the postwar republic gave Yugoslavia a disproportionate number of officials, police, and army officers. Montenegro

had the greatest proportion of members on the ruling Federal Executive Council and Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists than its population (3% of the total) warranted, usually 20% or more. However, one of the most famous Montenegrins, the one-time Communist Milovan Djilas, was a critic of both Stalin and Tito, and the latter imprisoned him many times.

Montenegro received much federal aid and incentives such as tax breaks, and industrialization began, but its development never reached expected goals. Belgrade attempted to develop the steel industry in the republic and exploit the region's bauxite mines. The difficulty of integrating Montenegro into the main industrial and economic areas of the country and the republic's remoteness hampered this development. The government did not begin the development of the coast as a tourist region until the 1980s.

Yugoslav policy in the postwar years siphoned resources and money from the richer republics, especially Slovenia and Croatia, to develop the poorer ones (Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia), creating a great deal of hostility and tension. Croats especially accused Belgrade of robbing their republic to develop South Serbia and Montenegro—an example of the Greater Serbian politics of domination that characterized Yugoslavia in the monarchal period.

The 1947 plan to industrialize Yugoslavia emphasized fantastically high increases in development à la the Soviet five-year plans, especially in basic industries. New factories were destined for underdeveloped areas like Montenegro. The ambitious, naive plan was doomed to fail and the rupture of relations with Moscow insured it. The 1957 five-year plan gave Montenegro, as an underdeveloped area, federal grants and budget and tax incentives for industrial development. However, in 1961 a recession forced changes, and a special development fund was established for underdeveloped regions. Statistically, Montenegro profited more than other countries.

The 1964 index for net national product ranged from 190 (Slovenes) to thirty-five (Kosovo). Montenegro was sixty-eight. Social backwardness and technical lagging hampered development. The ambitious and primitive plans as well as annual changes in those plans furthered inefficiency. Montenegro's steel mill was a disaster. Construction began in 1953 at Nikšić, but a rail connection to the Adriatic did not appear for eight years, a road for over ten, and a standard-gauge railroad not until 1975.

In 1988–1989 a pro-Milosević (who has Montenegrin relatives) political faction controlled the republic, and Podgorica joined Belgrade in its wars in Bosnia and Croatia. After 1991 Montenegro was forced to face the dilemma of its relation to Serbia. On the one

hand, the federation provided it with resource opportunities, but the isolation of Serbia because of its involvement in ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo hurt its reputation and harmed the tourist industry. In 1992 with the breakup of Yugoslavia, Montenegro and Serbia formed a new federation, and ten years later, in March 2002, the two states created an even looser federation called “Serbia and Montenegro.”

The Liberal Alliance, the major opposition party, has promoted the independence of Montenegro from Serbia, especially as Serbia’s international reputation has declined under the rule of Slobodan Milošević, but the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists led by president Milo Djukanović (2002) favored the continued alliance with Belgrade. In the 1990s many associations in the West such as the Montenegro Association of America and Montenet UK promoted relations between Montenegro and the West, its separation from Serbia, a retelling of its separate history and culture, and the economic development of the country.

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**See also Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations**

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## MONTONEROS

The *Movimiento Peronista Montonero*, more commonly known as *Montoneros*, was one of three Peronist guerrilla movements active in Argentina during the 1970s. They sprang from the multifaceted left-wing

faction of the Justicialist Movement, which was inspired and led by Juan Domingo Perón, and had the ultimate objective of instituting a socialist system in Argentina through armed revolutionary struggle. In order to further their cause, the *Montoneros* relied on an eclectic support base that included trade unions, student organizations, radical members within the Catholic Church, and the dispossessed urban classes. The *Montoneros* were the first revolutionary group in Latin America to successfully carry out urban guerrilla operations with far-reaching political implications, including violent attacks against Argentinean authorities and elites as well as foreign capital interests. At the height of their activities in the 1970s, the *Montoneros* had up to seven thousand guerrilla fighters.

The origins of the *Montoneros* can be traced back to Perón’s first presidency (1946–1955). In order to rally support for his political leadership, Perón introduced sweeping labor reforms that significantly improved the working conditions of the urban proletariat, including increased wages, pensions, a reduced working week, and housing and health benefits. However, far from being an anti-capitalist, Perón favored a corporatist path whereby the interests of both capital and labor would be balanced out in the administration of the economy. In this context, Perón resorted to a message of social justice that translated into tangible gains for the working class, earning him a loyal following that sustained him in power for almost ten years. The end of his regime was orchestrated by the local capital elites, who saw their fortunes slide as the clout of labor increased under Perón, and by foreign interests, mainly the United States, who saw Perón as a potential threatening figure too closely attached to socialist ideals.

After Perón left office, a large segment of his supporters acknowledged the need to perfect Perón’s sketchy vision of social justice by fundamentally changing the course of political action. This leftist *Peronista* segment, increasingly influenced by revolutionary socialist ideas, proposed that the national capitalist elites and their foreign counterparts should not be included in the equation for a progressive society precisely because they themselves were the source of the problem. From this perspective, a diverse coalition of Perón’s supporters set out to organize a national party that would fuse urban guerrilla warfare with the popular struggles of the *Peronista* movement as the means to bring about a socialist revolution in Argentina. It is important to note that the initial common ground for the *Montonero* membership, which included members of the Catholic Church, socialists, and at first even right-of-center middle class *Peronistas*, revolved around a rather broad nationalistic sentiment that sought the return to



national self-determination and economic prosperity. However, as the direction of Argentinean politics tilted in favor of capital and national elites, the *Montoneros* also shifted their ideological platform by favoring the ways of socialism and armed struggle, to the exclusion of all other methods, as the paths to vindicate their interpretation of *Peronista* social justice.

The *Montoneros* began their violent political actions against the Argentinean state and foreign multinational corporations in the late 1950s, concentrating on the assassinations of high-ranking public officials and perpetrating kidnappings of rich businessmen to finance their activities. Their activities continued in the 1960s, but these were sporadic and registered little political repercussions. In 1973, a frail Perón returned to Argentina and won the presidential election that year, but instead of uniting the different currents of *Peronismo*, his victory managed to pull them further away. As violence erupted between the *Montoneros* and right-wing *Peronistas*, and as demands from each side put pressure on the decision making of the new government, Perón sided with the conservative faction. In May 1974, the *Montoneros* were officially expelled from the Justicialist Movement by Perón. However, the *Montoneros* vowed to continue fighting for what they believed were the revolutionary ideals of authentic *Peronismo*.

A fundamental turning point that fueled the armed activities of the *Montoneros* came in March 1976, when a military junta, led by General Jorge Rafael Videla, ousted the government that Perón's wife had taken over after his death in 1974. Now operating under an openly repressive political atmosphere, the *Montoneros* raised their activities to new heights. During this turbulent period, their most significant operations had to do with the kidnappings and ransoming of members of the business elites, the assassinations of executives from General Motors and Chrysler, and the massive bombing of the Federal Intelligence Department in Buenos Aires in July 1976. The upholding of the armed struggle as the only means to face the military junta radicalized the activities and ideology of the *Montoneros'* rank and file, losing the support of more moderate members and at times engaging in internal ideological feuds that curtailed the success of their political and military activities by turning members against each other.

The military junta answered the *Montoneros'* offensive with a systematic campaign of terror. Between 1976 and 1983, *La Guerra Sucia* (dirty war) was conducted by fostering and protecting groups of vigilante death squads, such as the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (Triple A), that engaged in activities that targeted perceived enemies of the junta and supporters of revolutionary groups. These death squads

engaged in mass arrests, torture, extra-judicial executions, and disappearances of up to thirty thousand people during those years, instituting a regime of generalized state terror that managed to neutralize the activities of opposition groups, including the *Montoneros*. Close to one-quarter of the *Montoneros'* active membership had been killed by 1978, their operations had been disrupted, and the surviving members were forced to either disperse or go into exile.

The last remnants of the *Montoneros* were effectively defeated by the early 1980s, and it was not until 1984 that civilian rule returned to Argentina. Although unsuccessful in bringing about the "authentic Peronist vision" through armed struggle and radical politics, the legacy of the *Montoneros* remains in the relevance of the core goals they fought for: the need for social justice and national self-determination.

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**See also** Argentina; Perón, Juan Domingo

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## MONTSERRAT

Montserrat, a pear-shaped island in the Leeward Islands, is forty-three kilometers southwest of Antigua and seventy kilometers northwest of Guadeloupe. The 102-square kilometer island is an overseas territory of the United Kingdom. Montserrat, which means jagged mountain, is named after a mountain of the same name in Barcelona, Spain. Of volcanic origin, Montserrat has active sulfur vents in the mountainous south-central region. Because of its lush tropical rain forest, travel brochures repeatedly refer to the island as the Emerald Isle. Over 90% of Montserrat's people are of African descent. Owing to uncertainty about the island's economic future, most of Montserrat's people do not favor independence. Montserrat is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States.

Although British officials are responsible for defense and foreign relations, local elected officials are responsible for all internal affairs, except security.

Queen Elizabeth II, the head of state, is represented locally by a governor—Deborah Barnes Jones (b. 1956) since 2004—who oversees the Legislative Council. The governor is appointed by the British government. Nine of the eleven Legislative Council members are directly elected by the people of Montserrat. The attorney general and the financial minister serve as ex-officio members of the Legislative Council. Although appointed by the governor, the chief minister—John Osborne (b. 1936) since 2001—is normally the leader of the majority political party in the Legislative Council.

Arawak and Carib Indians were the first inhabitants of the island. Christopher Columbus, who discovered the island in 1493, named the island Santa Maria de Montserrat. The British were the first Europeans to colonize the island, in 1632. The first settlers were Irish Roman Catholics. The cultural footprint of the Irish is evident in the predominance of Irish surnames today. During the colonial period, the British landowners implemented an agricultural system based on large estates. In 1958, like the rest of the British Caribbean, Montserrat joined the ill-fated West Indies Federation, which lasted until 1962 when Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the association. Beginning in the 1960s, hundreds of North Americans and British subjects began to arrive on the island and build luxury homes. Real estate development and construction became a key component of Montserrat's economy.

The dominant figure in Montserrat's political system since the 1970s has been Chief Minister John Osborne, whose People's Liberation Movement (PLM) was the largest political presence in the Legislative Council from 1978 to 1991. In 1984, Osborne startled the people of Montserrat by suddenly calling for independence. His pronouncement was based on the British government's veto of Montserrat's decision to send a police force to participate in the police action in Grenada after the 1983 US-organized invasion following the overthrow of Maurice Bishop. Although most of Montserrat's people supported the US invasion of Grenada, they were against independence. Osborne subsequently promised that no decision on independence would be made until a referendum was held. In 1991, Osborne's main rival, Reuben Meade, leader of the National Progressive Party (NPP), became chief minister. A reinvigorated PLM returned to power in 2001.

In 1995, the Soufriere Hills volcano began to show signs of volcanic activity. In 1996, minor eruptions led to the evacuation of the southern third of Montserrat, where Plymouth, the capital, was located. Fortunately, all 3,500 people in Plymouth were evacuated. Subsequent eruptions in August 1997 covered the

capital with lava and ash. The island's only airport was destroyed and the capital city was reminiscent of Pompeii. Of the island's eleven thousand inhabitants, over eight thousand fled to neighboring islands and the United Kingdom. A large portion of the island's annual income, therefore, comes from remittances by overseas citizens. The tourist industry, which only lured twenty-five thousand visitors per year to the colony during the early 1990s, came to a virtual stop in the aftermath of the volcanic eruptions. In 1998, the British government moved the capital of Montserrat to Brades in the Carr's Bay vicinity in the northern part of the island.

People who live in the northern part of the island are protected from the Soufriere Hills volcano by a mountain range in the center of the island. Thus, there is no danger to citizens and tourists in the northern region of the island. Therefore, since 1998, thousands of Montserrat's refugees began to return to their homeland. The government's tourist bureau has also made energetic attempts to lure tourists back to Montserrat. The dome of the volcano collapsed in 2003, which has greatly reduced volcanic activity in the region. Nevertheless, the volcano is still active and entry into the southern region of the island is restricted. Trespassers in the restricted zone are subject to fines and imprisonment. The British have implemented a multi-million-dollar recovery program to help reconstruct the economy. Included in the redevelopment program are plans for a new airport in the northern part of the island. The southern half of the island, however, will remain uninhabitable until 2010.

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**See also Bishop, Maurice; Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Grenada; Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS)**

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### MOROCCO

The Moroccan Kingdom, “*Al Mamlaka Al Maghribiy*” in Arabic, is a North African constitutional

monarchy with a bicameral legislature. Its capital is Rabat and the largest city is Casablanca (over 3.5 million inhabitants in 2001), located on the Atlantic coast. Morocco's total population is 30,645,305 (July 2001 estimate) and the rate of population growth is about 1.7%. The country's official religion is Islam, with Christian (1.1%) and Jewish (0.2%) minorities. Arabic is the official language, although French is widely spoken and is the language of business, government, and diplomacy. Spanish is commonly used in the northern provinces. There are tensions between Morocco and Spain concerning the alleged violations by Spain of Moroccan waters and illegal immigration. Tensions between Morocco and Algeria over Morocco's Western Sahara cloud the relationships between the two neighbors.

Morocco is strategically located along the Strait of Gibraltar. The country's total area (including the Western Sahara) is 710,850 square kilometers. The climate is Mediterranean on the coastal regions and hot, dry, and continental in the interior. The northern coast and interior are mountainous with large areas of bordering plateaus and rich coastal plains. The main natural resources are phosphates, iron ore, manganese, lead, zinc, fish, and salt. The national currency is the Moroccan dirham (8.4 units to the US dollar as of February 28, 2005).

Morocco became independent from the French authority on March 2, 1956, under Mohammed ben Youssef, also known as King Mohammed V. He died on February 26, 1961, and Hassan II was crowned king of Morocco the same day. It is under the reign of Hassan that Morocco started its movement toward modernization.

Between 1945 and 1956, Morocco was under French authority. During this period most projects were set up by colonial authority. In the agricultural sectors, modern farms were created in the most productive areas of the Gharb, Doukkala, Saiss, and Haouz. The French administration continued to build roads and railroads to facilitate transportation of phosphates and other natural resources to Europe. French and Spanish banks and industrial firms set up subsidiaries or mergers, mainly in Casablanca. However, there was no genuine interest in developing the Moroccan economy in the long run and for Moroccans. The investments (aside from railroads) had a short-term vision and monopoly profits for non-Moroccan investors.

Between 1956, the year of independence, and 1972, there was an effort to increase literacy rates and reduce unemployment. There were efforts aimed at strengthening the economy, but these were hampered by several political issues that ultimately led to severe human rights abuses, including the assassination of

the political leader and militant Mehdi Benbarka in France, allegedly by conspiracy between Moroccan and French authorities.

In 1973, Morocco instituted the *Moroccanization* law according to which foreigners cannot own more than 49% of a Moroccan business. While by today's standards this would be viewed as detrimental to the economy, it did help stop the financial hemorrhage practiced by foreign (mostly French) firms. Throughout the 1970s, the central government emphasized the public sector's role in the economy. It increased food subsidies to offset the effects of agricultural protection. The sharp increase in world prices for phosphates helped secure significant revenues. However, in 1977–1978, phosphate prices fell sharply and the military spending increased as a result of the war in the Western Sahara. Consequently, financial imbalances increased. In 1980, the World Bank proposed a structural adjustment plan but due to the severity of the reforms involved, the Moroccan government could not pursue it. In the following year, an International Monetary Fund stabilization program that required increases in prices and reduction of subsidies caused riots in major cities and forced the government to postpone price reforms. In 1980–1983 the current account deficit approached 10% of gross domestic product (GDP) and the government budget deficit exceeded 12% of GDP.

The year 1983 marked a turning point in the relations between Morocco, and the World Bank and the IMF. Loans became linked directly to reform programs, for example, an agricultural-sector adjustment loan in 1985 and an education-sector loan in 1986. Structural reforms proceeded gradually between 1983 and 1989 and during most of the 1990s. A substantial amount of the required funds was disbursed by the World Bank. During 1983–1990 Morocco began implementing liberalization programs. Several favorable factors helped these programs. The dirham was depreciating, which helped to strengthen manufacturing exports. External factors included a sharp decline in oil prices (Morocco imports most of its oil) and favorable weather. Consequently, in the early 1990s, Morocco was viewed by world financial institutions as a potential success story.

In September 1993 Morocco repealed the *Moroccanization* law (only agricultural land and some mining industries remain subject to restricted foreign ownership). In addition, tax reforms, including changes in the corporate profit tax in 1984 and the introduction of the value-added-tax (VAT) in 1986, have led to simplification, neutrality, and more transparency of the tax system. Trade liberalization was enhanced by the introduction of current account convertibility in 1993. Morocco also privatized the

Casablanca stock exchange (CSE) in 1993. Between 1993 and 2001, Morocco privatized many public enterprises in different sectors of the economy. In addition, Morocco has achieved a high degree (perhaps one of the highest in the Arab world) of decentralization and localization of authority.

Over half of Morocco's trade is with EU nations. Morocco signed the Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreement on March 1, 2000. The Agreement includes clauses on the gradual liberalization of trade over a period of twelve years, by the end of which a free-trade area will be in effect. A timetable for abolishing customs tariffs for industrial products entering Morocco is set in the agreement. Morocco also started negotiations in September 2001 concerning the gradual liberalization of trade in agricultural products.

While Morocco has achieved significant progress in macroeconomic stabilization, many social developments in education, poverty alleviation, and gender issues have yet to be implemented. The literacy rate among Moroccans age fifteen and over is only 51% (World Bank 2000). In 1997, the World Bank found that although Morocco had stabilized the economy through budget deficit reduction, it failed to foster employment and achieve higher economic growth, and improve social development.

Under the reign of the current monarch, Mohammed IV, Morocco has undertaken several steps to enhance democracy and social welfare. Several dissidents, including Abraham Serfaty, a Moroccan Jew, have returned to the country.

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**See also North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations**

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### MOSSADDEQ, MUHAMMED

Dr. Muhammed Mossaddeq (1882–1967) was born in Tehran on May 19, 1882, into arguably the most prominent Iranian political family of the past century. Mossaddeq traveled to Europe, where he studied in France and Switzerland and acquired a doctorate in law. Beginning in 1921, he served in numerous political positions including finance minister, deputy in Iranian parliament (Majlis), and finally as prime minister from 1951 to 1953.

On October 1949, at the age of sixty-seven, Muhammad Mossaddeq was the moving force behind the establishment of the National Front. This loose coalition of political groups professed liberal democratic goals and strongly opposed all forms of foreign influence in Iran, particularly that of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was a symbol of British influence in Iran's post-World War II affairs, and one that served to bolster Iranian nationalism. The AIOC was believed to be a host company for British political officers who indirectly had been controlling the political destiny of Iran.

Dr. Mossaddeq, who was the chair of the oil committee in the Majlis, and several members of the Majlis who belonged to the National Front under his leadership, pushed for the nationalization of the AIOC. The news in 1951 of the new arrangement between Aramco (The Arabian-American Oil Company) and Saudi Arabia and their agreement to a fifty-fifty profit-sharing plan advanced the cause of nationalization in Iran. On April 30, the Majlis passed a nine-point enabling law that included a provision for compensating the AIOC. The British government protested the nationalization and insisted that under the 1933 agreement Iran should submit to arbitration. The Iranian government replied that the British government had no right to interfere in a matter between Iran and an oil company. On April 28, Mossaddeq was appointed prime minister and on the same day the Majlis voted unanimously to seize the company's properties in Iran. On May 2, 1951, the young Shah signed the Nationalization Bill, completing the process.

Events occurred swiftly and surprised practically everyone concerned with the crisis. The British were

surprised to see that Iran was not intimidated by threats, the freezing of Iranian assets, or even the sending of gunboats to the Persian Gulf. In the course of the crisis, which lasted two years, half a dozen alternative proposals were made, most of them accepting the principle of nationalization, but they all failed to bring about a solution. The British complained to the United Nations. In September 1952 Mossaddeq went to New York to defend Iran's case, contending that nationalization was an internal matter and subject to no international jurisdiction. The Security Council referred the question of jurisdiction to the World Court and the Court decided in favor of Iran, stating that the problem was an internal question and outside of the competency of the World Court or of the United Nations.

The British government, refusing to accept a reduced role in Iran, persuaded President Eisenhower's administration to intervene directly to overthrow the Mossaddeq government. The British government used the threat of a possible communist takeover as its major tactic in attracting American involvement. On August 19, Iranian conservatives, Britain, and the United States cooperated fully to oust Mossaddeq. The coup was successful and an era of intense US involvement in the support of the dictatorship of the Shah of Iran began. Muhammed Mossaddeq was arrested, tried by a military tribunal, and found guilty of treason. He spent three years in prison and the rest of his life under house arrest. He died in 1967.

The 1953 coup changed Iran's history in fundamental ways. It was clearly a setback for Iran's political development. The coup alienated Iranian intellectuals and weakened the moderate, liberal nationalists represented by such organizations as the National Front, and it paved the way to extremism.

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**See also** Iran

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## MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique has considerable human and natural resources. However, the violent cross currents of its recent history and complexity of its social fabric have considerably complicated its development. The past of this region is immeasurably ancient since it is where the human species itself developed.

To the north Mozambique is bordered by the country of Tanzania; along the east by the Mozambique Channel, which separates it from the island of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean; along the south lie Swaziland and South Africa; to the west, Zimbabwe; and the northwest, Zambia and Malawi. Mozambique is approximately the size of Alaska. It is dominated by mountains and plateaus in the north. These descend to highlands in the central region. Curving through the central portion of the country is the Zambezi River, the fourth largest in Africa. The southern part of the country consists of rolling lowlands. The native minorities of Mozambique divide into numerous subgroups. They differ extensively in their historic economic pursuits, social structures, and sizes and roles relative to each other.

Mozambique's population of almost 20 million people is very diverse, and contains many different tribes. In addition, foreign trade and invasions have produced minorities of Western Europeans, mainly Portuguese; southern Asians, mainly Indians; and *mestiços* or mixed bloods of Africans and Europeans. Although Portuguese has long been the language of official business, only 27% of the population speaks it. Several dozen native languages are used; Makhuwa, Tsonga, Lomwe, and Sena are four of the major ones. Religious diversity accompanies this cultural complexity. Religions include native-spiritism (about 50% of the population), Christianity (30%, mainly Catholicism but also small Protestant sects), Islam (20%), and syncretisms of native-spiritism and Christianity.

The Portuguese were the colonial overlords of the region from the sixteenth century onward. They developed trade in slaves, minerals, and foodstuffs along the coastal region and up the Zambezi valley. The south has been the traditional economic and administrative center of the country. Trade with South Africa increased with the late-nineteenth-century development there of gold and diamond mining. White southerners and their allies controlled commerce. Early in the twentieth century, hundreds of miles of rail lines were laid into the interior.

Until independence in 1975, the dominant elite in Mozambique was a tiny minority of white Portuguese. Supporting the Portuguese were further small minorities of mixed-race *mestiços* and natives who

had been assimilated (*assimilados*) into European ways. Portuguese influence decreased, however, as one advanced into the interior. Portugal attempted systematic settlement there toward the end of the nineteenth century and as other European nations enlarged their interests in Africa.

Mozambicans have tended to divide between northerners and southerners. A complex of antagonisms has grown around differences between colonized and colonizer, debtor and creditor, governed and governor, rural and urban, black and white, victim and combatant, non-Christian and Christian, upland and lowland, and native and foreign.

Various degrees of poverty are common to all the country, but what sparse wealth does exist concentrates in the south and mostly in Maputo, the capital, and a few other cities. The poverty of Mozambicans results from the very unbalanced development that occurred under Portugal.

Independence occurred on July 25, 1975. Most Portuguese administrators, businessmen, and professionals fled the country. Civil war broke out between two rival groups trying to dominate the new national government.

In 1964 the Marxist-Leninist *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO—Mozambique Liberation Front) began armed struggle for independence. It assumed the national government in 1975. However, Mozambique's powerful capitalist, white-dominated neighbors, Rhodesia and South Africa, formed and financially backed an anti-Communist movement, the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (RENAMO—Mozambican National Resistance). It was strongly backed by US President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. FRELIMO received support from the Soviet Union. Events unraveled in a manner similar to those occurring at the same time in Portugal's other major African colony, Angola.

RENAMO maneuvered against FRELIMO throughout the country, attacking in the south and occupying strongholds in the highlands. FRELIMO held the capital in the south, and RENAMO raided around there and in the north. The conflict assumed a north-south character, and everywhere it left hundreds of thousands dead, wounded, or displaced. Only the end of apartheid in South Africa and of the Cold War between East and West brought a tentative reconciliation between FRELIMO and RENAMO, a peace of exhaustion.

Mozambique reconstituted itself in 1990 as a multi-party state, established regular elections, and allowed private investment. In the latter part of the 1990s, Mozambique began to offer some possibility of fulfilling its economic promise. In 1999 it achieved an

annual rate of economic growth of 10%, reaching a per capita income with purchasing power of US\$1,000.

However, in 2000 epic floods ravaged the land and people, who mostly reside in the rural interior. A cholera epidemic broke out in the wake of the floods. Public health issues are widespread in Mozambique, which has one of the highest rates in Africa of people infected with the HIV virus or suffering from AIDS. Parents who have died from this disease have left many orphans. War produced a sizable minority of handicapped soldiers and civilians, refugees, displaced persons, and further orphans.

While the country has an exceptional birth rate of nearly 3.8%, its rate of population growth is just under 1.5%. Only 3% of the population is over 65, and nearly two-thirds of this group is female. Life expectancy is less than forty years for both sexes. Two-thirds of the population is under twenty-one. Both adults and, even more so, older people are minorities. There are 1.5% fewer males than females, a surprising balance given the years of warfare. However, the number also reflects how war along with disease has equally devastated soldiers and civilians.

Mozambique has used education, particularly emphasis on literacy, as a basis for attempting to lift itself up. Such an effort may offer some long-term opportunity for a common, beneficial development among the country's varied peoples.

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**See also FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique); Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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## MUBARAK, HOSNI

Hosni Muhammad Mubarak became Egypt's president in 1981. Born in Minufiyya province to a middle class family, Mubarak graduated from the Military Academy in 1949 and from the Air Force Academy the following year. He did not take part in the military coup that has come to be called the Egyptian Revolution of July 1952. After a brief stint as a fighter pilot, he served as an instructor at the Air Force Academy from 1954 to 1961. He spent the following academic year at the Soviet General Staff Academy and in 1964 took charge of training Egyptian pilots at the Frunze Military Training Center in Moscow. He was the commandant of Egypt's Air Force Academy from 1967 to 1969, air force chief of staff from 1969 to 1971, and commander-in-chief from 1971 to 1974. He took charge of Egypt's aerial preparations for the October (1973) War and was promoted to the rank of air marshal for his outstanding wartime performance. Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat appointed him vice president in 1975, and Mubarak served him loyally for the next six years. He played no conspicuous role in the Camp David peace talks with Israel or in any of Sadat's other spectacular initiatives during that time.

After Sadat was assassinated on October 6, 1981, Mubarak assumed the presidency, was soon officially nominated by the National Democratic Party (NDP), and was confirmed by a nationwide referendum. Upon taking office, he promised to address Egypt's economic and social problems, publicly curbed the favoritism and corruption that had marred Sadat's final days, and released many of the political and religious leaders whom Sadat had imprisoned. Although the Egyptian people knew little about him, his earliest policies as president won widespread approval.

While restoring diplomatic relations with the USSR, Mubarak maintained Egypt's ties with the US government, on whose military and economic aid it had come to depend under Sadat. He did not break diplomatic relations with Israel (although he did recall Egypt's ambassador from Tel Aviv during Israel's invasion of Lebanon) and he gradually resumed good relations with the other Arab governments and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which had withdrawn their ambassadors from Cairo soon after Sadat signed the 1979 Egyptian–Israeli Peace Treaty. Although his government still encouraged

Western and Arab investment in Egypt's economy, he curbed the operation of foreign multinational corporations within the country. He also increased the state's role in economic planning and protecting the welfare of the workers.

The failure of his efforts to mediate the 1990 dispute between Iraq and Kuwait became a precipitating factor in Saddam Hussein's decision to invade and occupy Kuwait. Although Mubarak initially hoped that the Arab leaders would resolve the crisis, his government soon rallied behind the US-led Operation Desert Shield, sending forty thousand troops to join the allied coalition in Saudi Arabia (but refusing to invade Iraq). Egypt was later rewarded by the cancellation of some \$14 billion worth of accumulated foreign debt to various Arab and Western countries. The plan for Egypt and Syria to provide a long-term peacekeeping force to stabilize the Gulf States foundered on Kuwait's opposition.

During the first decade of Mubarak's presidency, Egypt made some progress toward democracy. Political parties created under Sadat were allowed to grow, publish newspapers, and run growing numbers of candidates in the legislative elections. Since 1992, however, the government has tried to limit the proliferation of parties, restricted freedom of the press, and curbed movements that it deems subversive. Mubarak has been reelected to the presidency—without opposition—in 1987, 1993, and 2000. He has never appointed a vice president, and many Egyptians believe that he is grooming his son, Gamal, a rising star within the ruling NDP, to succeed him. The Emergency Laws, under which Egypt has been governed almost continuously since World War II, have remained in effect throughout his presidency.

The Mubarak government initially countenanced the resurgence of Islamist movements in Egypt, most notably *al-Jihad* and *al-Jam'a al-Islamiyya*. The former was responsible for the plot to assassinate Sadat and has formed ties with *al-Qa'ida*. The latter was implicated in numerous attacks on cabinet ministers, Copts, and foreign tourists. In recent years, however, the government has tried to stop terrorist activities, especially after an attempt was made on Mubarak's life in Addis Ababa in June 1995 and an attack on tourists at Luxor in November 1997 took sixty-two lives. Because of Egypt's heavy dependence on revenues from tourism, Mubarak's policies opposing Islamic-inspired terrorism have so far enjoyed public support, but the ability of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs to censor books and films and of the legislature to Islamize some of the nation's laws have also increased during Mubarak's presidency. The long-established Muslim Brotherhood retains its influence, especially in the professional associations,

but it has renounced terrorism. Egyptians believe that the Islamists' influence has blighted their country's literary, artistic, and journalistic creativity and harmed its cultural preeminence in the Arab world.

Mubarak's government has continued the process of privatizing state-owned firms begun under Sadat; has reduced government subsidies on consumer goods used by the poor; and has inaugurated the Toshka Project, a massive public works scheme to divert Nile waters backed up behind the Aswan High Dam to irrigate portions of the Western Desert. Despite numerous government efforts to improve Egypt's economy, population growth continues to offset economic gains. As of July 2004, Egypt's population was estimated to be 76 million; it was 19 million in 1947. The gap between rich and poor Egyptians remains wide—a potential threat to the stability and survival of his regime, which has lasted longer than any since the reign of Muhammad Ali (1805–1849). Egypt's close relationship with the US government, which furnishes about \$2 billion in economic and military aid each year, has lost public support because of the Iraq War and the perception that George W. Bush's administration favors Israel over the Arabs. Some say that the Egyptian people, if they were empowered to elect their own leader, would choose Amr Moussa (the Arab League's current secretary general) over Mubarak.

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**See also Egypt; Jihād; Middle East: International Relations**

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### MUGABE, ROBERT

As one of the leaders of the revolutionary uprising known in Zimbabwe as the second Chimurenga (rising) of the 1960s and 1970s, Robert Gabriel Mugabe (b. 1934) led the Zimbabwe African National Union of the Patriotic Front to victory over the undemocratic regime of the Rhodesia Front's white Prime Minister Ian Smith. After the liberation war ended in 1979, the new African state of Zimbabwe elected Mugabe as its first prime minister in March 1980. Mugabe formed a multi-party Government of National Unity of black and white Africans. When Zimbabwe's government took a presidential form, Mugabe became the first executive president—replacing the nominal head of state—as leader of the government, the principal political party, and the state. He has won reelection every five years including in 2000.

In the late 1990s and the early twenty-first century, Mugabe has become increasingly autocratic. Unlike other aging liberators such as Nelson Mandela, he has refused to step aside and permit a new generation to assume leadership.

Mugabe was born on February 21, 1924, at Kutama in Zvimba, near the Rhodesian capital of Salisbury (renamed Harare after independence in 1980). He attended Kutama's Jesuit Mission elementary school and teacher training college. He developed a dual passion for education and later for the socialism of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's liberator from British colonialism in 1957.

In 1934 Robert's father, Gamaliel Mugabe, left his family to work in Bulawayo and then South Africa. That same year, Robert's older brother Miteri (Michael) died. Robert had a younger brother, Dhonandho (Donald), and a sister, Sabina. The family engaged in subsistence farming, as the vast majority of Zimbabwe's black African population still do.

In the 1890s the British South Africa Company (BSAC) expropriated the best land for European "pioneers," including Christian missions. The BSAC's Cecil John Rhodes induced the British crown to recognize his company as the government of its colony until a settler government took over in the 1920s. The Africans' lot was subsistence farming by which they produced their staple food of maize. The BSAC forced them to assume a dependency on the company and missions for education, work, and religion. In turn the Europeans denounced African culture, including African religion, food, dress, and language, as "heathen."

At the Roman Catholic mission school Mugabe became a voracious reader and highly disciplined



student of the Jesuit fathers. When he was 14 he announced his ambition to become a teacher. He followed that vocation from 1942–1960 in his pre-revolutionary days in Rhodesia and Ghana up to the time of his marriage to his first wife, Sally, in 1961. During his imprisonment by the Ian Smith regime in the 1960s and 1970s Mugabe set up a school for his fellow prison inmates. At the same time he pursued external degrees in education, law, and economics from the University of London to add to his B.A. from Fort Hare University in South Africa through correspondence programs while he was in prison.

His rise to leadership in the socialist liberation movement in Rhodesia was gradual, but persistent. He was a persuasive speaker and had clear ideas of the interests of Africans in their fight for one-person, one-vote democracy and their desire to reclaim the land they had lost in the 1890s, a desire that continues to the present. Without external assistance, however, the revolution could not be sustained, and Mugabe was a primary force in seeking diplomatic recognition for his party and its struggle in the capital cities of the capitalist West and the communist East.

Because most of the support for the African liberation movement came from the communist bloc nations led by the Soviet Union and China, Mugabe's political sympathies became increasingly Marxist and Maoist. Since the Soviets favored the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) leader Joshua Nkomo, a member of the Ndebele ethnicity, Mugabe found his source of arms and training for his soldiers in Eastern Europe and Asia. Thus his forces used the general title of Patriotic Front, although they were bifurcated in their sources of military arms and foreign political support.

But humanitarian aid came from both the communist East and the capitalist and socialist West. Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, and individual donors in other European states and the United States, offered funds for education, medicine, and government organization, as did non-governmental agencies such as the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism. Ultimately the Frontline States of Africa and the United Nations supported majority rule, despite the support of the British and US governments for UN sanctions against what they argued was Rhodesia's illegal claim to an independent republic in 1965. Zimbabwe's diplomatic success was largely the result of Robert and Sally Mugabe's persuasive entreaties. Sally lived in exile in Ghana and London for over a decade while Robert was in prison, during which time two of their young children died.

The story of Robert Mugabe's later years is more difficult to explain than his rise to eminence. During

the liberation phase from 1961 to 1979, Mugabe established himself as the triumphant leader in a military and political struggle to topple European control of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. In the second phase of his leadership, from 1979 to the mid-1990s, he devoted himself to fulfilling his prewar aims to build an educational system to promote literacy in Zimbabwe; to construct a socialist system of cooperative farms and state-run businesses; and to restructure the government into a one-person, one-vote democracy of equal justice under the law. For his work in both of these phases he received international acclaim as a significant voice for African independence and Africa's capacity for self-rule.

However, from the mid-1990s into the twenty-first century, Mugabe's behavior changed considerably. Veterans of his liberation army have been employed to inflict harm on his African political enemies and the shrinking white minority. He has ceased to use his capacity for diplomacy that won the peace in 1979, and has instead intimidated the press, the courts, the military, and police.

Robert G. Mugabe has lived with accusations that he committed atrocities against whites and Africans, even comrades in the 1970s liberation leadership. Sorting out such claims has not been easy for objective historians. Records of Ian Smith's police and Selous Scouts were destroyed at the end of the war, and those of the Mugabe government and its armed militias are not readily available. In addition, the anecdotes of oral witnesses of Smith's and Mugabe's enemies and friends remain to be sorted out. In fact, there is a great shortage of academic interest in Zimbabwe at the present time.

The most adequate record of the years since the 2000 election, which Mugabe won in spite of a solid effort by the opposition Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai, must be sought in press reports and op-ed evaluations, mainly in the British media. Brutality and tampering have accompanied elections since 1980, and land grabs have tarnished Mugabe's record in recent years.

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### See also Zimbabwe

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## MUJAHEDIN

Mujahedin, literally “those who struggle,” but also interpreted as “holy warriors,” is a word used widely to describe many Islamic military groups, but usually refers to the Muslim fighters that fought against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan during the Soviet Union’s incursion into that country from 1979 to 1989. The Mujahedin was not only composed of native Afghan fighters, but also Muslim fighters from throughout the Islamic world transcending tribal, racial, and ethnic groups. Many of the fighters answered the call to come to the aide of their Muslim compatriots in Afghanistan.

### The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

The emergence of the Mujahedin began in the turmoil that was Afghanistan in the late 1970s. A coup in 1978 deposed and killed military dictator General Muhammad Daud, who had seized power from his cousin, King Zahir Shah, in 1973. The immediate power vacuum was not filled, and an intense struggle for control ensued. The struggle between the two leftist leaders, Hafizullah Amin and Nur Muhammad Taraki, was won by Amin. Outside of Kabul, the countryside was in revolt. Making the most of Afghanistan’s unstable situation in 1979, the Soviet Union began its invasion of that country to remove Amin from power and install its pro-communist dictator of choice. Amin was executed in the process. Moscow settled on Babrak Karmol, a communist leader in Afghanistan’s People’s Democratic Party, to fill the leadership void.

Many former adversaries united against their Soviet occupiers. International condemnation of the Soviet intervention yielded no change of agenda for Moscow. The Mujahedin was at first composed of native tribesmen such as the Pashtun, Hazara, and Tajik. The composition of the Mujahedin was as complex as Afghan society itself in terms of ethnicity, tribe, Islamic interpretation, and region. Prior to the invasion by the Soviets, the Pashtuns had dominated Afghan society. In fact, the term Afghan is used to refer to the Pashtuns. The rallying of the various peoples of Afghanistan, whether Tajik, Uzbek, Sunni, Sufi, Shi’a, or otherwise, involved the recruitment of community elders. These measures of recruitment reached fruition in the form of a loose collection of allies stable enough to hold the Soviets at bay. The Pakistani leader, Zia ul-Haq, and Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) favored Islamist leaders over more moderate and nationalist ones. However, the plight of Afghanistan was an important struggle

for the entire Islamic world, as well as for the anti-communist West. Recruits for the Mujahedin came from Arab countries, neighboring Pakistan, Central Asia, and elsewhere. With the secret backing of the United States and its Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Pakistan’s ISI, the government of Saudi Arabia, and others, the Mujahedin became a force to be reckoned with for the Soviet invaders. Monetary and human reinforcements streamed in from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states concerned with the plight of their Afghan brethren. One individual involved was the eventual founder of *al-Qa’ida*, Usama Bin Ladin. Muslims from other countries ranging from Saudi Arabia to the United States eventually joined the Mujahedin. The effort would not have stood a chance against the superior Soviet force otherwise. The Mujahedin exercised guerrilla warfare against the Soviets. Eventually, the Soviet army’s advantage in its Hindis helicopter gunships was checked by the introduction of US stinger missiles into the battlefield in 1986. During the war, the Mujahedin operated out of thousands of bases in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Some of the Mujahedin would continue to fight for the freedom of Afghanistan even after the evacuation of the Soviets and the ousting of their chosen leader. The new threat was from Islamic extremists, known as the Taliban, many of whom had fought the Soviets as Mujahedin during the 1980s.

Across the border into Pakistan in 1985, the various Mujahedin groups formed for a united cause against the Soviets. By this time, much of Afghanistan’s population had left the country, mostly for refugee camps in neighboring Pakistan and Iran. Also at this time, the new leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, promised an eventual withdrawal of the Red Army. In 1986, Babrak Karmol was replaced by Najibullah as the Soviet-backed leader of Afghanistan. In 1988, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States signed peace accords, and the Soviet pullout began. Afghan casualties from the war are estimated at over a million, while Soviet casualty estimates range from the official Soviet number of thirteen thousand to other estimates of around twenty-eight thousand.

### Post-Soviet Afghanistan

The last Soviet troops left Kabul International Airport on February 15, 1989, but the Afghan civil war continued. The Mujahedin sought to eradicate any Soviet-influenced presence, including Najibullah. After Washington and Moscow agreed to stop all financial support of the warring parties, the Mujahedin

succeeded in capturing Kabul and ousting Najibullah in 1992. A Tajik, Burhannuddin Rabbani, was appointed president by the Mujahedin groups in 1993. Conflict emerged between Rabbani and the Pakistani-favored Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a radical Islamist known for throwing acid in the faces of women not wearing a *burqa* (veil). A shaky alliance between the two was established to the detriment of the loyalty of Rabbani's supporters. The little success that this alliance achieved was short-lived.

One of the most successful, respected, and enduring commanders of the Mujahedin is the figure of Ahmed Shah Massoud. Near the end of the war with the Soviets, Massoud is reputed to have commanded a force of over ten thousand. His fighters, along with those under former Soviet-backed General Abdul Rashid Dostum, were the two forces able to close in and capture Kabul in 1992. Massoud, a Tajik from the Panjshir Valley, held the area even after the Pashtun-dominated Taliban's rise to power. Areas under his control remained the only parts of free Afghanistan. Massoud's Northern Alliance held some regions in the north of the country and continued to resist Taliban control. The Mujahedin were eventually beaten back by the Taliban, and in 1996, the Taliban were successful in taking over Afghanistan. Massoud was assassinated by two *al-Qa'ida* operatives posing as a film crew on September 9, 2001, just two days before the September 11 attacks in the United States. Despite his death, Massoud's legendary status has reserved him a place as an icon in both the East and the West. Massoud's Northern Alliance joined with other Mujahedin and US forces to oust the Taliban from power and destroy the *al-Qa'ida* presence within Afghanistan beginning in late 2001. Those Mujahedin forces included that of Afghanistan's first democratically elected president, Hamid Karzai. The Mujahedin forces have largely disbanded, and many of the fighters now serve in the Afghan army.

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**See also Afghanistan; Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations**

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### MUJIBAR RAHMAN, SHEIKH

Born near Dacca, Bangladesh, on March 17, 1920, to middle-class landowners, Sheikh Mujibar Rahman (1920–1975) attended Islamia College, Calcutta, and studied law at Dacca where he began his political career with the Muslim Students' Federation in 1940. A Bengali nationalist, he organized student demonstrations against the imposition of Urdu as the national language at the cost of Bengali. He spent six days in prison as a result and was expelled from university. He then organized a strike of university workers, was arrested, and spent two and a half years in prison. While in prison he was elected secretary of a new party, the Awami League, founded by H. S. Suhrawardy in 1949. He became the principal organizer of the party in East Pakistan.

In 1956 he led demands for provincial autonomy in the East Pakistan assembly and advocated separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. Between 1956 and 1957 he served as the minister of commerce in the government of East Pakistan. When the Pakistan Army staged a military coup in 1958 he was jailed under the Public Safety Ordinance and held without charge for 18 months. In 1962 he refused to abstain from politics for five years and was imprisoned for a further six months. With the death of Suhrawardy in 1963, Mujib became the leader of the Awami League. In 1966 he proclaimed the Six-Point Program, the *Mukti Sanad* (Charter of Freedom), which called for a federal government with control only of foreign affairs and defense, a separate currency or separate fiscal accounts, taxation at the provincial level only, control of all provincial foreign exchange earnings by each provincial government, and a militia for each province. He was imprisoned in 1967 and again in 1968 and brought before a military court along with thirty-five others in the Argatala Conspiracy Case.

When rioting brought down the government of Ayub Khan in 1969 he returned to East Pakistan a hero. In December 1970 he led the Awami League to an overwhelming victory in the general elections in East Pakistan, winning 167 of 169 seats. On March 26, 1971, he proclaimed the independence of East

Pakistan as Bangladesh. He was imprisoned and served most of his imprisonment under sentence of death. Civil war followed in East Pakistan, which India ended on December 16, 1971, when the Indian Army occupied Dacca. On January 10, 1972, Mujib returned to East Pakistan a national hero and the prime minister of an Awami League ministry. On December 16, 1972, the new constitution set up a cabinet form of government based on the four principles of Mujibbad (Mujibism): nationalism, secularism, democracy, and socialism. On February 25, 1975, however, he amended that constitution to create a presidential system with himself as president. On June 7, 1975, he made Bangladesh a one-party state and banned all existing parties. His Awami League formed the nucleus of a new party, the Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL). However, he lost support of the urban and military elite after he identified with the state, ignored charges of corruption, and installed his relatives in high government positions. He was killed, along with over twenty members of his family and political allies, in a military coup on August 15, 1975.

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**See also Awami League; Pakistan**

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## MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Multinational Corporations (MNCs) can be defined as large for-profit businesses that operate in multiple nations. MNCs usually maintain their headquarters in one larger company (the parent company) located in their country of origin, generally an industrialized Western nation, and keep smaller companies (subsidiaries) in foreign countries as part of their overall operations. Despite MNCs' global geographical presences, evidence shows that the crux of their research and development programs and their profit repatriation patterns are concentrated in their parent companies and home countries.

The impacts that MNCs have had when dealing with developing countries have been mixed. On the

one hand, MNCs are acknowledged as key contributors to development due to the flows of investment they inject into national economies, which create jobs, transfer needed technology, and generate taxes for public treasuries. On the other hand, MNCs are often the cause of concern given their mobile nature, allegations of their disregard for labor and environmental standards as a way to maximize profits, and the large repatriation of profits to parent companies rather than local economies. This debate has acquired a new character in the era of globalization as the economic power and influence of MNCs have increased substantially. This has allowed the most powerful MNCs to become more important players in the configurations of global exchange and production than many national-states.

### MNCs: Origins, Operational Patterns, and Their Relevance to Development

MNCs have existed for several centuries. The origins of the modern MNC can be found in the East and West Indies traders of the European mercantilist period (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries). With the emergence of the Industrial Revolution, the first MNCs, as conceived in their modern form, were established as they expanded their activities to multiple markets and took advantage of abundant raw material sources. Yet, the management and capital of these early MNCs were still confined to the boundaries of the country of origin. By the latter part of the twentieth century, and with many state-dominated telecommunications facilities, power generation systems, and financial monopolies moving into the functioning of international markets, the MNC had become a key dominating player in the global trade of goods and services.

As strategies of penetration, MNCs usually utilize the purchase of shares in existing national firms, create new subsidiaries using fresh capital, or they participate in the takeover of national firms as part of privatization programs. More precisely, MNCs follow a strategy of internalization to take advantage of their competitive strengths by operating under a bargaining strategy so as to gain the most when dealing with competitors and regulators. Essentially, this bargaining strategy considers MNCs as part of a multi-player game in which national governments set rules to accommodate MNC activities in their domestic plans, while MNCs attempt to out-compete their rivals and to minimize the regulatory burdens imposed by governments. Hence, the impact of MNCs

on national economies and the success of their penetration strategies can only be entirely understood by analyzing their relationship vis-à-vis the capacity of state regulation.

Within this context, MNCs count on two primary strategies for expansion: A North–South or “outsourcing strategy” strategy and a North–North “market consolidation” strategy. In the first instance, the North–South strategy is promoted by MNCs in an effort to minimize production costs as they invest abroad in countries with cheaper labor, energy, and real estate, often complemented with low transportation costs and trade barriers. Secondly, the North–North strategy is sought when MNCs attempt to have access to large consumer markets, and as such, investment is directed to gain that market access. The success of these strategies depends on several factors, especially the capacity of MNCs to use state regulation to their advantage; the localization of foreign direct investment (FDI) in places and quantities that best suit the particular goals of the company; and the favorable conditions, or not, presented by international business cycle patterns.

Developing countries are important elements within the framework of these MNC expansionary strategies. This growing relationship between the developing world and MNCs has yielded both positive and negative results (see below for more information), and although it would be hard to generalize a common trend among poorer countries to assess their associations with MNCs, the former have been active in attracting FDI as a potential booster of national development. As the relevance of MNCs in the pursuit of developmental programs grows, developing countries have to transform or consolidate their economic, legal, and political systems so as to make them more accommodating to the profit-seeking interests of FDI. With globalization, competition to attract FDI is increasingly among host countries, as opposed to MNCs competing against each other to gain access to local markets. This trend has allegedly forced developing countries to lower regulatory standards in order to attract FDI. Others argue that it is high but fair standards which constitute the determinants that guide the allocation of FDI.

The factors that determine the injection of FDI are several and multifaceted: political and macroeconomic stability; transparent and non-discriminatory legal and regulatory configurations; and minimal bureaucratic and procedural rigidity. Beyond this institutional background, MNCs generally favor countries committed to liberal market-oriented policies, favorable taxing schemes, fiscal incentives, and free trade. Furthermore, MNCs take into account the growing market patterns of the host country's domestic and

regional economic contexts, the existence of efficient communication and transportation systems, and the conditions of the domestic labor pools as they relate to the specific business strategy of the MNC. These are just several of many factors that influence MNC decision making; however, it can be asserted that the attraction of FDI by developing countries requires the establishment of specific rules that pose a central question: Does the accommodation of FDI demands necessarily imply the achievement of national development in the long-run?

### **MNCs and Development: The Positive Contributions**

The advocates of MNC expansion into developing countries provide several arguments to substantiate their claims. In essence, they argue that the capital and technology transfers supplied by MNCs constitute an imperative element in order for developing countries to boost their chances of success in an increasingly globalized economy. Without access to foreign capital and technology, they argue, economic development in poor countries would be very difficult and even impossible. One key aspect of MNC contributions to development is job creation in the host country. By and large, MNCs are very likely to create more jobs, pay higher wages, and have higher labor standards than domestic firms. Moreover, a transfer of expertise and knowledge from parent countries as well as a tendency for MNC investment to shift toward capital-intensive production may result in high-skill, high-paying jobs for local workers. This also helps in the diversification of the domestic marketplace, allowing previously marginalized groups, such as women, to integrate themselves as active economic players in society. The impressive growth experienced by the Southeast Asian region, and current positive experiments in India, Chile, and Turkey, have partially been achieved through the helpful impact that MNCs have had by investing capital and creating jobs.

Another important contribution of MNCs is the transfer of technology and managerial know-how. For most developing countries it is extremely expensive to develop a domestically grown technological base, and thus MNCs represent a crucial source of technology that enables poor countries to access innovative methods and practices to promote long-term national development. Moreover, by translating into practical results the theoretical knowledge related to the technological and managerial aspects of FDI, key sectors of the domestic economy, such as agriculture, industry, and pharmaceuticals, could experience

significant improvements in productivity and diversification. Without the access to MNC technology and knowledge, the economies of many developing countries could face stagnation and poor competitiveness in international markets.

Finally, the supporters of MNC operations in the developing world argue that FDI can be of great help in helping nation-states deal with economic and financial reform. MNCs provide a tax base that enhances public coffers, and their largely positive role in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors allow for more high-quality and competitive products to be exported. Both these elements help national governments deal with budget deficits. Furthermore, FDI can participate in the privatization of public firms by purchasing them, not only turning them into potentially more productive and efficient entities, but also providing another source of income for governments that can be allocated toward pressing national needs. In the end, MNC penetration into the economies of developing countries, combined with the proper state regulation and policies, could prove to be extremely beneficial for long-run growth and productivity.

### **MNCs and Development: The Negative Side**

The critics of MNCs point out that their business operations fundamentally lack ethical and human rights standards in terms of labor and the environment. In order to reduce costs and maximize profits, many MNCs invest in developing countries that must reduce labor and environmental standards in order to receive the investment in the first place. Therefore, there is a general perception that MNCs sacrifice the human rights of their employees and their working conditions in the name of more profits. Companies such as Reebok, Nike, and Levi Strauss have been accused of systematic labor exploitation in Southeast Asian countries where the wages received by workers are significantly lower than the retail value of most of the commodities they produce. Even if the economies of some of these countries are booming due to MNC investment, this is being done at the expense of perpetuating inhumane living conditions and illegal wages for the millions of workers.

Secondly, there is a great deal of concern over the profit-repatriation practices of many MNCs. In other words, MNCs tend to send back to the parent company most of the profits they have reaped in their operations in the developing world. This is problematic because this practice discourages the reinvestment of capital in the local economies/communities, and also represents a regrettable drain of limited foreign

exchange resources and a burden on the developing country's balance of payments (that is, trade deficits or surpluses). Thus, the repatriation of profits reinforces the accusations of exploitation by MNCs as resources and wealth produced using the labor and resources of developing countries are drained out, leaving very little or nothing for domestic use. Moreover, poorer developing countries in need of capital often offer very favorable tax exemptions and fiscal incentives to MNCs in order to receive investment, foregoing a potentially important source of revenue for the national treasury.

Finally, the critics of MNCs argue that the highly mobile nature of MNCs represents a key concern that often affects the interests of developing countries. As a logical step, MNCs tend to establish subsidiaries in places where conditions are most favorable, but if these conditions change to their disadvantage or an economic downturn takes place, they also tend to relocate their operations. As a result, MNCs are accused of not possessing a sense of loyalty to, and responsibility for, the countries where they invest. In addition, their ability to close down their business whenever they see it fit gives them tremendous leverage and clout when negotiating with national governments that often depend on the jobs provided by MNCs. In this context, MNCs are seen as opportunistic and exploitative entities that place their own interests ahead of those of the countries where they operate and the people they employ.

By the end of the twentieth century, and with the intensification of market globalization, the role of MNCs in the world economy had grown exponentially. Currently, they account for 70% of the total global trade of \$7 trillion, and the revenues of the top five MNCs are more than double the total gross domestic product of the world's one hundred poorest countries combined. The relationship between MNCs and developing countries is bound to grow in the future, but the challenges for the latter will revolve around their ability to channel the potential benefits of FDI to benefit their societies while trying to minimize the disadvantages that this relationship is likely to recreate.

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**See also Capital Flight; Foreign Direct Investment (FDI); Globalization: Impact on Development; Industrialization; Modernization**

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## MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The Muslim Brotherhood is an Islamic organization founded in 1928, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, by its first Egyptian leader Hassan al Banna. Its aim was to restore the principles of the Koran and to unite Muslims in a caliphate. It expanded through most parts of the Arab world, with cells in Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Sudan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and other countries. Nowadays it has branches in over seventy countries all over the world.

The Brotherhood's ideology claims that Islam is a way of life and that it is not possible to live in an Islamic society unless the whole of the society, including the government, is adapted to strict Islamic principles. This idea led the Brotherhood to conflicts with several governments, especially when those were under the influence of Western countries who the Brothers considered as the enemy. It has also been a fundamental principle that Muslims should establish a pan-Islamic state, going beyond all current political and geographic boundaries.

The organization has proven to be extraordinary powerful, and has often been described as a "state within the state." This power was an encouragement for the development of the countries, as long as they supported the current government, but otherwise the Brotherhood proved to be a drawback. For instance, in 1948 the organization blamed the Egyptian government for being passive against "Zionists" and joined the Palestinian side in the Egyptian war against Israel. That same year a Muslim Brother assassinated the prime minister of Egypt and in response to that, Al-Banna himself was killed by government agents in Cairo in 1949.

However, the Brotherhood on other occasions contributed to the reinforcement of democracy by participating in free elections, as it did in 1961 in Syria, winning ten seats in the Parliament, or when in the 1950s Jordanian members supported King Hussein of Jordan against political opposition. Another valuable contribution was the cooperation with the Socialist Labour Party and the Liberal Socialist Party to form the Labour Islamic Alliance in 1987 in Egypt, obtaining seats and fostering democracy.

Nevertheless, the Brotherhood has in the past engaged in acts of terrorism: an attempt to assassinate President Nasser in 1954, the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1981, and more recently the accusation on behalf of the Egyptian government of offering tacit support for the military groups that launched a campaign in the 1990s to bring down Hosni Mubarak's government.

The Muslim Brotherhood has been more influential in some countries than in others, taking prominent roles in countries like Jordan and Sudan and less of a role in others such as Syria. After Hassan al Banna, other leaders have included Seid Kutub Ibrahim and Mohammed Abed Alsalam Faraj, the founder of the Egyptian Jihad organization.

Currently, the Egyptian Islamic Brotherhood exists as a clandestine group. The Brotherhood is also internationally connected with military and resistance organizations such as Hamas (the Arab acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement), Gama'a al-Islamiya, and Islamic Jihad.

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**See also** Egypt; Islam; Jihād; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Sadat, Anwar

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## MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Muslim League is a political organization in Pakistan. It was founded in 1906 by Agha Khan III in order to protect the interests of Muslims in British India and later became instrumental in the creation of Pakistan. The role it played in the creation of Pakistan can be best described by the slogans that Muslims of India used during the time of their struggle for freedom from the British and even after Pakistan became an independent country in 1947:

- *Pakistan Zindabad* (Long Live Pakistan)
- *Muslim League Zindabad* (Long Live Muslim League)
- *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad* (Long Live Quaid-i-Azam)

It was Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who propounded the two-nations theory and the idea that the Muslims of India are a separate nation from Hindus culturally, religiously, and socially. However, it was Muhammad Iqbal, the philosopher-poet of Indian Muslims, who first advocated the idea of establishing a separate Muslim nation in his presidential address at the Annual Muslim League Session held at Allahbad in 1930. Three years later, Chaudari Rahmat Ali, a law student at Cambridge, came up with a name for an independent Muslim nation-state to be called Pakistan, “the Land of the Pure,” to consist of the Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province, and Kashmir where the majority of Muslims resided. However, it was Jinnah who played a role of great importance in restructuring the Muslim League. He gave it a new life by organizing various activities and by entering into alliances with the political leaders of various provinces. He made speeches in public appealing directly to the people on the issue of the two-nations theory.

By 1940, under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim League gained strength and was

then in a position to demand a separate Muslim state. In March of 1940, Muslims from all over India gathered in Minto Park at Lahore. Jinnah put forward the two-nations theory in this gathering and argued for the creation of a separate Muslim state. It was passed as the Lahore Resolution. This stirred the emotions of Muslims throughout India and they joined the Muslim League in its struggle for the creation of Pakistan. As a result, the Muslim League in the 1946 Indian elections captured all the Central Assembly seats in the areas where Muslims were a majority, except in the North West Frontier. This provided strong evidence for the creation of a separate state for the Muslims of India.

Thus, the following year partition of India took place and Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947, and the Muslim League became its major political party. But, after the creation of Pakistan, the Muslim League could not hold together its forces, nor was it able to visualize the future of the newly born country in terms of its ideology or articulate its agenda or planning by which one could foresee how and where it would go further. This could be attributed to the fact that there were many factions in the organization itself with conflicting interests. This led to formation of several different political parties within the Muslim League itself. By 1958, the Muslim League became impotent as a political power and General Ayub Khan imposed marshal law in the country. In the meanwhile, the Muslim League was reformed into the Convention Muslim League (under Ayub Khan) and the Council Muslim League; the former ceased when Ayub Khan resigned in 1969 and the latter saw its death blow in the elections of 1970. Thereafter, Pakistan became subject to military rule and marshal law. After a long interval, the Islamic Democratic Alliance, a coalition of political parties, won the majority of seats in the Parliament when the elections were held in December 1990, and Nawaz Sharif of the Pakistan Muslim League became prime minister. In July 1993, Sharif, under the pressure of military power, resigned the office. In the February 1997 elections, the Pakistan Muslim League again won the majority of seats and Sharif became the prime minister only to be ousted in October 1999 by General Pervez Musharraf. The future prospects of the Pakistan Muslim League remain to be seen.

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**See also Ayub Khan, Mohammed; Pakistan**

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## MYANMAR

Myanmar (formerly known as Burma) is located in Southeast Asia, bordering the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal, between Bangladesh and Thailand. It also shares borders with China, India, and Laos. With an area of just under 262,000 square miles, Myanmar is slightly smaller than the state of Texas; with a population of close to 42 million, it falls between Spain and France in size. Myanmar has a tropical monsoon climate, with cloudy, rainy, hot, humid summers but with mild temperatures, lower humidity, and little rainfall during the winter.

Natural hazards include earthquakes and cyclones, while flooding and landslides are common during the rainy season (June to September). Two distinct geographic characteristics divide the country physically and ethnically: the central lowlands and the surrounding high mountainous regions along the country's borders with India and China. The lowlands of the Irrawaddy delta are populated by significant numbers of ethnic hill tribes, including the Shan, Karen, Arakan, Kachin, Chin, and Mon. While Myanmar is 90% Buddhist and ethnic Burmese constitute 68% of the population, the major hill tribes and other ethnic minority groups are large enough to have been waging war with Myanmar's central governments since the end of World War II.

Politically, Burma is run by a military dictatorship called the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), which took over from the previous military council, SLORC, in 1997. The SPDC allows no opposition political parties, holds no competitive elections, and keeps the Burmese tightly controlled and watched. The people enjoy no civil liberties, with the SPDC controlling the press, all travel, and all civil society. This situation has prompted several countries, including the United States, to impose economic sanctions on Myanmar, strictly limiting US economic investment and aid.

The SPDC has had limited success in opening up Myanmar to foreign economic investment and encouraging private economic activity, which is mostly centered in agriculture, light industry, and transport. The state controls most other sectors, including energy, heavy industry, and the rice trade. Government policy in the 1990s aimed at revitalizing the economy after three decades of tight central planning, and

private activity did increase in the mid-1990s, but began to decline shortly thereafter due to frustrations by investors with the unfriendly business environment and political pressure from Western nations. Much of Myanmar's foreign trade is thus understated because it occurs on the black market or involves illicit border trade with Malaysia and Thailand. And, while the current government has made strides in forging peace agreements with several tribal groups, the problems inherent in these conflicts are still present: In the state of Shan alone, estimates of the number of refugees who have fled to Thailand to avoid conflict and economic displacement range from five hundred thousand to 1 million.

Ethnic conflict is, however, but one problem for a country that has been dubbed "a rich country gone wrong" (Sesser 1993). Myanmar is seen by many as a negative and contradictory model of economic development. Once the world's leading rice exporter when it was under British colonial rule, in the last decade of the twentieth century it has had trouble feeding itself. It is a nation with abundant natural resources, including arable land, oil, coal, gas, timber, fish, teakwood, and fertile soil, yet is now one of the poorest countries in Southeast Asia. And, since 1988, when a popular democracy movement was crushed by the military government, Myanmar has been at war not only with minority ethnic tribes, but with large elements of its own population, leaving an economy largely dependent upon the selling of its natural resources, from drugs to timber to precious gems. Ironically, to the outside world, Myanmar's most famous export is one of its jailed citizens, Aung San Suu Kyi, the woman who led the 1988 democracy movement and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991 for her non-violent approach to dissent. Suu Kyi has been in and out of jail since 1988 and was put under house arrest again in September of 2000 for organizing her party, the National League for Democracy.

Myanmar secured its independence from Great Britain in 1948 and until 1962 struggled under parliamentary democracy. These fourteen years of democratic government were marred by ethnic conflict, a communist insurrection, and political corruption. Still, Myanmar's current stagnant economic development and dismal international and domestic political situation can largely be attributed to xenophobic policies and the abysmal economic plans of its military governments, starting with General Ne Win and his "Burmese Path to Socialism" in 1962.

The military virtually sealed Myanmar off from the outside world after Ne Win came to power, with the aim of "liberating" the country from any reliance on foreign goods, capital, and outside markets. Under a single-party dictatorship, military officers took

control of the economy, and in the process expelled most ethnic Chinese and Indians, who were the country's skilled merchants and technicians. The result for Myanmar was unfortunate: In the mid-1950s the country's per-capita income of \$200 was roughly comparable to that of Thailand and South Korea, but by the mid-1980s, while Myanmar's per-capita income remained at \$200, Thailand's was \$1,200 and South Korea's was 20 times higher. And, while Myanmar's external debt was \$100 million in 1970, by 2000 it had reached \$6 billion.

There have been some encouraging signs regarding prospects for future foreign investment and economic development in Myanmar, with the most important being its acceptance into the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1997 and increased economic contacts with China and ASEAN member nations Singapore and Indonesia. Nevertheless, Myanmar's problems are many: international condemnation and sanctions (which sharply limit foreign aid, especially World Bank funds); opium addiction and smuggling; continued ethnic strife and refugee flows; internal barriers to foreign investment; harsh military rule and the subsequent suppression of

political groups and Aung San Suu Kyi; and high inflation rates and increasing governmental corruption. Thus, the prospects for significant economic development in the near future are negligible.

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**See also Aung San Suu Kyi; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## **NAMIBIA**

The Republic of Namibia was formerly South West Africa, a territory of the Republic of South Africa. However, in 1966, the United Nations passed Resolution 2145, which revoked South Africa's mandate and changed the country's name to Namibia. Namibia is bounded on the north by Angola and Zambia, on the east by Botswana and South Africa, on the South by South Africa, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. The total area of Namibia is 824,269 square kilometers. Windhoek is the capital and the main city.

Population in 2004 (est.) was 1,954,033 with an estimated 1.25% growth rate. Racially, Black Africans make up 87.5% of the population, white Africans 6%, and people of mixed race 6.5%.

About 50% of the population is Ovambo and 9% Kavango. Other ethnic groups include Herero 7%, Damara 7%, Nama 5%, Caprivian 4%, San or Khoikhoi 3%, Baster 2%, and Tswana 0.5%.

English is the official language of the country, but only about 7% of the population speaks it. Afrikaans is commonly spoken, and is the primary language of about 60% of the white population. About 32% of the population speaks German; indigenous languages such as Oshivambo, Herero, and Nama are also spoken.

Christianity is the major religion in the country, practiced by between 80% and 90% of the population. At least 50% of these are Lutherans. Approximately 10% to 20% of the population follows indigenous religions.

Prior to being a territory of South Africa, Namibia (then South West Africa) was a German colony. South Africa occupied the colony during World War I and took charge of its administration before annexing South West Africa after World War II.

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a Marxist guerrilla group founded in 1960, began fighting for the country's independence in 1966. The United Nations achieved a breakthrough in 1977 when South Africa accepted the so-called Western Contact Group consisting of the United States, United Kingdom, France, West Germany, and Canada. This granted the United Nations jurisdiction over the territory of South West Africa. Only in 1988, however, did South Africa agree to withdraw from Namibia. Namibia held United Nations-supervised elections in November 1989. A total of 90% of eligible voters voted, and SWAPO won decisively, with Sam Nujoma, one of the leaders of the independence movement, elected president. Namibia became officially independent on March 21, 1990. This was not a random date; rather, it was symbolically chosen to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre of black protesters in South Africa.

After independence, SWAPO pursued a course of compromise with opposition groups and of gradualism in addressing racial inequalities within the country. In the November 2004 elections, Hifikepunye Pohamba was elected president, replacing Nujoma.

The currency is the Namibian dollar; the South African rand is also used. Mining accounts for 20% of the gross domestic product (GDP). The main

exports of Namibia are diamonds, copper, uranium, gold, lead, tin, lithium, cadmium, zinc, salt, vanadium, natural gas, hydropower, fish, silver, and tungsten. The mining sector employs about 3% of the population; about half of Namibia's population is dependent on subsistence agriculture. Namibia imports a number of products and goods such as foodstuffs, including cereals and other staples; petroleum products and fuel; machinery and equipment; and chemicals.

Agriculture constitutes 11% of the Namibian GDP, industry 28%, and services 61%. However, the agriculture sector employs 47% of the labor force, industry 20%, and services 33%.

Namibia faces many problems, politically, economically, and socially. It has limited water resources. Desertification, land degradation, and wildlife poaching have also been serious problems. The unemployment rate is more than 30%. The spread of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) has been increasing; 20% of adults in Namibia are currently infected. The continued presence of Angolan rebels and refugees in Namibia has also caused problems.

On the positive side, Namibia was the first country in the world to include laws regarding environmental protection in its constitution. This has ensured that around 14% of the land is protected, including almost all of the Namib Desert. The government has ratified international environmental agreements pertaining to biodiversity, climate change, desertification, endangered species, hazardous wastes, law of the sea, ozone layer protection, and wetlands. It has also joined many international organizations such as Interpol and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

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**See also Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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### NASSER, GAMAL ABDEL

July 23, 1952, the date on which a group of Free Officers carried out the Egyptian Revolution, is widely accepted as a key day in contemporary Egyptian history. General Mohammed Naguib and Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) led the army coup that overthrew King Farouk I and that finished the Ali dynasty installed in Egypt since 1805. Democracy was from then on to be Egypt's political regime.

Naguib was in charge of the Revolutionary Committee until 1954 when, accused of participating in an attempt on Nasser's life carried out by the Muslim Brotherhood, he was arrested. In October 1954, Nasser became the sole leader of the revolutionary process and two years later he ran unopposed and was elected president of Egypt. He then promoted a new constitution and established a political regime known as "Arab Socialism." He was one of the most influential leaders in Egyptian history.

Among his first important measures were an agrarian reform, through which the government expropriated large amounts of fields that belonged to a small group of landowners; the nationalization of several banks and of an important part of the industries; the establishment of extensive educational programmes for both boys and girls; and the development of the country's medical infrastructure.

Within an international context of a Cold War between the Western and the socialist Eastern Bloc, the sudden introduction of such nationalistic and socialist measures was not well seen by the occidental developed countries, who quickly withdrew their economic and political support for the Egyptian Revolution.

In order to resolve his economic issues, Nasser decided to raise funds by implementing another radical measure. Hence, on July 26, 1956, President Nasser announced through the national papers the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and accordingly of the Suez Canal, so as to collect funds to build the Aswan High Dam with the income from tolls on the traffic on the canal. Until then, the Suez Canal had been occupied by Anglo-French forces. Consequently, the English and French invaded the Canal zone, especially the Port Said area. At the same time Egypt entered into a military conflict with Israel, which quickly turned in favour of the latter when they occupied the Sinai Peninsula. However, the 1956 war didn't finish until the United Nations (UN), mainly supported by the United States and the Soviet Union, took action. In the end, the Anglo-French and Israeli troops withdrew from the zone and Egypt kept the management of the Canal.

This was Nasser's first and probably most important achievement. He gained renown throughout the

Arab and the Third World as well as immense popularity among his own people. Beyond the economic value, the nationalization of the Canal and the withdrawal of British troops had a stunning symbolic value for the Egyptians as it meant the end of colonialism for them.

Perhaps Nasser's second great contribution was the construction of the Aswan High Dam, begun in 1960 and inaugurated in January 1971. The execution of this pharaonic work had begun with North American and British support years before, but the refusal of those countries to continue the project in 1956 forced Nasser to look elsewhere for aid. Therefore the fulfillment of the dam project was done with technical and financial support of the Soviet government. The opening of the dam in 1971 was beneficial to Egypt's development, as it provided hydroelectric power to the industrial sector and to the general population. In addition to that, the Aswan High Dam benefited irrigation projects and the fishing industry in Egypt, although it also caused contamination, land erosion, and agricultural conflicts.

Prior to the dam's inauguration, Nasser had decided in 1958 to look for allies and therefore signed a self-defense and political union pact with Syria, setting up the United Arab Republic (UAR). This treaty only lasted three years and was broken in 1961 when a rebel group seized power in Syria and it became again an independent country. However, Egypt kept the name UAR until 1971 as a symbol of Nasser's hope and dream to construct the Pan-Arab Union.

Despite having had so much success in building the dam and keeping the Suez Canal under Egyptian control, Nasser's external politics weren't so successful and during 1967 led the country to a third war with Israel. This time not only Egypt (at that time the UAR) was involved, but also the whole Arab League (UAR, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Sudan, Morocco, Kuwait, and Algeria), equipped with Soviet weapons, against Israel. This war, due to its short time frame, was called the Six-Days War, and its consequence was an outstanding defeat of the Arab countries.

This was a bitter result for the whole League, but especially for Nasser and the Egyptians who had been quickly beaten again by the same enemy. Nasser felt guilty and presented his resignation letter to the National Assembly on June 9, 1967. However, he was widely supported by a large crowd that took over the streets of Cairo (Egypt's capital city) to support him.

On June 10, 1967, the National Assembly accepted the withdrawal of his letter and Nasser became president again. He served until his sudden death of a heart attack September 28, 1970. He will always be

remembered as a pioneer and as the most prominent socialist leader of Egypt.

DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

**See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Arab Nationalism; Egypt; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Muslim Brotherhood; United Arab Republic (UAR)**

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### NATION BUILDING

The idea and practice of nation building is most closely associated with US foreign policy and the influential theories of modernization and development that emerged in the Cold War era. In general terms, nation building can be defined as an externally driven attempt to form or consolidate a stable, and sometimes democratic, government. Post-1945 US efforts in West Germany and Japan were directed at building stable democratic polities, while the emphasis in the case of South Korea and South Vietnam, for example, was on stable anti-communist governments. In the early years of the post-Cold War era, there has again been greater emphasis on democracy as part of wider nation-building efforts. Nation building in the Cold War era was usually a US- or Soviet-sponsored effort, with important relative exceptions such as United Nations (UN) involvement in the Congo from July 1960 to June 1964. The *Operation des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC) was the biggest UN action since the Korean War (1950–1953), which was formally a UN initiative despite the fact that it was an overwhelming US operation in practice. Furthermore, it was not until the post-Cold War era, when the United Nations again began to play a somewhat more significant role in nation-building efforts, that it

intervened on the scale of its operation in the Congo in the early 1960s.

While democracy emerged as central to UN- and US-sponsored nation-building initiatives in the 1990s, the scope and scale of post-Cold War nation-building efforts (even in Iraq since 2003, which will be discussed below) is far more limited than it was in the immediate post-1945 era, such as in West Germany and Japan. These were two of the most intense and substantial nation-building efforts of the entire post-1945 era. In both cases the United States initially expected formal occupation would be relatively brief, but it ended up assuming the responsibilities of an occupying power for a number of years. In the context of the Marshall Plan (1947) the United States, along with Britain and France, presided over the establishment of a federal government in West Germany by 1949, but military occupation continued until 1955. Of course, significant numbers of US troops remained after 1955, but their deployment by this stage was as a front-line force in the Cold War rather than as an occupation force. In Japan, nation building was supervised directly by General Douglas MacArthur, with the majority of US troops remaining until 1952. In Germany and Japan, nation building included the reconstruction and reform of the education system, the press, industry, and the legal system, as well as the retraining of the police, and major disarmament, demobilization, and demilitarization initiatives.

Nation-building efforts in West Germany and Japan encouraged subsequent attempts in the emerging Third World; however, the level of US commitment to nation building decreased in the wake of the failed effort at nation building in South Vietnam (Washington spent over US\$120 billion on the Vietnam War between 1965 and 1973). At the start of the 1960s there had been an increased emphasis in US foreign policy circles (symbolized by the election to the US presidency of John F. Kennedy, 1961–1963) on the need for a more ambitious nation-building and counterinsurgency strategy in the so-called Third World. This involved taking the initiative in Asia and Latin America, as well as the Middle East and Africa, to counter the communist threat via the infusion of increased levels of military and economic aid, advice, and support. Nation building also emerged as an important concern of North American political science in the 1950s in the context of the Cold War and the rise of modernization theory. Some observers define modernization theory in a way that includes development economics, a sub-discipline of economics that emerged in the 1940s to address the problem of “underdevelopment” in what would come to be called the Third World. However, it is probably

more precise to view development economics as having provided the earliest systematic formulations of development theory generally, while modernization theory can be said to have appeared in the late 1950s as a particularly North American response by political scientists to the perceived failure of development economics to come up with a political framework for nation building. In this situation, the late 1950s and early 1960s can be characterized as an era in which modernization theory rose to prominence in US academic and foreign policy circles. In the context of the Cold War, modernization theorists sought to articulate a non-Marxian alternative for the developing nations. They systematized an evolutionary and elite-oriented conception of political change and nation building grounded in a romanticized conception of the history of the United States of America. Furthermore, although early modernization theorists were rhetorically committed to “democracy,” their vision of democracy was elitist and technocratic and stability was generally regarded as more important than democracy.

These themes are apparent in the work of Lucian Pye, an influential advocate of nation building in the 1950s and 1960s. Pye’s work combined an explicitly psychological approach to political behavior with the examination of political change in the emerging nation-states of Asia and Africa. His first book, published in 1956, was on the communist insurgency in British Malaya. He argued that the fundamental basis of the appeal of communism in Malaya and other “underdeveloped” countries was the insecurity experienced by people who had lost their “traditional way of life” and were undergoing psychological stress as part of their effort to achieve a “modern” existence. Pye’s analysis meshed with the thinking that increasingly underpinned the US nation-building and counterinsurgency efforts in South Vietnam by the early 1960s. According to Pye, if peasants in “transitional societies” joined guerrilla movements to acquire a modern identity, then the way to defeat the guerrillas was to establish governing institutions that were more effective, more appealing, and more modern than those provided by the Communists. In a 1962 study by Pye, *Politics, Personality and Nation-Building: Burma’s Search for Identity*, he argued that, as colonies in Africa increasingly moved toward decolonization, they, like the new nations of Asia, would be “crucially affected by deep psychological conflicts.” In this context he lamented the apparent lack of “nation building” doctrines, the formulation of which had been constrained by an “unreasoned expectation” that democracy was “inevitable” and by the assumption that political development was a “natural” process that could not be “rationally planned or

directed.” Pye emphasized that there was a “need to create more effective, more adaptive, more complex, and more rationalized organizations” to facilitate nation building.

South Vietnam, more than any other country, encapsulated US nation-building efforts by the early 1960s. For President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1960), and more particularly his successor, John F. Kennedy, the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem (1955–1963) was to be a “showcase” for nation building that would make clear the pre-eminence of North American institutions and values in the global Cold War. With the election of Kennedy, US efforts in South Vietnam entered a new phase. In 1961 the fighting between the South Vietnamese regime and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF), a popular front organization that had been established in December 1960, was steadily increasing. In 1962 and 1963 the Strategic Hamlet Program emerged as central to Washington’s nation-building policy in South Vietnam. The Kennedy administration encouraged and facilitated the removal of peasants from widely dispersed villages, placing them in concentrated settlements that could be controlled more directly by the Saigon government. The State Department scheduled almost US\$90 million to be spent on strategic hamlet programs for fiscal year 1963. Using this strategy, the US Military Assistance Command (MACV) and the Agency for International Development (USAID) sought to prevent, or at least seriously weaken, the NLF’s ability to get intelligence, food and other supplies, as well as recruits. They also sought to inculcate new ideas about national citizenship that were centered on loyalty to the government of South Vietnam. In 1962 it initially appeared as if the strategic hamlets were undermining the influence of the NLF; however, the guerrillas acted rapidly to counter this trend. The NLF promised the peasants (many of whom were profoundly alienated from the government that had forced them from their villages) that following the revolution they would be allowed to return to their old villages. The NLF also intensified its military attacks on, and recruitment activities in, the strategic hamlets, undermining the effectiveness of the nation-building effort.

By the time of the military overthrow of the Diem regime, and the assassination of Diem and his brother Nhu Dinh Diem in late 1963, the term “strategic hamlet” was being dropped from the counterinsurgency lexicon. However, subsequent efforts to resettle and control the rural population reworked the basic nation-building framework that underpinned the efforts of the early 1960s. The United States had hoped that the overthrow of the unpopular Diem regime would improve the stability of South Vietnam;

however, the deterioration in the military situation following the coup paved the way for the escalation of US involvement and direct military intervention by 1965 (at its peak, in January of 1969, the number of US personnel stationed in South Vietnam was 542,400). The pervasive reliance on the United States, economically, militarily, and politically, generated growing possibilities for government and private corruption that completely undermined the South Vietnamese government’s nationalist credentials. While a significant number of people in the south were hostile to the Communists, they also lost interest in fighting for the corrupt and despotic US-backed regime in Saigon. Furthermore, in their effort to build a modern nation-state in the southern half of Vietnam, US policy makers overlooked the fact that many southerners identified with the culturally and historically delineated nation of Vietnam that was larger than the post-1954 polity presided over by Diem and his successors.

In the context of the escalation of the war in Vietnam, the creation of institutions and organizations that could provide order became even more important for proponents of nation building. The assumptions and concerns of the officials who carried the United States into full-scale war in Vietnam were closely connected to the revised theories of modernization and nation building that emerged during the 1960s. For example, the major concern of Samuel Huntington’s influential 1968 book, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, was to determine what might or might not be necessary to ensure continued social order and political stability. He held up political order as the ultimate goal of any society. He argued that, contrary to earlier expectations, the instability in Asia and the rest of the Third World since World War II was primarily the result of “rapid social change and the rapid mobilization of new groups into politics coupled with the slow development of political institutions.” Furthermore, US foreign policy since 1945 had, in his view, missed this point, because Washington had placed too great an emphasis on the “economic gap,” while overlooking the “political gap.” He emphasized that the political gap had been ignored because of the assumption in North America that political stability flowed from “social reform” stimulated by economic development. However, in his view it was actually the process of modernization that led to political instability. For Huntington, organization was the “road to political power” as well as the “foundation of political stability.” In a famous article, also published in 1968, Huntington argued that the key to combating wars of national liberation in South Vietnam and elsewhere was to adopt a policy of “forced-draft urbanization” and “modernization,” which would quickly



shift the nation-state in question beyond the stage where a rural-based revolution has any chance of building up enough support to capture national political power. Huntington's prescriptions held out the possibility that successful nation building in South Vietnam and elsewhere remained within Washington's power. However, with the Tet Offensive in early 1968, the elite consensus in North America that US power could turn South Vietnam into a stable capitalist nation-state and achieve military victory against the North had been completely undermined. With the elevation of Richard Nixon to the presidency (1969–1974), the United States began to look for ways to withdraw “with honor.”

US nation-building efforts in the early 1960s also focused on Latin America. Under the auspices of the Alliance for Progress, the Kennedy administration sought to contain the “communist threat” to Latin America in the wake of the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The Alliance for Progress started as a ten-year program of land and economic reform. The United States made an initial contribution of US\$1 billion and a commitment to raise another US\$20 billion overall from both public and private sources. As part of an effort to encourage the consolidation of stable capitalist and democratic polities, it set the achievement of an annual economic growth rate for the region of at least 2.5% as one of its main goals. It also sought to achieve greater productivity in the agricultural sector, stimulate trade diversification, generate improvements in housing, eradicate illiteracy, and ensure better distribution of incomes. But an important, albeit implicit, goal was the protection of US investments in Latin America, an objective that many of the Alliance's proposed reforms endangered. Trade diversification would undermine the monopoly of primary agricultural products and mineral extraction enjoyed by a number of US-based corporations. At the same time, land reform threatened the power of the still largely land-based ruling elites in Latin America. This meant that the reformism of the Alliance for Progress was increasingly sidelined by Washington's deepening commitment to military and police aid, along with support for authoritarian governments and counterinsurgency programs. By the late 1960s, high rates of economic growth in many Latin American countries had been achieved. However, high growth rates exacerbated social inequality, while politics, instead of becoming more democratic, moved increasingly toward authoritarianism. This was reflected in the fact that there were sixteen military coups in the region in the 1960s.

The waning of the Alliance for Progress and the US defeat in Vietnam provided the context for a shift in US nation-building efforts. While the United

States still sought to stabilize and consolidate anti-communist states, the quantity and character of economic support shifted, while direct US military involvement decreased dramatically. Furthermore, while the United States continued to support authoritarian military regimes in the Middle East, Africa, and Central America in the 1970s and 1980s, there was limited emphasis on democracy and Washington's military commitment virtually always remained indirect. Then, with the end of the Cold War, there was another reorientation of the US role. While the focus of US foreign aid by the 1980s had been changed to reflect the ascendancy of “free market” ideas, with the end of the Cold War, President Bill Clinton (1993–2000) presided over a range of reforms that ostensibly sought to reduce the significance of security concerns in the disbursement of foreign aid. USAID was still expected to promote economic development by encouraging trade, investment, and market-oriented reform, but it also established new programs aimed at building democratic political institutions. A greater emphasis was also placed on humanitarian assistance and sustainable development. However, this reorientation, symbolized by the passage of a new foreign aid bill by Congress in 1994, still involved a major commitment to US geo-strategic and security concerns. For example, Israel and Egypt continued to receive over one-third of all US foreign aid. In 1994 Israel received US\$3 billion and Egypt received US\$2.1 billion, while Sub-Saharan Africa was allotted a total of US\$800 million. Foreign aid was also directed increasingly at the former Soviet bloc, again for security reasons. The long shadow of the Vietnam era also continues to shape nation building in the post-Cold War era. For example, despite increased emphasis on humanitarian intervention, the death of eighteen US soldiers in Somalia in 1993 reconfirmed for US policy makers that there was a need to avoid making significant commitments in those parts of the world where there is no obvious “national interest” at stake. Meanwhile, the idea of nation building more specifically still carries with it connotations of the US defeat in Vietnam. In the post-Cold War and particularly the post-9/11 era, the term has been reinstated albeit reluctantly. For example, on September 25, 2001, President George W. Bush reassured the US public that the new “war on terrorism” would not involve nation building in Afghanistan. However, by early 2002, Washington was not only engaged in nation building in Afghanistan, but the Pentagon had also begun planning the military invasion of Iraq and the State Department had begun developing plans for post-war nation building in Iraq (plans, however, that the Pentagon ignored after the fall of Baghdad).

Meanwhile, as noted above, the 1990s saw the expansion of UN-sponsored peacekeeping and nation building, but the ouster of Saddam Hussein (1979–2003) and the subsequent occupation of Iraq were initially notable for the complete absence of the United Nations, while subsequently its role has remained relatively marginal. The initial US intervention in Iraq was organized around a “coalition of the willing” and had no formal UN involvement. This flowed from the fact that while the UN played a long-standing role in weapons inspection in, and the maintenance of sanctions on, Iraq, the US-led overthrow of the regime in Baghdad had been preceded by increasingly antagonistic relations between the United States and the UN, particularly with key members of the Security Council, over how to deal with Baghdad, with the United States eventually deciding to embark on nation building in Iraq without the authorization of the UN Security Council. As the US occupation of Iraq progresses, the UN has once again become involved, although it remains primarily a US operation, which appears set to be at the center of US foreign policy and the ongoing debate about successful and unsuccessful nation building for the foreseeable future.

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**See also Afghanistan; Alliance for Progress; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; Iraq; United States Agency for International Development (USAID); Vietnam War**

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### NATIONAL ACTION PARTY

Mexico's National Action Party (generally referred to by its Spanish acronym, PAN) was founded in 1939. The PAN emerged in response to the semi-authoritarian form of government and the state-driven reformist economic model espoused by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the political party that monopolized political power in Mexico between 1929 and 2000. Originally, leaders of the PAN proposed a twofold ideology. The party advocated liberal democratic principles, which emphasized free and fair elections, sociopolitical pluralism, transparent and accountable government, as well as responsible management of public finances. The PAN also furthered a set of moral principles dubbed “catholic humanism,” which provided guidelines for the civic education and spiritual improvement of Mexicans, and demanded greater economic welfare as well as social justice.

These two ideological currents have cohabited uneasily throughout the PAN's history. By the mid-1970s, the catholic humanist wing of the PAN had drifted to the left, denouncing capitalism for the socioeconomic abuses it generated, and promoting abstention from Mexico's electoral process as an act of dissent against the PRI's authoritarian rule. This stance alienated the more socially and economically conservative PAN supporters. In reaction, the party's liberal democratic wing set forth a platform proposing a reorientation of the PAN away from left-leaning ideological concerns and toward greater voter mobilization and electoral participation. This faction ultimately sought to further the democratization of Mexico's political regime, reduce the power of the government, and promote market-based economics. The liberal democratic wing hoped that such a strategy would enhance the PAN's electoral base by channeling the growing popular dissatisfaction with the PRI's repressive tendencies and inability to deal with the

country's pressing economic difficulties. After significant infighting, the liberal democratic faction's platform prevailed. Nevertheless, ideology continues to represent a significant source of internal tension, and normative Catholic prescriptions still permeate the PAN's policy orientation.

From the 1940s to the 1960s, the PAN constituted a party of notables, whose leadership was centralized in Mexico City and held strong ties to Catholic organizations. As a result of its aforementioned mid-1970s ideological reorientation, the PAN increasingly attracted the support of Mexico's middle classes and businesspersons, enticed by the PAN's liberal political and economic orientation. This new breed of members—referred to as “neopanistas”—generally lived outside of Mexico's capital city. In fact, since the early 1980s, the PAN's electoral strength has been mostly concentrated in the northern and some central states, as well as in the Yucatan peninsula. Furthermore, the PAN typically draws its electoral support from urban-based and educated citizens, who enjoy medium to high levels of income.

During the 1980s and 1990s, neopanistas gradually captured the PAN's leadership, bringing to the party important technical skills, powerful business connections, as well as sizeable financial resources. At the same time, the PRI progressively liberalized the electoral process, in the hope of re-legitimizing its rule, and hence grew more tolerant of PAN victories—although it still restricted gains from the leftist opposition. In order to take advantage of this opening, the PAN chose to enter into limited strategic alliances with the PRI. The PAN also privileged capacity building at the sub-national level. The PAN's flexible ideological platform, its dynamic organization, as well as its efficient campaigning style attracted the support of an increasingly large segment of the population, frustrated with the PRI-led authoritarian regime. As a result, the PAN significantly improved its representation in the local and state parliaments, and secured seven state governorships between 1989 and 2000. This produced a coattails effect, as the PAN's share of seats in the national legislature steadily increased through the 1990s.

The transitional elections of 2000 represent a high point in the PAN's electoral popularity. The party's candidate—businessman Vicente Fox—claimed the presidency, thus ending the PRI's authoritarian rule. The PAN also obtained two-fifths of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Nonetheless, this success was followed by less impressive showings in subsequent regional and national elections. This is largely attributable to the citizenry's disappointment with President Fox's inability to fulfill the majority of his ambitious electoral promises. Indeed, the resistance

of opposition parties—which controlled Mexico's parliament between 2000 and 2006—and poor communications between the federal administration and the PAN's congressional fraction have hindered the adoption of President Fox's comprehensive reformist policy program. The PAN has also been plagued by serious factional power struggles since 2000.

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**See also Fox, Vicente; Mexico: History and Economic Development**

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## NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM (NFLSV)/NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (NLF)

The *Mat Tran Dan Toc Giai Phong Mien Nam*, literally the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV), best known as the National Liberation Front (NLF), was formed on December 20, 1960, in Tay Ninh Province in South Vietnam as a result of decisions reached at the Third National Congress of the Vietnamese Workers' Party (VWP) in Hanoi in September 1960. Congress members decided that after six years of trying to unify the country through political means, they should accept the recommendations of Central Committee member Le Duan and approve the use of armed violence through the NFLSV's military arm, the People's Armed Liberation Forces (PLAF), or as the Allies called them, the “Viet Cong.” In an effort to gain wide national support, NFLSV leaders, concealing the Front's Communist leanings, publically declared that the NFLSV was a broad-based “front” opposing the US-backed regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon.

While the NFLSV directly replaced the Fatherland Front (*Mat Tran To Quoc*), created in Hanoi in 1955, its ideological antecedent was the League for the Independence of Vietnam, commonly known as the Viet Minh, established in May 1941 as an anti-Japanese and later anti-French nationalist movement. The NFLSV, like the Viet Minh, sought reunification through any means based on widely shared objectives such as national independence and social justice. While the NFLSV had major southern components, it was dominated by northern Communists.

The NFLSV's organizational structure was similar to the Viet Minh. At the top was an elected central committee and a presidium. The chairman of the presidium was Nguyen Huu Tho, a lawyer who had been involved in resistance activities since the late 1940s, but who publicly downplayed his Communist ties. Similar committees existed at the provincial and district levels. At the heart of the NFLSV were grassroots organizations that appealed to specific constituencies such as peasants, workers, women, students, writers, and artists, as well as oppressed ethnic and religious groups.

Local associations served as the initial contact points between the Front hierarchy and the common people and provided a means for channeling local aspirations into support for the programs of the movement. Talented and dedicated members of such organizations were then enlisted into upper levels of the NFLSV, PLAF and/or the People's Revolutionary Party, a southern branch of the VWP. During the 1960s, the NFLSV became the focus for the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, with membership reportedly in the millions.

The reality was that the NFLSV was a classic Communist front organization comprised of Communists and non-Communists. Its primary purpose was to mobilize the anti-Diem forces in South Vietnam. Like the Viet Minh before them, NFLSV leaders made temporary alliances with any southern group who opposed US intervention and the Saigon regime.

The NFLSV's attacks on the Diem government concerned Saigon and Washington. From the birth of NFLSV, Washington policy makers claimed that Hanoi alone directed the armed struggle in South Vietnam. Key members of both President John F. Kennedy's (1961–1963) and Lyndon Baines Johnson's (1963–1969) administrations argued that the flow of troops and supplies from the north to the PLAF kept the revolution alive. This became the official basis for US involvement in the conflict and provided its justification. Even under the administration of Richard M. Nixon (1969–1974), US foreign policy focused on efforts to stop this “externally supported

insurgency” by interdicting the flow of men and materials.

Especially in the 1960s, US officials believed South Vietnam could be stabilized if they could prevent the North from re-supplying their NFLSV and PLAF “puppets.” Those who opposed US intervention argued on the other hand that the insurgency was essentially a civil war. They suggested that the NFLSV was a southern organization that had risen out of southern initiatives responding to southern demands. The complicated part of the NFLSV is that this was partly true. Indeed, most southern members of the NFLSV and PLAF believed this to be true.

PLAF attacks against US Army installations at Pleiku and Quy Nhon in February 1965 convinced the Johnson administration that they had to stop the infiltration of soldiers and supplies. It was impossible, they concluded, to build a stable government in Saigon while the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and its Communist supporters waged a war of aggression. Johnson therefore ordered retaliatory air attacks on North Vietnamese targets, thus leading to *Operation Rolling Thunder*, the sustained bombing campaign of 1965–1968. US ground operations also changed when Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), General William C. Westmoreland requested two US Marine battalions to protect Da Nang Air Base. Johnson approved the General's request, sending the first major contingency of US ground troops to Vietnam in March 1965.

Soon, US troops began “search and destroy” operations designed to interdict supplies and destroy PLAF and PAVN forces. Westmoreland hoped he could inflict higher casualties on enemy forces than they could replace. Theoretically, this would diminish Communist will and lead to a negotiated settlement.

The NFLSV reached its pinnacle of power during the Tet Offensive of 1968 when Communist forces launched coordinated attacks against nearly every major urban center in South Vietnam. Although they suffered heavy military losses, according to most experts the NFLSV gained a great psychological victory. The Front had demonstrated its ability to attack heavily guarded cities, long thought to be safe havens. The PLAF attack on the US Embassy in Saigon had a great impact on policy makers in Washington. Many longtime supporters began to question the optimistic predictions of Johnson's administration. This led to Johnson's decision not to run for re-election. As Tet died down, talks opened in Paris and the NFLSV sent its own representatives, Nguyen Thi Binh and Tran Buu Kiem, to the conference.

In 1969, the NFLSV oversaw the creation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), which hoped to come to full power in the South

after the war ended. It was designed to be a legal counterpart to the government in Saigon. As the war dragged on, regular northern forces played a growing role in the Communists' southern strategy. Eventually, this created tensions between the NFLSV and leaders in Hanoi. The NFLSV suffered heavy losses during the final years of war. In December 1976, over a year and a half after the fall of Saigon, to the dismay of many NFLSV members, it was merged into the Fatherland Front, while only a handful of its officials were incorporated into the new national government.

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## NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (ELN) (COLOMBIA)

The National Liberation Army (*Ejército de Liberación Nacional*, ELN) is one of three irregular forces in Colombia listed by the US State Department as terrorist organizations, primarily for its frequent use of kidnapping and extortion. It has an estimated strength of some five thousand fighters, concentrated mostly in central and northern Colombia. Its ideology is nominally Marxist-Leninist.

The ELN, like most of Colombia's guerrilla groups, can trace its origins to the period known as *La Violencia*, which began in 1948 and formally ended with the restoration of democracy in 1958. And like the country's other groups, the ELN was founded, in part, by Liberals and other guerrillas who refused to lay down their arms at the close of hostilities. It also incorporated disaffected members of the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (MRL), which was disbanded in 1964, and radical students who had traveled to Cuba in 1962 for training in Ché Guevara's *foquismo* tactics. The latter held that guerrilla groups would serve as the seeds of insurrection in Latin America, rallying peasants to their cause and waging war from the countryside.

The ELN burst upon the scene with an attack on the town of Simocota in the northern department

of Santander in July 1964. While the attack failed, its audacity attracted the attention of radical Roman Catholic priest Camilo Torres and his group, United Front. Torres joined forces with the ELN but was killed in an armed action in 1967. The ELN's early base of support was among the petroleum workers of the Middle Magdalena region and one of its historic causes has been to protect Colombian oil from foreign exploitation. But the ELN—and other guerrilla groups—assumed incorrectly that Colombia was in a pre-revolutionary state and its actions were designed with a fairly rapid victory in mind. This belief led to disastrous results and the group was nearly annihilated by the Colombian military in 1973.

But the group survived under the leadership of Spanish-born priest Manuel Pérez, weathering the authoritarian presidency of Julio César Turbay (1978–1982), resisting efforts to sign a cease-fire in 1984, and becoming known as a single-issue movement due to its persistent calls for the nationalization of the country's petroleum industry, all the while blowing up sections of the main pipeline and kidnapping prominent oil company officials. In the late 1980s, it joined forces with the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, FARC) to form the National Guerrilla Coordinator (CNG). The latter negotiated with the government of President César Gaviria in 1991 and 1992 but failed to reach another cease-fire. While the CNG continues to exist nominally, the ELN is largely independent of the larger FARC. Tensions arose when the FARC signed a cease-fire with President Andrés Pastrana that included the concession of a sizeable tract of land in the Colombian Llanos, to the southeast of Bogotá. At the time, the ELN insisted on receiving its own "zone" in the Middle Magdalena region, which Pastrana refused. Negotiations, which have become few and far between, are now carried out on a one-to-one basis between the ELN and the government.

Over the course of the 1990s, the ELN became known for a number of daring mass kidnappings, the most infamous of which took place in a suburb of Cali in 1999. A total of 143 people were abducted from a church in an affluent neighborhood but all but thirty-six were soon released. Another hijacking involved a Venezuelan commercial airliner. In recent years, though, the kidnappings and other activities have decreased and the ELN has stated a willingness to negotiate concerning three major issues: national sovereignty, drug trafficking, and petroleum. Informal talks have occurred outside of Colombia so far but no real progress has been achieved.

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**See also Colombia; Guerrilla Warfare; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC); Terrorism**

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## NATURAL DISASTERS

On December 26, 2004, a massive earthquake shook the Indian Ocean floor off the coast of the Indonesian island of Sumatra. Thousands of residents of Aceh Province, on the northern tip of the island, died in the initial temblor. Within minutes, a series of massive tsunamis struck the coastline, killing thousands more.

The waves raced across the Indian Ocean basin, transmitting death and destruction to destinations as disparate as Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, and Somalia. More than 250,000 perished. The Sumatran earthquake tragedy illustrated many factors, both natural and man-made, that make developing nations especially vulnerable to natural disasters.

The developed world is not immune to natural disasters. The Atlantic and Gulf coasts of the United States are especially vulnerable to hurricanes. Tornadoes may rip through the cities of the Great Plains. Fires are a bane to the residents of California. Active volcanoes, earthquakes, and tsunamis are threats all along the Pacific Rim, even to the thriving metropolises along the West Coast of the United States and in Japan.

Even though the developed world is not immune to natural disasters, a number of factors combine to make developing nations especially vulnerable. Among them are factors that cannot be controlled—that is, geography—coupled with human factors such as a lack of monitoring and forecasting resources, communications networks, transportation networks, emergency preparedness (and training), public health infrastructure, or basic civil services (such as adequate food and water supplies).

Natural disasters can inflict a heavy toll on populations in the areas affected, even in developed nations with adequate resources and planning. But the

magnitude of suffering in the aftermath of a disaster can be magnified in regions caught unprepared.

## Natural Hazard Versus Natural Disaster

A natural hazard is some natural phenomenon that may harm humans. A natural disaster is some destructive event—caused by a natural hazard—that affects many people over a widespread area.

Natural hazards come in basically two types: climatic hazards and geologic hazards. Climatic hazards include hurricanes, winter storms, droughts, floods, thunderstorms, and tornadoes. The rate and intensity of climatic hazards may be influenced by normal climatic cycles, such as the El Niño/Southern Oscillation (ENSO), or by global climate change. Geologic hazards include earthquakes, volcanoes, tsunamis, and mass movements (landslides and avalanches). Climate, geology, and human activities often interact to enhance or mitigate an impending natural disaster.

## Climatic Hazards

### *Tropical Cyclones*

Tropical cyclones have a variety of names including hurricanes and typhoons, and are massive storms with maximum sustained surface winds of at least 74 mph (120 km/hr) that bring thunderstorms with heavy rain, intense winds—including tornadoes—and storm surges and other flooding to affected areas. The storms cover wide swaths of the Earth's surface, averaging 350 miles (600 kilometers) in diameter, and are characterized by spiral circulation—counterclockwise in the Northern Hemisphere, clockwise in the Southern Hemisphere—with low central atmospheric pressures.

The center of a tropical cyclone is likewise characterized by an eye, an area of clear skies and calm conditions surrounded by a bank of clouds—the eye wall—beyond which the storm rages. The storms, fueled by high temperatures and massive amounts of water, typically originate over tropical waters in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific oceans. Tropical cyclones are also powerful—one storm can expend as much energy as the average amount of electricity consumed each year in the United States and Canada.

The largest tropical cyclones have sustained winds as high as 190 mph (305 km/h). As the winds blow, they drive the water at the surface of the ocean ahead of them to produce a wall of water called the storm

surge—the height of which can be increased depending on whether the storm makes landfall at high tide as opposed to low tide. Tropical cyclones thus pack a lethal wallop of wind and water that can weave a path of destruction over large regions.

The most active ocean is the Pacific. By virtue of its size—it is the largest of the ocean basins—the storms have wide expanses of warm tropical waters to fuel their development and plenty of room to roam to increase in size. Pacific storms lash the Asian mainland, including Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines; Australia and Oceania; and the West Coast of the Americas.

The Atlantic Ocean is the second largest of the world's oceans. Hurricanes that form in the Atlantic (including the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea) affect North and Central America, the Bahamas, the Caribbean Islands, and northern South America.

While the Indian Ocean is the third-largest ocean, it has the unfortunate distinction of having the deadliest tropical cyclones. Indian Ocean cyclones can strike anywhere from Africa eastward to Indonesia and Australia. The Bay of Bengal is most vulnerable to cyclones. Bangladesh, most of which lies within the Ganges Delta, is very low lying and prone to severe flooding—even without a massive storm surge and accompanying rainfall.

The deadliest hurricane in recent memory was the Bhola Cyclone, which slammed into Bangladesh (at the time known as East Pakistan) with 120-mph (190 km/h) winds and a storm surge on top of an exceptionally high tide on the night of November 12–13, 1970. The official death toll was put at 150,000—with 100,000 missing. Some estimates, however, put the number of deaths at half a million. Approximately 139,000 died in another cyclone in Bangladesh on April 29, 1991.

Two of the deadliest typhoons in the Pacific Basin struck China early in the twentieth century. An August 1922 typhoon killed sixty thousand. Ten years earlier, in August 1912, a storm killed fifty thousand. In the Atlantic, the Great Hurricane of 1780 killed more than twenty thousand in the Antilles. Hurricane Mitch stalked the Caribbean and Central America between October 22, 1998, and November 5, 1998, killing about eleven thousand.

### *Droughts*

Arid climates occupy a large portion of the Earth's surface—especially in the subtropics as well as in continental areas far away from large bodies of water. A prolonged dry spell in an area that receives a small amount of rain every few months or years thus is not a drought—it is normal.

Droughts occur instead when a region gets less precipitation than it normally receives in a given season. This typically happens in areas under the periodic influence of subtropical or continental highs. High-pressure cells are characterized by subsiding air, which warms and essentially dries out as it descends toward the Earth's surface.

Below-average precipitation in a region may have a host of adverse effects on the local population, from disrupting water supplies, to crop failures, to an increase in fire frequency. Droughts typically have the greatest effect on human societies in semiarid grasslands and savannas where some of the range has been converted to cropland and pastureland. Prolonged droughts can accelerate deforestation, which in turn can lead to increased soil erosion—thus ironically increasing the potential for crop failure—when the rains return.

Possibly the worst drought-related famine in history occurred in China in 1907 where 24 million are believed to have died. China has had three other droughts in the twentieth century that claimed 3 million or more victims. The Sahel region of Africa, along the southern border of the Sahara, has been through periodic waves of drought and famine in which hundreds of thousands have died. The last big Sahel drought was in 1984–1985.

### *Fires*

Fire is often associated with drought, as natural vegetation dries out from lack of rain, thus becoming tinder awaiting a suitable spark. Fire is a common natural disturbance in tropical savannas and other grassland environments, and is often necessary for maintenance of the health of those environments, thus it rarely rises to the level of a natural disaster in the more arid portions of the developing world. But fires can be devastating in tropical forests.

Borneo—the island shared among Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Sultanate of Brunei—was hard hit by destructive fire outbreaks in the 1980s and 1990s. While few human lives were lost, large swaths of tropical rainforest were destroyed on the island. Forests that survive the flames are often left more vulnerable to human exploitation. The cumulative effects have rendered much of Borneo's spectacular animal life—including a number of threatened and endangered species—homeless.

### *Floods*

Floods are caused by a number of factors. Coastal flooding is usually related to weather systems (such as

tropical cyclones, above) or to tsunamis (see below). Flooding is often seasonal, triggered by monsoon rains or spring snowmelt. Since the earliest human settlements were typically along bodies of water—water being essential for life—floods are one of the oldest and most frequent natural disasters referred to in the historical record.

Flooding is an especially significant problem in monsoon climates, such as that of South and East Asia. In these types of climates, the prevailing winds originate from the interior of a continent—and thus are relatively dry—during part of the year. The winds originate from the oceans—and thus have high water content—the remainder of the year. In extreme cases, an area with a monsoon climate can have no rain for several months, then receive several feet (more than a meter) of rain during the monsoon months. Mountain ranges, such as the Himalayas, can enhance the effect of monsoons, forcing wet air masses to rise, cool, and unload more moisture than they would otherwise do over flat terrain.

Some of the worst non-tropical cyclone-related floods in history have occurred in China and Southeast Asia. For example, the Yangtze River escaped its banks in July and August of 1931, leaving 3.7 million dead from drowning, starvation, and disease. More than 51 million people were affected.

In nearby Vietnam, flooding in the Red River Delta killed more than one hundred thousand in August 1931. One of the heaviest monsoons in the twentieth century flooded three-fourths of Bangladesh. Only about 1,300 died, but about 30 million were left homeless.

Flooding can be a problem even in arid climates. A storm system over Iran in 1954 produced heavy rains and flooding that claimed one thousand casualties.

### ***Other Climatic Hazards***

Winter storms and tornadoes mainly affect the developed world, with winter storms primarily affecting the temperature latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere—Asia, Europe, and North America. The United States has more tornadoes by far than any other nation in the world. Nevertheless, both types of storms can be problematic in developed nations.

Winter weather can strike alpine areas anywhere—even in the tropics. A blizzard that struck Iran in 1972 killed more than four thousand people. Tornadoes and waterspouts may appear anywhere that large thunderstorms are generated, such as the thunderstorms spun off of tropical cyclones. Bangladesh has been hit by several killer tornadoes. On the night of February 19–20, 2005, a tornado capsized a ferry boat near Dhaka—the capital of Bangladesh—and killed more than one hundred passengers and crew.

### ***El Niño/Southern Oscillation (ENSO)***

The Southern Oscillation is a cyclical reversal of the distribution of warm and cold waters in the equatorial Pacific Ocean. Normally, cold surface waters prevail in the Eastern Pacific off the coast of South America, while warm surface waters prevail in the Western Pacific in the neighborhood of the Malay Archipelago. ENSO events can disrupt oceanic currents in the Pacific Ocean as well as atmospheric circulation patterns globally.

During an El Niño, warm surface waters are located in the Eastern Pacific and cold surface waters in the west, causing significant climate disruptions: Below-average precipitation in the Malay Archipelago and Southeast Asia may cause devastating droughts and fires, as described above. In the Americas, unusually high rainfall and storm activity in the areas along the Pacific Coast can lead to coastal erosion, landslides, and other natural disasters.

## **Geologic Hazards**

### ***Earthquakes***

Earthquakes typically occur along boundaries between large segments of the Earth's crust known as tectonic plates. The plates move apart from one another along divergent margins or rift valleys, collide into one another along convergent margins, or slide past one another along transform faults. The vast majority of earthquakes are associated with these three types of plate boundaries.

The most devastating earthquakes occur along convergent margins, but large earthquakes can occur along transform faults as well. The December 26, 2004, earthquake and tsunami in the Indian Ocean occurred along a convergent margin where the dense oceanic crust of the Indian plate is forced under the less dense continental crust of the Burma plate. The largest earthquake on record, a magnitude 9.5 (Richter Scale) temblor in Chile on May 22, 1960, also occurred at a convergent margin where the Pacific plate is forced under the South American plate.

The Pacific Ocean's "Ring of Fire" is in fact lined with convergent margins. Ten of the largest eleven earthquakes since 1900—including the two earthquakes mentioned above—have occurred along the Ring of Fire. Most have occurred in the North Pacific region—three in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, two in Siberia's Kamchatka Peninsula, and one in the Kuril Islands north of Japan; two in or near South America (Chile, above, and off the coast of Ecuador);



and two in Indonesia (the December 26, 2004, earthquake off Sumatra and another in the Banda Sea).

The deadliest earthquakes in history have occurred along convergent margins where two continental plates collide. The mountain belt stretching from Western Asia to Eastern Asia—which includes the Himalayas—is raised by the collision of the Indian plate with the Eurasian plate. The situation is further complicated to the east with the collision of the Eurasian and Pacific plates. The collisions also generate faults where the crust is fractured and blocks slide past one another, even further clouding matters.

The other member of the top eleven earthquakes list struck Tibet and India's Assam Province on August 15, 1950. Between twenty thousand and thirty thousand were killed. But magnitude isn't always correlated with death toll. Less powerful quakes may produce far higher death tolls. For example, the deadliest earthquake in history, a January 23, 1556, temblor that struck Shansi Province in China, is estimated to have killed more than eight hundred thousand.

China has had at least four other earthquakes that have killed more than one hundred thousand: a July 27, 1976, quake in Tangshan that killed 255,000 (officially; but other estimates place the death toll as high as 655,000); one on December 16, 1920, in Gansu that killed two hundred thousand; another on May 22, 1927, in Xining that killed two hundred thousand; and a September 1290 earthquake in Chihli that killed one hundred thousand. Iran, where the Arabian and Eurasian plates collide, has had its share of deadly quakes: one on December 22, 856, in Damghan in which 230,000 died; and another on March 23, 893, in Ardabil in which 150,000 died. In what is now Turkmenistan, 110,000 died in a temblor on October 5, 1948.

One of the deadliest earthquakes in history, however, occurred on August 9, 1138, along a transform fault—the Dead Sea Transform, which marks the boundary between the Arabian and African plates. More than 230,000 were killed. One of the most active and deadly earthquakes zones in recent history is along another transform fault—the North Anatolian Fault—that runs from northern Turkey across the Aegean Sea into Greece. The North Anatolian Fault marks the boundary between the Anatolian and Eurasian plates. An earthquake near Izmit, Turkey, on August 17, 1999, killed more than seventeen thousand.

### *Volcanoes*

Volcanic activity is also driven by tectonic processes. The most violent volcanoes are located near convergent margins, where plate collisions generate heat and

where slabs of crust are forced deep into a molten layer called the mantle. As the affected rocks melt, the magma formed from the melting rises, fueling eruptions at the surface.

Extensive volcanic activity along the Pacific Rim led to the name commonly given to the region—the Ring of Fire. Most deaths from volcanic eruptions arise from famine, tsunamis, ash flows or falls, or mudflows. Because volcanic soils are often very fertile, human populations encroach upon the slopes of volcanoes, and thus are at significant risk.

The two deadliest volcanic eruptions in history occurred in what is now Indonesia. Tambora, on the island of Sumbawa, erupted on April 10, 1815, in one of the largest explosions in history. Tambora blasted fifty cubic kilometers (about eleven cubic miles) of material as high as forty-three kilometers (twenty-six miles) above the Earth's surface. The eruption had global effects, as ash blocked incoming sunlight and dropped global temperatures an average of 1°C (1.8°F).

More than ninety thousand residents of Sumbawa and nearby islands died—about ten thousand directly from the eruption, the rest as a result of famine and disease. Because of the climatic effects—the following year, 1816, was known as the “year without a summer” in the Northern Hemisphere as well as some parts of the Southern Hemisphere—the eruption may have triggered disease outbreaks and famines that killed tens of thousands as far away as the British Isles. (The weather was so gloomy in Europe that it may have helped inspire Mary Shelley to write “Frankenstein.”) Tambora's eruption may even have contributed to the biggest cholera pandemic of the nineteenth century.

On August 26–27, 1883, Krakatau (or Krakatoa), a volcano in the Sunda Strait just west of Java in what is now Indonesia, began a series of cataclysmic eruptions that climaxed in the obliteration of two-thirds of the island. The eruption is arguably the most famous in history—save for possibly Vesuvius in 79 CE. It was the loudest blast in recorded history, heard 4,600 kilometers (2,900 miles) away—as far west as Rodriguez Island and Sri Lanka, and as far east as Australia. The volcano collapsed into the sea and generated a tsunami with waves as high as 40 meters (130 feet). The waves swept the Sunda Strait, killing thirty-six thousand in Java, neighboring Sumatra, and surrounding islands. The tsunami waves—measured as far away as the English Channel—swept around the world's oceans several times.

The third-deadliest eruption occurred in the Caribbean, on the island of Martinique. The main volcano on the island, Mount Pelée, erupted on May 8, 1902, and destroyed the city of St. Pierre with a *nuée ardente* (glowing cloud)—a glowing mass of ash and other particles that speeds downslope with the force

of a hurricane. Destruction of St. Pierre was total—twenty-nine thousand died. There were only two survivors of the blast: a shoemaker named Léon Compere-Léandre and a man named Louis-Auguste Cyparis, who was a prisoner incarcerated in the city's dungeon. Cyparis was badly burned, but the building—with only one small opening above the door—protected him from the worst. He was rescued four days later.

In addition to explosions and clouds of hot gas, volcanoes can be just as deadly with mud and water. Nevada del Ruiz, a glacier-capped volcano in the Andes Mountains near Bogota, Colombia, erupted on the night of November 13, 1985. The onrush of hot ash and debris rapidly melted the ice and snow at the summit, triggering lahars—debris flows—that tore down canyons lining the mountain and picked up more debris as they went. A town at the base of the mountain, Armero, lay in an area that had twice been destroyed by similar debris flows in the previous four hundred years. Despite the fact that town officials knew the town lay on a particularly hazardous site, preparations for prompt evacuation in the event of another eruption were inadequate. More than twenty-three thousand died when a lahar destroyed the town.

Volcanoes loom over many cities in the developing world—Bogota, Colombia; Goma, Democratic Republic of the Congo; Jakarta, Indonesia; Manila, Philippines; Mexico City, Mexico; and San Salvador, El Salvador, for example. Some of the largest, such as Manila and Mexico City, because of rapid growth coupled with underdeveloped infrastructure, may be unable to adequately respond to volcano hazards.

### *Other Hazards*

Tsunamis are devastating waves generated by earthquakes or volcanic eruptions, and thus have been discussed above. Mass movements are smaller-scale events that, as part of a larger event, may cause large numbers of casualties—such as in the lahar that destroyed Armero, Colombia, following the eruption of Nevada del Ruiz, or in the landslides and mudslides that caused most of the casualties in Central America during Hurricane Mitch.

### **Disaster Preparedness**

As illustrated in the disaster that swept the Indian Ocean basin following the earthquake and tsunami on December 26, 2004, developing nations face a number of challenges in adequately preparing for natural disasters.

First, many lack the resources to devote to monitoring and forecasting natural hazards. For example, observatories monitor earthquake activity in the Pacific basin. When an earthquake occurs, warnings are issued to nations lining the Pacific Rim if the tsunami risk is judged to be high enough. The warnings have been effective in reducing the number of casualties from tsunamis in the Pacific. However, the nations lining the Indian Ocean, facing a number of other pressing problems, had not judged the risk of deadly tsunamis high enough to warrant the implementation of a tsunami warning system in that basin—the last significant tsunami had followed the 1883 eruption of Krakatau, more than 120 years before the 2004 disaster. Several nations are now preparing to implement a warning system.

Second, officials in many developing nations lack the personnel and training needed to respond quickly to an emergency. In the case of the Sumatra earthquake, scientists elsewhere noted the risk of a tsunami, but had no officials to call in the affected nations to warn of the impending disaster. Even as the tsunami swept away from Sumatra, officials within the affected region failed to notify their colleagues to begin evacuating people at risk along the coast. Even if officials had notified one another, there is no guarantee that they could have reached enough of the at-risk populations with warnings, as communication networks are sketchy in parts of the affected region.

Third, many developing nations lack adequate transportation networks to mount effective evacuations from at-risk areas (this problem is not restricted to developing nations, however). Many people fled on foot in the face of the tsunami waves crashing onto the shore throughout the area affected by the December 26, 2004, disaster. Even boat traffic was disrupted in some areas close to shore. But some nations have improved emergency procedures substantially following devastating events. Bangladesh, where hundreds of thousands have died in the past century following floods and tropical cyclones, has improved evacuation procedures and shelter facilities. Death tolls from more recent floods and tropical cyclones have been considerably reduced as a result.

Fourth, in developing nations where basic civil services are underdeveloped, a disaster such as the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami can have long-lasting effects on the survivors. Contaminated water supplies can trigger outbreaks of diseases like cholera. Interrupted food supplies can trigger famines. Public health facilities can be overwhelmed by the initial casualties of the disaster. As people fall ill due to inadequate food or fresh water, and as interrupted transportation and communication networks prevent re-supply and/or reconstruction of health

facilities, public health networks may collapse, adding to the casualty figures following a disaster. Improved medical care in many of the nations affected by the December 26, 2004 disaster, coupled with a swift international response, appears (at press time) to have staved off the type of epidemic that many experts initially feared would follow.

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**See also Deforestation; Desertification; Disaster Relief; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Erosion, Land; Global Climate Change; Infectious Diseases; Irrigation; Rain Forest, Destruction of; Urbanization: Impact on Environment; Water Resources and Distribution; Wildlife Preservation; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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**NDI, NI JOHN FRU**

Ni John Fru Ndi (b. 1941), the chairman of Cameroon's Social Democratic Front (SDF), was born in Baba II in the North-West Province. He attended the Basel Mission and Native Authority primary schools before proceeding to the Lagos City College in Nigeria. Entering the labor market early, he worked with the West Coast Fisheries and as a traffic officer at Ikeja Airport (Nigeria) between 1957 and 1960. Thereafter he served as the assistant manager of Eastwood and Chaples Company in Lagos and as director

of Sameday Cleaners in Ibadan (Nigeria). He returned to Cameroon in 1966 and became a hawker of fresh vegetables and eventually started the Bahemo Vegetable Society. Following a six-month training course in bookselling with the British Council in Britain, he opened the EBIBI Book Center in Bamenda. He has been the chairman of the Social Democratic Front (SDF), the main opposition party in Cameroon since its formation in 1990. His social ascendancy was fostered when he served as president of an elite division football club, the PWD, between 1979 and 1988, and president of the Lions International Club (Bamenda branch) between 1987 and 1988.

Endowed with this capital, he ran for Parliament for Mezam Central on the "khaki" list for the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) in 1988 and lost. That these elections were rigged in favor of the "white" list is evidence of the reticence of the ruling oligarchy. A commitment to promoting transparency and the rule of law caused Ndi and others to form the SDF, which was launched in May 1990 at a historical juncture when fear was the only mode of consciousness. Because of the police rule of law, six people were killed at the launch of this party. This thrust Ndi into national prominence and his popularity grew in the face of his defiance of the authoritarian regime and an unflinching decision to "live with the truth." Fondly referred to as "Pa" or "the Chairman," he contributed enormously to enriching Cameroon's protest repertoire with obtrusive modes of protest. Prominent among these was the ghost town operation (*villes mortes*), a form of civil disobedience that brought the country to a complete halt in an attempt to force the government to introduce democratic reforms. That the opposition in most other African countries adopted these modes of protest shows that it is constituted of people who believe themselves to be mobile. Staying the course, unlike most Cameroonian opposition leaders who joined the government with a view to practicing the "politics of the belly," further helped to enhance his stature. He is seen as having paranormal powers because he has survived several government attempts to kill him.

As candidate of the Union for Change, a group of opposition parties, he supposedly won the March 1992 presidential elections that were flawed. And since the Supreme Court, while acknowledging this, still declared Paul Biya the winner, Ndi was for a long time considered the legitimate president. It is with a view to ending this apparent bicephalism and curbing post-electoral violence that the government declared a state of emergency in the North-West Province and placed him under house arrest. This decision brought the women back into the public sphere as it resuscitated the *takembeng*: Consisting mostly of

old women, dubbed the “Amazons of the SDF,” they successfully built a defense perimeter around Ndi’s house, thereby preventing him from being arrested by the police force. This signaled an engendering of the struggle for democratic change and the fact that old modes of protest can be used successfully to confront new modes of violence.

Unlike most other Cameroonian politicians, Ndi has remained connected to the people and has resorted to the use of unobtrusive modes of protest. He led cleanup campaigns in towns where the SDF had won the 1997 municipal elections, defended the interests of hawkers who abound in the informal sector, and has been in the forefront in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Cameroon. In short, he has been involved in confidence-building measures needed to revalorize a population whose productive capacities have witnessed a free fall, and is not willing to consign its future to a government that suffers from a legitimacy deficit. Believing in a politics of inclusion, he has been involved in Gandhi-like treks to inaccessible places, which have not known the state except for its extractive capabilities, around the country. This overwhelming presence in the public sphere has caused his house to be dubbed as the “Ntarikon palace.”

To foster the probability of alterations in the October 2004 elections, he joined other opposition parties to form the National Council for Reconciliation and Reconstruction (NCRR). He was not chosen as its standard bearer and decided to go it alone. Criticism of this decision by some voices in the opposition and civil society showed that his popularity, though not depleted, had waned. In the elections that the SDF and some independent observers considered rigged, Ndi came in second to Paul Biya with 17%. To a large extent, he is still considered an emblematic figure to the powerless whom he has helped to empower.

NANTANG JUA

**See also Cameroon**

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### NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), also addressed later on as *Pandit* (a learned person), was raised in an affluent upper-caste family in India. His father was a lawyer, a leader of the Indian liberation movement, and a major influence on Nehru. Nehru got his degree at Cambridge and studied law in London. He returned to India in 1912 and started his law career. In 1916, he met Gandhi, whose name had already become famous in India because of his successful political victories in South Africa. Gandhi became an ally, a political mentor, and a father figure.

In 1929, while Nehru was the president of the Congress Party (Indian National Congress), the resolution for full independence of India was passed. He was elected president of the party six times and became the most important figure in the Indian liberation movement, next only to Gandhi. He was imprisoned nine times in all, for a total of more than nine years, and wrote extensively while in prison.

Elections were held in 1937 all over India and the Congress Party swept the legislative seats. The Congress Party passed the “Quit India” resolution in August 1942. The British agreed to give independence to India, provided the Congress Party work out a solution with the Muslim League party representing the Muslim minority in India and resolve their differences. From 1946 Nehru served as prime minister in the interim government with Lord Mountbatten as the governor general.

India gained freedom in 1947. Nehru had assumed the office of India’s first prime minister in the interim government in 1946 and continued to serve in that position. Nehru resumed his positions as prime minister and minister of external affairs after the Congress Party won the elections in 1950. He continued with his platform of industrialization and socialization of industry and commerce.

The policy of the British government, often described as “divide and rule,” succeeded in developing animosity among the different religious groups and castes in India. Though he was against the partitioning of India, the riots in India in the months prior to independence convinced Nehru that it was necessary in order to avert a possible civil war. The partition resulted in mass migration of more than 10 million people and a loss of more than two hundred thousand lives in India and Pakistan.

Nehru’s vision was the attainment of national independence first and foremost. In addition, it also included a secular democratic government, economic and social development, social reforms, nonalignment of the third-world countries, and international peace. After Gandhi’s assassination in 1948, Nehru carried

on as leader of the country. He wanted to modernize India through government-owned, large-scale projects such as the construction of steel mills and the building of dams for irrigation and electricity. He had to seek capital for these developments from outside the country, especially from the Soviet Union. More than six hundred independent princely states were brought under the rule of the Indian government during his administration. Nehru also strongly encouraged the development of science and technology, and the establishment of the atomic energy commission and now-famous technological institutes. Throughout his career he tried to improve the social and economic situation of minorities, including women, untouchables, Muslims, and the agrarian rural poor, but only succeeded partially. He was also a believer in a secular parliamentary form of democracy. He also believed in socialism, though he was aware of the drawbacks of the system.

Nehru straddled both the Indian and Western worlds and was an internationalist at heart. Nehru, the best-known politician to emerge from any colonial country, exerted an influence on the world scene far beyond India. He participated in the Bandung conference in 1955 as one of the major leaders of the Third World nonalignment movement along with Nasser of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia. His doctrine of *Panchsheel* or *Panchshila* (five principles) of peaceful co-existence and non-aggression was endorsed by China and adopted with modifications at the Bandung conference. He set an example for many developing countries by agreeing to join the British Commonwealth, with India participating as an independent nation.

On the other hand, Nehru has also been described as indecisive and vacillating. He was not always firm or practical in his policies and actions, and was not keenly interested in day-to-day administration. In spite of his knowledge of the international scene, he was quite naive in his implicit trust of other countries. For example, in 1962, India was caught unprepared when the Chinese attacked occupied parts of the country. This was perhaps the most severe blow to his foreign policy and personal reputation as a leader, as Nehru had championed the entry of China into the United Nations. Many leaders in the Western countries thought that the Indian policy of non-violence and nonalignment was hypocritical in view of the police action India initiated against Goa, a Portuguese territory in India.

Nehru's tenure as a prime minister has been criticized by many Indians because of the resultant slack in economic growth. He has also been blamed for the unresolved Kashmir problem. The country is still riddled with communalism and casteism in spite of

the official policy of secularism. India has developed atomic weapons though it is in favor of world peace.

Nehru died after his last stroke in 1964, but many of his visions for India's future still live. India, for example, is still the largest functioning democracy in the world. A political dynasty was another unintended legacy of Nehru. His daughter, Indira Gandhi, and his grandson Rajiv Gandhi have both served as prime ministers of India.

SUBHASH R. SONNAD

**See also Gandhi, Indira; Gandhi, Mohandas; Gandhi, Rajiv; India; Indian–Pakistani Wars; Kashmir Dispute; Nonaligned Movement; Pakistan**

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## NEOCOLONIALISM

As a term, colonialism has been explained as the policy of a nation seeking to extend or retain its authority over other peoples or territories of another nation. In this regard and on the basis of its core meaning, neocolonialism—or “new” colonialism—is the desire to continue the same policies of the colonial powers by a new set of administrators trained and educated by the colonialists, long after they have quit the region.

In other words, neocolonialism is the continuation and retention of the same policies and permanent interests of the colonialists along with the method of control that originated and was implemented during colonial rule. In addition, this is continued with the same zest and dedication by the subalterns. Simply put, neocolonialism has been defined by the *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary* as “the policy of a strong nation in seeking political and economic hegemony over an independent nation or extended geographical area without necessarily reducing the subordinate nation or area to the legal status of a colony.”

With this in mind, the agents of “neocolonialism” provide a justification for the marginalization of the natives' heritage in their educational system and replace it with colonial norms and method of control.

Neocolonialism continues to oppress the native people. It distorts, disfigures, and destroys the country's connection with its past and its history along with its language and its ties to the native soil. Thus, neocolonialism is a process by which old colonial policies are culturally constructed and ideologically loaded by recreated historical information that is shaped to benefit the sociopolitical and socioeconomic mold designed to allow the colonial philosophy and mission to flourish that were laid down at the time of colonization. Interestingly enough, this newly constructed mission statement is hammered down and implemented by the so-called cadre in the civil servants established and encouraged from among the native population to promote the grand design and methods of the colonialists.

Neocolonialism in its initial task makes sure to sustain and keep the focus on the destruction of the people, the land, their history, and national heritage, prior to colonial times, and rewrites the glories of pre-colonial days by replacing them with its so-called "achievements" in the colonial era. Therefore, the past and its heritage is labeled as a hindrance to progress and for its basic nature is weeded out as an age of ignorance. In such an environment the seeds of Macaulayism championed by Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) were sowed in earnest during English India. Macaulay was a British essayist and historian who worked in India from 1834–1838 laying the foundation of English rule in South Asia. With this vision, he looked forward to leaving a permanent impact and a set of teeth in the manner that colonialism will continue to thrive and function as machinery long after the mother country has left the landscape. Thus, in order to understand the true nature of the idea behind the creation of "neocolonialism," we need to study the philosophy and the vision of Macaulayism in its details.

Lord Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education" and its total political support by Lord William Bentinck, the then-Governor General of Bengal, was stated in these words: "I give my entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in this Minute." In fact, "Macaulayism" became the official policy of British rule in India and it contained the recipe of what came to be known as "neocolonialism."

As the president of the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal in 1834, Macaulay declared that "a single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" (Anderson 1991). Furthermore, John Clive reported that Macaulay proposed that an immediate halt be put upon the printing of Arabic and Sanskrit books. Macaulay sought to curb native civilization and culture at its very roots. He also recommended that both

Sanskrit College in Calcutta and the Madrassa should be closed down. Thus, instead of engrafting English to an already existing Arabic/Persian/Sanskrit foundation, Macaulay advocated total Anglicization by demanding complete substitution of native languages by English as a medium of instruction. Macaulay as an imperial agent was scheming to destroy native history and creating a space for neocolonialism as a matter of governance beyond the age of imperial rule in English India.

Macaulay believed, and wanted others to believe with him, that the West or the colonial Masters were not only superior to the natives in language and heritage, but will produce and enhance their lives more than their backward life styles and ways of thinking. In 1836, Macaulay outlined his plans for colonizing Bengal, wherein he intended "to turn idolaters 'not so much into Christians, as into people culturally English'" (Anderson 1991, p. 91). This is to say that Macaulayism is the mouthpiece of colonialism, and in this case, English colonialism. However, it must be noted that Macaulay did not recommend or envision neocolonialism for Ireland as he did for India. Needless to mention, the nineteenth-century Anglicists had already implemented in Ireland what he was trying to implement for English India. Interestingly enough, the "backwardness" of Ireland Macaulay blamed upon the Catholic Church and not the oppressive laws of colonialism. For him the natives in Ireland were responsible for their woes and hardships, not colonial England. Macaulay must have felt that it was the failure to implant "an English education" and the permission to allow a native administrative system that had kept the Irish people attached to their religion. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that unfortunately for the English policy, English education failed to transform both the Indians and the Irish people into nations that were "culturally English."

This is not to deny the creation and the existence of cultural elites in both these countries. Elites who have been transformed into what are called *Bhodro Lok* (gentlefolk) in South Asia and the ruling elites in Ireland; however, their influence was not strong enough to alter the lifestyle and overall condition of the natives in their respective nations. The formation of these people as the ruling bastion and the promotion of their idea of civil administration is what can be termed as "neocolonialism."

In India, "Macaulayism" or "neocolonialism" merely succeeded in creating a dent because of two reasons: (1) between the Indian War of Independence in 1857 and India's ultimate freedom in 1947, the British ruled for only ninety years; and (2) "Macaulayism" created such a siege mentality among Indian

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nationalist writers that they mostly wrote in their native languages.

Neocolonialism is an extended arm of the colonial powers, serving the interests of the colonies: be it England, France, or Germany (to name just a few). In the post-colonial era, other steps to carry the ball of colonialism were seen first in the formation of a federation of former colonies as was seen in Australia and New Zealand in 1931. Another form was seen in the construction and the promotion of camaraderie in the British Commonwealth of Nations after the demise of the British Empire as a sociopolitical power and economic entity because of the ultimate effects of the Second World War in 1945. Today, there are fifty-four former nations of the British Empire who have agreed to form the British Commonwealth. This is a group of nations and dependent territories that are united by a common allegiance to the British Crown. Only Ireland, it must be pointed out, refused to join the Commonwealth. Obviously, these nations are associated by their own choice of common social, political, and economic interests with the former power of colonial England. In all candor it can be acknowledged that the ruling forces in almost all these nations have been trained and educated by the colonial machine, and as stated earlier, formed the fabric of colonialism.

This entire notion of “neocolonialism” as a dominant force can be better understood by the speech of Frantz Fanon at the Congress of Black African Writers, in 1959, in which he said: “Colonial domination ... very soon manages to disrupt in spectacular fashion the cultural life of a conquered people. This cultural obliteration is made possible by ... expropriation, and by the systematic enslaving of men and women” (Fanon 1959).

This “systematic enslaving” of individuals that Fanon articulates refers to the continuation of mental slavery of the people of the so-called free and independent nations that were granted political freedom in the late 1940s.

In this regard it becomes crystal clear that Thomas Babington Macaulay’s firm belief in colonial “Eurocentric education” and its power of metamorphosis in eternally changing the mindset of the native peoples is finally proven true. The dream and desire of neocolonialism as to eradicate and replace that mindset with colonial doctrines become a harsh reality.

Neocolonialism is therefore, as Fanon concludes in his speech with reference to the colonial experience in Africa, the product of a national culture under colonial domination. According to Fanon, “a national culture under colonial domination is a contested culture whose destruction is sought in systematic fashion.... There is no taking of the offensive and no

redefining of relationships” (Fanon 1959). Colonial policies are continued by the natives as administrators because in this post-colonial phase even the indigenous people feel that the colonial policies are not only superior but they are the only road to progress.

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**See also Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies**

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## NEOLIBERALISM

Neoliberalism is one of the most polarizing terms in development. There are very strong feelings both for and against neoliberalism that cut across the spectrum of economic, political, and social issues by groups both in the developed and the developing world. Neoliberalism evokes such strong concerns because it most generally describes the controversial economic policies that countries have adopted across the globe. This set of policies is seen by some as the only possible avenue of economic development, and by others as a most exploitative and repressive set of policies.

Although neoliberalism is sometimes conflated with US foreign policy and fragile democracies in the developing world, neoliberalism is more accurately defined as a set of economic liberalization policies that are expected to lead to both economic efficiency and growth. Neoliberal reforms have often occurred in two stages. In the first stage, designed to control inflationary pressures and create accurate prices, government spending is cut and the money supply is reduced. In addition, the economy is opened up to foreign trade and investment. Tariffs and quotas on imports and taxes on exports are lowered or eliminated. Restrictions on the flow of investment are reduced or eliminated. In the second stage, state-owned enterprises are privatized, and regulations

and institutions regarding the market are developed, such as strengthening contract laws. Financial and fiscal reforms also are pursued, including the attempt to raise taxes and create stability within the banking system. In addition, the country starts to enter into international trade agreements to expand reciprocal access to free markets. Not surprisingly, this second stage of neoliberalism, which includes creating clear results such as unemployment from privatized companies and attempting to pass new tax legislation, have met with fierce resistance, both on a domestic and international level.

The origins of neoliberalism can be traced in large part to the writings of Friedrich Von Hayek and the group of University of Chicago economists, particularly Milton Friedman. The basic orientation of these economists is to point out the optimality of allowing markets to determine economic outcomes. In tandem with this aspect, they have a generally profound skepticism of any government intervention into national economies. However, unlike the classic “liberal” thought of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, neoliberal economists see that limited government intervention in order to ensure the smooth functioning of markets and to provide for “externalities” is necessary. Neoliberal thought thus generally sees the government’s role in economic terms as regulating markets, such as providing transparent price information, and ensuring the smooth functioning of commodities markets. Neoliberals concede that there are some areas, such as providing for national defense, in which the government must take the lead.

In the developing world, the neoliberal revolution really began in Chile in 1975, when “the Chicago Boys” became the primary government advisors. They shaped a new economic program in line with the education they received at the University of Chicago in the 1950s and 1960s on an exchange program. One of the main contributions of Chicago thinking was a new approach to fighting inflation, which had previously followed a more Keynesian type of analysis. When, in 1973, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) successfully raised world oil prices to four times what they had been, the international economy experienced a new situation of both economic recession and inflation (rising prices), called at the time “stagflation.” The Chicago line of thinking focused on inflation as the central obstacle to creating sustainable economic growth. In Chile, the policy prescriptions were carried out in the guise of a wide-ranging monetary policy-based “shock treatment” in 1975. While the program was successful in cutting inflation, it was accompanied by a severe recession and unemployment, a combination that continues to haunt neoliberal policies today.

By 1977, with inflation under control, the Chilean economy began to rebound. The Chicago Boys then introduced a broad-ranging program called the “Seven Modernizations.” The new modernizations moved beyond controlling government spending and tightening the money supply to embracing wide-scale privatizations and liberalization of trade and investment in Chile. These initiatives reduced tariffs and subsidies and taxes on investments so that foreign investors and exporters could have relatively open access to the Chilean economy. The new policies also weakened the labor code, and the government began a series of experiments in targeting social welfare spending to those most needy. The move toward reform of the pension system in the early 1980s in Chile, as well as the boom in new exports, made Chile a great “success story” of neoliberal policies that helped them spread throughout the developing world.

When oil prices rose again in 1979, the United States and the United Kingdom were hit especially hard by a new round of stagflation. The elections of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in 1980 to leadership of their respective countries brought the neoliberal “revolution” to the international arena. When the US Federal Reserve severely raised interest rates in 1982 to control inflation, the resulting liquidity shock was felt throughout the already reeling developing world. The US program to “whip” inflation fed directly into a very severe external debt crisis that continues to plague developing countries today. Some countries owe up to a third of their national annual production (GNP) in debt.

In the 1980s, with the United States and the United Kingdom at the forefront, the wider version of neoliberalism, including not just control of inflation, but also privatization, deregulation, and liberalization of investment and trade, became the dominant paradigm, or way of thinking, across the globe. With the debt crisis looming over them, developing countries had little choice but to cut back severely on government spending, open the economy to new investment, increase exports, and attempt to control runaway inflation. As a result, neoliberalism swept across the globe in the 1980s, leading Francis Fukuyama to coin the 1990s as “the end of history,” in the sense that free markets and democracies were seen as the best ways to run politics and economics. Country after country, from socialist strongholds Ghana and Tanzania in Africa to India in Asia, adopted neoliberalism as their dominant perspective. For a brief while, it did appear to be the last wave of history, as the Soviet Union and the possibility and promise of creating Communist societies seemed to disintegrate. With the conversion of former Communist countries such as China and Vietnam to the market-based fold, the



phrase TINA (there is no alternative) seemed apt for describing the revolution in ideas. Populist leaders such as Fujimori in Peru, Menem in Argentina, and Rawlings in Ghana as well as the rise to prominence of finance ministers such as Cavallo in Argentina and Singh in India signaled the widespread support of neoliberal reforms in the early 1990s.

Neoliberalism is attractive to developing country policy makers as it gives them a more positive view of these wholesale changes in their economies. Neoliberal thinking has it that the construction of competitive private markets yields up new efficiencies. Thus, the productivity rate of newly privatized economies should be on the rise. Moreover, neoliberal thought on the optimality of markets extends to the efforts toward international integration. So, the move toward the European Union, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the MERCOSUR pact in the Southern Cone are seen as very positive developments that create larger, more competitive markets. The ultimate beneficiary is the consumer who experiences lower prices everywhere.

To be sure, there seem to be a number of improvements in the developing world as a result of the neoliberal revolution. First, there is much more accountability on the part of governments. Governments are now keenly aware of their need to balance their budgets. Second, as governments have stepped back from interference with markets, there is arguably a considerable dropoff in corruption and disincentives for new types of production. Developing countries' government-run companies in the post-World War II period often became behemoths of political patronage and corruption, with huge payrolls. Third, in a large number of developing countries, inflation has been brought under control for the first time in thirty years. Inflation made long-term investment decisions extremely difficult, and led rich classes in developing countries to put their savings in foreign countries and currencies. This phenomenon, known as "capital flight," meant that a developing country had a very small pool of its own domestic capital available for investment. Since the middle and particularly the upper classes were able to "hedge" in this and other ways against inflation, the poorer classes really paid the heaviest price. Fourth, by the end of the 1970s, with industrialization experiments running out of steam, developing countries found themselves in many cases with inefficient and uncompetitive domestic industries. Moreover, neither these highly protected industries, which often relied upon imports of foreign inputs, expertise, and parts, nor the often regressive and highly taxed agriculture sector, were able to create the new export productivity to pay off the debt and to grow. By contrast, the export sector in many

developing countries has become dynamic and more diversified, reaping the benefits of new foreign investment attracted by the more inviting neoliberal policies.

While there have been some important benefits from the turn to neoliberal policies in the developing world, there remain a number of important, purely economic issues as well. Foremost, the renewed growth that has occurred in the developing world has been notoriously uneven. There has been a growing *relative* inequality gap between the rich and the poor, both internationally and in the developing economies. The growth has also benefited certain sectors, namely those associated with exports. Neoliberalism does not seem to have made a dent into the problems of either unemployment or access to education and health for most developing countries' citizens. As privatized state-owned companies lay off thousands of workers, there has been no sign that export growth can absorb any significant proportion of these idled employees. In several cases, such as that of Menem in Argentina, the privatization process was tainted with scandal. Privatization and investment liberalization have not made a dent into the huge external debt burdens of many developing countries. Moreover, as we saw in the 1980s and 1990s in a series of financial crises, the developing world finds itself subject to highly volatile international financial flows. Thus, neoliberalism has not yet delivered on the sustained and stable growth that it promises.

In most developing countries, there has been a strong backlash against some aspects of the neoliberal program in the form of street protests and political mobilization. This resistance has held up some key aspects of the neoliberal reform, such as lifting price controls on basic food items, in a number of countries. Some countries have been able, furthermore, to grow faster and attract more investment than others. For example, while the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have anointed Ghana as a great example of the success of neoliberal policies, there has been little indication of long-term investment in the country. Indeed, we might say that the results of neoliberal policies have largely been to move Ghana and other developing countries back toward neocolonial reliance on primary product exports, such as cocoa, which they sought to change with their state-led industrialization over the last thirty years. As a new stagnation of growth and the weight of adjustment from the state-led system hits developing economies, we are seeing signs of increasing mobilization against neoliberal policies, such as in Argentina.

While there is strong criticism of neoliberalism, there is as yet no real alternative that has been forwarded to replace it. The alternative of socialism

seems to have died with the Cold War. Moreover, the developing world remains racked with massive external debts and the need and desire to obtain trade access and investment from the First World. International organizations that regulate access, such as the World Bank, the IMF, and the World Trade Organization, are thus seen as the enforcement agencies for the neoliberal order. To be sure, the First World has much greater leverage on the developing world because of the economic context of trade and investment. However, there are a number of interesting contrasts in both the level and type of response to neoliberalism across the developing world. For example, Malaysia recently instituted capital controls to slow capital flight in the wake of the financial crisis in Asia. The development of the MERCOSUR treaty marked a South–South integration scheme among South American countries that is in sharp contrast to the NAFTA treaty between Mexico, the United States, and Canada. There are a number of countries who have not fully privatized their state-owned sector, or who have found other ways to intervene in their markets. These countries are really not that different from First World countries who, despite a general neoliberal orientation, continue to heavily protect and subsidize strategic sectors of their economies, such as agriculture, high technology, and health care.

In both the developing and the developed world, the retreat of the state from economic issues under neoliberalism has left societies reeling. With uneven and volatile growth in much of the world, and a new feeling of vulnerability, there is a strong and growing countercurrent to the widespread acceptance of neoliberalism. The international countercurrent stems in part from the dismantling of the social safety nets that have accompanied neoliberal policies. Moreover, the development of new private markets has not always led to lower prices and higher levels of competition. Indeed, there is strong evidence that key markets in several developing markets are inefficient and uncompetitive, putting consumers at the mercy of a dominant foreign or domestic private monopoly or oligopoly. As a result, a spate of new moderately anti-neoliberal candidates began to be elected in the developing world by the late 1990s, particularly in Latin America. These include Gutierrez in Ecuador, Lula in Brazil, Chavez in Venezuela, and Kirchner in Argentina. In India, the party associated with the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s, the BJP, lost to the Congress Party in elections in 2004. An international social movement leading to protests of international trade summits and international organizations such as the WTO and World Bank became an organizing force for anti-neoliberalism across the North

and South. These groups organized a World Social Forum as an alternative to the business-oriented World Economic Forum. However, the movements seems to lack a clear alternative strategy that could unite the diverse groups and lead to new policies.

The most recent neoliberal response to some of these accusations has been, in part, to recognize their merits. International organizations that back neoliberal policies began in the last decade to place greater emphasis and resources on social funds during adjustment and to encourage local participation at the grassroots level, generally through non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Moreover, means tests and “workfare” programs seek to create new incentives for those who need temporary social help to become active again in the labor market. Fiscal reform to create more effective and progressive tax systems is high on the agenda of almost every developing country. Last but not least, there are a number of new initiatives to develop “civil society” and “governance.” These initiatives recognize the importance of developing strong, independent, and fair markets and institutions that are responsive to, and include input from, the public. The outcome of these experiments at modifying the neoliberal model for broader sustainability will be fascinating, to say the least.

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### NEPAL

The Kingdom of Nepal, situated in the centre of Asia, is a small country between the world's most populated countries: China and India. Nepal is a landlocked country, surrounded by India on three sides

and by China's Xizang Autonomous Region (Tibet) on the north. Nepal covers an area of 56,827 square miles and is divided into four topographical zones: the Great Himalayas, the Middle Himalayas, the Outer Himalayas, and the Terai. The highest is the Great Himalayas Zone, in northern Nepal, in which are located most of the world's highest mountains, among them: Mount Everest (29,035 feet), the highest mountain in the world; Mt. Kangchenjunga (28,169 feet); Mt. Lhotse; and Mt. Makalu among others. To the south are located the Middle Himalayas, with peaks averaging less than 9,900 feet, and then comes the zone of the Outer Himalayas, with an average elevation of about 3,300 to 6,600 feet. The most southern part of the country is the Terai zone, a generally flat, fertile lowland.

Because of the shape of its territory and the height changes in every topographical zone, Nepal has tremendous climate variations. The Terai region presents subtropical weather, while the northern and central parts of the country present an alpine climate with cool summers as well as severe winters. Summer (June–August) and late spring (March–May) temperatures range from 83°F in the hill regions to more than 104°F in the Terai. In winter, average minimum and maximum temperatures in the Terai range from 45°F to 74°F. Much colder temperatures prevail at higher elevations. The Kathmandu Valley, situated in the Middle Himalayas zone, ranges between 67°F and 81°F in summer and between 36°F and 68°F in winter. Average annual precipitation ranges from seventy inches in the east to thirty-five inches in the west.

The population is estimated at approximately 24.7 million, with an annual growth rate of 2.2%. As of 2001, the capital city, Kathmandu, has a population of about 800,000. Nepal is mainly a rural country having only 15% urban population. The official religion and language are Hinduism and Nepali, respectively. However, over twenty distinct languages are also spoken, with English also widely understood.

As early as 1790 the Nepali tried to extend their territory into Tibet, but the Chinese invaded the country and the Nepali had to ally with the British to fight the invaders; however, they were defeated. Nepal continued as an ally during other conflicts and after World War I, having fought as soldiers for the British. In 1923 Nepal and Great Britain signed a treaty of friendship, which granted Nepal's independence. In 1948 Nepali Prime Minister Padma Shamsheer Rana announced the first constitution of Nepal. Nepal already was a constitutional monarchy.

Until 1951, members of the Rana family held complete control of the government. That year Bisweswar Prasad Koirala became the first non-Rana prime

minister for more than one hundred years. In 1959 the first free elections were held and a new constitution inaugurated, although in December 1960 King Mahendra banned all political parties and suspended the Constitution until it was restored in 1962. In 1972 King Mahendra died and was succeeded by Prince Birendra.

In May 1980 a referendum was held to give the people a choice between a reformed version of the existing system or a multi-party-based system, which resulted in the return of the Rashtriya Panchayat. In February 1990 violence erupted over demands by ten thousand civilians for an end to the Rashtriya Panchayat. Police and the Army responded and around fifty people were killed, following which the king announced that a new constitution would be drafted that would allow for a multi-party system of government. A Maoist insurgency, launched in 1996, gained traction and threatened to bring down the regime. In 2001, the crown prince is believed to have massacred ten members of the royal family, including King Birendra and the queen. In October 2002, the new king dismissed the prime minister and his cabinet, after which the Parliament was dissolved and elections could not be held because of the ongoing insurgency. As of this writing, the country is governed by the king, Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah, uncle of the assassinated Birendra, and his appointed cabinet, which has negotiated a cease-fire with the Maoist insurgents until elections can be held at some unspecified future date.

The Nepali economy has traditionally been based on livelihood and agriculture, mainly in the production of rice, corn, and wheat. The industrial sector is less important but constitutes approximately 20% of the GDP. The primary industries include tourism, and carpet and textile production, along with jute, oilseed, cement, and bricks. However, industry only accounts for 3% of the labour force, while agriculture occupies 80% and 40% of the GDP. The rest of the GDP is from the service sector. The total GDP for the year 2004 was estimated at \$38 billion, and per capita income was around \$1,400.

Exports consist mainly of carpets, leather, and jute goods; imports consist of petroleum products, machinery, and other equipment. Major trade partners are India, China, and the United States.

The unemployment rate is around 47% and nearly 42% of the total population lives below the poverty line, with further disadvantages experienced by women and people of particular ethnic and socioeconomic groups.

One of Nepal's major social concerns/issues is the serious lack of available health care and poor access to education. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Nepal is rated as a

medium developed country but at the border of becoming a low developed one (UNDP 2004). Nepal's maternal mortality rate supports this fact. It is the highest in the South Asia region at 740 per 100,000 live births (2000). The infant mortality rate has improved considerably in the last three decades. In 1970 it was 165 deaths per one thousand live births but by 2002 it had decreased to sixty-six (UNDP 2004). Consequently, with the improvement in the infant mortality rate, the life expectancy at birth also got better, although nowadays it is one of the lowest in South Asia. It is currently fifty-nine years both for male and female, much better than in the 1970s when it was forty-six and forty-nine, respectively.

The gross school enrollment ratio has also advanced a lot in the last thirty years, changing from 26% of the population in 1975 to approximately 80% as of this writing. However, the adult literacy rate is very low (44%, 2002 est.).

As of 2005, the World Bank has undertaken several financial programs to help the development of the health, education, and economic sectors.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Asia**

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## NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

The Netherlands Antilles (*Nederlandse Antillen*) are five islands in the Caribbean under Dutch control. While they are not a colony in the traditional sense (they are politically autonomous for domestic affairs), their foreign affairs are controlled by the Netherlands, which provides for their defense needs. Until

1986 the Netherlands Antilles also included the island of Aruba, but in that year Aruba became a separate unit (an “autonomous member”) of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The people of the Netherlands Antilles are citizens of the Netherlands, as are residents of Aruba. Curaçao and Sint Maarten are to become independent in this way as well, but dates for their change in status have not been set.

The islands of the Netherlands Antilles are geographically separated into two groups. The western islands, Curaçao and Bonaire, are located approximately 280 kilometers northwest of Caracas, Venezuela. These islands, along with Aruba, are commonly known as the A-B-C islands from the first letters of their names. The geography of these islands is a mixture of their dormant volcanic origins and thousands of years of coral growth, resulting in higher elevations than the other islands in the group. Natural forces have brought an abundance of plant life to these islands, and erosion has created the beaches, which have become part of the attraction for tourists in the modern era.

Prior to the arrival of Spanish explorers at Curaçao in 1499, the A-B-C islands were inhabited by the Caiquetios, related to the Arawak Indians of what is now Venezuela. The first Europeans to reach these islands were led by Alonso de Ojeda, whose chief pilot on this voyage was Amerigo Vespucci. The reports of this first voyage contain some contradictions, but in any case the islands were explored to some degree in the summer of 1499. The names of the A-B-C islands changed many times during the first years of their exploration; Curacao had first been reported as the *Isla de los Gigantes* (Island of the Giants) based on Vespucci's reports of the inhabitants (he also noted that the people of Bonaire were tall); later the island was referred to by many derivations, which may have come from the Spanish (*corazón*) or Portuguese (*curazon*) word for “heart.” Bonaire was shown on early maps as *Isla de Palo de Brasil* (Brazilwood Island).

Other than brazilwood, which was used by Europeans to create a red dye for cloth, little else considered to be of value was found by the Spaniards. The native populations of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao was captured in the early 1500s and taken to the larger Spanish island of Hispaniola as slave laborers, but within a few years some of them were brought back to their native islands to serve as a workforce for the Spaniards who had taken control of these islands. In addition to manipulating the human population of the A-B-C islands, by the 1530s the Spaniards had introduced European work and farm animals (goats, pigs, cattle, and horses) as well as non-native plants for farming.

The smaller islands of Saba, Sint Eustatius, and Sint Maarten (the northern half of which is called St. Martin and is claimed by France as part of the “overseas department” of Guadeloupe) are located approximately 260 kilometers east of Puerto Rico, some eight hundred kilometers northeast of Curaçao. Saba, Sint Eustatius, and Sint Maarten, and are part of the islands known in English as the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles, but are known in Dutch (*de Bovenwinden*) and Spanish (*las Islas de Barlovento*) as the Windward Islands.

Unlike the A-B-C islands, these Leeward Islands were not inhabited when first visited by Europeans. It is believed that the native Arawaks had been conquered by the more warlike Carib Indians. These smaller islands had less attraction to the European colonizers, and rather than living resources (brazilwood or slaves), the first Dutch interest in Saint Martin in 1631 came from the Dutch need for salt, which was used as a preservative by the Dutch fishing fleet. However, this Dutch presence so close to Spanish territories led to a Spanish conquest of Saint Martin in 1633. The Spanish held the island until 1648, and upon their departure the island was retaken by the French on the north and the Dutch on the southern side.

European politics continued to drive Caribbean activities throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and those islands with significant populations were fortified. The American Revolution added an additional player in these moves, with the French allying themselves with the Americans and using ports in the Caribbean for their activities. The Americans sought to gain the Netherlands as a European ally as well, and when the British heard of this they sought to end Dutch trade with the Americans. Curaçao and Sint Eustatius had been major trading ports, which provided war supplies for the American revolutionaries, and in 1781 the British fleet attacked the port of Sint Eustatius to end its trade with America. In the years to come, Holland would become America’s major source of foreign loans.

The French Revolution led to renewed conflict between England and France, and this affected the Netherlands and its colonies as well. The governments of France and the Netherlands drew closer, but on Curaçao support for the French was seen as a source of potential trouble. The governor of the island chose to remain neutral, placing him at odds with French naval ships in the Caribbean. This led to a French entry into Curaçao’s capital city of Willemstad in 1800, but this was ended by a British naval intervention (and French withdrawal), and Curaçao became an English possession for the next three years. The treaty ending the conflict between France and

England (the Peace of Amiens) called for Curaçao to be returned to Dutch control. The islands changed hands among the Dutch, the Spanish, and the British over the next several years, with the Kingdom of the Netherlands finally establishing control in 1816.

As with the A-B-C islands, the Leeward Islands changed hands among the French, Dutch, and British in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and like with the other islands, Dutch control was established in 1816.

In the nineteenth century the Netherlands Antilles were affected less by European politics than by the increasing influence of Venezuela. Trade in salt continued to be an important source of revenue, and late in the 1800s phosphate was also discovered on two islands. Gold was found on Aruba and mined until the supply was exhausted, and since the end of World War I the Netherlands Antilles have been a major site of oil refining in the Caribbean. Recently, drug trafficking in the Antilles has also increased via passenger flights from the Antilles to the Netherlands.

The Antilles have exercised autonomy in internal affairs since 1945. In 1954, the Netherlands Antilles became a full part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands rather than a colony. The island of Aruba was divided off in 1986. In 1993, the Antilles held a general referendum on the issue of independence; the majority voted to stay a part of the Kingdom. However, in 2000, the island of St. Martin held its own referendum, wherein 69% of the population voted to remain within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, but to become autonomous from the federation of the Antilles. In 2004, a commission confirmed this opinion, recommending that St. Martin and Curaçao be autonomous. No actions, however, had been taken on these recommendations at press time: the Dutch government does not support this division due to fears that St. Martin would not be able to support its own government or infrastructure.

As of 2004 the population of the islands of the Netherlands Antilles was slightly under 220,000 and stable. In addition to petroleum refining, tourism and banking are the major industries of the islands.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations**

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## NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (MALAYSIA)

Malaysia's New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1970–1990 was a successful redistribution of Malaysia's historically high rate of economic growth in order to significantly improve the lives of the impoverished and with a focus on enriching the historically disadvantaged *Bumiputra*. The NEP coupled explicit statistical targets with diverse (and pragmatically flexible) means of attaining them. This bold and long-term vision was a response to the grave May 1969 race riots; the riots resulted in the twenty-one-month suspension of parliamentary democracy and in the 1971 revision of the Constitution so that it became sedition to publically question the necessity for the New Economic Policy.

*Bumiputra* is defined as the ethnic majority Malay people as well as the diverse indigenous societies in contemporary Malaysia. It literally translates as "sons of the soil." In the 2000 Census, *Bumiputra* are the largest ethnic minority, making up 65% of the population, followed by ethnic Chinese (26%) and Indian (8%). In 1970, relative to the other two ethnic groups, *Bumiputra* had the highest poverty rates (65%) and the lowest average income (2.29 times lower than the average Chinese, and 1.76 times lower than the average Indian).

One of the NEP's two primary objectives was a dramatic reduction of poverty irrespective of race. In 1970 nearly half of all households in Peninsular Malaysia were below the poverty line. By 1990 the official poverty rate was down to 17% in the country. Critics emphasize that the agricultural states with the greatest poverty were largely excluded, that rural development programs and price subsidies were grossly inefficient, and that plantation workers (primarily Tamil-speaking Indians) were almost entirely overlooked by the NEP.

The other primary objective was the restructuring of society to reduce the identification of race with economic occupations. In practice this generally meant improving *Bumiputra* relative to ethnic Chinese. In 1970, two-thirds of all agricultural workers were Malay and only 13% of Malays were in middle-class occupations (professional, technical, administrative, managerial, clerical, or sales jobs). As a result of rapid industrialization and diverse affirmative action

programs in both public and private sector businesses as well as university admissions, by 1990 only one-third of agricultural workers were Malays and 27% of Malays were in middle-class occupations.

In Malaysia the restructuring of society is frequently measured in terms of corporate ownership. Malay ownership of the corporate sector rose from 1.5% in 1970 to 20.3% in 1990. This was accomplished by government-engineered mergers and acquisitions of foreign-owned Malaysian companies, the creation of financial trusts to hold corporate equity on behalf of *Bumiputra*, and the creation and promotion of Malay-owned corporations.

The NEP is a critical case in contemporary debates regarding whether a state with a redistributive agenda is capable of generating new industries and an entrepreneurial middle class from a historically disadvantaged class, or whether it merely creates crony capitalists at the expense of others. Especially striking was that Malaysia was capable of this flexible redistributive policy while maintaining an open economy reliant on foreign direct investment. However, two key questions remain. First, have such policies altered the economic structure so that *Bumiputra* are not merely reliant on continuing government subsidies, preferences, and special regulations? Secondly, given that preferential treatment for *Bumiputra* continues throughout every industry in the Malaysian economy, can such preferences be maintained without creating renewed social conflict grounded in racial resentment?

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**See also** Malaysia

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## **NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO)**

In the 1970s developing countries began to challenge the international economic order, under the grounds that the existing economic structures had been strongly stacked against their economic interests. One sign of this was the imbalance in the distribution of international monetary reserves. While the developing world constitutes 70% of the world's population, they received less than four percent of the international reserves of US\$131 billion during the first half of the 1970s.

Another sign was the control exerted over how and in what way the value-added products traded internationally were to be distributed. Developing nations usually received only a small fraction of the final price. The processing, shipping, and marketing of the primary products are controlled in the developed countries. Developing countries were sometimes forced to repurchase their own exports at inflated prices because they had been unable to process the raw materials.

Thirdly, developed nations introduced various forms of tariff and non-tariff protections in order to protect their own domestic industries and standards of living.

Fourthly, many developing nations protested that multinational corporations (MNCs) "engineered" their contracts and concessions to their own benefit, but at the expense of host countries. Additionally, because of tax concessions, royalty payments, transfer pricing, and capital allowances, developing countries often received a small fraction of the profits from foreign investments, despite the exploitation of their own natural resources.

Finally, developing countries have been under-represented in international organizations. Though representing a majority of the world's population, developing countries have an insignificant representation at the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as at the United Nations.

The UN General Assembly NIEO resolution of April 1974 committed the organization to establishing an order based on equity, sovereign equality, common interest, and cooperation among all states to eliminate the developmental gap. This declaration spawned a series of "programs of action" that avoided new forms of economic colonialism. The NIEO program addressed four fronts including aid and assistance; international trade; industrialization and technology; and social issues.

Aid and development assistance is required to ensure that developed countries set aside a small proportion of their gross national product (GNP) for aid.

All developed countries aimed at increasing assistance to an agreed target of 0.7% of their GNP. International trade issues include redefining the terms of trade and access to markets achieved through the use of a stable foreign currency with prices indexed for certain commodity prices for manufactured goods, to stabilize price fluctuations of primary commodities by establishing buffer stockpiles and preferential treatment of exports from developing countries. Industrialization issues include import-substitution industrialization (ISI), technology transfer, regulating the activities of MNCs, and the improved use of natural resources. In social terms, proposals ensured an equitable distribution of income; the elimination of unemployment; and the provision of health, education, and other cultural services.

## **NIEO Program for Action**

The NIEO Program for Action included re-examining issues of industrialization and technology.

- Objective 15 of the NIEO involves the negotiation for a redeployment of the industrial productive capacity to developing countries. This proposed a shift of the industrial capacity of developed countries to the Third World, especially those high labour content industries, those industries which required natural resources, and industrial processes requiring locally available raw materials.
- Objective 16 establishes a mechanism for the transfer of technology. Developing countries need access to modern technology if they are to achieve their objectives. The NIEO calls for greater access to technology through a review of international patents, the facilitation of access to patented and non-patented technology, the expansion of assistance to Third World countries for R&D programs, and the control of the import of technology.
- Objective 17 relates to the regulation and supervision of the activities of MNCs and the elimination of restrictive business practices. An international code of conduct prevents enterprises from interfering in the internal affairs of countries in which they operate, eliminates restrictive business practices, and requires that more activities conform to national development plans. Also, the proposal encourages MNCs to assist in the transfer of technology and management skills to developing countries, to regulate the repatriation of profits accruing

from off-shore operations, and to promote the restructuring of their profits in developing countries.

A principal weakness among most developing countries is both the lack of access to technology and their poor command of it. However, merely acquiring technology itself is insufficient because it needs the infrastructure to absorb these new ideas—the so-called “absorptive capacity.” Technology transfer may involve the sale of patents and equipment, the supply of know-how and processes, and the dissemination of scientific and technological information. The benefits include the reduction of production costs, increases in production efficiency accompanied by the elimination of wastes, the re-allocation of capital resources, and improvements in the use of technology resulting in higher productivity.

But “backwash effects” resulting from the transfer of technology arise through the following:

- The spread of MNC domination in investments in domestic economies;
- The imposition of Western products on fragile Third World markets behind import-substituting tariff barriers that protect the monopolistic practices of MNCs;
- Outmoded and irrelevant systems of education and university training, which engender inappropriate international professional standards;
- The “dumping” of cheap products in markets, thereby upsetting industrial processes in developing countries; and
- Harmful international trade policies that lock Third World countries into primary-product exports.

GEORGE CHO

**See also Development History and Theory; Globalization: Impact on Development; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); International Monetary Fund (IMF); Modernization; Multinational Corporations and Development**

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### NEW JEWEL MOVEMENT

The New Jewel Movement (NJM) was a Marxist-inspired political party that ruled Grenada from 1979 until 1983. The NJM came into being on March 11, 1973, when Maurice Bishop’s Movement for Assemblies of the People (MAP) merged with Unison Whittman’s Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education, and Liberation (JEWEL). Until the 1970s, Grenadian politics had been dominated by Eric Gairy’s Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) and the Grenada National Party. The NJM called for a program to raise the standard of housing, living, education, health, food, and recreation for all people. *The Manifesto of the New Jewel Movement (1973)* stated: “The people are being cheated and have been cheated for too long—cheated by both parties, for over twenty years. Nobody is asking what the people want. We suffer low wages and higher costs of living, while the politicians get richer, live in bigger houses, and drive around in bigger cars.” The NJM also called for the nationalization of all foreign-owned hotels.

In May 1973, the British government announced that Grenada would receive independence in February 1974. In 1976, Bishop won a seat in the House of Representatives and became leader of the opposition. In 1977, while Gairy established close ties with Chile’s Augusto Pinochet, the NJM established ties with Cuba’s Fidel Castro. On March 13, 1979, the NJM staged a virtually bloodless revolution and established the People’s Revolutionary Government (PRG). One school of thought holds that the charismatic Bishop was merely a figurehead for a group of pro-Soviet sympathizers within the NJM intent on encircling the Caribbean in a communist net, aided by Nicaragua and Cuba. Another school of thought holds that Bishop truly wanted democratic reform, but that hostility from the United States and neighboring Caribbean states pushed him into an alliance with Castro. Although the NJM called for a form of popular socialism based on grassroots democratic local councils, it arrested hundreds of political prisoners, closed newspapers, and rapidly militarized the nation.

On October 18, 1983, the NJM imploded. Minister of Finance Coard, who wanted to pursue a more



## NEW JEWEL MOVEMENT

pro-Soviet, anti-US policy, overthrew Bishop with the support of the army. Bishop and many of his closest associates were arrested and executed the next day. On October 25, US President Ronald Reagan unleashed Operation Urgent Fury, which removed Coard and his supporters from power. Although pro-Bishop survivors of the 1983 coup organized the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), the Grenadian political system since 1984 has been dominated by Keith Mitchell's New National Party (NNP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), which maintains close ties with members of Coard's faction of the NJM.

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**See also Bishop, Maurice; Grenada**

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## NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

The military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA), is a Maoist group formed on March 29, 1969. The NPA started with sixty fighters armed with only nine automatic rifles and twenty-six inferior arms (single-shot rifles and handguns). Its avowed aim is to overthrow the Filipino government through protracted guerrilla warfare. Like the CCP, it advocated land reform and the establishment of a socialist state.

Jose Maria Sison is both head of NPA and CPP. Sison has been in exile in the Netherlands for the past two decades but he still sets the general direction of the NPA. Because the top leadership is located overseas, local NPA commanders have considerable autonomy. In recent years, there are credible reports that some local NPA cells were involved in kidnapping and ransom activities. There are also reports that some have become killers for hire.

The NPA derives most of its funding from contributions of supporters in the Philippines, Europe, and elsewhere, and from so-called "revolutionary taxes" extorted from local businesses. In the rural areas, most businesses cannot rely on the government to protect them and must pay the NPA.

The NPA grew substantially during the reign of the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos (1965–1986)

when many opposition elements sided or joined the NPA after Marcos suppressed legitimate political opposition. Several priests influenced by liberation theology also joined the NPA. During this period, the NPA also developed strong sympathy from leftist student movements who opposed US bases in the Philippines.

When Marcos was deposed and democracy was restored in 1986, the NPA continued its fight against the administration of Corazon Aquino and subsequent governments. Despite continuous operations by the Philippines armed forces to wipe them out, the NPA has managed to survive. High levels of poverty in the rural areas, no land reform, and corruption among local government officials are the primary reasons why the NPA still enjoys support among the populace.

The NPA strongly opposes any US military presence in the Philippines and attacked US military interests before the US base closures in 1992. In the past, the NPA had claimed responsibility for the assassination of US military personnel. In January 2002, the NPA publicly expressed its intent to target US personnel sent to the Philippines as part of the war against terror.

Although primarily a rural-based guerrilla group, the NPA has active urban cells that conduct assassinations of high-profile individuals such as politicians, military and police officers, judges, government informers, former rebels who wish to leave the NPA, US troops stationed in the Philippines, and so forth.

At present, the NPA is estimated to have slightly more than ten thousand fighters. They operate in sixty of the Philippines' seventy-three provinces. They are most active in the northern islands of the Philippines with limited presence in the South.

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**See also Aquino, Benigno, and Corazón; Philippines**

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## NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZED ECONOMIES (NIES)

Newly Industrialized Economies (NIEs) are defined as: the economies of export-led industrialization.

The World Bank established a GNP per capita threshold to determine which developing countries belonged to this category. At the beginning of the 1980s, the World Bank used the term “newly industrialized economies” for the first time. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), however, prefers the term “new industrialized countries.” But the two international organizations converged regarding their explanation of this category: it involves a scheme of development based on a contribution of industry above 25% to GNP, with exports composing the major part of manufactured products; the developing country has high economic growth and the gap with developed countries is closing. Even if no clear classification is established, the following countries fall into this category: the four dragons of Asia—Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea; plus, later on, the four ASEAN countries—Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines; and a few Latin American countries—Brazil, Mexico, Chile, and to some extent Argentina.

The most represented countries were to be found in Asia; during a twenty-five-year period (1965–1990), the export-oriented model was followed by the dragon economies, and exports as a proportion of GDP increased from 27% to 72.1% (Islam and Chowdhury 1997). The World Bank also recognizes that regional integration is one factor of economic growth, along with the development of market-oriented economies in the NIEs at the beginning of the 1980s and the increase of intra-regional trade at the end of the 1980s.

The newly industrialized economies, during their economic takeoff, accepted the challenge of choosing a new direction for their economies and a new way of life for the future. They adapted continually to changes in their economy, which enabled them to have a unique economic success. The means employed by these countries, with exceptional success, can be a model for other developing countries. Their industrial revolution was implemented through export-oriented strategies in order to counterbalance the weakness of their domestic markets (Arrighi, Hamashita, and Selden 2003). These newly industrialized economies recognized their potential for success as part of the new integration to the global economy. However, even with a common economic orientation, the economic systems of the newly industrialized countries present significant differences, which force them to translate their experience to a higher standard of economic growth. These deep economic changes promoted a long-term high growth rate (averaging 8%) for most of these countries during a twenty-year period. Even during the two oil crises of the 1970s, their economic activity remained high.

In the 1970s, various authors elaborated a new approach to international economy. In these new theories they integrated diverse contributions: new micro-economies in the situation of incomplete information, industrial economy in terms of corporate strategy, local economy in terms of agglomeration effects, territoriality and game theory in terms of interactions between strategic players. The structure of imperfect competition of markets and increased output has been favored by the NIFs over local comparative advantages (Hugon 1997).

According to P. Krugman (1991) in his *Geography and Trade*, the production of economic goods appears in a determinate spot and its effects are linked with increasing output, leading to and reinforcing a spill-over, and competitive poles or competitive advantages; thus, it is possible to explain that international specialization develops from territorial specialization.

### **An Historical Approach of Development and Technological Transfer**

From 1965 to 1995, some countries had a remarkable growth rate sustained by low-end industrialization. After the themed-1970s a peak of success was attained in contrast to stagnation in the world economic picture caused by the two oil crises. In the middle of the 1980s, mastery of the industrial process provided a new impetus to the NIEs, which in turn gave them a higher ranking among industrialized countries. They prepared their economic structure for industrial and technological development by choosing an outward-oriented economic development model, which meant increasing exports. Among the NIEs, the Asian NIEs have particularly progressed in this way. Hong Kong has benefited from mainland refugees inspired by a capitalistic spirit. A great number of them came from the Guangzhou area with their know-how and their capitalistic way of managing companies. Concerning Singapore, this state-city benefited from UK aid until 1965, the year of its independence from the Malay Federation. It then adopted the export industrialization strategy and received guidance from its own government. Malaysia also followed the example of Singapore and has adopted the industrial export scheme (Dufour 1998).

Taiwan and South Korea, whose development was turned toward the domestic market in agriculture and textiles, radically changed their approach to economic development at the beginning of the 1970s by concentrating on an industrial and technological

strategy turned toward exports. To do this, they abandoned the import-substitution system in favor of export production to other Asian and foreign markets. For South Korea, economic development was assured by enormous US financial assistance during the Korean War and lasting for ten years after the war—a total of about fifteen years of aid.

Then, by the end of the 1960s, the new orientation of the World Bank was “trade, not aid.” This new orientation was immediately put into practice with a decrease of US aid to South Korea as well as to Taiwan, and these two countries, later followed by Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong, have acquired a comparative advantage, based on low labor costs, for gaining foreign direct investment. This has resulted in the de-localization of US and Japanese companies. It was the beginning of the transformation of financial flow from foreign aid to foreign direct investment. Then foreign direct investment from the United States and Japan showed exponential growth for about fifteen years, until the end of the 1980s. This foreign direct investment included know-how and transfer of technology, even if in the 1970s, the latter was only intermediate technology, especially from Japan. In the starting phase of industrialization, textiles, garments, and chemical and petroleum derivative products were the main exports. These were high-labor-intensity and low added-value products. During this period the NIEs’ success became associated with the image of sweatshop conditions and low salaries.

The NIEs with their export industrialization strategy in the 1970s were classified as the first 10 countries of the Third World for manufactured product exports. During the decade of the 1980s, these countries quadrupled their industrial exports and doubled their share of manufactured products in international trade (Assidon 2000).

As these Asian NIE countries mastered sophisticated technology, high-end semi-conductor activities developed. But this new technology-based economy has drained increasing financial assets of enterprises and caused increased indebtedness.

During the 1980s the NIEs diversified their industrial exports in new sectors, such as electronics and machine tools, which has allowed them to launch new industrial de-localization strategies and increase the dynamics of growth. The transfer of technology was the central question posed by international organizations such as the World Bank, OECD, and the transnational companies. The Asian NIEs and especially South Korea have asked the transnational companies to increase the transfer of technology in the local companies by means of shared know-how and apprenticeship. In the second half of the 1980s, the

NIEs were considered as industrialized countries and they upgraded their production methods in, for instance, electronics, automobile industry, and naval construction.

In the mid-1990s, South Korea and Taiwan became principal exporters of semi-conductors. In the same period, Hong Kong developed one of the world’s biggest stock exchanges and Singapore had one of the highest levels of ship traffic in the world.

### **The Process of Economic Liberalization of the NIEs**

In the case of the Asian NIEs, through the middle of the 1990s, regional integration came into being through the setting up of regional arrangements. At this point, the concept of open regionalism was on its way, different from the European integration or regional blocs, and having access to the international markets with more trade and foreign direct investments. But in order to set up such regional economic arrangements, liberalization of the economies was a necessity (Garnaut and Drysdale 1994).

All through the different APEC Summits of the 1990s, the recurrent motives were to follow a process of trade liberalization between member countries and to find concrete ways of associating with the business world (Paix and Riviere d’Arc 1997). Then, in 1993, an informal structure was set up: the Pacific Business Forum, which was later replaced by the APEC Business Advisory Council. In this way the principle of open regionalism was adapted, without adding constraints to the diversity of national economies and leaving a large autonomy of decision making to the member countries. An original and flexible institutional framework was on its way to meeting the demands of internationally oriented economic growth (Kagami, Humphrey, and Piore 1998).

The 1993 World Bank report entitled “East Asian Miracle, Economic Growth and Public Policies,” explained that in fact it was not a miracle, but that labor and capital increases and technical progress were responsible for this success, aided by strong governmental support given to new industries. If the term “miracle countries” is used, it is because these countries were able to rapidly master industrial processes similar to those of developed countries.

The Asian NIEs began to get richer and their per capita GNP tremendously increased; social indicators progressed in terms of services: drinking water, electricity, sanitary equipment, household appliances, and number of telephones. The NIEs are ranked

high in the UNDP's Human Development Index. These successes were possible because of the high literacy rate and the emphasis that was placed on education. And in 1996, South Korea became the first NIE member of the OECD.

The governmental interventionist policies of the NIEs were brought to bear on the economy until the beginning of the 1990s and were beneficial to the companies. But economic reform was retarded by the dominant role of the state and it was necessary to reduce that role in order to liberate the economy. This form of governmental intervention became an impediment to the development of enterprises. Japan was the model for this type of governmental overseeing (Androuais 2002). In the NIEs, the government was never entirely neutral toward the market and its intervention was too strong and of too long a duration.

The brutal 1997 economic crisis forced the newly industrialized economies to change certain orientations in order to take a new direction in their development. The Asian financial crisis of July 1997 started in Thailand when hedge funds dropped their interest in the region because of negative anticipation. This financial crisis had a tremendous negative impact on the Asian economies; it revealed weak factors, such as overcapacity in production, company debt, and the short-term capital financing of long-term capital.

After the Asian crisis, the IMF requested structural reforms at the governmental level and also in the private sector, which would prepare for a greater liberalization of the economy and less state intervention. These policies were widely applied to economic and financial situations, such as uniformity of customs taxes, additional measures to finance the economy, and the reduction of public debt. The main instruments of this liberalization were the deregulation of finances, reforms in public finances, and changes to upgrade the economy. At the beginning of the new millennium, the Asian NIEs started to adopt a postindustrial model, that is to say, a model having a technological services base (Dufour 2000).

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## NICARAGUA

Nicaragua is located in Central America between Costa Rica and Honduras, bordering both the Caribbean Sea and the North Pacific Ocean. It has a coastline of 910 kilometers and is the largest but most sparsely populated country in Central America. The climate is generally warm and relatively humid with some regional variation, mainly a function of altitude—tropical in the lowlands, cooler in the highlands. The Pacific lowlands are generally more fertile than Caribbean ones. Rainfall is periodic, with May through October as the wettest months. The eastern part of the country receives high average annual rainfall, while the west is drier. Precipitation varies between 1,000 and 6,500 millimeters annually. The Caribbean coast is subject to destructive tropical storms and hurricanes from July to October.

Nicaragua has three major geographic regions. The Pacific lowlands or western region is characterized by flat terrain broken by a line of active volcanoes between the Golfo de Fonseca and Lago de Nicaragua paralleling the Pacific coast. East of the volcanoes lies a large structural rift forming a long, narrow, swampy, and indented depression (sixty to one hundred kilometers) from the Caribbean Golfo de Fonseca southeastward—Costa de Mosquitos (the Mosquito Coast). The two largest freshwater lakes

in Central America (Lago de Managua and Lago de Nicaragua, connected by the Tipitapa River) are also located in this rift. The eastern Caribbean lowlands region covers about half of the national territory and consists of tropical rain forest and pine savannas crossed by numerous rivers flowing to the Caribbean. Between the Pacific lowlands and the Caribbean lowlands are the central highlands. The highest point is Mogoton, at 2,438 meters. Western Nicaragua is situated at a juncture between colliding tectonic plates, resulting in a high incidence of earthquakes and volcanic activity. The population as of July 2004 is estimated at 5.36 million. The capital and largest city is Managua, with a population of 1.4 million.

Prior to the Spanish colonization, Nicaragua was settled by Indian tribes of Nicarao, from which the country's name is derived, as well as the Misquito, Garotegas, and others. The area was discovered by Europeans in 1502 with the arrival of Christopher Columbus, and twenty years later the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua was absorbed as a Spanish colony. In 1812 a constitutional monarchy was established in Spain, which liberalized colonial rule. The election of town councils in Central America marked the beginning of national political life. The United Provinces of Central American declared independence from Spain in 1821, a result of the War for Independence of the Spanish colonies in America. At first, Nicaragua was part of the short-lived Mexican Empire under General Agustín de Iturbide, later Emperor Agustín I (1822–1823). From 1823–1838, Nicaragua was, together with Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, part of the United Provinces of Central America. Political conflict and contradictions between federation members and the capital increased from 1829 on. In 1838, the Central American Congress allowed states to leave the federation; Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica seceded and became separate republics.

For the next century, Nicaragua's politics was dominated by the competition for power between the Liberals, who were centered in the city of Leon, and the Conservatives, localized in Granada. Britain occupied the Caribbean Coast in the first half of the nineteenth century, but gradually ceded control of the region in subsequent decades. In 1856 US mercenary William Walker was hired by a Nicaraguan political party to topple the president, but he took control of the government and set himself up as president. He was ousted the next year and executed in 1860. US marines intervened following the chaos and disorder after ousting the dictator José Santos Zelaya in 1909, and they remained there from 1912 to 1933.

In 1927 prospects emerged for a peace agreement among fighting factions in Nicaragua with provisions

for ending US occupation and installing subsequent elections. However, General Augusto C. Sandino refused to accept a peace accord and launched a guerrilla war against the US Marines. Five years later an interim president was elected, and General Anastasio Somoza García was named commander-in-chief of the newly established, allegedly non-partisan National Guard in Nicaragua. The US Marines withdrew. The next year Sandino was murdered by members of the Nicaraguan National Guard. In 1937 Somoza became president, and for the next forty-two years Nicaragua was ruled by the Somoza dynasty—Anastasio; his two sons, Luis and Anastasio Jr.; and various figureheads. Its abuses and corruptive practices caused fierce opposition. Somoza Sr. was assassinated in 1956. He was succeeded as president by his eldest son, Luis Somoza Debayle, a United States-trained engineer. His brother Anastasio “Tachito” Somoza Debayle, a West Point graduate, took over leadership of the National Guard, launching a major political repression campaign. Luis Somoza Debayle won the presidency in 1957 with little opposition. During his six-year term, from 1957 to 1963, his government provided citizens with some freedoms and raised hopes for political liberalization. Puppet figures held the presidency from 1963 until 1967. When poor health prevented Luis Somoza Debayle from running, his brother Anastasio won the February 1967 presidential election. Two months later, Luis—who also objected to “Tachito's” rise to power—died of a heart attack. As president, Anastasio Somoza Debayle retained the National Guard directorship, which gave him absolute political and military control over Nicaragua. Corruption and abuses intensified, accelerating opposition from both populist and business groups. When his four-year term was to end in 1971, Anastasio Somoza Debayle amended the constitution to stay in power until 1972. Increasing pressures from the opposition and even from his own party, however, forced the dictator to formally step down and introduce a three-member junta to rule from 1972 until 1974.

Popular discontent grew also in response to deteriorating social conditions. Illiteracy, malnourishment, inadequate health services, and lack of proper housing also ignited criticism from the Roman Catholic Church, led by Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo. On December 23, 1972, a powerful earthquake shook Nicaragua, destroying most of the capital city. It left approximately ten thousand dead and some fifty thousand families homeless, and destroyed 80% of Managua's commercial buildings. Immediately after the earthquake, the National Guard joined the widespread looting of most of the remaining business establishments in Managua. When reconstruction

began, the government's illegal appropriation and mismanagement of international relief aid, directed by the Somoza family and members of the National Guard, shocked the international community and produced further unrest in Nicaragua. By some estimates, Somoza's personal wealth soared to US\$400 million in 1974. As a result, Anastasio Somoza Debayle's support base within the business sector began to crumble. A revived labor movement increased opposition to the regime and to the deteriorating economic conditions. Somoza Debayle's intentions to run for another presidential term in 1974 were resisted even within his own party. Increasing political repression and further censorship of the media and the press was the rebuttal. In September 1974, Anastasio Somoza Debayle was re-elected president. Leftist forces founded the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FNSL), which initiated armed resistance, reaching dimensions of a civil war. About the end of 1970s, the United States suspended its backing of Somoza. Marxist Sandinistas came to power on July 19, 1979; Somoza fled into exile and was later murdered. The Sandinistas' communist-type regime launched agrarian reform, nationalization of the banks and some industries, and social reforms. The Sandinistas' support for the leftist rebels in El Salvador, backed by Cuba and the USSR, incited the United States to fund anti-Sandinista "freedom fighters," led by conservatives but composed of people representing many political views, during most of the 1980s. When Nicaraguan free elections were held in 1990, 1996, and in 2001, the Sandinistas were voted out of power and yielded to conservatives, who were represented by Chamorro and Aleman. Moreover, in 1997 the transfer of power between the media owner Violeta Chamorro and the former mayor of Managua, Arnoldo Aleman, acted out the very first time in Nicaragua's history that this office was transferred peacefully and democratically from one democratically elected individual to another. This recurred in 2001, when Arnoldo Aleman stepped down to open the way to the newly elected President Enrique Bolaños. In addition to the political turmoil and economic woes, twice during the last century—in 1932 and in 1972—earthquakes led to the devastation of the capital city of Managua. The country slowly rebuilt its economy during the 1990s, but the Atlantic Coast suffered severe damage from hurricanes Juana in 1988 and Mitch ten years later.

Nicaragua is one of the poorest countries in the Western hemisphere. It faces low per capita income, massive unemployment, and huge external debt. Per capita GDP is \$2,200, and more than half of the population lives below the poverty line. Distribution of income is one of the most unequal anywhere in the

world. This country has made some progress toward macroeconomic stability early in the twenty-first century; however, GDP annual growth of 1.5%–2.5% has been far too low to meet the country's needs. Nicaragua will continue to be dependent on international aid and debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. Donors have made aid conditional on the openness of government financial operation, poverty alleviation, and human rights. A three-year poverty reduction and growth plan (2003–2005), agreed to with the IMF, steers economic policy. The country received immense support from the international community in 2004 when the IMF and World Bank forgave \$4.5 billion of Nicaragua's debt.

Relatively smooth democratization of the country has been overshadowed by continuing corruption. Former president Aleman was charged with fraud and embezzlement, and in 2003 was sentenced to twenty years in prison. However, he was released on December 3, 2004, after only six months of incarceration, and the Court of Appeals found that evidence for his indictment was insufficient. Aleman is also suspected of conspiring with Sandinista leader, Daniel Ortega, to make certain amendments in the constitution and to undermine president Bolaños' positions. The country still relies heavily on foreign assistance and aid. During the past two decades, freedoms of press, assembly, and speech have increased, and respect for human rights has improved considerably. Ethnic issues have never been a serious source of strife. There are territorial disputes with Colombia over the Archipelago de San Andres y Providencia and Quita Sueno Bank region, and about the Honduran access to the Pacific at Golfo de Fonseca; and a legal dispute exists over navigational rights of the San Juan border river. Criminal drug smuggling persists—Nicaraguan shores serve as a transshipment point for cocaine destined for the United States, and for arms-for-drugs dealing.

Nicaragua's economic infrastructure leaves still room for improvement and shaping according to the modern standards. Railways are only six kilometers narrow gauge; highways total 19,032 kilometers, of which 2,094 kilometers are paved. There are 2,220 kilometers of waterways, including Lakes Managua and Nicaragua. Airports have eleven total paved runways, of which three are equipped for landing of large air crafts. There are seven maritime and river ports and harbors, but no merchant marine. The educational system is generally underfinanced and insufficient. Access to education improved during the 1980s, with introduction of free education, but a large majority of the population has not completed primary school. A literacy campaign in the 1980s reportedly raised the functional literacy rate from

about 50% at the end of the Somoza regime to 67.5%, almost equally distributed for males and females. There are universities at León and Managua. Health indicators are generally poor. Life expectancy at birth was seventy years in 1991; birth rate is 25.5 per 1,000; population growth rate is 1.97% (2004 est.); infant mortality rate 30.1 per one thousand live births. There is a high incidence of malnutrition; a high incidence of infectious diseases, mainly enteritis, malaria, and tuberculosis; and a still relatively low incidence of the HIV virus. The health care system is still inadequate despite modest improvement during the 1980s. There are approximately 85.6 physicians and ninety-two nurses per one hundred thousand population. Welfare indicators are generally poor, too. Nearly 50% of the working force is unemployed or underemployed, there is unsatisfactory access to safe drinking water, and the quality of basic public services is generally poor, especially in rural areas and on the Caribbean coast. Quality of housing is inferior in urban, suburban, and rural areas, with an acute housing shortage in the capital.

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**See also** *Central America: History and Economic Development*; *Central America: International Relations*; *Central American Common Market (CACM)*; *Contras*; *Nicaraguan Revolution*; *Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)*; *Somoza García, Anastasio*; *Somoza DeBayle, Anastasio*

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## NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

The Nicaraguan revolution cannot be categorized as peasant, proletarian, or bourgeois like other classic revolutions in Europe, North American, and Asia. The Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) gathered a broad array of social forces that overthrew the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle on July 19, 1979. On that day, it was difficult to find a citizen in the country who did not talk like a revolutionary and claim the vindication of national hero and martyr August César Sandino.

### From Sandino to Fonseca

The roots of the Nicaraguan revolution are intertwined with the lives and the deaths of its principal intellectual architects. August César Sandino was born in 1895 as the illegitimate son of Gregorio Sandino, a merchant, and Margarita Calderón, a coffee picker, in the small town of Niquinohomo. He went to Mexico in the early 1920s to work in the oil fields near Tampico and Veracruz. There he absorbed a wide range of revolutionary ideologies from anarchism to communism and participated in radical union organization. This experience influenced his moral outrage at the intervention of the United States in Central American and the Caribbean conflicts. In 1926, Sandino returned to Nicaragua to support the military campaign of Liberal forces against a Conservative government with ties to the administration of Calvin Coolidge. He pledged his loyalty to Liberal general José Moncada, who espoused classical liberal values of the rule of law, respect for private property, and limited republican government. However, a contingent of US Marines maintained a strong presence in the country to defend Conservative politicians and to protect US business interests. When US envoy Henry Stimson arranged a truce between Liberal and Conservative factions in 1927, Sandino decided to form his own army in the northeastern mountains of Nicaragua.

In the village of El Chipote, he promulgated the Articles of Incorporation of the Defending Army of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua. After nearly five years of sporadic engagement with guerrilla combat units, the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt withdrew the Marines as part of his Good Neighbor Policy unveiled in 1932. Roosevelt left the responsibility of maintaining order and stability to Anastasio Somoza García, a graduate of the US military academy at West Point, who became the chief officer of the Nicaraguan National Guard. In August 1933, the National Guard attacked a Sandinista

camp, which prompted Sandino to request that Liberal President Juan Batista Sacasa declare the Guard unconstitutional. Nevertheless, in February 1934, Sandino agreed to meet with Sacasa and Somoza García in Managua to negotiate a settlement. Upon leaving the presidential headquarters, National Guardsmen kidnapped him, his brother Socrates, and two Sandinista commanders, and executed them in an empty field.

When Somoza García became president in 1937, he began to use state power to repress political opposition and to enrich a small clique of family members and close associates. Through the instrument of the National Guard, he monopolized the security forces and controlled the judicial system, the banks, and the construction industry, and the primary means of national communication and transportation. In September 1956, the assassination of Somoza García by a radical poet, Rigoberto López Pérez, sparked a state of siege and the bogus convictions of university professors and Conservative political leaders. In this atmosphere, a young law student at the National Autonomous University of León, Carlos Fonseca Amador, began to acquire a revolutionary consciousness. In 1957, Fonseca quit a youth organization affiliated with the Conservative Party and joined the Nicaraguan Socialist Party. In June 1959, Fonseca assembled an armed column of students, peasants, and Cuban advisers in southern Honduras to carry out attacks on the National Guard at several points in northern Nicaragua. The Honduran military arrested the group before the plan could be executed, but Fonseca was released less than a week later. This aborted attempt to destabilize the dynasty occurred almost simultaneously with the emergence of a moderate reform movement of Social Christian and Christian Democrats led by Conservative dissident Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

Fonseca soon realized the futility of agitating within the restrictive ideology of the Socialist Party and started the New Nicaragua Movement, with fellow Socialists Tomás Borge and Silvio Mayorga, in 1960; they created the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in July 1961. As the principal thinker behind the organization, Fonseca carefully refined Sandino's socialist and nationalist orientations to address the repressive political climate and the desperate social conditions of the working classes and rural poor. The FSLN advocated cooperation with diverse urban and rural groups and the gradual accumulation of forces. But the Sandinistas' military actions in the 1960s were dismal failures. The National Guard captured Fonseca in 1964 and deported him to Guatemala. He returned clandestinely to Nicaragua to continue the cause, but was later arrested for bank

robbery in Costa Rica. Once Fonseca was freed from jail after Sandinista operatives hijacked an airliner, he spent most of his time in Cuba, under the tutelage of Fidel Castro, developing a strategy of prolonged popular war that guided the guerrilla campaign in the 1970s.

By the time that Anastasio Somoza Debayle took control of the state apparatus in 1967, the FSLN had been eclipsed by the rise of other sources of opposition to the dictatorship among Social Christians and other progressive Catholics, and leftist university professors and students. On December 23, 1972, a massive earthquake destroyed Managua. Somoza's blatant misuse of emergency relief funds alienated even some erstwhile supporters and exacerbated unemployment, the lack of social services, and the scarcity of food in the capital. In December 1974, the Sandinistas burst back into the public eye with a dramatic raid on a party at the home of a cabinet minister and took hostage several foreign diplomats and corporate executives.

In 1975, the FSLN divided into three ideological factions. Fonseca led the dominant Prolonged Popular War faction that borrowed heavily from the successful guerrilla strategy promoted by Che Guevara in Cuba. Maoists shaped the Proletarian Tendency based on factory workers and barrio dwellers. Daniel and Humberto Ortega forged the Third (*Tercerista*—"the Third Way") faction that avoided the dogmatic positions of the other groups and sought alliances with businessmen, religious leaders, and professionals. Humberto Ortega had fought alongside Fonseca in the remote mountains during the 1960s, but he wanted to pursue an urban insurrectionary struggle. On November 8, 1976, the National Guard killed Fonseca in an ambush near Matagalpa at the height of ideological competition within the FSLN. While Fonseca is still considered the most prominent historical figure of the Nicaraguan revolution, his death proved advantageous for the *Terceristas*, who assumed control of the surging revolutionary tide in the late 1970s.

## Victory and Revolutionary Government

On January 10, 1978, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, the leader of the centrist Democratic Liberation Union and the editor of the newspaper *La Prensa*, was assassinated while driving through Managua. Following this event, mass demonstrations, business lockouts, and labor strikes spurred the creation of the Broad Opposition Front that included prominent politicians, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, and clerics. The



Front called for the resignation of Somoza, yet it lacked political leverage and the moral authority of a leader like Chamorro whose anti-Somoza credentials stretched back to the 1950s. Meanwhile, the FSLN organized the United People's Movement around student groups, trade unions, and progressive Christian activists. Several urban guerrilla attacks, the most dramatic of which was the occupation of the National Palace by Sandinista commandos, enhanced the FSLN's popularity. In March 1979, the Sandinista factions united publicly to conduct the final offensive on major urban areas that vanquished the National Guard. On July 20, the FSLN entered Managua accompanied by jubilant crowds to assume political power.

Daniel Ortega became the Sandinista representative on the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction. The Junta immediately nationalized the banking, insurance, foreign commerce, and mining industries and confiscated the substantial property holdings of the Somoza family and its closest associates. After the resignation of Edén Pastora and Violetta Chamorro, two non-Sandinista members of the junta, in April 1980, Ortega and Sergio Ramírez, a university professor and literary figure, became the dominant political figures of the revolution. In coordination with the nine-member Sandinista National Directorate, the junta pursued aggressive policies of literacy, health, agrarian reform, a mixed socialist-capitalist economy, and a nonaligned international status.

Commitments to popular democracy, social justice, and economic transformation punctuated the revolutionary decade of the 1980s. The Sandinista leadership emphasized the redistribution of resources in favor of their constituencies among urban working classes, small farmers, and the poor. The program in agrarian reform focused primarily on land expropriated from the Somoza family and its closest associates in the early 1980s. But the state gradually increased the confiscation of property from other economic elites who remained in the country or went into exile in the United States. The arbitrary application of agrarian reform laws alienated peasants and rural labor and infuriated larger capitalist interests that attempted to operate within contradictory state policies about production and marketing. Agricultural credit and food prices were heavily subsidized to levels that placed great monetary and fiscal pressures on state coffers. Public housing projects and universal health care raised living standards in urban areas, especially in Managua where commercial and industrial labor was concentrated. Primary, secondary, and university education policies delivered on revolutionary promises but also served ideological purposes. The formation of labor and trade unions,

professional organizations, and neighborhood activist groups complemented Sandinista social initiatives in urban slums; isolated rural areas; and among women, youth, and artisans.

However, many middle-class and grassroots elements began to criticize openly the government's heavy-handed vertical administrative style. Although the FSLN dominated the political landscape, other moderate and conservative political parties, business organizations, and non-governmental organizations expressed opposition openly and played critical roles in the representation of non-revolutionary economic and social groups. The newspaper *La Prensa* and the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) were the primary voices for non-Sandinista civil society. The government closed *La Prensa* on several occasions and jailed outspoken COSEP leaders, but never outlawed them.

After the Sandinista ticket of Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez won the national election in November 1984, the government convened a constituent assembly to craft a new constitution. The new constitution that was promulgated in January 1987 reflected the mass appeal of a socialist vanguard party and the desire to consolidate a unique revolutionary experience in Latin America. During this period, Ortega divided his time between the constitutional debate, economic planning, and diplomacy. He traveled widely in Latin America, Europe, and Asia in search of economic and military assistance and international solidarity. He played a key role in the negotiations for a regional peace agreement initiated by former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias in February 1987.

Relations between the United States and Nicaragua deteriorated rapidly after Ronald Reagan became president in 1981. The Reagan administration accused the FSLN of fomenting instability in El Salvador and formed a counterrevolutionary force of Somocista (who followed Anastasio Somoza) exiles under the guidance of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The *Contras*, as they became popularly known, operated from camps in Honduras and Costa Rica to carry out economic sabotage, military incursions, and political intimidation. The CIA mined the Port of Corinto in 1984 and continued to fuel the civil war even after the United States Congress had prohibited any further backing of the *Contras*. In 1985, the Reagan administration imposed a trade embargo and a lending moratorium through the cooperation of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These international conditions hampered the Sandinista government's ability to deliver to its main constituents the promise of revolutionary transformation.

Under the pressures of a deep economic and social crisis in the late 1980s, the Sandinista government

implemented a structural adjustment program intended to control hyperinflation, encourage greater productivity in the private sector, and reduce public spending. At the same time, Ortega opened lines of communication with Conservative and Liberal opposition political parties and the business community in anticipation of the 1990 presidential election. The FSLN was contested by a fourteen-party coalition that supported the candidacy of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, widow of slain newspaper editor Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. Barrios de Chamorro's victory with 52% of the vote to Ortega's 41% demonstrated significant discontent among important sectors of society, including peasants, housewives, and young males. In the wake of defeat, Ortega promised Sandinista stalwarts that the revolution would continue "from below."

### **The End of the Revolution and Democratization**

The Chamorro administration and its legislative majority pursued an agenda of liberal democracy, market economics, and individual rights. Official efforts to reform the state's role in the economy and society targeted the Sandinista state apparatus. The executive bureaucracy used decree powers between 1991 and 1994 to privatize hundreds of public enterprises and return land to original elite owners whose property had been confiscated under the provisions of revolutionary laws governing agrarian reform. In January 1993, the National Assembly launched a comprehensive overhaul of the 1987 constitution that struck at the heart of Sandinista institutions and ideology. The reformed constitution of 1996 placed paramount importance on the individual rights of citizenship and civil liberties, competitive politics, private enterprise, and property ownership. The provisions that governed agrarian reform were altered to emphasize the democratization of property, the fair distribution of land, and the pursuit of sustainable economic development rather than collective justice in the countryside.

Furthermore, the Sandinista officer corps was subordinated to civilian authority, and references to the revolutionary heritage of the Sandinista Popular Army were expunged in favor of the defense of sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. The reforms adjusted the relationship between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, thus limiting the decree powers of the president and strengthening the autonomy of legislators and magistrates. The responsibilities of the Supreme Electoral

Council were expanded to manage national, departmental, regional, and municipal elections.

Over the course of the 1990s, the FSLN remained the largest single political party in the country, holding approximately 40% of the seats in the National Assembly. However, the Sandinistas reexamined their platform and policies and reorganized their membership and party bureaucracy. Sandinista legislators and party officials supported painful market-oriented economic reforms; drastic cuts in social spending on education, health, and welfare; and the reduction of the army's rank and file from ninety thousand to fifteen thousand soldiers. The negative social impact of the dramatic reduction of state employment, subsidies, and services caused rifts in the party hierarchy and the resignation of several key leaders, including Sergio Ramírez and Humberto Ortega, the chief of the Sandinista Popular Army since 1979. In addition, the popular base of the FSLN eroded in urban neighborhoods and rural communities, and among teachers, students, and professional and labor groups that once exemplified the multi-class character of the revolutionary coalition aligned against the Somoza dictatorship.

During the first half of the 1990s, the FSLN faced a wave of demands from popular organizations to decentralize the party apparatus and implement pluralist and autonomous decision-making practices. Resistance at the pinnacle of the FSLN led to the emergence of factions, including the Sandinista Renewal Movement. The rigors of competitive elections revealed the Sandinistas' weaknesses in the face of new challenges from old sources of Liberal and Conservative political interests. Daniel Ortega's effort to regain the presidency in 1996 ended in defeat at the hands of Arnaldo Alemán and the Liberal Alliance. Alemán enjoyed the support of traditional Liberal families that had long associations with the Somoza family during the dynastic years. The Liberal resurgence in the late 1990s raised optimism among thousands of claimants who wanted to retrieve property that was confiscated by the FSLN during the 1980s. Liberal and Conservative economic elites mounted a legal assault against several Sandinista decrees and laws that remained in effect after 1990 and challenged the validity of executive actions on the property question during Chamorro's term in office. The struggle over property rights rekindled lingering ideological hostilities from the revolutionary past in which the Sandinistas insisted on the defense of acquired rights to land and enterprises.

Daniel Ortega was nominated once again as the FSLN's presidential candidate for the 2001 national elections. Dissident Sandinista groups objected to the party's decision, arguing that Ortega no longer

represented the diversity of opinion within the Sandinista movement. The winner, Enrique Bolaños, a Liberal businessman and Alemán's former vice-president, maintains antipathy for the Sandinistas due to the confiscation of his property in the mid-1980s.

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## NIGER

The Republic of Niger is a land-locked West African country, bordered by Algeria, Libya, Chad, Nigeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, and Mali. The country totals

489,189 square miles with less than 3% arable land. Niger consists primarily of the Sahara Desert, including the partly volcanic Air mountains in the central region, with some flat-to-rolling savanna plains in the south where most of the population resides. The Niger River flows for approximately 310 miles (five hundred kilometers) through the country's southwestern-most corner. From July to September, the river is navigable by small boats and provides irrigation along its immediate banks. The country shares Lake Chad on its southeastern corner with Nigeria, Chad, and Cameroon. Niger contains large quantities of tin, iron ore, copper, phosphates, and uranium. Agriculture, primarily groundnuts, millet, sorghum, cassava, beans, and rice, as well as pastoralism dominate the domestic economy, with some fishing and rock salt mining. Several ethnic groups, including the Hausa (56% of the population), Djerma (or Zerma), Songhai, Fulbe, and Tuareg inhabit Niger, which is about 85% Muslim. French is the official language, with Hausa, Djerma, and Fulbe as national languages. The population totals approximately 11.5 million with almost 1 million people living in the capital, Niger, situated on the Niger River. The country consistently ranks as one of the ten poorest countries in the world, with annual per capita income estimated at less than \$800.

The nomadic Tuareg were the first inhabitants of the region, followed by the Hausa and other sedentary groups. About one thousand years ago, Arab traders from North Africa first made contact with the Tuareg and Hausa, introducing Islam and linking the region with the increasing trans-Saharan trade, comprising exchange in supplied salt, metals, and slaves. Parts of the area were loosely incorporated into the great Western Sudanic empires of Mali and Songhai, although the Tuareg in the northern desert regions retained much of their autonomy. After the fall of the Songhai Empire in the late sixteenth century, a series of small political entities and Tuareg confederations emerged, including several Hausa city-states in the extreme south. The Fulbe jihads of the early nineteenth century affected the southern region, which was eventually subsumed into the newly created Sokoto Caliphate where it remained until conquest by the French in the late nineteenth century. Parts of the desert north were not disrupted by the Europeans until well into the twentieth century. Niger became a French colony in 1922, administered from Dakar, Senegal.

The French launched military expeditions into the interior to control and tax trading caravans. The colonial administration also imposed taxes to force people to farm, particularly groundnuts for export. Little was invested in social or infrastructural

development. Local government was left in the hands of traditional ruling elites. No Western-educated elite emerged as it did in coastal colonies. In 1946, the peoples of Niger, in common with other peoples in French Africa, were granted French citizenship with limited self-rule, and a small but short-lived political party was formed. In elections in 1958, Hamani Diori won the presidency and he retained this position when the country won independence on August 3, 1960. Close ties were maintained with France, and French advisers and troops remained in the country.

Diori and his elite supporters concentrated on attempts to develop the economy and consolidate their own power. Diori won re-election in 1965 and 1970, but he was overthrown in a military coup in 1974 by Lt. Colonel Seyni Kountche who promised to root out corruption and push for development. He also had strong French support for his proposed reform policies. The Sahelian drought of the late 1970s and early 1980s profoundly affected the country, as did falling uranium prices on the world market after 1979. Kountche confronted growing popular opposition and attempted coups and assassinations with an increasingly authoritarian style. In 1987, Kountche died and was succeeded by Colonel Ali Seybou, who was chosen as president by the Supreme Military Council. Seybou was forced to accept austerity measures and a structural adjustment program consisting of privatization of state enterprises and cuts in student scholarships and civil servant salaries. Seybou also oversaw a transition program to civilian rule, which included a new constitution. A national conference convened in 1991 to draft a new constitution set the stage for multiparty elections in 1993, won by Mahamane Ousmane as president and Mahamadou Issoufou as prime minister. Infighting between the two men, as well as continued drought and declining uranium prices, disrupted the country's stability and economic progress. Issoufou resigned in 1994 and new elections for prime minister were won by opposition leader Hama Amadou. Infighting paralyzed the government, internal unrest among students and northern Tuareg rebels intensified, and bankruptcy loomed. Both Ousmane and Amadou were overthrown in a violent military coup in January 1996 led by Colonel Ibrahim Barre Mainassara who declared himself president of the Fourth Republic of Niger. He was assassinated in early 1999 by the presidential guard whose leader, Major Mallam Daouda Wanke, assumed power briefly. Free elections in late 1999 elevated Mamadou Tandja to the presidency while Hama Amadou was reinstated as prime minister. Tandja signed peace agreements with Tuareg rebels and, although periodically instituting states of emergencies to repress student rebellions in the

capital, Niamey, has generally moved toward easing strict security measures. Structural adjustment measures continue to be implemented, albeit slowly.

In addition to the constant threat of rebellions and coups, Niger faces severe economic hardships. The economy is based on uranium mining, totaling over 75% of the country's exports, and subsistence agriculture, practiced by 80% of the population. Desertification, resulting from both natural and human activity, poses a significant and growing problem. The country is heavily dependent on foreign aid, mostly from France. The GDP is estimated at \$9 billion with an external debt of over \$1.6 billion. Education and health care are sorely lacking. The adult literacy rate is approximately 16%; life expectancy averages forty-two years for men and women. The infant mortality rate is 122 per 1,000 live births and population growth is 2.9% with an 80/20 rural/urban ratio. Niger's future political and economic prospects appear bleak.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## NIGERIA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is situated in Western Africa, bordering the Gulf of Guinea, between Benin and Cameroon. Nigeria's climate is characterized by strong latitudinal zones, becoming progressively drier as one moves north from the coast. Rainfall is the key climatic variable, and because all of Nigeria is within the tropics, there is a marked alternation of wet and dry seasons in most areas. The wet season takes place between May and September and the dry season between October and April in most of the country; the temperature is always warm. Rainfall varies from more than 130 inches along the

coast to less than twenty-six inches along the northern border. Maximum temperatures range from 95°F on the coast, where cloud cover is nearly continuous, to above 105°F in the north. Minimum temperatures range from 72°F in the south to 66°F in the north. The northern part of the country consists mainly of desert, which rises to savanna-covered hills and a central agricultural plateau. The southeastern and southwestern zones consist of savanna and rain forests. Along the coastline are thick mangrove swamps.

Nigeria's population is one quarter of the entire African continent and is Africa's most populated country with an estimated population of about 137 million and an annual growth rate of 2%. Among the most populated countries in the world, it occupies the tenth place. Prior to 1991 the capital city had been Lagos, but from then on Abuja, a much smaller city with 371,674 persons (1991) and located in the geographical centre of the country, has occupied its position.

Nigeria's two main rivers are the Niger River and the Benue River. Nigeria is culturally rich but also diverse and complex. The country has three major ethnic groups (Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa) and hundreds of ethnic subgroups. There is no single language that can be understood by the masses, but English is the official language followed by the Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo (Ibo), and Fulani in different parts of the country. As for religion, half the population are Muslims, who live mainly in the north; Christians are about 40% and they mostly live in the south; and 10% of people have indigenous beliefs.

As early as 1849 the British had already occupied the cities of Benin and Biafra, developing commercial strategies that mainly consisted of the slave trade. In 1885, British claims to a sphere of influence in that area received international recognition and, in the following year, the Royal Niger Company (RNC) was chartered under the leadership of Sir George Goldie. On January 1, 1901, Nigeria became a British protectorate. In 1914, the area was formally united as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. Following World War II, successive constitutions legislated by the British government moved Nigeria toward self-government on a representative basis. Nigeria was granted full independence in October 1960 under a constitution that provided for a parliamentary form of government.

In October 1963, Nigeria altered its relationship with the United Kingdom by proclaiming itself a Federal Republic, and Nnamdi Azikiwe became the country's first president. However, tensions between ethnic groups grew stronger and conflicts arose. On January 15, 1966, a small group of army officers, mostly southeastern Igbos, overthrew the government

and assassinated the federal prime minister and the premiers of the northern and western regions. This was the beginning of more than thirty years of almost continuous military rule and conflicts in Nigeria until the year 1999.

In 1966, the federal military government that assumed power under General Aguyi Ironsi, was unable to quiet ethnic tensions or produce a constitution acceptable to all sections of the country. In July, a second coup established the leadership of Major General Yakubu Gowon. In May 1967, Lt. Col. Emeka Ojukwu, who emerged as the leader of increasing Igbo secessionist sentiment, declared the independence of the eastern region as the Republic of Biafra. The ensuing Nigerian Civil War was bitter and bloody, ending in the defeat and disappearance of Biafra in 1970 and a resulting two million casualties.

On July 29, 1975, Gen. Murtala Mohammed staged a new bloodless coup, accusing the military government of Gowon of delaying the promised return to civilian rule and becoming corrupt and ineffective. General Muhammed replaced thousands of civil servants and announced a timetable for the resumption of civilian rule by October 1, 1979. However, Muhammed was assassinated on February 13, 1976, in an abortive coup.

In 1979, five political parties competed in a series of elections in which Alhaji Shehu Shagari was elected president. Again, in December 1983, the military overthrew the Second Republic. Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Buhari emerged as the leader of the Supreme Military Council (SMC), the country's new ruling body. The Buhari government was peacefully overthrown by the SMC's third-ranking member, Maj. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, in August 1985.

Babangida ruled with military force until the new presidential election was finally held on June 12, 1993. The historic presidential elections indicated that the wealthy Yoruba businessman M. K. O. Abiola had won. However, on June 23, Babangida annulled the election. Without popular and military support, he was forced to hand over to Ernest Shonekan who was supposed to rule until new elections, scheduled for February 1994. But he had to resign his power and deliver it to Defense Minister Gen. Sani Abacha who forced Shonekan's "resignation" on November 17, 1993. In October 1995 Gen. Sani Abacha announced the timetable for a three-year transition to civilian rule. Abacha, widely expected to succeed himself as a civilian president on October 1, 1998, died suddenly of heart failure on June 8 of that year.

He was replaced by General Abdulsalami Abubakar who decided to have elections in 1999. In February 1999, former military head of state Olusegun

Obasanjo ran as a civilian candidate and won the presidential election. The emergence of a democratic Nigeria in May 1999 ended sixteen years of consecutive military rule. Finally, the April 2003 elections marked the first civilian transfer of power in Nigeria's history, with elections won again by Obasanjo.

The Nigerian economy is the largest and most dynamic in Black Africa. In 2004 the GDP was estimated at \$114.8 billion. Since the beginning of oil exploitation in the 1970s, Nigeria's unpopular military rulers have failed to make significant progress in diversifying the economy away from overdependence on the oil sector, which provides 30% of GDP, 95% of foreign exchange earnings, and about 80% of budgetary revenues. The United States remains Nigeria's largest customer for crude oil, accounting for 40% of the country's total oil exports; Nigeria provides about 10% of overall US oil imports and ranks as the fifth-largest source for US imported oil.

The oil boom accelerated massive migration to urban centres, which then became crowded with rural migrants who lack jobs and the resources to return to the countryside. This meant increasingly widespread poverty, especially in rural areas, and a collapse of basic infrastructure and social services since the early 1980s. The country's urban population is 45% of the total.

Besides the oil sector, agriculture is an important sector as it employs more than half of the total population, mostly on a subsistence level, but contributes only about 30% of the GDP. The exports consist of rubber, cotton, and palm oil. The country used to be a great exporter of cocoa, but nowadays exports are stagnant at around 180,000 tons annually, whereas twenty-five years ago it was three hundred thousand tons. The leading subsistence crops are yams, cassava, and cocoa in the south; and maize, guinea corn, rice, and millet in the north.

Lake Chad is the prime source of fish. The largely subsistence agricultural sector has failed to keep up with rapid population growth, and Nigeria, once a large net exporter of food, now must import food. Other important industries are textile manufacturing, food processing and brewing, cement production, motor-vehicle assembly, sawmilling, and small consumer-goods manufacturing. The poor infrastructure of the country is a major constraint to economic development with most of the roads and ports in poor shape.

Although Nigeria's GDP is growing, the country is far from being a developed one. Despite having a large GDP, the per capita income has been as low as \$900, which makes Nigeria one of the poorest countries worldwide in terms of per capita income. Nigeria has a terribly unequal distribution of resources and

services. Although its territory has many resources, the distribution of those is so unequal that most of its population suffers from economic, health, and educative problems. The constant civil wars from 1966–1999 prevented the country from advancing in its development.

As for the health conditions, Nigeria had 1,170 hospitals in 1994, most of them in poor condition. The number of beds was 46,544, amounting to nearly 1,912 persons per bed. As of the early twenty-first century, around 15% of Nigerian children do not survive to their fifth birthday. The leading causes of child mortality are malaria, diarrhoea, and malnutrition, which contribute to 52% of deaths of children under the age of five. Malnutrition has become commonplace, and infant and maternal mortality rates continue to be among the highest in the world. The under-five infant mortality rate has slightly improved in the last thirty years, passing from an alarming 201 per one thousand live births in 1970, to 183 in 2002. The life expectancy at birth also improved a little, from forty-four years in 1970 to fifty-one in 2002 (UNDP 2004). Despite improving, it still is very low, below the average even for Sub-Saharan countries (forty-six years in 2002).

Less than half of the population has access to safe water and water-borne disease is widespread. Since the beginning of the economic crisis in the 1980s, the health sector has suffered dramatically. Development and recurrent expenditure has declined, resulting in a scarcity of drugs and medical supplies, and the deterioration of facilities.

Similar conditions reign for the education sector. The percentage of the GDP spent in 1990 for education was very low, only 0.9% (UNDP, 2004). Compared to the developed countries, which spend around 7%, this is very low. It is also very low when compared to neighbouring countries with a low human development index. These are all indicators that education is not a national priority in the country.

Six years of primary education are free and compulsory. Secondary-school enrolments are limited. The primary enrolment was only 60% in 1990 and 69% in 1995. At both the primary and secondary level, schools are generally overcrowded, and they lack teachers and basic infrastructure such as buildings, teaching aids, equipment, textbooks, and furniture. At the tertiary level, education has experienced phenomenal expansion without a proportionate increase in funding and facilities. The system suffers from problems such as outdated, dilapidated, or non-existent infrastructure; poorly stocked libraries, inadequate laboratories and equipment, low staff-student ratio, and poor quality of teaching; as well as low quality of graduates, especially in science and

technology. The adult literacy rate improved from being 40% in 1985 to 66% in 2002.

The working conditions are not much better. The unemployment rate is quite high and so is the number of poor people. About 66% of the population now falls below the poverty line of about a dollar a day, compared to 43% in 1985. Although Nigeria's economy is forecast to keep growing, the growth is primarily driven by the energy sectors and is unlikely to feed through to the wider population.

Nigeria's official foreign debt is approximately \$31 billion and about 75% is owed to Paris Club countries. As of the early twenty-first century, in the absence of government programs, the major multinational oil companies have launched their own community development programs. A new entity, called the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), has been created to help catalyze economic and social development in the region. Although as of this writing, it has yet to launch its programs, hopes are that the NDDC can reverse the impoverishment of local communities and improve human conditions in the country.

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**See also Biafra; Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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#### NIUE

Often said to be “the world's largest uplifted atoll,” Niue is oval in shape and has a surface area of one hundred square miles (260 square kilometers). Located in the heart of Polynesia at coordinates 19°02"S and 169°52"W, its nearest neighbours are Tonga, Samoa, and the Cook Islands. Niue's upper plateau is composed of coral rocks interspersed with pockets of soil and a covering of forest and scrub, while rugged limestone cliffs dominate the coastline. Its climate is tropical, with a mean annual temperature of 75.5°F, an average annual rainfall of eighty inches, and trade winds from the southeast. An underground lens of fresh water can be accessed only via deep caves or (in recent decades) piped bores. Droughts and cyclones are a constant threat.

The ancestors of the Niuean people arrived from Tonga about 1,500 years ago. By late traditional times, however, the island was effectively an isolate, due to its singular location, dangerous shores, and fierce warriors. In the 1600s, Niue's population of four thousand was divided into eight districts, each possessing a similar pie-shaped portion of coast and land. Within each district, family groups pursued slash-and-burn horticulture (taro, yam, sugarcane, coconut), along with hunting (fruitbats, birds, landcrabs), gathering (fruits, berries, roots, crustaceans), and fishing (from both reef and canoe). Each area of usable land belonged to a family, while coastal zones and virgin forests were usually controlled by the district. Gender and age constituted the only real divisions of labour, with each co-resident group being materially self-sufficient. Unlike its Polynesian neighbours, Niue had neither hereditary elites nor chiefly institutions.

Contact with whaling ships from the 1820s, and especially the establishment of the London Missionary Society on the island in the late 1840s, triggered major changes. The introduction of steel axes, knives, and fishhooks, in particular, significantly increased productive capacity, which in turn encouraged the export of coconut sennit, copra, fungus, cotton, and handicrafts. But, during the 1860s, Niue was found to have an even more important resource—labour. At any time over the next five decades, two hundred to five hundred men from the island would be absent as indentured workers in plantations, mines, or on ships throughout the Pacific.

During the great territorial carve-ups of the late nineteenth century, Niue's role as a supplier of labour was what most interested the imperial powers. Thus, in 1900 Britain formally annexed Niue, and the following year transferred control of the island to New Zealand. With the formal ending of the indenture system in 1915, the emphasis changed to ensuring

the territory's social and economic self-sufficiency. Paternalistic colonial administrations now haphazardly encouraged domestic industry, particularly exportable food crops and traditional handicrafts, though such initiatives invariably were undermined by natural calamity, international conflict, economic depression, and unreliable shipping.

Top-down modernisation arbitrarily imposed on the people of Niue after World War II contributed to the murder of New Zealand's resident commissioner in 1953. Under pressure from the United Nations, New Zealand then began to emphasise decolonisation as much as development. New policies offered unprecedented levels of investment in public service infrastructure and wage employment, especially in the education, health, communications, and administrative sectors. Migration to New Zealand—where there was an ongoing shortage of unskilled labour—also was encouraged, culminating in the opening of Niue's first airport. In 1974, after a United Nations-administered referendum on independence, the island became a self-governing territory constitutionally associated with New Zealand. From then on, an elected assembly, cabinet, and premier were to control its internal affairs, while New Zealand accepted responsibility for international relations and financial supply.

Development plans also were introduced about this time, though their hopes often were not achieved. On the one hand, key indicators such as levels of participation in the formal economy, real incomes, educational attainment, life expectancy, and so on show that basic living standards continued to improve. But such gains were consistently undermined by out-migration, with the resident population falling from a high of 5,200 during the late-1960s, down to around 1,500 in the early twenty-first century. As a result, about twenty thousand persons of Niuean descent now live in New Zealand, where they have automatic citizenship rights, and hundreds of others have moved on to Australia.

Several times over recent decades, New Zealand has reduced its funding to Niue and demanded restructuring of the public sector—always at the cost of jobs. While most households have continued to provide much of their own basic foods through cultivating, fishing, hunting, and gathering, the need for cash income is a constant pressure. Lack of wage employment often triggers emigration, especially for young adults. Different products and services have been variously promoted, often with considerable government support, as “the solution” to Niue's economic problems: fish, coconut cream, taro, lime oil, honey, passion fruit, timber, sewing footballs, philatelics (the production of attractive stamps for sale to

collectors), offshore banking, tourism, and the Internet. In each case, however, tangible success has been limited in duration or constrained by actual circumstances. Most often, unreliable airline and shipping connections have undermined the very best efforts at helping Niue escape the aid-dependency trap.

Nature similarly continues to exert its hold on “the world's smallest nation.” In January 2004 an unprecedented category-five cyclone devastated Niue and destroyed much of Alofi, its main town. Since then, environmental recovery and material reconstruction have been this microstate's priorities, with considerable help from New Zealand and elsewhere. But a predicted “final exodus” from the island in the wake of Cyclone Heta has so far failed to materialize, suggesting that Niueans always will maintain a core population on their homeland, guaranteeing their unique society and culture an ongoing existence—regardless of ecological and economic uncertainties.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Oceania; Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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#### NKRUMAH, KWAME

Kwame Nkrumah (1909?–1972), was a pre-eminent Ghanaian statesman, pan-Africanist, and political philosopher, best known for his fight against colonialism. He was born in Nkroful in the Western Region of



Ghana. (Nkrumah's date of birth is uncertain; however, he used September 21, 1909—a date stipulated on his baptismal certificate by the priest who baptized him into the Roman Catholic Church—in many of his official records). Nkrumah graduated from the prestigious Achimota College in Legon, Accra, in 1930, before leaving for the United States where he earned a B.A. in economics and sociology from Lincoln University in 1939; a B.A. in theology from the Lincoln Theological Seminary in 1942; and completed a Ph.D. candidacy in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania in 1943. He later moved to London, where he read law at Gray's Inn, and also attended law lectures at the London School of Economics in 1945. While in England, Nkrumah assumed the editorship of the *New African*, a journal of the West African National Secretariat, and also became the joint organizing secretary (with George Padmore) of the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945. In 1947 he moved to Ghana (then the Gold Coast) to become the general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)—a nationalist organisation. In 1948, Nkrumah broke away from the UGCC to form the Convention People's Party (CPP) with which he spearheaded the struggle that eventually secured Ghana's independence from Britain in 1957, making Ghana the first independent nation in Black Africa, and Nkrumah its first prime minister.

Even though the practical realities of politics compelled Nkrumah to start his major political activities in his native Ghana, he devoted ample attention to Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah's contribution to development went beyond his native Ghana; it includes his active involvement, leadership roles, and collaborative efforts with such notable Pan-African pioneers as W.E.B. Du Bois, Sékou Touré, Julius Nyerere, and Leopold Sédhor in the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU, now African Union [AU]) in particular, and the African liberation struggle in general.

### **Nkrumah's Development and Political Philosophy**

Nkrumah saw development as a multifaceted phenomenon, entailing economic, cultural, social, and political progress. However, he believed in the primacy of politics in the development process. In his words: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things will be added unto it." Nkrumah was an exponent of the dependency theory, which posits that the world system is divided into "cores" and "peripheries," with the former exploiting the latter.

Nkrumah contended that the nations of the periphery would remain dependent on those of the core, as the relationship between the two entities is inherently exploitative. Nkrumah saw no better approach to development than socialism; his infatuation with this ideology emanated from his experience with racism and injustice in both United States and Britain, as well as his personal encounter with colonialism in Africa.

The most insightful exposition of Nkrumah's philosophy is in his book, *Consciencism*, where he argues that colonialism entails two forces: positive action and negative action. According to him, the former "is the sum of those forces seeking social justice" while the latter "is the sum of those forces tending to prolong colonial subjugation and exploitation" (Nkrumah 1964, p. 99). According to Nkrumah, negative action always exceeds positive action under colonialism. To him neo-colonialism is a guise adopted by negative action in order to give the impression that it has been outweighed by positive action; thus "neo-colonialism is negative action playing possum" (Nkrumah 1964, p.100). Nkrumah's "consciencism" was couched in socialism, as he was convinced that the traditional African society was essentially egalitarian and communalistic. Nkrumah originally favoured nonviolence. However, after his overthrow in 1966, he became very radical, advocating for violence in several of his publications, notably in *The Struggle Continues* (1973), and *Revolutionary Path* (1973). His position on religion was decidedly ambiguous. He writes in his *Consciencism* that while his philosophy is underpinned by materialism, "it is not necessarily atheistic." Still, he claims in the same book that "religion is an instrument of bourgeois social reaction."

### **Contributions to National and International Development**

After Ghana's independence, Nkrumah sought to centralize power by moving toward a one-party state. He diminished the power of the military and the role of the traditional chiefs, making the latter dependent on his ruling party, the Convention People's Party (CPP), for official recognition. While this helped alleviate tribalism, it also entrenched him in power. Nkrumah launched Ghana's First and Second Development Plans, from 1951–1956 and 1959–1964, respectively. With these D-Plans, he embarked on massive industrialization, using local raw materials and labour to provide employment and to reduce the nation's dependence on imported goods.

Nkrumah built the Volta River Project to provide power for the new industries and for mass electrification. The nation's state farms were established in the 1960s to curb food and raw material shortages; a Workers' Brigade was also created to provide labour for these farms. Nkrumah increased the production of cocoa, the main cash crop, but, unfortunately, the price of cocoa plunged in the world market for the greater part of his time of reign.

The Ghana National Trading Corporation (GNTC) was established to reduce the role of middlepersons and expatriate traders in the distribution of consumer goods. Similarly, the Ghana Commercial Bank and the Black Star Line were founded to compete with the existing foreign banks and shipping lines, respectively. The most enduring legacy of Nkrumah is his policy of free education, which gave Ghana the highest enrolment rate in Africa by 1966. Nkrumah also made the provision of basic health care free across Ghana.

Regarding Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah teamed up with Sékou Touré to form the Ghana–Guinea Union in 1958, as part of his plan to create a Union of African States with one parliament and an All-African Defence Force. Nkrumah organized the first All-African Peoples' Conference (AAPC) in Accra in 1958; this culminated in the formation of a Pan-African Secretariat in Accra. Mali, under President Modibo Keita, joined the Ghana–Guinea Alliance in 1960. However, practical problems of geography, language, and the emergence of competing regional groups with different ideologies (e.g., the Casablanca Group, the Brazzaville Group, and the Monrovia-Lagos Bloc) thwarted Nkrumah's efforts to form a federation of African states. Indeed, some African leaders then, including Milton Obote, Modibo Keita, and Leopold Sédhor, were concerned that Nkrumah might use his Pan-Africanism to interfere with their internal affairs. Nonetheless, initiatives in the early twenty-first century by the African Union (AU) to form an all-African federation not only attest to Nkrumah's prodigious foresight, but they also lend support to Nietzsche's famous aphorism that "some people are born posthumously." Additionally, Nkrumah was actively involved in the nonaligned movement, the United Nations, the Commonwealth, and the international peace movement. In fact, it was during a peace mission to Hanoi that he was overthrown in 1966.

Even though Nkrumah left an enduring positive legacy in Ghanaian and African politics, he was hardly a paragon of virtue. By the time of his overthrow, he was virtually running a one-man regime. Nonetheless, the fact that Nkrumah was a shrewd political leader in Ghana and a pacesetter in the African

liberation struggle remains indubitable. His remarkable accomplishments earned him many international awards, including an Honorary Doctorate of Law from London University in 1957 and the International Lenin Peace Prize in 1962. Nkrumah lived in exile in Guinea, following his overthrow in 1966; he died in a hospital in Bucharest, Romania, on April 27, 1972, and was buried in his home town after state funerals in both Guinea and Ghana.

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**See also All-African Peoples Conference (AAPC); Ghana; Nyerere, Julius; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Pan-Africanism; Sénghor, Leopold; Touré, Sékou**

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### NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

The end of the Second World War witnessed the polarization of the world into two power blocs—the Communist and the Western—and the beginning of the Cold War. Each bloc engaged in economic, cultural, political, and ideological warfare against the other and tried to draw the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa into its own camp. Owing to a widespread desire on the part of these newly independent countries to keep clear of superpower politics and to work jointly against imperialism and racialism, a movement against alignment developed. The Asian-African Conference held in

Bandung in 1955 may be considered a precursor of nonalignment.

The term “nonalignment” was used first by Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first prime minister and also the foreign minister who shaped India’s policy of nonalignment and was a leader of the movement. He believed that India was too large a country to allow herself to be drawn into one or the other hostile camp, and would prefer to judge each issue as it arose on its own merit. Nehru felt this would help in creating an era of peace and preventing another world war. Another essential feature of nonalignment was a resolve to maintain friendly relations with all countries. By being nonaligned, moreover, the doors could be kept open to all possible sources of aid—Western and Soviet.

Western writers in particular have sometimes defined nonalignment as neutralism. In Nehru’s view, however, nonalignment is not neutralism as that would mean not having an opinion on any issue and keeping neutral, which certainly India did not intend to do. As has been emphasized by the architects of nonalignment, among others, it goes beyond equidistance from power blocs or neutrality. It stands for a number of things, which it strove actively to promote: anti-imperialism, anti-racism, anti-neocolonialism, and peaceful coexistence of all countries. It also supports the right of every nation, no matter how small, to exist and progress without having to join the big powers. Beginning with the first summit meeting in Belgrade in 1961, the policy of nonalignment was institutionalized into a movement. In its early years, nonalignment was often looked upon with incomprehension and even hostility by the superpowers. But as the Cold War gave way to *détente*, it began to be viewed with tolerance, even approval, by the United States and the USSR.

The movement did have a regional emphasis, with most of its members from Asia and Africa, though the former Yugoslavia was an important European member country with Marshal Tito as one of the leaders of the movement.

An important development was that the nonaligned countries came to have a two-thirds majority in the United Nations by the 1960s. Given the deadlock in the Security Council as a result of superpower rivalry during the Cold War, the General Assembly (and the nonaligned member states who formed the majority here) was able to play a much greater role in international affairs—including in situations of crisis—than what had been originally envisioned. The nonaligned countries in turn looked upon the United Nations as the most representative forum (its goals also coincided with their own declared objectives) and at successive nonaligned conferences,

reiterated their commitment to upholding its principles and goals. Thus the nonaligned movement, or NAM, came to have a significant impact, even if it was not wholly successful, in resolving the Suez Crisis (1956), the Indochina conflict, and others. Through collective and consistent action in the General Assembly, it also managed to sensitize the world community with regard to a number of issues, including the apartheid system in South Africa.

In the 1970s the economic aspect of independence gained prominence in the NAM in a bid to right the perceived imbalances in the North–South economic relations. The call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) crystallized in the UN resolution on NIEO in May of 1974. This was a call for restructuring international economic relations, including trade and technology transfer, to lessen the gulf between the developed and developing world. The nonaligned countries tried to achieve their economic goals through the Group of 77 and UNCTAD. Self-reliance and cooperation among countries of the South were emphasized.

The mid-1970s to the late-1980s were the period of the heyday of nonalignment. Starting with twenty-five members at the Belgrade summit in 1961, its membership rose to nearly one hundred. But it also began to appear that its principles were jeopardized due to sheer weight of numbers, as individual members used it to promote their narrow national and ideological interests. On other occasions, during developments in nonaligned countries in the Middle East, the horn of Africa, Afghanistan, and Indochina, these countries have taken distinctly partisan positions and thus revealed the bloc-wise position division within their own ranks.

On the whole, however, the movement was successful in keeping the nonaligned countries insulated from superpower rivalries. They were, over the years, able to strengthen the UN system and make it an important source of public opinion in international affairs.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989–1991, a development that left the United States at centrestage as the sole superpower, reservations were expressed in several quarters regarding the continued relevance of NAM, with the disappearance of bloc divisions and rivalry. But what must also be noted is that international relations have traveled a long way since the Cold War days. The world has come to have new, autonomous decision-making centers and a new sense of unpredictability permeates it.

At the same time many of the problems that then confronted the nonaligned countries still remain, along with some new ones. Therefore, the reason for continued solidarity also remains, albeit the basis of

this may have to be reviewed. Since 1989 a new, cohesive group of fifteen countries (the G-15) has emerged in the NAM. It is meant to function as an institutional mechanism of interaction between the developing countries and the industrially advanced G-7. One of the items on its agenda is to undertake collective negotiations with the G-7, especially in view of the developments during the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations.

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**See also: Bandung Conference (1955); Nehru, Jawaharlal; New International Economic Order (NIEO)**

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## NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs)

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have come to occupy an indispensable position in the realm of development. The presence of NGOs since the Second World War has been conspicuous in most parts of the world. In particular, the growth of the sector has been significant in developing countries. They are known under a variety of names and are broadly grouped as the third sector. Voluntary agencies or organizations, action groups, private organizations, non-profit organizations, people's organizations, grassroots organizations, community organizations, self-help organizations, public service contractors, quasi-autonomous NGOs, and intermediary organizations are some of the popular names of NGOs.

Not only in number but also in terms of coverage, activities, and programmes, the growth of the sector has been quite impressive during the last few decades. NGOs have proven to be both a vital agency and a crucial link between people and development. Rough estimates indicate that NGOs reach 250 million poor people in the developing countries (Streeten 1997) and more than 20% of the official aid for development is now being channelled through NGOs in different countries.

The operations of the NGO sector in some developing countries in Asia and Latin America have

achieved remarkable dimensions. In varying degrees of magnitude and activities, NGOs have a presence of their own in all Asian countries. India, for instance, is estimated to have the largest number of NGOs in the world (Lyons and Hasan 2002) with approximately 1.2 million organizations for a population of over one billion. Close to India is China, the most populous country, with about one million registered organizations (Young and Woo 2000, quoted in Lyons and Hasan 2002).

### Defining NGOs

Since the coining of the term NGO, for the first time by the United Nations in 1945 and popularized in the following decades, it has undergone extensive changes both in the structure and activities at different levels in disparate locations. For the UN, an NGO is any international organization that is not established by inter-governmental agreement and that accepts members designated by governmental authorities, though such membership does not interfere with the free expressions of the organization. Nevertheless, the basic characteristic pertaining to its governance, which is typified in the name "non-governmental," has remained unchanged for the last 60 years.

Although consensus about an acceptable definition of NGOs is hard to arrive, one can draw at least three important components from the term. They are non-governmental, non-profit making, and voluntary organization. As NGOs are generally organizations that do not include governmental representatives or governments, governmental components are excluded from the definition (Martens 2002). This characteristic of NGOs does not preclude them from seeking some of their funds from government or governmental agencies. Since NGOs are also understood as organizations not seeking governmental power, political parties and organized political groups are excluded from the notion of NGOs (Martens 2002).

Importantly, the second element of non-profit making is rather relative vis-à-vis that of the profit-making corporate sector. This facet of NGOs has been undergoing changes from an exclusively voluntary nature to something more business-like, but not toward making profit from programmes and activities. From organized collectives, meant mostly for voluntary and unpaid services, NGOs have transformed into professionally competent and specialized entities to carry out specific tasks that require skills and expertise by employing paid professionals and experts. This transformation in fact has diluted

the purely voluntary character of the NGOs, which was once the hallmark of such organizations. The loss of the purely voluntary nature of the NGOs is partly due to the resultant outcome of the growth that NGOs have been passing through from playing a charity and welfare role to resource providers (Hailey 1999). Members aspiring to join NGOs are now less motivated by their will to contribute to the declared objectives of NGOs on a voluntary basis or their concern for the marginalized and underprivileged sections of the society, but more because of the attractiveness of paid employment.

The most distinguishing feature of NGOs has been the element of voluntarism that motivated people to join such organizations for a specific purpose to achieve, often without the intention of getting paid but with a sense of commitment to the cause of the poor, the neglected, and the marginalized sections of the society. During the course of transformation of such solely voluntary-based organizations into more service-oriented, target-specific, and expert-driven modern NGOs, the spirit of voluntarism has given way to an attitude of pay for the work. NGOs are now service contractors, as Korten (1992) appropriately labels them. Still, they are non-governmental and non-profit organizations with the avowed purpose of providing services but are driven by market considerations rather than values. The new brand of NGOs is like other businesses rather than strictly voluntary organizations that pursue a social mission driven by a commitment to shared values (Korten, 1992). Nevertheless, they remain unique and distinct from the state and organs of the state meant to serve similar purposes.

The third component of "organization" in NGOs signifies that they can be distinguished from other groups or movements of less permanent organizational structure (Martens 2002). NGOs have more or less enduring organizational structures, members, offices, and funds to run them, making them formal institutions of a self-governing nature. Permanence cannot be treated as a universal trait of NGOs as many tend to disappear from the scene after achieving the objectives for which they had been originally formed or when their lifecycle has completed a circle. Sometimes they may take their new incarnation into a different form, or change to a different location with another set of objectives and functions.

Briefly, an NGO is a non-profit, organized group of people who do not seek any governmental office (Willets 1996), managing with internally or externally raised funds and retaining their commitment to people and society as distinguishable from that of the state and state organizations.

### Roles NGOs Play

NGOs have assumed an array of roles in development. They act as advocates, educators, catalysts, monitors, whistle blowers, mediators, lobbyists, activists, mobilizers of people and resources, protectors of human rights, conscientizers (stimulating consciences to correct injustices), animators, and conciliators, responding to the needs of the community and society at large. In developing countries, NGOs undertake initiatives that are often innovative and creative in nature to deal with issues related to poverty, literacy, education, health, unemployment, human rights, empowerment, sustainable development, conservation, the environment, and several other areas. Obviously, NGOs in developing countries have created their own niches, drawing support from the affected population and civil society but not without attracting resistance from the state.

### Typology

NGOs are of different kinds. They can be classified into many categories, depending on the basis of the preferred criteria of classification. Based primarily on major functions and activities, they are broadly grouped into consulting NGOs, welfare NGOs, development NGOs, and advocacy NGOs (Bowden 1990). They are also classified as project-based NGOs, national NGOs, international NGOs, and network NGOs (Conyers and Kaul 1990). If origin is the basis, NGOs are either self-initiated or externally supported (Avina 1993). The self-generating ones are usually small organizations that begin with limited internal financing, at least in the initial stages of formation, with moderate goals that are grounded in the immediate needs and resources of the community wherein they are located. In comparison, the externally supported NGOs are built around the locally perceived needs, promoting an externally designed development approach. Organizationally, they benefit from outside technical assistance, field experience of the founding organization, and the political or economic leverage of the founding organization (Avina 1993). In some developing countries, large-scale organizations of the latter kind have outweighed the self-generated ones. There are also cases of self-generated NGOs becoming the second category in the immediate stages of growth due to the availability of and dependency on funds for their activities.

NGOs can be delineated from civil society organizations (CSOs), which inhabits the area between

individuals (or families) and the state (Blair 1997). As the UNDP definition goes,

Civil society is, together with state and market, one of the three "spheres" that interface in the making of democratic societies. The organizations of civil society, which represent many diverse and sometimes contradictory social interests, are shaped to fit their social base, constituency, thematic orientations (e.g., environment, gender, human rights) and types of activity. They include church-related groups, trade unions, cooperatives, service organizations, community groups and youth organizations, as well as academic institutions and others. (Bebbington and Riddell 1997)

In other words, while all CSOs are NGOs, all NGOs are not CSOs (Blair 1997).

### Origin, Growth, and Lifecycle

In normal circumstances, the origin, growth, and development of NGOs are determined and facilitated by a set of internal and external factors. External ones are those chiefly rooted in the socioeconomic, cultural, and political settings, whereas the internal ones, which are more relevant in the phases of growth than origin, concern all those factors that fall within the organization. Necessarily, the emergence of NGOs varies from context to context and country to country, influenced by the above internal and external factors.

Importantly, the origin, growth, and development or the lifecycle of NGOs can be portrayed through four stages of startup, expansion, consolidation, and closeout (Avina 1993). All these four stages are not mandatory for the NGOs to follow in a rigid fashion. Some may skip the stages, choosing an entirely different route, while some might follow all the four stages in order. An organization that closes its functioning for some reason may begin its operations later in a different locality. Similarly, an NGO that closes out its operations in one area may start new programmes elsewhere, and thus closing out and starting up would happen simultaneously.

In developing countries, the lifecycle of NGOs generally starts with the attempts of an inspired founder or a group of individuals of similar interests. Focussing on NGOs in India, which has the largest sector of organizations in the world, Radhakrishna (1993) concludes that in the first ten years of existence, the organization struggles hard. If everything goes well, it reaches a plateau or a peak of high quality of work in the second decade. The organization at this stage attracts recognition. At the end of the second decade, as the leadership moves to the next generation, new problems crop up and there are

chances for organizational deterioration within the organization. This may be due to several reasons: the expansion of the organization to other geographical spots, proliferation of activities and programmes, the generation gap between the founder leader (or group of leaders) and the current workers, vested interests, alienation between the organization and the community it is meant to serve, increasing bureaucratization within the organization, indifference to the socioeconomic and political changes that happen in the society, increasing demands of the workers for more benefits and unionization, and the pains and pangs of transition. This stage, with the oncoming of organizational difficulties, is a critical period for the life of any organization. Either there is reaffirmation of earlier goals and objectives by the new leadership or redefinition of roles in the changed context. If the opportunities are missed, the graph goes down like an inverted "U" called a hyperbole.

### NGOs and Government

NGOs are sometimes viewed in juxtaposition to the state and state agencies, primarily because of the efficiency with which the programmes of NGOs are designed and implemented. Numerous are the advantages for NGOs vis-à-vis that of the state and state agencies. NGOs are known for their proximity to people, responsiveness to needs, sensitivity to the immediate needs, flexibility, micro-based programmes and smaller constituencies of activities, inexpensive strategies that lead to appropriate programmes, people-centeredness, participatory and personalised approach to the problems, and the ability to invent solutions. Compared to the government and other formal agencies, NGOs are more adaptable, sensitive to local conditions, and better suited to work with the poor (Streeten 1997). Within NGOs there is a perceptible lack of bureaucratic rigidity. Flexibility allows NGOs to tailor programmes and services that suit the requirements of the beneficiaries and the communities for whom they are intended for (Salamon 1987). Micro-level operations enable them to define their constituencies and standpoints clearly and work toward innovative solutions to deal with the issues they have chosen to address (Korten 1992). Innovative experiments have often been successfully carried out by NGOs in different locations and in several areas of development that directly affect the lives of the poor and the needy. In community health, indigenous medicine, evolving techniques of delivery of services to the poor in remote destinations (Bhatt 1995), microfinance, and in mobilizing workers in the informal

sector, to take a sample, the innovative and creative spirit and strategies of NGOs have been evident.

Placed parallel to NGOs, the state is typified as inefficient, hampered by bureaucracy, and in the control of self-interested politicians (Clark 1997; Robinson 1997). On the other hand, NGOs ensure that the people, the vulnerable groups in particular, are involved in the process of decision making (Clark 1997). Quite often it is the NGOs that begin to venture out into areas where immediate attention is required, even before government agencies start thinking of it (Salamon 1987). NGOs can therefore serve as a test-bed for new ideas and methodologies that are difficult for the government and business sectors to experiment with (Korten 1992). They have successfully acted as a sounding board for government policies and programmes as well. NGOs make use of the scanty resources available at their disposal in a more economic, efficient, and appropriate way than the state tends to do. Due to the talents and expertise that the NGO sector attracts, combined with a heightened sense of commitment among the workers and the staff, the innovative and enterprising spirit for finding solutions to the problems of the society are always kept alive and encouraged. Time and again, the innovative experiments tested and implemented by NGOs have proven to be instrumental in influencing governmental policies in a desirable direction, benefiting the neglected and the marginalized. NGOs do play their advocacy role effectively in areas where interventions are warranted. Illustrations from varied locations are numerous. Naturally, these achievements bring accolades to NGOs as trailblazers, whistle blowers, pioneers, and creative inventors.

### **NGO-Government Partnership**

Individual advantages and disadvantages, merits and demerits, or strengths and weaknesses of NGOs and the government do not necessarily prevent both from entering into partnerships to achieve common goals and objectives of development. Partnership has been promoted as a solution to attaining efficiency and effectiveness (Brinkerhoff 2002). It acts as a mechanism to combine the advantages of both the partners, namely the NGOs and the government, in the delivery of services to the people. Working in collaboration for commonly agreed and accepted objectives through jointly designed strategies and programmes, within the ambience of mutual understanding and recognition of the strengths and weaknesses of the involved partners, NGO-government partnership has

accomplished significant feats in development. The major advantage of this partnership is that it can provide a better service than either partner could provide on its own (Salamon 1987).

NGO-government partnership is apparent in a range of forms: monetary assistance, institutional support, policy formulation, a policy of cooption bringing opposition opinion into the mix, and adoption and application of innovative endeavours. Partnership is bound to be country-specific and subject to societal characteristics as well as the character and nature of NGOs and the government (Clark 1997). The success of NGO-government partnership depends largely on factors such as the attitude of the government officials and the NGOs toward striking such a partnership, the degree of encouragement from both the partners, direction and selection of relevant NGO partners (Clark 1997), and the exigency of needs that necessitate immediate action (such as the united action demanded by unforeseen natural calamities and disasters).

Successful partnership experiences reported from developing countries demonstrate that NGO-government collaboration works effectively with specific programmes that entail some sort of urgency on the part of the people and the state. Time-bound, specific programmes are likely to be more successful under a partnership venture than in a permanent partnership relation within a formal institutional structure. As cases illustrate, adequate financial support from the government motivates NGOs to enter into partnerships and the same monetary supports work as a prerequisite for the successful completion of the ventures undertaken in partnership. NGOs need financial resources, though they have the skills, expertise, and other resources essential for delivering goods efficiently.

Partnership programmes at the same time depend greatly on the government in power, especially its political ideology and commitment to the disadvantaged and deserving sections of the population. Importantly, this political dimension shapes the willingness and cooperation on the part of NGOs who have chosen to work for similar but agreed objectives with the government.

Partnership becomes a positive activity when governmental agencies shed their rigidity and change themselves into a pro-people apparatus, at least for the sake of achieving the agreed objectives with the NGOs. Partly due to the time-bound nature of the programme and the immediate concerns of both the partners, bureaucratic delays give way to expediency. Partnership endeavours should not be restricted to securing financial assistance alone as they also demand participation, sharing, and involvement of

the partners in matters of skills, capabilities, and readiness to make the partnership effective and useful for the people.

What benefits do partnerships bring to the partners concerned? Partnership programmes can influence the official structures in bringing about greater transparency, responsiveness (Clark 1997), and enhanced sensitivity of the bureaucracy to the immediate requirements of the people. In return, NGOs gain benefits in the form of better awareness about strategic planning and the macro-level concerns of the government.

Yet, there are imminent strains, difficulties, and dangers in NGO–government alliances. For the NGOs, partnership programmes might create tension and conflict at various levels: between their service role and advocacy role, and between their role as deliverers of government-funded services and their role as critics of government and private policies (Salamon 1987). Salamon (1987) cautions about three potential dangers in this alliance. Heavy reliance on governmental support, firstly, can lead to the loss of autonomy of the NGOs. Secondly, it can lead to “vendorism,” or the distortion of the mission of the NGOs in pursuit of governmental support. Finally, there is the danger of bureaucratization and over-professionalization due to government programmes and accounting requirements as the government officials are more concerned about the problems of management supervision, accountability, and authority. The involvement in government programmes impinges on the prominent features of NGOs such as their reliance on volunteers, their sense of independence, and their usual informal and non-bureaucratic character in their dealings with people (Salamon 1987). At the same time, neither the replacement of voluntary sector by the government, nor the replacement of the government by the voluntary sector makes as much sense as their collaboration (Salamon 1987).

## Issues

The commendable role played by the NGO sector in developing countries and the recognition it has earned for being influential in the processes of development do not rule out the potential for difficulties and problems that emanate from both within and outside the sector. Internally, NGOs confront problems relating to their objectives (original as well as the added ones in the later stages of growth and expansion), ideology, perceptions on organizational concerns, organizational matters, leadership, management, volunteers, paid workers, staff programmes,

resources, and the like. As NGOs are established with specific goals and objectives, the *raison d’être* is likely to vary and therefore, the strategies and programmes are bound to differ from NGO to NGO. It is also possible that organizations with similar objectives can have an altogether different orientation and programmes to achieve the same.

The objectives with which NGOs begin to work are often subjected to change when they grow in size, programmes, and institutional complexity. In this process that brings about changes in the originally envisaged objectives, NGOs are likely to miss the link between objectives, programmes, and beneficiaries. When this link is misplaced or lost, incongruity between objectives, programmes, and beneficiaries occurs. If the objectives conceived at the inception of NGOs are not allied with appropriate strategies, there can be problems in achieving their original objectives. More often than not, it is the availability of projects and funds that compels NGOs to deviate from the originally designed goals and programmes, motivating them to take up the new ones in tune with the prescriptions of donors for funded projects. It does not imply that NGOs should keep themselves away from constantly identifying new objectives and programmes during the course of their existence. Any new objective, which may be the result of the understanding of the changing contexts or needs of the people, should seriously take into account the resources available within the organization. Perhaps this incongruity explains why the “implementation gap” between what is planned and what is implemented is very great among the NGOs in developing countries (Turner and Hulme 1997).

NGOs accept projects designed by sponsors (Avina 1993) and statutory agencies, reducing their role to that of an intermediary. More than one-third of the funds of NGOs comes from official donors (Streeten 1997). NGOs look up to the funding agencies for tailor-made programmes by changing themselves into implementing agencies of the donors, or as Korten (1992) calls them, “public service contractors.” For a number of reasons, there are regular pressures on the modern NGOs to become public service contractors. Korten’s (1992) list includes:

- The fatigue of constantly existing at the margin of financial survival and the attraction of donor funding;
- The strain faced by more activist organizations who must constantly fight established interests, values, and practices;
- The difficulty of maintaining the value consensus and commitment of the organization as the organization grows in size;



- Moral obligation to provide job security for the paid staff of the organization; and
- The belief that contracting will bring in more funds and therefore it will be possible for the organization to do more things.

In these circumstances, the primary concern of the organization shifts from people to the mere survival of the organization with an uninterrupted inflow of funds. NGOs of this kind assume new responsibilities where financial assistance is easy to obtain. When the motive becomes the continued existence of the organizations through a regular flow of funds and new projects, NGOs fail to adopt better management skills for effective functioning. Obsolete management techniques keep the organization at a level from which it cannot grow in tune with the changing times. Tailor-made projects limit the scope for indigenous and innovative strategies as they usually come with a specific package of management guidelines suited only for specific purposes. Programmes and approaches lose urgency and appropriateness as they are planned more in consideration of the source and availability of funds and benefits to the organization than the benefits the projects would bring to the beneficiaries (Sooryamoorthy and Gangrade 2001).

Funded projects and closeness to donors also have consequences on the lifecycle and the functioning of NGOs. Apparently, the birth of NGOs is not always closely linked to the needs of the people or the community where they start their operations. Rather, as is the case in some Asian countries like India, they remain to be self-employment ventures of the founder and his or her team. Easy availability and flow of external funds, in turn, develops problems such as alienation and isolation of organizations, making them more secretive in their nature and function (Radhakrishna 1993). This in due course takes its toll on the transparency and accountability of NGOs. On another front, too, the consequence of this is obvious: well-established NGOs can monopolize the flow of funds to them, limiting the resources for the relatively new and smaller organizations (Salamon 1987).

The shift from people-oriented work to project-oriented activities is more vivid now among the NGOs in developing countries. The dependency of NGOs on government and international donors has not only affected the autonomy of the organizations but has also become counterproductive in their expected role as advocates and lobbyists, leading NGOs to assume the characters of governmental appendages.

On the other hand, an increasing number of organizations in South Asia and Latin America are now diversifying their sources of funding and generating

their own income from a mixture of commercial ventures, cost recovery, and local fundraising (Edwards et al. 1999). This kind of change toward resource mobilization would eventually help the NGOs to assume more of the characteristics of a genuine civic actor rather than a service delivery contractor (Edwards et al. 1999).

Structural changes are also part of the consequences of flow of external funds and greater dependency on them. NGOs begin to grow institutionally. Informal type of functioning gives way to a more formalized and complex set of procedures and structures. Presence of professionals and experts in NGOs, predominance of paid workers over volunteers, well-paid staff, and projects designed and supported by donors become the salient characteristics of modern NGOs. Institutionalization correspondingly brings in changes in the approach and attitude of the workers. Although not necessarily stated, new rules and norms are put in place for adherence. The changed setup may require the volunteers and paid workers to work according to a time-bound schedule. Strategies are pre-designed and guidelines of the sponsors are followed, undermining the role of the people and the workers in choosing the appropriate ones. As the NGO grows into a more complex institutionalized structure, the workers wish for the NGO to become a permanent body that would protect their interests as workers. In other words, the workers want the NGOs to act more like an employer than an agency that brings developmental opportunities to the people. In India, for instance, there are twenty million paid and voluntary workers in 1.2 million NGOs, contributing 14.8% to the gross national product of the country.

At times NGOs carry on with several programmes simultaneously without considering their structural and functional limitations such as the relevance and usefulness of the programmes, the benefits the programmes could bring to the people, and the infrastructure and resources at their disposal. Efforts are made in such a way that no opportunity to start a new assisted programme is lost. In this process NGOs lose their credibility and efficiency. Empirical studies have revealed that the organizations that undertake and run several programmes concurrently would register a low member-accountability vis-à-vis the organizations that concentrate on a single programme at a time (Smith-Sreen 1995).

Sometimes NGOs are silenced by the mechanism of cooption (Tandon, 1988), particularly when they become critical of governmental policies and programmes, and when they play their advocacy role. Cooption happens in many ways: allocating funds for NGO programmes, and offering respectable positions

in government bodies with perks and privileges are some of the means by which NGO workers are coopted. Cooption can come not only from those in power but also from other political actors; including the opposition, as happened in some Arab countries. For them, NGOs are instruments that can be used for the extension of political support and influence.

## Conclusion

For the last few decades, NGOs have been playing a very vital but active role in several realms of human life. NGOs have proven to be an indispensable player in developmental programmes affecting the majority of the population scattered in different continents. They have ventured into new areas of activities and have proven themselves to be effective and successful players. This is evident in the growth the sector has achieved over the years. The growth of the sector has been incredible, particularly in some developing countries. For instance, in India and Brazil the number of organizations has grown to one million and 210,000 respectively (Salamon and Anheier 1997). But the spread of NGOs across developing countries is neither uniform nor even. This unevenness, to some extent, is due to reasons of political stability and the presence (or absence) of democracy.

In reality, the roles NGOs take up, variations in contexts and needs notwithstanding, are seldom played in a cordial and complimentary atmosphere, as many of them are critical of state policies that adversely affect the people. Democratic structures and qualities of a nation serve as a determinant factor in providing a conducive and fertile ground for NGOs to take root. African countries in general, for instance, are not offering an encouraging environment for the growth of NGOs, which is attributed to the poor economic performance, limited legitimacy, and cultural heterogeneity that exist in such countries (Dicklitch 1998). In relation to the population, the number of NGOs in most African countries is disproportionate and their role has been confined to filling the gaps left by the withdrawal of the regimes or working in collaboration with the regime to further the objectives of the regime. Although the regimes accept funding from international NGOs, they do not welcome overly political or advocacy-oriented NGOs to their countries. While accepting NGOs as partners in development, the regimes also want to control them through a variety of forms, using their authoritarian, autocratic, and coercive political powers. Things are changing, however, in countries like South Africa where democracy has taken root since 1994.

Despite adverse conditions at the operational level, the element of volunteerism and commitment to social ideals, coupled with innovative programmes and strategies, have enabled NGOs to offer an alternative to the people. In the changing but challenging global situation, the NGO sector will be taking up more and more new roles to serve the people who are sidelined in the process of development and globalisation. Moving from the level of organizations acting at micro levels to dealing with the immediate needs of the society, NGOs are now becoming broad-based organizations. Networking with like-minded NGOs has helped the NGOs to establish links and extend their activities and programmes to new territories. In several developing countries, they are performing more strategic and lobbying functions. This is evident in their lobbying power of the international financial institutions, monitoring of international commitments (like Social Watch), and the democratisation of global economic and other regimes (for example, the WTO) (Edwards et al. 1999). One would naturally hope that in the coming years the NGO sector will be taking over more and more new functions that were hitherto performed by the state, and bring in the fruits of development to the deserving majority.

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## NORTH AFRICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### North Africa: The Region

Although there is little consensus on a clear delineation of geographical and political boundaries for the Near East, Middle East, and North Africa, for

the purposes of this essay the region of North Africa refers to five countries: Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. North Africa is the region north of the Sahara Desert, largely surrounded by water on three sides: the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Mediterranean Sea to the north, and the Red Sea to the east. The vast Sahara Desert has traditionally separated North Africa from the rest of the African continent. Beginning in the west, the Atlas Mountains run from Morocco to Tunisia. The high peaks of the Atlas produce considerable rainfall. On the northern slopes, flowing rivers produce fertile lands for agriculture and forests. The majority of Moroccans can be found living in the foothills and fertile farmland, valleys, and plateaus stretching from the mountains to the coast. The tallest peak in the Atlas Mountains is Mount Toubkal in southwestern Morocco, reaching a height of 13,665 feet. The mountains are also rich in minerals, including phosphates, lead, zinc, and iron ore. Approximately, 20% of Morocco's land is arable. Earthquakes occasionally strike in the northern mountains. Years of neglect have posed environmental threats of desertification, water supply contamination, and pollution of coastal waters.

Moving eastward to the second-largest country in Africa, we reach Algeria, which comprises a terrain of mostly high plateau and desert. Only about 3% of this country, which is about 3.5 times the size of Texas, is arable. The climate is arid, summers are hot and dry, and winters can be wet and cold. Earthquakes also occur in the mountainous region, and mudslides and floods can strike in the rainy season. Soil erosion, desertification, and industrial pollution have contributed to a neglected ecosystem. Algeria's natural resources include phosphates, iron ore, lead, zinc uranium, petroleum, and natural gas.

Directly east is Libya, which is comparable in size to Alaska. Most of Libya's flat and barren land is inhospitable, given to dust and sand storms. Only 1% of Libya can be farmed. Libya's dry terrain and shortage of fresh water resources have led to the country's investment in the largest water development program in the world, the Great Manmade River Project, designed to tap into ice age water reserves trapped in sandstone beneath the Sahara and pump the water to coastal cities. Oil and natural gas are plentiful in Libya. Like the rest of North Africa, desertification is cause for environmental concern.

In contrast to its two huge neighbors, Tunisia is a tiny country about the size of the US state of Georgia, snuggled in the north between Algeria and Libya on the tip of North Africa, just southwest of Sicily. Approximately 18% of Tunisia's land is arable. Northern Tunisia is mild and rainy in the winter, and hot and arid in the summer. The mountains of the

north give way to the Sahara Desert in the south. The land produces phosphates, iron ore, lead, zinc, and petroleum. Improper hazardous waste disposal is now posing health issues. Soil erosion, desertification, and water pollution are additional environmental concerns.

Egypt is the easternmost country in North Africa. The Red Sea, Israel, and Gaza border it on the east, and Sudan on the south. Because over 90% of the country is barren desert, the majority of Egyptians live along the Nile River, which runs south to north and has served as the lifeblood of Egypt for thousands of years. East of the river is the Sinai Peninsula, a huge triangular desert region, home to Mount Sinai and Mount Katherine. The pinnacle of Mount Katherine represents Egypt's highest point at 8,625 feet. Although Egypt is large, about three times the size of New Mexico, less than 3% of the country can be farmed. The land is hot and dry and receives very little rainfall. The winters are moderate with an average temperature during the day of about seventy degrees. Egypt's natural resources are iron ore, phosphates, limestone, gypsum, lead, zinc, natural gas, and petroleum. The country is prone to earthquakes, flash floods, dust storms, and sandstorms. Water pollution from oil, industry, and pesticides now threaten the coastal region. Desertification and soil salination are also environmental concerns.

These five countries all share a common and interlocking heritage, culture, history, and religion. All are Arab countries, meaning the majority of the population speaks a dialect of Arabic. With the exception of Egypt, the Berber language is spoken by some 12 million people across North Africa. The Berbers share an ethnic heritage that stretches back to about 2400 BC, thousands of years before Arabs arrived in the seventh century AD. The newly arriving Arabs of that period brought Arabic and Islam with them. Today the social fabric of North Africa is cut from the cloth of Islamic heritage. Although geographically lying on the African continent, culturally and politically, North Africa is intimately linked with the Middle East and the rest of the Arab world.

## History

The modern history of North Africa is closely linked with that of the West and is largely a product of European colonial endeavors in the region.

By the beginning of WWII, tension surfaced between the ruling class of one million European, primarily French, colonists and the nine million Algerian Muslims. The French colonial history of Algeria

was characterized by inequality that left the most fertile, and highly coveted, farmland and governing authority in the hands of colonists. This inequality created profound bitterness between the two groups. Algerian nationalism began to take the form of a growing Islamic movement intent on expanding Algerian independence and assimilation. The Algerian masses wanted complete equality with their colonial rulers.

During WWII, many Algerian Muslims fought alongside the French. In 1945 after the war, Algerian nationalists celebrating the Allied victory, displayed an Algerian flag at a city called Setif. A series of ensuing scuffles with the French police soon escalated into a massacre of some ninety colonists. The French military reacted by brutally killing more than 1,500 Algerian civilians. In November 1954, the National Liberation Front (FLN), an indigenous resistance organization, initiated a series of assaults on police and government targets. Within a year, the FLN's membership had swollen from twenty to approximately two thousand. In August of 1955, Algerian Muslims revolted and slaughtered 123 men, women, and children at Phillipville. The French military retaliated by massacring thousands of Algerians. Over the next year in an effort to eliminate the FLN, French authorities launched a campaign of arrests and torture of known Algerian nationalists. As violence escalated in August 1956, the French targeted a bomb factory at 3 Theves Street that killed eighty civilians. The following month, Algerians retaliated by bombing three civilian targets. Far from discouraging extremists, the French actions forced many moderate Muslims to sympathize with the FLN. By 1957, the resistance fighters had risen to nearly twenty-five thousand as violence escalated. Half a million French troops eventually quelled the rebellion and drove a debilitated FLN into rural areas.

The news of French brutalities in Algeria generated a huge anti-war movement at home in 1958, as the French publicly protested these human rights violations. War hero Charles de Gaulle, who was elected president of France in 1959, negotiated a truce in 1962, and Algerians voted for independence in a referendum. De Gaulle proclaimed Algeria an independent nation, and all but thirty thousand Europeans left Algeria over the next year.

Algerian World War II hero and FLN militant leader, Ben Bella, assumed the premiership in 1962 and was elected president the following year. But struggles in Algeria were far from over. Houari Boumedienne, Ben Bella's defense minister, staged a coup against the president in 1965. For the next fifteen years Ben Bella remained under house arrest until he left the country in 1980.

Between 1972 and 1974 the price of crude oil quadrupled from \$3 a barrel to \$12. Many Arab oil-producing nations reacted to the 1973 War in Israel by placing an embargo on nations that supported Israel. The resulting Arab Oil Embargo produced shortages in supply for those countries. The Iranian revolution further decreased production, driving the price of crude from \$14 in 1978 a barrel to \$35 in 1981. In the mid-1980s the price of crude oil dropped to below \$10.

Algeria as a member of OPEC has the fourteenth largest natural reserves of oil. It ranks fifth in natural gas reserves and is second in natural gas exportation. The oil boom of the 1970s and early 1980s yielded huge profits for Algeria, and as a result it enjoyed a vibrant economy. The plummeting prices in the mid-1980s, however, took their toll on the Algerian economy. In the early 1990s, Algeria's economy improved due to rescheduling of foreign debt and economic policy reforms supported by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In 1991, an Islamic extremist movement known as the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) won the first round of general and presidential elections, gaining 188 of the 231 seats in parliament. The military and the FLN—which won only fifteen seats—canceled the second round of elections, banned the FIS, and arrested a number of its members. A backlash of violence broke out and evolved into a civil war in 1992. Islamic extremists assassinated Mohammed Boudiaf, the newly elected president of Algeria, the same year. In 1999 amnesty was granted to many armed militants, and in 2000 the Islamic Salvation Army, the armed wing of the FIS, was disbanded. The civil war claimed an estimated one hundred thousand lives.

Thousands of Italian colonists settled in Libya in the 1930s. Libya became part of Italy in 1939 and served as a major battleground in World War II. The Allied forces defeated and replaced the Axis powers in Libya in 1943. The postwar Libyan economy was broken. The country's infant mortality rate reached 40% while the literacy rate dropped to 10%. Although the United Nations granted Libya independence in 1951, the West continued to exert its influence in Libya.

British-supported King Idris granted the British permission to establish military bases on Libyan soil. The United States began using Wheelus Field as an Air Force base in 1943 after the British 8th Army captured it from the Germans. The United Kingdom of Libya was granted independence in 1951. Libya went on to align itself with the West through the adoption of the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957. The doctrine, designed to counter the growing expansionist efforts of the Soviet Union, committed

the United States to military action to protect allies in the Middle East.

The discovery of oil in Libya in 1958 changed the dynamics between the former Italian colony and the West. Over the next decade, the state's revenue vastly increased as its dependence on foreign subsidies diminished. In 1964 Libya expelled most of the British military although a handful of British and US forces remained. In 1969 Colonel Muammar Qaddafi led a group of military officers in a bloodless coup d'état to overthrow the monarchy of King Idris. Qaddafi crafted a type of Islamic socialist rule over Libya, which emphasized social services and public-owned industry, on the one hand, and nominal Islamic values—such as proscribing alcohol and gambling—on the other. During the early years of his rule, Qaddafi seemed to pacify Washington with his ardent anti-Soviet policies. In the years to follow, Qaddafi instituted a set of policies on oil, terrorism, Israel, and the Soviet Union that served to alienate Libya from the United States. In 1973 the Libyan leader supported Arab forces in the Arab-Israeli War. After the war, Qaddafi campaigned to impose an oil embargo against Israel's supporters. Qaddafi subsequently supported the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and sought to warm relations with the Soviet Union. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Libya was implicated in a number of terrorist activities, including support for the "Black September Movement" responsible for the massacre at the 1972 Olympics in Munich, Germany.

In 1982 the United States banned the import of Libyan oil and the export of US petrochemical technology to Libya. Accusing Qaddafi of supporting terrorism, US President Ronald Reagan launched a brief bombing campaign against suspected terrorist sites in Tripoli and Benghazi in 1986. The attack killed sixty people including Qaddafi's young daughter. Two years later, Libya was linked to the terrorist bombing of a Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland, that killed 270 people. The United Nations imposed sanctions against the North African nation in 1992. Finally in 2003, Libya assumed responsibility for the Lockerbie disaster after two of its government employees were implicated in the bombing. Qaddafi also established a \$2.7-billion fund to compensate families of each victim in the Lockerbie bombing. As a result, the UN lifted sanctions in September 2003.

After the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003, Qaddafi publicly unveiled his nation's weapons of mass destruction program and invited international inspectors to dismantle it. The inspectors subsequently began identifying and destroying Libya's chemical and nuclear weaponry. In light of Qaddafi's recent

reversal in position, the United States took steps to normalize relations with Libya in 2004.

During World War II, the British used Egypt as a center of operations in North Africa. The war ended in 1945. Three years later, in May 1948, Egypt sent troops to Palestine to bolster Iraqi, Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian fighters in an effort to defeat the newly declared Israeli state in the First Arab–Israeli War. The Israeli troops, primarily comprising Haganah soldiers who had gained experience in WWII, defeated the Arab forces. Egypt succeeded in gaining control over the Gaza Strip.

Against the backdrop of the humiliating Arab defeat in the war and widespread Egyptian discontent with Israel, the West, and Egyptian monarchy, Gamal Abdul Nasser led the Free Officers—a group of revolutionary military officers—in a coup that ousted King Farouk in the Egyptian Revolution of July 1952. Later, Nasser assumed the premiership by arresting General Muhammad Naguib. Two years later, Nasser ran uncontested for the presidency and won. Although Nasser’s regime brutally repressed his opponents—most notably, communists and Islamic militants—his popularity in the Arab world soared. Nasser came to represent the epitome of the defiant Arab leader who resisted Western pressure.

Preying on US fears that Egypt would align itself with the Soviet Union, Nasser accepted US support in a project to construct the Aswan High Dam in 1956. The same year, the Egyptian leader later turned to the Soviets for weapons after the United States refused to sell Egypt arms. As a result, US President Dwight Eisenhower announced his withdrawal of aid for the dam project. In a speech one week later, Nasser sent the coded message *Ferdinand de Lesseps* to Egyptian troops to seize the Suez Canal. Nasser proceeded to nationalize the canal and oust British officials from the country. British and French powers, seeking to protect their financial investments in the canal, plotted with the Israelis to attack Egypt. In October 1956, the Second Arab–Israeli War erupted when Israel invaded the Sinai. When Nasser refused British and French demands to withdraw troops from the canal zone, the Western powers bombed Egyptian military targets. Moscow and Washington responded by pressuring the invading forces to withdraw, and Nasser surfaced as a champion of the Arab world for his defiance toward the West.

In 1958, Nasser merged Egypt with Syria in an effort to create a Pan-Arab state. Nasser served as president of the new entity, called the United Arab Republic, with Cairo as its capital. Due to internal problems, Syria withdrew in 1961.

Tensions between Israel and her neighbors continued to rise over the next few years. A series of

posturing activities led up to the Third Arab–Israel War (also called the Six-Day War or the 1967 War). In 1966, Egypt and Syria signed a defense pact. Border skirmishes escalated. In May 1967, Nasser demanded that UN forces evacuate the Sinai, which had served as a buffer zone between Israel and Egypt. The two nations immediately mobilized troops along the border. Egypt closed the Gulf of Aqaba, obstructing Israel’s access to the Port of Eilat. Jordan signed a treaty with Egypt, placing Jordanian troops under Nasser’s command. The war officially began on June 6, 1967, when Israel launched a preemptive strike against Egypt. During the first three days of the Six-Day War, Israel seized the Sinai, crushed Egypt’s air force, and reached the Suez Canal. On the last three days of the war, Israeli forces captured the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights.

In the humiliation of defeat at the hands of the Israelis and the loss of the Sinai and Gaza Strip, Nasser offered his resignation. The Egyptian people, however, refused. Nasser remained in power until dying of a heart attack in 1970. Nasser was succeeded by Anwar Sadat, an original member of the Free Officers and close associate of Nasser.

President Sadat sought to restore Egyptian prestige and regain the Sinai after the previous military defeats. Sadat’s request of US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to negotiate the return of the Sinai to Egypt was rejected. The Fourth Arab–Israeli War began on October 6, 1973, when Egypt launched a surprise attack against Israeli forces in the Sinai, and Syria attacked Israel from the north. Iraq sent thirty thousand troops to support Syria in addition to eight other Arab nations that joined forces against Israel. A massive airlift of weapons to Israel by the United States saved the Israeli military. The conflict escalated to an international incident when the Soviets countered with an airlift of weapons to Syria and Egypt. Kissinger flew to Moscow to defuse tensions. The UN brokered a cease-fire on October 25, and Egypt succeeded in securing concessions regarding the Sinai from Israel. Sadat addressed the Knesset (Israeli parliament) in 1977. A year later, US President Jimmy Carter hosted a series of peace talks, known as the Camp David Accords, between President Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin at Camp David, Maryland. In March of 1979, Egypt and Israel signed a peace agreement that ended more than thirty years of conflict. In order to encourage continued peace, the United States promised both nations billions of dollars in military and economic assistance.

For his role in the peace accords, Sadat received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978. Sadat’s foreign policies succeeded in gaining international recognition,

regaining the Sinai, securing billions in aid from the United States, and establishing peace in a volatile region. Yet while the peace treaty was applauded in the West, much of the Arab world perceived Sadat as having sold out the Palestinians. Egypt's membership in the Arab League was suspended. In Egypt, a number of violent uprisings erupted. In 1981 during a military parade, Islamic extremists assassinated Sadat.

Hosni Mubarak succeeded Sadat as Egypt's president. Mubarak's foreign policies continued to cultivate good relations with the United States and Israel while seeking to improve relations with the Arab world. Due to a changing political landscape in the region over the next decade, the Arab League reinstated Egypt's membership in 1989. In 1991, Egypt joined the US-led coalition against Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, and Mubarak helped broker the peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority in 1993. Intensified struggles with Islamic militants at home plagued Mubarak's government from 1992 through 1997, culminating with a deadly attack on foreign and Egyptian tourists near the Temple of Queen Hatsheput in Luxor in November 1997. During those years, some 1,200 Egyptians, primarily Coptic Christians, were killed in the violence. Mubarak's brutal counterterrorist measures succeeded in reducing violence in the country. The October 2004 bombings of Israeli tourist resorts that killed thirty-four people in the Sinai were the first major terrorist attacks since the Luxor attacks in 1997.

### **Economic Development**

North African nations left with the economic legacy of the past century now face a number of challenges to reform and adapt their economies to the realities of the twenty-first century. Like much of the Arab world, North African economies are characterized by bloated public sectors, excess government spending, and constraints on the private sector and foreign trade. Industrial production is regularly hampered by the small size of Arab markets, uncompetitive Arab economies, and lack of transparency and accountability. Nepotism and corruption traditionally discourage competition. The legacy of traditional agriculture and dependence on oil revenues has presented obstacles for development. Arab economies routinely discourage foreign investment while much-needed Arab capital is often invested in industrialized nations. Government investment in human capital has failed to keep pace with the growing demand,

and the "brain drain" is contributing to what the drafters of the 2003 Arab Human Development Report call "reverse development aid." Talented, educated Arabs regularly leave their homeland for more promising careers in developed nations.

Algeria's capital is Algiers. The nation's current population is 32 million. With a workforce of about 9.6 million people, 32% work for the government, 14% work in agriculture, 13.5% in industry, 14.5% in trade, and 10% in construction and public works. The per capita GDP is \$6,000. Like other oil-producing countries in the region, the government has struggled to diversify the economy to become less centered on the energy sector. Hydrocarbons still account for 30% of the nation's GDP and 95% of its export earnings. The country continues to suffer from huge foreign debt (40% of GDP), high unemployment (26%), Berber unrest, and a small-scale armed insurgency that attacks government interests in the south.

The capital of Egypt is Cairo. The economic reforms of the early 1990s orchestrated by the IMF helped to improve Egypt's economy. Solid fiscal and monetary policies contributed to lowering inflation and reducing budget deficits. For her part in the Gulf War in 1991, Egypt was relieved of \$7 billion in foreign debt. A bulging public sector, excess spending, and allegations of corruption, however, have contributed to domestic ills. Egypt's per capita GDP is \$4,000. The \$2 billion in US aid each year serve as a stabilizing force in Egypt's economy. Egypt relies heavily on tourism. The 1997 terrorist attack in Luxor hurt tourism, and the 2004 attacks on Israeli resorts in the Sinai have raised concerns about the future of the tourist industry.

Tripoli is the capital of Libya. The nation's socialist-oriented legacy and heavy reliance on the oil sector characterize the nation's economy. The oil sector represents approximately one-fourth of its GDP. The nation's relatively small population (five million) matched with large oil revenues allow for a high per capita GDP (\$6,400), second only to that of Tunisia (\$6,900). Nonetheless, unequal distribution of oil wealth and high unemployment (30%) still plague the nation's economy. Libya's poor soil conditions and severe climate restrict agricultural production, and as a result the nation must import three-fourths of its food. Like other nations of North Africa, Libya has taken steps to reform the economy, while political thawing of its foreign policy in recent years has resulted in the UN-lifted sanctions in 2003 and a US move toward normalized relations in 2004.

With Rabat as its capital, approximately one-fourth of Morocco's economy is agriculture-based. Morocco produces grains, citrus, wine, olives, and livestock. Industry accounted for 36% of the economy,

producing phosphates, food, leather goods, and textiles. Morocco exports clothing, fish, minerals, fertilizers, and petroleum products. Services represent 42% of the nation's economy, and its per capita GDP is \$4,000. Morocco underwent structural adjustment programs—supported by the IMF, World Bank, and Paris Club—and partially privatized the state tobacco company and telecommunications company recently. Morocco also signed a Free Trade Agreement with the United States in 2004, and is seeking to attract foreign investment in an effort to improve the economy and provide jobs.

### The Role of Human Development

Economic development in North Africa is inextricably linked to human development. Issues of public education, social and political freedoms, labor markets, gender equality, and human capacity represent dimensions of North African society that impact development in the region. Past experience in the region has demonstrated that investments in industrial infrastructure and fixed capital alone—such as factories and equipment—do not provide the expected social returns. According to the 2002 *Arab Human Development Report*, human development in the Arab world is suffering from three deficits: Freedom, women's empowerment, and human capacity/knowledge relative to income. Regarding freedom, the region scores the lowest in the world. Popular voice in political processes, civil liberties, political rights, and independence in the media are all lagging behind most of the world.

One of the biggest challenges in North Africa is finding effective means to build human capital in such a way that will translate into a productive society that can compete in the twenty-first-century context of globalization. At the very foundation of the human capital-building effort lies education. Strides in the expansion of education have been made in the past thirty-five years. Primary education enrollment reached approximately 90% for boys and 75% for girls a decade ago. Over half of secondary-school-age children are enrolled in school while tertiary enrollment is among the highest in the developing world. Over the past three decades, literacy has expanded significantly. Between 1960 and 1995, illiteracy rates were cut in half while female literacy increased threefold in the Arab world.

Despite these successes, the quality of education in the Arab world is still poor. Many children continue to lack access to basic education. In 2000, enrollment for girls in Morocco was only 45% while class sizes in

some rural regions averaged more than forty-five students. Across the region, enrollment in higher education is on the decline, and public expenditures on education have decreased since 1985. Adult illiteracy is still high, with female illiteracy rates the most extreme. North Africa's two largest countries, Morocco (32 million people) and Egypt (76 million people), suffer the lowest literacy rates of men and women over the age of fifteen: 52% and 58%, respectively. Only 34% of Moroccan women can read and write compared with 47% in Egypt. Algeria, also with a population of about 32 million, has a literacy rate of 70% (61% for women), while 74% (64% for women) of Tunisians and 83% (72% for women) of Libyans can read and write.

Aside from mechanical indicators of educational achievement, such as enrollment, completion, and literacy, a more pragmatic issue haunts the region: lack of relevant education. A huge disconnect exists between products (graduates) of Arab education systems and realities of the labor market. In Egypt, the education system does not prepare the average graduate for prospects of increased earnings in the labor market. Parents who allow their children to abandon education at early stages in the Arab world commonly cite school's lack of relevance to their child's future. In a rapidly changing environment of globalization and accelerating technology, existing education systems have been slow to react. Effective links between education and training systems, and realities of the labor market have yet to be established. To address the information gap, the 2002 *Arab Human Development Report* recommended attitudinal changes in knowledge-acquisition strategies, including a greater respect for science and knowledge, greater creativity and innovation, and the application of new discoveries to increasing productivity and income.

Education, economy, and politics are mutually dependent, and therefore the need for education reform is tied to economic and political reform. Improvements in education must prepare students with the technical skills to compete in the labor market while simultaneously developing a workforce that can make economic and political achievements that place a nation in position to compete in an environment of globalization. Equally important as the provision of technical skills, the responsibility of providing the capacity to solve problems, think critically, and demonstrate the cooperation needed to build democracy and civil society falls to education systems.

In many ways, knowledge production and dissemination is stagnant in North Africa. With the exception of Algeria, gaps in scientific knowledge are represented by low enrollment in scientific disciplines



in tertiary education. Scientific research and development (R&D) also suffers, while advanced research in information technology and molecular biology is almost nonexistent. Public and private investment in R&D is extremely low, while state spending in R&D barely covers salaries. The number of scientists and engineers who work in R&D in Arab countries is slightly more than one-third of the global rate. Half the full-time researchers in the Arab world work in Egypt, and women are severely underrepresented in R&D. Research conducted in institutions often lacks a clear objective. In recent years, some effort has been made in North Africa to link a number of research projects conducted in institutions of higher education and research centers to the realities of Arab society. Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia stand out as having the highest number of independent research centers in the Arab world.

Information production through the written word is also dangerously low in the region. While translation from foreign languages serves as a solid medium for information sharing, communication with the rest of the world, and cutting-edge advances, the number of books translated into Arabic in the first five years of the 1980s was slightly more than four books per million people as compared to 519 books in Hungary and 920 in Spain. Given the paucity of translated materials, a lack of clearly-defined policies regarding foreign language instruction within education systems has failed to bridge the gaps. In the postcolonial milieu of North Africa, efforts at Arabization have faced the realities of the prominence of the French language in government school curricula. Still, Algeria begins teaching French only at third grade, while Tunisia and Morocco begin French language instruction at fourth grade.

Access to books is another shortcoming. Although Egypt is one of the two hubs of book production in the Arab world (Lebanon being the other), as a whole Arab countries only produced 1.1% of the world's published books while constituting 5% of the population. Censorship often hampers book production and distribution. Of the total number of published works, 17% of the books are on religion—over three times the number for other parts of the world.

Access to other sources of information and media is also among the lowest in the world. Only fifty-three newspapers were produced per thousand people—less than one-fifth the rate of other developing countries. While limited access to the written word can be partially linked to low literacy rates, there are other indications of sluggish or stagnant development. For instance, there are five times as many telephone lines in other developing nations as there are in the Arab world. In addition, only 1.6% of the Arab population

has access to the Internet, and there are only eighteen computers per one thousand people—about one-fourth the global average. Ratios of televisions are also low in the region. Compared with 641 televisions per one thousand people in high-income nations and 275 for middle-income nations, Tunisia has 198 per thousand people and Egypt but 189.

Lack of gender empowerment in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco is also an obstacle to development. While advances have been made in education for females, particularly in higher education, women's participation in political organizations is still lagging well behind. Politically, women are underrepresented. Few women are found in parliaments and cabinets. In economic terms, women also fare poorly. Arab society as a whole suffers from lower family incomes and standards of living because women do not receive their full legal and citizenship entitlements. Gender inequality is apparent in the workforce as evidenced in employment status, wages, and gender-based occupational segregation. In Tunisia, some progress in bridging the gender gap has been attributed to progressive government initiatives taken in the 1950s, including the adoption of a more liberal interpretation of Islam.

Existing shortcomings in economic and human development have created a labor market in which job creation has been unable to keep pace with the expanding workforce in some cases. Libya's unemployment rate is approximately 30%, Algeria's 26%, Morocco's 20%, Tunisia's 14%, and Egypt's 10%. During the 1990s, Egypt and Tunisia actually experienced slight declines in unemployment as job creation outpaced expansion of the workforce. Algeria, on the other hand, registered the largest increase in unemployment during that period. Job seekers, including an increasing number of women, entered the labor force at a quicker rate than employment opportunities were created. The introduction of pro-employment programs also encouraged more entrants into the job market. In Morocco, urban unemployment drove a slight increase in the jobless rate for the 1990s.

Large public sectors in North Africa serve to absorb workers and offset unemployment. Non-agricultural, public-sector employment in Morocco is 21%, Tunisia 28%, Algeria 39%, and Egypt 70%. Large, sluggish bureaucracies, however, traditionally discourage productivity and efficiency, and serve as a constraint to economic development. Egypt's large agricultural and public sectors contribute to low productivity while Tunisia enjoys the highest in the region.

The bulging youth demographic across North Africa presents further challenges to development

through an increased strain on the education systems and economies in a variety of ways, including a higher demand for jobs and public services. Approximately one-third of the population is age fifteen and under. Over the next decade and a half, the population aged fifteen and above will continue to increase at about 2.5% per year. Unemployment rates are highest among first-time job seekers, particularly secondary school graduates. In Morocco, some 40% of college graduates fail to find jobs. Shortcomings in the education systems often prepare graduates for highly coveted public-sector jobs but poorly prepare them for the private sector. Much has been written about the connection between the shifting demographics, disenfranchised youth, unemployment, and Islamic militancy in the Arab world. Future development efforts in the region will necessitate strategically designed programs that nurture the employability of Arab youth.

North Africa faces considerable development challenges over the next decade. Meaningful success will rely on economic, political, and education reform that is carefully crafted in such a way to develop and utilize human capital to meet the needs of the evolving global economy of the twenty-first century. Issues of youth employability, gender empowerment, and relevant education lie at the center of the long-term development strategies.

(Note: The views expressed in this essay are solely those of the author and do not reflect official positions of the US Department of Labor.)

CRAIG DAVIS

**See also Algeria; Aswan High Dam and Development in Egypt; Ben Bella, Ahmed; Egypt; Ethnic Conflicts: North Africa; Morocco; Mubarak, Hosni; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; North Africa: International Relations; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Qaddafi, Muammar; Sadat, Anwar; Tunisia; United Arab Republic (UAR); Women: Legal Status; Women: Role in Development**

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### NORTH AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The North African states are Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. The first three are also commonly known as the Maghreb, or Maghreb, countries—the Arabic term for North Africa. This definition actually pertains only to the area between the high ranges of the Atlas Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea. In 1989, Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia established the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) to promote cooperation and integration among the Arab states of North Africa. Often, therefore, the term "Maghreb" includes Libya and Mauritania. During the colonisation period, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco shared a common history as French colonies that had been influenced by French culture and political values. Libya was an Italian colony from 1912 to 1951 and was influenced by Italian culture and politics.

Two factors have shaped the international relations of North African states: decolonisation and the relations of the various states with each other. At the end of World War II a growing resentment toward colonial powers characterised all North African states. The upsurge of Arab nationalism, coupled with the establishment of the Arab League (1945), motivated the North Africans to oust colonial powers from their countries. The subsequent struggle for independence, which marked the decolonisation process in the Maghreb states and Libya, shaped North African states' domestic and foreign policies. Despite their geographical homogeneity and cultural similarities, each of the Maghreb countries developed its own unique political identity, which in turn influenced its international relations. Morocco and Tunisia embarked on a moderate path, while Algerian politics have been characterised by radicalism. Libya has likewise embraced radicalism. Territorial disputes and

political rivalries amongst the North African states themselves have also influenced their domestic and foreign policies.

## Morocco

Morocco, a French protectorate since 1912, gained its independence in 1956. France at first strongly resisted the nationalist movement and, in 1953, exiled Sultan Mohammed V after he had joined forces with the nationalists and refused to cooperate with the French government. France tried unsuccessfully to make Thami al-Glaoui, the Berber Pasha of Marrakech, into the new ruler of Morocco. In 1955, facing growing social unrest all over the country, France allowed Mohammed V to return. Although this was a great victory for the nationalist movement, it did not quell the unrest. By November 1954, violent uprisings in neighbouring Algeria, coupled with widespread Marxist insurgency in Southeast Asia, induced France to abandon its struggle against Moroccan nationalists. In March 1956, Morocco became officially independent under the leadership of Mohammed V. Spain followed suit the following April, handing over most of the Moroccan territory that it had colonised.

Relations between Morocco and France were initially tense because the French government maintained a military presence in Morocco. It was only in March 1961 that France withdrew its troops and vacated its military bases. Another bone of contention was the issue of private property owned by the French and European settlers who had left Morocco after independence. The issue of compensation was finally resolved on August 2, 1974, when the Moroccan government agreed to pay the French government a lump sum to compensate the owners for the loss of their properties.

After a difficult start, relations between Morocco and France gradually improved. France, which had envisaged enjoying a special relationship with the Moroccan government, became frustrated when this expectation failed to materialise. Although cultural and commercial ties remained strong (e.g., French language continued to be part of the school curriculum), politically Morocco never granted France special status. France's hopes of entertaining a privileged relationship with Morocco were part of an overall strategy to maintain a strong influence in North Africa, primarily for geopolitical reasons. For example, the North African air corridor was France's gateway to Africa and Paris was determined to ensure that this access was free from any hostile influence.

French interests in North Africa more recently have taken on a predominantly economic focus, for example, securing access to the oil and gas fields of the region (mainly in Algeria) and to North African importers—France's key export partners. Tensions between Morocco and France have become confined to the issue of immigration. Legal and illegal Moroccan immigrants cross into France almost daily. This phenomenon creates ongoing social tension inside France, where significant sectors of society resent North African immigrants. Immigrants consequently feel marginalised and excluded. Attempts to solve this problem have so far had limited success.

Relations with Spain have been equally important for the Moroccan government, because of the close historic ties between the two countries. Spain at one point controlled most of the North African coast, from Tangier to Tunis. There has been an ongoing territorial dispute between the two countries over five small Spanish enclaves—Ceuta, Mellila, Penon de al-Huceima, Penon de Velez, and Islas Chafarinas—on the Moroccan Mediterranean coast. Both countries claim sovereignty over these enclaves. Spain has on the whole kept a low profile in its relations with North African countries, trying to downplay its colonial past and emphasising its economic interests in the region. It was one of the major players in the early phases of the Western Sahara dispute, attempting to mediate between Morocco and Algeria (see below). Morocco's relations with Algeria were initially marked by cooperation; for example, Morocco supported Algeria's war of independence from France. However, relations between the two countries deteriorated over a territorial dispute concerning Mauritania. This dispute motivated Morocco to join the "Casablanca bloc"—a somewhat nebulous radical anti-Western union of Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali (formed in 1961).

Since independence Morocco has generally adopted a moderate, conciliatory, and pro-Western foreign policy, becoming a member of the United Nations in 1956. Despite establishing diplomatic relations with the USSR and China in 1958, the conservative monarch Mohammed V never sought a close relationship with communist countries. In 1960, however, he requested—and obtained—arms from the Soviet Union, and officially recognised North Vietnam in 1961. Morocco has also looked toward the United States. In general the United States perceives Morocco as a political asset in the region because of its moderate policy toward the Arab-Israeli dispute. Morocco has endeavoured to mediate between the Israelis and the Palestinians. In 1986 King Hassan II took the daring step of inviting Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres for talks, thereby becoming the second

Arab leader, after Anwar Sadat, to host an Israeli leader. Morocco has also taken a strong stand against Islamic radicalism and terrorism. One result of the diplomatic dialogue between the United States and Morocco was the signature, in June 2004, of a comprehensive bilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA)—only The United States' second such treaty with an Arab country (the first being with Egypt).

## Tunisia

Tunisia, a French protectorate from 1881, gained independence from France in 1956. On July 25, 1957, the National Assembly overthrew the last vestiges of the monarchy by deposing the Bey, proclaiming Tunisia a republic, and electing Habib Bourguiba as president. France had granted Tunisian independence reluctantly, under mounting pressure from the insurgencies in Southeast Asia and in neighbouring Algeria. Tunisia's relations with France thereafter deteriorated in the late summer and autumn of 1957, and were marred by sporadic clashes between their respective forces along the Tunisian-Algerian border. These clashes occurred when French troops, pursuing Algerian rebels, crossed the border into Tunisia. The Tunisian government strongly opposed the use of French troops, who were still stationed on its soil, against the Algerian rebels. The major bone of contention with France post-independence was therefore the continuing presence of these troops. In 1962, following the intervention of the United Nations, an agreement was reached and France withdrew its forces.

Tunisia has generally adopted a moderate, pro-Western line in foreign policy. However, it has also been careful to maintain an independent stance and to demonstrate to other Arab states that it is not subservient to Western policies. Tunisia supported the development of the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) along with Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, and Libya. (Progress on Maghreb integration has, however, been affected both by political instability in Algeria and by Libya's anti-Western stance and perceived support for terrorism.) On the other hand, Tunisia has avoided joining any extreme left-wing blocs such as the "Casablanca bloc." Originally it had forged some links with the Soviet Union and China; however, these relationships deteriorated in the 1960s and were not fully resumed until 1972. Bourguiba's relations with Gamal Abdul Nasser, the Egyptian leader, were somewhat tense in the late 1950s, because of the former's neutral stance towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. At a time when none of the Arab states was willing to recognise Israel, this unusual

stand created tensions with several radical Arab states. In the early 1970s, Bourguiba officially advocated the establishment of a Palestinian state to coexist with Israel. Since Bourguiba's replacement as leader in 1989, Tunisia's relations with radical Arab states have improved, though its moderate neutral policy remains unchanged.

Since independence, Tunisia has sought to maintain good relations with its neighbours; however, relations with Algeria have occasionally been tense due to border disputes. In 1993 the two countries reached an agreement to begin cooperating on the construction of a natural gas pipeline across Tunisian territory, to convey Algerian gas supplies to Italy.

Tunisia's relationship with the United States could generally be defined as cordial. In 1957 the United States provided economic and technical assistance to Tunisia under a bilateral agreement. This agreement provided \$2.5 billion of development assistance to be deployed over a period of thirty-five years by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). In 1991, however, Tunisia's stand against the US role in the First Gulf War led to the temporary deterioration of its relationship with the United States and with many Arab states. Thereafter Tunisia has played a moderating role in the negotiations for a comprehensive Middle East peace. In 1993 it was the first Arab country to host an official Israeli delegation as part of the Middle East peace process.

## Algeria

The path to Algeria's independence was long and bloodstained. France ruled Algeria, unlike Morocco and Tunisia, as one of its metropolitan departments (*departements*) and not as a protectorate. Since the 1830s this had resulted in significant settlement by French citizens who, after World War II, accounted for about 10% of the Algerian population. These people regarded Algeria as their home. The Algerian War of Independence began in 1954 and lasted until 1962, when Ahmed Ben Bella became the first president of the Algerian Republic. About one million Algerians died in what was one of the most violent and ruthless wars of the postwar decolonisation period.

After independence, Algeria speedily established relations with most Western European countries, although at times these were marked by major disagreements. Algerian policy tended to be uncooperative, and at times even hostile, to Western politics, which it regarded as hegemonic toward African and Arab countries. In 1965, for example, it severed diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom over the issue of

Rhodesia; however, these were restored in 1968. By far the most important relationship of the newly independent country was that with France. Surprisingly perhaps, there were few major bones of contention between the two countries. One such was the question of France's nuclear experiments in the south of Algeria—a region known as the French Sahara. Other problems were the nationalisation of former European property and the position of Algerian workers in France, a very socially disadvantaged group. There was also tension over the exploitation of Algeria's natural resources, such as oil and gas, which were controlled by French companies. In 1970 the Algerian government nationalised the oil industry, a move that created a serious rift with France. The dispute was resolved in April 1987 when the Algerian government agreed to release assets of former French settlers. In return the French government agreed to provide financial assistance to Algeria for a period of three years. By May 1991, two French oil companies had been granted new concessions in the Sahara. Despite these problems, Algeria's relations with France on the whole have been quite satisfactory. France continued to supply economic and technical assistance, including training and equipment, to Algeria's armed forces.

Algerian relations with Spain were until 1986 cool and, at times, even hostile. This was for two reasons: (1) Algeria claimed that Spain supported Morocco in the conflict in Western Sahara; and (2) Spain suspected that Algeria harboured members of the ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* in Basque, Basque Fatherland and Liberty)—a leftist group that used terrorism in the hope of forming an independent Basque state in parts of northern Spain and southwestern France. In 1987 the two countries signed a treaty providing for Algerian officials to be stationed in Spain to monitor the activities of Algerian dissidents, in exchange for closer supervision of members of the ETA within Algeria. Since then, and following the reconciliation with Morocco, relations between Algeria and Spain have improved and normal diplomatic exchanges between them, as of this writing, now take place.

Algerian relations with the Arab world have been marked by radicalism. In the first years of independence, Ben Bella joined the more radical section of the non-aligned bloc and took an extremist stance toward the Arab–Israeli conflict and on disputes within Black Africa. He established close relations with Egypt, Iraq, and especially Syria. Algeria refused to accept the cease-fire after the Arab–Israeli Six-Day War of 1967, and rejected UN Security Council Resolution 242 calling for mutual recognition of the rights of Palestinians and the right of Israel to exist, and for the dispute to be resolved by diplomatic means. In the

1970s, Algeria hosted several Arab armed groups. It supported Yasser Arafat in 1971, when Jordan expelled the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) from its territory, and severed diplomatic relations with Amman. Algeria was also a prominent supporter of radical factions in disputes within the African continent, providing training bases for several guerrilla movements. Relations with the Soviet Union and Cuba were also close and Algeria was one of the first countries to recognise Communist North Vietnam and North Korea.

After the death in 1978 of President Houari Boumediene, who had ruled Algeria since 1965, and his replacement by Colonel Chadli Benjedid, Algerian policy became more pragmatic and less driven by ideology. This shift was apparent in its relationship with the United States. After the Six-Day War, Algeria had been critical of the United States and hostile toward its pro-Israeli stance. However, while diplomatic relations may have been tense, economic cooperation remained strong. Algeria's militant line on the Arab–Israeli dispute, and its support for Arab and African armed groups, did not prevent it cooperating economically with Western countries, including the United States. US oil companies invested in Algeria's oil industry and these interests had to be guaranteed. Algeria played a role in the negotiations for the release of US hostages in Iran, leading to their release in 1981. However, diplomatic relations remained overshadowed by US sympathies for Morocco in the Western Sahara conflict. The most important shift in Algeria's stance in international relations came in 1999 when Abdelaziz Bouteflika was elected president. He made two visits to the United States in 2001, heralding a new era in relations between the two countries. This new approach was demonstrated after September 11, 2001, when Bouteflika immediately offered Algeria's support in the "war on terror."

## Libya

Libya was an Italian colony from 1912 until 1951, when it gained independence under the leadership of King Idris. Initially, after independence, the country adopted a moderate pro-Western stance. It joined the Arab League in 1951 and in 1955 it became a member of the United Nations. It also participated in the Sterling Zone, a sphere of trade cooperation, and in 1953 signed a pact with Britain that allowed the latter to maintain its military bases in Libya. A similar agreement was reached with the United States in return for US financial aid.

Libya's pro-Western stance provoked tension with Egypt, which took a more radical anti-Western approach. Aware of his vulnerable position, King Idris tried to reinforce the country's neutral policy and to avoid emphasising relations with the West. However, there was growing pressure from the Libyan population to take a less conciliatory and more hostile approach toward the West. There were demands for Britain and the United States to evacuate their military bases (an agreement to this effect had been signed by Britain and the United States in 1964).

On September 1, 1969, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi staged a coup. This event provoked a complete *volte-face* in Libya's political stance. Qaddafi closed US and British bases and partially nationalised all foreign oil and commercial interests inside Libya. He played a key role in the strategy of using oil as a political weapon against the West, participating in the 1973 embargo in retaliation for United States support for Israel. Qaddafi ostensibly rejected both communism and capitalism in favour of a "middle course." Three factors characterised the Libyan revolution: fundamentalism, authoritarianism, and fanaticism. Qaddafi's policy appeared arrogant in its disregard for external considerations; hence, his regime did not establish close ties with any other countries, though formal diplomatic relations with some were maintained. Nonetheless, Western countries tended to treat him with "kid gloves," partly because of Libya's oil resources and partly because of the country's strategic position in the Mediterranean area.

Libya established relations with the USSR, recognised Communist China in 1971, and had full diplomatic relations with East Germany from 1973. It also had relations with Yugoslavia and received arms supplies from the Soviet Union. Despite his friendly relations with the Soviet Union, Qaddafi continued to declare his hatred for communism. Libya's use—and loss—of Soviet-supplied weaponry in its war with Chad was a notable breach of an apparent Soviet–Libyan understanding not to use the weapons for activities inconsistent with Soviet objectives. As a result, Soviet–Libyan relations reached a low level by mid-1987. Libya also took a radical stance in its policy toward the developing world, supporting the guerrilla movement in Chad, giving its leader refuge, and allowing the rebels to launch raids from Libyan territory. In 1980 it even intervened militarily in the dispute. Qaddafi's stance in the Arab world was also regarded as extreme: he seemed willing to support and assist any resistance or terrorist movement, opposed any peaceful solution to the Arab–Israeli conflict, and declared himself in favour of the destruction of the State of Israel.

In addition to using oil as a weapon of foreign policy, Qaddafi at one time sought to destabilise weaker governments and to promote terrorism, providing refuge and finance for groups that shared his revolutionary and anti-Western views, for example, the Japanese Red Army, radical Muslim groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, and Abu Nidal's Fatah Revolutionary Council. Relations with the United States became very tense in the 1980s. In 1981, the United States shot down two Libyan aircraft that had challenged its warplanes over the Gulf of Sirte, which Libya claimed as its territory. Then, in 1986, US planes bombed Libyan military facilities, as well as residential areas of Tripoli and Benghazi—including Qaddafi's house—killing 101 people. The United Kingdom broke off diplomatic relations with Libya in 1984 after a British policewoman was shot dead outside the Libyan People's Bureau, or embassy, in London during anti-Qaddafi protests. Tension between Libya and the West reached its apogee after a Pan Am airliner was blown up over the Scottish town of Lockerbie on December 21, 1988, killing 270 people. In 1991, two Libyan intelligence agents were indicted by federal prosecutors in the United States and Scotland for their involvement in this bombing. In January 1992, the UN Security Council approved Resolution 731, demanding that Libya surrender the suspects, cooperate with Pan Am, pay compensation to the victims' families, and cease all support for terrorism. Libya's refusal to comply led to the approval of a further UN Security Council measure, Resolution 748, in March 1992, imposing sanctions designed to bring about Libyan compliance. Continued Libyan defiance resulted in the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 883 (November 1993), providing for a limited freeze of Libya's assets and an embargo on selected oil equipment. However, Libya persisted in its non-compliance until 1999, when it handed over two suspects for trial by a Scottish court convened in the Netherlands. UN sanctions were subsequently suspended, and lifted altogether in September 2003 following an agreement between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Libya over the Lockerbie issue. A shift in Libya's attitude became evident in August 2003, when it sent a letter to the United Nations accepting responsibility for the actions of the Libyan officials involved in the Lockerbie case and agreeing to payment of appropriate compensation, as well as renouncing support for terrorism. Later that year, Libya signed a compensation agreement worth \$2.7 billion with lawyers representing families of the Lockerbie/Pan Am victims. In December 2003, Qaddafi further announced his abandonment of programmes to develop weapons

of mass destruction. This paved the way for a visit to Libya by British Prime Minister Tony Blair, in March 2004, and for his meeting with Qaddafi at that time.

### **Relations with the European Union**

North African states attach great importance to relations with Europe as a whole, and especially with those bordering on the Mediterranean. Western Europe has traditionally been the greatest trading partner for the Maghreb states, and more recently also for Libya. North African states have regarded France, Italy, and Spain as major gateways for their trade and exports. The foundation, first of the European Economic Community, and later of the European Union with its growing political and especially economic power, has caused the North African states to seek a closer relationship with the European Union. Most of the states manifested an interest in evolving a Mediterranean consensus on various issues. A cooperation agreement between the European Union and the Maghreb countries was signed in April 1976, enabling certain trade provisions to come into effect as early as July 1976. This was followed by a full trade agreement in January 1979, according to which the North African states' industrial products were granted immediate duty-free entry to the European Union, while customs preferences were awarded for certain of their agricultural products. The agreement also included some improvements in conditions for migrant workers from North Africa. However, Morocco's application to join the European Union in 1987 was rejected on the grounds that it is not a European country. The European Union has not hesitated to use its financial leverage on some of the North African countries, for instance, on Morocco in 1992, in protest of Morocco's activities in the Western Sahara; and on Algeria, making financial aid conditional on progress toward democracy. In June 1992, the European Union approved proposals for bilateral relations with the Maghreb countries. Relations with Algeria have, however, been adversely affected by Algeria's internal instability. Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria are also parties to the Barcelona Declaration of 1995, which aimed to increase Euro-Mediterranean cooperation and agreed to establish a comprehensive partnership amongst the participants by means of political, cultural, and economic ties. An Association Agreement, concluded in February 1996, sets clear targets for the further development of the already close political relations of these states with the European Union, and for a Free Trade area to be

established by 2010. The Agreement entered into force on March 1, 2000.

Unlike Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, Libya has had no such close relations with the European Union. The European Union's Foreign Ministers have only recently agreed to lift sanctions, including an arms embargo, against Libya. (Italy had argued for the ending of the eighteen-year-old arms ban, so that it could supply Libya with hi-tech equipment intended to curb illegal migration.) Libya now has the opportunity to become a full member of the Barcelona Process if it accepts the Barcelona *acquis*. Several European Union member states already have extensive trade relations with Libya: Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France are Libya's four leading suppliers of manufactured goods and food products.

### **North African Associations and Inter-State Relations**

Despite their geographical and cultural similarities, relationships between these states have not always been easy and have been the subject of frequent disputes. Clear differences exist in the approaches taken by these states toward the West, the developing world, and ideologies such as communism and Islamic fundamentalism.

Relations between Tunisia and Morocco have generally been good as they have no common border, both states tend to adopt moderate policies, and both have at times felt threatened by their more radical neighbours, Algeria and Libya. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was widespread discussion of a so-called Greater Maghreb scheme; this aimed to achieve greater cooperation amongst the states but was hampered by their political differences and economic problems. Each country tended to be suspicious of its immediate neighbour. Relations between Algeria and Morocco have long been characterised by rivalries and occasional hostility. Immediately after Algerian independence, Morocco laid claim to stretches of southern and western Algeria that had been under Moroccan sovereignty before the French gained control over the area in the nineteenth century. In a series of sharp engagements in the disputed territory in October 1963, the Moroccan professional army consistently outperformed Algerian regulars and local guerrillas. Although mediation sponsored by the OAU (Organisation for African Unity) brought an end to the fighting, the success of the Moroccans demonstrated their potential threat to Algerian security in the event of a more serious dispute. In addition to their territorial disputes, both countries vied for primacy in

the Maghreb region. Their respective claims were rooted in history and in ideology: Morocco's claim to regional leadership derived from its centuries-old national identity, whereas Algeria's stemmed from the prestige of winning its war of independence from France. The inherent ideological differences between the new socialist republic, on the one hand, and the ancient kingdom, on the other, were sharpened when almost immediately after independence, Ben Bella proclaimed his country's socialist revolutionary doctrines and its opposition to conservative governments such as Morocco's. Relations improved after Boumedienne came to power, as both countries concentrated on their domestic problems. In 1972 a treaty was signed defining the border between them. However, the Moroccan government deferred its official ratification of the treaty until 1989, pending a final resolution of the difficulties over the Western Sahara question.

The dispute over the Western Sahara had originated in 1974, at which time the territory was still under Spanish control and was known as the Spanish Sahara. Morocco began attempts to annex the territory which, after a series of diplomatic initiatives, culminated in a march by 350,000 Moroccans across the territory's northern border. Spain signed a treaty turning over the northern two-thirds of the Western Sahara to Moroccan administration and the rest to Mauritania. By mid-1975 the Algerians were providing supplies, vehicles, and light arms to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro (Polisario). Polisario was the strongest of several indigenous national liberation movements active in the Western Sahara. Algeria thus became the principal foreign supporter of the Polisario in its long-running desert war to oppose Moroccan control of the disputed area.

Despite their military strength, the Algerians avoided direct confrontation with the more experienced Moroccan troops. However, in January 1976, the Moroccans defeated two battalions of Algerian troops and took prisoners in clashes within the Western Sahara. Following this incident, Algerian regulars refrained from venturing into the Western Sahara (despite Moroccan claims to the contrary) while the Moroccans, for their part, refrained from pursuing rebel troops into Algerian territory. Fighting in the Western Sahara initially featured attacks by Polisario's light mobile forces against isolated Moroccan outposts. By 1982, however, the struggle had shifted in Morocco's favour with the Moroccan military dominating the battlefield. Morocco's military success in the Western Sahara was one factor in the rapprochement between the two nations, achieved in 1988. This followed a twelve-year hiatus in diplomatic relations precipitated by Algeria's recognition of the

Polisario government. By the late 1980s, Algeria was preoccupied with its own internal security problems and was no longer willing to devote arms and support to the independence movement. Algeria's resumption of diplomatic relations with Morocco, accompanied by the opening of borders and a number of joint economic initiatives, eased the security situation on its western flank. Morocco's acceptance of the United Nations peace plan for the Western Sahara, and the conclusion of the UMA treaty in 1989, further helped to abate remaining tensions between the two states.

Whereas Morocco had long been viewed by Algeria as a potential threat, Muammar Qaddafi's Libya was regarded as somewhat more friendly. The Algerian-Libyan security relationship was based on a common antipathy for the Western-dominated economic order and deep hostility toward Israel. However, this relationship suffered several setbacks during the 1980s. In 1984 Morocco and Libya announced that they had secretly negotiated an alliance. Although the alliance's effect was short-lived, Algeria interpreted the agreement as upsetting the strategic balance in the Maghreb. Libya's unilateral annexation of a section of neighbouring Chad, together with its military intervention in Chad, hardened Algerian attitudes against Libya. There were also suspicions that Libya was linked to unrest instigated by Islamist (also seen as fundamentalist) groups in Algeria. Libya's subsequent participation in the UMA, however, appeared to lay the foundation for more stable relationships between itself and Algeria, as well as with the other states of the region.

The 1980s witnessed a successful attempt to bring the countries together. On February 17, 1989, a treaty was signed in Marrakech by the leaders of Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia. It was modelled on the European Union and was named the Union of the Arab Maghreb (UMA). Its main aim was to enable its members to negotiate as a bloc with the European Union and to encourage trade, economic cooperation, and freedom of movement across borders. In his efforts to shape a more pragmatic foreign policy, Algeria's Benjedid had succeeded in moderating the stresses in his country's relationships with the West. At the same time, Algeria's concerns shifted in the direction of improving regional stability, which had long been disrupted by the festering disputes with Morocco and Libya. Hence, the formation of the UMA in 1989 heralded a new phase of improved relations between the states of the region. Under important security clauses contained in the treaty, the signatories affirmed that any aggression against one member would be considered as aggression against all the member states. In an apparent allusion to the Western Sahara conflict, member



states pledged not to permit any activity or organisation on their territory that could endanger the security or territorial integrity of another member state.

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**See also** *Algeria; Berbers; Ethnic Conflicts: North Africa; Libya; Maghrib Peoples; Morocco; North Africa: History and Economic Development; Tunisia*

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## NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA)

The United States, Canada, and Mexico signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, following a US–Canada free trade agreement in 1988. In the 1990s, Canada and Mexico were the largest and third-largest US trading partners, respectively (Japan was second). The great benefits

predicted by NAFTA supporters did not materialize, but neither did the disasters predicted by opponents.

## Mexican Perspective

NAFTA was the culmination of a process set in motion by two Mexican presidents, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado and Carlos Salinas de Gortari, in response to the Mexican economic crisis of the 1980s. The collapse of world oil prices and the failure of Mexico’s long-standing efforts at import substitution had left the country facing a crushing foreign debt, staggering deficits, soaring inflation, high unemployment, and collapsing standards of living. Mexico was effectively bankrupt, and in 1982 announced that it could not pay its foreign debt. In response to this crisis, de la Madrid and his successor, Salinas, strove to liberalize the Mexican economy. Salinas oversaw a radical liberalization of the Mexican economy, above all in international trade. The Mexicans lowered tariff barriers on many products. The maximum tariff rate fell from 100% to 20%; the fraction of imports that required permits had fallen from 93% to less than one quarter. Salinas sold off numerous government-owned enterprises, and signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), an international accord aimed at opening the world market. Salinas negotiated debt relief with the United States, cut public expenditures, relaxed laws that had inhibited foreign investment, and privatized the largest Mexican banks. These reforms had succeeded in restoring Mexico to the favor of international investors, who have poured huge sums into the Mexican economy since 1990. But the reform had not yet delivered convincing results where it counts: improved living standards among ordinary Mexicans. After eight years of stagnation, in 1990 the Mexican economy began to grow again. The growth, however, barely kept pace with labor-force expansion. Unemployment remained far higher and real wages lower than in 1980.

For President Salinas, the only way to attract the foreign capital necessary to stabilize the exchange rate and to fund the current account deficit was to provide hesitant potential investors with guarantees of continuity of economic policy and access to the US market through an ironclad agreement with Washington. NAFTA, it was hoped, would satisfy both requirements. The sustained economic growth generated by NAFTA would narrow income differentials by creating jobs. President Salinas’ anti-poverty program would ease the transition from stagnation to NAFTA-fueled high growth. Investment from abroad

would enable the economy to grow while introducing new technology and efficiency and modernizing Mexican society. Salinas was desperate to attract new foreign investment, and because 85% of Mexico's manufactured exports are shipped to the United States, stable access to the US market became increasingly important to the Mexicans.

In June 1990, President Salinas requested a free trade agreement with the United States. He discarded the national tradition of keeping a suspicious distance from the "colossus of the north." Small-scale industrialists and grain farmers expressed fear that they might be destroyed by US competition, and some intellectuals mourned the imminent demise of the nation's economic sovereignty and cultural pride. However, Salinas stressed his determination to push his country into the first world. NAFTA would be an instrument of economic change and a powerful symbol of the commitment to liberalism that is Salinas' most important legacy.

## US Perspective

The first Bush administration (1988–1992) was at first hesitant about free trade with Mexico, but a number of political and economic factors ultimately led the United States to pursue NAFTA. Bush was frustrated with the slow pace of GATT negotiations, wished to do something to address the growing problem of illegal immigration, and had an interest in buttressing liberalizing forces and a friendly president in Mexico. Carlos Salinas de Gortari's government was not a model of democratic virtue. From the US point of view, however, it was the best Mexican government in either nation's history. Salinas' market-oriented reformers had done their best to break with the long tradition of anti-US rhetoric. While Mexico had not had a truly free presidential election, the trend was clearly toward greater openness and democracy. Not long ago, US intelligence analysts worried that a Mexico hammered by the debt crisis and plunging oil prices might become a radicalized national security nightmare.

The health of the Mexican economy is extremely important to the United States. The countries are increasingly interdependent, as was evidenced in 1982 when Mexico's announcement that it could not repay its international debts put seven of the nine largest US banks on the brink of bankruptcy. Bush hoped that the Salinas policy would strengthen the Mexican economy in ways that would avert future crisis, and that economic vitality would buttress political order there. The Bush administration also

wanted to assure the United States of increasing access to petroleum from Mexico, one of the five leading sources of US imports (Mexican shipments in the late 1980s and early 1990s were roughly half as large as those from the topmost source, Saudi Arabia). Furthermore, NAFTA would provide the United States with an important bargaining chip in its trade negotiations with Europe, Japan, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Finally, the United States wanted to consolidate diplomatic support from Mexico on foreign policy in general. As demonstrated by disagreements over Central America during the 1980s, this had long been a source of bilateral tension. But with NAFTA in place, Mexico became unlikely to express serious disagreement with the United States on major issues of international diplomacy.

In September 1990, President Bush announced that he would begin talk with the Mexicans. The administration first won "fast-track" authority from Congress, which meant that legislators would have to vote yes or no on the deal as negotiated by the Bush administration and representatives of the Mexican and Canadian governments—members of Congress were prevented from picking apart any trade package to insert exemptions for constituents. The Bush administration claimed that without fast-track, it would have been impossible to negotiate NAFTA, because the Mexicans and Canadians would have feared that the deal would unravel in the legislative process in Washington. The three nations finalized the agreements in August of 1992, laying the foundation for a trading bloc of 358 million citizens and economies with GDPs totaling \$6.2 trillion.

The North American Free Trade Agreement, which takes up more than 2,000 pages, established schedules for reducing tariffs and non-tariff barriers to trade over a five- to ten-year period in all but a few hundred of some 20,000 product categories. Despite its length and complexity, NAFTA's goal is very simple: to eliminate or lower barriers to trade in goods and many services, and create a limited common market "from the Yukon to the Yucatan."

## Canadian Perspective

The move for Canada to request a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement came from the MacDonald Royal Commission Report in September 1985. Although 85% of Canadian exports were already free of duty, it was recognized that given the dominance of the direction of Canadian exports to the United States, Canada was exposed to the unilateral actions of the application of US trade laws. As a result,

Canada needed a guarantee with respect to continued access to US markets and greater certainty over the conditions of this access.

The Free Trade Agreement represented the further integration of two very close trading partners who experienced significant and ongoing cross-border capital flows and whose capital markets were becoming increasingly aligned. In addition, policy makers expected that the increased specialization, inter- and intra-industry within Canada, would lead to increased competitiveness, not only with respect to the United States, but to redress its large trade imbalance with the rest of the world. NAFTA had the potential to provide greater specialization and efficiency gains.

Canada was at first reluctant to request negotiating status as its trade with Mexico was quite small. Nevertheless, policy makers argued that, if only on defensive grounds, Canada had to seek negotiating status to ensure its continued accessibility to the US market.

### The Basics

The agreement has two major elements: it reduces or eliminates US, Mexican, and Canadian tariffs on many goods produced in North America, and facilitates investment across borders on the continent. But it is important to note that NAFTA does not eliminate all trade barriers—the agreement contains provisions protecting economic interests in all three countries against free trade.

First, NAFTA will eliminate tariffs on approximately nine thousand categories of goods sold in North America by the year 2009. Also under NAFTA, many previous restrictions on foreign investments and other financial transactions among the NAFTA countries will end, and investment in financial services operations (such as advertising, banking, insurance, and telecommunications) will flow much more freely across borders. This is particularly important to Mexico. Before NAFTA, Mexico had much higher tariff and non-tariff barriers in place than the United States, so the Mexicans have made far more significant tariff reductions. Beginning in 2000, US banks, which had been virtually banned from operating in Mexico before NAFTA, were able to hold 15% of the Mexican market. Truck and bus companies now have largely unimpeded access across borders, and starting in 2000, US trucking firms were allowed to become majority owners of Mexican trucking companies. While Mexico continued to prohibit foreign ownership of oil fields, in accordance with its constitution, US firms became eligible to compete

for contracts with *Petroleos Mexicanos* (PEMEX) and operate, in general, under the same provisions as Mexican companies.

Only goods adhering to NAFTA's "rule of origin" move across North American borders duty free: goods must be produced in North America to qualify for duty free treatment. Goods that are wholly obtained or produced in North America are considered to originate in North America. Goods containing no North American content, however, must be substantially transformed through further processing in a NAFTA country to qualify for duty free entry. In practice, this means they must undergo a change in tariff classification. Goods containing non-North American content also may be treated as North American if they have sufficient (60%) regional value content, as determined by either the transaction value or the net-cost method. The nationality of a factory's owners is irrelevant under the agreement—Nissan may ship automobiles from its modern Mexican facility to the United States duty free, as long as those cars meet NAFTA's requirements for North American content.

Second, NAFTA protects the property rights of those who invest across borders in North America, and eliminates practices that long discouraged foreign investment in Mexico. NAFTA requires each signatory country to treat foreign investors no differently than domestic investors, and prohibits governments from imposing any special "performance requirements" on foreign investors. For example, before NAFTA, Mexico often required foreign-owned firms to buy certain inputs locally, or to export a specified percentage of their goods. Such requirements, which act as "non-tariff barriers" to trade, violate the free trade agreement; businesses confronting them may appeal to a three-nation panel for damages. Further, in another provision aimed directly at Mexico, NAFTA discourages the nationalization of private enterprises by requiring governments to pay immediate and fair compensation to the nationalized firm's owner. Mexico is hungry for foreign investment, and the protections offered to investors by those provisions will undoubtedly increase investment there.

Again, while NAFTA lowers many trade barriers, it offers protectionist safeguards for certain domestic products in all three countries. First, there are the so-called "snap-back" provisions, which allow governments to impose tariffs temporarily to protect specific economic sectors suffering substantial losses due to import surges. For example, if Mexican tomatoes flood the US market and drive down prices, Washington can throw up tariffs against imported tomatoes while US growers adjust to the new competitive environment. Second, each country insisted on

protecting certain domestic industries, and the agreement contains many such arrangements. For example, Mexico protected its oil- and gas-drilling enterprises, and the United States its shipping industry. Third, many protectionist provisions emerged from the political process in the United States. President Clinton made many concessions to individual members of Congress, especially those presenting agricultural interests, and the Mexicans agreed to reinterpret some of the original language of NAFTA to allow those concessions. One such agreement empowered the United States to impose steep tariffs on orange concentrate if Mexican exports rise and the price drops to a specified level for a period of five days. These provisions violate the spirit of free trade, but they were necessary to complete the free trade agreement—legislators withheld support for NAFTA until these arrangements were made.

While these are NAFTA's major elements, the deal has many other crucial components. There are provisions (aimed at Mexico) requiring each country to protect rights in "intellectual property" like copyrights and trademarks, and rules that will allow US and Canadian banks to penetrate the Mexican market for financial services. Perhaps more significantly, the original text of NAFTA, later supplemented by "side agreements" negotiated by the Clinton administration, contained important provisions on health and the environment. NAFTA does not require the three countries to adopt the same regulations protecting the food supply or the environment. The three countries made a nonbinding pledge to seek the "highest standard" of protection, but there is no way to force any country to raise its standards.

### **Arguments for and Against NAFTA**

NAFTA precipitated strenuous debate within the United States. The opponents, including various US labor unions and environmental groups, criticized the low wages and poor labor laws in Mexico, which they feared would drag down US labor standards. Environmentalists similarly criticized Mexico's lax environmental laws and saw NAFTA as giving US corporations licenses to pollute by moving south of the border. In the heart of the 1992 presidential campaign, Democratic candidate Bill Clinton pledged to support NAFTA on condition that there be effective safeguards for environmental protection and workers' rights; by September 1993 the governments reached "supplemental" or side agreements on labor and the environment. As the US Congress prepared to vote on ratification, Texas billionaire Ross Perot led the

charge against the treaty. Perot warned that US workers would hear "big sucking sounds" as their jobs disappeared south of the border. Proponents insisted that NAFTA will make Mexico more appealing to American investors—giving them permanent rights to full control of Mexican subsidiaries and protecting them against any future reversal of Mexican investment rules. Under NAFTA, Mexico would be a better place to do business—with lower financial costs, an improved infrastructure, and a larger pool of trained bilingual personnel. For outside investors, there would also be an intangible comfort factor in knowing that Mexico was somehow legally linked to the United States. In short, NAFTA removes many of the obstacles, perceived or real, that have kept hundreds of companies from ever considering expansion into Mexico.

Disregarding vociferous opposition from unionized labor, a historic bastion of support for Democrats, President Clinton lobbied tirelessly on behalf of the treaty. And after Perot stumbled badly during a memorable television debate with Vice President Al Gore, the House of Representatives finally supported the NAFTA accord by the surprisingly lopsided margin of 234–200; the Senate followed with a vote of 61–38.

### **Supplemental Agreements**

As noted earlier, concerns about the effects of free trade on US labor and environmental standards clouded NAFTA's prospects for acceptance by the Congress. During the 1992 presidential campaign, Governor Bill Clinton endorsed NAFTA, rejected any renegotiation of the text, and enumerated important qualifications. However, he stated his intention to negotiate three supplemental agreements that would be submitted to Congress in parallel with NAFTA implementing legislation. The prospect of supplemental agreements raised hope among US labor and environmental activists that Clinton might push for new international standards in these areas. The supplemental agreements negotiated by the Clinton administration set up new mechanisms to encourage the three countries to enforce existing environmental and labor laws, and to apply sanctions against those that try to use lax enforcement to attract investment and create competitive advantage for their firms.

The first agreement would set up an environmental commission, headed by Vice President Gore, which would have substantial power and resources to prevent and to clean up water pollution; encourage the

## NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA)

enforcement of the country's own environmental laws through education, training, and commitment of resources; and provide a forum to hear complaints. The environmental provision strengthened NAFTA and enhanced the protection, conservation, and management of natural resources throughout the region in a manner that would set the standard for future international agreements.

A second supplemental agreement would create a labor commission that would have powers similar to those of the environmental commission to protect worker standards and safety. A Ministerial Council, consisting of the labor ministers of each nation would oversee the activities of the labor commission. They would supervise the implementation of the side accord, including the activities of the International Coordinating Secretariat. They would also establish working groups and committees as deemed appropriate.

Finally, a supplemental safeguards agreement would be negotiated to deal with instances where an unexpected and overwhelming surge in imports from a partner country required temporary protection beyond that provided by the "snap-back" causes enumerated in the NAFTA text. The rationale for such a provision would be to provide an additional avenue for temporary import relief to deal with the aftershocks of regional integration.

President Salinas of Mexico grudgingly agreed to these proposals. The Canadians were a good deal more positive than the Mexicans about the supplemental agreements. They well understood that Canada was not the object of concern.

### Assessing NAFTA

NAFTA appeared to achieve the economic goal of expanding commerce. Two-way trade between Mexico and the United States climbed from \$83 billion in 1993 to \$108 billion in 1995 and \$175 billion in 1997. By 1997 the three-way trade of \$348 billion represented nearly \$1,000 in trade for each of NAFTA's 380 million consumers. Trade among the three partners increased somewhat faster than before the accord. By this time the United States was exporting more to Mexico than to China, Korea, and Singapore combined, and Mexico displaced Japan as the second-largest trading partner of the states (Canada remained in first place). Still, both optimistic and pessimistic forecasts for NAFTA fell short. Few job losses or gains could be traced to NAFTA.

Besides trade and jobs, NAFTA had other effects. Mexico tightened environmental protection while NAFTA was being negotiated and kept the controls

in place despite the 1995 financial crisis. The US–Mexico border region flourished following the agreement. Mexican shoppers spent an estimated \$22 billion in the United States over the next five years.

Although several US presidents had talked about extending NAFTA to other countries in the Western hemispheric free trade agreement, NAFTA provisions are very vague regarding the requirements countries must meet to become members. Both the lack of clear-cut procedures and making decisions concerning new members by consensus could pose significant obstacles to enlargement. Indeed, the US Congress has been reluctant to give the president fast-track authority in negotiations to extend NAFTA to Chile and other Latin American states.

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**See also Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); Maquiladora Program; Mexico: History and Economic Development**

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## NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a Brussels-headquartered military and diplomatic alliance of twenty-six countries in Europe and North

America. NATO members attempt to preserve peace and international security around the world. They also collaborate on economic policies in the effort to further economic and political stability. The organization's interest in the developing world began when the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 forced NATO, a product of the Cold War created as a safeguard against communism, to find a new reason for its continuing existence.

NATO traces its roots to 1945 when Europe sought to recover from the devastation caused by World War II. The democratic nations of Europe feared that they had been so weakened by the economic and military costs of the conflict that they did not have the strength to fend off an attack by an increasingly aggressive Soviet Union without US assistance. The United States feared that the loss of democratic countries would drastically reduce trade and badly damage the US economy. Europe and US policy makers cooperated to develop an organization that would preserve the stability of the North Atlantic region. This region has its northern boundary at the North Pole, past the Northwest Territories of Canada, while the southern terminus is located at the Tropic of Cancer, which runs between Florida and Cuba.

The treaty establishing NATO was signed in Washington, DC, on April 4, 1949, and then subsequently ratified by its member countries. The NATO signatories agreed that, if an armed attack occurred, each NATO member would assist the victimized state by regarding an attack upon one as an attack upon all. NATO would respond to aggression by taking all necessary actions, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain international peace and security. The vagueness of the treaty meant that the exact mechanisms of the alliance would develop over time. Policy makers hoped that the threat of US involvement would act as a particularly powerful deterrent to the Soviets.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 removed the chief reason for NATO's existence. On November 19, 1990, NATO achieved its historic mission when the Charter of Paris formally ended the conflict with the Warsaw Pact. It also offered former Soviet satellite states the opportunity to join the organization. To most countries, European Union membership is the real goal, with NATO membership serving as a proving ground. The members of NATO are: Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. As of this writing, Albania and Macedonia are pursuing membership.

With the Soviet threat gone, NATO began focusing on preserving global security as it struggled to remain relevant. The alliance changed from being a collective defense organization to a self-appointed police officer. Economic, social, and political difficulties, including ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes in Central and Eastern Europe, were identified as likely to cause regional instability and it planned to settle these disputes.

In 1999, NATO sent military forces into action for the first time, in the Kosovo province of Serbia in the Balkans. In Operation Allied Force, the alliance attempted to achieve a political solution to the Kosovo crisis and acted only after negotiations with the Kosovo Serbians and the Kosovo Albanians had failed. Incidents of ethnic cleansing of the Albanian population had already occurred and NATO publicly stated that it feared inaction would lead to a greater humanitarian catastrophe. Additionally, an escalation in the fighting would likely have triggered a massive refugee flow. A great movement of displaced people had the potential to destabilize surrounding countries with a delicate ethnic balance such as Macedonia and Albania. Conflicts between Muslims and Christians might prompt nearby NATO members Turkey and Greece to again come to blows. Regional stability required NATO action but this action came without approval from the Serbian government or the United Nations (UN). NATO violated the provisions of the UN Charter by invading Kosovo without the approval of the UN Security Council.

NATO has subsequently reached outside of its traditional boundaries to protect the North Atlantic region. Since the security of Europe is closely linked to security and stability in the Mediterranean, NATO initiated talks with Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia in the early 1990s. It offered training and technical knowledge but no troops.

The terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001 forced NATO to pay more attention to terrorism. The NATO-Russia Council, established in 2002, is identifying opportunities for joint action in all areas of mutual interest but especially in the use of the military to combat terrorist attacks. In 2004, NATO agreed to send an International Security Assistance Force to Afghanistan to help stabilize the country. Afghan instability is believed to have created a climate in which Islamic nationalist terrorism could develop.

NATO, dominated by the United States, became involved in the US efforts to establish a democratic government in Iraq in 2004. It sent a training mission to help the new government of Iraq address the security needs of the Iraqi people. It did not send troops. Instead, NATO offered training and education and

planned to coordinate offers of equipment and help from individual NATO countries. It is not clear how European reluctance to participate in Operation Iraqi Freedom and the subsequent weakening of historic ties between Western Europe and the United States will affect NATO.

NATO has emerged from the Cold War as a global police agency. As the military arm of democratic Western nations, it plans to play an increasing role in establishing and maintaining the security of developing countries. The alliance contends that such activism will fulfill its mission of maintaining North Atlantic stability, but the future of the Atlantic Alliance is in doubt, as it may not have the broad support needed for a radically new agenda.

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**See also Afghanistan; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe**

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## NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Northern South America is composed of the independent nations of Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana, and Suriname, plus the French overseas department of French Guiana. Although the region is blessed with rich agricultural land and abundant minerals, the post-1945 period has revealed a number of fundamental flaws in the countries' respective economic systems. After the devastating experience of the Great Depression revealed the negative effects of relying on the liberal, export-led variety of economic

development, most of Latin America pursued an economic path based on import-substitution industrialization. Import-substitution industrialization, however, was not the panacea for economic development that its proponents heralded. During the 1980s, while much of North America, Europe, and East Asia was experiencing an economic boom, Latin American nations were experiencing an economic depression that lasted until the end of the decade. As a consequence, most Latin American nations were forced to readjust their economic strategies. They departed from the import-substitution industrialization path, opened their economic systems to free trade, encouraged foreign investment, began the privatization of state-run industries and companies, and pursued the neoliberal, export-led path of economic development. Although most Latin American economies began to revive during the 1990s, social and political instability, coupled with growing economic disparity between the social classes, offset many of the economic gains.

## Colombia

The majority of Colombia's people live in the valleys and mountain basins that lie between the ranges of the Andes Mountains. Eleven of Colombia's fourteen major urban centers lie in these valleys. The remaining three urban centers are on the Caribbean coast. Travel between Colombia's centers of population was quite difficult during the colonial period. As such, Colombia's people lived in quite distinctive communities and developed their own specific economic paths based on agriculture, livestock, and mining. Following independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Colombia's elites, divided into antagonistic Liberal and Conservative factions, spent most of the century fighting fratricidal civil wars that greatly dislocated the political economy. During the 1880s, the Liberal Rafael Nuñez encouraged the expansion of Colombia's coffee industry. Although production never reached the levels of Brazil's coffee production, the Colombian coffee was of a higher quality and fetched a higher world market price. Nuñez's death in 1899, however, tossed the nation back into the all-too-familiar pattern of civil war. One of Colombia's most destructive civil wars, the Thousand-Day War (1899–1902), ruined the economy, destroyed the nation's infrastructure, left one hundred thousand dead, and weakened the nation to such an extent that the United States was easily able to sever the province of Panama from Colombia. The demoralized Colombians needed a leader capable

of reuniting the nation and rebuilding the national economy.

Using dictatorial powers, the Conservative Rafael Reyes (1904–1909) was able to restore fiscal stability, rebuild the nation's infrastructure, and encourage the reorganization of Colombia's nascent coffee industry. Although coffee became the driving force of the Colombian economy, a brief depression hit the nation in the aftermath of World War I. During the 1920s, Colombia's elites began to centralize their power around coffee exports. In 1927, they established the National Federation of Coffee Growers (FNC), a cartel that controlled the export of coffee. Eighty percent of Colombia's coffee was grown by small coffee farmers who sold their coffee to the FNC for marketing. The FNC convinced the government to establish the National Coffee Fund, a state-run agency dedicated to improving coffee production and the transportation network necessary to export Colombia's coffee. While the Colombian elites were investing in coffee production, foreigners, especially the United Fruit Company (UFCO), were establishing export enclaves for banana and oil production. The Great Depression, which caused coffee prices to fall and unemployment to rise, was a direct challenge to elite control of the political economy.

During the 1930s, two outspoken politicians emerged: Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, who represented the radical wing of the Liberals, and Laureano Gómez, who represented the ultra-conservative wing of the Conservatives. Gaitán's assassination in April 1948 ignited a massive riot known as the *Bogotazo*. It unleashed a wave of violence, known as *La Violencia* in Colombia, that took the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and had a negative impact on the development of the national economy. The Conservative Gómez was elected in fraudulent elections in 1950, but was overthrown by former colonel Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in 1953. Rojas Pinilla, who ruled until 1957, encouraged industrialization and developed his own political following. In 1957, Liberal and Conservative elites put aside their differences, established a power-sharing arrangement known as the National Front, and sent Rojas Pinilla into exile. Foreign investment poured into Colombia. Although manufacturing output increased and coffee production also increased with the introduction of new tree varieties, domestic food production declined greatly.

During the 1970s, as demand for Colombian coffee grew and coffee prices rose significantly, international demand for cocaine, especially in North America and Europe, skyrocketed. Although the Colombians are the world's largest producers of cocaine, many of the coca leaves are grown in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Colombia was flooded with narco-dollars, which

drove up the inflation rate. The informal economy, based on the production and smuggling of refined cocaine, generates more wealth than the formal economy based on agriculture. By the 1980s, over 80% of all cocaine consumed in the United States came from Colombia. Farmers gave up planting traditional crops and turned to the more lucrative production of cocaine. With the drug trade came an excessive level of corruption. To make matters worse, a new round of leftist political violence was unleashed during the 1970s. The military, as well as the paramilitary death squads, unleashed a war of retribution against the leftists and drug lords, which left thousands dead. In an attempt to gain popularity, the drug lords offered to pay off Colombia's entire foreign debt. The US government pumped millions of dollars into Colombia to fight the war on drugs. By 1999, the United States was spending almost \$300 million annually to combat the drug trade. Meanwhile, the violence continued.

Despite renegotiated debts, new oil discoveries, vast mineral deposits (especially gold, copper, lead, mercury, and uranium), privatization of state-run industries, an expanded flower industry (especially roses), and greatly increased trade with Venezuela (Colombia's second-largest trading partner after the United States), Colombia's economy continued to falter and unemployment increased. By the 1980s, in terms of industrialization and gross national product, Colombia was one of Latin America's wealthiest nations. The wealth, however, was very unevenly distributed. A small group of elites, based on the nineteenth-century families that had made their money in mining, as coffee barons, and merchants, had meshed with a small group of new elites, whose money came from industry, banking, and illegal drug exports. These elites controlled the majority of Colombia's wealth. The lifestyle of the nation's elites is supported by a private security force of over 250,000 armed guards. Colombia's resources are quite capable of supporting its population without the cocaine industry, but numerous problems, especially unequal distribution of wealth and incessant violence, must be dealt with before Colombia can achieve and maintain major economic gains.

## Venezuela

Venezuela was an economic backwater until the second half of the eighteenth century when the Bourbon Reforms liberalized trade. During this period, cacao exports were the driving force of the colonial Venezuelan economy. The landed elites, who based their



wealth on cacao exports and cattle ranching, imported thousands of slaves from Africa to work on the cacao plantations, which changed the ethnic makeup of the nation. During the nineteenth century, after independence, the elites introduced coffee cultivation in the fertile Andean foothills. Coffee was Venezuela's primary export until the discovery of oil in 1914. Large-scale oil production began in 1922 during the regime of Juan Vicente Gómez (1908–1935). Oil quickly surpassed coffee as Venezuela's major export and provided the financial basis for Gómez's dictatorship. By the 1950s, when oil production reached over one billion barrels per year, Venezuela was the third-largest oil producer in the world. Oil exports turned Venezuela into an urban, semi-industrialized nation.

Gómez received a one-eighth *regalía* (fraction) of the well-head price of crude oil. This was more than enough money to pay off the nation's foreign debt. Creole (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey), Shell, Gulf, Texaco, and Mobile dominated the Venezuelan oil industry. The foreign oil companies took millions of dollars in profits out of the Venezuelan economy. The increase in wealth caused by oil production led to the development of a middle class as well as organized labor organizations that challenged the elite's domination of the political economy. After Gómez's death, he was succeeded by two of his cohorts, General Eleazar López Contreras (1935–1941) and Isaias Medina Angarita (1941–1945). These post-Gómez governments allowed a democratic opening in the political sphere, while simultaneously laying the groundwork for diversifying and industrializing the economy. In 1943, Medina Angarita passed a new petroleum law that raised the *regalía* to an amount that equaled 50% of the foreign oil companies' profits. In addition, in 1945 the Venezuelan government, interested in pursuing the import-substitution industrialization path of economic development, created the *Corporación Venezolana de Fomento*, a government-run development corporation to oversee economic diversification and industrialization projects.

In 1945, a coalition of civilians and young military officers who wanted greater political and economic power staged a successful coup against the Medina Angarita government. The coup was led by Rómulo Betancourt, his supporters in *Acción Democrática* (AD), and a group of young military officers led by Marcos Pérez Jiménez. Betancourt led the civilian-military junta until elections were held in 1947. During this period, AD introduced a controversial 50/50 petroleum law. Betancourt's petroleum plan was actually less radical than Medina Angarita's plan. The new law limited Venezuela's share of the profits to

50%. Regardless, Betancourt was able to call the new legislation nationalistic. However, elites and military generals, fearful of AD's populist rhetoric, overthrew the AD government in 1948. Pérez Jiménez used the oil wealth to fund his dictatorship. His dictatorship was very favorable to US business interests, especially oil interests. Skyscrapers, massive highways, and public housing were built during the oil boom of the 1950s. Oil production doubled during the 1950s and foreign investment dramatically increased. In 1957, an economic recession hit Venezuela when the United States restricted foreign oil imports. A popular civilian-military uprising overthrew Pérez Jiménez. Interim President Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal increased Venezuela's share of the oil profits to 60% and scheduled democratic elections in December 1958, which were won by Betancourt. Betancourt took over a nation that had both tremendous oil revenue and great economic disparity. Refusing to nationalize the foreign oil holdings in Venezuela, Betancourt initiated gradual economic reforms. In an effort to gain greater control over oil prices, Venezuela was in the forefront of organizing the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960. By 1960, oil exports accounted for over 90% of Venezuela's export earnings. In 1960, however, an economic recession worse than that of 1957 hit Venezuela. Betancourt responded with repression.

In an attempt to deflect criticism of unusually high degrees of corruption, during the 1970s the two main political parties, AD and the Independent Electoral Political Organizing Committee (COPEI), increased their populist rhetoric and actions. The 1973 Arab-Israeli War led to an oil embargo by Arab producers, which resulted in quadrupled petroleum prices in the United States. Although Venezuela did not participate in the embargo, it did benefit from the increased revenue. High prices for oil changed Venezuela's perception of its role in international affairs. In 1975, AD President Carlos Andrés Pérez (1974–1979) nationalized, with compensation, the extensive foreign iron ore holdings in Venezuela. In early 1976, the Venezuelan government nationalized the foreign oil holdings in Venezuela. The foreign oil companies were paid \$1 billion. The Venezuelan government established *Petróleos de Venezuela* (PDVSA), a state-run oil company. With the increased petroleum revenue, the Venezuelan government increased educational programs, raised wages, and implemented industrialization projects. In an effort to increase the pace of modernization and economic development, Pérez negotiated high-interest loans based on projected oil revenues. At the end of the 1970s, however, oil prices plummeted, which sent the Venezuelan

economy into an economic disaster. During the 1980s, the government implemented International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity measures, which led to a noticeable decline in the standard of living of many Venezuelans.

Pérez's second term as president (1989–1993) was even more corrupt than his first administration. Pérez discarded his populist rhetoric and implemented neo-liberal economic policies, privatized numerous state-run enterprises, and held wages down. In May 1993, Pérez was impeached by the Senate on charges of embezzling \$17 million in government funds. Rafael Caldera, who won the 1993 elections, was unable to pull the nation out of economic chaos. Despite decades of oil revenues, Venezuela was an economic disaster. In the 1998 presidential elections, Hugo Chavez, who had led an abortive coup against Pérez in 1992, promised the voters that he would implement economic reforms that would revitalize Venezuela's faltering economy. Although Chavez promised to revamp the political economy and lessen the influence of the United States on Venezuela, over 50% of Venezuela's world trade is transacted with the United States. Oil wealth once gave Venezuela one of the highest standards of living in Latin America, but inflation, corruption, and faulty economic planning have eroded it. Oil wealth brought only temporary prosperity. In 2000, Venezuela had a lower per capita income than it did in 1974. Venezuela did not become a rich country and missed many opportunities to turn its oil wealth into real economic development.

## Guyana

The Dutch were the first settlers in what today is known as Guyana. They arrived in 1596 and began to settle along the banks of the Essequibo River. They initiated a land reclamation policy that entailed draining swamps and lagoons, as well as building dikes and canals, which made the land habitable and suitable for agriculture. This narrow band of land, no more than ten miles wide and much of it below sea level, extends along Guyana's entire two hundred-mile coastline. Today, this is the nation's primary agricultural area and where most of Guyana's people live. The hinterland, which is sparsely populated and has poor soil, is blessed with significant quantities of diamonds, gold, and bauxite.

The British took the Dutch lands in 1796 and officially re-named the colony British Guiana in 1831. During the nineteenth century, the British were primarily interested in rice, sugar, and cotton

plantations along the coast, as well as some timber felling in the hinterland. Since the Dutch and British found few Indians to work the plantations, they imported African slaves to work the plantations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After slavery was abolished in 1830, the British imported large numbers of people from South Asia. Descendants of the Africans tend to live in the urban areas and work as merchants, mechanics, and tradesmen, while the descendants of the South Asians tend to work on the farms and live in the rural areas along the coast. The descendants of these two groups make up the majority of Guyana's population today.

During the nineteenth century, the British developed the nation's infrastructure and attempted to open up the interior for settlement and exploration of minerals. Few people, however, were willing to leave the coastal areas. At the same time, the British began to expand the colony westward, at the expense of Venezuela. In 1899, following the 1895 Venezuelan Boundary Dispute, an international tribunal in The Hague awarded the United Kingdom most of its territorial claims in eastern Venezuela. Today, much to the chagrin of the Venezuelan government and people, that land constitutes half of Guyana's territory. The fact that much of Guyana's gold is found in this contested region makes the Guyanese government unwilling to discuss the Venezuelan claim. In 1962, Venezuela declared the 1899 tribunal decision void.

The British began planning for Guyana's independence in the aftermath of World War II. Self-government, which had been planned for 1962, was postponed until 1966 because of racial tensions between the Indo-Guyanese, led by Cheddi Jagan, and the Afro-Guyanese, led by Forbes Burnham. Burnham became the first leader of independent Guyana in 1966. To reduce the mono-cultural dependence on sugar exports, Burnham encouraged the expansion of other agricultural products. In 1970, Burnham began to move ideologically toward the left. He declared Guyana a cooperative republic and established over one thousand worker cooperatives. In 1971, he began the process of taking over the nation's foreign-owned bauxite mines, which were incorporated into a state-run enterprise called Guybau. During the 1970s, the Guyanese government nationalized the British-owned sugar plantations. The government also took control of the banking industry, the rum factories, and the insurance companies. By 1980, the government owned virtually the entire Guyanese economy. Burnham's pro-Soviet rhetoric and dreams of a Soviet-funded socialist experiment in Guyana died with him in a Moscow hospital room in 1985. Soon after, Burnham's vice president, Desmond Hoyte,

began the process of privatization and began to court US foreign investment in Guyana.

In 1992, Jagan was elected with a majority of the vote. Jagan, who had discarded his Marxist rhetoric and socialist pretensions from the 1960s, portrayed himself as a moderate progressive dedicated to neo-liberal economic policies and privatization of the state-run industries. Within four years of taking power, Jagan reduced the nation's inflation rate from over 100% to less than 5% a year. He lured foreign investors to Guyana's agricultural, mining, and timber sectors. Following Jagan's death in 1997, his US-born wife, Janet Rosenberg Jagan, was elected president. Despite her life-long devotion to Marxism, Janet Jagan continued Chedi Jagan's privatization plans. At the end of the 1990s, the national airline and the bauxite mines were privatized. The nation's largest gold mine, Omai, is owned by two Canadian companies. Although Guyana's economy rapidly improved during the 1990s, its per capita GDP of less than \$500 makes it one of the poorest countries in Latin America.

## Suriname

In 1667, the Dutch received Suriname from the United Kingdom in exchange for their colony of New Netherlands (what is today New York). Dutch farmers initiated a land reclamation policy that entailed draining swamps and lagoons, as well as building dikes and canals, which made the land habitable and suitable for agriculture. This narrow band of land, no more than ten miles wide and much of it below sea level, extends along Suriname's entire 230 mile coastline. Today, this is the nation's primary agricultural area and where most of Suriname's people live. The hinterland, which is sparsely populated and has poor soil, is blessed with significant quantities of bauxite and timber.

During the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815), Suriname was occupied by the British. After Napoleon was sent into exile, the entire region of Guiana, as it was then called, was divided into English, Dutch, and French zones. Following the emancipation of slaves in Suriname in 1863, the Dutch imported people from South Asia and Indonesia. In 1948, the colony became a self-governing component of the Netherlands, responsible for its own internal affairs. In 1975, the Dutch granted independence to Suriname. The Dutch government promised \$100 million per year for ten years to help the new nation develop its economy. As aluminum production declined during the first decade of independence, the Dutch annual stipend became

the basis of economic stability in Suriname. Regardless, virtually none of the Dutch aid was used to develop the nation's infrastructure. In 1980, the military overthrew the civilian government and installed Lieutenant Colonel Desi Bouterse as the new leader of Suriname. The Dutch government immediately cut off all economic aid. The situation was further complicated by declining aluminum prices.

In 1988, the Dutch restored aid payments to Suriname, but not enough to suit Bouterse, who continued to govern until the free 1991 election, which greatly diminished the military's power in governing. Bouterse's personal power further fell when it was learned that he engaged in drug trafficking, for which, in 1998, he was sentenced in absentia in the Netherlands for transporting cocaine. By the end of the 1990s, the Dutch had again resumed aid payments, albeit at the diminished amount of \$65 million per year. Ronald Venetiaan, who came into power in 2000, initiated an austerity program, raised taxes, and attempted to limit government spending. Regardless, Suriname remains dependent on aluminum exports, which provide over 90% of the government's tax revenues. Notwithstanding nationalist rhetoric, the aluminum industry continued to be owned by Suralco, a subsidiary of Alcoa. Rice remains the chief agricultural crop and food staple. The continued reliance on aluminum exports and foreign aid, coupled with the lack of significant attempts at industrialization or agricultural product diversification, does not bode well for Suriname's political or economic future.

## French Guiana

In 1946, after more than three centuries as a French colony, French Guiana was transformed into an overseas department—*département d'outremer*—of France. In theory, French Guiana was to be equal and identical to any other French department. As a result of their non-independent status, the people of French Guiana enjoy a standard of living vastly superior to the people of the former Dutch and British Guianas. The people of French Guiana receive generous social security and medical benefits, wages are higher than in the rest of the Eastern Caribbean, and the infrastructure is vastly superior. With its mineral resources and potential for hydroelectric energy, especially the Petit-Saut dam project on the Sinnamary River, French Guiana has great potential to develop its economy.

The traditional colonial economy was based on gold prospecting, forestry, subsistence agriculture,

and sugar production. Gold was discovered in 1853. By 1960, gold accounted for almost 70% of French Guiana's exports. Over 70% of French Guiana is covered with tropical forests, which are mostly owned by the state. By 1960, timber accounted for 20% of French Guiana's exports. There is a limited amount of land along the narrow coast suitable for farming. The traditional method of subsistence agriculture is called *abattis* (cultivation for a few seasons in a forest clearing created by slash-and-burn agricultural techniques). This method is only practical in areas of low population density.

During French President Charles De Gaulle's Fourth Republic, the power of the *Préfet*—the local representative in French Guiana of the central government—was increased, giving the position total responsibility for defense and security, as well as a central role in economic affairs. Thus, beginning in 1958 and culminating in the 1970s, French Guiana underwent a significant economic transformation. The traditional agriculture-based productive economy of the colonial era was replaced by a skewed consumer-oriented economy based on massive cash infusions from France. By 2000, over three-fourths of the population was involved in the service sector. Between 1958 and 1978, food production declined by over 50%. As a result, in later years most foodstuffs were imported. Although cattle-raising and rice cultivation have been introduced, the most dynamic sector of French Guiana's economy is the fishing industry. By 2000, shrimp exports represented 60% of French Guiana's total exports. Gold, timber, and rice exports each account for about ten percent of total exports. Regardless, exports remain minimal when compared to the substantial imports, which has perpetuated a negative trade balance.

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**See also Betancourt, Rómulo; Chavez, Hugo; Colombia; French Guiana; Guyana; Jagan, Cheddi; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Pérez Jiménez, Marcos; Plan Colombia; Suriname; Venezuela**

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## NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Northern South America is composed of the independent nations of Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana, and Suriname, plus the French overseas department of French Guiana. The five states have experienced a number of significant border disputes, many of which are still unresolved. Since 1945, one of the most dramatic changes in the region has been the integration of these nations into the global community. Prior to 1945, foreign relations were dominated by relationships with the United Kingdom and the United States. In the post-World War II world, Canada, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands have reinforced their influence in the region through cultural programs, economic aid, and support for political parties allied with their predominant ideologies. Regardless, the United States remains an important trading partner and continues to view the Caribbean Basin as its backyard. This trend has been reinforced by US economic and military aid packages. Notwithstanding continued hegemonic assumptions on the part of the United States, the nations of northern South America have pursued foreign policy initiatives that have been, at times, at variance with US foreign policy goals and objectives.

## Colombia

In 1822, Gran Colombia (present-day Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama) was the first Latin American nation to receive US diplomatic recognition. Prior to World War II, however, the most pressing concerns for Colombian diplomats revolved around boundary disputes and territorial integrity. Although Colombia and the United States had cordial and friendly relations during the nineteenth century, the secession of Panama from Colombia in 1903 was a major source of friction in US–Colombian relations during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Despite the US government’s support of the Panamanians in their independence from Colombia, economic ties with the United States were of great importance to Colombia even in the early twentieth century, since the United States was the largest importer of Colombian coffee. For over a decade, from 1922 to 1934, Colombia feuded over its common boundary with Peru in the Leticia area. The League of Nations agreement provided for Leticia becoming a permanent part of Peru. Brazil and Colombia agreed to a definitive frontier in 1928. Border disputes with Venezuela, especially over offshore exploratory drilling rights in the Gulf of Venezuela, caused great tension in Colombian–Venezuelan relations during the last quarter of the twentieth century. This tension was heightened by the hundreds of thousands of undocumented Colombians who fled the intense violence in Colombia for the relative safety of Venezuela. The most vociferous dispute, however, involved repeated claims by Nicaragua’s Sandinista government concerning ownership of San Andrés Island. During the 1980s, the Sandinistas argued that San Andrés, which lies off the coast of Nicaragua, should be controlled by Nicaragua. The Sandinistas claimed that Nicaragua’s acquiescence to Colombian ownership of the island in 1928 was not valid since the agreement was made when US marines were stationed in Nicaragua. The Colombian government considered the 1928 agreement binding.

Colombia broadened its foreign policy initiatives after World War II. It was an active participant in the San Francisco Conference that created the United Nations (UN) in 1945. Colombia also played an important role in creating the Organization of American States (OAS) in Bogotá in 1948. Former Colombian President Alberto Lleras Camargo was the OAS’s first secretary general. Colombia’s approach to national and international security issues has been characterized by a willingness to settle disputes through regional and international security organizations, rather than resorting to force. Throughout the early Cold

War period, Colombia’s foreign policy was based on consistent support of the United States against the Soviet Union and its allies. Believing that international communism was partially responsible for the violence unleashed in the wake of the 1948 *Bogotazo* (a civil uprising in the capital city over the assassination of Jorge Gaitan, a popular spokesman for the poor), Colombia severed relations with the Soviet Union. Colombia was the only Latin American nation to contribute militarily to the UN Peacekeeping Force in the Korean War. Although the Colombians only contributed one battalion and one battleship, the *Almirante Padilla*, this symbolic gesture strengthened US–Colombian friendship. In addition, Colombia provided the only Latin American troops to the UN Emergency Force in the Suez conflict. Colombia was thus rewarded with generous US economic and military aid packages.

Colombia voted fairly consistently with the United States in international security forums during the 1950s and early 1960s. Because of Fidel Castro’s assistance to the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN) guerrillas fighting the Colombian government, Colombia actively supported OAS sanctions against Cuba in 1962 and the expulsion of Cuba from the OAS in 1964. Its willingness to follow the US lead in the inter-American system, however, had diminished by the end of the 1960s. In 1968, diplomatic relations were reestablished with the Soviet Union, and in 1975 President Alfonso López Michelsen resumed diplomatic relations with Cuba. In addition, López Michelsen refused to condemn Castro’s intervention in the Angolan civil war. In 1981, López Michelsen’s successor, Julio César Turbay Ayala, a fervent anti-communist, broke diplomatic relations with Cuba after Castro admitted supporting the M-19 terrorist group in Colombia. Turbay reestablished close relations with the United States and affirmed President Ronald Reagan’s thesis that Cuba and Nicaragua were the principal sources of subversion and turmoil in Latin America. Colombia was one of the few Latin American nations not to support Argentina’s invasion of the Falklands in 1982.

Belisario Betancur, who won the 1982 presidential elections, reversed Turbay’s anti-Argentine position in regard to the Falklands invasion, supported Bolivia’s aspirations for territorial access to the Pacific Ocean, argued that the Sandinistas were not a menace to harmony in Central America, took Colombia out of the pro-Reagan camp, and joined the nonaligned movement. Concerned about the possibility of US military intervention in Central America and the escalation of Central American civil wars, Colombia joined with Mexico, Venezuela, and Panama in

January 1983 to form the Contadora Group to seek a solution to the Central American crisis. Betancur was afraid that Central America was turning into a battleground for the Cold War. Betancur became less sympathetic toward the Sandinistas as a result of their alleged involvement in supporting the M-19's 1985 *Palacio de Justicia* takeover and their renewed campaign to acquire San Andrés. Economic problems at home, coupled with domestic criticism of his foreign policy initiatives, convinced Betancur to move away from his nonaligned movement agenda.

Colombia's most difficult issue in foreign relations concerned drug trafficking. By 1980, Colombia was the major source of illegal cocaine and marijuana smuggled into the United States. The bilateral Extradition Treaty between Colombia and the United States, signed by both countries in 1979, provided for the extradition of suspected drug exporters to the United States. At first, Betancur, flush with his nonaligned movement rhetoric, refused to extradite Colombians as a matter of principle. By 1984, however, Betancur launched a war on the drug cartels and began extraditing drug traffickers—including cartel kingpin Carlos Lehder Rivas—to the United States. The drug lords responded by bribing officials, kidnapping prominent people, killing judges, and funding revolutionary movements. The demand for cocaine in the United States had turned Colombia into the most dangerous place in the world to live during the 1980s. Betancur's successor, Virgilio Barco, also declared war on the drug smugglers. The drug lords did not want to be extradited to the United States; they preferred to stay in Colombia, have a quick trial, and bribe the judges to dole out limited sentences. In 1987, the Colombian Supreme Court declared the law enforcing the extradition treaty unconstitutional. It was not until 1997 that the Colombian government allowed the extradition of suspected drug traffickers to the United States. The Clinton administration rewarded the Colombians by lifting the ban on military aid. In 1998, for the first time in three years, the US government "certified" Colombia as an ally in the war on drugs.

## Venezuela

Two themes—oil exports and, to a lesser degree, border disputes—have dominated Venezuelan foreign policy initiatives for most of the twentieth century. Maintaining good relations with the United States has been a crucial part of this agenda. Although Venezuelan governments, such as Hugo Chavez's regime since 1999, have intermittently expressed the

desire to create and implement foreign policy independent of that of the United States, they have not deviated significantly from the US agenda nor have they threatened oil exports to the United States. Frequently, Venezuelan governments have looked to the United States for leadership and help in solving their border disputes. Venezuela has long-standing border disputes with Colombia and Guyana, some of whose roots can be traced back to the nineteenth century. The disagreement with Colombia is primarily a maritime dispute over the Gulf of Venezuela. In the late 1980s, Colombian attempts to initiate oil exploration projects in the Gulf of Venezuela led to an impasse in Venezuelan–Colombian relations. Through diplomatic negotiations, and a meeting of the presidents of both nations at the border, the conflict was diffused. As of this writing, Venezuela continues to control the oil rights in the Gulf of Venezuela. The dispute with Guyana is much more problematic. Venezuela claims over half of Guyana's national territory. The dispute has its origins in Britain's attempts to expand its territorial holdings in British Guiana during the nineteenth century. Much to the chagrin of the Venezuelans, in 1899 an international tribunal awarded most of the disputed territory to the British.

During World War II, while Brazil and Mexico formally declared war on Nazi Germany, Venezuela merely broke off diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in 1941. Much more significant, however, is the fact that Venezuela provided a steady flow of petroleum to the United States during the war. In addition, the Venezuelan government froze all German assets in Venezuela. In 1947, as the threat of international communism was gradually revealed, Venezuela, like the rest of independent Latin America, signed the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance (the so-called Rio Treaty), which committed its members to a joint response should an attack be made against any of them. From 1948 to 1958, the military government in Venezuela was involved in a close relationship with the United States. Marcos Pérez Jiménez was an ardent anticommunist and acted quite favorably toward US business interests. During his dictatorship, foreign oil companies received generous concessions. US support for Latin American dictators, however, greatly decreased during the late 1950s. In 1958, members of Rómulo Betancourt's *Acción Democrática* (AD), Jóvito Villalba's Democratic Republican Union (URD), and Rafael Caldera's Independent Political Organizing Committee (COPEI) met at Caldera's home to sign the Pact of Punto Fijo, a civilian plan to avoid inter-party conflicts, strengthen constitutional democracy, and establish a government of national unity to ensure that all political forces (with the notable exception of

the communists) were represented in the political system. As such, it was the groundwork for a two-party representative democracy somewhat similar to that in the United States. Venezuela also felt a close political affinity to European democracies. AD governments pursued close ties with the socialist and social-democratic parties and governments in Europe, while COPEI administrations established close ties with the Christian democratic governments of Europe.

The first two presidents of the democratic era, Rómulo Betancourt and Raúl Leoni, were supporters and beneficiaries of President John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress. Once Juan Bosch's democratically elected government was overthrown by the Dominican Republic's military in September 1963, Venezuela stood as the brightest beacon of Kennedy's idea of a "showcase for democracy." Betancourt and Leoni, both representing the AD, took aggressive stands against nondemocratic regimes in Latin America. Both presidents were equally critical of Cuba's left-wing totalitarian dictator, Fidel Castro, and the Dominican Republic's right-wing authoritarian dictator, Rafael Trujillo, who plotted to assassinate Betancourt in 1960. Both administrations enforced the Betancourt doctrine, whereby Venezuela refused to maintain diplomatic relations with governments formed as a result of military coups. Unfortunately, during the 1960s and early 1970s, this doctrine gradually isolated Venezuela from the rest of Latin America, which was increasingly dominated by governments that came to power through military coups. During the 1970s, Venezuela abandoned the Betancourt doctrine and even restored diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1974.

Venezuela was in the forefront of organizing the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960. The 1973 Arab-Israeli War led to an oil embargo by Arab producers that resulted in quadrupled petroleum prices in the United States. Although Venezuela did not participate in the embargo, it did benefit from the increased revenue. High prices for oil changed Venezuela's perception of its role in international affairs. During the 1970s, Venezuela provided support to the Sandinistas who struggled to overthrow Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle. During the 1980s, Venezuela initiated the San José Accords, an agreement designed to supply oil at greatly reduced prices to economically challenged nations in the Caribbean Basin. In 1982, however, Venezuela suspended the discounted oil sales to the Sandinista government. The suspension was as much a result of the Nicaraguan government's failure to pay its massive oil debt as it was Venezuela's disappointment with the lack of progress toward implementing a democratic government in Nicaragua.

The Venezuelan government was supportive of Violetta de Chamorro when she won the 1990 elections in Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan oil debt to Venezuela was canceled and oil exports were immediately resumed. Venezuela strongly supported (and justified) Argentina's invasion of the Falklands in 1982. Venezuela's government, like most of the Latin American governments who argued for hemispheric solidarity at the time, was critical of the US invasion of Grenada in 1983. In 1983, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, and Panama met on the island of Contadora to design a regional strategy to obtain peace in war-torn Central America. Venezuela supported the establishment of democratic systems in the Caribbean Basin as the most beneficial solution for the countries involved as well as for Venezuela's own political and economic interests.

## Guyana

Since gaining independence in 1966, Guyana's foreign policy has undergone a series of ideological changes in foreign policy making. From 1964 to 1969, Forbes Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC) was pro-Western. This was in marked contrast to Chedi Jagan's People's Progressive Party (PPP) whose leftist platform had prevailed until Burnham came to power in 1964. Beginning in 1969, Burnham began to move Guyanese foreign policy into the nonaligned camp. He also vocalized support for socialist causes in international forums. Guyana established diplomatic and economic ties with the communist governments in Eastern Europe, China, the Soviet Union, and Cuba. For example, in 1975, China agreed to provide interest-free loans to Guyana and to import Guyanese bauxite and sugar. Nevertheless, when Desmond Hoyte succeeded Burnham in 1985 he began to move Guyana back into the pro-Western camp. The fall of communism in the early 1990s accelerated this trend. In 1992, when Chedi Jagan returned to power, he abandoned his socialist rhetoric and continued the pro-Western approach of the Hoyte administration. Foreign relations with the United States, Venezuela, Suriname, and the English-speaking Caribbean states frequently dominate Guyanese foreign policy making.

US-Guyanese relations have ranged from cool to cordial. From 1964 to 1969, Burnham had the support of the United States. The US government was convinced that Burnham's government had no intention of pursuing Jagan-style socialism or of nationalizing foreign-owned industries. Whereas prior to 1964 the US was concerned that Jagan might transform Guyana into a "second Cuba," the United

States believed, all too simply, that Burnham would continue to follow the pro-Western path in foreign affairs. After 1969, when Burnham began to support socialism both domestically and internationally, relations between the United States and Guyana cooled significantly. When Burnham established a cooperative republic in 1970 and nationalized the sugar and bauxite industries in the mid-1970s, he placed Guyana firmly within the nonaligned movement. To retaliate, U.S. President Ronald Reagan excluded Guyana from participation in the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). Burnham, who had ties to Grenada's New JEWEL Movement, was especially critical of the US invasion of Grenada in 1983. After Burnham's death in 1985, relations with the United States improved. President Hoyte energetically sought Western aid and investment in Guyana.

Venezuelan-Guyanese relations have been dominated by a persistent border dispute that dates back to Guyana's pre-independence period. During the nineteenth century, Guyana's colonial masters, the British, began to expand the colony westward at the expense of Venezuela. In 1899, an international tribunal in The Hague awarded the United Kingdom most of its territorial claims in eastern Venezuela. Today, that land constitutes five-eighths of Guyana's land mass. Complicating the situation is the fact that the disputed region is quite rich in minerals, especially gold. In 1962, Venezuela declared the 1899 tribunal decision void. In 1966, British, Guyanese, and Venezuelan representatives signed an accord that established a new tribunal, consisting of two Guyanese and two Venezuelans, to reevaluate the border dispute. Although the commission failed to reach an agreement, both nations promised to refrain from a violent resolution of the dispute. In 1969, Venezuela supported an ill-fated uprising in the southern sector of the disputed zone. Guyana's military crushed the rebellion and Venezuela was criticized by the other Latin American nations. In 1970, because of international pressure, Venezuela and Guyana signed a twelve-year moratorium on the dispute. The protocol was not renewed by Venezuela when it expired in 1982. Fearful that a precedent would be set, the Guyanese government harshly criticized Argentina's invasion of the Falkland Islands in 1982 and the U.S. invasion of Grenada in the subsequent year. As of this writing, although Venezuela still claims the disputed territory, there is little threat of a Venezuelan invasion.

Guyana's relations with Suriname have also been plagued by a border dispute. In 1969, Suriname sent troops into southeast Guyana to occupy a parcel of disputed territory. After the Guyanese defeated the invaders there were no subsequent attempts to take

the disputed territory by force. Another problematic issue in relations with Suriname concerns the forced repatriation of Guyanese people living in Suriname. During the 1980s, Suriname's leader Desi Bouterse blamed Guyanese immigrants for Suriname's economic woes and began the forced repatriation.

Although its relations with Spanish-speaking Latin America are limited, Guyana has encouraged greater unity among the English-speaking Caribbean nations. Guyana is a member of CARICOM (the Caribbean Community) and CARICOM's headquarters are located in the capital of Guyana, Georgetown. By 1991, CARICOM's membership included all independent English-speaking nations in the Caribbean Basin. Relations with CARICOM member states were especially problematic in the aftermath of the US invasion of Grenada. Burnham accused Eugenia Charles, Dominica's prime minister, of complicity in the invasion. Tensions with CARICOM members diminished after Burnham's death in 1985.

## Suriname

Since gaining independence in 1975, Suriname's foreign policy has been dominated by a series of conflicts regarding its borders with Guyana, Brazil, and French Guiana. These disputes, which trace their roots back to the colonial period, are exacerbated by the sparse population and lack of natural boundaries in the hinterland regions. Although Suriname has resolved its border dispute with Brazil, the border disputes with Guyana and French Guiana remain unresolved. Relations with the former colonial master, the Netherlands, have played a prominent role in Suriname's foreign relations. The Surinamese government has been dependent on continued infusions of economic aid, often totaling over \$100 million annually. The continued flow of economic aid has frequently been conditioned by the actions of Suriname's government at home and abroad. When Suriname became independent, its large Asian population feared that it would lose political and economic privileges to the even larger African population. As a result, about 140,000 people (virtually 25% of the population) fled to the Netherlands. The Dutch government has consistently made the giving of aid conditional on the willingness of the Surinamese government, which is dominated by people of African ancestry, to move steadily along the path toward democracy.

Since independence, the most prominent and controversial figure in Suriname's history has been Desi



Bouterse. In 1980, a group of noncommissioned officers overthrew a civilian government led by Henck Arron. After an initial period of confusion, Lieutenant Colonel Bouterse emerged as the center of power. Bouterse greatly expanded the size of the military and experimented with the idea of forming an alliance with Cuba. Realizing the risks involved in this plan, especially in the aftermath of the US invasion of Grenada in 1983, Bouterse quickly disengaged from his foreign policy initiatives with Cuba. Nevertheless, the Reagan administration was suspicious of Bouterse, and the Dutch government cut off economic aid to Bouterse's increasingly brutal regime. In an attempt to regain the desperately needed Dutch economic aid, Bouterse, with varying degrees of success, worked to construct a veneer of democracy for his regime.

In 1986, Ronnie Brunswijk, who represented about fifty thousand descendants of runaway slaves who lived in the interior of Suriname and who were annoyed by Bouterse's attempts to alter their lifestyles by resettling them in urban areas, launched a civil war. US and Dutch government officials condemned Bouterse's tactics to combat the rebels, but stopped short of imposing further sanctions against Bouterse's regime. Thousands of Brunswijk's supporters fled to neighboring French Guiana, which complicated relations with France. Although the civil war continued, Bouterse's efforts to provide a facade of liberalization of the political system convinced the Dutch to resume economic aid by the end of the 1980s.

In 1990, after large quantities of cocaine began to arrive in the Netherlands, an investigation revealed that Bouterse was involved in the export of Colombian cocaine. Once again, the Dutch suspended their massive aid infusions. In 1991, Dutch economic pressure brought about democratic elections that resulted in the removal of Bouterse as commander of the military. In late 1997, Bouterse was tried *in absentia* in a Dutch court for drug smuggling and found guilty. Regardless, as of 2005, Bouterse remains free in Suriname. Since 2000, the democratically elected government of Runaldo Venetiaan has encouraged more Dutch and U.S. investment in Suriname, especially in the bauxite industry, and Suriname has become an active member of CARICOM (Caribbean Community).

## French Guiana

Unlike its independent neighbors, French Guiana is still a part of France. As such, foreign policy

emanates from Paris. French Guiana became a French colony in 1667. The colony was best known for its infamous prison on the *Ile du Diable* (Devil's Island), which was eventually closed in 1945. Unfortunately, French Guiana has never fully escaped its negative image as a former penal colony with an unhealthy climate and an impenetrable hinterland. In 1946, French Guiana was transformed into an overseas department—*département d'outremer*—of France. Unlike the peoples of other European colonies in the Caribbean who loudly clamored for independence during the post-1945 era, the people of French Guiana saw the economic benefits of remaining part of the French nation. In 1958, the power of the *Préfet*, the local representative in French Guiana of the central government in Paris, was increased, giving him total responsibility for defense and security. Regardless, foreign policy is still controlled by the French government. Since 1980, the French government has encouraged French immigration to the territory. As of the early twenty-first century, Continental French make up over 30% of French Guiana's population of 140,000 people.

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**See also Betancourt, Romulo; Chávez, Hugo; Colombia; French Guiana; Guyana; Jagan, Cheddi; Pérez Jiménez, Marcos; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Plan Colombia; Suriname; Venezuela**

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## NYERERE, JULIUS

Julius Nyerere (1922–1999) was president of Tanganyika from 1962–1964 and the co-founder and first president of Tanzania (1964–1985), first president of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), and the founder and chairman (1977–1990) of the *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (Revolutionary Party of Tanzania). Nyerere, known as Mwalimu (teacher) in Tanzania, was one of the greatest of the first generation of leaders of independent African states. As president of Tanzania, he directed one of the most widely studied—though little imitated—development efforts in the developing world. While some of the efforts he oversaw bore limited fruit, there is continuing interest in Nyerere’s analysis of development issues, and especially in his ideas concerning education in the developing world.

Nyerere thought the goal of development efforts should be “man-centered” (Nyerere 1968). By this he meant that development should be aimed at establishing equity, self-reliant economic growth, and political order. Nyerere held that this would only be achieved through socialist policies. He identified socialism, however, not with specific institutions but with “an attitude of mind” (Nyerere 1968). Attitudes supporting non-exploitive relationships—whether economic, political, or social—should be the motivating force for development plans and reinforcing them should be a major policy goal. This required Tanzania to follow policies aimed at rural development, self-sustaining industrial growth, increased educational attainment, and political democracy within a one-party framework.

The development program was only partially successful. It had two prongs: Increased agricultural production was to take place through concentrating rural populations in so-called “ujamma” (familyhood) villages based on cooperative agriculture and application of agronomic techniques. While the ujamma villages did make delivery of government services more efficient, they were not generally successful. Tanzania has a long tradition of peasant agriculture based on ethnic and clan ties. The exploitation of these cultural bonds by local entrepreneurs and a relentlessly bureaucratic organizational structure combined to produce, at best, mixed

success. The second prong was an ambitious industrial development program, based on cash crop agriculture, import substitution industries, and increased infrastructural investment. The failure of the ujamma village scheme, while not fatal to this effort, made it more problematic. Cash crop production never attracted the level of investment to become the engine of development Nyerere envisioned during his lifetime. Resource constraints, especially for petroleum products, had negative effects as well, given Tanzania’s meager natural endowments. Finally, the lack of governmental planning capacity was never effectively overcome while Nyerere ruled Tanzania.

Nyerere’s legacy has been more favorable in the area of social and human capital. Tanzania’s commitment to democracy within a one-party framework was successful and paved the way for the adoption of multi-party democracy in 1995. While occasional human rights abuses have arisen (Saul 2000), the country has maintained political unity and made an easy transition to elective democracy. Tanzania has also managed to avoid the military takeover that has afflicted so much of Africa. Here the experience of the Ugandan War and the subsequent intervention of Tanzania in the insurrection in Mozambique are illustrative. In the course of the war, the Tanzania People’s Defense Force (TPDF) transformed itself from five independent battalions to a divisional structure, increasing its size fourfold. The TPDF defeated the Ugandans and their Libyan allies and militarily occupied Uganda for two years. The subsequent demobilization of this force, including the diminution in rank of most of the officer corps, followed by the partial deployment of the TPDF to support the army of Mozambique, speak volumes about the stability and legitimacy of the government Nyerere created.

It is Nyerere’s emphasis on educational policy, however, that is his main legacy. He insisted on reforming the education policies inherited from the colonial period to more closely fit the goal of increasing knowledge relevant to individual economic and political self-reliance. This meant attempting to extend primary education to all and reforming it to emphasize economically useful skills. Adult education was to be increased as well and refocused on eradicating illiteracy and, again, teaching useful skills. Secondary and collegiate education was to be reformed to tie advanced degrees to development goals and to eliminate its elite character. While, again, resource constraints have prevented full realization of these ideas in Tanzania, Nyerere’s thoughts on these subjects are now received wisdom among development policy makers.

Tanzania is one of the few developing countries that has consistently attempted to promote growth with equity. While remaining poor, the country has created, largely due to Nyerere's influence, an environment (political participation and stability, government capacity, and macroeconomic stability) conducive to sustained, internally directed development (Helleiner 2000). As such, Tanzania and Nyerere's ideas should remain of interest to all concerned with the developing world.

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**See also Tanzania**

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## **OCEANIA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Most people take “Oceania” to mean the Pacific basin, comprising the geographical areas of Micronesia, Polynesia, and Melanesia (originally proposed by the French explorer and writer Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d’Urville in 1832). For many researchers, Oceania also includes the large island-continent of Australia. Australia, however, is treated separately in most sources, except when dealing with its Aboriginal, pre-1788 inhabitants. Papua New Guinea (Melanesia) and Aotearoa/New Zealand (Polynesia) are prominent places in Oceania; these places are often excluded from the region because Papua New Guinea is large and Aotearoa/New Zealand, like Australia, has mainly a European settler population.

The mainly Austronesian-speaking discoverers and settlers of this vast region (excluding the much older arrival of humans to Australia) have their origins in southern China and Taiwan. For more than five thousand years, these voyaging peoples spread their language and culture from Madagascar in the west to Hawaii and Rapanui (Easter Island) in the east in what was the most extensive geographical coverage of any language group, until the epoch of European colonialism, commencing a little more than five hundred years ago.

Particularly in the first millennium of the Common Era, it is likely that extensive trading but not territorial empires existed; trading linked all these dispersed peoples in networks of commercial and social interaction. Evidence of this can be found in the distribution

of natural resources, such as obsidian (a volcanic product), much-valued red bird feathers, and hard basalt, throughout the region. Older Oceanic genealogies show, for example, that Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa share a number of ancestors with spouses who traded extensively. The firmest evidence of this region-wide trade is found in the distribution of Lapita pottery, which is found on nearly every island that people had settled, even after its manufacture had ceased. This epic voyaging and contact diminished with the radical climate change of the “1300 Event,” so-called because it can be detected in the archaeology of Oceania (and the rest of the planet, of course) at around 1300 AD and is frequently termed The Little Ice Age. This age broke long-distance contacts, reducing trade to local archipelagos, and the trade eventually became curtailed with the intrusion and imposition of European webs of alliance and control.

There have been speculations that Chinese and South Asian navigators may have explored Oceania extensively during this yearly period. These speculations are largely based on inference from early European sources, but nothing substantial has been found to date of any expeditions that may have come from those places.

The first European explorers in Oceania were Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese who were seeking new wealth and fields of exploitation. Apart from settlements on the rim, these ventures used Oceania as a pathway for shipping their riches between New World and Asian ports for two centuries, with imprecise maps and occasional reports of new peoples (and

possibilities) found. For that early time, shipping and piracy were the main forms of economic development; only Guam had a foreign settlement as an outfitting and repair station for the Spanish galleons plying the waters between the Philippines and the Americas.

The eighteenth century saw new Europeans seeking to replace old empires in the Americas, often bringing their home rivalries with them to battle in distant colonial lands. France and Britain were the superpowers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and both countries sponsored complex and well-provisioned expeditions for scientific, economic, and, as always, military advantages. James Cook and the Comte de La Pérouse charted new lands (to Europeans) to be sure, but they also developed strategically important ways of finding such places that soon became part of naval armaments in recurring conflicts in Europe and around the world. European explorers and military investigators of this era are often erroneously called in the older literature “discoverers” of various places; some cases document Europeans arriving on uninhabited (when they arrived) places, but mostly Europeans mapped places already discovered and settled by indigenous peoples for centuries.

Whaling and exotic commodities, such as *Bêche-de-Mer* (a sea slug valued in Asia for medicinal properties) and sandalwood, were early exploitations in Oceania, with colonial settlement following soon after. Whaling not only provided wealth for German, English, and American whalers, it gave the peoples of Oceania a way to escape their own islands and to seek advantage as crew and missionary assistants on a larger stage. Crews were multiethnic, with Asians and Europeans jostling Oceanians from north and south. The major whaling ports of Lahaina (on Maui in the Hawaiian chain), Bay of Plenty (New Zealand), and Sydney were cosmopolitan capitals with Oceanians from all over the region, many meeting one another for the first time in centuries. Such crews also brought back to their islands cash capital and new goods, often weaponry, altering local power balances forever.

Even the visits of these whaling expeditions changed power structures as one side of an island provided safe harbour and acquired European gunnery, whilst another side languished in outsider material neglect. Although not the case everywhere, on the whole islanders favoured shallow lagoons, rich in easily exploited shore life, with abundant rainfall for crops. The outsider navigators sought deep harbours, safe from disturbing storms, that before had been the less affluent areas for islander settlement.

The great early impulse in the economic development of Oceania was the quest for the Great South Land, where fabulous peoples and wealth were meant to exist. After it was shown that such a place did not

exist, the next obsession was for a northwest passage that could connect the European Atlantic with the rich pickings of the Asian Pacific. That, too, proved to be a forlorn hope.

The products of the whale, from its blubber to features of its body, provided the world with many products that in more recent times have been replaced by petroleum-based fuels and plastics. Sea voyages of three and four years were common in nineteenth-century Oceania, and small places with new ports developed from remote communities were becoming part of a vibrant network of trade, resource exploitation, migration, and communications. People in Honolulu were in regular contact and exchange with family and associates in Auckland, New Zealand. Sydney, Australia, and Levuka (later removed to Suva), Fiji, exchanged goods, letters, and news with Santiago, Chile, and San Francisco, California, part of the growing northern Pacific power, the United States of America (San Francisco was once in northern Mexico).

The peoples of the Pacific Islands, with new belief systems through missionaries and new nationalities through colonial conquest, also learned new skills in manufacture, trade, and habit that profoundly altered their societies. Most notably, islanders who lived inland were encouraged to gather around the trader’s outpost, then the church, and later the administrative centre. Cities became a dominant form of living; in the twenty-first century, Oceania, including Australia, is one of the most urbanised regions on the planet.

Although never as much a scourge as in Africa, there were episodes of forced labour in Oceania by Europeans of the relatively small populations of the Pacific islands. Rim countries sought labourers. Agricultural and domestic workers were dragooned into a short-lived trade from Eastern Oceania into Peru in 1862–1863; similarly, field hands were imported into Australia to solve a sugar industry labour shortage. “Blackbirding,” an Australian term signifying the historic practice of separating out and discriminating against aborigines, as well as discriminating against people of non-European origins through immigration policies, was a general and single entrepreneurial enterprise that was condemned by authorities but welcomed quietly by plantation owners.

Blackbirding came about in various forms after the abolition and general condemnation of slavery, early in the emerging republics of Latin America, later by half a century in the United States. Blackbirding, whether by force, deceit, or lures of wealth, supplied a good part of agricultural labour in Fiji (until South Asian immigration schemes developed from 1879) and, especially, in Australia. So-called “Kanakas” (from the Hawaiian word for “human” or “person”) were the

foundation of plantation development in Australia's tropical north until the practice was ended in 1901 by the first Act of the New Commonwealth of Australia: the "White Australia" policy called for residues of those former migrants to be forcibly repatriated, and only a handful of descendants of those tens of thousands remaining in the country today.

Whaling waned, and sun-dried coconut meat ("copra") as well as sugar became less important economic activities, with military colonialism taking over in the twentieth century as the dominant mode of production. Troop installations, weapons testing by various powers, and two major conflicts (World Wars I and II) brought economic development to Oceania, often at a very high cost in lives and the destruction of fragile environments.

As the twentieth century's most extensive wars closed, military testing and the construction of military bases slowed down, and tourism came to prevail as the prime mode of economic development for

Oceania. No state or territory of Oceania today lacks its tourism development plan, with islanders pinning their hopes and skills on people from the developed world coming to spend their leisure time (and much larger wealth) in resorts and on beaches throughout the region. Whilst there are various devices for telling one "brand" of island tourism from another, the image continuity in beach, sun, and languid days is pervasive; most brochures show a poolside/beachfront folding lounge chair with a waving palm. An occasional Oceanic face or body may be added for decoration.

The exploitation of primary resources remains a watery feature of Oceanic economic development, with fisheries being a major industry at present. Terrestrial resource development is a feature of the larger Melanesian lands of Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia (still the largest nickel mine in the world), and the Solomon Islands; there is even a small but thriving gold industry in Fiji.

Table 1: 2004 Pacific island populations, areas, and densities

Country, state, or territory	Population estimate in mid-2004	Land area (km <sup>2</sup> )	Exclusive economic zones (EEZ) (000s km <sup>2</sup> )	Population density (land)
American Samoa	62,600	200	390	313
Cook Islands	14,000	237	1,830	59
Easter Island (Rapanui)*	4,446	166	2,930	27
Federated States of Micronesia	112,700	701	2,978	161
Fiji	836,000	18,272	1,290	46
French Polynesia	250,500	3,521	5,030	71
Guam	166,100	541	218	307
Kiribati	93,100	811	3,550	89
Marshall Islands	55,400	181	2,131	306
Nauru	10,100	21	320	481
New Caledonia (Kanaky)	236,900	18,576	1,740	13
Niue	1,600	259	390	6
Northern Mariana Islands	78,000	471	1,823	166
Palau (Belau)	20,700	488	629	42
Papua New Guinea	5,695,300	462,840	3,120	12
Pitcairn	47	39	800	1
Samoa (formerly Western Samoa)	182,700	2,935	120	62
Solomon Islands	460,100	28,370	1,340	16
Tokelau	1,500	12	290	125
Tonga	98,300	650	700	151
Tuvalu	9,600	26	900	369
Vanuatu	215,800	12,190	680	18
Wallis and Futuna	14,900	142	300	105
South Pacific	8,620,393	551,649	33,499	128
South Pacific (excluding Papua New Guinea)	2,925,093	88,809	30,379	139

Note: All data from Secretariat, Pacific Community (<http://www.spc.org.nc/demog/>) published July 2004.

\* Rapanui (Easter Island) population is based on genealogical fieldwork of Grant McCall, carried out in 2001–2002 and projected at an approximate growth of fifty persons per year. EEZ is based on the Chilean Navy for Rapanui alone with a 12-mile limit. With a 350-nautical mile limit ("continental shelf"), the figure is 1,934,433 square kilometers including neighbouring and uninhabited Salas y Gomez, part of the Chilean Province of Easter Island.

A major source of economic development for some of the island Pacific is through remittances sent from rim states to relatives in home villages. This has led to the famous concept of MIRAB by Bertram and Watters, whereby some dependent economies are analysed as consisting of **M**igration, **R**emittances, **A**id, and **B**ureaucracy, to form the sometimes contested MIRAB acronym. MIRAB is not solely an Oceanic mode of economic development, but the conception derives from that part of the world.

The future of Oceania lies in the development of its potential in human and natural resources. Given the rate of exploitation, fish stocks already are declining at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Marine exploitation has discovered rich caches of mineral resources in Oceania that are still too costly to exploit: the area around Pitcairn Island, for example, may contain one of the largest diamond deposits in the world. Similar deep-sea mining has already been imagined in the ministries and boardrooms of Pacific rim nations, a kind of twenty-first century version of the fabled “Great South Land” sought so eagerly centuries before but submerged under costly megalitres of ocean water.

The people of Oceania as a group are amongst the most literate in the developing world and speak some of the most important world languages for the present and future, such as Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), English, French, Hindi, and Spanish, along with their own nearly one thousand indigenous tongues. Oceanic governments through the Forum and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community are moving rapidly to increase cooperation and the development of their people’s potential to face the challenges for inhabitants of one-third of the Earth’s surface, Oceania!

GRANT MCCALL

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### OCEANIA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Few geographic areas in the world are as diverse in terms of peoples, environments, and cultures as Oceania. The vast region contains thousands of contrasting islands, more than six million inhabitants, and hundreds of languages. Composed of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, it stretches north from Australia and New Zealand to Alaska and west from the South American coast to the Philippines. Population centres within this expanse range from large urban hubs to isolated atolls whose only outside contact is an occasional freighter entering the port.

Oceania is as culturally as it is geographically heterogeneous. Anthropologists have described Micronesia and Polynesia as retaining a relatively high degree of social stratification and centralised political authority. Melanesia has been perceived as different; traditionally, there was greater egalitarianism and more decentralised politics through multiple clans; an array of chiefs and little chiefs; and familial, adoption, and marriage processes that were primarily group affairs.

Although Oceania was one of the last areas to be “discovered” by European explorers, Pacific islanders have coped with varying levels of Western contact since the early sixteenth century. The cultural divergence found within Oceania is important but less so for contemporary peoples than the region’s rapid entry into the development processes engendered by globalising capitalist societies. The historic domination of colonial powers restructured indigenous societies, and Oceania was one of the last areas to enter the post-World War II period of decolonisation and development. Its contemporary societies are experiencing similar transformations in their respective adaptations to neocolonial and postcolonial forces of change. Consequently, most island societies can now be understood within a postcolonial framework that clarifies the political narratives, authorities, and loyalties of colonial repercussions.

Commentators note that once independence in most island-states in the region had been gained, the fundamental opposition between indigenous people and colonial powers was displaced by a more disparate array of local divisions. Differences between diverse indigenous populations, the exacerbation of conflict and suppression of warfare during the colonial period, uneven development, and corruption have found their expression in many conflicts, the most obvious that of the Bougainville war. Because Bougainville's copper was a major source of income for Papua New Guinea (45% of national export earnings), its people's aspirations for self-determination were met with violent repression. Resentment over the loss of control of hereditary lands, the transfer of mining revenues to the central government, and concern for environmental damage led to a separatist rebellion that forced the mine to close in mid-1989.

Its astonishing diversity of cultures ensure that Oceania as a region, an imagined world, and a conglomeration of island-states whose peoples are constantly evolving within an increasingly globalising economic and political environment, is never static. Anthropologists claim that, occasionally, the scenarios they study become history before their observations are printed, particularly when tribal societies encounter the modern world and then change rapidly. What continues, what has been modified, and what is discarded can be noted, but how does one describe a society in which some practices change while others continue? The Massim region is used as an example to show how people continue to participate in *kula* exchange but in contexts radically different from those first reported. Whereas people once traveled by outrigger canoe and communicated by conch shell, they now use outboard launches and telephones.

Despite Oceania's cultural variety and the diffusion of a cash economy, commentators note that certain classes of objects remain important in the maintenance of interisland and local international relations. Objects vary greatly from one place to another. They range from strings of button-sized seashell discs arranged in tyre-like coils to ochre crescents cut from pearl-shell valves and from elaborate ornaments of dogs' teeth to enormous decorated yam tubers, but the contexts in which people transact their goods and the principles underlying their exchange are similar. Oceanic peoples use objects as culturally evocative and powerful symbols to construct new identities and relationships in and through "traditional" celebrations. They create new realities through ongoing and vital ideas and practices that are used to provide continuity with, and contrast to, their indigenous views of the past.

Observers also propose that the larger ethnic categories that have resonance for contemporary Oceanic peoples are not the new concepts of nation-state but are of the older geographic, ethnological, and cultural divisions of Melanesia and Polynesia, an important understanding for development planners and theorists of international relations. It is argued that Melanesia, Polynesia, and present archipelago nations such as Vanuatu are historical categories that evolved in the nineteenth century from the discoveries of peoples and places and have been legitimated by use and further research in the region. Although, as categories, they consist of linguistic, biological, and cultural affinities that create a sense of sameness, this does not mean there is cultural uniformity. Nonetheless, cultural uniformity can be constructed for political purposes. In Papua New Guinea, for example, Bernard Narakobi aimed to define "a Melanesian way" to support his ideology for postindependence rule, as did Jean-Marie Tjibaou in his appeal during the 1980s to Kanak people to agitate for New Caledonian independence from France. Indigenous leaders' appeals to commonality frequently do not correspond with contemporary island-state borders but with wider cultural regions that bear European names and were formed by precolonial trading relationships.

## Oceania and International Powers

The myth of Oceania has been part of the French imagination since the eighteenth century, and, in the twenty-first, it continues to influence both the Fifth Republic and development policies for Oceanic islanders. For many French artists and writers, however, it was the Polynesian islands rather than Oceania *en masse* that crystallised their dreams and fueled their sexualised desires. Historians write that Bougainville's reports of his voyage to Polynesia were so compelling that his perceptions shaped metropolitan imaginings for more than 200 years. From a more pragmatic perspective, Britain rivaled France throughout the nineteenth century for commercial supremacy in Oceania. Captain Cook aimed to bring commerce and civilisation to the known world via *pax britannica*. In contrast to Polynesia, Melanesia has generated less interest, even though French colonies were established in the archipelagos of New Caledonia and Vanuatu. In contemporary times, many islanders identify strongly with their own island or region, but sharp contrasts remain between the dynamism and mineral wealth of Melanesian countries and the picturesque Pacific atolls that lack basic resources.



Late to be colonised, except for the Spanish intervention in Micronesia, Oceania was among the last of the world's regions to enter the cycle of decolonisation. Decolonisation began in 1962 when Western Samoa achieved independence from New Zealand and continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s, with the political independence of French Polynesia and New Caledonia still unresolved in the twenty-first century. Since the end of World War II, the international movements toward decolonisation and the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples have framed the questions Oceanic communities have posed about their future in relation to sovereignty, self-determination, and indigenous rights. In American Samoa and the Northern Mariana Islands, for example, decolonisation movements have influenced the United States perceptions of its obligations as an administering power, and indigenous rights have fueled political and legal moves in Hawaii for the peoples to gain recognition as original islanders.

Following World War II, the 1947 Canberra Agreement led to the creation of the South Pacific Commission and provided a focus for Australia and New Zealand to offer technical assistance to Oceanic island-states. In contrast, US policies have been erratic; from 1962 to 1976, the United States was not attentive to Oceanic peoples' needs. The United States altered its treatment of Oceania in 1977 when the Carter administration reacted to Soviet initiatives and to accelerating socioeconomic change in the region. Consequently, the first comprehensive Pacific policies were generated. But once again, US awareness vanished in 1981 and throughout the Reagan administration until 1987. During this period, the US image was damaged through perceived and actual neglect of Oceania's island-states and continuous disputes over fishing rights. Concerns remain about the adequacy of US involvement and goodwill in Oceania.

Most development in relation to French power in Oceania since World War II has been driven by nuclear testing. When the war in Algeria ended, France had to reduce its program in the Algerian hinterland. The establishment of the nuclear testing centre in French Polynesia introduced profound economic and social changes, not just to the atolls of Moruroa and Fangataufa, as significant financial aid was introduced to the whole territory. When the test sites were closed in 1996, French Polynesia laboured to reintegrate with the broader Oceanic region.

New Caledonia, an archipelago and French overseas territory, has endured a more erratic development process. During the events of the mid-1980s, when indigenous Kanak peoples barricaded roads to and from the capital Nouméa and agitated for political

independence, France developed a policy for New Caledonia that began to focus on the islanders' needs. Critics now argue that New Caledonians suffer from political neglect as policy has since fluctuated, is dominated by short-term interests, is heavily dependent on the whims of succeeding waves of French politicians, and is usually treated as a low priority.

New Caledonians, like many Oceanic peoples, are experiencing rapid social change generated by globalisation processes. There has been an increase in the number of indigenous Kanak people who squat in makeshift cabins on the outskirts of Nouméa, and there have been changes to the way Kanak people dress. In addition, many young people listen to Radio Kanaky, a station that informs them of events taking place in their rural communities and that plays an array of Pacific island music. Many Kanak people also discuss their aspirations for items considered desirable in the West, such as a car and a home with modern conveniences, and they express a need for leisure time, such as watching television or engaging in sports such as volleyball or windsurfing.

Although rapid local development has been anchored in a history of colonisation that was racist and denigrating to Kanak peoples, the peoples have nonetheless appropriated the foreign and the new. Their ways of being have been shaped by their recognition of their location in international and regional relations, such as Japan's use of New Caledonia's waters for tuna fishing and France's appropriation of the main island's nickel reserves. They have adapted and acted within the changing social relations wrought by industry and tourist development. Some social commentators argue that the serious problem New Caledonia has faced over the final two decades of the twentieth century, and that has also worked toward political and administrative independence, is rooted in two opposing conceptions of life. The conceptions of progress and development, in contrast to that of tradition and custom, go beyond the ethnic cleavage of the French settler and Kanak indigenous person.

Social change is a concomitant to development in Oceania as is also true elsewhere. Researchers show how the rhetoric and the structure of relations concerned with marriage have been transformed under the direct influences of colonialism and are now being changed by urbanisation, Western-style education, and the introduction of a cash economy.

Yet, as occurred in many Oceanic islands, traders, settlers, ex-convicts, and rural police often cohabited with island women. The resulting children were assimilated into the indigenous or the settler communities. In contemporary Oceania, people of mixed heritage now work to provoke a different awareness, that of the

opportunities and problems that challenge Pacific peoples through their contribution to global *and* local communities. Researchers trace the historical process whereby a specific marriage system is being converted into another, changing in relation to its context. In addition, mixed heritage people discuss the ways they traffic between urban, European-educated ways of being and indigenous community customs, of changing relationships between women and men, of intergenerational differences, and of people's need for space for individual creativity while retaining links with their community.

### Oceanic Elites

In comparison to the growing numbers and potential influence of mixed heritage, Oceanic peoples' Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa refers to the evolution of transnational Pacific rulers. These are described as elite groups that are locked together through their privileged access to and control of resources in the region and through the resources moving between Oceania and other regions of the world. Commentators note that Oceania's ruling classes are increasingly interdependent and culturally homogenous, as many have studied together at prestigious universities in Fiji, Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand. Other privileged people work in administration, technical, or bureaucratic branches of government and the private sector. In addition, intermarriage amongst educated islanders from different countries has provoked a pan-Pacific awareness and culture that links with music, literature, song, video, and mass media communications to generate a growing sense of Oceania as a coherent region.

It is argued that many contemporary young New Zealanders also strongly self-identify as members of Aotearoa, a Pacific nation. This is in contrast to Australians who have experienced a different history, culture, and geopolitical relations. The large Maori population has prompted demands for recognition of indigenous rights and culture in New Zealand's parliament, legislation, and consciousness, and many Maori have continued to ally themselves with their fellow Polynesians in French Polynesia.

The armed forces of France, New Zealand, and Australia cooperate on maritime surveillance of the small island states of the region, with a May 1993 joint agreement of aerial surveillance flights of Exclusive Economic Zones. Yet Australians tend not to self-identify as Oceanic people. Older residents speak with nostalgia of their sense of Australia as a British

enclave. Younger residents identify more closely with being citizens of a multicultural country that should develop by engaging more profoundly with the dynamic economies of Asian nations. Furthermore, development processes in Australia have largely ignored the social construction and constraints of racism, through Australian colonisation practices that were driven by a fear and ignorance of the intricate logic of Australia's indigenous peoples and through assimilation policies that negated ethnic and cultural differences until the 1970s.

As Australia and New Zealand have operated with conservative governments in the mid-1990s, support for indigenous rights and self-determination has fluctuated. Just as significant is that development practices that are generated by Western perceptions of social good have introduced little positive change in indigenous Australian communities. Anthropologists describe how the worldviews of indigenous Australians are shaped by embodied and intangible realities—bodies and places are perceived as defining indicators of social identity. Their countries are sung into tangible present reality through mnemonic song lines. Landscape maps social relations that are recreated through sand designs, body paintings, dance, and story to recall places people have walked, hunted, and visited.

Local "big men," chiefs, and the rise of women's groups offer a noteworthy contrast to pan-Pacific elites. Those who make attempts to redress the deterioration of processes of tribal decision making can face problems in that most indigenous Oceanic peoples, like other members of diverse communities, have been acutely affected by processes of modernisation. Questions now arise about how traditional authority is accepted by those who have moved beyond its present reach and how it can be adapted to meet the new needs of local administration in a globalising world. Monetisation of island economies and decreasing reliance on subsistence agriculture are driving social change within Oceanic communities and internationally, as is the increasing importance of trade unions in labour-management relationships and as a political force.

The ongoing conflict between modernisation and traditional authority is potentially greatest in Tonga, where all political power and most wealth has been customarily reserved to the king and a few nobles. Despite some reforms, the local ruling class effectively restricts commoners' potential political, economic, or social advancement, except through out-migration. Fiji offers a subtle contrast. A gradual return to the path of constitutional rule following several coups based on indigenous Fijian rights is showing that a commitment to living in harmony is being only

reluctantly implemented by those in power. Despite generations of occupation and commitment to the country, the exclusion of people not ethnically Fijian continues.

### **Oceanic Nationalisms**

The tenuous character and embryonic evolution of national cultures in Oceania mark the region as being of interest. The societies and cultures of Oceanic island-states are vital because of the will and energy of their populations. Oceanic peoples are not cultural objects but are active actors in an unceasingly moving and dynamic reality. They are frequently denied the power to direct their future because of their feeble numbers and the constraints of their living space. But these perceptions are those of a continental rather than an islander vision. It has not stopped them from being and from thinking in their own ways and of reclaiming their value in the twenty-first century.

Researchers argue that nationality or national consciousness is becoming more significant in comparison to what is more readily recognised as “nationalism.” People perceive themselves as members of a nation and as similar to other nationals, without necessarily possessing the loyal or civic consciousness considered desirable by Western theorists of nationalism. For example, the growth of tourism in the Cook Islands has led to culture and national identity becoming a commodity. Rather than constructions of nationhood being generated by citizens, new representations are born as a result of tourist presentations for foreign consumers. These, it is argued, may produce a more explicit sense of being a member of a collective group than one emerging from an identification with the common use of betelnut, drinking local brands of beer, or using currencies with national signatures.

Nonetheless, the contradictory character of island-state formation is amplified in postcolonial countries where political elites are pursuing Western goals of emancipation and nation building while intentionally maintaining an anti-Western stance by founding their project on local traditions. Commentators have noted how this ambivalent discourse poses special problems and challenges to women. The language of a nation based on “custom” has adopted a masculine character in spite of constant references to the traditional worth of women. It is argued that women’s best strategy is to adopt, adapt, and indigenise the language of human rights while asserting their “traditional” power as women of the land.

### **Oceanic Women**

In many island-states, constructions of gender and identity are entwined with concepts of development and progress. The South Pacific Commission, for example, published a Pacific Women’s Directory in 1993 and 1997 to provide details about women’s organisations and their activities to aid local interventions in the twenty-two island countries and territories that are part of the Commission.

Health care is one arena in which Oceanic peoples create meaningful interpretations of development processes. Massive outbreaks of diseases, such as dysentery that was prevalent until the 1950s, have been curtailed. Dispensaries conduct basic medical care, and hospitals offer surgery for many villagers of outlying islands. Local people cite telephones, helicopters, aircraft, and European medication as some of the benefits of modernisation in relation to health care. In French territories, the state provision of welfare benefits and sophisticated forms of inter-island transport are appreciated as aspects of modern life that enhance well-being.

The transfer of technology and knowledge that often characterises “development,” however, is a cultural and political action that can reinforce international and local inequalities. Wider economic and historical changes can produce local cultural and political consequences that are different from the benefits assumed to flow from development. Although many researchers describe how Oceanic women discuss their ownership, access to, and use of property; their strengths in household and small business management; and their affirmation of regional women, it is important to acknowledge women’s added economic responsibility for children. Many Pacific islander women are active agents in shaping their social identities, and their move into creating income is an important social change. They manage their households through local perceptions of women’s power that are anchored in their labour on their land or in their garden, on their ability to sell the varied produce of their labour, or on their broader commercial skills. Village women frequently manage the markets where they sell their horticultural produce, distributing the profits at the end of the morning’s trading.

Critics suggest it is necessary to include Oceanic women’s use of property in development planning. Gender should be used as an analytical prism that recognises changes to local practices and shows how women actively invoke and manipulate notions of development and progress to their benefit. Research by female scholars clarifies women’s different yet socially important roles as producers and distributors

of wealth. Interpretations of women's power, ritual importance, and social status contingent on a specific event or celebration add local context and complexity to analyses of the ways that gender is socially constructed and enacted in different Oceanic societies.

Land and local concepts of property are important signifiers of elaborate and varied social relations such as reciprocal duty. Through reciprocal duty, the complex dynamics of women's roles in exchanges of produce and property can be analysed. Women have a productive role in providing yams that are distributed through male status ceremonies. Their role needs to be acknowledged and celebrated as an essential component of, rather than mere support for, male festivities. Although some researchers have noted that the role of producer is less prestigious than that of transactor in many Melanesian societies in particular, Oceanic women are generally energetically involved in both types of activities. As the *Wok Meri* organisations developed by women in Papua New Guinea to redress their economic grievances also exemplify, women's skills and diligence are socially respected.

Women's land ownership, their ability to sell their surplus produce, and their authority as household managers illustrate their social power. Many decide how household money should be spent and enact power within family and clan contexts through a range of social interactions. Their practices show how women control some cultural resources defined as their own and therefore enact social power that differs from male social power. This recognition should be used to contest simplistic Western perceptions of a single structure of hierarchic domination operating in all Oceanic societies, to identify the equal value of women and men when it occurs, as well as to acknowledge how social inequalities can be constructed. Because many Oceanic peoples entwine gender with judgments of youth and elder status, concepts about the use of property, and social interactions shaped by evaluations of power, the peoples show how concepts of "global development" can misinterpret the nuances of local ways of being.

As the preceding discussion illustrates, there is a subtle yet damaging irony in theoretical frames that portray Oceanic societies as passive victims or receivers of globalising social and technological changes, rather than as constituted by people who actively negotiate social change, local and international relations, and development processes. Too frequently Oceanic peoples are perceived to be an homogeneous group of subsistence-oriented victims, with physical survival their most demanding issue, a view that discounts the diversity of their lived experiences and

their proactive engagement with their societies and environments.

HELEN JOHNSON

**See also Fiji; Marshall Islands, Republic of; Micronesia, Federated States of; Papua New Guinea; Solomon Islands; Tonga; Tuvalu; Vanuatu**

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### OKELLO, JOHN

John Okello was born on October 6, 1937, in Lango district, Uganda. He was reputedly the mastermind behind the Zanzibar Revolution in 1964. He arrived on Pemba Island (the second largest island of the Zanzibari isles) in 1959 as a migrant clove picker. On Pemba, Okello worked various jobs (clove picking, brick making) while becoming involved in nationalist politics. He remained on Pemba, working for the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) until 1963. When the

Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) won the 1963 election over the ASP, Okello moved to Zanzibar Island. The British granted the islands independence in December of 1963, leaving the ZNP in charge.

When the ZNP came to power, it fired many of the police officers who originally were from the mainland of Tanganyika and who the ZNP perceived to be ASP supporters. Whether these police officers were ASP or not, they were unhappy about losing their jobs. Okello secretly recruited members from the ASP's youth wing and among the newly laid-off police force. These two groups were already trained in fire-arm usage, and the former police officers were knowledgeable about the interiors of the police barracks and armory in the capital city of Zanzibar.

There has been considerable debate about whether John Okello informed the ASP leadership before he conducted the attacks on the police barracks and armory. Most scholarship points to Okello having acted alone. Around 3:00 AM on January 12, 1964, Okello and three hundred men attacked the police facilities. Within a few hours, they had captured all of the weapon caches in the capital Zanzibar and had taken control of the radio broadcasting system. Okello declared the ASP the party of the revolution and christened himself Field Marshal Okello. He formed the Revolutionary Council, which consisted of members of the ASP and the Umma Parties. Okello decided which leaders should be ministers and chose Abeid Karume as president of the new nation.

Okello's glory was short-lived. Within months of the revolution, ASP leaders, concerned about the chaos that followed Okello and his brutal lieutenants, tricked Okello into visiting mainland Tanganyika. There he was imprisoned by President Julius Nyerere for several months until he was declared an unwanted person and put onto a plane for Nairobi. In Kenya, the government watched him with suspicion and soon required that Okello leave the country. Over the next decade, he bounced between African countries and was variously imprisoned by the governments of Malawi, Tanzania, and Kenya for illegal entry as well as by his home country of Uganda. He published his memoir *Revolution in Zanzibar* in 1967.

Okello was eventually killed in the Lango district of Uganda during the reign of Idi Amin, probably out of concern that he would lead a revolt against Amin. Throughout the early postcolonial years, Okello was feared by East African leaders because of the ease with which he had led the Zanzibar Revolution. Even after his death, rebel leaders in Uganda used the pseudonym "John Okello" as a rebel moniker.

ELISABETH MCMAHON

See also **Tanzania**

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## OMAN

The Sultanate of Oman is located in the southeast corner of Arabia. It emerged over the last two hundred years and incorporates parts of ancient Oman and Dhofar in the south. Until 1970, the Sultanate of Oman was justifiably regarded as the "Tibet of Arabia" so complete was its isolation from the rest of the world. Its population, however, was markedly heterogeneous and included an elite merchant class with pronounced cultural and trade links with India and the coast of East Africa. Along the coast, subsistence fishing settlements prevailed, and in the valleys and mountains parallel to the coastline, terraced farming communities were common. A few towns of the interior of the country were the centers of local and regional trade and some religious learning. These communities were a reflection of Oman's once large and successful colonial empire that incorporated Baluchi, Persian, and East African elements into the dominant culture. In the central desert of the country were a number of nomadic pastoral tribes with cultural and social links that were derived from the Arabian Peninsula.

Prior to 1970, it was reported that only 3.1 miles (five kilometres) of tarmac roads existed within the country. Schooling was limited to three modern units that took in a total of one hundred boys, who were personally selected by the sultan. Many families resorted to smuggling their young men out of the country to be educated in Bahrain, Bombay, Cairo, Kuwait, or Mombassa. Whole families went into exile and raised a generation of Omanis in East African Indian and even British contexts. After Sultan Qabus bin Sa'id came to power in 1970 by overthrowing his father, the state moved rapidly to make up for lost time. Whereas the previous ruler had been wary of "modernization" and progress, preferring to carry out only those developments he could actually pay for in cash, his son, Qabus, set about commissioning schools, clinics, and hospitals and laying down the infrastructure of a modern state.

The sultan is the head of state and head of government. His position is hereditary. There are few checks

on his power, and his decrees form the basis of law. He appoints a council of ministers and can dismiss ministers without explanation. There is no prime minister. Senior members of the sultan's family routinely receive important government positions. More distant members of the family serve as ministers, other government officials, and the equivalent of governors throughout the country. Other ministers and senior government officials are chosen by merit and family or tribal connections. There are no political parties, and a limited electorate chooses candidates for the *Majlis al-Shura*, a consultative council that deals with social issues.

Omani culture, furthermore, remains based on a hierarchy built on family connections (tribal ties), relative wealth, and religious education. At the top is the sultan and his immediate family, the Al-Sa'id. This top level is followed by a large tribal group, the Al-Bu Sa'id. Prior to the discovery of oil in the country, the wealthiest sector of the population was arguably made up of the merchant families, many of them Indian in origin, language, and culture. Certain families and tribes had built reputations for religious learning and mediation skills, and they often represented the government in the interior of the country. In the late twentieth century, wealth spread somewhat, and a few more Omani families joined the ranks of the extremely wealthy. Oman has a small but growing middle class, and, while the vast majority of its population outside of the capital area is engaged in subsistence agriculture, fishing, or animal husbandry, the population drift from the countryside to the capital is growing. Out of a population of approximately 2 million (1993 Omani National Census), only a quarter are expatriates mainly from the Indian subcontinent.

Oman is an oil-producing nation, and revenues from petroleum products have been the backbone of Oman's dramatic development during the last three decades of the twentieth century. But oil resources are not extensive, and natural gas reserves are becoming more prominent, with liquefied natural gas exports expected to provide significant new income in the early twenty-first century. Agriculture and fishing, however, are the traditional economic activities in Oman. Fish and shellfish exports create a steady income of roughly US \$40 million.

A large percentage of Omanis live in rural areas, and many others own land and property in the countryside even though they live and work in the towns. Many of those in the countryside are self-sufficient farmers and fishermen. Both men and women engage in agricultural activities: men work the date gardens, while women tend to the fields of wheat, barley, and alfalfa. Men fish, while women often mend fishing

nets. Children as young as eight or nine years old take on domestic agricultural and fishing tasks. The elderly are greatly respected and are often relieved from any physical work, but their opinions and ideas are eagerly sought by the middle-aged and young.

Gender roles are shaped by the demands of the economic realities of peoples' lives. In the desert interior of the country, women contribute very actively to work associated with raising livestock and have significant social and political power. In the agricultural oasis settlements, the economic role of women is not as conspicuous, and this is reflected in reduced social and political power. In urban centers and towns, however, many women teach in formal schools and in religious preschools (*kuttaib*) as well as work in the private sector. From the early 1990s, the government has made great efforts to include women in government. Women were nominated to run for election to the consultative council in 1997, and several speeches of the sultan emphasized the importance of integrating women into public life. Two women were elected to the consultative council in 2000.

Education has been a major focus of government activity. Primary education for both boys and girls is encouraged. In the later intermediary and high school years, however, attendance by girls, particularly in rural areas, declines, largely due to a persistent pattern of early marriage. Many boys also leave school before the end of their secondary education to seek jobs, thus contributing to a large low-skill sector of the workforce. In 1986, Oman opened its first university modeled on an Anglo-American vision of higher education. The first colleges were of medicine, engineering, science, Islamic studies and education, and agriculture. In the 1990s, several more colleges were opened including a faculty of commerce and economics and a faculty of law. Enrollment in the university is nearly equally split between male and female students.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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## OPERATION BOOTSTRAP

Operation Bootstrap attempted to shift the Puerto Rican economy from dependence on low-paying agricultural jobs to dependence on high-paying industrial jobs. From its beginning in 1947, the program took advantage of Puerto Rico’s freedom from federal taxes and stable political climate to attract a range of industries. Upon its demise in 1996, Operation Bootstrap had succeeded in industrializing the island and increasing its standard of living.

## American Governance

Long a colony of Spain, Puerto Rico became an American possession following the victory of the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Congress made the island the first unincorporated territory in United States history. As a consequence, it was not eligible for American statehood yet it remained part of the United States. On April 2, 1900, President William McKinley approved the Organic Act of Porto Rico (amended to “Puerto Rico” in 1932), which established civil government on the island. It provided that all the laws of the United States would have the same force and effect in Puerto Rico except for the internal revenue laws.

The aftermath of the Spanish-American War left the Puerto Rican economy in shambles. The replacement of the peso by the dollar had reduced the net worth of many Puerto Ricans, and a heavy tax on coffee made it unprofitable to grow what had once been the main export crop. Americans, seeing an opportunity to acquire cheap land, bought coffee plantations and converted them to producing sugar. The result of this shift was the marginalization of a substantial part of the Puerto Rican workforce since sugar growing is only a six-month long job. While sugar workers had historically spent the non-growing period in the manufacture of sugar, Congress had mandated that sugar production would only occur on the mainland United States.

In 1921, Congress attempted to assist the Puerto Rican economy by passing a law that eliminated federal taxes for businesses operating in the island.

The legislation permitted Puerto Rico to offer a 100% tax exemption to industries, unlike any state in the Union. Essentially, Puerto Rico now had all the political benefits associated with the United States but not the financial obligations.

## Puerto Rican Control

A succession of governors, all Americans from the mainland, saw Puerto Rico as an overpopulated mess that would forever be mired in poverty. The Chardon Sugar Plan of 1934 identified the economic problems of Puerto Rico as landlessness, chronic unemployment, and steady population growth. The Plan proposed that the US government buy the most productive sugar lands and redistribute them to small Puerto Rican growers. Congress refused to endorse anything that would threaten private property rights and, instead, added to the Puerto Rican troubles by restricting the amount of sugar that could be exported into the United States.

In 1941, Rexford Tugwell became governor of Puerto Rico. An economist and former member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s brain trust, Tugwell was a New Yorker known for his progressive views on economic recovery. Between 1941 and 1946, Tugwell worked closely with Luis Muñoz Marín and the Popular Democratic Party to change the political and economic structure of Puerto Rico. Tugwell’s and Muñoz’s efforts led to the changes in the Foraker Act permitting Puerto Rico to elect its own governor as well as the establishment of a Puerto Rican Planning Board. Muñoz believed that the economic transformation of the Puerto Rican economy would result in political independence.

## Industrialization as a Cure

Muñoz became the first Puerto Rican-born governor of the island, winning the election in 1948. He believed Puerto Rico’s problems could not be halted without addressing population growth. He aimed to bring up the minimum family income to \$700–\$800 annually, which was the economic level in the 1940s when the birth rate decreased and the population stabilized. Since agricultural businesses could not provide the money needed, Muñoz argued for industrialization as the only way to raise living standards.

Muñoz appointed Teodoro Moscoso to oversee the industrial development of Puerto Rico. A University

of Michigan graduate who had returned to Puerto Rico to run the family pharmacy, Moscoso knew well both the United States and Puerto Rico. He created and ran Fomento, Puerto Rico's Economic Development Administration; but the agency had been in the plans of the Popular Democratic Party since 1940. Muñoz gave the agency the nickname of Operation Bootstrap when speaking before a US congressional committee in July 1949.

Moscoso had no specific job description other than to improve the island. Like Muñoz, he saw industrialization as the only solution to the problems of underemployment and low wages, but Moscoso differed from his mentor in his belief that political independence was economically impossible. Muñoz would subsequently decide in 1952 to abandon hopes of independence and join Puerto Rico to the US commonwealth as a means of ensuring the continued success of industrialization.

To industrialize Puerto Rico, Moscoso had to change a deeply ingrained view held by Puerto Rican leaders that industrialization was impossible in such a small area of 2 million consumers and producers. He also broke with established thought by conceiving industrialization as more than simply an extension of agricultural production through such industries as rum and sugar. Moscoso believed that he had to transform every part of Puerto Rico to make industrialization succeed.

Historically, the standards of living and education in Latin American countries had been serious limitations to the expansion of a producing market and a consuming market. Broken-down shacks, a lack of clean water, and sewage running in the streets did not entice skilled Americans to move to the island. A skilled base of Puerto Ricans did not exist. The island lacked the trained engineers to run factories and the technicians to fix broken equipment. Moscoso persuaded the Puerto Rican government to improve living conditions, but had less success with raising educational standards.

To bring about industrialization, Puerto Rico needed free access to the US market. This market was the largest and richest in the world at the mid-point of the twentieth century, as well as one protected against Puerto Rico's competitors. Without free access to the American market, Puerto Rico could not accumulate the capital through exports that was needed for industrialization. It received such access from Congress. Puerto Rico's export-led economy industrialization program began much earlier than similar programs in other Caribbean nations because of the stimulation of this free access to the US market.

## Promoting Puerto Rico

Yet free trade in itself would not bring industry to Puerto Rico. The island needed a powerful magnet, and both Muñoz and Moscoso suggested full tax exemption. On May 13, 1948, the Puerto Rican legislature approved Act No. 184 granting tax exemption on income, property, excise, and municipal taxes to new industries for a period of ten years, with an additional three years of partial exemption. Any new industry was eligible for this tax benefit as long as it manufactured a product not being produced on the island as of January 2, 1947. Forty-two specific industries then in existence were also eligible.

Moscoso began to promote Puerto Rico through a public relations campaign. Many American businesses did not realize that the island enjoyed political stability and honesty in government. One businessman came to the island prepared to offer bribes to legislators, as he believed was standard practice in Third World countries. Moscoso consistently stressed that Puerto Rico was the only part of the United States where industry could operate with 100% tax exemption.

In 1948, Textron became the first company to take advantage of Operation Bootstrap. Eager to use the textile company to give credibility to the program, Moscoso required that it make only a relatively small investment. He gave it a lease and a loan with extremely generous terms. Unfortunately, Textron came from New England as part of the flight of textile companies to low-wage areas in the south. New England legislators accused Puerto Rico of using unfair tactics to lure "runaway" industries away from the United States. Moscoso was charged with robbing U.S. workers of their jobs by means of the federal tax exemption. Muñoz was forced by the threat of a loss of the exemption to declare that Puerto Rico would not grant such benefits to runaway companies. No other business would again receive such advantageous terms.

Textron had proposed to build six mills in Puerto Rico. It only built two by 1951. In that year, Textron management publicly announced that the move to the island had been a mistake. The company complained that Puerto Rican workers took too many holidays, lacked technical skills, and that women had too many children which caused associated increases in child care demands. Textron shifted production to the southeastern United States by the mid-1950s. Moscoso acknowledged these problems by telling companies that they had to send their best people and latest technology to Puerto Rico.



## Success and Termination

Designed in an era in which policymakers did not see women as breadwinners, the industrialization program was initially designed to provide employment solely to men. However, the labor intensive industries attracted to Puerto Rico, such as textiles and food processing, traditionally employed more women than men. In the first stage of Operation Bootstrap, women were the main beneficiaries of the program. Growing male unemployment, higher wages, and the increasing cost of transportation were factors that prompted the inauguration in the mid-1960s of the second stage of industrialization. This stage focused on capital intensive industries, such as petrochemicals and pharmaceuticals, which tended to employ more men than women. In the third stage in the 1970s, Puerto Rico welcomed high-tech and electronics industries that employed younger workers of both sexes.

Moscoso had no long-term strategy for industrialization. He simply sought good paying jobs. He brought over 631 industries to Puerto Rico, as well as such companies as General Electric and the Hilton hotel chain. Much of the industry centered in San Juan and other heavily populated cities. The hope of good paying jobs enticed many people to migrate from the country into the exploding city. The resulting slums prompted heavy migration into the United States, especially New York City.

In the 1980s, Operation Bootstrap began to collapse. Puerto Rico lost its competitive advantage to countries that offered tax incentives and even lower wages. Mexico and other Caribbean countries took much industry away from the island. When the island lost its labor and other cost advantages, it became increasingly difficult to promote Fomento. Operation Bootstrap ended in 1996 when Congress terminated the tax exemption.

By most measures, Operation Bootstrap was a resounding success. It transformed Puerto Rico from an agrarian to an urban, industrial economy with a ten-fold increase in per capita Gross National Product (GNP) between 1950 and 1980. In practically all economic and social indices, from per capita income to life expectancy, Puerto Rico joined the ranks of the developed countries of the world. Yet even with massive migration to the United States mixing with industrial achievement, Puerto Rico failed to provide sufficient income or jobs to sustain continued heavy population growth. Sharp inequalities in income remain in existence on the island.

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See also **Puerto Rico**

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## ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

Established on May 25, 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, by thirty-two independent African nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was Africa's premier body for political and economic cooperation. The organization grew gradually over the years—to a total membership of fifty-three in 1994, when South Africa joined—until it was formally disbanded and replaced by the African Union (AU) in July 2002. Founded at the time when African leaders were experiencing their first taste of freedom from colonialism and were understandably anxious to consolidate their leadership, the OAU aimed to promote the unity and solidarity of African states; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; eradicate all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism in Africa; and promote international cooperation, with due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (OAU Charter Article II).

The signing of the OAU Charter was quite an achievement at a time when Africa was sharply split into three rival blocs—the Casablanca group, spearheaded by radicals such as Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Morocco's King Mohammed V, who favored the political integration of Africa; the Monrovia group, led by President Tubman of Liberia, who opposed the union of African states for fear of it being dominated by some overambitious leaders; and the Brazzaville Twelve, made up of mostly French-speaking nations that usually found themselves sandwiched (ideologically) between the other two groups.

In pursuance of its objectives, the founding nations pledged to coordinate their policies in such areas as international politics and diplomacy; economic development; education, and culture; health sanitation and

nutrition; science and technology; and defence and security. The underlying principles of OAU, as contained in Article III of its Charter, included adherence to noninterference in the international affairs of states; respect for the sovereign equality of all member states; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state; peaceful settlement of dispute; unreserved condemnation of political assassination and subversion; dedication to the total emancipation of Africa; and affirmation of a policy of nonalignment in international affairs.

## Institutions

The leading institutions of the OAU were the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments, which met annually, and had all the decision-making powers of the organization; the Council of Ministers, which included a foreign minister (or any other minister designated by member states) and was charged with the responsibility of implementing the decisions of the assembly; and the General Secretariat, which was the main administrative organ of the organization, with the responsibility of serving and coordinating the meetings of all other OAU institutions and drawing up OAU programs and budget.

The General Secretariat, located at the headquarters in Addis Ababa, was headed by the secretary general, who was elected by the assembly for a term of four years. In addition to these institutions, the OAU had a number of specialized commissions, the most notable of which were the Economic and Social Commission; Defence Commission; Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission; the Commission of Fifteen on Refugees; and the Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration Commission. These commissions generally met irregularly, depending on the issue at hand, and their meetings were subjected to a quorum of two-thirds majority. Although not provided for in the charter, the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, created by a 1963 resolution on decolonization, understandably became a powerful institution of the organization, as the liberation struggle and the fight against apartheid heated up over the years. In addition to these commissions, several specialized agencies in Africa operated under the auspices of the OAU; these included the Pan-African Telecommunications Union (PATU); Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU); Pan-African News Agency (PANA); Union of African Railways (UAR); Organization of African Trade Unions Unity (OATUU); and the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa. In recognition of the polyglot

character of Africa, the OAU conducted its official activities in four languages: Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese.

## Contribution to Africa's Development

There are many Africans, both on the continent and in the diaspora, who candidly feel that the OAU did not accomplish much, given the persistence of geopolitical conflicts, ethnic cleansing, poverty, famine, HIV/AIDS afflictions, and other daunting development problems on the continent. However, it must be said that despite its many weaknesses, the OAU deserves some acclaim, especially in the settlement of interstate conflicts and the fight against colonialism and apartheid.

Armed with Article Two of its charter, which sought to eliminate all forms of colonialism from the continent, and working through its Coordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the OAU organized diplomatic support and channeled financial, military, and logistical aid to the liberation movements in such places as Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and Rhodesia. Arguably, no other issue received the same unreserved attention, devotion, and unanimity of OAU members than that of decolonization and the fight against apartheid and international racism. The OAU managed to have the United Nations (UN) legitimize its liberation struggle, including the recourse to violence by Africans and other native people, and to obtain the rights proclaimed in the UN Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights. Hence, Salim A. Salim, the former secretary general of the OAU, once noted that "By all accounts, it [decolonization] is a monumental achievement of which the OAU is justifiably proud" (Salim 1996, 230).

For decades, the OAU waged a relentless fight against the apartheid system in South Africa. With the help of like-minded nations and international organizations, the OAU compelled the United Nations to condemn the apartheid system as a crime against humanity, years before its demise in 1994. With this condemnation, South Africa was forced out of many international organization and sporting activities. In as early as June 17, 1963, less than a month of its inception, the OAU initiated a protest against South Africa at the International Labour Organization (ILO) that culminated in the withdrawal of South Africa from that body in March 1964. Similarly, on September 1963, intense protest by African and Asian delegates prevented South African delegates from speaking at the UN General Assembly; similar action, with

homologous result, was taken by the African group at the International Association of Tourism Agency in Rome and at the International Atomic Energy Agency Conference in Vienna the same year. The barring of South Africa from the Olympic Games and from the International Tennis Tournaments owed much to the efforts of the OAU and its sympathizers in the international scene. Following the dismantling of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the OAU offered its services for the smooth transition of political power in that country by sending observer missions to oversee South Africa's first democratic elections in April 27, 1994.

The unity that the OAU managed to garner, through its fight against apartheid, decolonization, and international racism, gave it a moral standing that no African regional bloc or single country could possibly match (Cervenka 1977). With this moral clout, the OAU often provided the necessary mechanism for the peaceful settlement of disputes amongst its members. For instance, when the Biafra civil war flared up in the 1960s and threatened the Nigerian federation, it was the OAU's unequivocal stand for a solution that preserved the territorial integrity of Nigeria by preventing any big power from siding with the Biafra insurgents. Indeed, there is hardly any African conflict regarding the OAU in which it did not play a major mediating role in its resolution. Using certain African leaders as emissaries and agents of arbitration and pacification, the OAU helped settle many geopolitical disputes across the continent. Notable examples in this regard include the mediatory roles played by Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and President Modibo Keita of Mali in the Moroccan-Algerian conflict of 1963; by President Ibrahim Abboud of Sudan in the Ethiopian-Somali conflict of 1964; by President Nyerere of Tanzania in the Kenya-Somali conflict of 1965; and by President Eyadema of Togo in the 1974 border dispute between Mali and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso). The OAU was also instrumental in the settlement of the Liberian civil war through its support for the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

In 1980, with the liberation struggle almost over, the OAU turned much of its collective attention to economic development problems facing Africa, with the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action that served as the organization's blueprint for Africa's development at its Economic Summit. Among other things, the Lagos Plan sought to provide Africa with rapid, self-sufficient economic development. With poverty, famine, and ethnic violence still ravaging the continent a decade later, the OAU, in yet another historic

session in 1990, revisited the Lagos Plan of Action and reaffirmed its resolve to play an active role in finding lasting solutions to the internal conflicts and socioeconomic problems of Africa. This move, culminating in the 1991 signing of the Abuja Treaty, called for the establishment of the African Economic Community (AEC). Following the ratification of the Abuja Treaty in May 1994, the OAU operated on the basis of two legal instruments and changed its official name to OAU/AEC, until July 2002 when it was disbanded and replaced by the African Union (AU) at the Durban Summit.

The formation of the AU was first proposed by Muammar Qaddafi at the Fourth Extraordinary Summit of the OAU/AEC held in Sirte, Libya, in September 1999. The Sirte Declarations, which emerged out of this summit, aimed at effectively addressing the new social, political, and economic realities in Africa and the world; fulfilling the African peoples' aspirations for greater unity; eliminating the scourge of conflicts; and harnessing the human and natural resources of the continent to improve the living conditions of its people. With the establishment of the AU, the African leaders hope to ascertain the political and economic integration of the continent, with initiatives that are different from and, arguably, far more ambitious than those pursued under the erstwhile OAU/AEC. The AU asserts an explicit shift from the pursuit of mere unity among African nations to that of a political union and asserts an equality explicit acceptance of the tenet of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which was launched concurrently with the AU at the OAU/AEC Summit in Lusaka, Zambia, in July 2001.

As the main socioeconomic program of the AU, NEPAD's objective is to eradicate poverty in Africa by establishing the necessary conditions for peace and security, promoting sustainable economic growth and development, and enhancing Africa's participation in global political and economic issues. Unlike the OAU/AEC (which focused mostly on decolonization and interstate conflicts and keenly respected the political boundaries of Africa), inherited from colonialism, the AU is primarily aimed at the elimination of Africa's colonial borders, with an eye toward the political integration of the continent. The AU's integration process is anchored in democracy, popular participation, and a conscious effort to mobilize all African regional economic blocs and people, including those in the diaspora. The AU hopes to create, by the year 2030, a prosperous United States of Africa, "driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena" (African Union Commission, 2004: 26).

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See also **Apartheid; Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Nkrumah, Kwame; Selassie, Emperor Haile; Pan-Africanism**

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## ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS)

A regional security organization was created at the conclusion of the Ninth Pan-American Conference held in Bogotá in 1948 to replace the Pan American Union. The Organization of American States (OAS) was founded as a continuation of the idea that the nations of the Western hemisphere share a unique identity, historically expressed as Pan-Americanism, Bolivarianism, or the Western Hemisphere Idea. More immediate factors included inter-American cooperation that had developed during World War II coupled with global tensions due to the advent of the Cold War. The original charter listed five purposes: (i) to provide peace and security of the Western Hemisphere; (ii) to prevent possible causes of difficulties that may arise and ensure a peaceful settlement among the member states; (iii) to provide for common action on the part

of member states in the event of aggression; (iv) to seek the solution of political, juridical, and economic problems that may arise among the member states; and (v) to promote by cooperative action their economic, social, and cultural development. Twenty-one nations signed the original charter (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela). As of 2004, there are fourteen additional members: Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago (1967); Jamaica (1969); Grenada (1977); Suriname (1977); Dominica, Saint Lucia (1979); Antigua and Barbuda (1981); Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (1981); Bahamas (1982); St. Kitts and Nevis (1982); Canada (1990); Belize (1991); and Guyana (1991).

The charter was later revised by protocols signed at Buenos Aires (1967) and went into effect in February 1970. For Cartagena (1985), it was effective in November 1988; for Managua (1993), it was ratified in March 1996; and for Washington (1992), it took effect in September 1997. The annual General Assembly was created by the Buenos Aires Protocol. The Permanent Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Council for Education Science and Culture were given equal status within the organization. The Cartagena and Managua Protocols greatly strengthened the role of the secretary general and provided procedures for the peaceful resolution of disputes as well as called for greater economic and social development throughout the hemisphere. The Managua Protocol also created the Inter-American Council for Integral Development (CIDI) to replace the Economic and Social Council and the Council for Education, Science, and Culture. The main goals of CIDI are to promote development activities, to strengthen hemispheric partnership, and to assist in the elimination of extreme poverty in the Americas. The Washington Protocol established the OAS as the first regional political organization to provide for the suspension of a member-state whose democratically elected government is overthrown by force.

The OAS attempts to achieve its objectives through seven subunits, including the General Secretariat, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the General Assembly, the Permanent Council, the Inter-American Council for Integral Development; the Inter-American Juridical Committee, and the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights. In addition, there are specialized committees and commissions established by the General Assembly.

The permanent organ of the OAS is the General Secretariat that is headquartered in Washington, DC. The secretary general, the executive for the

organization, is elected by the General Assembly to a five-year term. The Meeting of Consultation is the arm of OAS tasked with handling security crises as provided for by the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) and also is the unit responsible for a joint response to military aggression against a member state by a non-American state power. The General Assembly meets annually but can also be called into special session to consider urgent matters. The Permanent Council, composed of an ambassador from each member state, implements decisions and resolutions assigned by the General Assembly, the Meeting of Consultation, and the secretary general. Its most notable function includes a role in the peaceful settlement of disputes through the Organ of Consultation as provided for in the Rio Treaty. The remaining councils and committees promote cooperation among the Latin American states in their respective areas of expertise and hold annual meetings as mandated by the OAS charter.

One early achievement of OAS members was the establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank in 1959. The Inter-American Development Bank was created out of concern that the World Bank was not meeting the needs of Latin American members for social lending and was overly concentrated on infrastructure improvements. The creation of the bank was followed by the Act of Bogota in 1960 that called for members to commit to economic and social development. This was followed by OAS endorsement of the Alliance for Progress.

Before 1990, the Cold War cast a long shadow over the cooperative ideals of the Organization of American States and resulted in different visions of regional security between the United States and some members, most notably Cuba and Mexico. However, in the aftermath of the Cold War, the OAS initiated conventions against corruption, illegal drug and arms trafficking, and violence against women. These missions were largely formulated at the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami when the organization was challenged by the Western Hemisphere's heads of state to strengthen democratic values and institutions.

The promotion of peace and democracy is the responsibility of the OAS Unit for Promotion of Democracy (UPD), which acts under the authority of Resolution 1080. Resolution 1080 was passed by the 1991 General Assembly to deter threats to legitimate democratically elected governments. The resolution calls for the general secretary to convene the Permanent Council followed by a meeting of the hemisphere's foreign ministers within ten days of a *coup d'état* or other actions against an elected government. The resolution has been enacted four times: in Haiti in 1991, Peru in 1992, Guatemala in 1993, and Paraguay in 1996.

The OAS was instrumental in seeking a peaceful resolution after the *coup* that removed Haitian President Jean Baptiste Aristide from power in September 1991. OAS foreign ministers met as required and sought economic and political sanctions against the illegitimate government. In cooperation with the UN, the joint International Civilian Mission (ICM) was founded to monitor human rights abuses. These measure in part led to the restoration of the Aristide government in 1994.

On April 5, 1992, President Alberto Fujimori of Peru declared an auto *coup* and suspended the constitution. The OAS Permanent Council condemned the *coup* and called for an immediate restoration of the democratic process. At the request of the hemisphere's foreign ministers, the secretary general headed a mission of foreign ministers to start a dialog between the government and other political forces in Peru. As a result of OAS interest, Fujimori agreed to call elections for a new Congress to draft a new constitution. The OAS sent two hundred observers to monitor the elections. In this instance, OAS actions proved only marginally effective as Fujimori used the new constitution to extend his power in Peru.

A more successful example of OAS promotion of democracy occurred in Guatemala when President Jorge Serrano suspended constitutional democracy on May 25, 1993. Resolution 1080 was invoked, and Secretary General Baena Soares was dispatched to Guatemala. The condemnation of Serrano's auto *coup* helped lead to his removal and Guatemalan Congress's constitutional election of Ramiro de Leon Carpio as president.

The fourth instance of the use of Resolution 1080 involved an attempt to force the resignation of Paraguay's President Juan Carlos Wasmosy by the Paraguayan Army Commander in April 1996. After the OAS Permanent Council called for a meeting of foreign ministers, Secretary General Gavaria traveled to Paraguay in support of Wasmosy. Buoyed by OAS, other international support, and the Paraguayan people, Wasmosy remained in office.

Another aspect of promoting democracy is monitoring of elections. The first instance of election monitoring occurred in Nicaragua in 1990. In the following years, OAS teams have expanded the mission of observing elections. The most recent example was in the August 2004 recall election in Venezuela. OAS certification of the electoral process has helped to boost public confidence in the electoral process throughout the Western Hemisphere. In addition, the UPD conducts education programs, exchanges, and conferences on the democratic process. It has developed peacebuilding programs and has supervised the eradication of land mines in the Western Hemisphere.

In 1993, the OAS created the Committee on Hemispheric Security to assist in the peaceful resolution of disputes between member nations. The purpose of the committee and other conferences is to decrease historic rivalries and suspicions and create an environment of mutual trust. In 1997, OAS members negotiated the Inter-American Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives, and other Related Materials—the first legally binding regional agreement on illicit firearms trafficking. In October 1999, the Counterterrorism Committee (CTC) was established to promote cooperation on counterterrorism issues.

The OAS has played a key role in monitoring elections to ensure they are fair and open. This includes initiating educational programs at the local and regional level to foster democratic ideals. The organization has sent special teams to support the peace process in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Suriname and has been a key participant in clearing land mines in Central America. The Washington, DC-based Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, located in San José, Costa Rica, monitor the status of human rights in member countries and also provide a legal recourse to individuals and groups that have suffered abuses. Special attention is given to the rights of indigenous peoples and women. The OAS is supporting the Free Trade Area of the Americas by providing technical support and working closely with the Inter-American Development Bank and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. The Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission was established to curb the illegal trafficking in narcotics that has resulted in violence and instability in a number of member states. The commission's objectives include assisting countries in strengthening laws, improving law enforcement, and encouraging the cultivation of alternative crops. It also evaluates each country's progress in meeting its antidrug goals. The OAS is committed to promoting sustainable development and administers a variety of programs in this area, including river basin management, conservation, dealing with climatic changes, and assistance during natural disasters.

The Organization of American States has continued to promote cultural programs, and this, perhaps, is its most enduring achievement. The OAS headquarters in Washington houses the Art Museum of the Americas as well as the Columbus Memorial Library. In addition, *Américas*, a fully illustrated popular magazine, depicts the rich mosaic of the peoples and cultures of the Western Hemisphere. Other specialized organizations managed by the OAS

include the Inter-American Children's Institute, the Inter-American Commission on Women, the Pan American Institute on Geography and History, the Inter-American Indian Institute, the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture, and the Pan American Health Organization.

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## ORGANIZATION OF ARAB PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OAPEC)

Arab states had a fourth of the world's 160 trillion cubic meters of gas in 2001, but they supplied only 13% of the world's demand. The states also produced two-thirds of the world's 653 billion barrels of oil, with new discoveries exceeding increased production. In 2004, OAPEC planned an \$84.5 billion expansion, with \$43 billion of that committed to natural gas.

### Structure

In 1968, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) came into being with headquarters in Kuwait. It serves to support the Arab oil industry through cooperation by member producers. It is a regional, intergovernmental development agency. Only Arab countries with significant gross domestic product (GDP) from petroleum are allowed to join. The OAPEC meets with the Arab League every four years on energy matters. Its operating assumption is that the cornerstone of future economic development in the Arab countries is petroleum. Thus, the use of the resource must be effective, including joint ventures. OAPEC also wants equity in the market and a favorable climate for investment in petroleum. It works to make the policies and laws of the members compatible and to train and employ citizens of members. OAPEC activities take place cooperatively

## ORGANIZATION OF ARAB PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OAPEC)

because OAPEC coordinates those activities, promotes exchange of information, and hosts seminars with both regional and international participation. The seminars allow dissemination of the latest technological news and problems of member countries. The OAPEC information exchange program also includes the Arab Energy Conference.

Initial signatories to the January 9, 1968, agreement were Kuwait, Libya, and Saudi Arabia. In Beirut, Lebanon, the three established OAPEC and headquartered it in Kuwait. By 1982, the organization had eleven member exporters, an agreement that established the OAPEC. The three founding members agreed that the organization would be located in the State of Kuwait. Subsequently, other states joined OAPEC: Algeria (1970), Bahrain (1970), Qatar (1970), Iraq (1972), Syria (1972), Egypt (1973), United Arab Emirates (1970), and Tunisia (1982). In 1986, when Tunisia requested to withdraw, the Ministerial Council decided that Tunisia would be suspended from the rights and obligations of membership until such time as Tunisia chose to resume active participation.

Oversight lies with the Ministerial Council, composed of the oil ministers or comparable officials from each of the member countries. Providing budget and regulation and other inputs to the council agenda is the Executive Bureau. Administering the policies and programs is the General Secretariat, which accepts staff from all Arab countries, not just the producing ones. The Secretariat includes the Arab Center for Energy Studies. The enforcement component is the Judicial Tribunal, which arbitrates disputes with oil companies as well as between members. Judgments are binding and final.

The OAPEC publishes annual reports in Arabic and English; the quarterly *Oil and Arab Cooperation* in Arabic with English abstracts; the *Arabic Energy Resources Monitor* (an annual statistical report in Arabic and English); and various papers, proceedings, and studies.

The Council of Ministers reviewed the OAPEC General Secretariat's performance in 1987 and established ideas for improved efficiency and rationalization of expenditure. It urged maximum use of its companies, particularly APICORP. It transferred projects previously under the General Secretariat to APICORP. It also decided that at least three interested members should approve any project and that each of the three should bear 10% of the costs of the study.

Under OAPEC are four independent companies and a training institute:

- The Arab Maritime Petroleum Company (AMPTC) was established in January 1973

after members signed the formal agreement on May 6, 1972. The AMPTC had a fully subscribed capital of \$500 million. It was to be involved in all operations pertaining to marine transport of petroleum and its products. Shareholders in the company included Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Tanker demand shrank, however, and the company took losses until its authorized capital was \$200 million, subscribed at \$150 million.

- The Arab Shipbuilding and Repair Yard Company (ASRY), agreed to on December 8, 1973, is headquartered in Bahrain and counts as shareholders Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. In December 1974, ASRY incorporated with capital of \$100 million. This increased to \$300 million in 1976 and \$340 million 1977. ASRY was to build, repair, and maintain the various vessels of the petroleum fleet. It established a dry dock in Bahrain in 1977 to service and repair tankers. It also added two floating docks and related facilities. The three docks allowed ASRY to take care of medium and supersized tankers and ships. Its level of productivity made it competitive with other dock facilities.
- The Arab Petroleum Investments Corporation (APICORP) was formed in Dammam, Saudi Arabia, in November 1975. All OAPEC members had shares. Authorized capital was \$1.2 billion, but only \$400 million was subscribed. The subscription was increased to \$460 million in 1996 by tapping APICORP's general reserve. APICORP helps members to finance industry-related projects, most of which require substantial investment. The corporation's twelve projects were in Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia. APICORP partners with the OAPEC-sponsored Arab Petroleum Services Company in two subsidiaries: the Arab Drilling and Workover Company (ADWOC) and the Arab Geophysical Exploration Services Company (AGESCO). APICORP has equities of 20% and 10% in the respective companies as well as a 32% equity in the Arab Company for Detergent Chemicals (ARADET), capitalized in Baghdad, Iraq, on March 12, 1981, at \$72 million ID. The company worked from its Linear Alkyl Benzene Complex, but sanctions and then war hampered its activity severely.
- The Arab Petroleum Services Company (APSCO) was founded in Tripoli, Libya, in

January 1977 by all member states. Capital was \$100 million Libyan dinars. The company provides petroleum services through subsidiaries specialized by type of service. The company has three subsidiaries, one of which is the Arab Drilling and Workover Company (ADWOC), established in Tripoli in February 1980 to deal with onshore and offshore drilling operations, water well drilling, well maintenance, and other technical operations associated with member and other countries. The company's fourteen rigs operate in Jordan, Syria, and Libya. ADWOC has workshops and storage facilities for maintenance and testing of equipment and production of oxygen and nitrogen. Another wholly owned subsidiary is the Arab Well Logging Company (AWLC) established in Baghdad in March 1983, which logs, perforates, and does the other technical things necessary to discover and develop. The AWLC was largely dormant during the sanctions and war, but Iraq attempted to revitalize it in 2003. The Arab Geophysical Exploration Services Company (AGESCO) is in Tripoli. APSC has 40% of this company, chartered in 1984. Halliburton Geophysical Services Company also owns 40%. AGESCO performs geophysical surveys.

- The Arab Petroleum Training Institute (APTI), established in Baghdad in May 1978, was to research and publish studies on industrial organization and training theory. APTI performs research and studies concerning modern industrial organization and training theory. It also provides a central information and documentation resource. The 1990–1991 crisis in the gulf precluded APTI's handling of its mission, and not until 2003 did Iraq request a reopening of the institute.

## Impact

Oil is the world's primary energy source. It is a commodity, and as a commodity its price is volatile. Developed and undeveloped nations share the world's wealth unequally. Undeveloped nations get the highly variable price of the raw commodity, a price determined largely by the buyer rather than the seller. The developed ones get the more stable income from transport, manufacture, packaging, and the other processes—and jobs—that make a finished product. Developing nations want greater control over the processes that occur once their raw material—petroleum, for instance—leaves the ground. Developing nations recognize that they have to move into industrialization

and manufacturing and control of the entire life of their product if they are ever to achieve reasonable economic development and stability.

Before the 1950s, the Middle East was of interest for a potential location of strategic military bases just as much as for its petroleum. Much of the region remained predominantly agricultural. Then, in the 1950s, multinational petroleum companies began exploration and development of Arabian Gulf oil resources under leases, contracts, or concessions by the local governments.

In 1959 and 1960, the petroleum companies unilaterally decided to lower prices. The Arabian producers protested. At the Baghdad Conference of September 10–14, 1960, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Kuwait—supported by Venezuela and Iran—founded the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Prices stabilized until the end of the 1960s. In the late 1960s, the third Arab-Israeli War took place. One reaction to this war was the creation of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC).

Initially, the member countries were predominantly agricultural, but the rising oil revenues of the 1960s allowed governments to invest heavily in industry and infrastructure. Economic growth was marked, and members of OAPEC raised prices and taxes. In 1971, some went so far as to nationalize majority shares of Western oil concessions. Then, the fourth Arab-Israeli War began on October 6, 1973. With OPEC support, Arab petroleum exporters embargoed oil shipments to Western countries that had supported Israel. At this point, the OPEC countries, not the oil companies, controlled price shifts. As supplies shrank, prices rose 400% over six months. Shortly after the embargo, Henry Kissinger of the United States established the International Energy Agency (IEA), composed of just about all of the Western industrial nations. IEA was to establish ways to ensure that an OAPEC embargo could not happen again. The IEA established a formula for sharing in the event of a supply disruption. It was the Emergency Sharing System, which obligated members to buy and sell oil at fixed prices for a set amount. The United States began filling its Strategic Petroleum Reserve, the salt mines of Texas and Louisiana. In 1976, oil was on average 74.4% of GDP in the OAPEC countries. Qatar and the United Arab Emirates hit 100%. GDP per capita increased from \$433 US dollars (USD) in 1970 to \$1,916 (USD) in 1976. The range among countries was from \$424 in Egypt to \$15,323 in the United Arab Emirates in 1975.

The increased revenues allowed the OAPEC countries to repay foreign debt, increase foreign exchange reserves and financial stability, and continue investing in internal improvements and social programs. In the late 1970s, the Arab petroleum producers began



shifting from merely producing crude oil to producing and exporting refined oil products, petrochemicals, and gas. Libya opened a methanol plant, Saudi Arabia opened a lube-oil plant, and Qatar opened a steel mill. Iran began smelting copper, producing fertilizer, and expanding its refining capability. Other ventures produced steel and aluminum and fertilizer in Iran, Iraq, Dubai, Qatar, Algeria, and Egypt. The OAPEC oversaw this attempt to overcome the area's colonial history.

### Numbers (1970–1995)

The increase in income during the booms was due to increased output rather than more efficient production. In addition, the types of infrastructure projects that the states spent their money on were large-scale mass employment projects that encouraged low productivity instead of efficiency. When the boom faded, the social welfare costs were difficult to bear.

In the mid-1980s, oil prices declined. OAPEC countries were slow to adjust their economies to the reduced income. Growth was weak between 1984 and 1995. The Seventh Arab Energy Conference took place in Cairo on May 11–14, 2002. Arab energy conferences take place every four years. The first came from a 1977 agreement between the OAPEC ministerial council and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. After the first, the OAPEC incorporated the Arab League's Arab Petroleum Conference, held since 1959. Another sponsor was the Arab Industrial Development and Mining Organization.

At Cairo, the members discussed ways to raise the \$84 billion anticipated for 2002–2006 energy projects. Members indicated an increased willingness to let the private sector join their national companies in these ventures. The inclusion of international oil companies was anticipated to increase chances for funding from international banks rather than from regional sources, historically small and undercapitalized compared to the international banks. Still, more than 40% of the money was from regional sources. At the time of the seventh conference, the globalizing world was moving increasingly toward regional economic organizations, and the Greater Arab Free Trade Area was six years old. A 2004 estimate was that a \$1 million increase in exports increased GDP by \$4 million, and a \$10-a-barrel increase raised the European fuel bill by 4 million euros.

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**See also Energy: Impact on Development; Extractive Industries; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Petrodollars**

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### ORGANIZATION OF EASTERN CARIBBEAN STATES (OECS)

On June 18, 1981, representatives of seven English-speaking states in the Leeward and Windward Islands—Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Christopher (St. Kitts) and Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines—signed the Treaty of Basseterre to promote unity and solidarity. The Treaty of Basseterre, named in honor of the capital of St. Kitts and Nevis, where the treaty was signed, created the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). The treaty was signed by Deputy Prime Minister Lester Bird (b. 1938) of Antigua and Barbuda, who became the first chairman of the OECS; Prime Minister Mary Eugenia Charles (b. 1919) of Dominica; Prime Minister Maurice Bishop (1944–1983) of Grenada; Minister of Education Franklyn Margetson of Montserrat; Premier Kennedy Simmonds (b. 1936) of St. Kitts and Nevis; Prime Minister Winston Cenac (1925–2004) of St. Lucia; and Deputy Prime Minister Hudson Tannis (1928–1986) of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Anguilla and the

British Virgin Islands became associate members of the OECS in 1995 and 1994, respectively. The headquarters of the OECS are located in Castries, St. Lucia.

In 1947, the groundwork for an association of English-speaking Caribbean colonies was laid by British authorities at a regional conference held at Montego Bay, Jamaica. The British suggested that the creation of a political federation of British colonies in the Caribbean would eventually culminate in the political independence of the region. The West Indies Federation (1957–1962) united ten island territories: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Dominica, and Montserrat. In 1961, Jamaica, the most economically significant of the member states, withdrew from the West Indies Federation following a dispute over the implementation of a customs union. In 1962, the West Indies Federation collapsed when Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the group. Simultaneously, in 1962, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago became the first Anglophone Caribbean countries to achieve independence. Barbados achieved its independence in 1966. In 1966, the remaining nonindependent members of the defunct West Indies Federation formed the West Indies States Association (WISA). Designed to give greater autonomy to the British colonies in the Windward and Leeward Islands, the creation of WISA resulted in the independence of Grenada in 1974; Dominica in 1978; St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines in 1979; Antigua and Barbuda in 1981; and St. Kitts and Nevis in 1983. Led by Premier Paul Southwell of St. Kitts and Nevis, representatives of WISA met in St. Lucia in May 1979 to discuss the need for greater regional cooperation. The result was the Treaty of Basseterre and the creation of the OECS.

The OECS has sought to promote cooperation among the members at the regional and international level; defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; adopt common positions on international issues; arrange for joint overseas representation; and promote economic integration among the members. The OECS is charged with assisting member states to maximize the benefits of their limited resources to achieve sustainable development. The OECS's four major advisory and regulatory activities are the Eastern Caribbean Telecommunications Authority (ECTEL), which regulates the telecommunications sector; the Directorate of Civil Aviation (DCA), which provides guidance and direction on airport development and adequacy of air services; the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB), which monitors the common currency of the member states; and the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court. In 2002, the OECS, in

an effort to facilitate travel within the region, declared that all OECS citizens could travel in the region with a valid photo identification card, such as a driver's license. There are plans for the creation of a common passport.

Notwithstanding the high literacy rates of the member states, the potential to expand tourism, and valid efforts at economic diversification, there are significant challenges to development in the region. The small population of the OECS states (less than 1 million people collectively); the high rate of HIV/AIDS that poses a serious health challenge; vulnerability to natural disasters that disrupt agriculture and tourism (such as hurricanes); the decline in access to preferential markets, especially for bananas, during the 1990s; increased competition in the tourism industry from other Caribbean states, especially the Dominican Republic that has offered all-inclusive vacation packages at greatly reduced rates; and the impact of the events of September 11, 2001, on global tourism continue to inhibit development. Moreover, foreign debt increased dramatically during the 1990s.

The leaders of the OECS also sought to insulate their region from the vagaries of the Cold War during the 1980s. In October 1982, the governments of Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines signed a regional security accord—the Regional Security System (RSS)—that allowed for the coordination of defense efforts and the establishment of paramilitary units drawn from the islands' police forces. On October 19, 1983, Prime Minister Bishop of Grenada was murdered by a faction of Grenada's government that wanted to implement a more rigorous policy of Marxist-Leninism. The OECS supported the US invasion of Grenada on October 25, 1983. National defense forces from Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines assisted in the US-orchestrated event. After the end of the Cold War, the primary security concern of the OECS was no longer socialism. The new threat was drug trafficking. The United States provided training, two C-26 Metros (decommissioned U.S. Air Force jets), and spare parts to help the OECS monitor the region against drug traffickers.

Notwithstanding attempts at greater regional integration, it is conceivable that one or more of the multiple-island states, such as St. Kitts and Nevis or St. Vincent and the Grenadines, might split into separate entities in the future.

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**See also Anguilla; Antigua and Barbuda; Bishop, Maurice; Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Dominica;**

**Grenada; Montserrat; St. Christopher (St. Kitts) and Nevis; St. Lucia; St. Vincent and the Grenadines**

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## ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC)

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) officially came into existence as a result of a conference held in Baghdad, Iraq, on September 14–19, 1960. OPEC's founding members, five of the principal oil exporting countries, were Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, Iraq, and Venezuela. The five founding members were later joined by eight other countries: Qatar (1961), Indonesia (1962), Libya (1962), United Arab Emirates (1967), Algeria (1969), Nigeria (1971), Ecuador (1973–1982), and Gabon (1975–1994). OPEC had its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, during the first five years of its existence. The headquarters were moved to Vienna, Austria, on September 1, 1965.

The founding members have veto power over admission of new members, but otherwise all full members have equal rights within the organization. Any country that is a “substantial net exporter” and whose petroleum interests are “fundamentally similar” to those of member countries is eligible to join. Trinidad and Tobago, Syria, and Congo have applied for membership but have not been accepted.

OPEC's objective is to coordinate and unify petroleum policies among member countries to secure fair and stable prices for petroleum producers; to provide an efficient, economic, and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations; and to enable fair return on capital to those investing in the industry.

OPEC derives its power from the fact that its members own two-thirds of known petroleum reserves and

that their extraction costs are minimal. Members of OPEC export 40% of all oil moving in international trade, primarily because their reserves are large and extraction costs are low. However, OPEC is not a perfect cartel because there are inherent conflicts of interest among its members. OPEC is not an Arab organization, as is sometimes mistakenly believed. Only three founding and four new members are Arab. In all, they are geographically dispersed over three continents and an island and vary considerably both in population and land area. It is not even true that all member countries are wealthy; per capita output and petroleum reserves vary enormously.

### Brief History of OPEC

Long before OPEC was formed, the international oil industry was dominated by seven major companies (Exxon Corporation, Mobil Oil Corporation, Texaco, Standard Oil Company of California, Gulf Oil Corporation, British Petroleum Company, and Shell Petroleum Company), that controlled more than 90% of the world oil production outside the United States and the Soviet Union in addition to owning most transportation, refining, and marketing facilities. The US majors also controlled the sizable part of the US oil industry. As early as 1928, representatives of Exxon, Royal Dutch Shell, and British Petroleum met at the Achnacarry Castle in Scotland to form an “as-is” agreement. The agreement established principles to correct overproduction, reduce competition, and freeze individual market shares of their 1928 levels. They also agreed to sell crude oil and products at a fixed price regardless of source or production cost. Prices in the US Gulf (of Mexico) Coast terminals constituted the basis for price quotations throughout the world.

The oil companies persuaded oil-producing states to adopt a series of regulations controlling oil production by prorating the estimated demand for crude oil among all producing fields and wells. Demand was estimated on the basis of current prices so that additional production would not undermine the existing price structure. It should be noted here that because of this control system, consumers in Iraq were charged prices based on quotations at the US Gulf Coast, despite that (i) the crude oil was produced in Iraq, (ii) it was produced at low cost, (iii) it was refined in a nearby refinery, and (iv) the products were marketed by a local company.

The oil companies, whose goal was an orderly development of oil production through market allocation and price stabilization, were able to solidify

their control through the utilization of two important strategies. The first was the joint ownership of oil-producing companies in the Middle East and Venezuela. This strategy helped major oil companies to coordinate and direct output to meet corporate oil requirements and avoid excessive output. Second, to allow new oil to enter the world market through the major's integrated channel, long-term contracts were concluded between certain majors. The provisions of these contacts, which specified where crude oil was to be marketed and the terms of its sale, had the effect of tightening the joint control of the majors over the international oil industry.

As World War II was coming to an end, it became clear that the United States would no longer continue to be a major exporter of oil and that the Middle East would be called upon to meet the rising needs of the world. The United States and the United Kingdom signed an agreement in 1944 to enable U.S. oil companies to have access to Middle East oil and to have virtual control over international petroleum trade. In 1948, the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) was formed by Esso (now Exxon), Texaco, Socal, and Mobil to develop Saudi concession. Huge deposits of oil were soon discovered, and the US companies reaped profits from supplying low-cost oil to Europe and Japan and later to the United States. Other American companies gained access to concession in Kuwait, Iran, and other important Middle East oil producers.

Although the short-lived Iranian nationalization of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951 presented a temporary challenge to the majors' authority, by 1954 the majors had almost total control over the oil produced in Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. As a result, the majors held enormous power over the political and economic destinies of these countries.

The oil-producing countries resented the fact that the foreign oil companies were given a free hand to exploit the oil reserves under concessions granted by the local rulers. Those agreements required the companies to pay only a nominal royalty, an average of twenty-one cents a barrel, to oil-producing countries. In return, the oil companies were exempted from taxes and were given a blank check to determine production and pricing policy.

The oil-producing countries were satisfied with these arrangements prior to World War II, when demand was low, prices were fluctuating or dropping, and prospect for discovering oil was uncertain. These oil-producing countries eventually decided to get their share of the oil being produced in their countries. Venezuela was one of the first countries to challenge these arrangements, when in 1945 the government demanded and received an even split in oil profits

with companies. The Venezuela oil minister, Juan Pablo Perez Alfonzo, later a founder of OPEC, formulated the new rules and tax system.

In subsequent years, the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, which had been getting royalties of 12.5% of oil profits, adopted the Venezuela sharing plan. By the early 1950s, all the oil-producing countries had negotiated agreements providing for a 50/50 split of the profits with the oil company or consortium producing the oil.

The entry into the oil-production business in the 1950s of many new and independent companies put downward pressure on prices. The seven major corporations (the so-called Seven Sisters) discovered that smaller, more aggressive companies were eager to produce at high levels. The Seven Sisters had in the past reduced overseas production when the world oil market was saturated, thus preventing a drop in price.

By the end of 1957, prices were dropping. US producers felt turmoil when sales of oil from domestic wells were undercut by cheaper foreign oil. In an attempt to protect US oil producers, President Dwight D. Eisenhower asked the suppliers of foreign oil to limit their imports voluntarily to about 12% of US production. The effort failed, however, and President Eisenhower decided in 1959 to impose mandatory oil import quotas. Venezuela and Arab producers suddenly found themselves unable to expand their share of the world's biggest oil market.

Producing countries were also angered by a price cut in August 1960 by Esso and other companies. In September 1960, Iraq called a meeting of oil-producing governments to discuss the situation. Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, and Venezuela responded quickly and favorably. Leaders of the group were Perez Alfonzo of Venezuela, whose country was then the top world producer, and Sheik Abdullah Tariki, the oil minister of Saudi Arabia. The participation at the Baghdad Conference of September 10–14 decided to establish OPEC. The initial goal of OPEC was to return oil prices to their earlier levels and to gain the right to consult with oil companies on future pricing decisions. In June 1968, OPEC held a conference at its Vienna headquarters that produced a declaration of principles asserting the right of member nations to control world oil production and prices—a goal that at that time seemed unlikely to be realized. The 1969 revolution in Libya tilted the balance of power toward the producing countries, making it possible for OPEC to press for further authority. In September 1969, a group of officers headed by Muammar Qaddafi seized control of the Libyan government. He successfully pressured OPEC to cut oil production and to demand higher oil prices and a greater percentage of profits in the form of taxes.

In the early 1970s, OPEC countries were able to band together so effectively that the United States and other major industrial powers were forced to pay almost whatever OPEC decided to charge for oil. OPEC countries were able to control most of the supply and hence the price of one or more products. In February 1971, the Persian Gulf States of Abu Dhabi, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia met in Tehran with oil company officials. Following the precedent set by Libya, they demanded and won what was considered at the time a major price increase of thirty to fifty cents a barrel. The Tehran agreement also raised the minimum tax rate on oil profits from 50% to 55%.

As a result of OPEC's controlling power, two so-called oil shocks hit the world in the 1970s. The first oil shock concerned Arab oil embargoes that were imposed against United States and Western Europe as a result of the 1973 Arab-Israeli conflict. The embargoes sent oil prices skyrocketing from three to twelve US dollars per barrel. The embargo was said to have cost the United States about 2 million barrels of oil a day. A 1974 Federal Energy Administration report estimated that the five-month embargo cost half a million American jobs and a gross national product loss between \$10 billion and \$20 billion. Hardest hit were Japan and Western Europe, areas most dependent on foreign oil. Most of northern Europe suffered from the embargo against the Netherlands because the Dutch port of Rotterdam was Europe's largest oil-refining and transshipment center. The second oil shock was caused by the Iranian revolution of 1979. The Iranian Revolution of February 1979 reduced Iran's crude exports to a trickle. Revolutionary turmoil, strikes in the oil fields, and other disturbances caused oil output to decline from a peak of 6.1 million barrels a day in September 1978 to virtually nothing in December and to an only partial recovery in March 1979. Even though Saudi Arabia and others increased production, there still was not enough oil to meet the strong world demand. The upward pressure on prices prompted OPEC to decide in March to move at once to a price of \$14.54 a barrel, the level originally scheduled for October. The organization also agreed to allow countries to add surcharges to the official price. This was the first time OPEC had authorized members to set prices individually. Meanwhile, global oil markets fell into total disarray. Despite Saudi Arabia's 2 million barrels a day, extra output to compensate for the Iranian shortfall, spot crude prices escalated upward to \$40 a barrel. Panic buying was largely to blame. The outbreak of the Iran/Iraq war on September 22, 1980, and a sudden loss of almost 4 million barrels a day, pushed up spot prices once again beyond \$41 a barrel. In December 1980, the official price of the market crude was set at \$32 a barrel, with a

maximum of \$36 a barrel for the same quality oil. The maximum price of any OPEC crude was fixed at \$42 a barrel.

### Oversupply and OPEC

Many observers predicted that OPEC would remain powerful forever or that the world would run out of oil by the early 2000s. These predictions did not materialize for several reasons. First, the global demand for oil plummeted to 53.5 million barrels a day in 1982 from 62.9 million barrels a day in 1979. OPEC's output, however, fell to about 18.7 million barrels a day, down from 30.5 million barrels a day—a drop of 40%. A large percentage of this drastic fall was generally believed to be due to the recession itself, a decrease in commercial energy consumption through conservation and use of oil substitutes. Second, after the 1970s, new oil was discovered in several parts of the world. In addition, non-OPEC countries helped push global supply levels to the point when prices started to drop. For example, oil production in Mexico, China, Egypt, Malaysia, Britain, Norway, and other countries all helped increase global supply. In the early twenty-first century, even more oil is expected to be pumped from wells in the Caspian Sea and other locations around the world, including Eastern Siberia, the Gulf of Mexico, Canada's tar sands deposits, and Venezuela's Orinoco Belt. Second, by the 1990s, most OPEC members were pumping out more oil than they were supposed to. This occurred in part because most of the world's oil-rich countries were struggling economically. The economies of the OPEC countries relied—and continue to rely—almost exclusively on oil; for many, oil accounts for about 75% of their national incomes. In the case of Kuwait, more than 90% of its revenues were coming from oil. Even Saudi Arabia, the leading oil producer in the world and the political leader of OPEC, faced debt problems and economic recession. In 1997, for example, Saudi Arabia earned about \$45 billion from oil exports. In 1998, it earned only \$30 billion. This helped put the Saudi budget of \$13 billion in debt. As a result of the economic difficulty in oil-producing states, each individual OPEC member had an incentive to sell more oil. According to the dynamics of supply and demand, if countries produce more oil, then world oil prices should drop. This is exactly what happened in the 1980s and especially in the 1990s. In short, many OPEC countries simply could not afford not to pump more oil. Due to excessive production by both OPEC and non-OPEC producers throughout the 1990s, prices remained weak. Oil prices in the summer of 2000 were still

about one-third below what they were in 1990 and half of 1981 prices.

## Future of OPEC

In the 1990s, many observers concluded that oil prices will stay, on average, at less than \$20 per barrel for the next decade and that supplies will be maintained beyond 2020. This, however, changed as a result of the US invasion of Iraq. The price of oil shot up to almost \$55 per barrel in October 2004. By their military action in the Gulf War and invasion of Iraq, the United States and its allies demonstrated that they consider Middle Eastern oil vital to their national security and economic interests. The United States and many other nations of the world sorely need access to Middle Eastern oil. US reliance on foreign oil imports had been increasing and seems likely to keep increasing. The main threat to energy security now seems to come from internal strife among Middle Eastern nations themselves. Both the Iran-Iraq War and Persian Gulf War emphasized this lesson.

Although Saudi domination of OPEC and of the world market was almost as strong in 2004 as it had ever been, there are no guarantees it will continue. It seems possible that other nations such as Iran, or former Soviet republics, could gain or regain status as major producers. Despite price fluctuation and rivalry among Middle Eastern nations, the importance of OPEC and the Middle Eastern oil remains unquestioned. The three biggest Persian Gulf countries—Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq—could potentially supply 50% of oil in world trade. If they cooperate with each other, as they have in the past, they could dominate the world oil market. However, what is certain is that world oil prices and supplies will continue to fluctuate.

NASSER MOMAYEZI

**See also Cartels; Energy: Alternative Development; Energy: Impact on Development; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC); Petrodollars**

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## ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC)

After World War I, the idea of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) was born and aimed at establishing a pan-Islamic organization to defend Islamic interests in the international arena and to enhance the inter-Islamic countries relations as well. The first step of formalizing the OIC was in 1969 in the aftermath the Zionist assault on Al-Aqsa Mosque. The leaders of Muslim states met in the Moroccan capital of Rabat to discuss a reasonable strategy. They decided to lay the foundation of an organization that would coordinate their relations in the future. In 1972, the Organization of Islamic Conference was formally established after approving the charter, which became a legally binding document. The membership was thirty countries in 1972 and increased to fifty-seven countries in 2004. In conflict management, OIC played a crucial role in some conflicts concerning Muslim countries, such as the Arab-Israeli issue and the Bosnia-Herzegovina war.

The headquarters of OIC were supposed to be Jerusalem, but due to the Israeli policies and occupation of the city, the leaders decided to locate the headquarters in Jeddah temporarily. Under the charter, the organization has three main aims. First, it must strengthen Islamic solidarity among member states and support the struggle of all Muslim people to safeguard their dignity, independence, and national rights. Second, the OIC must coordinate action to

safeguard the holy places as well as support the struggle of the Palestinian people and assist them in recovering their rights and liberating their occupied territories. Third, the OIC must work to eliminate racial discrimination and all forms of colonialism.

Five principles of the OIC were also enumerated by the charter: full equality among member states; observation of the right to self-determination and noninterference in the internal affairs of member states; observation of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of each state; the settlement of any dispute that might arise among member states by peaceful means; and a pledge to refrain, in relations among member states, from resorting to force or threatening to resort to use force against the unity and territorial integrity or the political independence of any state.

In addition to secondary organs and institutions, the Conference of Kings and Heads of State and Government, The Conference of Foreign Ministers, and The General Secretariat are the three main bodies that compose the OIC.

NILLY KAMAL EL-AMIR

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## OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION (OPIC)

In 1971, the US government established the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to help US businesses invest overseas. OPIC, an independent agency in the executive branch of the federal government, attempts to foster economic development in new and emerging markets in the developing world, assist the US private sector in managing the risks associated with foreign direct investment, and support the basic tenets of US foreign policy. OPIC officials evaluate project proposals on the basis of their contribution to economic development and their potential for success. OPIC provides qualified investors with project financing, investment insurance, and a variety of investor services in some 150 developing nations and emerging economies throughout the world.

OPEC-supported projects have the potential to generate political and economic stability in the developing world, while simultaneously creating jobs in the

US market. OPIC, which is based in Washington, DC, and has a staff of about two hundred employees, charges user fees for its services and operates on a self-sustaining basis at no cost to US taxpayers. OPIC clients are US companies. Unlike other governmental development agencies, OPIC does not provide direct aid or grants to foreign governments. In 2004, OPIC had about four hundred active clients, including small, medium, and large US businesses. In the post-Cold War world, demand for OPIC services has rapidly increased due to the demand for large-scale private sector infrastructure projects in the developing world. US companies engaging in infrastructure projects in the developing world have the potential to increase US exports to those nations.

OPIC can offer up to \$400 million US dollars in total project support for any one project. Project support can come in two forms: project finance and political risk insurance. No more than \$250 million can be spent in any one of these two areas. Although direct loans for any single project cannot exceed \$250 million, most development projects receive between \$2 million and \$30 million. OPIC political risk insurance protects U.S. companies against currency inconvertibility, expropriation, and loss of assets or income due to war, revolution, insurrection, or politically motivated civil strife, terrorism, or sabotage. Rather than relying on foreign government guaranties, OPIC looks for repayment from revenues generated by the OPIC-funded development project. Thus, OPIC can finance infrastructure projects in countries where traditional financial institutions are reluctant to lend.

The OPIC Investor's Information Gateway Country Link Database allows potential investors to search the World Wide Web (WWW) for economic, political, and social data about all of the countries where OPIC operates. OPIC operates in virtually all countries in the developing world, with the noticeable exceptions of Cuba, the People's Republic of China (PRC), North Korea, Burma, Libya, and Sudan.

OPIC supports development projects in virtually every industrial and economic sector, including agriculture, energy, construction, natural resources, telecommunications, and transportation. Since 1971, OPIC has supported more than three thousand projects throughout the developing world, and the organization has funded almost \$150 billion worth of investments that have helped developing countries generate over \$11 billion in host-government revenues and create over seven hundred thousand host-country jobs.

OPIC supported transportation infrastructure improvements in Ecuador and Brazil that will update Ecuador's main airport and Brazil's railway system, setting the stage for economic growth in each country. OPIC granted \$200 million in OPIC financing to a US

corporation for the construction of a new international airport in Quito, enabling Ecuador to move the Mariscal Sucre airport out of the center of Quito and thereby accommodate greater commercial air traffic and improve safety. OPIC provided a \$2 million loan to a US corporation for the purchase of used railway cars from US suppliers. These used railway cars will be leased to users of the Brazilian railroad system, helping the country meet growing transportation needs. OPIC also provided \$50 million to a US corporation to expand a wireless telecommunications network, which has expanded Bolivia's telecommunications infrastructure.

MICHAEL R. HALL

**See also Brazil; Bolivia; Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); Development History and Theory; Ecuador; Industrialization; Modernization; Technology: Impact on Development; United Nations Development Program (UNDP); United States Agency for International Development (USAID)**

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## OXFAM

Oxfam is a nongovernmental development organisation that began in England in 1942 as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief to support civilian populations in Europe during World War II. After the war, Oxfam's attention shifted to the needs of people in developing countries. Oxfam also spread to Canada (1963), Belgium (1964), the United States (1970), and Hong Kong (1976). Secular, welfare-oriented aid agencies were independently established in other countries with similar objectives; for example, Community Aid Abroad in Australia (1953), NOVIB in the Netherlands (1956), and Intermon in Spain (1956) were established. In 1994, this loose network of Oxfams and like-minded organisations decided to formally establish a confederation for greater impact

in cooperatively addressing the global causes of suffering and injustice. Oxfam International is an international group of independent nongovernmental organizations whose mission is fighting poverty and related injustice around the world. In 2004, the confederation was composed of twelve affiliates working in more than one hundred countries.

Oxfam affiliates collectively govern Oxfam International, set policy, and create plans that align their work. However, affiliates take independent responsibility for managing their work, and they retain autonomy and distinctiveness. The affiliates vary considerably in size, budget, geographical focus, thematic emphasis and proportions of long-term development, and humanitarian and advocacy work. Over the years, the approach of each organisation has evolved, reflecting a maturing understanding of the development challenge. The initial emphasis on relief shifted to long-term development working through local non-government organisations as partners and operating in a tradition of innovation and solidarity.

Recognising "development" as involving social and political as well as economic and technical obstacles, Oxfam has led a campaign on behalf of the people they work with overseas. The organization attempts to influence the larger forces that perpetuate poverty and to shape government, private sector, and multilateral policies on a range of relevant issues. An abiding challenge for developing countries is the need for greater trade and export opportunities. Besides lobbying for a fairer world trade regime, many of the Oxfam organisations have established alternative trading operations that sell goods handmade by producer organisations and fairly traded commodities.

Several things distinguish the Oxfam approach. These are the commitment to addressing the structural causes of poverty and related injustice; a focus on oppressed and marginalised people, especially women and indigenous people; the principles of "partnership" (working as equals with democratic, accountable local organisations) and investing in local organisational capacity; making interconnections between the local and the global; and also making links between networked organisations. Beyond their own work and the way it enhances the impact of partners' efforts, Oxfam organisations attempt to leverage wider change by building people's movements through advocacy based on (i) experience and closeness to poor and dispossessed communities and (ii) a broad constituency of supporters in their own communities.

Each Oxfam has a rights-based approach to development, seeking to enable people to exercise their rights and manage their own lives. Their work is integrated around five aims: the right to livelihood,



the right to basic services, the right to life, the right to be heard, and the right to identity.

JO-ANNE EVERINGHAM

**See also Humanitarian Relief Projects; Non-Governmental organisations (NGOs)**

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## **PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM**

The Pacific Islands Forum has a membership of sixteen countries of the region: Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

The Forum is similar to the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC; formerly, the “South Pacific Commission”), but differs in important respects in terms of its history and composition. In 1972, the Forum was founded as the Trade Bureau, and it continues to act as a bureau in the twenty-first century with representative offices in Auckland, Beijing, Sydney, and Tokyo. Many people still refer to this Suva, Fiji-based organisation as the South Pacific Forum, this original title being approved by member governments only in 1988. The current name, Pacific Forum, was established in 2000 and reflects the projection of the organisation into the region, both north and south of the equator.

Most commentators will say that the South Pacific Forum began as a more closed organisation than the much older (founded in 1949) South Pacific Commission, itself renamed in 1999 as the Secretariat of the Pacific Community. One of the prime movers of the project, the late Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, was explicit with his colleague Sir Michael Somare that emerging and about-to-be independent nations wanted an organisation where they could be free to speak about regional matters, away from the eyes of the withdrawing colonial powers that they believed dominated the older institution.

Australia and New Zealand are prominent members and financial supporters of both the Forum and the SPC. In contrast to the sixteen-member Forum, the SPC has a total of twenty-seven members. They are divided into two groups: the five founding members of Australia, France, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and United States of America, and the countries where the SPC programs take place. These countries are American Samoa, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Fiji Islands, French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), Palau, Papua New Guinea (PNG), Pitcairn Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna.

Apart from their different membership and history, the two organisations differ in terms of what they do in the Pacific. Broadly speaking, the forum is conceived as a place for political and economic debate, whilst the SPC is known for its role advising on aspects of development, such as health and education. There are abiding overlaps.

There are four divisions of the Forum Secretariat in Suva, which is located near the University of the South Pacific. These four divisions are Development and Economic Policy, Trade and Investment, Political International Legal Affairs, and Corporate Services. The Pacific Islands Forum also chairs another regional organisation called the Council of Regional Organisations in the Pacific (CROP), consisting of ten institutions: Fiji School of Medicine (FShM), Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), Pacific Islands Development Programme (PIDP), South Pacific Board

for Educational Assessment (SPBEA), South Pacific Regional Environmental Programme (SPREP), South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission (SOPAC), Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO), the University of the South Pacific (USP), and itself.

It is likely that in line with other name changes over the last few years, many of these organisations will drop the “south” part of their name since they all, just like the Forum and SPC, have activities in both the North and South Pacific.

All of the CROP institutions are autonomous and have governing bodies, funding sources, and programs of their own. It is for cooperation, sharing resources, and convenience that CROP exists under a Forum meeting structure. Two of the CROP organisations, FFA and SOPAC, though, grew directly out of the Pacific Islands Forum in earlier years, and one, SPREP, began its life as an arm of the SPC. SPREP is located in Samoa, just outside Apia, the capital city of that island country.

Notable in the CROP group is the Pacific Islands Development Programme (PIDP), which with its head Tongan-born Dr. Sitiveni Halapua is part of the East-West Center, a US State Department funded educational and advisory institution adjacent to the Manoa campus of the University of Hawaii. Like the Forum, the PIDP is meant to be a meeting of heads of government. A quite likely heading for a new name is the Pacific Islands Conference; the PIDP meets every three years, convening the heads of twenty states and territories, including the US state of Hawaii.

The Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) is located in the Solomon Islands. Its headquarters were damaged during the civil turmoil in the Solomons in 2000, but it soon after began operating once again. Given the crucial importance of fisheries to the Pacific Islands countries, it is not surprising that the FFA occupies a central role in the Pacific Islands Forum’s expenditure and activities. SOPAC is located in Suva and takes as its role the need to keep up on “nonliving” resource development by which minerals and especially future seabed mining prospects can be understood.

One of the most sensitive matters in the early twenty-first century has been the growing Australian insistence for the country to have a greater role in the actual running of regional institutions to which it is a substantial contributor. A fraught meeting in 2003, followed by another in 2004, reluctantly led to the appointment of Australian-born, career diplomat Gregory Urwin as the Secretary-General of the SPC.

For the future is the prospect of old colonial-established borders breaking down. After all, could not Japan and the Philippines be called the “Pacific

Islands”? And, if Pacific Rim countries, such as the United States and New Zealand, hold membership in Pacific regional bodies, why could Latin American states bordering on the Pacific Ocean not hold membership as well? In fact, Chile has been gaining observer status progressively, first at the SPC and more recently at the Forum. The first instance was made possible by virtue of Rapanui (Easter Island), its province of 2,237 miles (3,600 kilometers) from the Chilean coast claimed in 1888; the early twenty-first century has brought with it interest in the island.

GRANT MCCALL

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### PAHLAVI, SHAH MUHAMMED REZA

Known as “The Shah of Iran,” Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980) was the last leader of Iran before the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of an Islamic republic under the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

The Shah’s father, Reza Shah (1878–1944), was a military officer who overthrew the Qajar Dynasty in 1921 and established his own, which he named Pahlavi, in 1925. The name was significant: Pahlavi was the language of Iran’s pre-Islamic religion, Zoroastrianism. Reza Shah was a secular modernizer whose policies were anathema to the clerical establishment.

Muhammad Reza was five years old when he became Crown Prince. In 1931, he was sent to a finishing school in Switzerland after which he spent three years (1935–1938) in a military school in Tehran. In 1939, he married a sister of King Farouk I of Egypt. They had a daughter (b. 1940) but no heir to the throne. Reza Shah had wrested partial control of Iran’s lucrative oil industry from the British, introduced modern schooling, and begun construction of Iran’s first railroad. He had also leaned toward Germany in its looming confrontation with Britain and Russia. However, British and Russian forces invaded Iran in August 1941, deposed Reza Shah, and placed Muhammad Reza, then twenty-one years old, on the throne. The two allied powers occupied Iran for the remainder of the war.

The confrontation between the Shah and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini began immediately. Khomeini

denounced the Shah's "dictatorial regime" and called on the nation to "rise up for God." The Shah became dependent on US support, which grew stronger as the Cold War developed. Stalin withdrew Soviet troops from northern Iran in May 1946 only under severe pressure from Washington, DC. The main threat to the Pahlavi Dynasty now seemed to come from the Tudeh (Communist) Party, not from the clerics. After a February 1949 assassination attempt, the Shah imposed martial law and banned the Tudeh Party.

A power struggle between the Majlis (parliament) and the Shah became entangled with Cold War politics. In March 1951, Prime Minister Muhammad Mossadeq passed a bill nationalizing the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Shah tried to remove Mossadeq from power but was forced to flee Iran on August 16, 1953. The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) financed street riots against Mossadeq, and three days later the Shah was back on his throne but with the stigma of foreign sponsorship. Mossadeq was imprisoned, and the nationalization of oil industry was reversed. In 1954, the Shah rigged parliamentary elections, and in 1955 he joined the Baghdad Pact. The United States greatly increased foreign aid to Iran while urging internal reform. The Shah's secret police received training from the Israeli Mossad.

In 1959, the Shah married his third wife Farah Diba, who bore a son in 1960. The dynasty now appeared secure. The 1960s was a decade of progressive reform in Iran. Secular education was greatly expanded, and voting rights were extended to women. These innovations offended the ultraconservative Shi'a religious establishment, and the Shah's land reform program, begun in 1961, threatened their financial base. Ayatollah Khomeini denounced the government in such vitriolic terms that the Shah's men arrested him in 1963 and jailed him for three months. Ayatollah resumed his verbal attacks immediately upon his release. By now the Shah had disbanded parliament and was ruling by decree. Khomeini was forced into exile. All political opposition was now channeled through the clergy. The Shah pushed ahead with his economic reforms, which he called his "White Revolution." The reforms included building roads, initiating irrigation projects, and establishing public health programs.

His throne seemingly secure, the Shah's megalomania grew. He staged a royal ceremony in 1967 that included dropping 17,532 roses from air force planes, one rose for every day of his life. His wife was designated Empress. The anger of the clerics simmered. In 1971, the royal couple spent hundreds of millions of dollars on a lavish festival in Persepolis, commemorating 2,500 years of monarchy (traced back to the

Persian king Cyrus). The deliberate emphasis on Iran's pre-Islamic past enraged the clerics.

In 1973, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadrupled the price of crude oil. In response, the Nixon Administration sought to repatriate capital by selling a panoply of advanced weapons systems to Iran, with the understanding that the Shah would protect the Persian Gulf from Soviet threats.

The Shah was at the height of his power in 1974 when he was diagnosed with lymphatic leukemia and began secretly to undergo medical treatment. Corruption was rampant within his government. Political opponents could only be held in check by the secret police, who routinely resorted to torture. American President Jimmy Carter, inaugurated in January 1977, urged respect for human rights on the Shah, who, as he grew sicker, wavered between liberalism and repression. Students in Tehran rioted in December 1977, demanding Khomeini's return from exile. The Ayatollah was living outside of Paris, dictating fiery sermons into a tape recorder. His messages, reproduced by the hundreds, were played over loudspeakers in mosques throughout Iran.

On January 16, 1979, the Shah, now very ill, left Iran, never to return. Khomeini arrived on February 1, and declared Iran an Islamic republic two months later. The US government pressured other countries to provide the Shah with refuge. His final *hegira* took him to Egypt, Morocco, the Bahamas, and Mexico before finally being admitted to the United States for medical treatment. Muhammad Reza Pahlavi died on July 27, 1980, in Cairo, Egypt.

ROSS MARLAY

**See also Iran; Islamic Fundamentalism; Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Mossaddeq, Muhammed**

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## PAKISTAN

The present Islamic Republic of Pakistan is bounded by Afghanistan on much of its western border and by Iran on the southwest portion of it. Its entire eastern border is bounded by India. On the south, the country opens to the Arabian Sea, and in the extreme north it abuts China. Roughly twice the size of California,

much of its land is a hot, dry desert. A more temperate climate is found where the northern piedmont begins its rise toward some of the world's highest mountains in the Hindu Kush and Karakorum ranges. All five rivers that give the Punjab its name feed into the Indus, making it one of the world's great rivers and providing irrigation waters to support Pakistan's agriculture, which centers on wheat and cotton.

However, when the country gained independence in 1947 as a homeland for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent, it included East Bengal, bounded on three sides by India and by the Bay of Bengal on the fourth, which caused the two "wings" of Pakistan to be separated by about 1,500 miles of land or 2,500 miles of sea. The two regions were utterly different in most physical aspects. East Pakistan (which broke away in 1971 to become Bangladesh) consists largely of a fertile alluvial plain laid down by the revered Ganges and the broad Brahmaputra rivers, both of which originate in the Himalayan Mountains. East Pakistan, which is now Bangladesh, was only about one-sixth the size of West Pakistan, but it contained far more people. Its hot and humid climate favors a riot of subtropical vegetation where agriculture emphasizes rice and jute. Lacking stone, its roads have been made from burnt bricks laboriously broken by hand to make artificial gravel, and many of its rural houses have been sited on human-made earthen plinths to raise them above the expected crests of annual floods.

At Independence, only Lahore in West Pakistan and Dacca in East Pakistan were major cities; Karachi, chosen as the first capital, was a small port city that had served as an *entrepôt* for the produce of the Punjab during the British colonial period. Later, as government buildings for the new capital, Islamabad, were being constructed on the Potwar Plateau during Ayub Khan's rule, so were new capital buildings being erected in Dacca in the expectation that meetings of the National Assembly would alternate between the two cities. Such double expenditures in the interest of maintaining parity between the two wings continued to drain the resources of this poor country until 1971. Then, with the intervention of India in what had started as a civil war resulting from a disputed election, East Pakistan became the sovereign nation of Bangladesh. Painful as the separation was, in the view of many observers since, the dissociation has been a positive benefit for both.

Chronic political instability underlies most of Pakistan's development problems. In fifty years, the country has had fifteen different prime ministers, and for more than half of its brief history it has been under military rule. Such turmoil has also made it difficult to root out endemic corruption and put in place a just

system of taxation. It is believed that taxes collected represent less than 50% of taxes owed; kickbacks are customary in most business transactions, whether with the government or with private firms. One finance minister estimated that illegal payments extracted by government officials amounted to about 60% of the total the government was able to collect in taxes. As a consequence of such practices, Pakistan ranks among the most corrupt nations in the developing world.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan who was given the honorary title Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader), served as governor general along lines derived from British rule, but he died in 1948 after barely a year in office. His Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951, and the tenures of those prime ministers who followed him were of short duration. During this first decade of independence, the *Mohajir* immigrants from India, who dominated the government, largely maintained the secular, democratic state envisioned by the Quaid-i-Azam and favored industry over agriculture in their development investments. But by the mid-1950s, the economy was stagnant, and the country was unable to feed its population, increasing at the rate of more than 3% each year.

General Mohammed Ayub Khan's martial law regime (1958–1969) brought political stability and enabled the country to embark on a planned economy that made real progress, resulting in an average 5.5% growth rate, but it was also during this period that wealth became concentrated in twenty-two families of industrialists and bankers. Meanwhile, as a result of the Green Revolution, Pakistan approached self-sufficiency in food and fibers, but productive agricultural lands also became concentrated in the holdings of a few "feudal" landlords.

After the brief rule of General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan (1968–1971), which ended with the creation of Bangladesh, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was elected to power on a populist platform that promised an *Awami raj* (people's rule). Even though a large landowner himself and the scion of an aristocratic Sindhi family, Bhutto promised land reform (which proved to be ineffective) and did nationalize ten basic industries as well as the banks and insurance companies. Then, as the inefficient state-owned enterprises created budget deficits, the Bhutto government (1971–1977) became more and more dependent on foreign loans and the remittances of overseas Pakistani workers, an economic situation further exacerbated by the perceived need to counter the threat posed when India detonated a nuclear device in 1974.

Following a bitterly contested election in 1977, Bhutto was ousted by his own appointee to the top

military post, General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, and eventually was hanged by Zia as the outcome of flimsy criminal charges. Longest lasting of the Pakistani governments, the government of Zia (1977–1988) brought back martial law, did little to tamper with the status quo of the economy, but did introduce a program of austere Islamization. Of special interest to the Zia government was an attempt to free the financial system of *riba* (variously defined either as usury or interest). “Interest-free banking” has been a chimera pursued ever since by successor governments, while the bankers themselves have dragged their heels about implementing so-called profit sharing to replace interest. It has never been clear how a country that depends so heavily on external interest-bearing loans can meet its obligations should the desired financial utopia ever be achieved.

After the violent end of Zia in the explosion of his airplane that also killed the US ambassador, Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Zia’s nemesis, came to power as prime minister in an ineffectual coalition government. As the first woman to hold such a lofty position in a Muslim country, Bhutto was never able to carry out the ambitious reform measures she had campaigned for. Caught between the demands of the ever-powerful military leaders and the cunning self-serving interests of officials of the provincial government of the Punjab, Pakistan’s most populous province, she was unable even to quell spreading social unrest and the growing ethnic violence in Sindh, her home province. Mian Nawaz Sharif, Governor of the Punjab, succeeded in persuading the president in 1990 to dissolve the National Assembly and to dismiss Benazir Bhutto for failing to maintain law and order. She and her husband also were under a cloud of unspecified charges of corruption.

From 1990 until 1999, the government seesawed between Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, with four different caretaker prime ministers serving as the powerless fulcrum between them. As had now become traditional, Bhutto and Sharif took turns getting each other dismissed on charges of corruption. Despite their disparate backgrounds—Bhutto from a Sindhi “feudal” family and Sharif a Punjabi industrialist—both managed to continue the process of privatizing the industries that the elder Bhutto had nationalized. During this period, investment in development decreased while military costs increased, and the country was unable to meet the fiscal targets demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). When Pakistan removed all doubt that it had attained nuclear capability by testing a nuclear device on May 28, 1998, in the Chaghi hills in Balochistan, it incurred the punishment of economic sanctions that left it in an even worse financial condition. Once again, the

military became involved, this time in a bloodless *coup d’état* on October 12, 1999, that resulted in Nawaz Sharif being sent into exile in Saudi Arabia and General Pervez Musharraf taking over as chief executive, a title he exchanged in less than a year to that of president.

At great hazard to his own continued tenure, since so large and so vocal a portion of the population opposed the policy, Musharraf sided with the United States and its allies in the military strike against Afghanistan in the War on Terrorism. The reward for this decision was the lifting of economic sanctions on his country and a renewed generosity on the part of Pakistan’s creditors to pump fresh money into the economy.

During all this hectic period of political instability, there has been a steady increase in life expectancy and a decline in infant death rates. Encouraging as these trends are, they nevertheless have exacerbated the population problem. As more and more people crowd into the cities, whose infrastructure cannot keep pace, public health has suffered and social unrest has increased.

Public safety, both in urban and rural areas, has declined for a number of reasons, principal among them being increased ethnic and sectarian disputes that end in greater violence as a result of guns diverted from armaments funneled through Pakistan during the 1980s to assist the Afghan *Mujahedin* fighting the Soviet occupation army. Adding to Pakistan’s problems were some 2 million Afghans who crossed the border seeking refuge and either have remained in squalid camps or migrated to little less squalid slums in the cities. At this time, too, Pakistan became a major pipeline for hard drugs to the West. Just as thousands of AK-47s were diverted from their intended destination in Afghanistan, much of the heroin was diverted and remained in Pakistan. No known heroin addicts were reported for Pakistan in 1980, but eight years later there were 1.2 million.

Public education has never received adequate funding, but from 1960 to 1990, it did increase from 1.1% of the gross national product (GNP) to 3.4%, yet even the latter figure must be contrasted with at least 30% of the GNP that went into defense. There has been a tendency, too, to build the educational system from the top down. Having inherited only one university from undivided India—Punjab University—Pakistan rushed to erect universities, first in every province, then to accommodate demands in every large city, while neglecting primary and secondary schools. To some extent, this lack was met by the organization of private schools at all levels, including colleges for undergraduates. As a result of the thrust of Islamization of the Zia administration, *deeni madaris*,

religious schools, sprang up all over the country to give free primary education to poor students, especially orphan boys, who otherwise would have had none. These schools later became breeding grounds for the fanatical Taliban.

For a country where once the attitude prevailed of "let government do it," it is heartening to see that since the 1990s there has been a proliferation of non-governmental agencies (NGOs) devoted to various sectors of social and human betterment, human rights, democratization, women's empowerment, and low-income housing. One of the earliest of these was the Fauji Foundation, established to help the more than 9 million ex-military personnel and their dependents lead satisfactory lives in civil society. Under the direction of retired officers, the foundation funds educational institutions and awards scholarships and manages hospitals and dispensaries; it carries out these activities with income it generates by its own industrial operations ranging from the manufacture of corn flakes to cement and fertilizer. Looking to the future, the foundation has pioneered in training young people to write software for computers.

Equally inspiring is the Edhi Foundation that began as a one-man affair when a peddler in Karachi named Abdul Sattar Edhi saved up enough from his earnings to open a modest dispensary to serve the poor. When others contributed money to help in his work, the foundation he then established grew to the point that it fields more than four hundred ambulances (and can even provide air ambulance service), has two hundred welfare centers scattered throughout the country, operates a blood bank, provides maternal and child welfare services, supplements the scanty food provided to prisoners in jails, and arranges a decent burial for indigents who die on the street. Combining the compassionate virtues of Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa, Edhi himself drives his ambulances and helps to prepare the dead for burial.

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**See also Ayub Khan, Mohammed; Bangladesh; Bhutto, Benazir; Mujahedin; Taliban; Yahya Khan, Agha Mohammed; Zia ul-Haq, Mohammed**

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### PALAU, REPUBLIC OF

The Republic of Palau, a nation of more than 250 islands (7° 30' N latitude, 134° 30' E longitude) in the western Pacific, lies 650 kilometers southeast of the Philippines. The islands (land area 458 square kilometers or 177 square miles), mostly fringed by coral reefs, vary from low-lying coral atolls to islands with mountains of high altitudes; Mount Ngerchelchhuus reaches the highest altitude at 242 meters (790 feet) above sea level. The regional climate is tropical, hot, and humid throughout the year with a wetter season from May to November. Typhoons, although rare, may occur over the islands from June to December. Tropical forests cover most of the islands, and littoral zones have mangroves interspersed with white, sandy beaches. On Babeldaob (also referred to as Babelthau) there are extensive areas of savanna and grasslands. The capital is Oreor (formerly Koror), but a new site is under construction twenty kilometers to the northeast.

Migrants, probably from Indonesia, first settled the islands of Palau around 3,500 years ago. The Spanish explorer Ruy López de Villalobos visited the islands in 1543, but the islands, although notionally belonging to Spain, were not colonized until late in the nineteenth century. Spain sold the islands to Germany in 1899, and the German colonists established coconut plantations and phosphate mining. The islands were seized by Japan during World War I. The League of Nations mandated the islands to Japan in 1920. During this period, the Japanese population grew to more than twenty-five thousand and significant development occurred in Oreor with paved roads, water supplies, and schools established. However, Palauans lost much of their traditional lifestyle and inheritance patterns as their lands were confiscated by Japanese colonists. In the late 1930s, the Japanese closed Palau to the outside world and began building military bases and fortifications.

During World War II, fighting between the United States and Japan occurred on the islands of Peleliu and Angaur. The United States took control of the islands in 1944, and in 1947, the islands became a part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the United States. Palauans voted in 1979 not to become part of the Federated States of Micronesia, and a new constitution was adopted in 1980; Palau became self-governing in 1981. In a transitional period, marked by the violent deaths of Presidents Haruo Remeliik (assassinated in 1985) and Lazarus Salii (committed suicide in 1988), Palauans negotiated terms of the Free Association Compact with the United States that was finally approved in 1993. On October 1, 1994, Palau became an independent nation and was admitted to the United Nations on December 15, 1994.

Under the Free Association Compact, Palau is a sovereign nation, conducting its own foreign relations, but the United States is responsible for its defense. Palau is a democratic republic with directly elected executive and legislative branches. The president and vice president are elected every four years, and the bicameral legislature consists of a house of delegates (one member for each of the sixteen states) and a Senate with nine members. Each state government has an elected governor and state legislature. A council of chiefs advises the president on traditional customs. Tommy Esang Remengesau, Jr., was elected president in 2001.

In 2004, the population of twenty thousand had a growth rate of 1.46% and a life expectancy of 66.6 years (males) and 73.2 years (females). The population is dominated by Micronesians (70%), with Asians (28%, mainly Filipinos, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Vietnamese) and white people (2%). English and Palauan are the official languages, but other official languages are recognized in certain states: Sonsorol (Sonsoralese and English), Tobi (Tobi and English), and Angaur (Angaur, Japanese, and English). Most Palauans are Christians (Roman Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Assembly of God parishioners). Approximately one-third of the population follows the indigenous religion known as *Modekngei*.

The economy is based on tourism, subsistence agriculture, and fishing. Tourism is focused on scuba diving and snorkeling over pristine coral reefs and war wrecks, and this sector accounts for more than half of the country's gross domestic product. Major tourist attractions are the Rock Islands, forest-clad limestone pinnacles that seem to rise out of the sea; Jellyfish Lake (a marine lake with dense jellyfish populations); and limestone caves with stalactites and rock art. The majority of tourists come from Japan, Taiwan, and the United States. The principal crops are coconuts,

cassava, sweet potatoes, taro, and bananas. Industrial activities include garment making and production of tourist artifacts from shells, wood, and pearls. Major exports are shellfish, tuna, and copra.

Environmental problems include inadequate disposal sites for solid waste and threats to marine systems from sand and coral mining, illegal fishing practices (with use of dynamite), and overfishing in areas with high human population densities.

The service sector employs 75% of the workforce, with the government providing over one-quarter of all jobs. Per capita income is high for the region, being approximately double that of the Philippines and much of Micronesia. Economic aid, largely from the United States but also from Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, provides significant budgetary support, and a major challenge for the country is reducing its reliance on this foreign assistance.

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**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## PALESTINE

Palestine has never been and is not yet a state. It has never been governed fully and completely by Palestinian-Arab leadership. Yet, for decades, it has existed, if only in the hearts and minds of the Palestinian people and others who sympathize with their cause.

The Arabs moved from the Arabian Peninsula into the region of *Filistin*, the land of the biblical Philistines, in the middle of the seventh century AD. Under Umayyad and then Abbasid control, Palestine was but one of several provinces of the Islamic caliphate, located on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The region held limited importance within these empires; its capital, Jerusalem, held Islamic religious significance but was never a city of political strength or economic power.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Great Britain began to establish a sphere of influence in the Palestinian region as Ottoman strength in the Middle East began to wane. For the British and other Europeans, including the French and the Russians, Palestine was attractive for two primary reasons. First, it was strategically located at the crossroads of Africa and Asia and offered potential land and sea access to other major interests in the Far East, including India and China. Second, the region held Christian religious



value. The biblical cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were home to numerous holy sites. Palestine also included the Galilee region and other areas of Christian interest, all of which attracted Christian pilgrims and others hailing back to the Crusades.

The fall of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I saw the dissection of the Middle East and a redistribution of sections of the region to the Great Powers. Arrangements between the French and the British, such as the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, allotted parts of the former empire to the victorious Europeans. Britain was awarded Palestine, which was placed under British Mandate in 1917.

The purported purpose of the Mandate was to serve as an interim governing authority. The British would remain in Palestine only until a Palestinian leadership could develop and was capable of running its own affairs of state.

While governing Palestine, the British allowed Jewish immigration from Europe on a large scale. The November 1917 Balfour Declaration stated unequivocally that the British supported the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine and that they would abet its development. Yet the indigenous Palestinian community feared the immigration of Jews, who identified with the Zionist movement that sought to create a Jewish homeland in their historic Jewish home. Increasingly, it became clear that the Jews were coming to stay and that their intention was indeed to take a part, or all, of Palestine as their own for the purpose of creating a separate Jewish state on Palestinian soil.

From 1936 to 1939, the indigenous Palestinian community rose up against the Jewish immigration. This period, known as the Arab Revolt, was similar to later uprisings (*intifada*). The revolt represented indigenous Palestinian efforts to stave off Jewish immigration and to press the British to rein in the flows of Jewish immigrants from abroad. The 1939 White Paper, issued by the British Mandatory authorities, resulted, with the goal of limiting and further restricting Jewish immigration to Palestine. While immigration was largely stymied, however, Jewish efforts to come to Palestine from Europe continued unabated.

## **The Creation of Israel and the Destruction of Arab Palestine**

With the end of World War II, war-torn Britain saw the need to divest itself of many parts of its empire, including Palestine. The departure from Palestine was no simple task, however; two leaderships with two conflicting sets of interests and both with compelling

historical and cultural connections to the same land now sat poised ready to take control of Palestinian governance. The answer, the United Nations (UN) determined, was to partition Palestine into two states, one Jewish, the other Arab.

The UN Palestine Partition Plan of 1947 sought to equitably resolve the problem of Palestine. Palestine was to be divided into seven parts; three for the Arabs and three for the Jews, with Jerusalem remaining in a unique state separate from the rest, given that it was the home to Jewish, Muslim, and Christian holy sites and therefore held international interest.

While the Jews saw the Plan as an opportunity to legitimize their land claim and provide the basis for the future Jewish state, Arab Palestinians saw the plan as a capitulation to illegitimate foreign colonial interests. World guilt resulting from the European Jewish Holocaust was, the Arabs feared, playing a role in the invalidation of their own long-held historic claim to the land of Palestine. Thus, their response was clear: not an inch of Palestine could be sacrificed to Jewish national interests.

Yet throughout this period (1946–1948), Jewish interests had already begun to mobilize militarily and otherwise conquer Palestine, pushing Arab residents out in the process whenever and however possible. Through land purchases, paramilitary activity, and the fostering of an atmosphere of fear, the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlement governance structure) slowly succeeded in methodically overtaking Arab Palestine and replacing it with what would soon be a Jewish state. The development of a huge Palestinian Diaspora resulted, part of the larger catastrophe (*al-Nakba*) that befell the Palestinians as a result of Israel's creation.

The State of Israel was declared in Tel Aviv on May 15, 1948. Immediately thereafter, surrounding Arab states attacked the new state. The goal of these Arab states was presumably to push the Jews out to reassert the authority that was due to the indigenous Palestinian-Arab leadership. Yet, upon the conclusion of the war, a war won by the Israelis, most of the regions of Palestine that had been designated by the UN Partition Plan as the territory of Arab Palestine were now under Jordanian and Egyptian control. Arab Palestine had been destroyed, divided into three parts by three countries: Israel, Egypt, and Jordan.

## **The Role of Terror/Freedom Fighting in Palestine's Independence Struggle**

The struggle to reassert sovereignty over all of Arab Palestine was not initially fought by the Palestinians themselves. From 1948 until 1964, the Palestinian

Arabs were in a state of chaos and disarray. While some efforts to attack Jewish interests in the new Israeli state were made, the outside Arab states (primarily Egypt and later Syria) played the most significant military role in seeking to destroy Israel. But of course, in every instance, they failed.

It was in this context that a liberation movement created by the Palestinians themselves began to emerge in 1964. The purpose of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the most significant group to arise at this time, was to liberate Palestine from Israeli control. When Israel conquered and then occupied the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza from the Jordanians and Egyptians in 1967 (that is, the parts of Palestine that these countries had taken during the 1948 war), the whole of historic western Palestine became the center of Palestinian-Arab liberation activity.

The primary mode of operation utilized was terror—that is, the use of surprise attacks on civilians in nonmilitary locations in an effort to instill fear in the enemy while at the same time attract global media attention to the Palestinian plight. While many such attacks occurred within Israel, others were carried out against Israeli interests in Europe and elsewhere. El Al Airline flights became a regular hijacking target.

Perhaps the most notorious Palestinian terrorist attack, however, was the capture and eventual murder of eleven Israeli athletes and coaches during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, West Germany. The attack was carried out by a group calling itself Black September, in reference to the many Palestinian deaths that had occurred in Jordan in September 1970 as a result of civil conflict between the Jordanian military and the Palestinian refugees who had fled there in 1948 and 1967. Covered by the media internationally, the Munich attack put a new and terrifying face on the Arab-Israeli conflict, although it did little to change world public opinion in favor of the Palestinian people. This face of terror dominated world public opinion for years and only began to soften following the outbreak of the Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) in 1987.

## The Two-State Solution Revisited

In September 1988, at the height of the Palestinian *intifada*, Yasser Arafat as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization renounced terror and accepted, pending further discussions and negotiation, a two-state solution in which Israel would be accepted alongside a State of Palestine. Arafat's statement essentially redefined the meaning of the word "Palestine"; from that moment forward, Palestine

meant the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. After four decades of war, terror, and bloodshed, Palestine had effectively been divided, bearing an intended outcome that would not differ that greatly from the UN Partition Plan of 1947.

This change paved the way for negotiations between the George H. W. Bush Administration and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Soon thereafter, Israel began negotiations with the Palestinians as well. Secret meetings between the Palestinians and the Israelis in Oslo, Norway, led to the signing of a Declaration of Principles on September 13, 1993. The Declaration called for a ceasing of hostilities between the two sides, and discussed ways in which the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza would be phased out to make way for Palestinian Authority control of Palestinian Arab land. This would be the first time that the Palestinian people would be able to run their own affairs, govern their own citizens, and protect their own domestic and international interests.

And yet, the slow implementation of Oslo and the obvious oversights in moving toward complete Palestinian sovereignty led to its breakdown and, eventually, the al-Aqsa Intifada, which began at the end of September 2000. This uprising in many ways mirrored previous Palestinian terror activities carried out between the late 1960s and the late 1980s although its primary terror tactic, suicide bombings, was an innovation in Palestinian liberation activity.

Although the al-Aqsa Intifada served to slow the progress of a movement toward Palestinian self-rule, the Palestinian people are unlikely to give up on their goal of some day achieving a fully independent sovereign state in at least part of historic Palestine. Indeed, the death of Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat in late 2004 only served to catalyze Palestinian resolve to finally achieve the creation of a reconstituted Palestine, revitalizing what was, to that point, a moribund peace process between Palestinians and Israelis. Thus, the question to be asked when referring to the creation of the State of Palestine is not *if* it will eventually occur but *when*.

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See also **Arab-Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Arafat, Yasser; Hezbollah; Intifada; Israel; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Palestinian Diaspora; Zionism**

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## PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO)

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has served as a key actor in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since its founding at the first Arab Summit in Cairo in 1964. From its creation, it has presented itself as the soul legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Global recognition of this role, however, and of the PLO's ability to pursue the true interests of the Palestinian people took decades to be achieved. Indeed, some would argue that this status never was attained and that in the end, the PLO only served to pursue its own interests and not those of the Palestinian community it claimed to represent.

The PLO was created initially as an umbrella organization of *fedayeen* guerilla groups committed to the liberation of Palestine from Israeli control. Its stated goal in its early years of existence was the destruction of Israel as a state and people. The illegitimate and illegal creation of Israel was, from the PLO's perspective, more than adequate justification for its elimination at any cost.

Although the PLO consisted of several factions, al-Fatah, directed by Palestinian activist Yasser Arafat, was the core group of the PLO from the outset. In 1969, Arafat was elected as the PLO's chairman due to the significant role he played in the al-Fatah movement.

Throughout the late 1960s, the PLO operated out of Jordan, where its leadership coordinated *fedayeen*

raids across the border into Israel. Jordan was a natural staging ground of Palestinian operations against Israel, both due to its geographic proximity and to the demographic makeup of the country, which became a majority Palestinian following the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967.

The PLO carried out its operations from Jordan until September 1970, a key turning point in the history of the PLO. At that time, a civil war took place as King Hussein moved against the Palestinian leadership in the belief that a continued PLO presence in Jordan was proving too destabilizing for the future of his regime. The PLO leadership fled, taking up residence in southern Lebanon.

Throughout the early 1970s, the PLO became increasingly infamous for its use of international terror as a mode of fighting for the liberation of Palestine from Zionist control. While many attacks were carried out within Israel itself, many also took place outside of the Middle East, primarily in Europe, in the belief that such acts would garner greater media coverage and would draw the West into the conflict in the hopes that these powers, in turn, would be motivated to press for Israeli concessions.

In many instances, some of the most heinous acts were carried out by leftist groups and other factions within the PLO and not by al-Fatah. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command each became known for the bombings of European airports, hijackings of El Al Airline flights, and similar acts. In 1970, three planes were hijacked to Jordan, emptied, and blown up. It is the contention of some that this incident served as the final impetus that precipitated the expulsion of the PLO from Jordan in September of that year.

One of the most well-known attacks occurred during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, West Germany, where eleven Israeli athletes and coaches were captured and eventually murdered. The attack was carried out by a PLO splinter group calling itself Black September, in reference to the many Palestinian deaths that had occurred in Jordan during the PLO expulsion.

In another well-known attack in 1974, twenty-one Israeli schoolchildren were killed in the Israeli town of Ma'alot. That same year, the United Nations recognized the PLO for the first time as the rightful representative of the Palestinian people. Yasser Arafat was allowed to speak before the United Nations (UN) in New York on behalf of his people's plight. The speech allowed the PLO the final global recognition it had long sought although a holstered pistol at Arafat's side throughout the speech did little to

counter the PLO's reputation for violence and acts of terror.

By the early 1980s, the PLO had again begun to strengthen and finally recover from the blow dealt by its expulsion from Jordan. From an Israeli perspective, however, the existence of a mini-state of "Fatahland" within southern Lebanon and just north of its border (which, like Jordan before it, was regularly used as a staging ground for terrorist attacks against Israel) became increasingly intolerable. In June 1982, the Israeli army under then-Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's direction moved into southern Lebanon, destroying the PLO infrastructure there and eventually pressing the Palestinian leadership to flee once again, this time out of the region altogether to Tunisia, the only state willing to take them in at the time.

The PLO leadership was greatly weakened as a result of its expulsion from Lebanon. At the same time, an indigenous Palestinian grassroots movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, embodied in the *intifada* (uprising) that erupted in 1987, began to develop, revealing that the PLO was no longer the soul legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It also became evident that the interests of those residing in these territories under Israeli occupation differed greatly from those who, like the PLO leadership, had resided outside of Palestine for some decades.

Thus, in 1988, the PLO declared Palestinian independence but only in the West Bank and Gaza, effectively surrendering the remainder of historic Palestine to Israeli sovereignty. In 1993, as a result of the Oslo negotiations with Israel, the Palestine National Charter's clauses calling for the destruction of Israel were finally abrogated although no replacement for this document with these clauses removed was ever disseminated thereafter by the PLO leadership.

In 1996, soon after the signing of Oslo Accords and the creation of the Palestinian Authority (PA) to rule over the West Bank and Gaza, elections were held in which Arafat was chosen as Palestine's first President. The Palestinian Council has eighty-eight members, and twenty ministers oversee twenty-three ministries.

Although the PA, in theory, should have replaced the PLO as a representative mechanism for the Palestinian people, most PA governmental positions created by agreements made at Oslo, as well as the Prime Minister's position itself, were held by ministers who were al-Fatah members or who had strong commitments to Yasser Arafat and his movement. Indeed, until the day he died, Yasser Arafat's al-Fatah faction continued to strongly influence and dominate virtually every aspect of the Palestinians' political aspirations.

That said, it remains to be seen how and to what extent Arafat's death will impact the PLO as well as how it will affect future hopes of Palestine achieving self-rule and, ultimately, independent statehood that the PLO has long sought to achieve.

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**See also Arab-Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Arafat, Yasser; Hezbollah; Intifada; Israel; Palestine; Palestinian Diaspora**

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### PALESTINIAN DIASPORA

The term of "Palestinian Diaspora" refers to the major displacement of refugees that occurred during the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, known today as the *naqba* (the catastrophe). An estimated 600,000 to 760,000 persons fled or were forced to flee in four waves (Morris 1987), confronted with fierce battles between Jews and Palestinians, Israelis, and Arabs. While the educated and middle class managed to settle in Beirut, Naplouse, Damascus, or Amman, the peasants found their ways to more than fifty camps in the surrounding Arab countries. In 1949, the United Nations (UN) created the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA) with the purpose of rehabilitating the refugees. Since then, what were meant to be temporary refugee camps became permanent. The UNRWA administers close to 4 million registered refugees of whom approximately two hundred thousand are original refugees. While 15% of the Palestinians remained on the land of Israel, nearly 60% ended up on the West Bank and in Gaza, under the trusteeship of Jordan and Egypt.

### **Jordan: Civil Integration and Diaspora in the Making**

The Jordanian Kingdom opened its doors to the refugees in 1948 and did so again in 1950 after the annexation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Close to 450,000 refugees were under the hospices of the UNRWA. With the occupation of these territories by Israel in 1967, approximately 210,000 Palestinians were displaced to the East Bank (Kodmany-Darwish 1997). Today, the monarchy is home to 1.5 million Palestinians, to whom all rights have been extended, including citizenship. Although the camps' residents considered integration (*tawteen*) a taboo and dreamed of *awda* (return), many found their way into the market place, education, the private sector, and civil services. The relative openness of the Jordanian society is due to a nationalizing state, which tried to create a new nationality by absorbing the Palestinians in a modernizing society. These efforts have indeed alleviated the destitution of the refugees leaving the camps and starting a process of rehabilitation, without forgetting the trauma of their uprooting (in the early twenty-first century, only 20% of the refugees remain in thirteen camps). An estimated one hundred thousand refugees from Gaza, however, encounter deprivation and hardship as they detain Egyptian travel documents (Lindholm Schulz 2003).

Symbolic settling in Jordan is still a matter of contention according to political allegiances, social class, and networks. Many Palestinians are represented in parliament and running the state, while others constitute the backbone of the educated middle class in a society in which Palestinians are an absolute majority. Until the defeat of the PLO in 1970, they were excluded from the army, but they were admitted in 1973. Jordan tried to speak out on behalf of the Palestinian people but has relinquished any assimilation scheme after the signing of the peace accords with Israel in 1994.

The territorialization of the Palestinian Authority has closed the circle in many ways. The middle class experienced the "condition of diaspora," while maintaining its language, family ties, and social mobility and would be at peace with a double citizenship. The poorest in the camps or in the cities wish to reenact their right of return to villages that no longer exist. They prefer their estrangement and "Jordanian-ness" until the crux of the refugee problem is solved between the state of Israel, their nation, and their host country.

### **Lebanon: A Reluctant Diaspora**

Lebanon admitted 104,000 Palestinians in 1948 (Sayigh 1994) who constituted at the time one-tenth

of the country's population. Particularly the Maronite community depicted them with distrust. Most of them had fled coastal cities and Galilee and settled in the southern regions until they were displaced to the Bekaa valley and the suburbs of Beirut. According to the UNRWA in 1949, 380,000 persons were recognized refugees, living in twelve camps. In most fields, this population experienced exclusion and marginalization. They could not work without permits, own a property, or have free access to education and social security. Their quasi-majority was barred from citizenship. A happy few managed to become Lebanese through marriage or being wealthy Christians. The sectarian divisions within Lebanon have reinforced the hopelessness and humiliation of the refugees and led later to their radicalization by the PLO. Indeed, the headquarters of their national organization were hosted in Beirut in 1970, after being rejected by Jordan. The PLO rapidly established a quasi-state in the camps where it delivered, in cooperation with UNRWA, education, work, and social services. The peasant refugees became proletarianized and socialized to be revolutionaries, *fedais* (fighters), for the redemption of the land of a romanticized Palestine. They were intent on resisting assimilation, which in practice was almost impossible in Lebanon (Peteeer 1996).

The rivalry between confessional and/or political groups exploded in the civil war of 1975. Camp battles turned into messy alliances between Palestinians and other religious groups. Christians but also poor Shiites resented the role played by the PLO in Lebanese politics until the conflict was crushed by the Israeli invasion in 1982. With the ruled departure of the leadership of the organization to Tunisia, the subeconomy it had installed declined. The refugees became powerless, unstable, and unemployed. The economic and political insecurity prompted the wealthy and educated to migrate to Europe, the Americas, and Kuwait. In the twenty-first century, the population is estimated to have dropped to two hundred thousand. These refugees are the most destitute (together with those of the Gaza Strip).

### **Syria: A Quiet Social and Economic Integration**

Syria has had uncertainties about its borders, as reflected in its relationships with Israel and Lebanon or with the Palestinians. While supporting the Palestinian struggle, the state tried to integrate the one hundred thousand refugees of 1948 and to watch closely their political activities. The refugees who fled the north of Palestine are estimated to total 280,000, and

part of them live in ten camps. About 70% of them left the camps to settle in towns, and their positions in the social and economic spheres are proof that they have been able to take advantage of the same opportunities as the overall population. They remain hosts and foreigners, however, waiting for their resettlement. With time passing, a relative “Syrianization” has occurred. Their future is tied to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Israel and the recognition of the new Palestinian state by Syria. Many refugees will then have to face a dilemma: to live in a Palestinian state that no longer resembles their home or to stay in Syria, without giving up their moral right of return or their memories of a lost home.

### **Egypt: A Small and Silent Diaspora**

The settlement of Palestinians in Egypt has been limited from the outset and has counted both migrants and refugees. As a community of seventy-five thousand persons, they have been closely monitored under the different regimes. Afforded with more rights in education and the labor market under the aegis of Nasser, they have experienced restrictions and rights according to regional politics and the reasons of the state under the Sadat and Mubarak presidencies. Any end of the conflict could lead to a more secure position of these refugees or resettlement in the Palestinian state, notably in Gaza from where many among them originate.

### **The Gulf and Kuwait: From Migrants to Refugees**

Until the first Gulf war, this diaspora was the third in importance of the disseminated Palestinian people. In 1990, they numbered around 450,000 persons. Most of them had migrated from Jordan and other Arab countries to seek work and education during the expansion of the oil economy.

Peasants became unskilled laborers and servants. Many professionals were in great demand for the state machinery. A member of the educated middle class with capital, knowledge, and social cohesion would be easily integrated in the service of this annuity-economy. Cautious in their allegiance, they maintained a distant relation to the PLO. Prosperity was viewed as a venture every Palestinian could seek, though for many purposes the migrants remained foreigners with no chance to become part of the citizenry. Their aspirations were shattered in two phases. The first was the drive of the monarchy to

“nationalize” the Kuwait economy and to put aside the feared Palestinian rebels, notably in unions. Second, with Arafat’s blessing of the annexation of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein, the rulers reacted with a clear-cut revenge: the *manu militari* mass expulsion of three hundred thousand Palestinians, without any complaints from the UN or other human rights advocates. Most of them found refuge, for a second time, in Jordan and a minority in the West Bank. Those who disposed of cultural and economic capital pursued their journey to Europe and the Americas. In this case, an analogy is depicted with the tribulations of the Jewish diaspora, who knows more than any other group what “scapegoating” means: to be on the move, uncertain about place and state, in perpetual exile.

### **Israel: Exile in the Homeland**

Approximately 150,000 Palestinians stayed within the borders acquired by Israel at the end of the war. Many were internally displaced, while others were dispossessed of their land for security reasons or to make place for the settlement of new Jewish refugees and migrants from the Arab world—nine hundred thousand Arab Jews were forced or induced to seek refuge in Israel following the Israeli–Arab wars. While recognized as citizens and allocated the right to vote since 1950, these Palestinians were closely watched by a military regime until 1966. Their quality of life has been reduced, as compared to Jewish citizens, due to expropriations, discrimination, and lack of higher education. They have assisted the renaming of villages and the transformation of the landscape (Benvenisti 2000). For some time, however, they stayed voiceless, separated from their brethren, and were regarded as a submissive remnant by those outside. Their process of integration into civil society and later into politics was gradual and hectic, with the emergence of a new generation of leaders asserting their right to the land with “the day land” in 1976 (Ghanem 2001). Furthermore, from the first *intifada* to the Oslo Agreements, their Palestinization became open and vocal. Since the beginning of the second *intifada*, they have manifested outbursts of solidarity with the struggle within the occupied territories. They have formed new political parties and are conscious of the power of demographics: at 1.2 million, they constitute 18% of Israeli society and have reasons to believe they will change the contours of the state. Their future struggle for equal rights is epitomized in the transformation of Israel into a state for all its citizens. Its practical meaning remains to be seen in terms of rights, obligations (conscription), and meaningful alterations of the

symbolic emblems of the Jewish-Israeli nation. Here lies a formidable challenge to Israel in the best-case scenario of lasting peace with the nascent Palestinian state.

### **West Bank and Gaza: From Occupation to State-Building**

West Bank and Gaza have 2.4 and 1.25 million Palestinians of whom respectively 608,000 and 853,000 are registered refugees. Each society still carries the influences that marked their domination by Jordan and Egypt.

The West Bank has been characterized by a diversified economy and a vibrant civil society, with deeply divided elites from 1967 until the first *intifada*. After 1967, many Palestinians became rotating migrants, both in the settlements and in Israel, securing employment and being confronted with Israel's democracy and repressive state measures, such as the confiscation of land for ideological and security purposes. Repressive actions addressed the attitude of the *sumud* (resistance) against expropriation, expressing the West Bank's national identity. While increased confinement, closures, and checkpoints became the means to curb the rebellion, a new generation of leaders emerged, ready to use limited violence and civil disobedience to deadlock the expansion of the settlement policy. The community feared that the time was running against its hope to achieve an independent state. This may explain why the PLO, encumbered by its disastrous collusion with Saddam Hussein, had to find a way to hijack the peace process following the Madrid international conference and to supplant the "insiders" with the "outsiders" from Tunisia to conclude the Oslo Agreements.

Gaza is a densely populated and impoverished strip of land with refugees from Lydda, Ramla, and Ashkelon. The Egyptians envisioned no real development. The Israelis opened their labor market to rotating migrant workers and exchanged services and goods. The high unemployment rate of this fast growing population, their isolation from the West Bank, and the dispossession of land have led many to frustration and alienation. It is no coincidence that the first *intifada* was ignited there in 1987. Arafat's 1994 actions and the pouring of international aid encouraged investments by wealthy Palestinians from the diaspora, and many residents felt an improvement of their socioeconomic condition that would not last (Roy). The community's disillusion had to do with sheer patronage by the Authority and "internal closures" by the Israelis following attacks on its

settlements and even more so with the rampage of suicide bombers within Israel. The Authority did not supplement the gradual and permanent loss of employment in Israel. The result is that after four years of deadly *intifada*, 64% of the population (57% in the West Bank) live below the poverty line and find solace and services with Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The eschatological millenarism of these two terrorist groups has deepened after the collapse of the Camp David negotiations in 2000. More than ever, the refugees supported the militarization of the al-Aqsa Intifada that has shattered their dreams, created more repressive measures, and brought an electronic fence by the Israelis.

In both occupied territories, however, a turning point could be witnessed, from resistance to erotization of death by the *shaheed*, the martyrs who die to liberate the land. Blood and land are the mystification needed to create an "imagined community" where the 1967 borders are not considered an end to the conflict.

### **Palestinians' Many Diasporas: The Americas and Western Europe**

Palestinian migration to Latin America and the United States began at the turn of the last century, notably by Christians. Headed to many countries in 1936, and from 1948 to 1967, the migrants left behind them Bet-leheim, Ramallah, and Haifa. They formed close-knit communities in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Honduras. Economic success made them a "wealthy diaspora" that was well integrated in their host societies. In the United States, there are about two hundred thousand Palestinians who are more politicized than their southern counterparts. Many are former students or exiles from the civil war in Lebanon, and the *ghurba* or the collective memory of strangeness is present in their minds. The most Americanized among them have no desire to return to an undeveloped state and economy. They would rather lobby in favor of a more impartial US position to ground the path to a just peace between Israel and Palestine.

In Western Europe, the settlement of migrants has occurred since the 1980s, and no reliable data are available. According to some authors, there could be two hundred thousand Palestinian expatriates, most of them having first arrived as students or liberal professionals. Later, with the collapse of the PLO in Jordan and Lebanon and the mass expulsion of Palestinians from Kuwait, more found their way through family networks to Europe. The most populous community has settled in Germany (approximately eighty thousand, a few thousand coming from Socialist countries

after 1989). There is also a professional and business community in Great Britain, while twenty thousand Palestinians have found a home in Sweden (Lindholm Schulz 2003).

These many diasporas have one of the most learned intelligentsias of the Arab world and could constitute a formidable engine for the new Palestinian state. For some of those who have returned to the occupied territories since 1994, the experience was inconclusive; the refugees who had suffered viewed them as “others.”

### The Right of Return, Nation-Building, and the Conditions of Exile

The PLO has initiated institutions of nation-building in exile. It has been the architect of a memory and the inventor of an identity through many icons: the peasant (the land), the refugee (the victim), the *fedai'* (the fighter), the *sumud* (the resistant), the *shaheed* (the human bomb, the martyr), and the returnee (the subject). On the long march toward recognizing the state of Israel, the PLO has in fact substituted state to land without stating clearly the consequences of this transition in its mythological rhetoric.

The PLO had from its inception inscribed the “right of return” as the pillar of its charter, ideology, and politics. In doing so, it designed the refugees to be the vessel of the liberation of the land for the Palestinian nation. With the Oslo Accords and later the Clinton parameters, it became clear that the stumbling block of the “right of return” was not only a matter of principle but of rewriting the imagined community. The negotiations in Taba in 2001 were implicitly based on the fact that most of the refugees would be resettled or rehabilitated. Moreover, the Palestinian Authority was not willing to absorb massive waves of refugees. Loss and bitterness afflicted many individuals and communities who in Lebanon or in many other camps resented the PLO’s compromising stance, while others understood that the failure of the Arafat-Barak negotiations was tied up with the solution of the refugee problem. The upsurge of the al-Aqsa Intifada was the symbol of the agonizing stress to build a state that would not be the home to all refugees and a reminder that the Palestinians’ collective identity is an undesirable pilgrimage in other settings. For many refugees, the loss has been internalized. For others, “returning” to the West Bank and Gaza is not experienced as coming home but arriving in a “non-place.” Many prefer to wait “until the last sky” (Said 1995) or to embrace the Hamas rhetoric.

Many Palestinian individuals and communities are now on the move in the cities of the West—Athens, London, New York, and Paris—but also of the Arab world: Dubai and Amman today, Beirut and Kuwait yesterday. As Jews before them, but still in the diaspora, they feel how important it is to maintain religious, linguistic, and family ties together with the landscape of memory.

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See also **Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Arafat, Yasser; HAMAS; Intifada; Israel; Palestine; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA)**

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### PAN-AFRICANISM

The Pan-African movement is subject to many claims of precisely what it is. The movement is related to anticolonial movements in the former European colonies in Africa, but it is also seen as a sense of unity of all persons of African descent. The first organized descriptions of Pan-Africanism had their emphasis



on Americans of African descent; the early leaders of this movement were W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and Booker T. Washington, each of whom had his own ideas on what Pan-Africanism was.

The original focus of Pan-Africanism was one on race or color as a unifying factor, much as the Hindu Nationalist movement in India sought the unifying factor of religion in attempting to determine what it meant to be Indian. In both cases the vast diversity (of being African, or Indian) made identity complex. In the case of Pan-Africanism, racial identity was seen as a unifying factor and not one that divided people of African descent from others.

However, in Africa, black Americans were not considered to be African. This division would become more complex as persons of African descent in Europe and the Caribbean became involved in the Pan-African movement, particularly in the attempts of some American interests to encourage migration of African-Americans back to Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Marcus Garvey, one of the original American supporters and definers of Pan-Africanism, created a "Back to Africa" movement that failed; Garvey himself never went to Africa, but instead died in Europe.

In addition to the attempts to unify people of African descent and to bring Western political ideals of freedom to Africa, a literary genre called *négritude* developed in Europe. This was also an expression of unity between Africans in Africa and those who had been taken from their continent.

The African Diaspora, as the forced migration of Africans to other continents is known, was equated to the Jewish Diaspora, with the difference that Africans had no single unifying religious identity. The US intellectual efforts to establish an African identity attempted to provide this missing basis for unification. However, another difference was that throughout history, Jews had been cast out of their homeland and of most other countries where they had settled; Africans were taken away from their homelands.

Initial efforts to develop and define this African identity were held in Europe and the United States. The First Pan-African Congress was held in London in 1900, organized by H. Sylvester Williams, a lawyer from Trinidad. In 1912, Booker T. Washington organized an International Conference on the Negro at Tuskegee University. Although the conference was supposed to examine the common ties between persons of African descent, most attendees at this conference were black America missionaries concerned about how to spread Christianity to Africa.

A Second Pan-African Congress was held in Paris in 1919. This meeting was headed by W.E.B. Du Bois, and the focus of the conference was on the prevention

of further exploitation of Africans in Africa by the former colonial powers. A Third Pan-African Congress in London and Brussels in 1921, also headed by Du Bois, placed its emphasis on self-government by Africans and the spread of democracy.

Two years later, a Fourth Pan-African Congress in London and Lisbon addressed a continued emphasis on self-government, and also expressed a desire for black people to be treated as equal to whites.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress in New York in 1927 was a major break from these earlier meetings, and recognized that the growing Communist movement in the world was not necessarily a source of support for Pan-Africanism. It was recognized at this conference that Communists saw Pan-Africanism as nationalism, which was contrary to the internationalist view of the Communists. In addition, white Communists were not seen as a source of support for Pan-African efforts.

By the mid-1930s, with the global difficulties of the economic depression and reduced focus on internationalism in the United States, enthusiasm for Pan-Africanism had declined there. However, Italian intervention in Ethiopia in the 1930s, followed by World War II (which was seen by some as a "white people's war"), brought about renewed attention to Pan-Africanism.

A Sixth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England, in 1945. This conference raised demands for political autonomy in Black Africa, and its speakers suggested an acceptance of socialism as an economic model for Africa. Equally as significant, a new generation of leaders was more influential than the aging leaders like Du Bois. These new leaders included Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, H.O. Davies of Nigeria, and others.

In the early 1950s, after the end of World War II, the newly freed colonies of the European powers and Japan met in Bandung, Indonesia, to form what would become known as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). While not directly associated with the Pan-African movement, the NAM countries rejected colonialism much as the formerly colonized African countries had and sought to avoid postcolonial exploitation and ties to either side in the Cold War. Later that decade, an attempt was made to combine the postcolonial movements of Africa, some Arab countries, and Asia through the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. However, the reluctance of some countries, notably Egypt, from joining what might be seen as an alternative international bloc to the East and West kept this association from prospering. In April 1958, the First Conference of Independent African States (which excluded South Africa) met in Accra, Ghana. This conference included countries

from black Africa (Liberia, Ghana, and Ethiopia) and from the Arab Muslim states of Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, and Morocco. This meeting showed that color was not the only factor on which unity in the postcolonial world could be based.

Later that year, a similar meeting was held in Accra, and this first conference of the All-Africa Peoples Organisation (AAPO) was followed by others in Tunis in 1960 and Cairo in 1961. At the first and second AAPO conferences, whites from South Africa attended, but they were excluded from the conference at Cairo, as were people of Indian descent. The motto of “Africa for the Africans” adopted by the organization at its first meeting (taken from the title of Joseph Booth’s book by the same name) was nevertheless intended to be anticolonialist, not a statement of racial exclusion.

In 1960, the Second Conference of Independent African States was also held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This conference was divided between those countries that sought to build a Pan-Africanist consensus (led by Nigeria) and those that sought to lead African countries to power (led by Ghana). Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana, did not want to wait for incremental change.

That same year in the United States, a conference organized by the American Society of African Culture (AMSAC) met to discuss Pan-Africanism. This conference primarily included participants from the United States (many of African descent) as well as participants from West Africa and the Caribbean. The primary division at this conference was between the academics (who were not from Africa) who encouraged a unified Africa (and who saw nationalist movements as “Balkanization,” a reference to the traditional trouble spot in eastern Europe) and the Africans who recognized that the first step in independence was the establishment of nation-states in Africa. This latter view was expressed best by George Padmore, who had years before been an advisor to Kwame Nkrumah. His Padmore Dictum, which called for nationalist movements in Africa, was seen as a necessary step before a broader African unity could be established.

The conflicting forces of nationalism (based on the many artificial boundaries drawn up by the European colonial powers) and Pan-Africanism (which was the result of the common colonial and postcolonial experiences of the African peoples, both black and Arab) resulted in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU, like the NAM, sought to avoid association with the major sides in the Cold War.

Colin Legum described the nine points of the Pan-African Movement of the mid-twentieth century as:

1. “**Africa for the Africans**” refers to a complete independence of the whole of Africa and a total rejection of colonialism in all its forms, including white domination.
2. **United States of Africa** is the ideal of a wholly unified continent through a series of interlinking regional federations where there would have been a limitation on national sovereignty.
3. **African renaissance of morale and culture** means a quest for the “African personality,” a determination to recast African society into its own forms, drawing from its past what is valuable and desirable and marrying it to modern ideas. Modernism is heavily accentuated.
4. **African nationalism** replaces the tribalism of the past: a concept of African loyalty wider than “the nation” to transcend tribal and regional affiliations.
5. **African regeneration of economic enterprise** replaces colonial economic methods: the belief in a nonexploiting Socialist or *communalistic* type of socialism. International Communism is rejected outright.
6. **Belief in democracy** at the most desirable method of government is based on the principle of “one man, one vote.”
7. **Rejection of violence** is a method of struggle, unless peaceful methods of struggle—*positive action*—are met with military repression.
8. **Solidarity of black peoples everywhere** and a fraternal alliance of coloured peoples are based on a mutual history of struggle against white domination and colonialism.
9. **Positive neutrality** (as it was then called) refers to noninvolvement of partisans in power politics but “neutral in nothing that affects African interests.”

In examining Pan-Africanism in the modern context, Ali Mazrui distinguishes several branches: sub-Saharan (black Africans in the nations south of the Sahara Desert), trans-Saharan (black Africans as well as Arabs in the north), and transatlantic (Africans, Caribbean people of African descent, as well as African-Americans). Mazrui noted that the Pan-Africanism thought developed not in Africa but among those Americans and Caribbean people of African descent, the “Black Diaspora.”

The negative effects of Pan-Africanism in the modern world are the breakdown of national identities in African countries, leading to a rejection of “nationalism” and a resurgence in tribal identities. This is shown through the breakdown of civil order in Somalia (where tribal conflict led to the dissolution of effective governmental order in the 1900s), genocide

between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda at the same time, and the ethnic conflicts in Nigeria and the Congo.

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**See also African Diaspora; Colonialism: Legacies; Kenyatta, Jomo; Nkrumah, Kwame**

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**PANAMA**

Panama is a Central American republic that occupies the southeastern end of the isthmus that connects North and South America. Panama encompasses 77,381 square kilometers (29,762 square miles); the terrain is mountainous (highest elevation is 3,475 meters or 11,468 feet) with a tropical wet/dry climate that produces more than one hundred inches of annual rainfall. The population in 2001 was estimated to be 2.9 million with an ethnic composition of Mestizo 70%, West Indian 14%, Caucasian 10%, and Indian 8%. Panama compares favorably with most of Central America with a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of \$3,699 and an overall GDP of \$12.3 billion; the life expectancy is seventy-five years and infant mortality rate is 20 per 1,000. The economy centers on services that account for 78% of GDP and includes banking, insurance, health and medicine, transportation, telecommunications, tourism, and the Panama Canal with related maritime services.

Panama’s geography has been the key element in its development. As a long slender country that would stretch from New York City to Cleveland in the United States, Panama is the narrowest point between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean and forms

the land bridge that links North America to South America. Panama’s modern history has been shaped by its famous canal. In 1903, with assistance from the United States, Panama gained independence from Colombia and signed the Hay Bunau-Varilla Treaty with the United States. The treaty enabled the United States to build the Panama Canal, which was completed in 1914. The treaty granted the United States rights “as if it were sovereign” in the Canal Zone, an area approximately ten miles wide and fifty miles long that bifurcated Panama. While Panama benefited from the commerce generated by the canal and received rent payments from the United States, the issue of US sovereignty over what Panamanians considered their greatest resource was contentious. Successive Panamanian governments, however, sought more favorable terms with the United States without challenging its control over the Canal Zone.

In 1968, a *coup d’état* staged by Panama’s National Guard eventually established Colonel Omar Torrijos Herrera as Panama’s dictator. Torrijos was determined to gain full sovereignty of the Canal and its zone that he saw as the key to Panama’s future development. Torrijos was more assertive than previous leaders, but for nine years, the United States would not consider relinquishing its control over the strategic waterway. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter ordered that talks be resumed, and the Panama Canal Treaties were signed on September 7. Panama ratified the treaties in a plebiscite, and the US Senate approved the treaties by a vote of sixty-eight to thirty-two. The treaties provided for a twenty-year phased withdrawal of US military forces and the turnover of all territory and facilities to Panama by December 31, 1999.

Torrijos also promoted a new offshore banking industry in an attempt to make Panama the Switzerland of Latin America. His efforts brought much needed cash deposits, and international banks built gleaming skyscrapers to house their operations in Panama City. Panama’s lax banking laws also made it a haven for money laundering and other illegal activities. Torrijos won over the urban poor by establishing schools and clinics in slum areas. Torrijos died in a 1982 plane crash. By 1982, real power in Panama was in the hands of General Manuel Noriega. Noriega was a venal and corrupt dictator who used repression to maintain his power and to cover his involvement in narcotics trafficking. In May 1989, Noriega annulled the election of opposition candidate, Guillermo Endara, and assumed complete control of the country. He was removed from power in 1989 when the United States invaded Panama, arrested Noriega, and brought him to the United States to stand trial on charges of drug trafficking. Noriega was found guilty and sentenced to forty years in prison.

Panama has functioned under democratic governments since Noriega's removal. President Guillermo Endara took office promising economic recovery, civilian control of the military, and stronger democratic institutions. A civilian "public force" replaced the military and consisted of four branches, with the Panamanian National Police being the largest. The new police force proved a welcome replacement for the thugs of the Noriega era but was unable to curb a rising crime rate. The Endara government proved to be a disappointment; in 1994, Ernesto Pérez Balladares of the *Partido Revolucionario Democrático* (PRD), translated as the Democratic Revolutionary Party, the political arm of the former military regimes, won the presidency. Pérez Balladares proved to be a moderate who governed with the support of other parties. He carried out economic reforms and worked with the United States to implement the Panama Canal treaties. His quest to seek a second consecutive term was denied in a referendum.

On May 2, 1999, Mireya Moscoso was elected in a close election as the first female president of Panama. Moscoso, the widow of Arnulfo Arias Madrid, a former president and perennial candidate, was from the opposition *Partido Arnulfista* (PA), or Party Arnulfista, and seemed to solidify Panama's emerging democratic course.

The United States honored its agreements under the Panama Canal Treaties and turned over assets valued at \$15 billion on December 31, 1999. Panama has made a number of improvements since gaining full control of the Panama Canal assets. Some of the former canal and defense sites have been converted to tourist accommodations, including golf courses and luxury hotels. One former US Army post is being refurbished as a city of knowledge and houses offices for companies that research tropical diseases or are engaged in bioprospecting. The Panama Railroad had been upgraded and offers expanded freight and passenger services. Panama is also studying plans to expand canal operations through the construction of larger locks. Panama's newfound political tranquility has enabled expansion of tourism, which now generates more revenue than the Panama Canal. In 2004, Martin Torrijos, son of the late dictator, won the presidential election as the candidate of the PRD.

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### PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, 1977

Also known as the Carter Torrijos Treaties, the Panama Canal Treaties, signed in 1977 and ratified in 1979, provided for the turnover of the Panama Canal by the United States to Panama on December 31, 1999. The relationship between Panama and the United States began on November 3, 1903, when the United States supported the Panamanian Revolution against Colombia. On November 18, the two countries signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, which gave the United States a ten-mile wide zone in the middle of Panama for the purpose of constructing an interoceanic canal in exchange for a payment of \$10 million, \$250,000 annual rent, and a guarantee of Panamanian independence. The treaty also granted the United States the right of eminent domain in the cities of Panama and Colon to make sanitary improvements necessary for the construction and maintenance of the canal. Construction of the Canal began in 1904, and the waterway was opened in August 1914.

The Panama Canal proved to be a mixed blessing to Panama's economic development. The greatest early benefit was the eradication of tropical diseases and other sanitary improvements made under the direction of Dr. William Crawford Gorgas. The Panama Canal was the greatest engineering feat of the era, and the United States built modern port and industrial facilities, defense sites, schools, and housing areas. Lake Gatun, at the time the largest human-made lake in the world, provided the country with an abundant supply of fresh water and electricity. The United States upgraded Panama's firefighting capability and introduced the automobile. However, the Canal Zone bifurcated Panama, inhibiting the development of a countrywide transportation system and isolated the western interior from the capital. Moreover, few Panamanians were employed in the construction of the canal or its later operation. The vast majority of the construction workers were imported from the West Indies, and many remained and settled in the Canal Zone. The West Indian immigrants spoke English, largely practiced the Anglican faith, and considered themselves part of the Canal Zone rather than Panama. The Canal Zone became a self-sufficient US government enterprise with all proceeds from Panama Canal tolls being reinvested in maintaining the Zone and the Canal. Other than the \$250,000 annual rent, Panama's economic benefit was minimal.

The Canal became an issue to Panamanian nationalists who felt that Panama was not receiving its fair share of the revenue generated by the waterway. In 1932, Harmodio Arias, Panama's president, sought concessions from the United States. The result was a 1936 treaty that eliminated Panama's protectorate status, increased the annual rent on the canal to \$430,000, ended the right to the arbitrary acquisition of land, placed limitations on the use of military and zone stores by non-US personnel, permitted the operation of radio stations, and promised equal treatment of US and Panamanian canal employees.

Panamanian President José Remón presented new demands during a visit with President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953. Subsequent negotiations resulted in the Treaty of 1955 that granted further economic concessions, including the right to tax non-US canal employees, an increase in the annual annuity to \$1.93 million, the construction of a bridge over the canal to link western Panama to Panama City, equal pay rates for all employees, and an extension on the lease of the air base at Rio Hato. Under this treaty, the United States retained sovereign rights over the Canal Zone.

The central disagreement between the United States and Panama centered on the issue of sovereignty in the Canal Zone. This issue erupted in the January 1964 flag riots that left twenty-four Panamanians and six US soldiers dead. In 1962, the United States agreed to fly the Panamanian Flag side by side with the US flag at fifteen sites in the Canal Zone; however, implementation of the agreement was delayed by lawsuits. When tensions mounted over the flag issue, the Canal Zone governor ordered that no flags be raised at certain sites including the US Balboa High School, which was not far from Panama City. On January 7, 1964, US students defied this restriction and raised the US flag on school grounds. On January 9, Panamanian students marched to the school to protest and demand that Panama's flag also be raised. During the confrontation, the Panamanian flag was torn, and several students were roughed up. News of this event led to larger demonstrations on the open border between the Canal Zone and the Republic. Canal Zone and Panamanian police were unable to control the crowd, and the commander of the US Southern Command took over and called in troops. The incident resulted in Panama breaking diplomatic relations with the United States. In the aftermath of the flag riots, President Lyndon Johnson agreed to begin negotiations to revise the 1903 Treaty including the issue of sovereignty.

In 1968, a *coup d'état* staged by Panama's National Guard eventually established Colonel Omar Torrijos Herrera as Panama's dictator. Torrijos was determined

to gain full sovereignty of the Canal and its zone, and in 1973, he skillfully arranged a meeting of the United Nations Security Council in Panama. The Council voted thirteen to one for a resolution that recognized Panama's right to eventually have sovereignty. The United States vetoed the resolution, but this tactic backfired as Panama appeared more and more to be a victim of imperialism. Panama sought three outcomes from the treaties. First was the establishment of sovereignty over the Canal Zone, an area that it had always considered part of its national domain. Second was the removal of US military forces from Panama so that the chances of intervention by the United States in Panama's internal affairs would be lessened. Third was to gain the full economic benefit of the Canal, which was viewed as the key to improving Panama's economy.

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter ordered that talks be resumed, and treaties were signed on September 7. Panama ratified the treaties in a plebiscite. After a difficult ratification process, the US Senate approved the treaty by a vote of sixty-eight to thirty-two. The main treaty provided for a phased withdrawal of the United States to be completed by December 31, 1999. In the interim, the Panama Canal Commission was established to replace the Panama Canal Company. The United States agreed to train Panamanian employees to replace US employees at all levels of canal operations. A second treaty established the neutrality of the canal as an international waterway and assigned defensive responsibilities to both Panama and the United States, with Panama accepting full responsibility by the year 2000. Drafted by Arizona Senator, Dennis De Concini, an amendment to the second treaty extended the right of the United States to defend the canal if Panama proved incapable. The treaties were fully complied with on December 31, 1999, when all US military forces were withdrawn and all territories and facilities were relinquished to Panama.

Panama has made a number of improvements since gaining full control of Canal assets. Some of the former canal and defense sites have been converted to tourist accommodations, including golf courses and luxury hotels. One former US Army post is being refurbished as a city of knowledge and houses offices for companies that research tropical diseases or are engaged in bioprospecting. The Panama Railroad had been upgraded and offers expanded freight and passenger services. Panama is also studying plans to expand canal operations through the construction of larger locks. The Panama Canal Treaties have proven to be a very positive factor in Panama's recent economic and social development.

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See also **Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations; Panama; Torrijos Herrera, Omar**

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## PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Papua New Guinea comprises the eastern half of the island of New Guinea; the large islands of Manus, New Britain, New Ireland, and Bougainville; and some six hundred other small islands. The country (6° S, 146° E) lies to the north of Australia, east of the Solomon Islands, and south of the Philippines. The land area is 463,000 square kilometers (179,000 square miles). The Indonesian province of Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) fills the western half of New Guinea. The population in 2003 was estimated at 5,295,000. Major cities and their populations are the capital, Port Moresby (200,000), Lae (90,000), Madang (28,000), Wewak (25,000), and Goroka (18,000). The population growth rate in 2003 was 2.3%, and 39% of the population was between zero and fourteen years old. Birth and death rates are 31 per 1,000 and 7.6 per 1,000, respectively, and life expectancy is sixty-two years (males) and sixty-six years (females). Major causes of morbidity and mortality are infectious diseases: pneumonia, malaria, and tuberculosis. Infant mortality is high. Diseases related to changes in diet and lifestyle are increasing and include HIV/AIDS, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, strokes, and cancers (from smoking and betel nut chewing). The population is made up of 5% Anglican, 58% Protestant sects, and 33% Roman Catholic; the remainder follow local tribal beliefs and customs.

The main island is dominated by a central cordillera rising (in Papua New Guinea) reaching more than 4,000 meters (the highest peak is Mt. Wilhelm at 4,509 meters or 14,790 feet above sea level). Broad, deep upland valleys covered in rainforest or grassland dominate the highlands. The Sepik, Ramu, and Markham Rivers drain the highlands to the north and the Fly, Strickland, Kikori, and Purari Rivers are the principal rivers flowing south into the Coral Sea. The lower Sepik and Fly Rivers flow through extensive, low-lying floodplains with numerous oxbow and tributary lakes. These rivers are navigable by shallow-draft vessels for some distance inland. The

southern coastline is dominated by mangrove swamps lining the estuaries of the major rivers and by coral reefs in areas away from rivers with heavy sediment loads. The northern coastline is undergoing significant geological uplift, and this is reflected in the rugged, coastal terrain. The coral reefs in Papua New Guinea are amongst the most diverse in the world, and scuba diving is a major tourist attraction.

The islands are tectonically unstable, and earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are common. The Matupit Volcano erupted in September 1994 and destroyed the town of Rabaul; in July 1998, an earthquake-triggered tsunami off the north coast killed around 1,500 people and left thousands injured and homeless.

The climate is tropical and in the coastal lowlands is hot and humid throughout the year. Along the southern coastal region near Port Moresby, the climate has a long dry season from April to November (southeast monsoon) and a wet season from December to March (northwest monsoon). Annual rainfall elsewhere exceeds 39.37 inches (1,000 millimeters) and in the highlands generally varies between 2,500 to 3,500 millimeters, but some areas of the country receive as much as 10,000 millimeters per year. Seasonality in rainfall is generally muted. Average lowland temperatures throughout the year range from 26°C–32°C. Temperatures decline with altitude. Frosts may occur in the highlands, and snow occasionally falls on the higher peaks. High temperatures and rainfall lead to generally high humidity and cloudiness with only moderate rates of evaporation.

It is estimated that 85% of the population lives as subsistence farmers, with sweet potato, taro, sago, bananas, and leafy vegetables being the main food crops. Pigs and chickens are kept as livestock. Agricultural exports (copra, rubber, coffee, cocoa, tea, palm oil, and minor high value products such as vanilla and cardamom) are increasing, but mining of silver, copper, and gold accounts for over two-thirds of export earnings. Oil production began in 1992, and natural gas reserves are being tapped. Tropical hardwood timbers are harvested for export, and timber is also harvested for plywood and wood chip production. Tuna, crayfish, prawn, and other fisheries are minor components of the economy. The gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated at \$10.86 billion in 2002, and the country receives approximately \$400 million in annual aid (most for Australia). Major trading partners are Australia, Japan, China, Singapore, and New Zealand.

The government is a constitutional monarchy with a governor-general representing the British Crown. The country has a Westminster-style democracy with a prime minister, cabinet, and an elected, unicameral

parliament with 109 members. Politically, the country is divided into nineteen provinces and the National Capital District. English is the official language, but Tok Pisin (Pidgin) and Motu (trade language of the southern coast) are *lingua francas* in a country with more than 700 distinct languages.

Humans colonized New Guinea more than forty thousand years ago, and the early inhabitants, isolated by the dissected terrain and tribal conflicts, developed enormous cultural and linguistic diversity. Archaeological evidence suggests that the early inhabitants developed agricultural techniques some ten thousand years ago and did so independently from the rest of the world. The eastern half of New Guinea was explored in the sixteenth century by the Spanish and Portuguese. In 1828, the Netherlands annexed the western half of the island (now the Indonesian province, Papua). In 1884, Germany annexed the northern coast and offshore islands, and Britain took control of the southern sector of Papua New Guinea. In 1906, British New Guinea was transferred to Australia, and the area became the Territory of Papua. Australian troops invaded German New Guinea (called Kaiser-Wilhelmsland) at the start of World War I and gained control of the territory under a League of Nations mandate. The highlands were considered by European settlers to be too inhospitable for habitation; but in the 1930s, explorers in search of gold discovered more than 1 million people, with Stone Age cultures, inhabiting the fertile valleys of the central highlands.

The Japanese invaded New Guinea in 1942, and following their defeat by US and Australian forces in 1945, the Territory of Papua New Guinea became a United Nations trusteeship administered by Australia. The country was granted limited self-governing powers in 1951, autonomy in internal affairs in 1960, and full independence as Papua New Guinea on September 16, 1975. Michael Somare was the first Prime Minister. In 1976, ethnic secessionist threats led to the establishment of decentralized provincial governments. Papua New Guinean politics are characterized by frequent changes in leadership through parliamentary maneuvers and fluid loyalties to political parties. Julius Chan succeeded Somare as Prime Minister in 1980, only to be replaced by him in 1982. Somare led the government until 1987.

In 1988, ethnic unrest in Bougainville resulted in fighting between government forces and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). This led, in 1989, to the closure of the Bougainville Copper Mine and significant reduction in export earnings. In 1991, the government signed a peace treaty with the Bougainville rebels that established a South Bougainville Interim Authority although unrest continued. In 1992, the government launched an offensive on Bougainville

that resulted in the capture of Arawa, the provincial capital.

In April 1988, Prime Minister Paias Wingti suspended Parliament in an attempt to halt a pending vote of no confidence; however, in the July election, he was deposed. Wingti was replaced by Rabbie Namaliu who initiated political and economic reforms. In July 1991, legislation was passed that limited the number of no-confidence motions against an incoming government for its first twelve months in office. In June 1992, Prime Minister Namaliu was defeated in general elections and was succeeded by Wingti. In September 1993, Wingti resigned but was reelected almost immediately, thereby outmaneuvering his opposition and minimizing the possibility of a vote of no-confidence. Chan led the government from 1994 to 1997.

In July 1999, Prime Minister Bill Skate resigned following repercussions from his recognition of Taiwan as a separate political entity from mainland China. Mekere Morauta became prime minister, and in 2002, after an election marred by violence and alleged vote rigging, Michael Somare became prime minister for the third time.

The country is home to an impressive variety of birds, including most of the known species of birds of paradise. Other animals include marsupials (opossum, wallaby, tree kangaroo, and echidna), two species of crocodiles, monitor lizards, flying foxes and bats. Insect diversity is enormous and includes the world's largest butterflies (birdwings). Plant diversity is also high with probably more kinds of orchids than any other country. Major environmental challenges include deforestation to satisfy demand for tropical hardwoods and to provide land for agriculture. Water pollution with waste rock and tailings from mining projects is a problem in many parts of the country but particularly in the Fly and Strickland River catchments with wastes from the Ok Tedi and Porgera mines.

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**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## PARACEL AND SPRATLY ISLANDS

The South China Sea region has become a hot spot of conflicting historical and legal claims over the sovereignty of islands and areas of maritime jurisdiction among its neighbouring states, mainly on account of their potential oil and gas riches. Not surprisingly, China has described the South China Sea as “the second Persian Gulf,” estimated to have possessed 130 billion barrels of oil and natural gas and a proven 7 billion barrels of oil. Given this, the Paracel and Spratly Islands, located in the South China Sea, have emerged as a focal point of fierce contest among rival states to bolster their claims to sovereignty either by occupying the islands or reinforcing their military presence there by stationing garrisons on a small scale. There are six major parties—Brunei, China, Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Taiwan—staking their claims over the Spratly Islands either fully or partly. With respect to the Paracel Islands, the parties interlocked in the dispute are Vietnam, China, and Taiwan.

The Paracel Islands lie 300 nautical miles south of Hong Kong and 145 nautical miles east of the Vietnamese port of Danang. China has been claiming the Paracel Islands as part of its tropical island province of Hainan since ancient times, while Vietnam claims its sovereignty on the legal and inheritance grounds. In 1932, the islands were annexed by French Indochina. During World War II, they were occupied by Japan and, after its defeat in the War, Japan renounced its sovereignty under the San Francisco Peace Treaty of September 1951. On the other hand, the Chinese claim to the islands was rejected at the 1951 San Francisco Conference. Despite this decision, China ignored all the principles and norms of international behaviour and annexed the Paracel Islands from Vietnam in 1974 by using military force. Since the 1970s, they have been in China’s complete control. Going one step further, China announced its plan in 1997 to open the islands for a tourist centre on Yongxing Island, the largest of the Paracel Islands. In July 2003, China stationed its troops in the Paracel Islands although protested vehemently by Vietnam and Taiwan but to no avail.

The Spratly Islands, consisting of 100–230 islets and coral reefs, possess less than five square miles as landmass. They are scattered 215 nautical miles south of the Paracels and in the middle of the South China Sea. The Spratlys have strategic significance since they are located close to the main supply lanes in the central South China Sea. Of the six disputant nations, China, Vietnam, and Taiwan are claiming an exclusive sovereignty to the islands, while Malaysia, Philippines, and Brunei are claiming control over some of their parts on the basis of the continental shelf under

the Law of the Sea Convention. China’s claim over the Spratly Islands, which it terms the Nansha islands, is based on historical and archeological grounds arguing that it had undertaken naval expeditions during the Han Dynasty in 110 AD, and the Ming Dynasty (1403–1433). Vietnam stakes its claim to the Spratlys as the natural inheritor of the French who withdrew from Indochina in 1956, and Vietnam declared the islands as part of its Phuoc Tuy province in 1973. Taiwan’s claim is similarly based on China’s historical argument. The Philippines has been developing oil between the Spratly Islands and the island of Palawan since 1976 and had stationed its troops on seven of the islands in 1978. Malaysia, interlocked in the territorial dispute since 1979, has claimed three of the islands. Brunei is claiming the territory and resources in the southern part of the Spratly chain. It established an exclusive fishing zone in 1984 in the southern Spratly Islands. Claimant states have stationed their forces in about forty-five islands, such as China (about 450 soldiers), Malaysia (70 to 90), the Philippines (about 100), and Vietnam (about 1,500).

Given the mutually conflicting claims, China demonstrated its military offensive when its naval vessels entered the islands and sunk Vietnam’s two naval ships in February 1988, killing more than seventy Vietnamese sailors. Another instance of China’s “military intimidation” became manifest when it occupied the Philippine’s Mischief Reef in 1995. However, this occupation was due to the mounting US pressure that China agree to resolve the Spratly Islands dispute with the Philippines and Vietnam peacefully. But the Chinese government did not commit to return the Mischief Reef to the Philippines. Besides, China has been conducting naval exercises in the South China Sea to project its military power projection vis-à-vis its Southeast Asian neighbours.

The continuing impasse over the Paracel and Spratly Islands has caused serious security concerns to the member countries of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), given China’s overwhelming military capabilities as well as its dominant position in the South China Sea that might threaten peace and stability in the region. To resolve the territorial disputes in a peaceful manner, ASEAN had issued a declaration at Manila in 1992 “urging all parties concerned to exercise restraint in order to create a positive climate for the eventual resolution of all disputes.” Moreover, ASEAN’s Regional Forum, since its inaugural meeting in Bangkok in July 1994, has undertaken several diplomatic initiatives to promote confidence building as well as to work out preventive measures to conflicts among disputant states. Because of ASEAN’s initiative at its ministerial meetings in



1996 and 1999, the member nations had agreed to a “regional code of conduct” for the South China Sea to resolve disputes through peaceful dialogue. China had also agreed to a draft code of conduct laying down principles and norms of “state-to-state-relations.”

The Declaration of the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea was signed by the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN and China at the ASEAN-China Summit in Phnom Penh in November 2002, pledging “to resolve their territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means.” However, ASEAN members refused to include any “code of conduct” with regard to the Paracel Islands since the dispute is considered a bilateral one between China and Vietnam. Be that as it may, with the easing of tension between Beijing and Hanoi, both the countries are engaged in finding a political solution to the lingering dispute. This apart, ASEAN’s collective approach to resolve the territorial disputes through peaceful dialogue might help restrain China from establishing its “hegemony” over the Spratlys and the South China Sea.

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**See also Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## PARAGUAY

Paraguay is a land-locked country located on the upper reaches of the Plate River system in South America’s Southern Cone. It is divided into two distinct regions by the Paraguay River. The vast majority of the population lives in the region to the east of

the river. Mixed forests, swampy pasturelands, and low ridges are typical of this part of the country. The climate is subtropical, with hot and humid summers, mild winters, and regular rainfall. To the west of the river lies the Chaco, which is increasingly arid and inhospitable as one moves west toward the Bolivian border. This territory was won in a brutal war with Bolivia from 1932 to 1935. In spite of its small population and lack of resources, the Chaco figures importantly in Paraguayans’ aspirations for national development and as a symbol of the national struggle to survive.

Paraguay’s history has been structured by the country’s relationship to Argentina and Brazil. Although Paraguay gained its independence in 1811, Argentina did not formally recognize Paraguay’s sovereignty until 1856. Paraguay’s defeat at the hands of the Brazilians, Argentines, and Uruguayans in the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870) left it as a buffer state between Argentina and Brazil. Paraguay’s foreign policy ever since has been characterized by the “pendulum politics” of balancing Brazilian and Argentine ambitions. Paraguay’s political history is one of authoritarianism, marked by alternating periods of long-lived dictatorships and extreme instability. Political and economic development through authoritarianism has been a nearly permanent feature of Paraguayan politics since independence.

In the twenty-first century, the World Bank classifies Paraguay as a middle-income developing country. Its major exports are soy, cotton, and electricity. Textile production and food processing are the most important local industries. Transborder trade, much of it unregistered, is an important source of income, especially in Ciudad del Este on the Brazilian border.

At the end of World War II, Paraguay was a predominantly rural society. The state’s presence in the countryside was limited. Economic activity centered on agriculture and forestry. Trade was primarily conducted by river through Argentina. After a civil war in 1947, the regime became highly unstable because of intense partisan and intraparty factional conflict. Ultimately, General Alfredo Stroessner came to power in 1954. By the early 1960s, Stroessner had pacified the country through clientelism and repression.

The United States contributed much in the 1950s and 1960s to the development of state institutions capable of directing development strategies. Stroessner proved a reliable Cold War ally for the United States although the United States began to pressure the regime to implement political reform in the mid-1980s. While Paraguay under Stroessner could not be considered a bureaucratic-authoritarian regime, Stroessner did preside over a growing bureaucratic structure in which professionals worked to implement

the state's development priorities. Nevertheless, corruption and cronyism channeled through the Colorado Party remained important features of the regime. The regime extolled the "granite-like unity" of the military, the party, and the strongman that served as the basis for authority.

In the rural sector, development after 1963 focused on frontier settlement through colonization, directed by the Institute of Rural Welfare. Tens of thousands of peasants were encouraged to settle in official colonies in the eastern region along the borders with Brazil and Argentina. Tens of thousands more joined this migration without official government support. From the east came some three hundred thousand Brazilian settlers who capitalized on the sale of lands in Brazil and purchased cheap land and machinery in Paraguay. This policy failed to relieve the problem of landlessness or pressures for land reform.

The Stroessner regime promoted "outward directed development" (*desarrollo hacia afuera*) in which foreign investment and export agriculture were encouraged. Production of agricultural commodities boomed, beginning first with cotton in the 1970s. Cotton is a crop usually grown by peasants, who benefited for a time from high international prices. However, thanks to government policies, the primary beneficiaries of the cotton boom were intermediaries and currency speculators, including Colorado Party members and high-ranking military officers. As the cotton boom subsided in the 1980s, soy became the primary commodity export earner. Soy is generally produced on mechanized farms often owned by Brazilians or managed according to foreign agribusiness concerns.

Stroessner also employed pendulum politics to decrease dependence on Argentina and strengthen ties with Brazil. Transportation routes were opened across the Brazilian border, which became the primary route for commodity exports. Brazil and Argentina competed for influence in Paraguay, especially for agreements to build huge hydroelectric complexes on the Parana River. Although treaties were signed with both neighbors in 1973, the Brazilian-Paraguayan project at Itaipú came on line only in 1983 and the construction of the Yacyretá Dam, built in condominium with Argentina, began only in 1985. Paraguay exports almost its entire share of the electricity, with the Itaipú production sold by treaty arrangement only to Brazil and at below-market prices. In 1991, Paraguay joined the regional economic integration organization, MERCOSUR, along with Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay.

Since 1989, when Stroessner was overthrown in a military *coup d'état*, Paraguay has struggled to establish functioning democratic institutions and reverse a

long-term economic decline. While the 1992 constitution describes a democratic regime in which legitimate authority is established through direct elections, power is often obtained through bitter and often violent intra-elite extraconstitutional struggles. This was seen in the Colorado presidential primary elections of 1992 and again in 1998, the civil-military conflict of 1996, and the assassination of the vice president and removal of the president in 1999. Civil society has been a positive actor in these crises, but the country has not seen the development of stable institutional channels for demand making by society and positive response by government. Presidential elections in 2003, won again by the Colorado Party, were considerably more orderly and the freest and fairest in the country's history.

Paraguay's economy has been stagnant since 1989, and contracted between 1997 and 2002. The per capita annual growth rate for the 1990s was -5.4%, making Paraguay the third worst performer in Latin America for the decade, after Ecuador and Venezuela. At the same time, inequality in the distribution of income, always marked, has increased. The economy continues to suffer from distortions caused by high levels of corruption and unregistered trade, including drug transshipment and money laundering.

BRIAN TURNER

**See also Argentina; Brazil; Stroessner, Alfredo**

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### PARK SYSTEMS, NATIONAL

As the industrial society expanded throughout the world during the nineteenth century, urban areas were growing more and more. The demand for natural resources like coal and wood was crucial for the development of the factories that powered the growth of the new society. Although the human pressure over the resources was still fairly low, the quick pace at which industries expanded was a potential danger for many natural areas. Out of concern about the possible destruction of wilderness for the benefit of industrialization and urbanization, the idea of establishing a protection on green areas was born. The first protected areas were created with this objective: the preservation of the natural resources by forbidding all kinds of commercial exploitations in those areas.

The first national park in history was created in the United States (US). Yellowstone National Park was founded in 1872 in the states of Wyoming and Montana to preserve the hot springs and geysers. From then on, the concept of National Parks spread to other countries: Canada created its first in 1885, then New Zealand in 1894, and Australia and South Africa followed; Mexico established its first El Chico Forest Reserve in 1898, Argentina established in 1922 the South National Park (now the Nahuel Huapi National Park), and Chile created in 1926 the Vicente Pérez Rosales National Park. Ecuador established the Galapagos National Park in 1936, and Brazil and other Latin American and African countries created their own national parks soon after.

National Parks were set up primarily to preserve vast areas of natural beauty and resources from industrial exploitation. First, the idea was to preserve the areas by isolating them from any contact with the civilization, that is, by leaving the area on its own without any human intervention whatsoever. In 1933, the Convention on the Conservation of Flora and Fauna, at a meeting in London, defined National Parks as the following:

1. Areas reserved for the protection and conservation of animal and vegetal life, the conservation of objects with an geological, historical,

archaeological, or scientific interest and the benefit and recreation of general public

2. Areas under the control of the government and whose limits cannot be altered
3. Areas where hunting and destruction of fauna or flora are prohibited

As years went by, it became impossible to keep these areas isolated from the activity in their surroundings, and the vision had to change. From a perspective of *preservation*, environmentalists changed to a perspective of *conservationism*. This new approach implies that National Parks and all kinds of protected areas should not be isolated from their contexts. With this idea came the concept of “zoning,” which means creating different areas within the reserves and parks to allow visitors and activities that are not so harmful for the environment.

Therefore, in the last decades of the twentieth century, the functions of the National Parks became wider. National Parks have the following functions in the twenty-first century: (i) to conserve the natural environment on a dynamic basis; (ii) to promote the ecotourism in the parks and allow sustainable development in the areas where the parks are located; (iii) to educate visitors with an environmentalist perspective that teaches them the complexity and beauty of the ecosystems; (iv) to preserve the biodiversity; (v) to protect endangered species, either animal or vegetal, from becoming extinct; and (vi) to protect the ecosystems.

As stated, the maintenance of national parks is very important because they do not only conserve a beautiful landscape but are a vital part of the world's environment. Deforestation, the permanent extinction of species, and the consequent reduction of biodiversity are all global problems that affect all mankind. In this way, National Parks are like a refugee camp that should be supported to help mankind itself.

### The International Parks System and the Quest for Sustainable Development

After World War II, capitalist economies went through an unprecedented growth process with industry as the leading sector. This meant the destruction of habitats at an unknown scale that troubled specialists in the field. Therefore, an international organisation was created to keep surveillance and to coordinate efforts to conserve areas. In 1948, the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN) was created, which changed its name to its present one in 1956: the Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural

Resources (IUCN). This organisation pointed out that conservation was not a rival of production but that industry and environmental groups could work together.

The creation of the IUCN provided the states with international support, but much earlier, many developing countries had already established national parks. For instance, in Africa, a most important continent with great needs of protection, the Addo Elephants National Park was created in 1931, and in Kenya the Marsabit Federal Reserve was established in 1940.

Although some parks were established during the early decades of the twentieth century, most of the National Parks systems worldwide, in both developing and developed nations, were set up during the 1960s and 1970s. Botswana established in 1968 the National Parks Act, and in Namibia the Nature Conservation Ordinance was declared in 1975; in South Africa the National Parks Act dates back to 1976, in Tanzania the Wildlife Conservation Act dates from 1974, and so on. In northern Eurasia, although natural reserves date back to the early beginnings of the twentieth century, national parks were established only during the 1970s.

In general, this period brought an increased awareness of ecology, and international environmental organizations such as Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) were founded. The latter organization, the WWF, was fundamental in the creation of national parks and reserves worldwide by using a powerful weapon: education through publicity. The WWF became famous for their panda bear logo. One of the major accomplishments of the WWF was the organization of the *Project Tiger* in 1973 to help the Indian government protect the tiger and its natural habitats. Just as important was the WWF's role in the creation of the Cross River National Park in Nigeria in 1991, whose aim is to establish an area where gorillas are protected. The WWF, often in partnership with the IUCN, has played an important role in Pakistan, Indonesia, Nepal, and Malaysia.

The establishment of the national parks systems in most developing countries occurred in times of relative economic welfare. However, the global crisis inaugurated in the mid-1970s resulted in budget cuts that affected the parks' budgets as well. The economic crisis also had a severe impact on the population, which became poorer in many cases. The worsening of the social conditions of people who lived near protected areas resulted in the use of the parks for hunting or otherwise use of the resources. These problems are common in African or Asian National Parks, especially in the poorest countries like India or Kenya. The parks located in those countries often suffer from

poachers who hunt endangered species like the India tiger or the black rhino to get its horn and export it. Hunters capture live animals to trade them in the black market and sell them as pets or as animals for a circus. The poaching business moves around \$5 billion annually worldwide.

However, the existence of poachers is not the only major threat to the national parks. Unlike national parks in developed countries, illegal deforestation, mining activities, and pasturage are activities that can be seen in many national parks in developing countries. These are large-scale activities that cause serious and irreversible damage to the protected areas. South America provides excellent examples. For instance, the Amazon Rain Forest contains enormous biodiversity as well as species of plants whose medicinal properties are valuable to fight conditions such as cancer and heart disease. The rain forests are also important in the conversion of atmospheric carbon dioxide to oxygen. However, deforestation continues to be rampant in the Amazon.

Another example is provided by the Selva de las Yungas (Yungas Rain Forest) Biosphere Reserve in the north of Argentina. This rain forest is the home of the *yaguarete*, a family member of the tigers that is suffering from the effects of deforestation caused by the encroachment of the agricultural frontier by multinational agribusinesses; the felled trees are also used to produce paper.

### **The Future of National Parks and Some Recommendations**

Since the creation of the first national parks, there has been an increasing conscience of supporting and promoting protected areas. In the international arena, the first international organization was founded on October 5, 1948, as the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN). This organization later on changed its name to the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) in 1956. In 1990, it was shortened to the World Conservation Union (though retaining the IUCN acronym). This organization's aim is "to influence, encourage, and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable." The IUCN also organizes the World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas where specialists from all over the world meet to exchange information and to produce documents and recommendations useful for governments.

Eleven years after the World Congress was held in Caracas (Venezuela), the most recent World Congress took place in the city of Durban, South Africa, in September 2003. As a result, the Closing Plenary of the Congress delivered the Durban Accord and an Action Plan consisting of thirty-two specific recommendations, spurring conservation in Africa. However, the alarming levels of poverty, HIV/AIDS, diseases, and civil wars that destroy the African continent make it very hard for the ecosystems and the national parks to achieve the goals of sustainable development. To help the conservation of national parks in developing countries, it is also necessary to fight against poverty, unemployment, and the lack of education.

DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Deforestation; Ecotourism; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Rain Forest, Destruction of; Sustainable Development; Wildlife Preservation**

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### PARTY OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZED REVOLUTION (PRI)

The Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, PRI) constituted the most influential political force in the evolution of modern Mexico, governing the country uninterruptedly from 1929 to 2000. Emerging from the instability and violence of the Mexican Revolution, the PRI initially functioned as a mechanism of compromise that absorbed the various conflicting factions contesting power to create a “revolutionary family” where interests could be balanced out equitably and disputes could be settled through political means. The PRI was initially successful in integrating the voices of the dispossessed classes into its official ideology, especially through the enactment of laws that favored the peasant

and urban working classes. Yet, the PRI’s overall vision for Mexico’s development underlined a fundamentally capitalist project that favored both national and international economic elites and eventually made them key partners of the PRI’s mode of governance. As the PRI consolidated its power in the aftermath of civil war and bloodshed, it gradually transformed itself into an all-encompassing force in Mexican politics and often resorted to authoritarian means to retain power and undermine potential opposition.

### The Origins of the PRI: Compromise, Nationalism, and Authoritarian Rule

The civil conflict that erupted in Mexico in 1910 involved several players that opposed the long-standing dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, most notably middle class reformers led by Francisco Madero and populist forces led by Emiliano Zapata and Francisco “Pancho” Villa. Not only were those leaders disposed of in the bloodshed and confusion that eventually engulfed the Mexican Revolution, but also the lack of assertive political leadership and the constant recreation of unresolved conflicts between the main revolutionary factions submerged Mexico into a cycle of violence that lasted until 1928. The leadership of Plutarco Calles was successful in advancing a systematic “elite settlement” based on compromise and power-sharing, convincing all the major surviving factions that endless uncertainty was inevitable without a centralized authority that could settle ongoing disputes through peaceful means. Calles founded the National Revolutionary Party (*Partido Nacional Revolucionario*, PNR, the predecessor of the PRI) as the vehicle to achieve that compromise.

The Mexican masses were subsequently incorporated into the PNR by Calles’ successor, Lázaro Cárdenas, a progressive-minded politician who served as Mexico’s president from 1934 to 1940. Cárdenas encouraged the formation of worker and peasant organizations as a way to advance the underlying populist and reformist ideals of the Mexican Revolution and the Constitution of 1917. Cárdenas implemented a package of sweeping reforms that promoted socioeconomic development among the lower classes, awarded them official representation by creating peasant and labor sectors within the party, and nationalized key industries, including oil. Within this context, the crucial dichotomy for a successful national compromise occurred: Calles gained the cooperation of the elites, and Cárdenas galvanized the support of the masses behind the regime.

In 1938, Cárdenas renamed the PNR as the Party of the Mexican Revolution (*Partido de la Revolución*

*Mexicana*, PRM). One of the most significant achievements of the Cárdenas presidency was the implementation of a comprehensive program of land reform. More than fifty million acres of large-estate land holdings were transferred to Mexican peasants through a system of communally owned lands known as *ejidos*. This was the first major agrarian reform in Latin American history and was instrumental in destroying Mexico's semi-feudal landholding system. Moreover, a series of labor and socially progressive laws were introduced by Cárdenas to further consolidate the support of the working class, including higher wages, social housing, and subsidized credit. Popular organizations were fostered and supported by the party leadership, such as the Confederation of Mexican Workers (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos*, CTC) and the National Peasant Confederation (*Confederación Nacional de Campesinos*, CNC). The establishment of these organizations gave a voice to popular classes, but they also allowed the PRM to control its organizational and ideological structures. Cárdenas also established a state oil monopoly, PEMEX (*Petróleos Mexicanos*), after the assets of Western oil companies were expropriated. By the early 1940s, the PRM had consolidated its national political leadership by relying on the support of four key sectors of Mexican society: labor, the peasantry, the middle classes, and the military.

In 1946, the PRM was renamed the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, PRI). The idea that a revolution could be "institutionalized" signified a fundamental shift in the PRI's ideology and practice. In theory, the interests of the lower classes were to be guaranteed through the election of representatives to all levels of party and government structures, but in practice, the post-Cárdenas PRI leadership gradually abandoned this inclusive character in favor of probusiness and elitist modes of governance. An increasingly entrenched alliance between the party elite and the economically powerful classes eventually appropriated the party's decision-making apparatus. This new emphasis on business allowed the PRI to achieve sustained economic growth during the 1950s and 1960s but at the cost of reversing many of the early achievements of the post-1928 period.

### **Increased Repression and Economic Slowdown**

By the 1960s, the PRI had become the only and unchallenged force in Mexican politics at the levels of government. Elections were periodically held, but

very few or no opposition candidates were to be found on the ballots. Moreover, the tight control that PRI officials exercised over the electoral processes and the leadership of popular organizations guaranteed a generalized consent whereby the regime's candidates would get easily elected. As the PRI's supremacy began to decline, the party resorted to more coercive methods, including electoral fraud and explicit intimidation tactics, to preserve its grip on power. From the 1940s to the mid-1980s, only one other party, namely the National Action Party (*Partido de Acción Nacional*, PAN) was allowed to participate in national or local elections, never posing a clear challenge to the hegemony of the PRI.

One political feature that characterized the PRI's governing style was that of a very powerful and overriding president. All major decisions and conflict mediation revolved around the judgment of the president, who had virtually unrestricted power and was generally insulated from any form of democratic scrutiny. Even if the Constitution theoretically provided for a formal separation of powers within the state, both the legislative and judicial branches were controlled by the directives coming from the president. It became a tradition for the president to appoint his successor (a process colloquially called *dedazo*, or finger-pointing) without resorting to any process of internal consultation. At the same time, it is important to note that within the PRI there is a degree of heterogeneity whereby *camarillas* (political groups of factions) engage in intraparty competition and diverge on ideological and policy matters. Although these internal rivalries do not threaten the unity of the party, every presidential term was initially judged on the basis of what *camarilla* was represented or who had more influence.

A turning point in the PRI relationship with Mexican society came on October 2, 1968. On that tragic day, a rally of students protesting against government corruption and the rather wasteful organization of that year's summer Olympic Games was met by military authorities with brutal force. An order to disperse was allegedly ignored, and the police began shooting directly at the crowd, killing hundreds of protesters in the process. The Massacre of *Tlatelolco*, named after the main square where the students had congregated, shed light on the moral and political bankruptcy of the PRI, but it also sent the chilling message that challenges to the PRI's political dominance would be answered with merciless repression.

Even in the face of increasing political decadence, Mexico under the PRI managed to register an impressive economic record in the post-World War II period. Adding to the nationalistic policies that laid a socioeconomic foundation for further growth, the

strategy of import substitution industrialization (ISI) enabled Mexico to increase its overall economic output, diversify the employment base, and boost purchasing power for the masses. A favorable currency rate resulted in considerable levels of foreign direct investment, tourism flourished, and balance of payments deficits were substantially reduced. Between the early 1950s and the late 1960s, Mexico's annual growth rate averaged 6%. However, by the early 1970s, the economic boom began to dissipate mainly due to spiraling inflation, dependence on expensive technological imports, and decreasing productivity. The PRI leadership tried to go back to the nationalist style that had characterized the party in its early years, but changing times, both domestically and internationally, left little maneuvering room for allegedly outdated strategies. As the 1980s approached, the Mexico that the PRI had built was heading toward crisis and significant multifaceted transformations.

### **Neoliberalism, Technocrats, and Political Decline**

In 1982, Mexico declared its inability to service its foreign debt, paving the road for a radical transformation of socioeconomic direction. As Mexico had to comply with structural adjustment programs imposed by foreign creditors to reschedule old debts, the PRI turned to its increasingly influential technocratic *camarilla* to lead the way toward a painful reconfiguration of national development strategies. It was Miguel de la Madrid, governing the country from 1982 to 1988, who oversaw the shift from a largely protectionist economy to one espousing free-market and export-oriented principles. Miguel de la Madrid substantially reduced the size of the public service, began the systematic privatization of state enterprises, and implemented significant cuts in the national budgets for food subsidies and social services.

As the economy changed course, so did the unchallenged stand of the PRI in national politics. In the presidential elections of 1988, a PRI breakaway faction led by Cuáhtemoc Cárdenas, son of former president Lázaro Cárdenas, posed a serious threat to the PRI's electoral domination. Despite largely substantiated accusations of massive fraud, the PRI candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, was declared the winner with 50.3% of the votes. The systematic use of fraudulent methods by the PRI to retain power, coupled with a growing discontent of an electorate

that supported opposition candidates with half of the votes, signified the beginning of the end of the PRI-led one-party rule in Mexico. The PRI also lost power in state and municipal elections as well as seats in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

Salinas de Gortari consolidated Mexico's shift toward market economics, expanding deregulation and privatization policies and negotiating the entry of Mexico into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States and Canada. To facilitate Mexico's membership in NAFTA, Salinas amended Article 27 of the Constitution, whereby state protection of the *ejido* was removed and the door was opened for multinational corporations to buy *ejido* land to expand agrobusiness ventures. As the *ejidos* lost official support and small producers failed to compete with cheaper grain coming from the United States, a deep crisis in the Mexican countryside ensued. On January 1, 1994, the day when NAFTA entered into force, an indigenous uprising in the southern state of Chiapas, led by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN), erupted as a stunning manifestation of protest from those left behind by the neoliberal transition.

The PRI survived the 1994 elections, but not without controversy. Salinas de Gortari's handpicked successor, Luis Donaldo Colosio, was assassinated during a campaign stop in Tijuana, an event that revealed the ferocious internal power struggles within the PRI. Ernesto Zedillo was chosen to replace Colosio, winning comfortably due to the implosion of the opposition's campaigns. Zedillo refused to continue with the old-style politics of the PRI, introducing important measures to democratize the party and the political system as a whole. Zedillo dropped the *dedazo* tradition and allowed party primaries to choose the PRI's candidate for the 2000 elections, electoral reform policies were put forward to make elections more transparent, and the executive stopped using extraconstitutional means to impose the president's desires. In July 2000, and as a result of a general atmosphere of awakening democracy combined with the ripe mood for change among the electorate, the PAN's Vicente Fox won the first-ever presidential elections by an opposition party in seventy-one years. Despite losing control of the executive branch in 2000, the PRI remains an extremely powerful and influential force in Mexico's state, legislative, and municipal politics.

CARLOS VELÁSQUEZ CARRILLO

**See also Mexico: History and Economic Development; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA);**

## Salinas de Gortari, Carlos; Zapatista National Revolutionary Army (EZLN)

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## PATHET LAO

Pathet Lao (PL) means “Lao Nation” or “Land of the Lao.” It was the name given to a clandestine, nationalist, anti-French organization created in August 1950 by Prince Souphanouvong (1909–1995), a French-educated member of the Lao royal family and Kaysone Phomvihane of the Indochina Communist Party (ICP). The PL was inspired by Prince Phetsarath's formation of the nationalist *Lao Seri* (Free Lao) group and later the underground *Lao Issara* (Independent Lao) quasi-government cell in the late 1940s. The PL was based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

During the final years of French rule in Indochina, PL cadres were formed nationwide. They were supplied and trained by the Vietminh. After the French withdrew from Indochina, PL leaders met at Sam Neua on March 22, 1955, and formed the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), also known as the People's Party of Laos or *Phak Pasason Pativat Lao*. In January 1956, supported by the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam (DRV), the PL created a covert branch called the Lao Patriotic Front or *Neo Lao Hak Sat* and the Lao People's Liberation Army (LPLA). Copying the Vietminh model, PL cadres moved into the countryside, forming party cells and people's action committees. Like the Vietminh, their programs focused on social change, land reform, curbing the power of business elites, and expelling Westerners.

In 1957, Souphanouvong and his half-brother Prince Souvanna Phouma (1901–1984) tried to create a coalition government with a national election. Initially, it seemed the PL had won thirteen of the twenty-one contested seats. Widespread fraud and ballot-box stuffing on all sides further clouded the results. Conservative Prime Minister Phoui Sanaikone contested the election by having some PL leaders in the Laotian capital of Vientiane arrested and by attempting to disarm LPLA. They fled to hideouts in the jungles.

US leaders provided Souvanna Phouma with material support to fight the PL, but he was unable to hold the diverse coalition government together. In 1959, the United States turned its support to Lao/Thai forces led by General Phoumi Nosavan (1920–1985) who captured Vientiane, forcing Phouma's neutralist government to the Plain of Jars. Soon, Souphonouvong and Phouma joined forces against Nosavan, leading to the Laotian Crisis of 1961.

President John F. Kennedy, seeking a diplomatic settlement, approved the Convention of 1962, which restored Phouma to power and, in theory, gave the PL a lesser role in the new coalition government. However, the tenuous nature of the settlement led US intelligence agencies to expand covert operations against PL forces. In hindsight, it is easy to see how this action eventually drew Laos into the expanding conflict in Indochina and provided future sanctuaries for communist forces. Instead of defeating the PL, US policy drove the PL deeper into the arms of its mentors, the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN).

The LPLA was a gathering of various ethnic, political, and racial groups with one thing in mind: rid Laos of US influence. By 1970, this once rag-tag force of the early 1960s, numbered over fifty thousand well-trained and intensely dedicated troops.

Among those fighting this formidable foe was the Royal Lao Army (RLA), an ineffectual force with an overabundance of often-corrupt officers. It is worth noting that the marshal arts had never been part of Buddhist Laotian cultural traditions. However, with PAVN leadership and supplies, the LPLA proved adequate guerilla fighters, most often supporting the PAVN within Laos or near the border. Given the rugged mountain-jungle terrain, LPLA units most often operated in units of one hundred and no larger than five hundred.



Beginning in 1964, the LPLA's primary role became the construction and maintenance of the ever-expanding labyrinth of truck parks, supply centers, hospitals, paved roads, foot paths, streamlets, and raging rivers known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. In 1965, in an effort to close this massive resupply route into South Vietnam, the United States began an extensive covert bombing campaign sponsored by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and dubbed the operation "Barrell Roll." In the meantime, with the RLA avoiding confrontation with the LPLA and PAVN, the United States decided to support a forty thousand-man force of ethnic Hmong peoples led by General Vang Pao. They enjoyed periodic success, especially during the dry season when they could count on air cover. However, the covert nature of the war and the fits and starts of US involvement meant that US supplies were not always available when needed. This coupled with concerted PAVN offensives against the Hmong during the rainy season meant that by the early 1970s, the Hmong were in a tenuous position.

Many writers have argued that much of Vang Pao's motivation for supporting the CIA had to do with his desire to maintain the profitable flow of raw opium out of the Laotian part of the Golden Triangle to Saigon via Air America, the CIA's airline. Some of these authors claim that the money from the sale of this opium was used to fund the "Secret War." Most of these authors base their claims on anecdotal evidence that does not convincingly link the CIA to such activities. Indeed, there is very hard evidence to suggest that the DRV and PL were the "godfathers" of the opium trade in this area.

In February 1973, only days after the Paris Peace Accords were signed, a cease-fire was signed in Laos. Even so, the war continued until the US abandoned Laos in April 1975. By this time, the PL dominated the government. All anti-PL forces soon collapsed without US support. Several hundred Hmong, including Vang Pao, were relocated to the US state of Montana. During the succeeding twenty-five years, many thousand Hmong and other minorities suffered severe persecutions and even death at the hands of the PL. Phouma fled Laos in April 1975, and the last commander of the RLA, General Oudone Sananikone, formerly surrendered on May 8, 1975.

On December 2, 1975, PL leaders established the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Souphanouvang became the president, while Kaysone Phomvidane became Prime Minister and Secretary of the ruling LPRP. In 1986, Souphanouvang died of a stroke. He was succeeded by Phoumi Vonguichit. In 1991, Phomvihone took control of the government only to die a year later. He was succeeded by Nouhak Phoumsavane.

Less doctrinaire than their counterparts in Kampuchea, the PL leaders had greater success in restoring order to Laos after 1975. Even so, their international isolation and lack of economic skills left them much dependent on the Vietnamese. Their economy languished until the late 1980s when they began to open their doors to foreign, even US, tourists and investors. While many conservationists fear the uncontrolled exploitation of their natural resources, clearly these moves have made Laos more prosperous. Still, the country's woeful human rights record, especially the continued persecution of its minorities, have kept Laos from the socioeconomic renaissance enjoyed by the more democratic states of Southeast Asia.

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**See also Laos; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

Peacekeeping responds to a practical necessity of stabilizing violent conflict situations, either interstate or internal. Traditionally, peacekeeping has been introduced when the belligerent parties are willing to accept a cease-fire and agree to the separation of forces with a shared interest in at least limited settlement. Military deployment can be made to prevent renewed violence or to stop further escalation of violence where conflict is in progress. A multinational military and police force under the authority of the United Nations (UN) or a regional organization can intervene

between the warring parties in a conflict. Prior consent of the belligerent parties is normally essential for peacekeeping operations other than humanitarian intervention. In general, the mandates are related to the enforcement of the terms of a negotiated cease-fire and the advancement of peaceful resolution of conflict.

Between its inception in 1948 and 2001, the UN has undertaken 54 operations, and two-thirds of these operations have been established since 1991. A growing demand for UN peacekeeping operations surged with the increase in the number of internal conflicts and their negotiated settlement since the end of the Cold War. Peacekeeping activities have been extended geographically from the Middle East and other traditionally recognized hot spots in Southeast Asia, Southern and Eastern Africa, Central America, and Southeastern Europe. The wide use of peacekeeping, ranging from small-scale observation to enforcement, reflects the necessity to intervene in an increasing number of civil wars.

Most peacekeeping efforts adopt diverse approaches to their respective tasks with an *ad hoc* nature of operations in a unique environment (illustrated by Somalia, Cambodia, and Liberia).

## Objectives

Traditionally, peacekeepers have served as neutral observers in conflict zones, but the function of peacekeeping can be adaptable to different situations. The control or stabilization of violent conflicts has been known as the most classic function of peacekeeping. Lightly armed forces position themselves to help manage relations between hostile forces without being part of the conflict. The deployment of neutral troops with the consent of the conflicting parties is regarded as a confidence-building measure, as it decreases tensions and allows time for negotiated settlement. Dispatch of peacekeepers most commonly follows a cessation of active violence. In addition to maintaining a cease-fire, peacekeeping also means verifying the withdrawal of troops. Through observing and reporting any cease-fire violations, peacekeeping can be used for reduction in tensions and mistrust rather than imposition of its own conceptions of peace on the warring parties.

As neutral parties, peacekeepers are not supposed to be allies of any participants in the conflict. While serving as a buffer zone, peacekeeping troops police truce lines and prevent recurring violence through the observation of any violations of a cease-fire or truce

lines. The peacekeeping can also be used to maintain order in the establishment of a new government in post-conflict situations. Force as self-defence or to maintain law and order is used only when the peacekeepers are attacked. The presence of peacekeeping is based on consent or at least tolerance of the disputing parties.

Given that peaceful resolution of conflict is not possible without the cessation of hostilities, the cycle of hostilities ought to be neutralized. Peacekeeping can buy time for building trust between belligerents for negotiated settlement by containing violent conflict. However, durable solutions to conflicts should be sought by direct negotiation between the adversaries or through mediation involving a third-party facilitation.

Since the operations by themselves do not provide solutions to hostile relationships, they are seen as temporary measures and are intended to be provisional.

## Evolution of Operations

There are different international circumstances under which peacekeeping has been introduced. The majority of peacekeeping during the Cold War period was limited to separating national armies in ending hostilities between belligerent states. Since then, the roles of peacekeepers have been diverse with the rise of demand for new functions of the international military forces in response to hostilities among ethnic groups. If any enforcement actions are necessary in internal conflict situations, the rules of engagement and use of force need to be flexibly adjusted to humanitarian needs and protect civilians. Civilian police and the military observers monitor human rights abuses as well as protection of relief workers and distribution of aid. Peacekeeping operations in internal conflicts promote confidence building by being involved in logistical support as well as maintaining law and order.

The majority of conflicts in the last decade are characterized by physical and psychological abuses involving heavy civilian casualties. Internal conflicts in many ethnically divided societies have destroyed social and economic infrastructure, and overcoming deep divisions is a paramount task. Military forces are expected to provide support for the implementation of conflict settlement agreements. As peacekeeping in post-conflict settings is oriented toward rebuilding war-torn societies, the troops have to assist and support displaced people and other victims of war as well as provide security for them. To perform these functions better, social-psychological skills and other skills

for the management of communal relationships need to be incorporated into military missions.

### Traditional Peacekeeping Roles

Most peacekeeping operations during the Cold War period were limited to monitoring truces following intrastate wars. Peacekeeping initially started with small-scale unarmed observation units dispatched to Palestine (1948), Kashmir (1949), Lebanon (1958), and Yemen (1963–1964). The United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea was organized to monitor the cessation of armed hostilities following the civil war in 2000.

Examples of regional intervention (the Organization of African Unity) exist in the Chadian civil conflict of the early 1980s. Although it was designed to enforce the cease-fire, its success was limited to establishing a security zone, temporarily giving a reprieve from destruction and violence, but the intervention failed to establish peace throughout the country. The three thousand peacekeeping forces were outnumbered by more than ten militia groups with thousands of combatants who refused to cooperate.

The first large military peacekeeping forces were organized during the Suez War to contain the escalation of the crisis in November 1956. The six thousand troops under the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) I created buffer zones around the Suez Canal and facilitated the withdrawal of Israeli, French, and British armies that invaded Egypt. Whereas UNEF I was terminated by the request of Egypt, resulting in the Six Day War, the second United Nations Emergency Force II was deployed in Sinai following a cease-fire. UNEF II sustained the cease-fire long enough to allow negotiated settlements at Camp David in 1979. The two operations are viewed as classic peacekeeping examples of supporting interstate conflict management by stabilizing the situation in the region. The UNEF II, in particular, successfully forestalled the competitive intrusion of the United States and the Soviet Union into the Middle East, thus managing an explosive global confrontation.

One of the longest armed peacekeeping operations is the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which was placed in 1964 and still remains to manage explosive conflict on the island. Although the immediate dispatch of UN peacekeeping forces prohibited the direct intervention of Turkish and Greek governments and created stable conditions, their sustained mission has not accomplished peace due to the continuing hostilities between the Turkish and Greek communities. The unintended adverse effect of the operations

has been the maintenance of the status quo without resolving the underlying causes. Political accord has become an elusive goal despite the presence of peacekeepers in Cyprus for over thirty years.

The UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was given a mandate that could not be fulfilled since it was deployed in early 1978 following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. It was not able to stop the powerful Israelis from attacking the territory and failed to restore the authority of the disintegrating Lebanese government. The continuing presence represents the maintenance of status quo because of the fear that withdrawal would precipitate further chaos.

Even during the early period of the UN's peacekeeping efforts, there were variations in peacekeeping operations adjusted to different local conflict dynamics. The UN's peacekeeping mission in the Congo (1960–1964), known as *Opération des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC), was sent to control a major secessionist movement in the country's civil war, distancing from the traditional neutral roles of international peacekeeping. To achieve its goal, the Congo operation had twenty thousand troops from twenty-nine countries, the largest unit before 1992. The troops were involved in heavy fighting, including the use of air strikes against the secessionist forces. The change in the nature of UN operations within the Congo is characterized by enforcement actions with the goal of achieving stability and preservation of the unity, but any serious peace-building work was not introduced, leaving the prewar situation almost the same.

Before the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping made a contribution to preventing further escalation of regional war into a major crisis between the two superpowers. On the other hand, peacekeeping can become controversial if impartiality is questioned by an international community. UN Operation within the Congo was seen as an attempt to install a Western-supported government by the Soviet Union and some African states.

### Post-Cold War Operations

Controlling unpredictable conflict situations between hostile communities within a state requires different operational imperatives. With the rise of civil wars and ethnic rivalries (replacing geostrategic conflict between the Socialist and Western countries around the globe during the Cold War period), the functions and scopes of peacekeeping have been redefined. Peacekeeping serves a variety of purposes, ranging from conflict prevention, humanitarian intervention, to peace building.

*Preventive Deployment*

A preventive military response includes positioning military observers, troops, and related personnel before the actual breakout of a violent conflict. Its goal is to control the escalation of an emerging threat of conflict into armed conflict. The intervention is designed to prevent the imminent escalation of violence where there is an emerging threat. Observers may prepare reports on development that undermine stability and confidence in the vicinity of conflict zones. Other activities include monitoring local authorities in the protection of minorities and other vulnerable populations by maintaining law and order. Early warning signs can be developed based on an insufficient supply of essential services, such as water and power, as well as human rights violations.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) quick response to escalation of violence in Kosovo in the spring of 2004 included strong pressure on the community leaders and politicians to control their ethnic constituents. The United States, Canada, and France sent troops to Haiti to control chaos following the overthrow of the government that spring. French intervention was made in the Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire) in 2003 to control further escalation of violent conflict, bringing about a peace agreement. The most noticeable and successful examples of peacekeeping for preventive purposes were the operations in Macedonia devoted to curbing violent civil war between Albanian militia forces and the Macedonian government in the late 1990s.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) promotes early warning and confidence building as a strategy for prevention. The OSCE used fact-finding missions in Estonia and Latvia as tension arose between Estonian and Latvian governments and the Russian speaking populations. OSCE observer missions were also sent to Moldova, Georgia, and Nagorno-Karabakh to explore strategies to effectively deal with conflict over minorities. Other regional organizations, including the Organization of American States (OAS) along with the UN, were actively involved in the negotiations of ending violent conflicts in Central America.

*Quasi-Enforcement*

The quasi-enforcement functions are oriented toward the relief of suffering among the civilian population and restoring order. Forces can be used to protect the convoys of humanitarian aids and the movements of refugees. The UN peacekeeping force in Somalia (UNOSOM) II was involved in disarming the militias

and maintaining order needed to deliver humanitarian aid. The moral imperatives are often related to reducing human sufferings with the protection of human rights of unarmed civilians under attack.

A response to an act of aggression or campaign of genocide may involve a costly and difficult option of forceful intervention. Some missions failed to provide security (such as in Rwanda) in the mid 1990s and, in fact, even reduced their strength in the face of escalating violence. The early NATO operations in Kosovo failed to protect minority populations, such as Gypsies and Serbs, due to the refusal of some national contingents to directly intervene in arson and killings by Albanians. Political realities combined with the difficulty of formulating objective criteria to be applied on a case-by-case basis may deter timely intervention in violent armed struggles. In the absence of well-organized military preparation, peacekeeping operations may invite disastrous outcomes, as we saw in the failure of UN troops to protect "safe havens" in Bosnia and to prevent genocide in Rwanda. It is more appropriate for better-armed regional forces to intervene to control violent situations. Humanitarian intervention is largely involved in internal conflict and differs from collective security actions that aim to punish an aggressor state. The use of force is a stop-gap measure to induce diplomatic negotiations rather than deterrence of aggression.

In its long involvement in the bloody internal wars of Liberia during the early and mid-1990s, the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) had to take military enforcement actions, especially following a chaos created by the failure of warring factions to implement peace agreements. Especially in internal wars, it is not easy to find blurred boundaries between different types of military operations. ECOMOG chose the course of aggressive intervention with a vague and open mandate. ECOMOG tried to revive the communication and transportation infrastructure that broke down as well as tried to transport refugees and protect relief supplies. The capital city of Monrovia has to be secured to support an interim government. ECOMOG oscillates between traditional peacekeeping and peace enforcement to be adaptable to the prevailing political and military situations in Liberia.

*Peace Building*

When peacekeeping is introduced as part of political settlement following a civil war, troops may get engaged in weapons collection, resettlement of refugees, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, and creation of logistical support for elections.

Multidimensional operations are designed to support comprehensive settlements following lengthy periods of civil wars in such countries as Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, and Namibia.

Whereas overseeing the withdrawal of hostile forces was a major focus of the UN verification mission in Angola, it became a critical task in Mozambique and El Salvador to arrange for the return of refugees as well as disarming rebels. A monitoring operation sent to the Iraq-Kuwait border at the end of the Gulf War became engaged in the policing and relief activities for the Kurdish populations in northern Iraq. International Commission for Support and Verification, the first UN-authorized mission in the Western Hemisphere, successfully disarmed the Nicaraguan Contras with demobilization of twenty-two thousand combatants during April and June 1990 and enabled the reintegration of former combatants and their family members with social and economic support.

For a lasting peace settlement, facilitating transitions to a stable government has become an important priority. In conjunction with UN civilian personnel, transitional authority was set up in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Cambodia to temporarily run the government preceding popular elections. The implementation of a comprehensive settlement is also made possible by the reconstruction of governmental functions and rehabilitation of a civil society assisted by civic education as well as military and police retraining programs.

## Deployment Procedures

In the UN-mandated operations, various missions are generally set up by the UN Security Council that consists of the United States, Russia, France, Britain, and other major powers. UNEF I was a unique exception to this latter rule since the Security Council was inactive due to the involvement of two Security Council Permanent Members in the armed conflict. The management of UN activities was authorized by the UN General Assembly, whose resolution required the invading forces, including France and Britain, to withdraw from the Egyptian territory.

In general, based on the guidance of the UN Security Council, the Secretary-General can mobilize troops with contributions from UN member states on a voluntary basis. The Secretary-General has the authority for the appointment of the force commander and selection of national contingents and other activities related to assembling troops, while he is required by the Council to provide regular reports. The power of the Secretary-General in directing UN

peacekeeping forces was curtailed following a more dominant role played by Dag Hammarskjöld in the management of a crisis in the Congo in July 1960. Since then, the Security Council began to have more control over such aspects of operations, such as setting time limits on the deployment of forces. In integrated peace settlement missions, which have become important in the recent decade, the Secretary-General's authority has been broadened again to instigate and direct force activities within the overall framework of the UN Security Council's mandate.

In a response to tenuous cease-fire situations characterized by a lack of trust between parties, the contingents are organized in a hurry, often without much preparation and briefing. While the military personnel were mostly offered by small neutral states during the early period of peacekeeping, the contributing countries have become diverse with the involvement of regional organizations with the end of the Cold War. NATO troops to the Balkans include the United States, Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Regional powers such as Nigeria led ECOMOG operations in Liberia, and troops sent to Sierra Leone were dominated by other African countries. Difficult logistic issues created by a lack of coordination with soldiers from different countries can be more easily solved by the troops that belong to a regional alliance.

Regional organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS), the Economic Community of West African States, or a group of allied states can execute a military operation with international authorization by the UN Security Council. The quasi-enforcement operations in Haiti and Somalia were commanded, both politically and militarily, by an *ad hoc* coalition, under a loose UN Security Council mandate. In Haiti, the regional intervention led by the United States was approved by the OAS, and the removal of the military dictatorship and control of violence allowed the initiation of United Nations work for reconstruction of the country. The OAS had also made a serious contribution to the disarmament and demobilization of the rebel forces following the Contra War in Nicaragua. A Western alliance carried out a mission to provide humanitarian assistance to Kurds in northern Iraq at the end of the Gulf War with the authorization of the UN Security Council. On another occasion, the Nigeria dominated quasi-enforcement peacekeeping operation in Liberia was retrospectively endorsed by the UN Security Council in 1992.

Subcontracting with regional organizations is a new phenomenon to meet with the operational needs to back up, or replace, traditional peacekeeping. On the other hand, variations exist in the cooperative

arrangements between regional organizations and the UN, given that different types of forces are available under regional and UN commands. In the earlier Bosnian operation, NATO provided air support for the UN ground troops and later replaced the UN forces with stronger contingents following the peace agreement, while the UN's contribution remains with the provision of civilian police forces.

In Liberia and Georgia, regional forces conducted military operations although the civilian aspects of the missions belonged to the responsibility of UN observers. The Contonou Peace Agreement of July 1993 for Liberia contained provisions for the involvement of UN observers in the disarmament and elections process. Because the presence of the United Nations Observer Mission (UNOMIL) in Liberia did not help bring about a peaceful solution, the UN Security Council requested in September 1994 that ECOMOG protect UNOMIL personnel.

## Challenges and Future Directions

Although peacekeeping is considered a tool for active conflict containment and management in an era of growing communal violence, it has limitations without full international support. Because the UN capacity has been outstripped by the demand for peacekeeping, a lack of a sound financial basis poses a particularly serious challenge for large operations that involve more than ten thousand troops. The rising costs of several big operations are well illustrated by the following examples: peacekeeping operations in Cambodia cost US\$1.65 billion; Mozambique required US\$541.7 million; and the annual cost of UNPROFOR in the former Yugoslavia was US\$1.1 billion.

UN resources were exhausted with the two largest missions (overseeing the rebuilding of war-torn Cambodia and monitoring the cease-fire in former Yugoslavia) simultaneously organized in early 1990s. While the successful mission for Mozambique is attributed to the devotion of Western donors, the failure of a peace process and a renewed war in Angola, to a great extent, are explained by a lack of enough commitment from the international community. Sometimes the interest in avoiding instability motivates regional or neighboring countries to get involved in peace operations to control chaos, which can generate refugees. While Australia led the operations in East Timor, Japan played a major role in Cambodia.

With respect to internal operations of peacekeeping, as some national contingents were criticized for being corrupt and abusive, concerns have been raised

about a lack of ethics. The Economic Community of West African States' intervention in Liberia (with 66% of the force being made up of Nigerian soldiers) served as the Nigerian military regime's foreign policy tool to assert its regional influence and promote commercial interests. Some Nigerian commanders even took part in clandestine economic activities, such as trade of goods obtained by looters and exploitation of rubber resources. Military operations, in particular, by regional alliances need more international scrutiny and supervision so that peacekeeping will not serve to legitimize the political interests of the intervening states.

Success or failure of peacekeeping should be judged within a given mandate, such as halting a recurrence of hostilities. Coordination often proves vital to success of multilateral military operations. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations developed Civilian Unit and Deming Unit in a response to emerging needs. In addition, task forces were created to respond to field operations. Further reform may need to be made to include more improved coordination between regional and UN-sponsored operations.

HO-WON JEONG

**See also Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Central America: International Relations; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; Congo, Republic of the; East Africa: International Relations; Kashmir Dispute; Middle East: International Relations; West Africa: International Relations**

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## PEASANTS, IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT ON

Peasants are smallholder farmers who have been incorporated into the politics and economies of large-scale societies. Found throughout Latin America, Asia, Africa, and in parts of Europe, peasants are oriented toward villages rather than cities and towns. Though most commonly associated with Europe of the Middle Ages, peasants have been around for thousands of years, since the origins of the state. It may be safe to assert that a majority of the world's peoples could still, in some way, be considered peasants.

Compared to the capital-intensive, highly mechanized operations of large-scale farming in industrial societies, peasants utilize relatively simple technology and labor-intensive production methods. The family is the basic unit of production and consumption. Saul and Woods (1987) state that peasants are "those whose ultimate security and subsistence lies in their having certain rights in land and in the labour of family members on the land, but who are involved, through rights and obligations, in a wider system which includes the participation of non-peasants."

The terms of their incorporation into this wider system are mostly disadvantageous. Peasants grow food that supports urban dwellers, and their taxes sustain the government; however, they usually do not receive commensurate rewards in return. Generally, peasants have not benefited from development efforts thrust upon them by governments, multinational corporations, and international agencies (Barker 1989; Richards 1985). In the 1960s, the Green Revolution, which began decades earlier with the discovery of new, higher yielding varieties of grains (wheat, rice, and maize), was heralded as the chance to solve the developing world's food-related problems. Tremendous success occurred initially on experimental agricultural stations in Mexico and the Philippines, followed by their dissemination to parts of India, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Although overall yields doubled and in some cases tripled, it was not long before skeptics began questioning the value of the Green Revolution for peasants. Major criticisms of the Green Revolution included that (i) it is

dependent on the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, irrigation, and other inputs that poor peasant farmers cannot afford, thereby exacerbating inequality; (ii) it may be ecologically harmful (e.g., chemical contamination of groundwater); and it promotes monocultures and hence contributes to a loss of genetic diversity. Franke (1974) examined the Green Revolution's effects in central Java and found that, despite potential yield increases of up to 70%, only 20% of farming households in the village joined the program. The chief beneficiaries tended to be farmers who were already better off, who owned most of the land, and who had adequate water supplies. The poorest families did not adopt the new miracle seeds. Instead, they made do by working part-time for the well-off farmers who lent them money to buy food. Furthermore, because they were afraid of losing their supply of cheap labor, richer farmers prevented their part-time workers from adopting the new seeds. For their part, poor farmers feared that if they cut themselves off from their patrons, they would have no one to turn to in cases of sickness or drought. Franke concluded that the theories behind the Green Revolution were really rationalizations for elites who were to achieve economic development without engaging in the social and political transformation their societies needed.

*Structural adjustment policies*, multifaceted programs designed to correct decades of mismanaged centralized economies and mandated by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank as conditions for continued loans, have taken a high toll on peasants. Their effects have been especially devastating on women (Gladwin 1991). As both producers and consumers, peasants suffer doubly—the minimal producer prices once assured by grain/cereal boards have disappeared, as have price caps on purchased staple consumer goods such as flour and cooking oil.

Among urban elites, even in the developing nations in which they are encapsulated, derogatory stereotypes about peasants abound (peasants are inordinately conservative, are bound by tradition and superstition, and are lazy and stupid). An alternative view is that peasants, by virtue of their relative lack of power, are forced to adapt to risky circumstances, most of which are out of their control. As such, they behave in ways that are very different from people who hold greater degrees of political and economic power.

As a result of the unfavorable terms through which they have been incorporated into state systems, peasant communities often chose to bind together, in what Eric Wolf (1966) has termed *closed corporate communities*. These groups emphasize community identity and discourage outsiders from settling within by

restricting land-use to village members and prohibiting the sale or lease of property to outsiders. Often the community, not the individual, has ultimate control of land. Parts of the Valley of Oaxaca in southern Mexico exemplify closed, corporate peasant communities. Peasants there are often seen as economically conservative, suspicious of change, and pessimistic about the future. George Foster (1967), who studied the village of Tzintzuntzan, called this view the *image of the limited good*. This position sees all good things in the world as existing in limited supply, and an individual's success occurs only at the expense of others who soon become envious. Even those who are moderately successful experience social pressures to share the wealth. This comes in the form of sponsoring lavish *fiestas* to honor the patron saint of each village. Fiesta sponsorship rotates among the people of the village, and individuals take great pride in doing a good job of sponsorship. These fiestas, sometimes referred to as the *cargo system*, along with exchanges of labor and goods across households, act as *levelling mechanisms* and function to lessen wealth differentials. Rather than see these kinds of practices as inhibiting progress, anthropologists like Foster and Wolf have generally concluded that, given their lack of capital and lack of political power, these types of customs are adaptive practices that help to enhance group solidarity and ensure cooperation in the face of uncertainty.

In certain historical contexts, most conspicuously twentieth century examples such as Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba, peasants have openly rebelled (Hobsbawm 1963; Wolf 1969), leading to massive social upheaval, if not genuine social change. However, perhaps more commonly exhibited are what James Scott (1985) called *weapons of the weak*, everyday forms of resistance that are manifested by individual social actors in both symbolic and material ways, such as feigning confusion, slowing down work, pilfering, performing shabby work, tampering, lampooning, performing sarcastic mimicry, or evading work.

Peasants produce primarily for subsistence and household maintenance rather than for profit. This *subsistence first economic orientation* is not necessarily the product of an inherent antimarket bias; rather, it derives from the reality that in most cases, peasants are fortunate simply to break even. Peasants must use part of what they produce to feed themselves, but there are other uses to which any surplus must be put. Eric Wolf (1966) identified these as: (i) *the ceremonial fund*—that portion of the budget that is allocated to social and religious activities; (ii) *the replacement fund*—that portion of the household budget that is allocated for repair or replacement of

materials depleted by wear and tear; and (iii) *the rent fund*—that portion of the budget that must be allocated for payment of rent for the use of land and/or equipment. Hence, in general by the time all of these expenses are met, the peasant household has little left over to invest in profit-making enterprises.

Johnson (1971) found that Brazilian sharecropper peasants face *multiple sources of risk* emanating from both the physical environment (for example, rainfall variation, pests, illness) and economic environments (such as uncertain land tenure, or externally controlled market prices). In response, they engage in a number of practices that may help reduce this uncertainty, such as accumulation of subsistence needs first; tilling of multiple small, scattered plots rather than one larger consolidated field; careful experimentation with new crops and methods; creation and maintenance of interhousehold dyadic relations between equals and with patrons; and further diversification through off-farm sources of employment (Johnson 1971; Ortiz 1973; Barlett 1980). Entrepreneurs, business people who are able and willing to take risks in new economic ventures, do not fare well among the sharecroppers Johnson studied. In Zinacantan, Mexico, Frank Cancian (1972) found a curvilinear relation between rank and risk taking, with the middle class being especially conservative during the early stages of change, when uncertainty is greatest. On the other hand, those at the top and at the bottom were more willing to endure the risk associated with adopting changes. In Nigeria, Sara Berry (1985) found that, among Yoruba farmers, the tendency to diversify was very strong and that people engage in a number of activities besides farming to generate income. Trained as an economist, Berry goes on to claim that there is no inherent conflict between safety-first orientation and profit maximization. It seems imperative, therefore, to try and understand peasant economic systems on their own terms first before implementing changes.

After decades of studying peasants firsthand in Europe (Switzerland) and West Africa (Nigeria), Netting suggested that there are clear reasons why the smallholder peasant farming mode of production, and the various social formations that accompany it, persist across space and time.

Smallholders are not as rich as landed aristocrats, the higher officialdom of government, the commercial elite, or urban professionals. What they do have is their experience, their fertile land, their livestock, and their diversified production strategies as a set of defenses against the uncontrollable vagaries of weather, prices, and war. Smallholders may not always live well, but they are seasoned survivors. They may moonlight as craftsmen, petty traders, field hands,



or factory workers, but they do not keep one foot on the farm out of sentiment or stupidity. And the society that dispossesses smallholders in favor of factory farms, plantations, or socialistic communes simultaneously risks a decline in agricultural production, increase in rural unemployment, and an ecological deterioration (Netting 1993).

The course of the twentieth century saw the deleterious consequences resulting from the dispossession of smallholders by large-scale plantation agriculture in Latin America and the Caribbean and socialist/communal farms in Europe and Asia. In the twenty-first century, the dispossession of smallholders by factory farms proceeds around the world, even in North America with agribusiness. What long-term repercussions will ensue from these processes, and how will governments deal with them?

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**See also Green Revolution; Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs); Subsistence Living; Sustainable Development**

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#### PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMED FORCES (PLAF)

The People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF) was the military arm of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV), better known to US citizens as the National Liberation Front (NLF). Most of the world knew the PLAF as the "Viet Cong" (VC), a contraction of the Vietnamese term *Viet Nam Cong San*, or Vietnamese Communist. It was slang term of derision conjured by Ngo Dinh Diem, who used the term to describe his political opponents, many of whom were not Communists, starting after the 1954 partition of Vietnam between the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) in the south and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in the north. The NLF and the PLAF never referred to themselves as VC and always asserted that they were a national front of all anti-RVN forces, Communist or not. US and allied soldiers in Vietnam used the term and even added to the jargon the term "Charlie."

The leaders of the NFLSV formally established the PLAF at a meeting of insurgent leaders in early 1961, based on a decision by North Vietnamese communists to escalate the level of armed struggle in South Vietnam. Like its predecessor, the Vietminh, which had fought successfully against the Japanese in 1941–1946 and French in 1946–1954, organized the PLAF on three levels: fully trained and equipped regular forces ("main force") ostensibly operating under the command of the southern leadership, primarily the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN); full-time guerrillas organized in companies and serving under provincial or district leaders; and part-time self-defense militia, composed of units organized in squads and platoons and used mostly for village defense. In truth, at times, they resorted to intimidation to gain their ends.

Throughout the early 1960s, the PLAF grew rapidly in strength and numbers, reaching an estimated thirty thousand by August 1964, around the time the North began the full-scale infiltration of regular People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) troops into the South; only a few months before, the United States, based on the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, began to build up its forces in earnest. While a few leading PLAF cadres and officers infiltrated from the North to the South along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the vast majority came from villages, towns, or cities in South Vietnam.

Especially in the beginning, the PLAF used classic guerilla tactics and initiated a series of hit-and-run attacks on government installations, military outposts, convoys, strategic hamlets, and even district towns throughout the RVN. Its most noteworthy victory occurred in the village of Ap Bac in early

January 1963, when Viet Cong guerrillas engaged the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) regular forces flown in by US helicopters. The day-long battle resulted in heavy casualties for ARVN units. Most experts reported it as a PLAF victory.

Between March 1965 and January 1968, as the role of US combat troops increased, the role of PLAF units was gradually superseded by regular PAVN forces. Whereas the PAVN bore the brunt of the fighting with US troops, in such major battles as the Ia Drang Valley in November 1965, Communist leaders most often assigned PLAF units to combat against less well-armed ARVN units.

The PLAF, however, assumed the primary role in the Tet Offensive, launched in January through February 1968. PLAF troops attacked villages, towns, and cities throughout the RVN. The offensive began at 3:00 AM on January 31, 1968, when VC sappers entered the US Embassy compound in Saigon, which had seemed to be a safe haven. US television accounts of the devastation and carnage throughout the RVN, especially in places like the old imperial capital of Hue, shocked and disheartened most US citizens. While the attackers suffered heavy casualties—between twenty-five thousand and forty thousand depending on your source—and it was a tactical Allied victory, Tet eventually had the strategic impact of leading to the end of direct US involvement.

Many historians have argued, and certainly the military did at the time, that as a result of Tet Offensive, the PLAF, which totaled between 150,000 and 200,000 on the eve of Tet, declined as a major battlefield factor after Tet. Some have speculated that the communist leadership in the North deliberately ordered PLAF units into the fighting to reduce southern influence within the movement, but there is no absolute evidence to support this assertion.

Others, especially ethnic Vietnamese scholars, have argued that the PLAF was not as damaged as first believed and that they suffered more casualties in the follow-up campaigns of late 1968 and in the Allied Pacification Programs of 1969–1970 and eventually recovered to pre-Tet strength by the Spring Offensive of 1972. In 1969, the NFLSV formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam that technically assumed power briefly after the fall of Saigon in 1975.

However, the viewpoint expressed in the latter paragraph is not held by the majority of scholars who believe PLAF was badly hurt by the Tet defeats and subsequent set-backs. In any case, the final reunification struggles were led by Northern Communists, and PLAF played a lesser role in the 1975 offensive that led to the fall of South Vietnam. After the war, PLAF units were disbanded or integrated with

the PAVN in a nation dominated by Northern Communists.

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### PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, MARCOS

Marcos Pérez Jiménez (1914–2001), a career soldier who joined the army at age seventeen, was the military dictator of Venezuela from 1952 to 1958. The death of military dictator Juan Vicente Gómez in 1935 unleashed a wave of democratic outpouring in Venezuela. *Acción Democrática* (AD), a middle-class reformist party formed in 1941, repeatedly called for a transition to electoral democracy. On October 19, 1945, a coalition of AD political supporters and young military officers that included Pérez Jiménez overthrew the military dictatorship of Isaías Medina Angarita. Although initially supportive of AD's political agenda, the young military officers began to criticize the increasingly leftist rhetoric of AD politicians Rómulo Gallegos and Rómulo Betancourt. In 1948, the military overthrew Gallegos's AD government and implemented a three-man military junta. Although the United States had initially supported the transition to civilian democracy in Venezuela, the advent of the Cold War convinced the US government that the reckless statements issued by Venezuelan politicians could provide an opening for communism in Venezuela. By 1952, Pérez Jiménez, who had been part of the military *junta*, had eliminated the other members of the *junta* and proclaimed himself the military dictator of Venezuela. The Eisenhower administration, which actively supported the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship, awarded the dictator the Legion of Merit medal.

Pérez Jiménez implemented a brutal, corrupt authoritarian regime. He maintained power by suppressing internal dissent by unleashing his security forces on Venezuelan dissidents. Once in power, he rapidly increased Venezuela's infrastructure. Pérez Jiménez's

massive construction projects, funded by a greatly expanded petroleum industry controlled by foreign capital, were responsible for building roads, expanding tourism, and appeasing the military. The construction of an extravagant Military's Officers Club was designed to appease the Venezuelan Armed Forces. These extravagant construction projects, plus rampant corruption, fostered rapid inflation that facilitated his overthrow in 1958. Pérez Jiménez fled to the United States.

Pérez Jiménez, however, had left behind a briefcase full of documents that detailed his illegal activities. In 1963, he was extradited to Venezuela and sentenced to four years in prison. After his release in 1968, he moved to Generalissimo Francisco Franco's Spain. Pérez Jiménez, however, still maintained a base of support in Venezuela. Although elected to the Venezuelan Congress, the AD government never allowed him to take his seat. His attempt to run for the Venezuelan presidency in absentia was also foiled by the AD government. Although invited to attend the inauguration of Hugo Chavez in 1999, Pérez Jiménez declined. He died of a heart attack on September 20, 2001, in Madrid, Spain.

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**See also Betancourt, Rómulo; Northern South America: History and Economic Development; Venezuela**

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### PERÓN, JUAN DOMINGO

From the fertile pampas to the rugged Andes Mountains, no figure dominated twentieth century Argentine political life as that of Juan Domingo Perón (1943–1974). On June 4, 1943, a cadre of nationalist armed forces officers known as the United Officers' Group overthrew the corrupt government of President Ramón Castillo. Among these officers was the former military attaché to Italy and Mussolini admirer, Colonel Juan Domingo Perón. As a clever manipulator, Perón, who was appointed as head of Secretariat of Labor, would use his post to launch his political career by granting workers innumerable rights and siding with them in labor disputes.

Concern over his political ambitions as well as with the rising popularity of his companion, Eva Duarte, prompted his fellow officers to remove him from his post on October 9, 1945, and confine him to the island of Martín García. Eight days later, massive workers' demonstrations on his behalf resulted in his release.

After his return, Perón was unstoppable. In the presidential election of 1946, Perón, aided by the vote of the *descamisados* (working-class supporters) scored a decisive victory over a coalition of different political groups. Immediately, he set out to fulfill his promise of social justice, economic independence, and national sovereignty.

A believer in the corporate state, Perón used this philosophy to transform Argentina's politics, economics, and society. Through the government-controlled Argentine Institute for the Promotion of Trade, Perón used revenues from Argentine agricultural exports to materially benefit the workers. Laws expanding minimum wages, workmen's compensation, health insurance, paid vacations, and social security were promulgated. Peronist-controlled labor unions gained unprecedented power as Perón expanded the national civil service.

In 1946, Perón's five-year plan for development, based on the creation of state-owned enterprises, was initiated. Perón addressed his promise of economic independence by nationalizing the public utilities in 1946 and the British-owned railways a year later. Since Perón viewed industrialization as an important ingredient of economic independence, projects ranging from power plants to steel mills were given top priority in the plan. Ironically, Perón would finance his grandiose industrialization scheme through Argentine grain and beef sales.

The *descamisados* were not the only ones who benefited from Perón's policies. Women were given the right to vote in 1947 and the right to hold public office in 1949. The military also saw its budget increased, while the Catholic Church exerted its influence in public education.

In terms of foreign relations, Perón's "Third Position," a policy of nonalignment between the Cold War superpowers, brought Argentina prestige throughout the Third World. His economic and diplomatic support for Generalissimo Francisco Franco's Spanish regime was proof of Argentine defiance of both the Soviet Union and the Western powers.

Under the emblem of *justicialismo*, Perón won another presidential term in 1951. His second term, however, proved to be a stormy one. Although he enjoyed unlimited popularity among the *descamisados*, Perón's second five-year plan would collapse amid a devastating drought, exorbitant inflation, dismal industrial productivity, and bureaucratic inefficiency.

Moreover, he never recovered from the devastating impact of losing the charismatic Evita to cancer on July 26, 1952.

Dissatisfaction with Peronist policies among land-owners, business leaders, intellectuals, and a portion of armed forces officers galvanized in 1955 when Perón struck at the Catholic Church. Angered at Perón's legalization of divorce and proposed legislation to end the Church's involvement in public education, the hierarchy began to criticize the regime through pastoral letters. Overzealous Peronists responded by burning churches. On September 16, 1955, armed forces officers staged a revolt that culminated in Perón's departure three days later.

In spite of "de-Peronization" campaigns on the part of subsequent military and civilian governments, Peronism remained a major factor in Argentine politics. Unable to stop the rising tide of discontent, the military government of General Alejandro Lanuse allowed free elections in 1973, which were won by Héctor Cámpora, an avowed Peronist. Cámpora, however, resigned; on September 23, 1973, the aging Juan Perón, who had returned from his exile in Madrid in 1973, won another presidential election with his third wife Maria Estela "Isabelita" as his running mate.

For this occasion, Perón had no time to implement another five-year plan. His heart condition worsened throughout his brief presidential term and on July 1, 1974, he died at seventy-eight. Perón has been dead for years, but Peronism is still alive in Argentina.

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**See also** [Argentina](#)

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### PERSIAN GULF WAR, 1991

The Persian Gulf conflict of 1991 began at 1:00 AM on August 2, 1990, with the movement of 120,000 Iraqi troops and 1,800 tanks over the Kuwaiti border. Within thirty-six hours, Iraqi forces had succeeded in

overcoming Kuwait's military defences and driving its leadership into exile. The occupation of Kuwait was to last 210 days and ended with the overwhelming defeat of Iraq by a US-led United Nations (UN) coalition force on February 27, 1991.

### The Causes of War

The invasion and annexation of Kuwait took many states by surprise, including Kuwait and those in the United States. However, with hindsight, there were a number of factors that in combination provided motives for the invasion. First, there is evidence to suggest that the invasion was partly motivated by the desire to improve Iraq's economic position through the appropriation of Kuwait's vast financial resources and its oil wealth. The Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s had left the Iraqi economy close to collapse. At the end of the war, Iraq faced reconstruction costs estimated at around \$60 billion and a foreign debt of \$70 billion, the latter being owed mostly to the Gulf States, including Kuwait, which had been eager to counter the revolutionary threat posed by Iran. The war had also resulted in high inflation and a substantial drop in living standards, which reversed a twelve-year positive trend. As 50% of the population was in some way employed by the state, the inability of the Ba'ath regime to raise or at least maintain living standards for the general population and to provide economic benefits to the party elite threatened its very survival. With four military *coup* attempts against the regime between 1988 and 1990, finding a solution to this problem became essential for the Hussein regime.

Second, at such a time of economic crisis, the Iraqi government was particularly dependent on generating as much income as possible from its oil revenues. In 1990, oil prices fell from \$22 per barrel in January to \$16 per barrel in June, with every \$1 drop in the price of oil costing Iraq \$1 billion in revenue. This was due in part to the general trend toward using alternative fuels in demand countries; the discovery of new sources of oil in Alaska, the North Sea, and the former Soviet Union; and to overproduction by Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) countries such as Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. The actions of Kuwait in disregarding oil production quotas set by OPEC and refusing demands by Iraq to forgive Iraq's war debts provided the proximate causes of the war. From February to July 1990, Iraq declared that Kuwait was waging economic warfare against it, issued a series of verbal threats, and began to move troops toward the Kuwaiti border in mid-July 1990.

Third, the invasion of Kuwait can be seen as part of a long-standing territorial dispute in which Iraq has claimed that Kuwait's territory should have formed part of Iraq. Its claim reached back to the days of the Ottoman Empire, when Kuwait had formed part of the province of Basra in 1971. Whilst Iraq's 1963 regime formally recognised Kuwait as an independent sovereign nation, its government and its people have continued to hold a historical grievance.

Fourth, on a personal level, President Hussein had for many years expressed an ambition to lead the Arab world. His pursuit of a nuclear weapons capability formed part of the broader goal to challenge Israeli power in the region. The invasion of Kuwait would allow Iraq to dominate the oil wealth of the Persian Gulf and possibly the Arab world by giving it control of more than 22% of the world's known oil reserves, second only to Saudi Arabia's with 28%. With a large military capability and significant oil resources, Iraq would have been able to exert significant influence within OPEC and therefore on global oil prices. With the dependence of industrialised countries on OPEC oil, and the experience of the oil-price shocks of the 1970s still in memory, this situation was unlikely to be allowed to continue.

## **The International Response**

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces was immediately condemned internationally. On August 2, 1990, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 660 (UN Security Council Resolution or UNSCR) that declared the invasion and occupation of Kuwait a threat to international peace and security and demanded an immediate Iraqi withdrawal. With no withdrawal being forthcoming, on August 6, economic sanctions were imposed under UNSCR 661 encompassing a ban on the import and export of goods, financial resources, and arms to Iraq or Kuwait. The United States and United Kingdom set up a naval blockade of the Persian Gulf to enforce the sanctions, as a form of collective-self defence under article 51 of the UN Charter and later authorised under Chapter VII by the UN Security Council on August 25.

The international military response initially took a defensive form known as Operation Desert Shield. In response to the fear that an invasion of Saudi Arabia could be next, the Saudis were easily persuaded to allow US forces to be deployed onto Saudi territory from August 8. Operation Desert Shield was to become one of the largest military deployments ever made. It included an alliance of twenty-eight member

nations, which grew to thirty-seven by the end of the war and included more than half a million soldiers, with a ten thousand-soldier brigade from the Arab Gulf states, seven thousand Kuwaiti soldiers, fifteen thousand Syrian troops, forty-three thousand British, and sixteen thousand French.

Despite the international response, President Hussein made his intent to hold onto Kuwait clear, announcing the annexation of Kuwait as part of Iraq's nineteenth province on August 8. On August 18, Iraq added to its outlaw status by taking sixty American, British, German, and French citizens from Kuwait as hostages to be used as human shields who would be released on the withdrawal of US forces from Saudi Arabia and the lifting of sanctions. Hussein threatened to deliver the "mother of all battles" to any attacking coalition force, to destroy Kuwait's and Saudi Arabia's oil infrastructure, and to draw Israel into the conflict.

Preparations for military action intensified in November, with US Secretary of State James Baker traveling to Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, the Soviet Union, Japan, Germany, and France to maintain the resolve of the coalition states to pursue the matter until Kuwait was liberated. On November 29, UNSCR 678 was passed by unanimous vote, authorising the use of "all necessary means" to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait if it did not withdraw by January 15, an ultimatum that was not met.

## **Operation Desert Storm**

On the night of January 16, 1991, the US-led coalition began Operation Desert Storm with an intense air bombardment targeting Iraq's known weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and arms production facilities, troop formations, defensive fortifications, supply lines, air defences, command and control network, bridges, railroads, major roads, and much of Iraq's electricity, water, and oil production facilities. This attack was to last for thirty-nine days. The hitherto unseen technological superiority of the US air force, with its stealth fighter jets, Tomahawk cruise missiles, and advanced "surgical strike" capabilities ensured that the coalition air forces achieved air supremacy with relative ease. Iraq responded on January 18 by firing al-Hussein Scud missiles at Israel and Saudi Arabia to test the resolve of Arab nations within the coalition and to sabotage world oil supplies. Israel, however, was persuaded not to respond by the United States.

With Iraq's air force effectively suppressed within one week, Iraq was given a further chance to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait. On February 22, Iraqi

forces set more than six hundred Kuwaiti oil wells alight. With the passing of the deadline for acceptance of the cease-fire conditions on February 23, the US-led ground war commenced on February 24, 1990. In the first stage of the attack, Iraqi troops were targeted with by bombs and artillery to create confusion and undermine morale. The second stage of the attack consisted of a diversionary amphibious assault off the coast of Kuwait by eighteen thousand US marines who succeeded in drawing Iraqi divisions away from a surprise attack to the west. Under the cover of the allied air attack, 240,000 coalition troops engaged in a major flanking maneuver three hundred miles west of the Iraq-Kuwait border, which was undetected. On February 24, the third stage of the attack began with US marines and Saudi troops attacking across the Kuwaiti-Saudi border toward Kuwait City. Both the attack from the West and that from Saudi Arabia proved to be highly successful. Thousands of Iraqi troops chose to surrender rather than be killed by the clearly better trained, equipped, and rested coalition forces. Within two days, the Iraqi defensive position had been broken, and on February 25, Baghdad announced the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait. On the evening of the same day, large numbers of Iraqi troops attempted to escape from Kuwait with their equipment and stolen goods, coming under attack from the air. Whilst it was possible to continue the attack against Iraqi forces, particularly against its elite Republican Guard divisions, President Bush chose to call a cease-fire. The following day, Iraqi Foreign Minister Azziz announced his country's willingness to rescind its official annexation of Kuwait, release all prisoners of war, and pay war reparations in exchange. Finally, on February 27, Iraq announced that it would comply with all 12 UN Security Council resolutions that had been passed.

The decision not to march on Baghdad to depose President Hussein was one that was regretted by future US administrations in the 1990s. However, the mandate given to the coalition forces was limited to the goal of liberating Kuwait, rather than that of regime change, a policy that was unlikely to have mustered support within the Arab world. The decision was based also on the assumption that Iraq's WMD capabilities and conventional armed forces had been significantly degraded and that it was highly unlikely that Saddam Hussein could remain in power after suffering such a comprehensive and humiliating defeat. Lastly, the United States was unprepared for the difficulty and expense of undertaking a nation-building exercise in Iraq, a country already split among three disparate ethnic and religious groups that had not experienced democracy in recent times.

The terms of the cease-fire set out in UNSCR 687 sought to ensure Iraq was unable to threaten its neighbours again. Under these terms, Iraq agreed not to acquire or develop a nuclear weapons capability; to declare and destroy its nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons arsenal and any ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometers; and to compensate Kuwait for any loss or damage suffered at a set percentage of its petroleum exports. A comprehensive weapons inspection regime was set up to verify Iraq's disarmament with economic sanctions to be lifted on compliance with all terms of the cease-fire. The disarmament of Iraq was expected to take less than a year. However, in the period between 1991 and 1998, the Hussein regime proved to be resilient and defiant amidst the breaking down of consensus in the UN Security Council concerning the threat the regime posed to the international world community.

### The Significance of the War

The Gulf War of 1991 is primarily remembered as the first real demonstration of the proper working of the UN collective security mechanism. With the end of the Cold War, the UN Security Council was able to function as intended with nations from all around the world joining together to defend a weak state against an aggressor. The broad-based support for military action as well as military, financial, and political terms demonstrated the resounding legitimacy with which the core principles of nonintervention, sovereignty, and the peaceful resolution of disputes were viewed by a majority of states. Here, the world saw a brief glimpse of a possible "new world order" in which states would demonstrate their shared commitment to these principles and their intolerance for blatant aggression. The level of cooperation reached within the UN Security Council was to set a high benchmark for future collective action to restore international peace and security that unfortunately has not been replicated. The action is also remembered as the benchmark for US leadership internationally, creating the expectation that US leadership in security matters would be exercised multilaterally through the UN Security Council. These expectations continued during the 1990s, whilst US foreign policy increasingly began to display unilateralist tendencies.

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**See also Arab Nationalism; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War 1980–1988; Iraq; Kuwait; Middle East: International Relations; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Persian Gulf War, 2003**

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## PERSIAN GULF WAR, 2003

### Background to the Conflict

The seeds of a further conflict in the Persian Gulf were sown in the years following the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Following Iraq's comprehensive defeat in this war, the United Nations (UN) Security Council imposed a range of disarmament obligations on the country as a condition of cease-fire set out in UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 687. This resolution provided that Iraq agree not to acquire or develop a nuclear weapons capability, destroy its chemical and biological weapons arsenal and any ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometers, as well as compensate Kuwait for any loss or damage it had suffered. To verify Iraq's agreement to disarm a UN weapons inspection team was created, known as the UN Special Commission for the Disarmament of Iraq (UNSCOM), which together with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) were to conduct inspections on Iraqi territory. Economic sanctions and restrictions on Iraq's ability to sell oil and to use the proceeds were to be lifted should Iraq comply with these terms.

It is now believed that UNSCOM and the IAEA made good progress in uncovering and destroying a substantial portion of Iraq's WMD stockpiles and ballistic missiles, despite the efforts of the Iraqi regime to obstruct and deceive them. However, from 1993 to 1998, Iraq began a sustained and largely successful

campaign to impede disarmament by the UN. During the same time period, consensus among the permanent members of the UN Security Council began to unravel in relation to whether Iraq continued to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. A split emerged, with the United Kingdom and the United States believing the threat to be real and continuing, sufficient to warrant military action in response to Iraq's determined policy to obstruct, restrict, and finally to refuse to allow weapons inspections to continue. France and Russia, on the other hand, pushed for a relaxation of the sanctions regime, which was causing great suffering among the Iraqi people and opposed the use of force to punish the Iraqi regime when a crisis was reached in 1997 and 1998. By the end of 1998, despite an unauthorised punitive bombing raid by the United Kingdom and the United States (Operation Desert Fox), Iraq succeeded in expelling UN weapons inspectors from its territory and gaining a significant relaxation of economic sanctions, a state of affairs which continued until 2002.

### The US Push for Iraqi Disarmament

The Bush Administration indicated its intention to put Iraq back on the agenda internationally in January 2002 with the deployment of approximately eighty-six thousand troops, military aircraft, and warships to Kuwait and the Persian Gulf. Whilst at the start of his administration, President Bush took an anti-interventionist line, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, convinced the administration that the United States could not afford to be disengaged with the world. Whilst al-Qaeda was clearly America's most immediate threat, the possibility that Saddam Hussein's Iraq could join forces with fundamentalist Islamic terrorist groups was thought to be an extremely dangerous prospect that required preventive action.

In his January 29, 2002, State of the Union Address to Congress, President Bush declared Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as members of the "axis of evil" and threatened preventive action against them. During the next few months, in a series of speeches and interviews, the president explained why Iraq was a threat like no other and how September 11 had demonstrated a more urgent need to confront it. In September 2002, President Bush made his case to the UN General Assembly that Iraq continued to pose a serious danger to international peace and security, detailing evidence of Saddam Hussein's aggression, his attempts to acquire and develop weapons of mass

destruction, his use of chemical weapons against segments of the Iraqi people, his defiance of the UN itself, and finally his support for terrorism.

On November 8, 2002, on the initiative of the United States and the United Kingdom, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, which proclaimed Iraq to be in “material breach” of its cease-fire obligations under Resolution 678 of 1990; offered Iraq “a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations”; demanded Iraq prove that it no longer possessed weapons of mass destruction; provided for weapons inspections to resume by the UN Monitoring and Verification Commission (UNMOVIC) and the IAEA; provided that it cooperate fully with the inspectors; required the UN Security Council to convene immediately if Iraq failed to comply fully; and warned of “serious consequences” should it not do so. All permanent members reiterated that the resolution did not automatically authorise the use of force should Iraq be found to have breached its obligations. However, in its post-vote statement, the United States made clear its intentions to act alone if necessary.

On November 25, 2002, the inspection teams began their difficult task. On December 7, Iraq delivered a large number of documents to the UN as proof that it held no weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The United States analysed the documents and announced that they contained no new information than was already known through previous inspections. On December 19, 2002, President Bush declared Iraq to be in “material breach” of Resolution 1441. Whilst the United States did not believe that a further resolution was necessary to support military action, Tony Blair’s labour government was coming under direct popular pressure to return to the UN for further authorisation.

On March 7, the head of the UNMOVIC inspection team, Hans Blix, stated that the Iraqis were cooperating more fully with UNMOVIC but not to the point of full disclosure as required under Resolution 1441. Whilst the UN Security Council was in agreement that Iraq needed to be disarmed, Russia, Germany, and France argued that the inspectors should be given more time. In justifying the planned use of force against Iraq, the United States and the United Kingdom stated that military action was authorised by the UN Security Council through a revived authority to use force under resolution 678, the resolution that authorised the use of force against Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Under this argument, Iraq’s repeated failure to prove it no longer had WMD or missile delivery capability represented a material breach of its cease-fire obligations under Resolution 687. Resolution 1441 reaffirmed that

Iraq was in material breach of its obligations under Resolution 687 and gave it one last chance to comply. With its failure to do so, the basis of the cease-fire was removed, which revived authority to use force under Resolution 678, making a further resolution unnecessary.

This legal argument was largely not accepted by a number of other members of the UN Security Council. Within Europe, a rough split between old and new Europe emerged, with France and Germany opposed to military action and with newer members such as Spain, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania in support of military action. Large antiwar protests were held in France, Germany, and even in the United Kingdom, where it is estimated that one million people took to the streets. In the open UN Security Council debate on Iraq held on March 26–27, 2003, the broad majority of state representatives who spoke (sixty-eight in total) emphasised that the war was a violation of international law and the UN Charter and was thus found to be illegitimate both in terms of its goals as well as the mode of its prosecution. The lack of support for military action was also evidenced by the small number of states that took an active role with the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia.

## Operation Iraqi Freedom

On March 20, 2003, coalition troops launched Operation Iraqi Freedom with US and UK forces invading Iraq from positions in Kuwait. Within two days, combined forces had taken control of the Rumaila oil fields, the second richest oil field in Iraq (located in Southern Iraq), with little resistance. On March 22, the main bulk of US forces moved north, with a mixture of US and British forces moving up the Fao peninsula and taking the port of Umm Qasr and the Iraqi naval base of Zubayr. On March 23, the forces split, with British forces laying siege to the Shi’ite city of Basra. A full-scale assault was launched on April 6, with British troops taking control of the city the same day and having suffered few casualties. In the northern regions, a coalition of Kurdish *peshmerga* fighters, a coalition of Special Forces, and conventional US troops easily took control of the countryside and major northern cities.

The US forces began their advance on Baghdad with the First Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) advancing along major roads via Jalibah, Nasiriyah, and Kut before heading to Baghdad from the southeast. A second force, the Third Infantry Division, traveled up the Euphrates valley over the desert



before swinging back onto main roads for an advance on Baghdad via Karbala from the southwest. US forces met strong resistance in Nasiriyah from Iraqi *fedayeen fighters*, a mixture of Ba'ath Party militias and Muslim extremists from other Arab countries, but took control of the city by the end of March. Separate coalition forces assaulted and took control of Najaf on April 1 and Samawah on April 4, sites on-route to Baghdad. Further north, the Iraqi Republican Guard put up fierce fighting to defend the city of Hillah, being defeated after eight days on April 10. Up to this point, the US forces had achieved a speed of advance never seen before with the loss of little equipment and few soldiers. Unexpectedly, the invasion had met little strong resistance, with most regular soldiers deserting their positions.

The final objective was the assault on Baghdad, where a fierce defence by Iraq's elite Republican Guard divisions was expected. On April 3, after two days of heavy fighting, US troops took control of Karbala and secured the necessary bridge crossings to allow them into Baghdad. After overcoming attacks by a mix of *fedayeen fighters*, the Republican Guard, and regular army troops, US troops gained control on April 5 of the Baghdad (Saddam) International Airport, an objective of strong logistical and psychological value. The attack then pressed on toward central Baghdad through the southern suburbs, with US forces taking control of the "regime district" of ministries and residential palaces by April 7. From the southeast, marines crossed the Diyala River into Baghdad on April 7–8 and succeeded in securing important targets, such as the Atomic Energy Commission, the Ministry of Defence, *fedayeen* headquarters, and one presidential palace with little difficulty. On April 9, the marines reached Firdos (Paradise) Square, and here they famously assisted a group of Iraqis in pulling down a statue of Saddam Hussein, an image which became symbolic of the fall of the regime.

## Occupation and Reconstruction

The defeat of Saddam Hussein's regime was achieved with a surprisingly low level of coalition fatalities—122 US and 33 British soldiers, and some were killed by accident or by "friendly fire." It has been harder to estimate the number of casualties on the Iraqi side, but with the desertion of most conscripts and the avoidance of heavy combat by the Republican Guard, the most serious fighting and death affected the *fedayeen*, Saddam loyalists, supporters of the Ba'ath Party, as well as foreign Islamic fighters from Syria, Algeria, and other Muslim countries.

Whilst the coalition's victory over the regime proved to have been relatively easy, the reconstruction of Iraq as a multiethnic democratic state has proved far more difficult and complex. Internationally, the illegitimacy with which military action was viewed has led few states to offer to substantially share the financial and military costs of occupation and reconstruction, despite UN endorsement of a temporary occupation and the setting up of a peace-keeping force. Domestically, the failure of weapons inspectors to find WMD stockpiles in Iraq has led to damaging political inquiries in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia about the use of intelligence prior to the war. Within Iraq, the United States has been unable to shift its image as a foreign occupier. Throughout 2003 and 2004, an insurgency against the occupying forces has gathered intensity that has hindered the ability of US forces and interim Iraqi governments from maintaining security, a prerequisite for political and physical reconstruction. Insurgent groups have ranged from ex-Saddam militiamen and Ba'ath Party members, foreign terrorist organisations including al-Qaeda (in the Sunni areas), and followers of the radical Shi'ite cleric, Moqtadr al-Sadr in the South. Since the occupation, terrorist acts have occurred with regularity, targeting individuals and groups seen to be assisting the United States to restore order, including the occupying forces themselves, new army and police recruits, interim Iraqi government leaders, the United Nations, and foreign workers, and sabotaging oil pipelines and essential services has also occurred with regularity. With nationwide elections held in for January 2005, it remains to be seen whether the United States's nation-building experiment can succeed in replacing Saddam Hussein's dictatorial regime with a stable, multiethnic democracy.

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**See also Arab Nationalism; Ba'ath Party; Hussein, Saddam; International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); Iran–Iraq War 1980–1988; Iraq; Jihad; Middle East: International Relations; Persian Gulf War, 1991; Sanctions, Economic**

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## PERU

Peru is a large country (1,285,216 square kilometers) located on the west central part of South America, bordered by Ecuador and Colombia in the north, Brazil in the east, and Bolivia and Chile in the south. Its long coastal area, on the west, is on the Pacific Ocean. Peru's population is over 26.8 million with an estimated rate of annual population growth of 1.48%. Close to seven million live in the capital, Lima, located on the coast; the port of entry, however, is Callao. Three main regions with different climatic conditions can be found in Peru: the semidesert coastal plain; the Andes, also called Andean highlands, which run north to south; and the Amazon jungle in the east with its tropical rainforests.

In this ethnically diverse country, more than 45% of the population identifies as Indigenous (Quechua, Aymara, Ashaninka, and others), 37% as Mestizo (mixed white/Native American blood), 15% as White (of European descent), and the rest as Black, Asian, or other minorities. If religiously speaking, the country is still predominantly Catholic (90% of the population); both Spanish and Quechua are official languages, with other indigenous languages such as Aymara, Campa, and Aguaruno also being used in some regions. Ethnicity is still, unfortunately, a high predictor of socioeconomic status, with indigenous Peruvians forming the majority of the poor in Peru.

## Historical Background

The Inca Empire occupied an important part of what is now contemporary Peru at the time when the Spanish conquered the territory in the 1500s. After three centuries of colonial rule, Peru became an independent nation in 1824 after the Battle of Ayacucho was won over Spanish troops. A constitutional republic since 1860, Peru's postcolonial economy was

structured early on around large agroindustrial plantations in the coastal area, some mining enclaves in the highlands, and survival agriculture in most of the country. Sugar, cotton, fish, and fish products as well as silver, gold, copper, zinc, and petroleum have historically been the main country exports. In the twenty-first century, coffee and other food crops have also joined the list of primary exports, while sugar has declined. The coca leaf is one of Peru's most important export crops although mostly produced and sold illegally for drug trafficking.

From a "Republican Aristocracy" in the early part of the twentieth century, where a limited democratic system ensured the domination of the Peruvian oligarchy and the continuing exclusion of the majority of the population, the country entered into a phase of mass-based party politics through the formation of the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* party (American Revolutionary Popular Alliance, or the APRA) in 1924. The latter, seeking the inclusion of lower and middle classes in national politics, was a central political actor throughout the rest of the century but only won state power in 1985, through the election of Alan García as President. In the meantime, the often-banned APRA challenged a closed political system that only held free and fair democratic elections with universal suffrage in 1980. By then, however, the APRA had already been legalized for some decades and had gradually moved away from its original platform, choosing to ally with elite groups at different points in time. A number of left-wing parties emerging in the 1960s replaced the APRA as the representative of labour and popular classes.

The military regime, which took power in 1968 through a *coup d'état*, was the breaking point of the old oligarchic order that had remained deeply entrenched in politics and in the economy even if importantly challenged since the mid-1920s. President General Juan Velasco Alvarado implemented a number of key social and economic reforms and led the first serious attempt at building a state-led model of development supported by new state institutions. Mounting social protest and rising economic difficulties, however, led the military to return power to civilians in 1980. This coincided with the launching of an armed insurrection by a Maoist guerrilla organization, *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), which managed to sustain a war against state security forces until the early 1990s. The conflict caused a massive death toll, with close to seventy thousand deaths or forced disappearances and numerous human rights violations committed by the state as well as by insurgents.

Alberto Fujimori, a political unknown who won the 1990 presidential elections, completely reshaped

the Peruvian political, economic, and social landscape during his ten-year rule. After applying one of the harshest structural adjustment programs of Latin America, Fujimori perpetrated a “self-coup” in 1992 in alliance with the military. Following his shutting down the Congress and the Judiciary, Fujimori reconfigured entirely the country’s institutions. A new Constitution was drafted in 1993 where powers were further concentrated in the hands of the President and that allowed him to run for a second term; the bicameral Congress was transformed into a single house, and many social and economic rights protected by the 1979 Constitution were abolished to facilitate the implementation of Fujimori’s trade liberalization agenda.

New elections were held in 1995 and won easily by Fujimori, who had managed to redress the economy and put the leader of the Shining Path under arrest. The second term of Fujimori, however, was marked by increasing encroachments on civil liberties, executive control over the Judiciary and Electoral Bodies, and the President’s intent on running for a third term. After intense opposition from civil society and stronger scrutiny by the international community, the 2000 elections were decisive in revealing the Fujimori regime’s corrupt and repressive nature. Soon after these highly questioned elections, the regime broke down, and Fujimori went into self-exile in Japan, where he was granted protection due to his Japanese citizenship. Vladimiro Montesinos, the Head of Intelligence Services who is said to have been the real power figure in the regime, was arrested and put in jail.

After a transitional regime led by Valentín Paniagua (2000–2001), Alejandro Toledo was elected President in 2001. Toledo, an economist trained in the United States, was the first President of indigenous origins to assume power in Peru. His party, *Perú Posible* (Possible Peru), faced important difficulties in governing the country due in part to the many different political tendencies of its leading members. Low presidential popularity and numerous accusations of corruption dominated Toledo’s term.

### **Economic Situation**

Peru has been slowly recovering since the early 1990s from the worst economic crisis of its history, which built up in the 1970s and was at its peak in 1990, with hyperinflation ranging as high as 7,482%. From a negative gross domestic product (GDP) annual growth rate of –7% in 1990, the country’s economy was growing at a rate of 6.39% in 1995, before coming

down again to 1.33% in 2000 with a slight increase to 2.44% in 2003. Its GDP per capita was 5,010 purchasing power parity (PPP) US dollars in 2002.

The more stable macroeconomic framework since the 1990s has not been successful in addressing Peru’s socioeconomic ills from the point of view of sustainable employment and social development. Informal sector employment has continued to grow, from 52.7% of the economically active population in metropolitan Lima in 1991 to 59.2% in 2000. Meanwhile, the unemployment rate was 7.4% of the total labour force in 2000. The share of national income of the lowest 20% population was 2.9%, while the share of the highest 20% was 53.2% in 2000. It is estimated that 54% of the population is poor, while 14.8% is extremely poor, and 20% of the population still does not have access to an improved water source. Life expectancy at birth was 69.7 years in 2002. Only 59% of births are attended by skilled attendants (compared to the average of 83% in Latin America and the Caribbean), and 410 Peruvian women die for every 100,000 live births (compared to 190 on average in the region). An estimated 85% of the population above the age of fifteen was said to be literate, with around 95% of young females and 94% of young males attending primary schools.

### **Peru’s Development in the Post-World War II Period**

In comparison to the other main South American countries, Peru can be described as a late “industrializer,” with the predominance of the primary-export sector being explained as both a function of the diversity of natural resource exports and a greater penetration of US foreign investment from the late nineteenth century up to the late 1960s.

From the years of post-World War I to the end of the 1960s, with the brief exception of a failed attempt at adopting import-substitution policies during the government of President Bustamante in the mid-1940s, state intervention was confined to investing in infrastructure and promoting foreign investment and loans to support the primary-export sector. After a decade of growth and economic expansion in the 1950s, the 1960s were dominated by the need to undertake major structural changes to accommodate a growing middle class, a vibrant labour movement, and increasing mobilization by peasants seeking access to land and credit. An important process of migration to cities had also created a new sector among Peru’s major cities, mainly Lima, calling for

state intervention at the local level to organize the new settlements.

From the 1960s onward, a new model of state-led development took hold, with the promotion of import-substituting industrialization being implemented in response to the exhaustion of the export-based model. This late shift to an inward-looking industrialization strategy in the 1960s was a daunting task in light of the fact that Peru had remained one of the more open Latin American economies for foreign investment up to then. Moreover, state institutions had no previous experience of development planning and there was no central financial institution managing the economy. Only in 1963 was the *Banco de la Nación* (National Bank) created as a revenue collector and treasurer for the state.

The process of building state institutions that would manage the economy began under the government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1963–1968), head of the center-right party *Acción Popular* (Popular Action), who installed a set of measures seeking to bring Peru more in line with the Latin American industrialization level. Yet, Belaúnde's policies remained at the level of developing the first stage of import-substituting industrialization, that of consumer-durable industries. State policy making in general was still very weak as a result of extensive patronage and corruption within the bureaucracy.

More fundamental macroeconomic change and institutional reform was brought about by the reformist military regime in 1968–1980. Long overdue reforms that involved the state in major redistributing schemes were implemented for the first time in Peruvian history. This included one of the most generous land reforms of Latin America, with land redistribution as well as the formation of agricultural cooperatives. In total, about 30% of all peasants and agrarian producers were allocated 9,672,017 hectares of land out of a total of 23 million. Even if the land reform can be credited for having ended the domination of the landed oligarchy, the overall policy framework favoring cheap food prices for urban consumption was not positive for agricultural development.

Other important reforms included the nationalization of petroleum and mining industries, worker participation in industrial ownership, and the creation of numerous state agencies and programs seeking to foster greater participation and reduce social inequalities. On the side of civil society, that period is also recalled as one of extensive popular mobilizations with the rise of new left-wing parties, increased labour mobilization, and the formation of local community organizations, some of which were originally founded by the state.

On the side of economic policy, the same fundamental defects that had marked Belaúnde's first

government were reproduced under the military regime: an over-reliance on external borrowing and a lack of adequate fiscal and tax policies to ensure that expanding state spending could be financed on a sustainable level by domestic resources. The second half of the military regime was marked by its more conservative orientations with the replacement of General Velasco by General Francisco Morales Bermúdez in 1975. A growing popular and labour unrest was met with repression, and the military was soon forced to proceed to a transition to democratic civilian rule, which was initiated in 1978. The 1980 democratic elections saw the return of Fernando Belaúnde Terry as the new president.

The “lost decade” of the 1980s was marked by deep economic crisis and rising political violence, and ended with a debt crisis, hyperinflation, and political chaos. As an indication of the transformation of Peruvians' living conditions, in 1984 the minimum wage in Peru was 46% of what people had received ten years earlier. By 1990, real incomes had fallen to 20% of the levels achieved ten years earlier. These losses were accompanied by a dramatic drop of state social spending, which only started to resume in the early 1990s, together with the shift towards a new export-based model of development. These were founded on a new openness to foreign investment and compliance with international financial institutions' macroeconomic policy prescriptions.

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**See also Andean South America: History and Economic Development; Andean South America: International Relations; Aprismo; Fujimori, Alberto; Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl; Shining Path/Sendero Luminoso**

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## PETRODOLLARS

Petrodollars commonly refer to US dollars earned from the sale of oil. The term originates from the worldwide custom of quoting oil prices and clearing oil transactions in US dollars. Therefore, the term “petrodollars” can also be used synonymously with the oil revenues of members of the oil producers’ cartel Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and non-OPEC oil producers’ countries.

### Petrodollars Surpluses

In October 1973, following the fourth Arab-Israeli conflict, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) declared an oil embargo against the United States and the Netherlands—countries judged too friendly with Israel. The embargo caused severe energy shortages during the winter of 1973–1974 and a sudden and sharp rise in oil prices. At the same time, OPEC, which includes OAPEC plus Algeria, Indonesia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, sharply increased the price of crude oil. OPEC’s decision was dictated by economic considerations. During the early 1970s, the value of petrodollars had fallen because of the devaluation and depreciation of the US dollar. Oil prices had not kept up with other commodities’ prices. From 1960 to 1973, the price of oil had increased a mere 25%, much less than prices of other commodities. OPEC was also convinced that underpricing had caused oil to be wasted. To protect resources from depletion, price increases and production cuts were necessary.

From October 1973 to January 1974, the price of crude oil shot up 300%. The sudden surge in petroleum prices generated trade imbalances between oil importing and exporting countries. Because of the sudden and exceptional higher prices, oil-importing countries had no time to adjust to the new prices and accumulated huge trade deficits, and import expenditure greatly outstripped export revenues. Oil exporters faced the opposite phenomenon: oil export

revenues soared while imports remained unchanged; this phenomenon generated vast current accounts surpluses. The additional petrodollars produced by the 1973–1974 price hike became to be known as petrodollar surpluses.

### Petrodollars Recycling

While oil importers faced a cash shortage because they accumulated huge import bills that they could not honor, oil-exporting countries had to deal with cash surpluses, as they were unable to spend all the extra petrodollars generated by the price rise. The best solution to this imbalance would have been for oil-producing countries to increase their imports from oil-importing countries, mostly industrialized Western countries. However, this was unfeasible because several OPEC members had small populations, and many were still at early stages of industrialization. They simply could not import enough products to keep from accumulating enormous petrodollars surpluses.

The most serious consequence of these imbalances was the short- to long-term impact on the world economy. If petrodollars surpluses were not spent or loaned to someone else to be spent, there would be a serious shortage of liquidity, and the world economy would contract. It was apparent that while oil exporters needed investment outlets for their petrodollars, oil importers needed to borrow money to keep importing oil. The economic mechanisms used to match these two monetary flows became known as petrodollars recycling.

“Petrodollars recycling” can be defined as the economic process through which the excessive dollar inflows (surpluses) of the current account of the balance of payments of oil-producing countries are reversed with dollar outflows from the capital account. These dollar outflows are used to finance the current account deficits of oil-importing countries. The mechanism is described as the following. OPEC countries deposited their petrodollars surpluses into a foreign Western bank. The bank then loaned the money to governments in need of financing their balance of payments deficits. These countries used the borrowed money to buy more oil and other imports, keeping the economy flowing.

Petrodollars recycling also took place through the International Money Fund via an *ad hoc* lending mechanism: the Oil Facility. The fund was created using money from oil-exporting countries and other lenders and was used by countries with balance of payments problems caused by the oil price rise.

## Petrodollars Recycling Problems

Recycling petrodollars through the banking system alleviated the contraction of world economy. Large sections of petrodollars surpluses were invested in the stock market in industrialized countries and therefore sustained Western economies. However, the recycling created vast repayment problems, especially in developing countries, which kept accumulating vast debts to meet their energy imports demand. From 1973 to 1977, the foreign debt of one hundred developing countries (excluding oil exporting countries) increased 150%.

From the mid-1970s, higher oil prices led to mounting inflationary pressure placed on debtor countries, while soaring debts inevitably slowed down growth. By 1979, this unprecedented combination had a new name: “stagflation.”

## New Patterns of Petrodollars Recycling

The 2004 oil price increases have recreated a sudden surge in dollars earned by oil-producing countries. Since the first oil crisis, oil-importing countries have successfully introduced energy-saving schemes to reduce the impact of sudden oil price increases, yet the problem of petrodollars surpluses persists, especially in Arab oil-exporting countries. New patterns of recycling have emerged, however. Petrodollars surpluses are not any longer exclusively invested in the West or used to fund current account deficits of oil-importing countries but are invested in the Arab world. Gulf investors are pouring additional liquidity generated by higher oil prices into equities and stocks of Arab public companies. By the end of 2005, it is estimated that \$9 billion will be raised through several public offerings in the six Gulf Cooperation Council states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates).

Record corporate performance of Arab stocks coupled with psychological fear of investing abroad are at the root of the new phenomenon. Post-September 11 fears persist, and Persian Gulf investors now prefer to invest at home rather than in the United States or other Western countries.

## Petrocurrencies

The depreciation of the dollar also contributes to the reluctance of several oil-producing countries to recycle their petrodollars in dollar-denominated

investment. In addition, the weakening of the dollar is reducing oil revenues net revenues and increasing the net cost of European imports for oil-exporting countries. At the same time, the strengthening of the euro is appealing to commodity traders who see the new common European currency as the future reserve currency. Commodity trading to and from Europe has increasingly been conducted in euros and not dollars. Against this background, oil-exporting countries that trade with European countries may decide to denominate their oil sales in euros, ending the custom of quoting and trading oil in US dollars and paving the way to the advent of petrocurrencies, that is, more than one currency to clear oil transactions.

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**See also Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC); Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**

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## PHILIPPINES

The Republic of the Philippines, an archipelago situated between the Philippine Sea and the South China Sea, east of Vietnam, comprises approximately 7,100 islands; Luzon, Mindanao, and Visayas are the largest islands. With a total landmass of 115,831 square miles (300,000 square kilometers), the republic is roughly the size of Arizona. The terrain is largely mountainous, creating narrow coastal plains and interior valleys and plains. The climate is tropical with two distinct seasons: a northeast monsoon season (December to February) and a southwest monsoon season (May to October). Annual rainfall varies significantly by region. Mountainous regions receive approximately 195 inches of rain annually, whereas the more sheltered inland regions receive as little as 39 inches. The population is estimated at 76.5 million with an estimated growth rate of 2.36% annually.

The Negritos were the first peoples to inhabit the Philippines. They are believed to have come to the islands thirty thousand years ago from Borneo and

Sumatra, utilizing then-existing land bridges. Subsequently, people of Malay ancestry migrated to the islands from the South, utilizing then-existing land bridges and boats called “baranguays.” The Malays settled in scattered communities, also known as “baranguays.” Baranguays were ruled by local chieftains, called “datus.” In the ninth century, the Chinese merchants and traders arrived. In the fourteenth century, Arabs migrated from Indonesia, thus introducing Islam in the South and to a lesser extent to Luzon in the North. The Malays were the dominant group until the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

The first European-recorded sighting of the Philippines occurred on March 16, 1521, during Ferdinand Magellan’s circumnavigation of the globe. He landed on the island of Cebu and claimed it for King Charles I of Spain. Eager to display his supremacy, Magellan initiated the Battle of Mactan in which he was struck and killed by a poison arrow. The islands were given their present name in honor of Philip II of Spain, who ruled from 1556 to 1598.

Filipinos were restive under Spanish rule, and there were numerous uprisings. The revolutionary leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, who proclaimed Philippine independence on June 12, 1898, headed the most important uprising. Aguinaldo was able to unify historically disparate groups into one national voice. The revolution against Spain was increasingly successful by the time the Americans arrived. Their arrival, however, culminated in the defeat of Spain. Soon thereafter, Spain ceded the islands to the United States pursuant to the terms of the Treaty of Paris (December 10, 1898).

On July 4, 1946, the Philippine Islands became the independent Republic of the Philippines. In 1962, the official Independence Day was changed to June 12 to commemorate Aguinaldo’s original declaration of independence from Spain in 1898.

Ramon Magsaysay was the first post-independence president of the Philippines. His first success was the suppression of the communist-inspired Huk Rebellion (1945–1953) that had complicated recovery efforts. Magsaysay died in an airplane crash in March of 1957. His vice president, Carlos P. Garcia, who was elected to office shortly thereafter, succeeded him. Garcia was instrumental in negotiating the relinquishment of large areas of land initially reserved for American military forces and that were no longer needed. As a result, the United States turned over to the Philippines the town of Olongapo on Subic Bay, which was previously under the jurisdiction of the United States Navy. Diosdado Macapagal (1961–1965) was elected president in 1961. He sought to expand Philippine ties with its neighbors. In 1963, he convened a summit meeting in Manila consisting of Malaysia,

Indonesia, and the Philippines (MAPHILINDO). The goal of MAPHILINDO was to bring together the Malay peoples. However, continuing disputes between Malaysia and Indonesia and the Philippines’s controversial claim to Subah, a territory in the north-eastern Borneo that had become a Malaysian state in 1961, ended the summit. In the election of 1965, Ferdinand E. Marcos (1917–1990) defeated Macapagal. Marcos was in office for the next two decades, winning the presidential election again in 1969. His first term in office was ambitious and marked by numerous public works projects designed to improve the Filipino quality of life. He also lobbied vigorously for US military and economic aid. His second term in office was less idyllic. Economic growth slowed, and quality of living deteriorated, especially in the urban areas. The Communist Party, formerly the Huks, reestablished a visible communist presence. Crime rates and random violence were spiraling out of control. On August 21, 1971, nine people were killed, and grenade explosions wounded one hundred during a Liberal Party rally. Marcos blamed leftist guerillas and suspended *habeas corpus*. However, evidence eventually surfaced that implicated the administration as having some involvement in the attacks. Marcos declared martial law on September 21, 1972.

The martial law period persisted from 1972 to 1981. Under Marcos’s command, the military arrested opposition figures, including Benigno Aquino, journalists, student and labor activists, and criminal elements. Approximately thirty thousand people were incarcerated at various military compounds run by the army and the Philippine Constabulary. Weapons were confiscated, and individuals connected with opposition politicians and other figures were broken up. Newspapers were shut down, and the mass media were severely restricted. Moreover, Marcos closed the Philippine Congress and assumed its legislative responsibilities. During the martial law period, Marcos issued hundreds of presidential decrees; few of these were ever published. On January 17, 1981, Marcos issued the Proclamation 2045, which formally ended the period of martial law. While some controls were loosened, Marcos’s New Society was a liberalized version of the crony capitalism that defined his administration.

One of the first arrested was long-time Marcos opposition figure, Benigno Aquino. Aquino was found guilty of subversion and sentenced to death by a military court in November 1977. While in prison, he led the *Lakas Ng Bayan* (LABAN) or “Strength of the Nation” Party campaign to win seats in the 1978 legislative election. Despite being unsuccessful at gaining seats, he managed to get 40% of the metro Manila vote. In 1980, Aquino was allowed to travel to the

United States for medical treatment. Accompanied by his wife, he remained in the United States for three years. Aquino feared the Philippines were headed toward civil war. Despite warning from Imelda Marcos about the dangers of returning to the Philippines, Aquino's love of country was more powerful. On August 23, 1983, Aquino was shot in the head when he was escorted off an airplane at Manila International Airport. The soldiers of the Aviation Security Command (ASC) shot him. The government claimed he was killed by a lone gunman named Rolando Galman, who was conveniently killed by the ASC immediately after he shot Aquino. Finally, on September 28, 1990, the courts convicted General Luther Custodio and fifteen members of the ASC of murdering Aquino and Galman.

Aquino's assassination would be the downfall of Marcos. His public credibility and support were waning, as was support from the United States. The United States was becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the Marcos regime. Finally, on February 22, Enrile and General Fidel Ramos, commander of the Philippine Constabulary, issued a joint statement demanding Marcos's resignation. They established their rebel headquarters inside Camp Aguinaldo and the adjoining Camp Crame in Metro Manila, which was guarded by several hundred troops. In response, Marcos ordered units to suppress the uprising, but Cardinal Sin, broadcasting over the Catholic-run Radio Veritas (which became the voice of the revolution), appealed to the people to bring food and supplies for the rebels and to use nonviolence to block pro-Marcos troops. On the evening of February 25, 1986, Marcos was forced from office in a bloodless revolution.

Corazon Aquino became the seventh president of the Philippines. Aquino's presidency was armed with a mandate to undertake a new direction in the country's economic policy. Her initial cabinet contained diverse individuals from across the political spectrum. Over time, however, the cabinet became increasingly homogeneous, particularly with respect to the economic perspective, reflecting the strong influence of the powerful business community and international creditors. The businesspeople that directed the Central Bank and headed the departments of finance and trade and industry became the dominating voices in the economic decision-making process. Foreign policy also reflected this power relationship, focusing on attracting more foreign loans, aid, trade, investment, and tourists.

Aquino's immediate concern was to get the economy moving, and a turnaround was achieved in 1986. Economic growth was 1.9%. It was minimal but positive. For the next two years, growth was at 5.9% and

6.7%. In 1986 and 1987, consumption led the growth process, but then investment began to increase. In 1985, industrial growth was at 40%. By mid-1988, however, industries were working at near full capacity. Investment in durable goods grew almost 30% in both 1988 and 1989. Moreover, the international community was supportive. Foreign investment did not respond immediately after Aquino took office. In 1987, however, it began to pick up. The economy also was helped by foreign aid. The 1989 and 1991 meetings of the Multilateral Aid Initiative, also known as the Philippine Assistance Plan, a multinational initiative to provide assistance to the Philippines, pledged a total of US\$6.7 billion. The Aquino administration was successful at restoring respect of civil liberties and revitalizing democratic institutions. However, many viewed the administration as weak and fractious. During Aquino's tenure, there were numerous coup attempts by disaffected members of the Philippine military. This affected the overall return to full political stability.

Fidel Ramos succeeded Corazon Aquino as president of the Philippines on June 30, 1992. He won a 23.6% plurality in the May 11, 1992, general election. Ramos' victory was based on his platform for stability as well as his commitment to the Aquino administration policies. Ramos was instrumental in reconciling with his opponents, most notably the Communists. He legalized the Communist Party and created the National Unification Commission, which laid the groundwork for peaceful talks with communist insurgents, Muslim separatists, and military rebels.

Joseph Estrada, a well-known film star, was elected in May of 1998. He was elected with overwhelming popular support based on his promises to alleviate the suffering of the poor. Despite his promises, his administration was among the most corrupt. During his tenure in office, Estrada illegally amassed an excess of \$80 million, mostly from bribes from illegal gambling operations and skimming taxes. He was removed from office on January 20, 2001. Estrada was succeeded by his Vice President, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

The Philippine economy has progressed slowly over time. Prior to the 1970s, agricultural and mineral products were the primary export. The agricultural sector employed approximately 60% of the workforce. In the 1970s, however, manufactured commodities (garment and electronic products) began to take increasingly larger shares of the export market. By the mid-1980s, manufactured commodities equaled 75% of the total value of all exports. The economy has evolved, such that by 1990 agriculture only employed 45% of the workforce, while the manufacturing



sector employed 12%. The service sector, which employed 25% of the workforce in 1960, became the residual employer and by the late 1980s employed 40% of the workforce. In 2002, the services sector employed 47% of the workforce; agriculture 37%; and industry 16%. Per capita gross domestic product (GDP) was \$962 in 2002, and 52% of the population lived at or below the poverty line. In 2002, the infant mortality rate was 25.7 per 1000. The life expectancy was 66.9 years for males and 72.2 years for females.

The Philippine economy suffers from poor infrastructure. While there is a vibrant industrial production sector of the economy (for products of food, beverages, tobacco, and pharmaceuticals), it is concentrated primarily in the urban areas. Poor transportation and communications infrastructure hinder any significant linkages to the provinces. The Philippines are rich in agricultural potential as well. However, inadequate infrastructure, lack of financing, and government policies have hindered growth. Moreover, the Philippines are endowed with vast mineral and thermal energy resources. High production costs, low metal prices, and a lack of infrastructure investment have caused the industry to decline in growth.

Despite a slow maturing economy and relatively high unemployment rates, the Philippines have a literacy rate of 92%. One of the most serious problems in the Philippines in the 1980s and early 1990s concerned the large number of students who completed college but then could not find a job. If properly utilized, these new graduates could spur economic development. However, when left idle or forced to take jobs beneath their qualifications, this group could be a major source of discontent.

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**See also** Aquino, Benigno, and Corazón; Marcos, Ferdinand

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### PINOCHET UGARTE, AUGUSTO

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean armed forces overthrew the democratically elected Marxist president Salvador Allende Gossens in a bloody coup *d'état* that ended Allende's life. The coup signaled the end of Chile's democratic tradition and the beginning of General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte's seventeen-year authoritarian rule.

General Pinochet (b. 1915) is probably the most controversial figure in Chilean political history. His enemies have portrayed him as a repressive dictator and violator of human rights, responsible for the murders of his political opponents. His advocates, on the other hand, have depicted him as the crusader who rescued Chile from communism and the visionary who paved the way for Chile's economic recovery.

The son of middle class parents, Augusto Pinochet Ugarte was born on November 25, 1915, in the port city of Valparaíso and entered Chile's Army Academy in 1933. After his graduation in 1937, he rose through the ranks, and on August 23, 1973, President Allende appointed him as Army Commander.

Since being elected president by the Chilean Congress—no candidate received a majority of the vote in the September 1970 elections—Allende began a radical program for Chilean development consisting of land reform, nationalization of the banking and copper mining industries, and social welfare programs. Allende's program ran into difficulty as copper prices plummeted in the world market, inflation skyrocketed, import prices rose, and food shortages were common. Lacking a clear majority in Congress, Allende angered the Christian Democratic Party majority in the Chilean Congress when he threatened to replace the said body with a Popular Assembly. In response, the Christian Democrats sponsored a resolution in the Chamber of Deputies on August 22, 1973, calling for the military to establish law and order.

An exasperated Allende appointed General Pinochet as Army Commander. Presumed to be apolitical, Pinochet, as Army Chief of Staff, had put down a short-lived coup against Allende carried out by disgruntled military officers on June 29, 1973.

When public discontent against the Allende regime increased, the military decided to act and on September 11, 1973, staged a blood coup that toppled the Allende government. The coup's principal architects were Navy Commander, Admiral José Toribio Merino Castro, and Air Force Commander, General Gustavo Leigh Guzmán. Yet Pinochet, soon emerged as the leader of the military *junta* that was to rule Chile, for he commanded the Chilean armed forces' most numerous and powerful branch.

Pinochet's assumption of power marked the beginning of what he termed as "Authoritarian Democracy." Under this system, Congress was dismissed, the *junta* assumed control of all legislative and executive powers, press censorship was established, and labor union activity was curtailed.

Pinochet's seventeen-year rule was a repressive one. Chileans and foreigners presumed to be leftist sympathizers were arrested, exiled, or physically eliminated. In addition, political activism was banned. When in 1978, for example, fellow *junta* member General Leigh Guzmán declared in a newspaper interview his hopes for the return of democracy, Pinochet dismissed him from the *junta* and replaced him with General Fernando Matthei.

While the Pinochet regime was characterized by political repression, economic liberalization became its trademark. Pinochet's economic plan conducted by the Chicago Boys—disciples of American economist Milton Friedman's supply-side economics theory—consisted of anti-inflationary measures, reduced state spending, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and economic diversification. An example of this economic liberalization was Law 600 that placed no limits on foreign investments and allowed for immediate repatriation of profits. The program brought such positive results that Chile became the most economically sound nation in Latin America.

Pinochet's political philosophy was best revealed in the 1980 Chilean Constitution, parts which remain in effect today. Holding to his firm belief that political factionalism was responsible for Allende's advent to power and that political pluralism was an obstacle to progress, Pinochet's 1980 Constitution granted the executive branch numerous powers while reducing Congress's traditional legislative role. Furthermore, the constitution granted the military an unprecedented role in Chilean politics by denying the president the right to remove military commanders and by granting the military budgetary autonomy.

In terms of international relations, the Pinochet regime was often cited as a frequent violator of human rights by organizations such as the United Nations General Assembly, the Organization of American States, and Amnesty International. Furthermore, relations with the United States deteriorated during Jimmy Carter's presidency because of the latter's insistence on human rights. Trade with the United States, however, grew during the Reagan administration—Reagan, like Pinochet, was a firm believer in supply-side economics—to the point that the United States became Chile's largest trading partner and primary investor.

During Pinochet's regime, a major diplomatic crisis occurred, ironically, with the right-wing Argentine military *junta*. Both nations almost went to war over sovereignty of the Beagle Channel in 1978. Only the mediation of Pope John Paul II prevented war between the two Southern Cone neighbors.

An interesting feature of the 1980 Chilean Constitution was its provision for a plebiscite, whereby voters could choose between the continuance of the governing *junta* for another eight years or a plebiscite that elections be held for a new government. In October 1988, seventeen parties known as the *Concertación* rallied Chilean voters for a 54.7% vote against eight more years of *junta* rule. To his credit, Pinochet respected the plebiscite vote and even chose not to become a presidential candidate in the December 14, 1989, elections, which were won by Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin, a *Concertación* candidate.

On March 11, 1990, Pinochet handed power to the civilian president. The end of his presidency, however, did not mean an end to his involvement in Chilean politics. Due to a 1980 constitutional provision, he remained Commander of the Armed Forces until 1998, and as a former president, he retained the right to appoint nine of the thirty-eight senators in Congress as well as to remain a senator for life.

In October 1998, while undergoing medical treatment in London, Pinochet was arrested under a warrant issued by the Spanish judge Baltasar Garzón. The judge demanded Pinochet's extradition to Spain on grounds of human rights violations against Spanish citizens in Chile during his regime. After tense negotiations between Chile and Great Britain, the British allowed Pinochet to return to Chile on humanitarian grounds. In March 2000, Pinochet received a warm welcome from the Chilean military, and thousands of his supporters lined the streets from the airport to his home. A few months later, however, Pinochet was ordered to stand trial for human rights violations. In 2003, the Chilean Supreme Court ruled that the aging general was mentally unfit to stand trial.

In May 2004, a Chilean appellate court opened hearings for Pinochet to stand trial for his role in Operation Condor, a plan implemented by Latin American right-wing regimes to eliminate leftist sympathizers during the 1970s and 1980s. While arguments persist regarding his ability to stand trial, there is no doubt that Augusto Pinochet Ugarte has left an indelible mark in Chilean history.

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**See also Allende Gossens, Salvador; Chile; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development**

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## PLAN COLOMBIA

Plan Colombia was formally unveiled in 1999 and implemented in 2000 by the United States, under the administration of President Bill Clinton, and by the Colombian government, under the administration of President Andrés Pastrana Arango. There is some dispute over Plan Colombia’s authorship and whether it is primarily Colombia’s or Washington’s plan. Over the years, there have been several versions of the plan, and even the English and Spanish texts of the final 1999 document differ. Despite variations in the official rhetoric, in effect the plan’s central goal has been to combat drug trafficking, narcoterrorism, and drug-fueled guerrilla insurgencies in Colombia. It has since developed into an ambitious multiyear foreign aid and antidrug program.

The lengthy 1999 Colombian document, entitled *Plan Colombia: A Plan for Peace, Prosperity, and the Strengthening of the State*, detailed a comprehensive, ten-point strategy to demonstrate Colombia’s commitment to achieving “lasting peace,” to securing extensive international economic assistance to rebuild the country, and to increasing military support to

fight the “war on drugs.” In order of funding priority, however, the plan had several specific targets that it sought to realize over a five-to-six-year period: curb overall drug trafficking; reduce coca cultivation by 50%; restore the Colombian government’s control over its territory; strengthen democracy; promote economic development; protect human rights; and provide humanitarian assistance. The Colombian government, despite the greater resources that were dedicated to the military components of the plan, preferred to emphasize its social and political aspects, especially when seeking contributions from the European Union (EU).

As announced by the Colombian government in September 1999, Plan Colombia optimistically projected an overall budget of \$7.5 billion for antinarcotics control and development assistance over five years. President Pastrana pledged more than half or \$4 billion from Colombian resources, and the remaining \$3.5 billion was to be raised in loans and credits from the United States and the international community, including the EU, Canada, Japan, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and the Andean Development Corporation. Despite three donor’s conferences by 2004, the actual commitments have fallen far short of the amount initially hoped for by the United States’ and Colombian governments.

In June 2000, the US Congress made good on the US pledge and approved a one-time, emergency supplemental \$1.3 billion aid package to Colombia (in addition to funds of more than \$330 million approved earlier). A tiny portion of these funds was meant for counternarcotics programs in the Andean region as well. Most of the funds, however, were earmarked for military and intelligence support in Colombia during the next two years with around a quarter of a billion dollars dedicated to social development programs. This funding package represented the largest military aid to Latin America to date (making Colombia the third highest recipient of US aid worldwide in 2001 and the fourth highest in 2004). Specifically, the military assistance bought fourteen Blackhawk and thirty Huey helicopters and provided advanced training for Colombia’s counter-narcotics battalions, and it paid for stepped-up forcible eradication and extensive aerial glyphosate fumigation of coca leaf and opium poppy crops. At the time, Colombia was supplying 90% of the cocaine that entered the United States, as well as most of the heroin.

Critics of this militarization blamed US influence for shifts in the Plan Colombia’s priorities. Earlier versions of the plan had placed greater emphasis on economic and alternative development and

nonmilitary support for the peace process. And a review of the 1999 plan's ten strategies reveals economic activation and fiscal reorganization at the top of the list and counternarcotics and international drug control strategies listed sixth and last, respectively. Especially by 2001, Plan Colombia also marked a distinct shift away from counternarcotics enforcement to an emphasis on counterinsurgency and anti-terrorism. This redefinition of the enemy was partly a result of the September 11 terrorist attack on the United States, but it was also a consequence of the escalation in terrorist and criminal activities by Colombia's largest Marxist guerrilla group, *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, FARC). Most of Colombia's coca and poppy crops were being grown in the so-called "liberated" or "demilitarized" zones under the control of Marxist guerrillas, primarily the FARC, but also under the control of the smaller *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN) or the National Liberation Army.

By 2003, the US State Department described Colombia as "home to three of the four US-designated foreign terrorist organizations" in the hemisphere. Intelligence evidence had been mounting, according to US and Colombian military sources, that the FARC had strengthened or established connections with other terrorist groups from the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to the Islamic fundamentalists such as the Taliban in Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden, and Al Qaeda. Also, after the September 11 attacks, the Colombian Army routinely replaced "narcoguerrillas," their term for the rebel force, with that of "narcoterrorists," and the definition of the threat both in Colombia and in the United States shifted from one of insurgency to one of terrorism. Critics of US policy, however, tended to discount these global terrorist connections and viewed the linkage of drugs and terror as a way to "sell" to the US public and Congress the unprecedented military funding and more aggressive US role in Colombia and the Andes region.

Moreover, the Colombian military was linked to rightist paramilitary forces—the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia or the AUC—and has been complicit in human rights violations. Human Rights organizations and progressive foreign policy lobbies, such as the Washington Office on Latin America, described the Colombian army as "one of the most abusive in the hemisphere." Critics feared that Plan Colombia, by training and arming thousands of Colombian troops against guerrillas, would further enmesh the United States in Colombia's intractable forty-year civil war and undermine peace initiatives by the Pastrana and (since August 2002) Alvaro Uribe

governments. The Colombian document itself ignores the compromised role of the security forces. It limits the armed conflict to three protagonists: the guerrillas, with roots in an agrarian and Marxist movement; the self-defense groups that want an armed solution to the leftist insurgency; and the majority of Colombians, who have been forcibly displaced and victimized by the violence, kidnapping, and extortion of both groups.

Officially, the US support for Plan Colombia emphasized five components: human rights and judicial reform; expansion of counternarcotics operations; alternative economic development; increased interdiction; and assistance for Colombian National Police. In theory and sometimes in practice, US policy provided for human rights protections in implementing Plan Colombia. Under US law, the Leahy Amendment provided that no aid could be given to any Colombian police or military units involved in gross human rights violations, unless the Secretary of State certified that the Colombian government had taken significant measures to improve human rights. Nevertheless, the critics countered that the aid package was inconsistent and did not do enough to curb military collusion with the paramilitaries. The plan entrenched military control over civil society, and aerial fumigation increased the forcible displacement of the population deeper into the country's jungle. As a result, Colombia has over a million internally displaced persons, one of the largest such populations in the world.

In spring 2001, the incoming administration of President George W. Bush announced a new Andean Regional Initiative that attempted to defuse some of the criticism of Plan Colombia and also to address the plan's spillover effects in neighboring countries. To some extent, the Andean Initiative represented a more regional and balanced approach to counternarcotics control. Funding increased to Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and more than \$730 million was requested for 2002 to support social and economic assistance. These are only supplementary, and Plan Colombia programs and funding, however, have continued.

After five years of implementation, Plan Colombia's achievements are mixed. The plan remains, primarily, a bilateral rather than multilateral approach. The United States provided more than 90% of the military funding and \$4 billion in aid to Colombia during 2000 to 2005, while much of the promised European commitments (even "soft-side," nonmilitary aid) have not materialized. And 80% of this US aid has been for military, police, and aerial eradication programs. Despite a 30% decrease in coca acreage and less poppy production, the plan has not reduced drug trafficking or the price of drugs. With

hundreds of thousands of acres of production fumigated and eradicated annually since 2000, environmental and health concerns have also increased proportionately. And alternative development programs have not kept apace, pushing desperate farmers who have lost their livelihoods to restart illegal cultivations in more inaccessible regions of Colombia and continue the cycle of poverty and drug activity.

There has been a significant increase in the size and capabilities of Colombia's armed forces but at a price. Despite drops in violence levels and greater security in Colombia's cities and towns, a majority of the countryside remains a no-man's land in the hands of guerrillas and paramilitaries, who are more squeezed but also more desperate and violent. Civilians bear the brunt of this "sociopolitical violence" by both state and antistate groups. In the uneven balance of forces, the paramilitaries now hold greater power and continue to traffic in drugs, assassinate labor leaders and human rights workers, and kill peasants. Out of a total population of 36 million in Colombia, two million are internal refugees, many of these children. These children flood into the cities, and without hope or education become fodder for drug gangs. The humanitarian costs, therefore, have also been excessive. There have been rumors of widespread corruption and alleged drug trade connections at the top levels of the Colombian government. Repeated identification of Colombia with the "global war on terror," for example, when President Uribe called the military the "defenders of terrorism," has further polarized the country.

As Plan Colombia completes its term, critics fear that a new "Plan Colombia 2" could be approved in 2006. They warn that defense contractors and companies that profit from Plan Colombia have a stake in continuing military assistance to Colombia. The multinational oil industry, especially, hopes to benefit by greater security for pipelines and civilian contractors. The expectation is that these corporations will lobby US Congress and the president to renew Plan Colombia when it ends in 2005. In October 2004, Congress approved the Bush administration's request to raise the cap on troops and private US contractors present in country under Plan Colombia. Given the controversial history of Plan Colombia, there are real concerns that the military and eradication gains that have been achieved cannot be solidified as long as most social and developmental needs remain unmet.

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**See also Colombia; Drug Trade; Drug Use; United Nations International Drug Control Program (UNDCP)**

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## POLAND

Poland is a medium-sized European country with a total surface area of 120,728 square miles (312,685 square kilometers). The population is estimated at 38,626,439 (CIA July 2004). It is divided into sixteen provinces (*voivodeships*). For more than 98% of the citizens, Polish is a mother tongue. Ethnically, Poland is 97% Polish, with small Belorussian, Ukrainian, and German minorities. About 95% of population is Catholic, with about 75% practicing. Beyond them, 1.5% is Orthodox and about 1% is Protestant. The economic centres are Warsaw (the capital, with

almost 2 million of citizens); Lodz (with approximately 1 million citizens); and Cracow, Poznan, and the Silesian with an agglomeration of Katowice, Wroclaw, Gdansk (with Gdynia), and Szczecin. The most important Polish universities are Warsaw University founded in 1816 (the largest in the country) founded in, Jagellonian University founded in 1364 (the oldest one), Warsaw Technical University, Academy of Mining and Metallurgy–Technical University in Cracow, Agricultural University in Warsaw, and the Military Technical University.

Poland borders on Russia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Germany. The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita according to the power purchase parity is about \$11,100 US dollars (2003 estimate). The level of the economic development is average. The sector of services produces more than 65% GDP, with industry at 31% and agriculture at 4%. The main Polish export goods are average and low-processed industrial articles, such as chemicals and mineral materials (copper, pit-coal), and agricultural products. Poland exports highly processed goods to its developing Eastern European neighbours and mostly low-processed products and raw materials to markets of well-developed countries. Recently, the level of processing and the technological advancement of the exports to markets of the Western countries have grown. Similarly, types of goods imported by Poland depend on the same geographical criteria. The import of raw materials from Russia and Ukraine predominates, mainly energetic ones, such as petroleum and earth gas or iron ore. Highly processed products with large technical advancement are imported from the Western Europe countries. Poland is a member of the European Union (EU, since 2004), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, since 1999), the West European Union, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Council of Europe, and other organizations. It is a long-standing member of the United Nations (UN).

The political-economic situation of Poland has been heavily influenced by geopolitical issues, primarily its position in the central part of the Europe between Russia and Germany. Poland became its own region in the tenth century as a result of the connection of Slavic tribes between the Oder, the Vistula, and the San (the largest Polish rivers). The first historical ruler of Poland, Mieszko (Dagobert), converted to Christianity in 966 AD. The first “modernization” of Poland was initiated by Kazimierz (the Great) in the 1300s. He improved the Polish defense system, reformed the country’s economy and money turnover, and ensured solid treasury incomes. Moreover, he introduced the uniform legislation and the transparent

political system. In addition, he founded the University in Cracow in 1364.

Under Jadwiga Andegaweńskiej, the female ruler of Poland who in 1386 married the ruler of Lithuania, Jagiello Wladyslaw, to form a union with Lithuania, a parliamentary democracy (albeit limited to the noble classes) was founded. The Polish Sejm (the lower chamber) and the Senate (the upper chamber) created legal binding solutions for the King who, together with his own ministers (foreign affairs, the chancellor) and internal administration (the marshal, the treasurer), performed the executive power. Following the last ruler of the Jagiellonian dynasty, the Polish Congress also chose the king.

Traditionally, the Polish army was professional. However, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, this approach was replaced by the “levy of mass,” meaning every gentleman had a duty of defense. Twenty-first century Poland retains a period of mandatory military service for all males at the age of eighteen.

In 1772, Russia, Austria, and Prussia took under occupation parts of Polish grounds (about 30% of Polish territory). In 1791, the new Polish Constitution was announced. This caused immediate Russian military intervention and, in consequence, further territorial changes. About half of the territories were occupied by Russia and Prussia. The national uprising led by General Tadeusz Kosciuszko also ended with defeat, and in 1795, Poland ceased to exist.

During the Napoleonic period, Poland appeared again on a European map (1807). After the fall of Napoleon and the Viennese Congress in 1815, Poland became dynastically joint with Russia. However, unlike Russia, its political system was the constitutional monarchy with a liberal character. In 1831, after a period of significant economic development, Poland was released from Russia. Uprisings in 1830–1831 and 1863–1864 began encroachments on Poland’s independence, and the Polish state was reabsorbed by Russia in 1865.

Large firms and banks were established in Poland, and soon, they were able to operate at a very strong position on Russian markets. In the part of Poland under German administration, local societies tried to defend against “Germanization” pressure. The self-organization of Polish communities grew up as a reply of German actions; similar events took place in the Austrian-controlled areas. That process took place with the strong cooperative movement and founding of the first Polish cooperative banks. In 1866, Polish representatives took official seats in the Viennese Parliament.

The Austrian part of Poland was one of the most neglected economically (comparably only with the Russian part). Situations improved after the

development of the petroleum industry. At the end of nineteenth century, this part of Poland provided circa 10% of world oil production.

Poland regained its independence in 1918 and was accepted by the United States, France, and England. After the Polish army's victory in 1920 over the Red Army, a truce with Russia was established until 1939. Though Poland suffered great destruction during World War I, the interwar years were a period of standardizing and modernization; women were given suffrage and a number of modern social policies were introduced. In 1939, Poland was one of the most developed countries in the world with a stable and modern legal system, a stable financial system and a stable currency, and a large industrial sector, including then-modern aircrafts and an electronic industry.

The political situation, however, was less stable. There was a great deal of fragmentation of political parties, leading to a military revolution in 1926. Until 1939, the military played a large role in the Polish government.

The international situation was also unstable. Germany was encroaching on the western border. On the other hand, Soviet Russia did not acknowledge Poland as a stable state. In addition, Poland had border conflicts with Czechoslovakia and Lithuania. In September 1939, World War II exploded.

The Polish nation went to war both abroad and within the country against Germany and Russian hegemony and suffered persecution and terror both on the part of Russia and Germany. On the Polish territory in Nazi death camps, Germans perpetrated the Holocaust of the European Jewish population.

In Poland grew an armed resistance movement with approximately four hundred thousand members. On both European fronts more than five hundred thousand soldiers fought (not to count members of the resistance movement) on the side of the Allies. After the war, the agreement of the Western Powers and counterfeit elections (1947) began a Polish period of forty-five years under a Communist regime and dependence on Russia. The economic system was an essential modification of the Soviet system. Many legal solutions, characteristic of free market economies, were kept; these included stock companies law, drafts, promissory notes, and Bills of Lading (documents used in the transportation industry). Unfortunately, they were seldom used. Private property existed in agriculture (where it predominated) and in microindustry or crafts. Many cooperatives operated. Metallurgical and machine industry as well as mining predominated. The inventory of consumptive goods was quite weakly developed. The technological gap, little diversity of enterprises, and cost of foreign debt had driven the economy to fall in 1980s.

The Communist regime was not popular, and social protests exploded in 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976, and 1980. However, the Communist period did bring many social changes. Basic education for all eight years of primary school was made obligatory. This caused the practical elimination of illiteracy. Unfortunately, until 1989, only 10% to 15% of the young population attended secondary school, and in consequence, only about half of them went onto higher education. The political and economic systems gave a minimal amount of encouragement to continue education on an average or higher level.

In the Communist period, previously existing social structures were violated by the higher material position of members of the Communist Party. Simultaneously, with a bad economic situation, violations were also caused by social anxieties.

In 1980, worker strikes brought the beginning of the organized social movement Solidarity. The short carnival of freedom ended with the martial law in December 1981. However, a falling economic position, a high external debt, and the lack of the support of the society for Communist authorities forced Poland into negotiations with the opposition. On the basis of negotiations in 1989, partly free and democratic Parliamentary elections took place. The breakup of the Soviet Union (1991) accelerated the process of the democratization, and the next elections (1991) were fully democratic. In 1990 began the difficult Balcerowicz-Sachs Plan of economic reforms. These led to privatization of the economy and to quick economic development in the second half of 1990s. In 1999, Poland joined NATO, and the country joined the European Union in 2004.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe; Jaruzelski, Wojciech; Solidarity Union; Walesa, Lech**

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## POLITICAL CULTURE

### The Term Political Culture

The term “Political Culture” is particularly used in political science but is also employed in the analysis of problems in sociology, psychology, history, philosophy, anthropology, and other such subjects. This term appears in academic writing in the 18th century. However, scientific research into political culture truly flourished after World War II.

Some authors define it as basic *characteristic of a nation's character*. Others define it as a specific *trait of individual political behavior*. Still others emphasize on its *moral aspect* and so on. Regardless of the diversity of opinions, the idea that political culture is people's *way of political life* and at the same time it is a *product of their political behavior* is a prevailing opinion. It represents a complexity of *beliefs, values, habits, and behavior regarding political matters* existing in society.

Political culture may be classified in accordance with a variety of indicators. So, for instance, some authors define two types of political culture—integrated culture, which builds upon trust and consensus among members of society, and fragmented culture, which is defined by a lack of agreement and trust among the stakeholders in the political process. According to one of the most popular political classifications, political culture falls into three categories: (i) patriarchal or local political culture, manifestly centered on specific local values, local patriotism, and familial loyalty; (ii) the political culture of the subjects, characterized by respect and recognition of political institutions but in combination with a passive attitude to political change; (iii) participative political culture typified by the proactive behaviour of the populace in political life and a high level of political awareness.

Most authors share the opinion that there are sub-cultures within the frames of the political culture. Thus, they distinguish between two types of political culture. The first type is called “General Political Culture,” and is related to the beliefs, values, habits, and political behavior of the prevailing entity of people. The other type is “Elite Political Culture,” and is related to the political behavior, beliefs, and values of the authorities and of influential individuals and groups.

Each country is characterized with its typical (national) political culture, and in this sense, in scientific literature one can talk about American political culture, British political culture, Japanese political culture, French political culture, and others. Some authors tend to differentiate the political cultures even by geographical and other features.

### Changes of Political Culture

Culture is dynamic and constantly changing due to a couple of factors. The **first source** of change is related to *the level of general economic development*: the advanced economy of a given country sets up the economic conditions necessary for the development of common culture and political culture in particular. The **second factor** for cultural change is related to *the technical progress and the development of new technologies*. The **third source** of the change must be looked for in *the nature of culture itself*: just like authors of genius whose work can accelerate the development of culture, the appearance of great political leaders can bring forward political culture in much the same way. The constant collision and *conflicts* between the different social groups and countries represent the **fourth factor** for the changes in the political culture in a given society. A **fifth factor** can be pointed out: the “pressure from the outside” due to different types of *pressure* from outside forces; a given country can change its political structures, which can lead to a change of the existing political culture. Usually, the change in the master cultural model is an evolutionary process, but it can be accomplished through revolution. With regard to this, revolution can be classified as the **sixth factor** for the change in political culture.

The process of changing the old political culture with a new one in Eastern Europe during 1989 was done in different manners due to the different factors that existed. First, each country had its typical cultural model, which included its specific national psychology, traditions, mentality, and other such factors. Second, each Eastern European country had reached its own level of economic development. Third, some of those countries had tried to change their political



situation in the past (The Hungarian revolution of 1956, The Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia of 1968, and other such revolutions). Fourth, in some Eastern European countries, some political structures had already started trying to change the existing political system (the nonformal movements of the “Greens” and “Solidarnost” in Poland). Fifth, in some Eastern European countries, dissident leaders (such as L. Valensa, V. Havel) appeared on the political scene. Sixth, the Eastern European countries had different historical commitments with the former USSR. These and some other reasons have helped make the change in the cultural model and encourage the development of the political culture to take on different paths in the different countries. For example, in some countries, the process was accompanied with a modification of their government model: the previously existing USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia fell apart and new states were formed instead. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) united into one state. In some countries, the change of the old political culture with a new one was accompanied with wars and ethnic conflicts, while in others it took place in a peaceful manner.

### **Similarities and Differences in Political Cultures of Developing Countries**

There are similarities as well as differences in the political cultures of the developing countries. The similarities between the countries are as follows. First, there is a common tendency for change of both the political culture of the masses and the political culture of the elite. Second, the political culture of the ruling elite changes more intensively than the general political culture. Third, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the so-called “image of the enemy” present in the political cultures of the developing countries have changed. After the terrorist acts in New York on September 11, 2001, the political culture in the developing countries is forming a uniform image, and this is the image of terrorism.

Along with these common tendencies in the political culture of each developing country, there are specifics that differentiate each country’s culture from the others. For example, due to the specific characteristics of their historical development, the political cultures of most countries from Latin America are characterized with the so-called *paternalism*. *Authoritarianism* is another characteristic of the political culture of the developing world. “*Machoism*” is a valid

characteristic for the political culture in most Latin American countries. It is related to the idea that the political leader has to be a man (“*macho*”), who has to be distinguished, strong, and handsome, and women should like him. A significant characteristic of the political cultures of the developing countries is the *tolerance of corruption*. Corruption among the political elite in the Latin American countries is taken for granted. This is due to the fact that during the Spanish colonization of South America, the administrative positions in the newly formed Latin American countries were not earned, but bought by the rich representatives of the Spanish upper class. In that sense, the common people have seen the position of a high government official as an investment, from which dividends will be gained in the future. Such mechanism is the basis for understanding corruption as something natural for the political elite.

### **Peculiarities of Political Culture in Asian and African Countries**

The political cultures of Asian countries are dominated, in varying degrees, by the great civilizations of China and India, which explains some similarities therein. Individual regions on the continent have been directly influenced by the cultural traditions of Confucianism, Islam, and Buddhism, creating a complex miscellany of political cultures. So for example, Confucian cultural tradition dominates in China, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, Singapore, and Taiwan; Islamic cultural tradition dominates in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei; and Buddhist cultural tradition dominates in Thailand and Cambodia. In the Philippines and Burma, there is a mixture of all these traditional influences.

By and large, Asia is far too diverse economically, socially, and politically, which determines the diversity of political cultures in the different countries. Although there are differences in the political cultures among countries on other continents, these differences are particularly striking in Asia. For instance, Asia is home to four of the world’s five remaining Communist countries: China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Laos. Whilst there has been an encouraging rise of democracy at the end of twentieth century in South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and the Philippines; authoritarian regimes are firmly in power in Pakistan and Burma; and the governments in Malaysia and Singapore practice forms of “soft authoritarianism.” The Asian version of a political culture is distinguished by the dominance of local tradition. India

may serve as a case in point, having inherited a sufficiently advanced political system, parliamentary institutions, and much else from Great Britain's colonial rule. Nevertheless, the political behaviour of voters in this country is determined by the opinions of chieftains in the villages, heads of the clan aristocracy, and by religious leaders and others rather than by the election platforms of the relevant political parties.

One of the salient features of the region is the change in political culture. With the exception of North Korea, where Communist ideology has remained firmly embedded for decades, all other Asian countries exhibit a trend favoring change in political culture in the positive direction. Major political reform has taken place in the 1980s and 1990s in various countries; some has been carried out in the Philippines, there were constitutional changes in Thailand in the late 1990s, and there was the introduction of political pluralism in Mongolia in the 1990s.

Political culture in African countries is similarly multifaceted. Typically, it is defined by the dominance of a variety of symbols, beliefs, images, and ideologies, some clearly traditional and others European in origin. Pride of place is allotted to the following factors: partiality for the values of the traditional community—the family, the commune, the tribe, and the clan; mythology-based vision, combined with the view that man is intricately linked to animals and plants; the immense polyethnicity of societies; dependence on traditional values; and Afrocentricity associated with attaching superior value to African culture. Three countries, Nigeria, Ethiopia, and the Republic of South Africa (RSA), are representative of this region and may serve as illustrations of the state-of-affairs and developmental trends in political culture in Africa.

The political culture of twenty-first century Nigeria is characterized by a peculiar blend of traditional/collective and modern individualist precepts. This is a political culture that reflects the political behaviour of a population of 110 million, consisting of more than two hundred ethnic groups. Although lack of economic growth, underdevelopment, and illiteracy prevail among the population, the country is experiencing a positive tendency in political culture development. In the late twentieth century, Nigeria saw a resurgence in the election process: elections were held for the position of Governor, for Parliament, and for President.

The ethnic factor plays an important role in Ethiopia, and all attempts to accomplish some political reform lead to the emergence of a distinctive "ethnic democracy" that is totally dependent on the interests of the relevant ethnic group. Until 1991, the country was dominated by an artificial political culture model imposed by the extant communist regime. Following

that year, however, and in the aftermath of the regime's ousting a distinctive "ethnic democracy," a "broad ethnic federalism" was enforced, supported by political forces with a conspicuously regional practicability.

RSA is a typical example of the fundamental change in political culture. Following the decades-long struggle to abolish apartheid, elections were held in that country in 1994. For the first time ever, the representatives of all races and ethnic communities participated on an equal footing. These elections were won with a sweeping majority by the African National Congress (ANC)—the party that represents the broad popular masses. For the first time in its history, the country democratically elected its president: President Nelson Mandela had spent twenty-seven years in prison for participating in the liberation struggle. At the subsequent elections in 1999, the election victory of the ANC was even more pronounced, opening the gate for positive socioeconomic reform that fundamentally changed political culture in that country.

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**See also Andean South America: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central America: History and Economic Development; East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Asia: History and Economic Development; North Africa: History and Economic Development; Northern South America: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; West Africa: History and Economic Development**

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## POLLUTION, AGRICULTURAL

### Types of Agricultural Pollution

Agricultural activities are strongly connected with the environment. Throughout the history of humankind these activities have resulted in changes in the environment, although until the twentieth century, there were few cases of negative effects on nature and wildlife caused by agricultural activities. Farms were small, and agriculture was based on natural processes. Livestock farming and soil cultivation were integrated in a single farm, which supported stability and sustainability in farming activities.

Heavily industrialized agriculture appeared after the Second World War when new applications of science and technology were introduced in agricultural activities. This has resulted in the mechanization of farms, which became larger, fewer in number, and reliant on the use of chemicals and inorganic fertilizers. Farms started to be more specialized either in crops or livestock. As a result, crop residues and animal manure that were natural fertilizers in the past have brought new problems of waste disposal to agricultural activities (Conway and Pretty 1991).

The intensification of agriculture was accompanied by an increase in environmental pollution. This is true both for point and nonpoint source or diffuse source pollution. According to the definition of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), point source pollution is “any pollution from a confined and discrete conveyance” (UNEP 1996). Examples of point source pollution could be the leakage of chemicals from containers, banana washing activities, and waste from sugar processing factories.

The same source also defines nonpoint source (or diffuse) pollution as that which “emanates from unconfined sources, including agricultural runoff, drainage or seepage, and atmospheric deposition” (UNEP 1996). This kind of pollution could be the result of the use of pesticides and fertilizers, of soil erosion due to intensive cultivation practices and livestock production, or of the inappropriate disposal of waste from agricultural activities. The introduction of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) may also cause pollution if their possible crossbreeding with natural varieties is considered.

The main environmental problems caused by agricultural activities reviewed in this article are the following:

- Water pollution
- Air pollution
- Soil degradation
- Loss of biodiversity and degradation of natural habitats
- Impact on human health

Although environmental pollution from agriculture is a global problem, its effects in the developing world are even worse. The lack of appropriate regulations and control over the listed environmental issues, the absence of knowledge and information about the proper use and disposal of pesticides and fertilizers that are being introduced to the agricultural lands, and finally the improper management of both agricultural and nonagricultural lands have resulted in the presence of significant agricultural pollution in the environment. Thus, the joint statement of the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations (UN) says that the “amount of poor quality pesticides sold in developing countries is alarmingly high” (WHO/FAO 2001). According to the same statement, around 30% of pesticides marketed in developing countries do not meet internationally accepted quality standards. This percentage is counted without taking into account the quality of labeling and packaging, which are often the only source of product information for consumers and the only guarantee of the safe and proper use of chemicals in the field.

Agricultural production, and especially the export of so-called “cash crops,” is the key component of economies in many developing countries. As a result, large quantities of fertilizers and pesticides are being introduced to secure the expected yield of such crops as sugar cane, coffee, cocoa, pineapple, oil palm, rice, cotton, bananas, and many other economically important crops. Moreover, in almost all countries of the developing world, agricultural pollution takes place also because of inadequate education and ignorance of potential hazards. Farmers in these countries identify pesticides and synthetic fertilizers with modern agriculture. For example, in the Philippines, the frequent application of synthetic pesticides by rice farmers was believed to guarantee higher yield (Conway and Pretty 1991).

There are several internationally approved conventions, treaties, and protocols relating to the reduction of the pressure from agricultural and related activities to the environment; these include the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants, the

Rotterdam Convention on the Prior Informed Consent Procedure for Certain Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides in International Trade, and the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety to the Convention on Biological Diversity. Despite international attention to the issues of agricultural pollution, projections suggest that due to the increase of food demand and, consequently, the further intensification of agricultural activities, the pressure on the environment will continue to increase in developing countries. For example, by 2030, emissions of ammonia and methane from the livestock sector of developing countries could be at least 60% higher than at present (FAO 2002).

## Water Pollution

Agricultural water pollution mainly arises from the introduction of nutrients in the form of fertilizers and farm wastes, containing both nitrate and phosphate, that enter waters and cause changes to the ecology by enrichment known as “eutrophication.” The main sources of phosphorus are raw sewage from livestock and fish farms and from arable lands. These discharges also include nitrogen. Nitrogen is mostly introduced to water bodies from cultivated lands through fertilization activities and soil disturbance. It may also come from the atmosphere if biomass burning took place (Moss 1998).

Although the eutrophication of surface waters can be the result of various natural and anthropogenic activities, agriculture remains one of the key contributors to this kind of water pollution. Eutrophication can lead to algal blooms, some of which may even be toxic, when they cover the surface of the water. After the blooms’ death, the bacteria that decompose them require so much oxygen from the water that the conditions created are anaerobic, causing organisms that cannot tolerate the environment to die. Eutrophication of surface waters due to inputs from agricultural activities is not so well documented in the developing world as it is in developed countries, but it is a serious environmental problem in many tropical and subtropical rivers and lakes, where the load of nutrients is accompanied by favorable weather conditions. Eutrophication may also occur on a smaller scale when paddy fields are flooded (Conway and Pretty 1991).

Agriculture is the largest user of freshwater resources. It uses around 70% of all surface water supplies (Ongley 1996). This issue becomes even more significant for developing countries when considering the shortage in fresh water resources and the fact that most irrigated lands are situated near those

areas. Since the increase in world population is taking place mostly in developing countries and there is a need to produce more food, more and more land is being used for agricultural activities with a consequent increase in irrigational projects and fertilization. The irrigation water is returned to the water bodies, is heavily eutrophicated, and there are also significant losses in evaporation. The shortage in freshwater supply has already caused many serious conflict situations not only at community level but also between nations. For example, Israel and its Arab neighbors have had disputes over the Jordan; Ethiopia, Sudan, and Egypt have struggled over the Nile; and Turkey, Syria, and Iraq have argued over the headwaters of the Tigris and the Euphrates (Moss 1998).

Agricultural water pollution also results from the introduction of pesticides to waters from leaching, runoff, or direct introduction to the water bodies and from soil losses that may carry pesticides and fertilizers absorbed in soil particles. In general, the application of pesticides in large quantities can directly or indirectly pollute water resources, affecting water quality. Pesticides may be carried to surface waters through spreading, settling, and rainfall, causing pollution (Li 1991). Water pollution from pesticides in developing countries varies from region to region. While in large parts of Africa there is almost no water pollution from pesticides, in some intensive agricultural areas in Brazil and Central America, extremely heavy contamination is taking place (Ongley 1996). Groundwater is being polluted also by nitrates and heavy metals from fertilizer use and direct discharges of wastes from intensive livestock units. The issue of groundwater pollution is of great importance in many developing countries where groundwater is the major source of drinking water.

## Air Pollution

Air pollution largely arises from suspended particles of pesticide from spraying or dusting of crops and vegetables as well as from insect vectors of medical importance. Pollution also comes from the vaporization of pesticides from crops in soil and water (Richardson 1991).

Another source of air pollution is intensive livestock production. Some gases such as carbon dioxide, methane, ozone, nitrous oxide, and other trace gases produced by livestock waste serve as a basis for the formation of greenhouse gases and contribute to global climate change. Although the concentration of intensive livestock units is not widespread in developing countries, there is a trend for their number to

increase. For example, in some South American countries, industrial-scale chicken farms are becoming more and more common, with a corresponding increase in the negative impact on the environment (Sustainable Agri-Food Production and Consumption Forum 2002).

Some of the polluting gases are also being generated by other intensive agricultural practices. For example, rice paddies are one of the key contributors of methane emissions to the atmosphere. The introduction of nitrogen fertilizers or the conversion of forests to agricultural land may cause an immediate increase in atmospheric emissions of nitrous oxide. However, the major source of air pollution from agricultural activities is biomass burning (Conway and Pretty 1991).

Biomass burning is in common use in almost all the developing world to clear land for cultivation, to convert nonagricultural land into land suitable for cultivation, or increase productivity of lands by removing other plants. It is probably the quickest and most economic way of dealing with the disposal problem. These activities are widespread especially on the African continent, in the Amazon basin, and in Southeast Asia. The result of biomass burning is the release of aerosols that are an important source of trace gases and atmospheric particulate matter that have a negative impact on air quality and human health (Seong *et al.* 2004). Practices of burning farm wastes in developing countries are most common in sugar cane and pineapple plantations although as already mentioned, burning rice straw is also a big problem in the lowland regions of Asia (Conway and Pretty 1991).

Thus, agricultural activities are the major source of air pollution. Paddy fields, livestock wastes, and biomass burning together produce gases that affect atmospheric processes, causing a direct negative impact on human health and the environment as well as contributing to global climate change.

### Soil Degradation

Although soil erosion is a natural process driven by the displacement of soil particles through rainfall, flowing water, or wind, agricultural activities increase the rate of erosion by irrigation, improper use of land for cultivation or grazing, and by deforestation (UNEP 1998). The reasons for soil degradation and their significance vary from country to country. Summarizing these reasons by continent reveals that soil degradation in Africa results from overgrazing, water, and wind-borne erosion; in Asia and South America,

degradation is caused mostly by deforestation, combined with water and wind-borne erosion (in Asia) and chemical deterioration (mainly in South America) (Varallyay 2004). Soil pollution due to pesticides results mainly from the application of pesticides to control pests and weeds, which in turn leads to direct soil pollution. Pesticides that are not lost by volatilization or in runoff enter the soil. This kind of pollution is associated with intensive agricultural activities; therefore, its contribution is significant in intensively cultivated areas of Asia, South America, and Africa.

Irrigation projects are commonly used in arid and semiarid regions of the developing world to increase food production. For all its benefits, irrigated agriculture also has a negative impact on the environment due to the development of soil salinity and accumulation of salts in soils and shallow groundwater. An example of such degradation could be the Aral Sea disaster in Central Asia. The Aral Sea basin includes Southern Russia, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan and partly Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. Almost all cultivated lands in those areas are irrigated. The increase in irrigation areas and water withdrawals due to extensive monoculture and the increase in the use of pesticides and fertilizers have led to degradation of land that was productive before the introduction of intensive agricultural activities. Although there are many other impacts on water quality, the main cause of the Aral Sea disaster was poor management and planning of agricultural activities in the region (Ongley 1996).

### Loss of Biodiversity and Degradation of Natural Habitats

The use of pesticides is essential for maintaining food supplies. But the concern is that they affect not only targets, such as insects, fungi, bacteria, weed, or other unwanted organisms, but they also kill nontarget organisms that are similar to the target pest organisms, thus contributing to the degradation of natural habitats and loss of biodiversity. Moreover, after this immediate effect, pesticides remain in the environment and continue to degrade for a long time, as very few pesticides break down into nonharmful constituents after being introduced to the field. This is especially true in the case of Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs), such as dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) and chlordane. These are chemicals that are “extremely toxic, resistant to degradation, characterized by their ability of bioaccumulation, and can be transported through air, water, migratory

species and accumulated in terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems” (Stockholm Convention 2001).

This kind of contamination often includes the entire food chain. In many developing countries, the pesticides that are banned by international regulations are being introduced for agricultural purposes but more often for securing human health from epidemics such as malaria and other vector-borne diseases. These chemicals affect not only organisms and food chains but also directly damage the habitats and resources on which other organisms rely. For example, in Malaysia, rats treated with rodenticides have caused owl deaths; in Surinam, spraying pesticides on an intensive rice-growing region near the coast caused extensive bird and fish deaths (Conway and Pretty 1991).

Due to lack of knowledge and appropriate information in developing countries, some pesticide users do not apply pesticides according to manufacturers’ instructions. Incorrect dosages could result in increasing resistance in the target organisms, destruction of nontarget organisms, contamination of soil, and accumulation in other species that provide an opportunity for movements of hazardous residues through the food chain, thus having a negative impact on wildlife in general.

Fertilizers are believed to be less dangerous for wildlife than pesticides. Although fertilizers have no direct toxic impact on wildlife, they can also damage natural habitats, and especially plants, by causing excessive growth. The most serious problem is associated with eutrophication, as described previously. The increase in phytoplankton crops results in the development of anaerobic conditions in water bodies with an increase in sulphide concentrations. These kinds of waters are not suitable for some fish groups, such as salmonids. By contrast, the fish groups tolerant of lower oxygen concentrations may increase in number as other groups disappear. This unbalance may be further developed by intensive algal growth that may cause changes in marginal aquatic plant beds and, therefore, result in loss of structure in the ecosystem. These changes can result in a decline of fish-eating and plant-eating bird populations, leading to the degradation of the entire habitat (Moss 1998). Another source of water pollution that affects biodiversity is the use of antibiotics or hormones in intensive livestock units, which causes the emergence of drug-resistant strains of bacteria and, in some cases, also anomalies in water fauna.

Conversion of wetlands into cultivated lands, deforestation, introduction of pesticides and fertilizers, inappropriate disposal of farm wastes, and inadequate soil management techniques are serious threats to biodiversity and natural habitats. It can be

concluded that intensification of agriculture causes losses in many species and entire habitats through fragmentation and reduction as well as through the decline in plant species populations. Loss of forests takes place notably in the Amazon Rain Forest in South America; the forests of Columbia (one of the richest countries in biodiversity); the Gir Forest in India; and the forests of the Philippines, Ethiopia, Costa Rica, Madagascar, and many other places in the developing world. These areas are marked by poverty and inadequate management in natural resources, resulting in a loss of biodiversity and degradation of natural habitats (Tuba *et al.* 2004).

### Impact on Human Health

Modern agricultural activities have a direct impact on human health. The biggest health problems in developing countries are caused by pesticides, both occupationally and through food and polluted drinking water. Although water pollution can arise from different sources, agriculture remains one of its main contributors due to the introduction of pesticides, fertilizers, and farm wastes. Moreover, many pesticides that are banned internationally or severely restricted in developed countries are freely available in many developing countries, causing serious health problems. Some developed countries continue to produce them not for internal use but for export to developing countries (Gore 2000).

In many developing countries, a major hazard to human health comes also from locally marketed food. Pesticide poisoning is more common than in developed countries because of ignorance, inappropriate control, poverty, and poor living conditions (Conway and Pretty 1991).

Although fertilizers are not designed to kill organisms and are not directly toxic to the environment and humans, they can serve as components for chemical reactions that cause significant pollution. If fertilizers are properly applied and absorbed by target crops, there may be no contamination. But farmers usually apply more than the optimum quantity to secure their yield and maximize the profit (Conway and Pretty 1991). The contamination arises from redundant use of fertilizers, taking place mainly due to rainfall or irrigation. Both avenues of pollution are very typical of developing countries because most irrigated lands are situated there and rainfalls are crucial in tropical regions. Fertilizers can leach to surface waters, causing eutrophication, and to groundwater, contributing to the contamination of drinking waters in many developing countries.

The increase in the use of inorganic nitrogen fertilizers is the major source of rising nitrate levels in many water supply sources. There is a risk that nitrates may cause methemoglobinemia in infants and even some forms of human cancer through the formation of N-nitroso compounds (Conway and Pretty 1991).

The other threat to human health comes from improper disposal of farm wastes. Runoff from livestock production may lead not only to the water problems described earlier but could also transmit animal diseases to humans. A number of pathogenic bacteria that cause many dangerous diseases can be found in untreated wastewater (UNEP 1998).

There are also many serious accidents during pesticide and chemical fertilizer production, distribution, and disposal activities that affect human health and the environment. One of the catastrophic examples is the gas leak from a pesticide plant in Bhopal, India, in 1984. Around half a million people were exposed to toxic chemicals during the accident. More than seven thousand people died within days and another fifteen thousand died in the following years (Amnesty International 2004).

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**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Pollution, Industrial; Waste Management**

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## POLLUTION, INDUSTRIAL

### Introduction

Since the beginning of time, humankind has transformed raw materials and produced all kinds of useful goods and tools. The massive production of weapons to equip the primitive armies, the manufacturing of clothes or uniforms, and even the manipulation of minerals to produce jewelry or bullets are all different and ancient ways of the industry. The early stages of industry began during the Stone Age, and followed during the Copper Age (6000 BC) and Bronze Age (2500 BC), when technology was still very elementary. Industrial activities were rudimentary, relatively small scale, and handmade. First, the wheel was invented, and then many industrial fittings were invented that helped humans to make products, such as clothes or weapons, on a larger scale.

It was not until the Industrial Revolution during the eighteenth century that the manufacturing sector went through a major quality change. This revolution turned upside down most of the traditional ways in which people produced most goods. It introduced the assistance of machines powered by coal and the extended division of labour as Adam Smith described it. These new methods of production revolutionized the prices of products, changed the scales of production, increased productivity enormously, enhanced largely the benefits of capitalists, and changed the landscapes of towns and turned them into cities.

But one of the most important changes was the appearance of *industrial pollution*. The massive industrial processes carried out in factories create large amounts of waste that contaminate the resources of the environment in different measures. If not properly treated, these wastes can contaminate all of biosphere's elements: water, air, and soil, sometimes in an irreversible way.

The twentieth century has been one of the most environmentally conflictive centuries due to the boom of the industrial sector. During and after World War II, industrialization took place around the world on a larger scale than ever before. Large factories following Henry Ford's assembly-line model were built to supply the increasing demand, mainly in the Western developed countries but also in the developing ones.

As a consequence, during this period, the industrial pollution reached new levels. It remains a severe issue today. For instance, air pollution is one of the most crucial topics in the international agenda. The release of industrial gases into the atmosphere for many years has provoked two major global environmental issues: *global warming* and the *greenhouse effect*. Both effects are said to be provoking the rise of the world's temperature at a worrying pace, which could cause the rising of the sea level, floods, and heat waves, among other disastrous consequences.

The pollution generated by the industrial sector is a global problem. However, responsibilities are not the same. Industrialized countries like the United States, China, Russia, Japan, and Great Britain have been responsible for the release of most industrial pollutants. The amounts of pollutants released by nondeveloped and nonindustrialized countries are minimal compared to those of developed ones. The worldwide list of the most carbon dioxide-emitting countries shows that the superpowers contaminate the most. The list reads as follows, with the most polluting nation as number one: (1) United States, (2) Russia, (3) Japan, (4) Germany, and (5) Great Britain.

Pollution not only affects the atmosphere but also the water and the soil. All this information raises the question whether sustainable development is a sound and reasonable option for humankind and what should be done to stop industrial pollution from endangering the next generation's future.

### **Industrial Pollution and Effects on the Environment**

In the twenty-first century, industrial activity is one of the most important sources of pollution worldwide, causing damage to water, air, and soil.

### ***Water Pollution***

Together with untreated sewage waters and agricultural chemicals such as fertilizers and pesticides, industrial wastes are the main cause of *water pollution*. Pollutants from industrial sources many times pour out directly from the outfall pipes of factories or may leak from pipelines and underground storage tanks. Polluted water may also flow from mines where the water has leached through mineral-rich rocks or has been contaminated by the chemicals used in the process. All around the world, the pollution of water implies contamination of streams, underground water, lakes, or oceans by substances harmful to living things. This turns into a major global problem when considering that only 3% of the world's water is fresh, and only half of that percentage is drinkable. Therefore, the pollution of fresh water is not only a contemporary threat to the living creatures that consume it but is also a potential source of future conflicts and wars.

The major water pollutants are chemical, biological, or physical materials that degrade water quality. Among the most common are *thermal pollutants* and *industrial pollutants*, such as petroleum products, heavy metals, and hazardous wastes. All these can cause serious damage to the health of living beings and to humans. For instance, heavy metals, such as copper, lead, mercury, and selenium, get into water from many sources, including industries, automobile exhaust, and mines. In this way, these metals reach animals or plants that drink or take in water and finally reach humans who eat those plants and animals. The regular introduction of these toxic nondegradable chemicals released by industries in large amounts provokes the killing of large numbers of fish, birds, microorganisms, and the ecosystem where all creatures live. When they reach high levels in the human body, heavy metals can be immediately poisonous or can result in long-term health problems similar to those caused by pesticides and herbicides. Consequently, people who ingest polluted water can become ill and, with prolonged exposure, may develop cancers or bear children with birth defects.

Until the Minamata Bay incident during the 1950s and 1960s, the dreadful effects of chemicals on water pollution were not known, and most hazardous wastes were legally dumped in solid waste landfills, buried, or dumped into water. As effects were not known, toxic chemicals freely contaminated surface and underground waters, which were later consumed by people. However, during those decades, more than four hundred residents living near Minamata Bay in Japan died before authorities discovered that a local



industry had carelessly released mercury into the bay's waters. This highly toxic element had accumulated in the bodies of local fish and eventually in the bodies of people who had consumed the fish; the people developed nervous disorders, tremors, and paralysis, which caused many to die. Scientific research has revealed that many chemical pollutants, such as dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) interfere with the human body's reproductive and developmental functions. These substances are known as *endocrine disruptors*; when they reach high levels in the human body, they can cause death.

In the twenty-first century, legal regulations restrict how such materials may be used or disposed, and many corporations publicize their support of environmental efforts and compliance with environmental laws. However, such laws are difficult to enforce and are often contested by industry. Many multinational companies have decided to move their factories to nondeveloped countries where the regulations are flexible and full enforcement may not be possible.

### ***Air Pollution***

The US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) defines an air pollutant as "any substance in the air that can cause harm to humans or the environment. Pollutants may be natural or man-made and may take the form of solid particles, liquid droplets or gases." Industrial activity generates a lot of gases that are released into the atmosphere through chimneys, some with filters and others without them. These gases are usually a mixture of chemical compounds, with carbon dioxide and different sulphur dioxides being the most common. Together with the gases released by automobiles (motorbikes and buses to some extent, but mostly privately owned cars), planes, and the construction industry, the industrial-related gases contribute to the formation of the *smog* that is a peril for citizens' health in modern cities like Mexico City, Beijing, Cairo, Jakarta, Los Angeles, Sao Paulo, and Moscow, the most contaminated cities in the world.

The emission of large amounts of carbon dioxide, however, not only directly affects human health but causes a more important and harmful effect: *the greenhouse effect*. The greenhouse effect is a warming of the Earth's surface and lower atmosphere because certain gases (for instance, water vapour, carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, and methane) trap energy within the atmosphere.

In the natural process, the energy that the sun emits travels through space and through the Earth's atmosphere until it reaches the Earth's surface and heats it. Then, a part of it is reradiated by the Earth's surface in the form of long-wave infrared radiation, much of which is absorbed by molecules of carbon dioxide and water vapour in the atmosphere, and the rest escapes back into the space. However, the excess and concentration of these so-called "greenhouse gases," like carbon dioxide, in the upper layer of the atmosphere create a barrier that refrains the reradiated energy from escaping and provokes the overheating of the Earth's surface. The permanent industrial activities and the incineration of wastes together with the reduction of the forests and rain forests in the world have contributed to the increasing concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere that creates this effect.

Although the topic is controversial, most experts and laypeople accept that emission of these greenhouse gases have a great deal of responsibility in the increasing of the global temperature, a phenomenon known as *global warming*. This has occurred mainly in the last thirty years with different effects worldwide. For instance, the change in seasonal temperatures has caused an increase in the frequency and quantities of rainfall in South American countries like Argentina.

Global temperature is expected to increase from 2°F–10°F in the twenty-first century. This is likely to provoke serious catastrophes, among them the flooding of lower parts of the planet and many coastal cities. Again, the primary responsible countries for releasing excessive emissions are the most industrialized ones: the United States, those of the European Union, and Russia.

Another effect provoked by industries is *acid precipitation*, or acid rain. Acid precipitation is rain, snow, or fog that is polluted by acid in the atmosphere and damages the environment. Two common air pollutants, sulphur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) and nitrogen oxide (NOX), are the primary causes of acid rain. When these substances are released into the atmosphere regularly and in large amounts, they can be carried over long distances by prevailing winds before returning to earth in acid rain, snow, fog, or dust. Acid rain occurs when these gases react in the atmosphere with water, oxygen, and other chemicals to form various acidic compounds. This type of rain has a variety of effects, including damage to forests and soils, to fish and other living things, structures, and also to human health. Acid rain is mainly caused by the indiscriminate emission of acid gases by industries. For instance, in the United States, about two-thirds of all sulfur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) and one-fourth of all

nitrogen oxide (NOX) come from electric power generation that relies on burning fossil fuels like coal.

### ***Other Types of Industrial Pollution: Soil and Water Bodies***

Industrial activities create other types of pollution: the pollution of soil and water bodies due to hazardous wastes and the thermal pollution.

As industrialized society generates more hazardous wastes, there is an increased need to find a way to dispose of them. Prior to the 1970s, the industrialized countries disposed of these wastes within their own countries, often with little regard to the environmental impact of disposal. Incidents of improperly disposed of waste, such as the Love Canal affair in the United States, in which a fifteen-acre working-class neighborhood (including over one thousand residences and three schools) was built over the site of a toxic-waste landfill near Niagara Falls, began to create serious health and ecological problems. Public awareness of the consequences of improper disposal increased. Eventually, this awareness led to people in industrialized countries expressing an increasing unwillingness to have waste disposed of at home. This new awareness led to an increase in the export of hazardous wastes to developing nations. Many of these countries had neither the technical expertise nor the facilities to dispose of the waste in an environmentally sound manner. Often, these wastes were simply dumped on properties in leaking barrels, with environmentally devastating results. Ultimately, the waste would leach into the soil and water table, causing health and environmental problems for the local areas. This *waste trade* is not well observed by the general public, but many times governments will agree to accept hazardous materials for disposal because of money or other benefits offered by the exporting country.

*Thermal pollution* is another effect derived from the industrial activity. This type of pollution is a rise in the temperature of rivers or lakes that is injurious to water-dwelling life and is caused by the disposal of heated industrial wastewater or water from the cooling towers of nuclear power plants. Even small temperature changes in a body of water can drive away the fish and other wildlife that were originally present. Thermal pollution can accelerate biological processes in plants and animals or deplete oxygen levels in water. The result may be fish and other wildlife deaths near the discharge source. Thermal pollution can also be caused by the removal of trees and vegetation that shade and cool streams. Obviously, this type of industrial pollution occurs in those countries that are most dependent on nuclear energy:

France, Lithuania, Belgium, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Sweden, among others.

### **International Agreements and Sustainable Development**

Concern has grown around the world regarding the pollution of the Earth's resources, the deforestation processes, the permanent emissions of carbon dioxide, and global heating effects. In 1992, the United States and other nations met at the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to agree on policies on how to fight against the greenhouse effect. In that year, they agreed to voluntarily reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000, among other proposals in the quest of a *sustainable development*. Ten years later, in the Johannesburg Summit 2002 (Rio plus 10), the results were not very encouraging as many institutions, such as the World Watch Institute, showed that the destruction of forests, the emission of greenhouse gases, the reduction of the biodiversity, and the expansion of transgenic crops were still issues; global warming was still a factor. Because the Rio Treaty was not legally binding and because reducing emissions would likely cause great economic damage, most nations did not meet the goals.

Another attempt to gather forces with the aim of reducing the air pollution occurred in December 1997, when representatives from around the world met at a conference in Kyoto (Japan), the Third Session of the Conference of the Parties (COP 3), to sign an agreement that legally bound signing countries to reduce the emissions of six gases, the main one being carbon dioxide. The aim was to stop the global warming. The Kyoto Protocol was signed by most industrialized countries. However, the United States, a country that in 1997 emitted about one-fifth of total global greenhouse gases, decided to quit the protocol in 2001. In December 2004, the Tenth Session of the Conference of the Parties (COP 10) took place in Buenos Aires (Argentina), and most industrialized countries, including Russia and the European Union nations, confirmed their adherence to the protocol. Once again, the United States did not ratify its commitment to reduce the emissions of gases.

All these controversies and problems created by industrial pollution worldwide prove that a *sustainable development* is not an easy option. In spite of the international attempts to reach agreements to reduce the emission of greenhouse effects or other conventions to prevent the pollution of water or soil,

industrial pollution is still contaminating the planet's resources. In times when the fossil-fuel era is entering its sunset years, the use of alternative, clean, and renewable energies, like wind energy or hydrogen energy, is very little developed. Many critics believe that a key factor in the minimal use and the underdevelopment of clean energy is the reduction in profits it would mean for oil companies. It is cheaper for developed countries to export hazardous nuclear wastes to the Third World than to build disposal sites in their own territories or stop using nuclear energy.

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**See also Acid Precipitation; Biodiversity Conservation; Deforestation; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Global Climate Change; Pollution, Agricultural; Rain Forest, Destruction of; Waste Management; Water Resources and Distribution; Wildlife Preservation**

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**POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (MPLA)**

The *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA), or the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, was the main liberation movement opposing the Portuguese in Angola. It took power at independence in November 1975 and eventually won the long civil war that followed. It remains the ruling party in Angola today.

The MPLA was founded in December 1956 when, under the influence of students in Portugal, two small Nationalist coalitions merged in Luanda, capital of the Portuguese overseas territory of Angola. An urban-based movement, the MPLA attracted support from the small native elite that was assimilated to Portuguese culture (*assimilados*), people of mixed race (mestizo or Afro-Portuguese), intellectuals who had studied abroad, and Marxists in Portugal itself. It was hard-hit by the Portuguese secret police in 1959 and 1960, when many of its leaders were arrested and imprisoned. MPLA militants urged peasants and workers to take up the armed struggle in response, and February 4, 1961, is commemorated as the beginning of the national liberation struggle against the Portuguese. The MPLA opened exile offices in Conakry, Guinea, in 1960, in Kinshasa in the former Belgian Congo in 1961, and in Brazzaville, Congo, in 1963. Its first national conference, held in Kinshasa in 1962, elected Agostinho Neto as president; he was a poet, medical doctor, and Marxist who had been a political activist against the Portuguese in Luanda from the 1940s, and he succeeded Mario de Andrade as president. Neto was to remain president until his death in 1979, when he was succeeded by José Eduardo dos Santos, still president in 2005.

From 1966, the MPLA faced competition from the rival *Uniao Nacional de Independencia Total de Angola* (UNITA), or the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, under Jonas Savimbi. The MPLA denounced UNITA as an ethnic (*Ovimbundu*) and regional (southern) organisation, as anti-national and nonrevolutionary. UNITA in turn accused the MPLA of being sectional (Kimbundu) and wedded to an alien ideology. For a time, the MPLA claimed support in the South, where Daniel Chipenda worked for it in Lobito, but in 1973, Chipenda was accused of plotting take over Neto's position, and he soon broke away.

Factionalism almost destroyed the MPLA, but it retained the support of the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, which recognised it as the legitimate national movement, and of Cuba and other Socialist countries. When the struggle between the rival Angolan Nationalist movements reached a head in 1975 and the South Africans sent in a military force to try to prevent the MPLA from coming to power, Cuban forces, arriving in large numbers, saved the day for the MPLA, which took over the institutions of the state on November 11, 1975, and raised the red, yellow, and black flag of an independent Angola. Later that month, Nigeria recognised the new government, and other states followed but not the United States. There was to be no election for another seventeen years. A large Cuban military force was to remain in the country for more than fifteen of those years to help ensure the MPLA remained in power. For most of that period, the MPLA had effective control over the western and northern parts of the country only. But though the MPLA took over the state, it never became a national party and remained dominated by Kimbundu and Afro-Portuguese. When in 1977 the Nito Alves faction came out in favor of a more African-centred focus for the party, the faction was purged from the MPLA central committee and the armed forces. At its congress held in December that year, the central committee of the MPLA voted to transform the movement into a Marxist-Leninist party of militants, and it now called itself MPLA-Partido dos Trabalhadores (MPLA-PT), the party of workers.

The MPLA was sympathetic to the struggle being waged by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) against the South African occupation regime in Namibia, and SWAPO was allowed to operate from bases in southern Angola. This led the South African Defence Force to raid into southern Angola from the late 1970s, and for much of the 1980s, the South Africans occupied the most southernmost part of Angola and gave massive support to UNITA, which launched an economic sabotage campaign against the MPLA-PT government as well as military attacks. Under pressure, the party's second congress, held in December 1985, began the move away from strong support for the Soviet Union. In 1988, the MPLA government agreed to a settlement of the Namibian issue, which involved the total withdrawal of the Cuban forces and the independence of Namibia.

After the Cubans left, an election was held in 1992 under the auspices of the United Nations. By then, the MPLA had gotten rid of much of its Marxism-Leninism and had come out in favour of a multiparty system. But when the MPLA was declared the winner

with 53.74% of the vote, UNITA refused to accept the result, and the civil war began again, this time at even greater intensity than before; UNITA-held cities such as Huambo and Cuito were reduced to ruins. In the long fight against UNITA, the revenues from the oil being pumped off the coast at Cabinda in the north was indispensable to the MPLA. It was not until 2002 that, with the death of Savimbi, the war came to an end, and the MPLA was able to further consolidate itself in power in the new era of peace. There was talk of an election being held in 2006, but problems such as the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees and the removal of millions of landmines hampered preparations for such an election. Meanwhile, the MPLA remains in power, its leadership having enriched itself by siphoning off much of the oil revenues, and most of Angola's population continues to be mired in poverty despite the wealth of the country.

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**See also** Angola

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## POPULAR SECTORS

In the developing world, popular sectors are identical with *meaningful participation*, a distinctly cultural proposition, observable within the creative aims of representative organizations.

Conventional working definitions are interested in how activities in the popular sectors occur outside the spheres of the state and the market. This focus proves inadequate for the developing world for the following reasons. It overstates sectoral independence and masks complementarities across the three social sectors. It inaccurately implies internal homogeneity as opposed to the *array* of groups—often with antagonistic aims—that characterizes the popular sectors. It also relies on a veiled hypothesis that popular sectors are a democratic power-balancing agency, which was central to the thought of Talcott Parsons (1902–1979), who saw ties between social sectors as a “moving equilibrium,” based on a disprovable premise of evenness and symmetry of power.

For the developing world, an adequate working definition needs to characterize the *functional* role of popular sectors as power relationships with the state and the market. Interdependency is characteristic, but

the state and market play dominant roles. Second, the definition needs to identify the relationship between sectors as based on conflict and on inherent differences between the aims of individuals and society. Third, there needs to be acknowledgment of the diversity of aims *within* the popular sector. The sector is a pluralized concept encompassing an array of agencies that include such organizations as church groups, universities, environmental organizations, volunteerism advocates, and women's crisis groups. Fourth, its causal principle transmits cultural achievements: as history is the collective memory of society, and literature and arts its popular imagination, the popular sectors enact collective vision. This description points to a distinctive cultural value and the crucial role of *meaningful* participation. Ultimately, it substantiates the proposition that the causal principle of popular sectors is a creative, constructive force.

Three particular social thinkers expound on these systemic qualities of popular sectors. The first, Ibn Khaldun (1332–1395 CE), born in Tunisia, is celebrated for producing social science four centuries before its start in the “North.” Viewed as *the systematic study of society encompassing human experiences*, social science began in the North in the eighteenth century. Elsewhere, it was in the fourteenth century that Khaldun wrote on the factors contributing to the rise and fall of successful societies in the Arab world. He remains an exemplary figure for Egypt's embryonic popular sectors, where a research centre bears his name with a mission to develop democracy through popular sector organisations. Characteristically, in Egypt and across the developing world, the relationship between the state and popular sectors is vitreous. This is illustrated by long jail terms that the director and other staff of the Khaldun Centre have served more than once for advocating universal suffrage.

During the time of his work, Khaldun encountered a crisis in creative participation. He observed how urbanisation alienated nomads as it increasingly drew them in. Khaldun was concerned that *asabiyah* (group feeling demonstrated by participation) noticeably declined, when compared with prestate communities. Khaldun arrived at the view that participation is the problem of power centralised and tilted against the popular sectors.

The second writer of note is Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). From Sardinia, his work undertook to clarify the social consequences of an overabundance of popular sector organizations. Previously, G.W.F. Hegel (1770–1831) saw this as reason for more state power to navigate social ethos in the absence of the popular sectors, which were inattentive due to infighting. On the other hand, Gramsci saw differentiation as an inevitable attribute of the buffer against

autocratic civic norms and traditions. This struck a chord during the 1970s and 1980s with resistance movements in Latin America and with others in this millennium, particularly in Chile and the Philippines. They favoured Gramsci's thinking above the “liberal” notions that underpin contemporary constructions of “social capital” propounded by Alexis de Tocqueville (1820–1840). They preferred Gramsci's understanding of conflict. Whereas de Tocqueville wanted to eliminate conflict by protecting the popular sector against state domination, Gramsci saw conflict as an inextricable part of the social contract.

Criticism of Gramsci surrounds his idea that the popular sectors are independent of changing power relationships. This is seen as underestimating the creative force and inherent fragility of the sector. Since power relations are the primary concern in the developing world, at issue are the contemporary uses of the popular sectors. Whereas the struggle against totalitarianism defined their former role, they now implement policy indifferent to social transformation within a market system unresponsive to their ethical mission. Since popular sectors grew and flourished in the developing world as sovereign agencies effective at transforming oppression, any decline in meaningful participation is deeply troubling for democratic societies of every kind and at every stage of development.

The next thinker, Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975) from central European Russia, took up the challenge of clarifying the social necessity of meaningful participation. He undertook to locate typical sites of meaningful participation and how to observe participation. Bakhtin found that popular sectors sustain themselves through practices of belief that are in marked conflict with official interpretations of reality. He saw this as observable in activities within situations of cultural friction between official and unofficial codes. This signaled a major shift in theoretical understanding, overturning the long-standing belief of Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) who argued that cultural conflict indicates the *loss* of group feeling. Bakhtin showed how individuals express social experience in symbol systems that meaningful participation generates. He pointed out the irreconcilable differences between personal and social aims, explaining that the collision of interests operates as the causal principle in social identification. Bakhtin's findings affirm the social necessity of meaningful participation by the popular sectors.

The discussion now turns to an example of an emergent popular sector, with its members (youths) remaining relatively unorganized. The example involves musical expressiveness in contemporary Melanesia against a backdrop of twenty-first century urbanization.

From the perspective of official urban culture, contemporary music in Melanesia is “noisy music.” While elders are mostly content with traditional themes and styles from their respective ethnic groups, contemporary youths have a more adventurous, free, and culturally diverse taste in music. This is expressed in a blend of locally traditional and borrowed Western themes, lyrics, instruments, and styles. The music most heard, and most played by youths, represents their response to official codes.

What constitutes these unofficial symbols, which their more patriotic, conservative elders perceive as “noise” rather than music with aesthetics and poetry? The range of instruments is diverse. They can be divided into two main categories, local and imported. Most are imported and adapted, that is not official. Local instruments include wooden gongs (*garamut*), wooden drums with reptile skins on either end (*kundu*), panpipes (flutes), shell rattles, conch shells, and nutshell rattles. Imported instruments include guitar, *ukulele*, piano, keyboards, flutes, horns, trumpets and trombones, and other innovations. Nearly all these instruments feature in the music of the region. Diversity is also a key characteristic of the range of songs. (Readers may recall the Hegel/Gramsci debate about how to deal with diversity when ethical irresponsibility results).

Regarding musical preferences, Melanesian elders prefer locally traditional sounds. These include the archetypal Pacific dance *hula hula (tamure)*, specifically among coastal *Motuan* and Central Province villages of Papua New Guinea. These performances allude to closer historical links with Polynesian ethnicity and demarcation from neighboring Melanesian traditions of the Western Pacific. Other themes of romance, adventure, deceit, ambush, and robbery have a significant place in official prestate community codes. Similarly, songs that tell the tale of colonialism and those that attest to the increasing prevalence of Christianity, which overlay unmistakable Melanesian variations on original Western sounds, also have a significant place in the society.

Contrasting vividly with the official sounds of prestate and urban societies is the more recent music of youths. The predominant sounds are a mix of *reggae* and heavy metal blended with local tunes in vogue. *Rap* also has an integral role, with its “ugly, blunt” sounds about poverty, destitution, and deprivation in a harsh urban environment. The songs belt out a message on marginalization by waves of state and market forces. An undercurrent of alienation focuses on rejection by partners, parents, and/or the state.

The artists themselves are role models. They show youths that despite being deprived and pushed to the margins, they can survive in their own world within

their own confines and rules. Their attire shows rebellion against mainstream expectations, helping shape a lean but frail and fragile human frame moving precariously across the neighborhood, smoking local tobacco and sometimes marijuana, faces unkempt, bearded, dreadlocks, balaclavas, caps with hoods twisted to the sides or the back, torn jeans, and slack belts pulled well below the accepted waist line level almost exposing pubic hair.

It is the voiced codes that predominate, though noisy, expressing a right to be heard. Indicative of an emergent popular sector, Melanesian youths see themselves as a group. Their code is meaningful to them and amplifies their belief they are a potential political force, despite rejection and marginalization by state and society. Unlike dissenting middle-class youths in the developed world who reject society rather than being rejected by it, mainstream urban environments reject Melanesian youths. This is shown by unemployment statistics and how they fall out of the mainstream education process. And they view the state as paying lip service under the rubric of youth groups.

In Papua New Guinea, the informal economic sector has become a haven for some urban youths, where unemployed women and men till vacant lands and sell vegetable produce to city markets. Most lack the enthusiasm to do this work and spend much of their time idling along the streets, blasting music boxes as they drift into social oblivion. These are the “Street Boys” or “Home Boys.” The labels identify their preoccupation with home-brewed alcohol. Abuse of alcohol, marijuana, and local tobacco is enmeshed with daily petty criminal activities, which destines them for confrontation with the official law. Youths are adamant there is no other way to alleviate their ever-deteriorating social condition. They perceive the efforts of elders, media commentators, donors, and personnel from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), who engage in isolated media articles and workshops, as well intended but misguided. They are skeptical of NGOs and church groups that are seen as swooping down on opportunities to promote the lost cause of youths whilst gaining publicity from their charitable intentions.

Contemporary music is a source of solace for many Melanesian youths. They quickly identify with songs that realize their daily predicaments and lack of opportunities, which promote their rejected lives, and that alienate elders and the state by mirroring the experience of rejection. Discotheques and clubs provide a safety net with music loud enough to shut out the world and to induce illusions of outer acceptance. It is important not to overgeneralize, since youths do not all believe and behave alike. But

many share the need to say these things to the world, and music is the way they want to say it. It is their code, and it constructively transfers the threat of being marginalized by rapid urbanization. It enables unofficial voices to be counted and recognized against a backdrop of meager economic promise.

Most youths are economically impoverished. But this does not exhaust the significance of music as an indicator of meaningful participation and of broader sectoral participation because also included in this social grouping are significant numbers of youths from well-off families. They not only share the same taste for *reggae*, *rap*, heavy metal, and rock and roll, but they also often take the lead in the construction of the unofficial code, which encompasses attire, gestures, moves, tempo, and volume. The music is noisy. It draws attention and portends power. It mirrors marginalization, blending frustration, and inspiration in a demonstration of strength. It is offensive, and heralds change while transferring estrangement. It is creative, consistent with the origins of a popular sector.

The example of Melanesian societies enables several propositions to be examined: first, it further explains Bakhtin's hypothesis that transformed the idea that cultural conflict implies the *loss* of group feeling. It clarifies how popular sectors nourish themselves through practices of belief that conflict with official construal of reality. It shows how conflicting values generate unofficial symbols, which reject but also express felt rejection, while beginning the longer task of building social identity. And, by focusing on the creative principle in the popular sectors, it highlights the social necessity for meaningful participation. Equally, it shows that when the constructive element of participation collides with rather than promotes the social good, alienation can be traced. Khaldun explained this more than seven centuries ago with his finding that urbanizing society marginalizes individuals who leave prestate society. While the Melanesian example shows participation persists, it also demonstrates that constructive quality depends on interdependency between social sectors and, consequently, on decentralization of power.

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## POPULATION GROWTH: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

### Human Resources

Population is a key variable in any discussion of development. When assessing human resources within a country, the demographics of the population under study provide indicators of the probable level of its development. Larger populations, with high concentrations of the very young and the elderly, tend to be concentrated in less developed countries. During the initial years of the twenty-first century, the developing

world accounted for approximately 80% of the total world population. According to Coast in “Population Trends in Developing Countries,” the population growth rate in these countries has slowed down since reaching its peak of 2.04% in the late 1960s. In the 1990s, the growth rate was at 2.0% for low-income countries while only 0.6% for high-income countries. Between 2000 and 2005, the World Bank projected a 2 billion person increase in the world population, with 97% of it occurring in developing countries. A large percentage of that population will be young, the consequences of low-life expectancy rates and high fertility rates in many parts of the world. The British Department for International Development (DFID) research indicates that as of the first few years of the twenty-first century, 44% of the world’s poverty is concentrated in South Asia, 24% in Sub-Saharan Africa, and 23% in East Asia and the Pacific. These statistics provide a picture of some of the challenges and status of development in certain regions.

A key component of development is the human factor, that is the availability of human resources. As the term implies, “human resources” refers to the population and both its potential and actual contributions to development. Selected scholars and researchers describe three components to the human side of development: life sustenance, self-esteem (self-respect and independence), and freedom. Using this paradigm for analysis, a country cannot be considered fully developed if all of its people are not provided with such basic needs as housing, clothing, food, and minimal education. Poverty directly impacts nourishment, which in turn impacts survival rates of a people and that people’s capacity to engage in initiatives that foster sustainable development. In Africa, for example, high rates of poverty and hunger are directly related to low per capita agricultural income, consequently forming a vicious, recurring cycle that results in what the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) describes as “a low-growth trap.” Approximately one-third of all the world’s undernourished people reside in sub-Saharan Africa. Poverty limits people’s ability to purchase food. The lack of food results in malnutrition and poor health. The poor health limits their ability to earn income. The inability to earn income leads to still deeper poverty, and what emerges is a never-ending cycle that inhibits development and sometimes dissipates a people.

Continuing with this paradigm, a country cannot be considered fully developed if it is being exploited by other countries and/or cannot conduct economic relations on equal terms. There must be independence, freedom, and the ability of a people to determine its own destiny.

## Population Size

Population size is critical in the level and direction of development. The larger the population, the more limited the resources available for development and the more limited the development in that society. According to *demographic transition theory*, societies move from high birth and death rates to relatively low birth and death rates as a result of technological development. There are four stages in this evolution. In the preindustrial stage, there is little population growth. High death rates (mortality rate) offset high birth rates (fertility rate). The transitional stage, also known as early industrial stage, is characterized by the continued high birth rate but a decline in the death rate because of technological advances.

In the advanced industrialization/urbanization stage, the birth rates decline because fertility is controlled through various contraceptive methods, and death rates decline because of advances in health care technology. These advances help control disease, provide cures, and control chronic and acute disease. The fourth stage is the postindustrial stage in which there is a decreasing birth rate coupled with a stabilized death rate. Using this theory for analyses, the developing world is in the second stage of development. The fertility rates remain very high while the mortality rates are decreasing. As a result, more resources are necessary to meet the basic survival needs and age-specific demands of the society.

In terms of the cause-effect relationship between population, development, and social conditions, such as poverty, there are varying views. One popular view is the “survival and assurance of continuity” perspective. When life expectancy is low and mortality and morbidity are high, there is a tendency to have large families with a larger young population. Families choose to have a higher number of children so that they can be assured that at least a few of the children will survive to adulthood. In addition, agrarian-based economies need the larger populations to maintain a reasonable labor force. On the other hand, some scholars have chosen a different viewpoint. They suggest that poor people are not poor because they have large families, but rather they have large families because they are poor. In countries where there is limited or no viable welfare or social security/pension program for the elderly, the larger families ensure that there will be relatives who can care for the elderly. In addition, males tend to have a higher mortality rate and a lower life expectancy rate than women. This causes widowhood to be high. In patriarchal societies with gender inequality, opportunities for females to do well are extremely



limited, if existent at all. The consequence of the higher male mortality rate is the destined poverty of the widow.

### Population Movement

Population movement is another important variable in development. In developing countries, there are four major motivations for the movement, be it internal (migration) or international (emigration). Examining the movement in the context of a “push-pull” relationship, the push is what makes the persons leave, the pull is what encourages them into a particular direction and encourages them to remain. The first motivational category for population movement has an economic base. It arises from the need for certain members of the family, primarily males, to seek employment outside of the community. Limited employment opportunities (the “push” factor) inhibit those seeking economic security and advancement at home and encourage movement to more urban areas since there is broader job availability (the “pull” factor). Those who are able will follow employment to other countries where even more opportunities for economic advancement exist. One example is found in the seasonal West Indian sugar cane workers who, for more than a half-century, have come to Florida regularly during certain times of the year; a second example is found in the seasonal migrant workers from both the Caribbean and Latin America who follow the agricultural growing seasons in the United States. Income is generated, and improved familial economic status occurs; however, major hardships are placed on many of those workers. There is the need to maintain two households, and there is the minimal or absence of family interactions during major parts of each year. This seasonal emigration also impacts the workforce population within the home country because it reduces the total number of available labors. One positive outcome of this arrangement is the system of return remittances; that is, paychecks are sent home to support the family back home. The seasonal workers and temporary imported workers improve the conditions of the family and sometimes the economy of the region from which the workers come. From an economic perspective, another positive outcome is temporary emigration influences the direction of foreign direct investments. This encourages the flow of enterprise, ideas, and knowledge across borders.

The emigration, however, is not always legal. Sometimes estimated to be as large as one-third, a number of temporary immigrants engage in immigration

through illegal channels. The destination country sometimes tacitly tolerates this illegal immigration because it meets that country’s labor needs. Indirectly, this illegal immigration also induces petty corruption, encourages profitable smuggling opportunities for criminal networks, and perpetuates unfair treatment of the immigrants. Illegal trafficking of human cargo is a lucrative and an established profession in many parts of the world. The number of cases is rapidly increasing in both the developing and the developed worlds. Some people die en route or soon after arrival to the destination country. If they survive the smuggling phase, they are vulnerable to exploitation, intimidation, and abuse (physical, emotional, and sexual) since they are usually isolated and have no one advocating for or protecting them. They tend to have limited (or no) education, a limited capacity to speak and understand the predominant language of the destination country, and cannot go to authorities when exploited or abused because they will be discovered to be illegal. The status of “illegal” also discourages their effective integration into the fabric of the host country. They frequently live in fear of discovery and will attempt to remain invisible in this foreign setting. From the perspective of the developing country, the potential negative outcome of this migration is the increasing economic dependency of the country, and its inhabitants, on those remittances.

The second motivational category of population movement is a combination of economic needs and the need for personal development. This combination is manifested in youth flight from rural areas to urban areas because of the lack or limitations of economic opportunities and the desire to advance socially and economically. In general, there is a large economic gap between the rural and urban populations. The economic base in rural areas is often very fragile, with residents dependent on nature for products and younger generations to provide the labor. Often the youth do not want to follow the paths of their parents. Since opportunities for professional and personal growth are very minimal (the “push”) and the social and professional outlets as well as the “glamour” of the urban areas are tempting (the “pull”), youth flight and minimal return to the area is common. Rural areas are left with a smaller and limited labor force that cannot provide the economic stability necessary for development. The depletion of the labor pool results in reduced production of goods that would generate income. The lack of income results in limited availability of services and resources because resources are not there to pay for the services. New initiatives and opportunities are not forthcoming, so there are virtually no professional and personal growth opportunities for the younger generations.

The third category of population movement involves migration and, more often, emigration to acquire education (the “push”). When the citizens are sent to more developed countries for education, the tendency is for them, when possible, to remain in the host country after the completion of their education. Reasons for this vary from opportunities for economic advancement that often result in remittances to home to the acquisition of knowledge and skills inappropriate or not viable in the home country (the “pull”). For example, a highly skilled advanced computer programmer would have difficulty finding employment in rural Thailand where electricity, if available, would be limited and sporadic, and phone lines may not exist. The longer these original students stay away from their home countries, the more likely they will establish permanent residency in the host country. The result is what is commonly known as “brain drain.” The developing country loses its citizens who could contribute significantly to the development of that country. This problem became rampant in the mid-twentieth century. Developing countries were voicing serious concern and, at times, opposition to the practice of permitting their residents to come to the more developed countries for education and training. It took a period of time for aid donors to effectively address this problem related to educating individuals from the developing countries. The most effective approach was the creation of a training model that emphasized in-country training and/or “training trainers” rather than removing large numbers of citizens from their home country to acquire training and education.

A fourth category of population movement involves infrastructures that enfranchise some and disenfranchise others. Rural residents are forced to leave the area because of overpopulation, lack of empowerment, and limited space. In various parts of Central America, for example, poorer migrants who move from the rural areas to the urban areas are sometimes driven from the lands they once owned for many generations because of the expansion of land estates or the redistribution of lands. Frequently, the redistribution of the land results in a division of plots into such small sizes that subsistence farming is impossible. In El Salvador, this situation has been rampant for a while. The country has the most intense population pressure on the land. The majority of the country’s land is privately owned and devoted to export crops. Since 2003, El Salvador was classified as the country with the highest population growth rate in the world, and there is no unpopulated land left in the country. Many people migrate to the cities, and overpopulation occurs there. Others choose to cross the borders into Honduras in hordes that

ultimately resulted in restrictions on immigration and wars at the border between the two countries.

In deeply depressed rural areas where emigration is large, those people who remain either do not want to leave their birthplace and heritage, despite the insurmountable obstacles, or cannot move to town. The absolute poorest of the poor are often bound to the rural areas and are destined to a life of abject poverty because, by law or custom, they have to work off old family debts that they cannot pay off. They usually have limited or no education and cannot compete with those more educated town dwellers. They also do not have a support system that could sustain them in the town until they could earn enough to be self-sufficient. They have limited or no access to health care, sanitary environments, or infrastructures that enhance or encourage development.

Measures are being introduced to encourage the retention of rural residents. A number of donor organizations are providing fiscal and technical assistance to the rural areas with the intent of improving the living conditions, increasing life chances, and refining (or developing) their entrepreneurial skills and resources.

### **Ethnicity and Cultural Heritage as Factors in Development**

A frequently overlooked aspect of development is ethnicity, with its corresponding cultural heritage and traditions. The beliefs and values of the people directly influence the level of acceptance of new and different approaches to development. Since culture is generally dynamic, there is room for the inclusion of new and innovative approaches to development. The nature and form of the introduction to the people, however, is critical to ultimate acceptance. Vignettes of “lessons learned” and “what not to do” can be cited by most scholars and development agencies. Very often, the connecting thread in these vignettes is the lack of understanding of, and sensitivity to, the cultural heritages of peoples receiving the development initiatives. Without that understanding, initiatives fail, are misinterpreted, or are ineffective. The people do not benefit, the resources are often wasted, and the donors are frustrated.

The culture and demographic characteristics of the population influence the nature, level, and direction of the development. For example, Max Weber, in his seminal work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, suggested that there is a direct relationship between the religion of a society and the level of

development that society achieves. According to his analysis, Western Protestant societies are more technologically advanced because of their national religion. Unlike some of the other major religions, the Protestant religions placed emphasis on smaller families; a work ethic that encouraged tireless effort, self-sacrifice, and deferred gratification; and a separation of religion and work. With the emphasis on work, accumulation of wealth, and deferred gratification, the larger families become obstacles to development because more resources must be provided for human development, that is for the survival of the people. Fewer resources are available for technological development.

Cultural heritage and traditions also affect the view of birth control. While the expansive need to have a larger family to ensure that some of the members reach adulthood may no longer exist in many developing countries, religious and cultural beliefs often mitigate against effective birth control, thus population control. Numerous religions view fertility as a gift from a deity, and thus something that should not have interference. Families with many children are considered blessed, and efforts to limit the number of children are in direct conflict with religious beliefs and practices. Scholars such as Paul and Anne Ehrlich point out that population increases will occur, and they are determined directly by cultural factors.

### Natural Resources

An obvious outcome of population size, population needs, and development is the impact on natural resources. The larger the population, the more natural resources consumed and the greater the demand on the natural environment and resources. Often the infrastructure must be so concentrated on meeting the basic needs for survival and maintaining order. Throughout the developing world, numerous instances can be cited where the excessive use, and at times exploitation, of the natural resources have resulted in natural disasters. Rapid deforestation in some areas causes the depletion of the necessary topsoil to maintain fertile lands. Extensive soil erosion, sometimes resulting in massive landslides, sometimes follows. The deforestation is often more the result of basic survival than wanton disregard for the environment. In Haiti, for example, where the population is large, the primary source for cooking is charcoal. For the poor, few alternative methods exist for cooking. In the wealthier areas, people are able to buy cooking fuel or use electric/gas stoves; however, the majority of the people in many parts of Haiti do not have

access to these alternative methods. There are areas without electricity, and the people cannot afford cooking fuel. Coupled with the exploitation and destruction of the natural environment is the rapid consumption of endangered resources for basic survival. All of these situations combine to facilitate a rapid decrease in the level and speed of development in the region. An observer needs only to examine countries such as Bangladesh and Haiti for examples. The land is intensively cultivated and, as it becomes depleted, agricultural employment decreases and unemployment increases.

### Summary

There is a clear relationship between development and the characteristics of the population. This relationship is affected by the size as well as the ethnic and cultural characteristics. The three are intertwined. They determine the direction of the development of the economic, natural (environment), and physical resources. Scholars have studied, and continue to study, the variables that impact development. They examine cause-and-effect relationships and provide strategies for altering the existing paths of development. Critical in all of those strategies must be consideration and incorporation of the human factor in all development. It is the human factor, meaning the population with its characteristics and patterns of growth, that determines the rate and level of development because, after all, without people there is no need for or possibility of development.

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**See also Children and Development; Family Planning and Structure; Food and Nutrition; Infant Mortality; International Organization for Migration (IOM); International Planned Parenthood Federation; Migration; Poverty: Definition and Trends; Poverty: Impact on Development; Refugees**

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## POPULISM

### Populism Defined

Populism as an ideology and movement arises in transitional societies experiencing rapid expansion of industrialization and urbanization. Industrialization induces social differentiation, increasing the gap between the rich and the poor, migration of peasants to the cities, and the permeation of urban culture and values. On the one hand, these developments usher in increasing rates of literacy, social awakening, politicization, and mobilization of the masses; on the other hand, they invite the centralization and bureaucratization of power. The destruction of feudal and semi-feudal political and social structures engenders decline of communal bonds and traditional sources of identity. Hence, the increasing integration of global economy and commercialization of culture and its export as a commodity by the countries of the global North induce the loss of autonomy and cultural alienation. Thus, populism with different variations emerges to respond to the popular aspirations for increased political participation and the empowerment of the powerless as well as to provide a resolution to the identity crisis and the affirmation of perceived national "authenticity."

Populism as a movement and an ideology is a multiclass as well as a cross-class phenomenon. In so far as its base of support is drawn from different strata (although the lower classes often constitute the broader and the more solid core of this

base), and in so far as it purports to speak on behalf of "the people" as a whole rather than a distinct class (Marxism), Populist appeal cuts across class lines.

Accompanying this multiple base of support is a monist and Unitarian ideological thrust. In response to the fragmentation and alienation in modern life, the Populists call for a unifying vision that would make the creation of an organic society possible. Populist ideologies tend to glorify the common people and advocate supremacy of the masses over the elite. They also call for the revival of traditional values, defying foreign economic and cultural domination. These salient characteristics of populism are complemented by its eclectic sources of ideological inspiration.

Populists consider the ordinary people and their collective tradition as the source of virtue. Hence, the power that stems from "the people" is perceived to be the only legitimate source of authority. Populists represent a moral outlook rather than a systematic ideology or program. They tend to be antiintellectual, antiestablishment, and aspire to revive the traditional culture. As such, Populists are intensely nationalistic. They oppose foreign domination and "alien" cultural influences. They often promote the revival of folk culture, traditional art forms, and conservative social values. They also romanticize the lower classes as the social groups that personify the authentic national culture and embody superior moral virtues. For example, the Russian Populists, the *Narodniks*, developed a romantic image of the peasantry, envisioning them as pure and the true agents of national salvation and the cornerstone of the future utopia. Similarly, US Populists glorified the farmers and their traditions as the true representatives of unspoiled moral values of an earlier age, uncontaminated by the dross of modernity and urban life. Mexican Populists took a strong interest in Indian culture, glorifying it as the true heir to Mexican national culture and identity. Idealization of traditional culture and celebration of purported superior moral virtues of the poor grounds populism in history and lends Populists legitimacy and a popular following.

Populist ideologies in the Third World are partially evoked by the economic and cultural impact of the West, thus engendering reactive Nationalist response. One of the major manifestations of the Nationalist thrust of Populist movements is demonstrated by the affinity toward traditional cultural values. As a common cultural denominator and the source of primordial loyalties, evocation of such values (including religion) is particularly helpful in unifying the masses, thus, enhancing their mobilization.

The mythical glorification of “the people” as the repository of the noble virtues lends Populist ideologies a messianic aura. Populists promise a new utopia in which the alienated and the oppressed would find a new heaven in the organic and egalitarian society of the future. No longer living a fragmented existence, the individual can become whole again by embracing the new creed, “the political religion,” that would make deliverance and salvation possible. While Williams Jennings Bryan in the United States, Perón in Argentina, Echeverría in Mexico, and Vargas in Brazil (each to a different extent) all drew from Christianity to legitimize their political message, Nasser in Egypt, Ben Bella and Bomedien in Algeria, Qaddafi in Libya, and Khomeini in Iran utilized Islam (again to different extent) to mobilize the masses and wrap themselves in the flag of cultural authenticity.

In order to solidify their base of support, the Populist leaders thrive on patron-client relationships found between the landlord and peasants in agrarian societies. By implementing reforms that would benefit their client groups and political constituency, they establish a dependent paternalistic relationship that ensures them a continued base of support. Perón's dependence on trade unions' unconditional support, Qaddafi's dependence on “people's committees” to keep his political opponents at bay, and Khomeini's support of *Mostazafeen* (dispossessed) all are indicative of this client relationship. Thus, Populist leaders' rhetoric abounds with calls for economic reform, equality, and social justice to ensure the mobilization of their base of support.

Another characteristic of Populism is its purported third path of development between and beyond Capitalism and Communism. The Narodniki's Peasant Commune of Russia in the 1870s, Perón's *Justicialismo* in Argentina in the 1940s and 1950s, Nasser's Arab Socialism in the 1950s and 1960s, Qaddafi's Third Universal Theory and his People's *Jamahiria* in the 1970s and 1980s, and Khomeini's Neither East Nor West policy in the 1980s all attest to this common ideological attribute.

Economically, Populist leaders are opposed to laissez-faire policies. They favor nationalization of major industries and opt for interventionist, regulatory, and egalitarian policies to benefit the poor. This includes land reform, imposition of high tariffs on the imports, bolstering of the domestic industries, state guided growth, protectionism, provision of subsidies, public work programs to cope with unemployment, low-income housing, and other welfare policies. While they borrow from some Socialist principles, they do not favor abolishing of private property (with the exception of Russian Populists).

Their economic policies attempt to soften some of the harsher impacts of Capitalist development rather than abolishing it.

While populism could be economically progressive and forward looking in so far as it promotes economic reform and some measure of equality and protection for the poor, culturally it could be backward looking and reactionary in so far as it gets its source of inspirations from the past and its archaic values.

While ideologically populism advocates rule of the masses over the elite, in reality democratic representation of the people is not necessarily an attribute or a function of Populist movements. The mass mobilization and rule by the majority vote, the two characteristics of populism, is no guarantee for implementation of democratic principles. Indeed, many Populist leaders of the past have been authoritarian demagogues who are masterful in the art of manipulation of the masses. They often replace mass mobilization, initiated and controlled from above, for genuine democratic political participation from below. But in so far as they need to validate their leadership through popular vote, they allow formal political participation, and they favor electoral politics.

What abounds in Populist movements is the emergence of charismatic leaders. Perón, Echeverría, Vargas, Nasser, Ben Bella and Bomedien, Qaddafi, and Khomeini are a few examples. Charismatic leaders often emerge in a crisis milieu, and they are perceived by their followers to have answers to national problems. Their ability to articulate national frustrations as well as suppress mass aspirations and portray an alluring image of a future utopia is the key to their popular appeal. The messianic aura surrounding them and their message, and the use of mass mobilization to intimidate the political opponents, all serve to insulate Populist leaders from the vulnerabilities of mundane politics and keep their charisma intact.

## Populism in Comparative Perspective

Populism as an ideology and movement has had different forms and manifestations in different parts of the world. The discussion that follows attempts to present a selective survey of some of the more prominent Populist movements to date. Russian and American populism emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century in reaction to dislocations caused by accelerated pace of industrialization and urbanization. In Latin America in contrast, where the process of industrial development occurred later, Populist movements did not appear until the early twentieth

century. In the Middle East, where gaining independence and industrial development came later, populism is a post-World War II phenomenon.

In Russia, the term “populism” referred to the movement of the *Narodniks* in the 1870s. Populism in Russia was closely related to an idealized vision of the peasantry in general, and the peasant commune in particular. In its quest for a uniquely Russian path of development, the Russian intelligentsia romanticized the peasantry as the class that represented superior and pure Russian national virtues. Liberation of peasants from the oppression and exploitation of the Czarist absolutism would put Russia on the path of peasant socialism. Peasant socialism would usher in a third path of development separate from Capitalism and classical socialism. It would overcome Russia’s backwardness without succumbing to the individualism, materialism, and pervasive corruption found in Western societies. The peasant commune would give birth to equality, social justice, harmony, and spiritual wholeness.

As they became aware that their leisure and education had become possible by the toil of impoverished masses, many Russian intellectuals were filled with the feelings of guilt and a sense of moral responsibility and obligation. Many students, for example, left their schools and went to the villages to “join the masses,” experience their sufferings, and shed their “decadent” middle-class values. By joining the masses and arousing their political consciousness, Russian Populists sought to fulfill their moral obligation. By arousing the masses to political action, they aspired to overthrow czarism and to liberate society from the stifling grip of absolutism, thus emancipating themselves as a persecuted minority as well.

The major paradox of Russian populism was that it was not a movement of “the people,” that is of the peasantry that constituted the vast majority of Russian population. Rather, it was a movement of radicalized and alienated intellectuals who projected their hopes and dreams unto a perceived revolutionary potential of peasantry.

Populism in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States was the ideological banner of a declining peasantry whose prominence and livelihood as a class was threatened by the insurgent forces of industrial capitalism. It was the ideological banner of farmers and small producers. The main base of support for the Populists was in the South and the Midwest. The two antecedents of American populism were centralization of power in the commercial and political centers of the northeast and the domination of the South by the North. On the cultural level, the old values were disappearing, yet the new ones were still alien. This identity crisis and cultural alienation

induced a longing for the past folk traditions among farmers and more traditional social layers. US populism expressed the agrarian sentiment for a return to social wholeness, self-government, and public authority. Industrialization and centralization of power in the Northeast meant that the agrarians, who were extolled as the backbone of the United States by its founders, romanticized by Jefferson, and glorified by Jackson, now faced the danger of economic ruin and political decline.

Although Russian and US populism were two entirely different movements—one a populism of the intelligentsia and primarily an urban movement and the other an agrarian movement—both can be regarded as agrarian populism. Russian populism was inspired by the image of peasantry, and the majority of recruits to US populism came from the ranks of farmers. One major difference between these two diverse forms of agrarian populism was that the US Populists, unlike their Russian counterparts, were not socialistic in their view of private property. Furthermore, the religious nature of populism in the United States was far stronger than its Russian counterpart.

William Jennings Bryan, the most distinguished leader of the Populist Movement in the United States, was deeply religious. Bryan’s message was always moral, and his followers were primarily “the bible people.” Biblical metaphors abounded in his writings, and he often accused his political opponents of being “sinners.” But beyond its religious form, US populism combined agrarian radicalism, a tradition of Jeffersonian grassroots democracy and Jacksonian faith in the common man.

Although US populism as an organized movement did not last more than fifteen years, many regard the legacy of US populism to be the source of reforms enacted later by the Progressives during the period of 1901 through 1914. Hence, the watering down and the adaptation of the platform of the people’s party (1892–1900), the major Populist Party in the United States, by the Democratic Party did not hinder the assimilation of many of its programs and agenda as the major fixture of US politics for years to come. Neither did it prevent the emergence of such a local strong man as Huey Long, the Populist senator and the governor of Louisiana who emerged as the powerful leader of the South in 1930s. Long attacked the big corporations and promised to distribute their wealth among the poor. He was intolerant of criticism and had a strong contempt for the constitutional and judicial processes.

Latin America also has a rich tradition of Populist politics. Latin American history from the 1920s through the 1960s has been deeply influenced by Populist movements and ideologies. Among the most

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renowned Populist leaders of Latin America are Perón from Argentina, Vargas from Brazil, Echeverría from Mexico, Haya de la Torre from Peru, Ibarra from Ecuador, and Estensorro from Bolivia; these men and their policies are a few examples of the rich Populist tradition of the region.

Latin American populism was induced by the economic prosperity of the 1920s, which led to the acceleration of the metropolitan revolution throughout the region from the end of the nineteenth century onward. Urbanization and the expansion of literacy heightened the level of interest in politics and ushered in the entrance of the lower classes in the political arena.

There are two distinct periods in Latin American populism. First is the period between World Wars I and II. Second is the post-World War II period. In the first phase, Populist movements were concerned with legitimate representation, thus characterized by reformist politics. In the next phase, the Populist movements became more radicalized, addressing issues such as distribution of wealth, economic growth, and political development. Hence, policies that would promote aid for the poor, social integration in the face of differentiation in modern societies, equality, social justice, and democracy became widely popular.

Vargas, the Populist leader of Brazil from 1930 to 1945, launched a campaign that encouraged mobilization of workers and peasants and introduced a welfare program to benefit them. Vargas was highly authoritarian and strongly opposed the Communists as well as Western influence. He revived traditional values and encouraged patriotism and nationalism. Having suppressed his liberal and left-wing domestic foes successfully, he developed an elaborate network of patron-client based relationships on the local and state levels. The beneficiaries of this new client system guaranteed his regime a solid base of support. Consequently, the consolidation of power in this way made the use of force less necessary.

Perón, the president of Argentina from 1946 to 1955, drew his base of support primarily from the workers and peasants. His political opponents, for the most part, came from the ranks of the middle and the upper classes. He enacted several reforms that benefited the urban and rural poor and campaigned against big business and foreign imperialists. Perón termed his philosophy *Justicialismo*, or the “third position,” between capitalism and communism that favored neither the Yankees nor Soviets. *Justicialismo* not only grounded Perónism in Argentine nationalism but also distinguished it from fascism.

Middle Eastern populism is primarily a post-World War II phenomenon. While the region had experienced Islamic Revivalist, Constitutionalist, and

Nationalist movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only with the postindependence political and cultural awakenings and the acceleration of the urban revolution does one witness the systematic emergence and popularity of Populist ideologies since the 1950s.

Middle Eastern populism synthesized nationalism, anti-imperialism, elements of socialism, and Islam (to varying degrees). As such, it provided a nativist ideology, a third path of development that would distinguish the region from the Eastern (Communist) and Western (Capitalist) ideological and political hegemony.

Nasser, the charismatic Populist leader of Egypt in the 1950s and 1960s, came from peasant origins and was passionately committed to improving the condition of the poor. His ideology synthesized anti-Imperialism, Nationalism, Pan-Arabism, and “Arab Socialism.” Although he was a secular leader, when necessary, he used Islamic symbolism to wrap his political message in the flag of cultural authenticity. For example, after the Egyptian defeat in the 1967 war against Israel, Nasser chose to address the crowd from the pulpit of the al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo.

Domestically, Nasser nationalized the major industries and collectivized some of the land of the richest landowners. While not opposed to private property, he was against “exploitative ownership.” While he opposed the sector of the Capitalist class that was dependent on foreign capital, he supported the gains of the domestic Capitalists.

Internationally, Nasser promoted the idea of positive neutralism and nonalignment. He negotiated with the British to gain Egypt’s independence in 1954, and in 1956 after nationalizing the Suez Canal, he fought the combined armies of the British, the French, and the Israelis in which he lost the battle but won the hearts and minds of the popular masses throughout the Arab World. Consequently, Nasser emerged as the strong advocate of Pan-Arabism. He wanted to restore the Arab pride and national identity as well as foster Pan-Arab unity. His firebrand Nationalist rhetoric evoked an overwhelmingly positive response throughout the Arab World. It provided a remedy for the sense of wounded dignity that many Arabs had experienced due to a history of colonial and semicolonial domination.

His immense popularity notwithstanding, Nasser was intolerant of his political opponents on the Right (Muslim Brotherhood) and the Left (the Communists). He had several leaders of both parties executed and many of their members imprisoned and tortured. He was the prototype of Arab Populist charismatic authoritarian leaders who followed him. Indeed, “Nasser’s Revolution” inspired other movements in

the Arab world, such as the Algerian Revolution of 1954 and the Libyan Revolution of 1969.

The Algerian revolution of 1954–1962 was a Nationalist movement against French Colonial rule. On assuming power, Ben Bella, the first Populist leader of the revolution, implemented a system known as “Autogestion,” a system of workers’ management through popularly elected representation. Autogestion was designed to transform the colonial economy into a “socialist economy.” The new leaders declared compatibility of Islam, nationalism, and Marxism.

Ben Bella like his predecessor, Nasser in Egypt, banned all political parties. In 1963, he drafted a new constitution that gave him enormous powers as the head of state, the commander in chief of the armed forces, and the General Secretary of the National Liberation Front or the *Frente de Liberacion Nacional* (FLN), the party that led the Algerian Revolution. Ben Bella’s attempt to consolidate all the power in his own hands and curb the influence of the army, led to a *coup d’état* in 1965 by Minister of Defense Houari Boumédiène.

Boumédiène dissolved the national assembly and suspended the constitution. The eleven years of rule by decree that followed effectively began the era of authoritarian populism in Algerian politics. From 1965 until the election of the national popular assembly in 1977 and the creation of FLN political bureau in 1979, all executive and legislative powers were concentrated in the Algerian Council of Revolution and the Council of Ministers, both headed by Boumédiène. Hence, it was only in 1976 that a new constitution was approved by a referendum; Boumédiène, as the sole candidate of the only legitimate party, the FLN, was formally elected as president for six years. Boumédiène began an extensive campaign, nationalizing the major industries and banks. To expand the state penetration of the civil society, in 1967 Boumédiène established communal (township) assemblies. These institutions were complemented by Waliya (provincial) assemblies in 1969. In 1971, he initiated extensive land reform, silencing the land owners’ resistance in the process. These reforms were designed to improve the lot of the impoverished masses.

Internationally, Boumédiène opted for nonalignment and Third World solidarity, supporting the movements of national liberation. In an attempt to give Third World nations better control over their resources, Algeria played an active role in creating the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and developing its policies. Algeria also took a leading role in the North–South dialogue, calling for a new international economic order.

In 1969, a young army officer named Muammar Qaddafi led a revolt of “free officers” that overthrew King Idris and abolished the monarchy, replacing it with the People’s Republic. Qaddafi’s political philosophy, referred to as the Third Universal Theory, is articulated in his Green Book. The Green Book criticizes Capitalism and Socialism and presents an alternative path.

Qaddafi’s Populist message has endeared him particularly among the lower classes. Qaddafi’s charisma is rooted in his humble origins and his strong identification with Islamic and Arab identity. He mingles freely with the masses, often resides in a tent, and drives his own car. He admires the virtues of rural Libya and is a champion of Arab unity and solidarity.

Once in power, Qaddafi banned all political parties and created a single monopolistic political party called the Arab Socialist Union. To mobilize his base of support, he created People’s Committees and their armed detachments, People’s Militias, as instruments of “Direct Democracy.” But, in reality, these organizations came under the direct control of Qaddafi and his supporters. When these committees became organs of independent power, they were dissolved.

Economically, Qaddafi implemented extensive nationalization of major industries and imposed state control and regulation. Private property was tolerated as long as it remained “nonexploitative.” He proposed abolishing the wage system in favor of granting workers a share of production proportionate to their contribution to the production effort. He also promoted workers’ control and self-management of many industries and created state-controlled supermarkets in an attempt to prevent the escalation in rising food prices. Qaddafi’s other reforms included reducing rents, providing affordable mass housing, doubling the minimum wage, and converting foreign banks into Libyan joint stock companies.

In 1973, he launched his Cultural Revolution. He declared the Islamic law, the Shari’a, to be the only source of law and himself as the sole arbiter and interpreter of religious issues, thus elevating himself as the political as well as the spiritual leader of his people. By closing the nightclubs, banning alcohol, and restricting the non-Muslim religious institutions, he gained the critical support of the clergy. Qaddafi, however, has proven to be highly intolerant of both secular and Islamic opposition, and he does not hesitate to use repression to silence them.

When the Islamic Revolution of 1979 brought the clergy to power, they drafted a new constitution that defined the goal of the revolution as a movement aimed at the triumph of all “the oppressed over the oppressors.” This Populist tone not only reflected the



composition of the movement that overthrew the monarchy but also the ideology of its leadership led by Ayatollah Khomeini. After the revolution, the new regime confiscated the property of those who fled the country and nationalized major industries, including banks, factories, insurance companies, foreign trade, and undeveloped land. Hence, a housing foundation was created to build affordable accommodations for the poor. Some of the shanty town residents were allowed to take over the luxurious houses of the prominent members of the former regime.

The new regime also built a wide array of institutions to buttress its support among the popular masses. Among such institutions were revolutionary committees (*komitehs*) that were spontaneous mass-based organizations that sprang up throughout the country right after the revolution. Another important institution was the revolutionary guards. They became the main alternative to the regular army, which was mistrusted by the regime. If the revolutionary guards provided the regime with a military arm, *bonyAd-e mostaza'fan* (the foundation of the dispossessed) became the financial arm of the regime. This organization confiscated and administered the property of the royal family and other officials of the Shah's regime on behalf of the downtrodden and provided many financial services for the poor. Hence, the institution of Friday Prayer (*Imam Jom'ae*) allowed Ayatollah Khomeini to appoint his relatives, former students, and associates to key positions of power. They in turn informed him of mass sentiment in the provinces and took his messages directly to the people in an attempt to expand and consolidate his base of support.

Ayatollah Khomeini's charismatic authority and his credentials as the spiritual and political leader of the revolution legitimized these institutions as the organs of people-clergy power. His effective use of Shi'ite mythology and sacred traditions rendered his message communicable to the ordinary people. For the laity, he personified the link of historical continuity with their past and resolved their cultural anxiety and identity crisis in a rapidly changing world. Many of them identified with his simple lifestyle, religious vision, and traditional values. His politicized interpretation of Shi'ite Islam proved to be a potent political force. As a common cultural denominator, it could be used to unify and mobilize the people. Hence, his forceful personality kept the heterogeneous clerical coalition together. His depiction of the descending utopia as a "unitarian classless Islamic society," in which justice and virtue reign, and worldly and heavenly salvation can be attained, created hope in the midst of a hopeless situation. He repeatedly referred to the "dispossessed" as the people who have

sacrificed the most for the revolution and are its true heirs. By championing their cause, Khomeini developed a sense of mutual identification between himself and the popular masses. Khomeini's populism, however, was decidedly authoritarian, as he consolidated much of the power in his own hand. He was the ultimate interpreter and implementer of the Islamic law, the commander in chief of the armed forces, and the ultimate authority on all religious and policy matters. Under his theocratic rule, political opponents were suppressed, and civil and democratic rights were restricted.

In the realm of foreign affairs, Khomeini's Neither East, Nor West policy grounded him in nationalism and nonalignment. Whereas Iran's relation with the West deteriorated, its economic and political relations with the Third World nations in general and Islamic nations in particular expanded considerably. Khomeini also promoted Pan-Islamism in an attempt to export Islamic revolution elsewhere in the region. These policies changed considerably in the post-Khomeini era.

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**See also** Boumédiène, Houari; Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Perón, Juan Domingo; Vargas, Getúlio

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## POVERTY: DEFINITION AND TRENDS

### Conceptualizing Poverty

The concept of poverty has many interpretations. The diversity of interpretations is caused by time and space factors, culture, and conventions of the society (Hobsbawm 1972) and philosophical worldviews. "Poverty" expresses many connotations and has always had a relevance to notions like deprivation, insufficiency, deficiency, and the like. It is viewed as an age-old social malaise, a complex socioeconomic state that characterizes any particular individual or families in a given society. Poverty takes different forms in different societies and varies over time and across cultures. Since all societies are, more or less, stratified according to some criteria, the consequence is that somebody always has to be at the bottom; whether this bottom layer is an expression of poverty and the people inhabiting this bottom layer are considered poor, depends on indigenous definition of poverty (Oyen 2003). However, the understanding of poverty and its measurement and analysis is crucially important for a number of purposes. The main purposes are to understand the situation of poverty, to find the factors that determine that situation, to design interventions best adapted to the issue, and to assess the effectiveness of current policies and determine whether the situation is changing (World Bank 2002).

### Worldview of Poverty

Poverty is seen from different worldviews. In one worldview, poverty is seen as lack of distribution of income with equity. This is mostly the case with developed countries where poverty occurs due to problem of distribution of income or resources rather than total amount of national income. In an opposite worldview, poverty in poor or developing countries is seen as lack of creation of income coupled with economic underdevelopment. Another worldview of poverty involves "moneylessness" and "powerlessness." Moneylessness means not merely an insufficiency of cash but a chronic inadequacy of all types of resources to satisfy such basic human needs as nutrition, rest, warmth, and bodily care. Powerlessness, however, means a lack of opportunities and choices open to the poor whose lives seem to be governed by forces and persons outside their control, such as by people in position of authority (Tussing).

However, the dominant worldview of poverty that has attained much attention in poverty literature regards "absolute" and "relative" poverty. Absolute poverty means absolute deprivation or starvation. It illustrates a people or family who simply does not have enough to eat and sustain itself. People living in absolute poverty are usually characterized as undernourished, illiterate, and prone to diseases and have high infant mortality and low life expectancy. Absolute poverty is common in the poorer Third World countries. Relative poverty, on the other hand, refers to a low standard of living compared to the average standard. In industrial countries, relative poverty is essentially a measure of inequality. Thus, relative poverty varies from country to country and from time to time.

A different worldview of poverty is moral poverty. It goes beyond material well-being and emphasizes the holding of a value system for equal access to opportunities and egalitarianism. It means the abolition of social inequalities along with the universal elevation of a standard of material life attained by the upper strata of the society.

### Definition of Poverty

Based on different worldviews, the definition of poverty may vary. Interestingly, however, sociologists, economists, and philosophers also might not come under a common umbrella in defining the concept of poverty. The problem in defining poverty has further been aggravated with widened ideas attached to it.

Before attempting to define poverty, it is necessary to distinguish those who are poor from those who are not poor. The common method is to classify an individual as poor based on a set of consumption norms that he or she cannot meet. However, it is not simple either conceptually or empirically to specify a set of such norms. Even if there were the agreement that the minimum amount of food, clothing, and shelter needed to sustain life should constitute a universal set of norms, these minimal requirements could not be either unambiguously defined or easily quantified. Besides, the minimum energy from food needed to sustain the basic bodily functions of an individual of a given age, sex, height, weight, and activity is not a constant (ADB 1992). This inability to identify a constant is the reason why it is often argued that universal poverty norms are not feasible to develop and, rather, that they are very time, space, and culture specific.

Still scholars have attempted to define poverty with a universalistic approach. One such universally

accepted notion is that poverty is “a matter of deprivation” (Sen 1981). The deprivation is premised on social norms and varies substantially as noted earlier through time and space. With this view in mind, poverty in developing countries can indicate absolute deprivation, infringing on basic sustenance of life, whereas poverty in developed countries can indicate relative deprivation, meaning a lack of ability to afford a standard of living enjoyed by a reference group with higher incomes (Quibria 1991).

The concept of deprivation, however, has evolved through time. With rapid industrial growth and advancement in communication and technology, the global economy has changed remarkably. This increased global economy has given birth to the notion of deprivation in its relative sense. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the prevailing notion in today’s developed countries was one of failure to meet basic nutritional and biological requirements for the sustenance of life. Rowntree (1901) noted that “primary poverty . . . [means] earnings insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.” This definition of poverty relates to a concept of absolute poverty as it is employed in developing countries today. In developed countries, with increasing material wealth, this definition has lost a good deal of its significance. The specter of hunger and poverty has been, more or less, banished from most of these economies. Poverty, in most advanced industrial nations, is now a matter of deviation from social and economic norms. In other words, as the threat of starvation has receded from the scene, poverty is being interpreted in advanced countries in relative terms.

Some contemporary scholars have also attempted to redefine poverty as incorporating the issues of gender, environment, and easy access to private and public goods. Lipton and Maxwell write that the concept of poverty has:

Been broadened, beyond the notions of inadequate private income or consumption, toward a more comprehensive perspective: absence of a secure and sustainable livelihood . . . [which] allows us to measure and evaluate the level and vulnerability—and freedom from bias by gender and age—of individuals’ access to privately and publicly provided goods and services and to common property. (1992: 10)

However, in a different light, poverty is also viewed as a politically sensitive theme while compared to the concept of inequality. Inequality is a relatively safe theme, for after all there are many positions, philosophical and political, in relation to inequality. It may be viewed as necessary, inevitable, or even beneficial in relation to a particular mode of progress.

According to a classic liberal view, inequality of outcomes may be acceptable as long as there is equality of opportunity. Poverty, on the other hand, is politically sensitive and challenging, for it undermines social cohesion; hence, the conceptualization and measurement of poverty are matters of political dispute (Wilson 1996).

### Measuring Poverty and the Poverty Line

There are many standards available to measure poverty both at country and global levels. Measurement of poverty in a systematic fashion was pioneered by Booth and Rowntree in the late nineteenth century. Later on, some other scholars like Galbraith (1958), Harrington (1960), Orshansky (1965), and A.K. Sen (1973) as well as various international organizations like International Labour Organization (ILO), World Bank, and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have done much research to devise more appropriate measures for accurate and scientific quantification of poverty.

At first, obtaining a measurement requires drawing a poverty line. The poverty line is defined as the minimum acceptable standard of living for the society. It is essentially a cut-off point that separates those in poverty from the rest of the population. A poverty line generally comprises two elements: (i) the expenditure necessary to buy a minimum standard of nutrition and other basic necessities and (ii) a further amount that varies from country to country, reflecting the cost of participating in the everyday life of society. The first element can be calculated in a straightforward manner. The cost of minimum adequate caloric intakes and other necessities is estimated from the prices of the goods that constitute the consumption bundles of the poor. The second element, however, is subjective and varies with per capita income—that is, the richer a country, the higher is its poverty line (Nixon 1996). For example, in the United States, since the 1960s, the federal government has established a poverty line to designate people officially regarded as poor. The line is fixed by calculating the average cost of food that average-sized families need for minimum nutrition. This figure is then tripled to cover the minimum cost of clothing, housing, medical care, and other necessities. The official poverty line for a family of four in 1996 was set at \$16,036. By that measure, in that year, about 14% of the population—about 36.5 million people—were defined as living in poverty (US Bureau of the Census, 1998).

However, to measure poverty at the global level, the same reference poverty line is used, expressed in a common unit across countries. Therefore, for the purpose of global aggregation and comparison, the World Bank uses reference lines set at \$1 and \$2 per day, more precisely at \$1.08 and \$2.15 in the 1993 Purchasing Power Parity [PPP] terms (World Bank 2005). The most common measure of poverty is the head-count measure, often expressed at  $H$ , given by the proportion of the total population that happens to be identified as poor and as falling below the specified poverty line income. If  $q$  is the number of people who are identified as being poor and  $n$  the total number of people in the community, then the head-count measure  $H$  is simply  $q/n$  (Sen 1999). The  $H$  ratio makes a nondiscriminatory, “gross-category” approach in measuring the number of people who are below the poverty line (Ghosh 1994). In view of the shortcomings of the  $H$  ratio, Sen uses the  $P$  index to measure poverty. Sen examines the income shortfall of each person from the poverty line. A weighted norm of the income shortfalls of the poor can be viewed as a measure of poverty. Sen uses a simple method in which he takes the rank values of the poor in the income ranking as the weights to be put on the income shortfalls of different persons within the category of the poor. It is an absolute measure of poverty using “rank order weights” on the basis of gaps in the income of the poor, where more weight per unit is attached to lower incomes (Sen 1973). Another frequently used measure of poverty is the Gini coefficient that basically measures the level of inequality within societies and applies on a global scale as well.

### Trends of Poverty

Poverty has always been associated with humanity throughout many civilizations. With the advance of time, industrial growth, and scientific and technological innovations, the trends of poverty have shifted their routes with many ups and downs in different epochs of human history. “Poor,” as is considered of some people in society, is perhaps the result of stratified societies where upper and lower strata coexist and have direct contact with each other. In medieval legal terminology, poverty is seen as lower strata, and people belonging to those strata are regarded as *arme liute* (poor people). Before the turn of twentieth century, the changes in trends of poverty were basically conceptual. For example, in preindustrial societies, poverty (more specifically pauperism) was seen as abnormal and called for remedial action. In fact, the

traditional “policy of provision” that imposed on the public authorities the duty to provide regular food supplies at reasonable prices, rather than the “poor law,” is the ancestor of modern welfare policies (Hobsbawm 1972). This perception was slightly changed in the industrial era, during which the lower and upper strata of the society were recognized as socioeconomic classes. In this time, the poor, often recognized as the working class (proletariat) who were employed for wages, developed a specific form of supralocal organization that called for the protection and advancement of living standards insofar as these depended on employment. The early phases of industrialism saw an unusual crisis of extreme poverty. The trend in perception of poverty in this period was that the actual needs of the poor lied in the formulation of public policy. Before this time, no criterion of poverty was usually recognized other than destitution and positively asking for relief.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, a socialistic approach slowly took its roots with an emphasis on pro-poor policy formulation that abandoned self-regulated capitalist economy. Due to growing political influence of the poor and the appearance of planned Socialist economies, the problem of extreme poverty in that period was considered a wider social problem, which gave emphasis to providing all citizens with a minimum standard of living at all levels. Thus, special “poor laws” that existed in that time disappeared, as in Britain in 1929 (Hobsbawm 1972). However, quantification of “poor” or inquiring into the “state of the poor” was started in Britain in the late eighteenth century and has received impetus with a firmer statistical base since the 1830s. From the late nineteenth century, the trends of poverty started to be identified with a statistical quantification, and poverty measure and the official poverty line began to take shape.

The trends of poverty in the twentieth century are characterized by rapid industrial growth and speedy technological advancement yet a huge gap between the lower and upper strata of the society. The basic factors responsible for such gaps or global inequality in the second half of the twentieth century were, according to UNDP, (i) rapid economic growth in already rich countries in Western Europe, North America, and Oceania relative to most of the rest of the world; and (ii) slow growth on the Indian subcontinent until the late twentieth century and consistently slow growth in Africa (UNDP 2002). Poverty during this period was reduced in an accelerated pace, and the per capita income jumped to a high status compared to any other time in history, but the status of inequality did not lessen but rather increased with big strides.

Summarizing the findings of an econometric study for the World Bank, Pritchett notes “the ratio of per capita income in the richest versus the poorest country (between 1870 and 1989) has increased by a factor of six and the standard deviation of GDP per capita has increased between 60% and 100%. (Pritchett, 1995).” If the distribution of wealth between countries continues to diverge, Castells observes, the average living conditions of the world’s population, as measured by the United Nations Human Development Index, overall have improved steadily over the past three decades since 1970s (Castells 2000). This improvement is due, primarily, to better educational opportunities and improved health standards, which translate into a dramatic increase in life expectancy that in developing countries went up from 46 years in the 1960s to 62 years in 1993 and 64.4 years in 1997, particularly for women (UNDP 1996). But the evolution of the income gap presents a different picture from a global perspective as well as from a comparative perspective when looking at specific countries.

The first major overall gap in human inequality emerges in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and has been widening ever since. Estimates of income gap between the fifth of the world’s people living in the richest country and the fifth in the poorest are as follows: 1820: three to one; 1870: seven to one; 1913: eleven to one; 1960: thirty to one; 1990: sixty to one; 1997: seventy-four to one (UNDP 1999). Since 1970s, globally speaking, there has been inequality and polarization in the distribution of wealth at a very fast rate. According to UNDP’s 1996/1999 Human Development Reports, in 1993 only \$5 trillion of the \$23 trillion (US dollars, USD) global gross domestic product (GDP) were from the developing countries even if they accounted for nearly 80% of total population. The poorest 20% of the world’s people have seen their share of global income decline from 2.3% to 1.4% in the past thirty years. Meanwhile, the share of the richest 20% of people in the world has risen from 70% to 85%. In 1994, the assets of the world’s 358 billionaires (USD) exceeded the combined annual incomes of countries with 45% of the world’s population. The concentration of wealth at the very top accelerated in the second half of the 1990s: the net worth of the world’s two hundred richest people increased from \$440 billion to more than \$1 trillion (USD) between 1994 and 1998.

Thus, in 1998, the assets of the three richest people in the world were more than the combined gross national product (GNP) of the forty-eight least developed countries, including 600 million people (UNDP 1999). The gap in per capita income between the industrial and the developing worlds tripled, from \$5,700 in 1960 to \$15,000 (USD) in 1993 (UNDP

1996). Between 1960 and 1991, all but the richest quintile (of the world’s people) saw their income share fall, so that by 1991, more than 85% of the world’s population received only 15% of its income—yet another indication of an even more polarized world (UNDP 1996). This polarization and the trend of inequality continue to increase even after the world reached a new millennium. Milanovic finds some startling statistics, taking into account inequality within countries and using PPP exchange rates. The most recent available estimates are for 1993, but stagnation in the poorest countries and robust growth in many of the richest countries imply that these are unlikely to have improved. Milanovic estimated that the world’s richest 1% receive as much income as the poorest 57%. The richest 10% of the US population has an income equal to that of the poorest 43% of the world. Put differently, the income of the richest 25 million US citizens is equal to that of almost 2 billion people. His calculation also estimates that the income of the world’s richest 5% is 114 times that of the poorest 5% (Milanovic 2001).

However, the statistics of intracountry inequality also show considerable disparity in different areas of the world. Since the 1980s, income inequality has increased in the United States (Fischer *et al.* 1996), United Kingdom (Townsend 1993), Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru, Thailand, Russia (UNDP 1996), Japan (Bauer and Mason 1992), Canada, Sweden, Australia, Germany (Green *et al.* 1992), and Mexico (Skezely 1995), just to cite a few relevant countries. But income inequality decreased in the 1960–1990 period in India, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea (UNDP 1996). In addition, according to data elaborated by Deininger and Squire, the level of income inequality can be compared, measured by the Gini coefficient, among the major regions of the world between the 1990s and the 1970s; in 1990, it was much higher in Eastern Europe, somewhat higher in Latin America, but lower in all other regions when analyzed at a highly aggregate level (Deininger and Squire 1996). The Gini coefficient remained for Latin America as a whole at about 0.58 throughout the 1990s, thus reflecting the highest level of inequality among major regions in the world (Castells 2000).

Yet, while allowing for a certain range of trend variations in different countries, a predominant trend toward increasing inequality has been shown between the late 1970s and the mid-1990s. In examining the level of inequality, Castells observes the United Kingdom to be the fastest growing. But what is particularly striking is that the two other countries with rapidly increasing inequality are Sweden and Denmark, which were until recently egalitarian

societies. If Japan is added to the same category of fast-growing inequality in societies with low levels of inequality, this observation would suggest the hypothesis of a structural trend toward increasing inequality in the network society. On the other hand, Finland, a very advanced network society, did not follow the trend of its Scandinavian neighbors, and Italy significantly reduced inequality. If Spanish and Portuguese data were included in the table, they would show a pattern of stable, moderate inequality. Transition economies in Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) experienced, in the 1990s, the fastest rise in inequality ever. By the end of the twentieth century, the income share of the richer 20% was 11 times that of the poorer 20% in Russia (UNDP 1999).

In the mid-1990s, taking as the extreme poverty line a consumption equivalent of \$1 a day, 1.3 billion people, accounting for 33% of the developing world's population, were in misery. Of these poor people, 550 million lived in South Asia, 215 million in sub-Saharan Africa, and 150 million in Latin America (UNDP 1996). In a similar estimate, using a \$1 per day dividing line for extreme poverty, the ILO estimated that the percentage of the population below this line increased from 53.05% in 1985 to 54.4% in 1990 in sub-Saharan Africa and from 23 to 27.8% in Latin America; the percentage decreased from 61.1 to 59% in South Asia and from 15.7 to 14.7% in East/Southeast Asia (not including China). According to the UNDP, between 1987 and 1993, the number of people with incomes of less than \$1 (USD) a day increased by 100 million to reach 1.3 billion. If the level of income of less than \$2 a day is considered, another 1 billion people should be added to this list. Thus, at the turn of the millennium, well over one-third of humankind was living at subsistence or below subsistence level.

In addition to income poverty, other dimensions of poverty are even more striking: in the mid-1990s, about 840 million people were illiterate, more than 1.2 billion lacked access to safe water, 800 million lacked access to health services, and more than 800 million suffered hunger. Nearly one-third of the people in the least developed countries—mainly in sub-Saharan Africa—were not expected to survive to the age of forty. Women and children suffer most from poverty: 160 million children under five were malnourished, and the maternal mortality rate was about five hundred women per one hundred thousand live births (ILO 1995). The largest concentration of poverty was, by far, in the rural areas: in 1990, the proportion of the poor among the rural population was 66% in Brazil, 72% in Peru, 43% in Mexico, 49% in India, and 54% in the Philippines (ILO, 1994). As for

Russia, the CIS countries, and Eastern Europe, a report issued by the World Bank in April 1999 calculated that there were 147 million people living below the poverty line of \$4 (USD) a day; the equivalent figure for 1989 was 14 million.

Thus, overall, the ascent of informational, global capitalism is indeed characterized by simultaneous economic development and underdevelopment as well as social inclusion and social exclusion, in a process very roughly reflected in comparative statistics. There is polarization in the distribution of wealth at the global level and differential evolution of intra-country income inequality, albeit with a predominantly upward trend toward increasing inequality and substantial growth of poverty and misery in the world at large and in most—but not all—countries, both developed and developing. However, the patterns of social exclusion, and the factors accounting for them, require a qualitative analysis of the processes by which they are induced.

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**See also Basic Human Needs; Income Distribution; Peasants, Impact of Development on; Poverty: Impact on Development; Quality of Life: Definition; Subsistence Living**

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## POVERTY: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

The term "poverty" can be used in relation to a wide range of phenomena that relate to a lack or deficiency. In relation to development issues, the meaning of "poverty" is most often confined to material poverty in respect of money, goods, and services (such as education or health care). In everyday usage, the term "poverty" is used to mean a shortage of income.

More accurately, one could say that poverty is a condition where an individual is unable to secure the things that he or she needs to survive. Development literature stresses the multidimensionality of poverty; in addition to material consumption, the aspects of health, education, social life, environmental quality, and spiritual and political freedom all make up human well-being. In other words, poverty is pronounced deprivation in human well-being: to be poor is to be hungry, to lack shelter and clothing, to be sick and not cared for, to be illiterate and not schooled, and to be socially excluded. Poor people are also more vulnerable to adverse events outside their control. In most cases, poor people are unable to plan for the future with any degree of certainty, and they are often mistreated by the institutions of state and society and excluded from voice and power in those institutions. In some sense, poverty could then be seen as the contrast to development, though development and poverty are not opposites. Poverty is a condition, while development is a process or, rather, a set of processes; and "development" refers often to processes that aim to reduce "poverty."

Nevertheless, the processes of economic development (such as the development of industries, the creation of new jobs and forms of employment, the extension of global trade, and the transition from rural to urban life) have not been able to overcome the global inequalities between the world's rich and poor. Poverty still remains a problem of huge proportions: of the world's 6 billion people, 2.8 billion live on less than \$2 (USD) a day and 1.3 billion live below the World Bank's poverty line, that is, on less than \$1 a day. Each year, some 18 million of them die prematurely from poverty-related causes. About eight out of every one hundred infants do not see their first birthday. This is one-third of all human death, about fifty thousand every day. It is estimated that nine of every one hundred boys and fourteen of every one hundred girls who reach school age do not attend school. Nearly 900 million adults still cannot read or write. Poverty is also evident in poor people's social exclusion and in their extreme vulnerability to ill health, economic dislocation, personal violence, and natural disasters. The scourge of HIV/AIDS, the frequency and brutality of civil conflicts, and rising disparities between affluent countries and the developing appear to further widen the gap between the rich and the poor.

### Absolute and Relative Poverty

The question remains of how such severe and extensive poverty can exist while there is great and rising

affluence elsewhere. The average income of the citizens of affluent countries is about fifty times greater in purchasing power than that of the global poor. The latter 2.8 billion people together have about 1.2% of aggregate global income, while the 903 million people of the “high income economies” together have 80%. Shifting merely 1% of aggregate global income, \$312 billion annually, from the first group to the second could eradicate severe poverty worldwide. Instead, developed countries spend \$600 billion a year on defense and \$300 billion in direct and indirect agricultural subsidies, while official development assistance from all nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) during 2002 represented only \$56 billion (about 0.22% of total gross domestic product or GDP of those nations).

The paradox of wealth and poverty leads us to the question concerning the relativity of poverty. Poverty can be understood both in absolute as well as in relative terms. “Relative poverty” is the comparison of one person’s wealth with another. When poverty in affluent and developed nations (though not all) the concern is relative poverty. People might be, or at least regard themselves, as poor in comparison to their more affluent neighbors who may own more material assets. They might have low self-esteem and feel they do not meet the expectations of their communities, despite the fact that their income may be well beyond the minimum needed to survive and their material wealth is ten times greater than that of the world’s poorest people. Most citizens of the industrialized countries in comparison to people in the developing world are very wealthy. For example, gross national product (GNP) per capita in the United Kingdom is around \$8,460 (USD), while in Ethiopia the amount is closer to \$110. This would make the average person in the United Kingdom around seventy-six times wealthier than the average Ethiopian.

While people live in absolute poverty in every country of the world, the numbers and proportions are far greater in the developing world. In the global context, and particularly in relation to the development of poor nations, a discussion of poverty means “absolute poverty.” If the focus is on the poorest quarter of humanity (including very few indeed in Europe or North America), then the poverty is one of an absolute sense of severe deprivation of, for example, food, shelter, education, and health care; these people are living on the verge of survival. Absolute poverty prevents people from meeting their most basic biological needs for food, clothing, and shelter. This type of poverty and lack of purchasing power can threaten an individual’s very existence.

## Multidimensional Poverty and Human Well-Being

Poverty means having insufficient money and other resources when these are needed; it also refers to standards of consumption that are below those judged by the community at large to be acceptable or adequate to sustain a full and meaningful life. This definition of poverty shows the multidimensional nature of poverty and its direct relation to the concept of “human welfare” as well as “human well-being.” Taking into account the multidimensionality of poverty enables an understanding of the complex nature of poverty and allows the appreciation of “the poor” as a heterogeneous group. However, arguments against this approach of “multidimensional poverty” and in favor of emphasizing income poverty (i.e., lack of material well-being) as the “correct” definition of poverty first claim that there is high correlation between income and other measures of well-being, such as health and education status. Second, these arguments claim that governments and other organizations can implement effective poverty reduction programs by supporting economic growth, providing social services, and controlling markets and taxing systems, hence improving levels of income; however, it is less desirable for government or external agencies to interfere with, for instance, people’s spiritual well-being.

Recognizing the multidimensionality of poverty also reflects the viewpoints of the poor, who often rank other dimensions besides income as important to the quality of life. In the World Bank 2000 study on world poverty, for instance, people in poor countries were asked to define what “well-being” and “ill-being” meant for them. Well-being was in general described as “happiness,” “harmony,” “peace,” “freedom from anxiety,” and “peace of mind.” Ill-being was seen as a “lack of material things,” as “bad experiences,” and as “bad feeling about oneself.” The interpretations of well-being and ill-being often vary between people and cultures and conditions. A 1988 study in India showed that the well-being of the poor in India had risen by measures they considered important, such as wearing shoes and having a separate accommodation for people and livestock, even in cases where the surveys showed their actual income had fallen.

The concepts of “well-being,” “quality of life,” and “standards of living” have a direct relation to the concept of “development.” While two of the main principles in various development programs (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], United Nations Children’s Fund [UNICEF], and United Nations Education, Science, and Cultural Organization



[UNESCO]) are cultural integrity and multiculturalism, human well-being is still the programs' main goal. However, if participatory approaches to poverty measurement rely merely on individual views of poverty or well-being, there is a danger of relativism that can justify vast global inequality. While it is essential to plan what people can do with particular goods and commodities, rather than giving material wealth intrinsic value, it is also important not to let the idea that humans' needs are relative to their environment, culture, or existing resources lead to the acceptance of global imbalance in resources distribution. Nobel Prize economist and development ethicist Amartya Sen has pointed out that in the attempt to measure and compare human well-being in various cultural and geographical contexts, one should pay more attention to the actual capabilities of people in different environments and situations gained from their resources. The material resources and commodities should then be seen as means to well-being rather than as a goal in themselves (Sen 1984).

As Daniel Little has noted, in previous years economists did not feel a need to formulate a particular theory of poverty because it was possible to address issues of poverty from perspectives arising out of other theories that explain demand management, production economics, fiscal policy, the gains for trade and exchange, or the cause of the wealth of nations. Poverty was then dealt with in a manner that by implication depicts it as the result of failure, a consequence of circumstances that are deficient in the essential requirements for economic progress. Poverty in economics was largely associated with an absence of growth and an absence of wealth creation. As a result, since 1945, countries of the nonindustrialized world have made major efforts at stimulating modern economic growth. Economic development processes have resulted from a number of forces, including the domestic government's economic policy, the private activities of national and multinational corporations, the influence of industrialized-nation governments, and a variety of bilateral and multilateral development agencies. The outcomes of economic development strategies are at least as varied as the strategies themselves; some parts of the less developed world have experienced tremendous economic growth since the 1960s. For instance, South Asia's growth has been slightly lower than 2% per capita per year since 1965, but East Asia has grown at a much faster rate. During this period, per capita in India has grown 1.8% and in China 5.1%. Portions of sub-Saharan Africa, for their part, have witnessed falling per capita GDP since the early 1980s.

How has economic growth affected the poor in the developing world? Have the benefits of economic

growth been broadly distributed over all income levels? The geographical and gender divisions in poverty give a partial answer to these questions. The profits of economic development are unequally divided between the rich Northern Hemisphere and the poor Southern Hemisphere. The northern industrialized countries, located mostly in Europe and North America but also including Australia and New Zealand, live in abundance while the southern countries, mainly in Asia and Africa, remain deprived. In addition, currently more than 70% of people living below the poverty line live in rural areas. Asia has the highest proportion of the rural poor with some 633 million, followed by 204 million in sub-Saharan Africa, and 76 million in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the balance in the Near East and North Africa. Finally, of all the poor, the rural women tend to be the poorest, most marginalized and most vulnerable.

Thus, in spite of more than fifty years of growth in many of the economies of the less developed world, problems of poverty are as severe as ever. The inequitable distribution of income has direct effects on the well-being of the poor: malnutrition, disease, inadequate water, low educational levels, high infant and child mortality rates, and depressed longevity statistics. Environments are suffering severe degradation throughout the world, and conditions of poverty and rapid economic development alike intensify pressure on the environment. Extreme and moderate poverty creates one set of pressures on environment, as poor people seek out ways of satisfying their needs that have harmful environmental effects (firewood harvesting, over cultivation, destruction of forests). Governments in developing countries may take "shortcuts" with respect to the environment. If securing foreign currency to pay foreign debts or if securing imports from foreign markets take priority, environmental side effects of industry or agriculture may be ignored. Moreover, poor countries may be exploited by rich countries: they may be more willing to receive pollutants from wealthier ones to receive financial benefits, and the governments of developing nations may ignore environmentally suspect practices by foreign-owned corporations and industries. At the same time, a child born in rich, industrialized countries will consume, waste, and pollute more in a lifetime than that of fifty children in developing nations. All in all, intensive processes of economic growth can pose even greater risks for environmental quality through rising rates of fossil fuel usage (and the subsequent production of greenhouse gases), intensive unsustainable agriculture (and the pesticides and herbicides that this requires), and the exhaustion of nonrenewable natural resources.

## How Is Poverty Measured?

Current attempts to measure deprivation take the multidimensional nature of poverty into account in an attempt to relate poverty to development and permit an overview of poverty that goes beyond individual experiences. Reliable ways to measure poverty present an aggregate view of poverty over time. This enables a government, or the international community, to set measurable targets for judging actions and policies in relation to the realization of the international development goals.

At the time when poverty was seen merely as an economic problem, the most commonly reported development statistic was a country's GNP per capita. While a case may be made for using GNP as an overall measure of development, it is not a fine measure of poverty for two reasons. First, as an average, the statistic takes no account of distribution. Hence, two countries can have the same level of GNP per capita, but in one of the two, a far greater proportion of the population will fall below the poverty line if income is less equally distributed. Second, GNP is of course an income measure, which ignores other dimensions of poverty.

The World Bank has been estimating global income poverty since 1990. It measures consumption and income data through household surveys. Consumption is conventionally viewed as the preferred welfare indicator because consumption is thought to better capture long-run welfare levels and current income. To compare consumption levels across countries, however, requires an estimate of price levels. Calculations referring to \$1 (USD) per day refer to the purchasing power of \$1 a day in terms of domestic goods. Interpreting the information on income and consumption as a measure of well-being requires many assumptions, such as allowing for measurement errors and accounting for household size and composition in converting household data into measures for individuals. Moreover, income or consumption data collected at the household level have a basic shortcoming: they cannot reveal inequality within the household, so they can understate overall inequality and poverty. In particular, the conventional household survey approach does not allow direct measurement of income or consumption poverty among women. Thus, data on education and health, which can be collected at the individual level, are valuable since the data allow a gender-disaggregated perspective on key dimensions of poverty.

Over the years, a number of composite measures of development and poverty have been proposed. The previously used Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI)

has been superseded by the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The HDI is a composite of statistics regarding GDP per capita, life expectancy, and education attainments (which are an average of literacy and mean years of schooling). UNDP has also proposed a Human Poverty Index (HPI) that focuses on deprivations. Specifically, the HPI is calculated as the average of the percentage of the population not expected to live to forty, the percentage who are illiterate, and what is called the "deprivation in living standard" (the average of those without access to water and healthcare and the percentage of children under five years of age who are underweight) (White 2002; World Bank 2004a).

Taking health and education dimensions into account in poverty measurement can be traced back to classic economists such as Malthus, Ricardo, and Marx. And while these dimensions are currently well reflected in international development goals, collecting data on these nonincome indicators is problematic. For instance, infant and children under-five mortality rates derived mostly from census and survey information are available in the majority of countries only at periodic intervals, and life expectancy is not often measured directly. In data on education, the most commonly available indicator, the gross primary enrollment rate, suffers from serious conceptual shortcomings, particularly since school enrollment is only a proxy for actual school attendance. Social exclusion (voicelessness and powerlessness) is usually measured using a combination of participatory methods, polls, and national surveys on qualitative variables, such as the extent of civil and political liberties. Measuring "vulnerability" is especially difficult because the concept of "vulnerability" does not only indicate the risk of a household or individual experiencing an episode of income and health poverty over time, but it also refers to being exposed to a number of other risks, such as violence, crime, natural disasters, being pulled out of school, as well as social exclusion. Thus, the concept is dynamic, and it cannot be measured merely by observing households once and needs panel data in the form of surveys that follow the same households over several years.

Multidimensionality of poverty has also raised the question on how to measure overall poverty in comparison to achievements in the different dimensions of well-being. One dimension might move in a different direction from another; for example, health could improve while income worsens. Or one country might show greater improvement in education than in vulnerability, while another shows the converse. This brings to the forefront the relative values of the different dimensions: how much income are people

willing to give up for, say, a unit of improvement in health or in voice? In other words, what weights can be assigned to the different dimensions to allow comparisons across countries, households, or individuals over time? According to World Bank, one approach to addressing comparability is to define a multidimensional welfare function or a composite index. An alternative is either to define as poor anyone who is poor in any one of the dimensions—without attempting to estimate tradeoffs among dimensions—or anybody who is poor in all dimensions and to measure the intensity of poverty accordingly.

### **Moral Dimensions of Poverty and Poverty Reduction**

While poverty undoubtedly is a phenomenon that has existed through human existence in one form or another, a central developmental question is the persistence of poverty and the increasing mass-poverty in certain parts of the world in the twenty-first century despite technological, scientific, and economic advancements. While one single cause for the persistence of poverty cannot be named, continuing issues include justice, equality, and moral responsibility. While environmental problems contribute partially to poverty, the geographical location of countries; their respective levels of economic, scientific, and political development; the relationships of global and local power structures to colonial history; and various problems of a globalized economy (unfair trade relations, foreign investments that do not benefit poor countries, the overwhelming foreign debt from which many developing nations suffer) leading to economic dependence are to a large extent to blame. And simultaneously, while the physical environment of most poverty-stricken regions is highly relevant (especially to agricultural productivity as well as conditions of disease and hardship), there are many other components that are particular to each region's culture and its political structures and social hierarchies.

To alleviate persistent poverty in the year 2000, the World Bank committed more than \$6.8 billion (USD) in concessionary loans targeted directly at facilitating economic development in the world's poorest countries. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) provided another \$6.9 billion in grants to developing countries. Despite this funding, the gap between rich and poor is not diminishing. The already affluent are getting even richer, and the poor remain at or below the subsistence minimum. This gap is partly a result of the developing world's debt, and for many poor developing countries, the repayment of their debt may

involve around 8% of the country's GNP each year. This means that the poor countries have to devote much of their production to the export market and set their emphasis on "cash crop" production instead of crop production to meet the needs of the country's own population. This is one reason why even in many developing countries with abundant natural resources, people are not benefiting from production but live in poverty, and their citizens are suffering from hunger and malnutrition.

Hunger, for its part, is both a cause and consequence of poverty. World hunger is not merely an issue of supply and demand; the problem lies in distribution and access. Imbalanced distribution means that increases in food production do not prevent people from dying of starvation and malnutrition. In addition, while during the next twenty-five years 50 million people will be added to the population of rich countries, over the same period, about 1.5 billion people will be added to the population of poor countries.

Many countries, on principles of justice and equality, have adopted strategies to deal with poverty, and there has been a reduction in poverty in various parts of the world. However, great inequities still exist throughout the globe. There are three particularly persistent assumptions given to explain this phenomenon.

The first argument claims that preventing poverty deaths is counterproductive because it will lead to overpopulation and hence to more poverty deaths in the futures. However, there is abundant evidence that birth rates tend to fall dramatically when poverty is alleviated, and women gain better economic opportunities, more control within their households and communities, and better access to reproductive information and technologies. Accelerated progress against poverty and the subordination of women may actually be the best strategy against overpopulation and toward an early leveling-off of the human population at around 10 billion.

Second, world poverty has often been seen as so massive a problem that it simply cannot be eradicated in a few years, at least not at a cost that would be bearable for the rich societies. One main doubt against the eradication of world poverty has been that helping the global poor would require extreme sacrifices from the rich. Redistribution of world prosperity and wealth may require those who are well-off to lower their standards of living considerably (to reduce their access to material commodities: fashion, entertainment, hobbies, and latest technology) and thus to radically lessen their "quality of life." This presumption ignores, however, the enormous extent of global inequality. The aggregate shortfall of all the people living under the \$2 (USD) per day poverty line

amounts to some \$300 billion annually, which is just 1.2% of the aggregate annual gross national incomes of the high-income economies. In other words, eradication of severe income poverty worldwide would require those who are well-off to accept only a 1.2% reduction in their annual incomes.

The third argument made is that world poverty cannot be eradicated merely by throwing money at the problem. The official Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) appears to have done little to overcome persistent poverty and even less for increasing equality and social justice. This, however, could be based on an unjust distribution of aid. Politicians from the wealthy donor countries focus often on strategically important developing states rather than on the poorest ones. They also tend to use aid—or loans—as forms of investments that are expected later on to profit the affluent donor countries and that are given with strict conditions. While the complaints about local corruption are often justified, the problem could be more efficiently dealt with in the example of more transparent and just global economies. Altogether, if global order and markets were instead restructured to be more hospitable to a democratic government, economic justice, and growth in developing countries, poverty could be significantly alleviated across the globe.

### Poverty Reduction Strategies

Despite its vast scope and persistence, until very recently, poverty reduction had not been the main goal of global development policies and of “economic development” in particular. Development as “modernization” has relegated poverty reduction to a lower priority. While sustained economic growth has been a constant priority in the development plans of developing countries, poverty reduction driven by policies for equitably distributed economic growth has not been the main aim in contemporary development programs. Only since the early 1990s has mainstream thinking stressed the importance of pro-poor growth in local development policies as well as in global economy. “Pro-poor growth” is growth that is the result of poverty-reducing economic activities, and it is taken into account in such development programs as Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC), which promises to cancel debts of poor countries that commit themselves to reduce poverty locally by preparing national poverty reduction strategies in the form of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). Rich countries, however, have been slow in granting debt relief under the HIPC initiative.

Other international steps in poverty alleviation have been taken in the twenty-first century; for instance, the United Nations and donor countries have agreed to a set of international Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to reduce poverty by half by 2015. The social development targets aim toward universal primary education for all, eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education, reducing infant mortality and maternal mortality by two-thirds, and enabling access to reproductive health services for all, among other such goals. These goals have established not only benchmarks against which progress can be measured, but they also acknowledge an unequivocal link between development and poverty reduction.

When the multidimensional nature of poverty is taken into account, it becomes evident that policies in combating poverty have to be integrated and their influence on each other recognized; improving health outcomes not only improves well-being but also increases income-earning potential. Increasing education not only improves well-being, but it also leads to better health outcomes, to more active social and political participation, and to higher incomes. Providing protection for poor people (reducing vulnerability in dealing with risk) not only makes people feel less vulnerable, but it also allows them to take advantage of higher risk opportunities with a higher return. Increasing people’s voices and participation not only addresses their sense of exclusion, but it also leads to better targeting of health and education services to their needs.

### Conclusion

Poverty causes individual suffering and death, but from a wider perspective, it can also have harmful environmental impacts, which can be a source for further poverty, disease, and death. Poverty may also lead to social unrest, civil strife, and wars, especially where poverty is so abject that people feel they have nothing to lose.

Due to imbalanced power relations, the course of social and political development is important in order for resources and economic development to benefit the poor. Lack of access to education as well as obstacles in the way of democratic participation prevent equal shares of the profits of economic development. The patterns of gender disparity and severe limitation of opportunities and freedom of women found throughout the world have marginalized women to be “the poorest of the poor” in many developing countries.

Alleviating poverty and avoiding its negative impact on development requires direct action and serious political commitment to sharing resources. Markets must be accessible to poor countries, state institutions must be more responsive to poor people, and social barriers must be removed that exclude a vast number of people from participation (on grounds of gender, ethnicity, race, and other such factors). To help those living in poverty there is also a need to enhance security by providing mechanisms to reduce the sources of vulnerability that most poor people face and by providing them opportunities for self-help. These initiatives must be set in a global context. Global actions need to complement national and local initiatives to achieve alleviation of poverty and maximize benefit for poor people across the globe.

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**See also Basic Human Needs; Children and Development; Infant Mortality; Poverty: Definition and Trends; Quality of Life: Definition; Sustainable Development; Women: Role in Development**

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#### PRAGUE SPRING, 1968

The political situation of Czechoslovakia was quite different from other Central and Eastern European countries under Soviet rule. This was a result of a special connection between the Czechoslovakian government and Stalin. During World War II, the Czechoslovakian president Eduard Benes had good relations with the Stalinist regime and could count on special treatment by the Kremlin. The Czechoslovakians accepted the Red Army with goodwill, in anticipation of future benefits.

The immediate period after World War II made these expectations seem realistic. Benes came back to Czechoslovakia in March 1945. His first step was to form a coalition government, including the Communist, National Socialist (with himself as leader), Catholic-folk, and Social Democratic parties, with Zdenek Fierlinger as prime minister. At the same time, two other main parties, the Agrarian Party and Slovak Folk Party, were declared illegal. The official program of the new government, a parliamentary democracy, promoted alliance with the USSR, agricultural reforms, and nationalization of industry.

In the elections of May 1946, the Communists won with a 38% plurality and went on to play a crucial role in the new government. They took control over positions of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (the key element of administration because of the control over the secret police). The ministry of defense also gave them great influence on the army. It was after the elections that a process of limiting the number and political strength of Democratic parties began. With the cooperation of President Benes, the Communists declared the Slovak Democratic Party as illegal. Finally on February 20, 1948, Communists executed a *coup d'état* supported by the army. The non-Communists ministers were excluded from the government. In May 1948, the Communists dissolved all independent social organizations and political parties. On May 9, they resolved a new Constitution, and Czechoslovakia became a Communist state.

After unsuccessful attempts at resistance, President Benes accepted the political changes and retired. Czechoslovakian democracy was liquidated. In 1949, approximately thirteen thousand people were imprisoned for political reasons. The new President, Klement Gottwald, became a symbol of Stalinism.

Even after Stalin and Gottwald's deaths in the same year, the policies of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party did not change. The new party leader was Antonin Novotny, and Antonin Zapotocky was nominated as the new President. Curtailment of civil liberties continued. In May 1956, authorities suppressed student's revolts. In November of that year, after Zapotocky's death, Novotny became President. Student protests of October 1967 did not have any significance either.

Nevertheless, the liberal faction within the Communist Party became stronger. In January of 1968, Alexander Dubcek became the leader of the Communist Party. The idea of "Socialism with a human face" appeared, and the country seemed to be taking steps towards democratization, despite the disfavor of the Russian Communist Party. In March 1968, Ludwik Svoboda, a popular leader famous for the Slovak Uprising, became president. In March 1968, the censorship was limited. Two months later, the government set free all political prisoners. The political police was reorganized, foreign travel was permitted, and new economic reforms were proposed. In April, the ban on independent Democratic political parties was lifted. The government prepared for deeper economic reform, though within the framework of the current system, and established bases for future sound relations with the Catholic Church. A Communist Party convention was planned for the following September to execute these changes.

The Liberal activists within the Communist Party announced the changes in a manifesto known as Two Thousand Worlds. This manifesto was criticized by Moscow, which then formulated its policy in relation to dependent countries in a doctrine known as the Brezhnev Doctrine after the Soviet leader at that time. It stated that "we can not be inactive on the fate of the socialism in a different country" and threatened direct military intervention within the Soviet bloc. In the policy, the Kremlin had many allies, such as leaders of the dependent states that were afraid of changes. This anxiety had become sharper. From May to July on the terrain of southern Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Germany, Warsaw Pact armies gathered. Because of the pressures of other Communist countries and their own fears, Russians began military intervention. On August 21, 1968, the armies of the countries of the Warsaw Pact crossed the borders of Czechoslovakia. The forces were made up of 170,000 Soviet troops, 40,000 Polish, 15,000 German, 10,000 Hungarian, and 5,000 Bulgarian. The Soviet armies occupied the key points of Prague very quickly. Afraid of extensive civilian casualties, the Czechoslovakian army did not offer resistance. The military action was completed with a full occupation

of the country. Dubeck and other key leaders were arrested and brought to Moscow.

This did not solve the Kremlin's problem. The Liberal's position was still strong. Within the general population, outbursts of vandalism, defacement, and derision of the occupiers signified the opposition to the invading forces. In January 1969, as a sign of protest, a student named Jan Palach committed suicide by self-immolation in a public square and became a national hero. Dubcek returned to Prague from Moscow after agreeing to resign from the party leadership.

However, changes slowly occurred in the direction desired by Kremlin. Gustaw Husak became the new leader of the Communist Party. The purges and the persecution of leaders of the Prague Spring began. In 1970, the prime minister was replaced. In 1969 and 1970, five hundred thousand Communist Party members were removed. Most of the students and academics involved in the Prague Spring were sentenced to hard labor. More than 280,000 lost their jobs, and 150,000 were forced to emigrate. The development of democratic opposition was made nearly impossible. The formulation of the Brezhnev Doctrine intimidated dissidents from engaging in direct and open confrontation with local powers.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Soviet Bloc**

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### PREBISCH, RAÚL

Argentinian economist Raúl Prebisch (1901–1986) played a significant role in outlining and spreading the once influential ideas of Dependency Theory and the Latin American Structuralist School of Development. Prebisch served as executive secretary from 1948 to 1962 for the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA, renamed ECLAC in the

early 1980s), a United Nations agency established in 1947. Prebisch's work concentrated on the analysis of the main obstacles that hindered Latin American development and on the formulation of alternate policies to overcome them. During the 1960s and 1970s, the ideas coming out of ECLA were widely studied in Latin American academic circles and influenced the economic and developmental policies of national states in the continent.

The contributions of Prebisch to the Structuralist School can be encapsulated in three major ideas. First, Prebisch introduced the centre-periphery paradigm, which describes the economic relation between prosperous, self-sufficient industrialized countries and those that are backward, isolated, and dependent. In essence, this paradigm formulates the idea that inequalities between centre and peripheral countries emerge from the dynamics of international trade, in which the former's command of technological and economic power facilitates development in all areas of the economy, whereas the latter must depend on primary exports and the imports from the centre, creating in the process systematic relations of dependence. Moreover, Multinational Corporations (MNCs) from centre countries penetrate peripheral economies under extremely favorable conditions, enabling them to extract surplus from nature and labor and to repatriate the profits back to the center countries, reinforcing unequal exchange and dependence.

Second, and to remedy the aforementioned disparities, Prebisch argued that peripheral countries had to promote Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) to curb the gradual deterioration of their terms of trade in relation to centre countries. Unfavorable terms of trade referred to the tendency of primary exports to lose value in international markets in comparison to the increasing value of centre-based finished products. For Prebisch, ISI would allow periphery countries to create an economic base to manufacture those finished products locally, not only reducing dependence but also decreasing unemployment through a diversified industrial labor market and boosting purchasing power at home through higher wages. Furthermore, national states had to establish protective tariffs to shield local infant industries from foreign competition.

Finally, Prebisch's model also called for Latin American states to invest heavily in social programs to empower their population and prepare them for the challenges of domestic industrialization. These three sets of ideas influenced many countries in Latin America and Africa; however, inflation and technological dependence on centre countries, coupled with the sweeping consequences of the debt crisis

of the 1980s, diminished the viability of Prebisch ideas as long-term developmental alternatives.

Prebisch also headed the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) from 1964 to 1969. With the return of democracy to Argentina in 1984, Prebisch was appointed personal advisor to president Raúl Alfonsín. Prebisch remained closely associated with ECLA's work in Santiago, Chile, where he died in 1986.

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**See also Import Substitution Industrialization; United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)**

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### PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS

Private property rights refer to the acquisition of goods from nature, the creation of material things, and the willful definition of objective ownership. These classic philosophical notions informed Western political thought about democracy that underscored the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Modern democratic revolutions broke the power of aristocratic privilege and royal lineage and eroded the basis for despotic rule in Western European societies. The development of individual rights forged a link between private property and democratic citizenship.

The English philosopher John Locke believed that the right of private property stemmed from individuals' daily labor to extract from their natural surroundings that which they need to survive. Individual entitlement rested on the common consent of all citizens that shaped the relationship between society and authority. Therefore, the creation of private property promoted the welfare of the community at large. The French scholar Alexis de Tocqueville viewed the widespread private ownership of land as a pillar of democracy in the United States. The relative egalitarian structure of property rights reflected republican practices and equality before the law. Of course, Karl Marx insisted that private property motivated the owners of capital to use forceful and fraudulent

means to exploit the working classes (Rosen and Wolff 1999).

Western ideas about development after World War II identified the right to property as a fundamental human right. Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (General Assembly 1948) states that “everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others” and “no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.” However, most areas of the developing world had not experienced fundamental changes in the exercise of power and the control of wealth determined by kinship, class, race, and ethnicity. European colonial rule and settler communities introduced private landed property into sub-Saharan Africa where customary land tenure once prevailed. The struggle for independence and liberation (by Nationalist liberation movements) lacked the progressive force of indigenous Capitalist interests (Kiamba 1989; Herbst 2001). The property clause of the Constitution of post-Apartheid South Africa contemplates a legal balance between individual freedom and collective justice (Constitutional Assembly 1997).

In Latin America, the vagaries of the Cold War and conservative resistance from plantation owners and peasants foiled the genuine attempts of revolutionary and radical Nationalist parties to execute comprehensive agrarian reform. Peace accords and democratic elections in Central America brought longstanding disputes over property rights into full relief. The uncertainty surrounding legitimate ownership of land became particularly complex in Nicaragua and Guatemala in the 1990s after decades of repressive dictatorship and social violence (Everingham 2001; Sieder 1998). The Second Summit of the Americas, held in Santiago de Chile in 1998, emphasized the regularization of registration and titling to ensure that all valid property rights are formally recognized in accordance with national legislation. The General Assembly of the Organization of American States, held in Windsor, Canada, in 2000, proposed the Inter-American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Populations that supports the legal challenges of indigenous communities to mining concessions and land claims that date as far back as the Spanish conquests (Summit of the Americas 2001).

The dominant neoliberal ethos assumes that the protection of private property rights is essential for economic growth. Gwartney and Lawson assert that “individuals have economic freedom when . . . their property acquired without the use of force, fraud, or theft is protected from physical invasion by other [s] and they are free to use, exchange, or give their property to another as long as their rights do not violate the identical rights of others (2001). Yet, the

definition of property rights has a complex political dimension. The importance placed on individual rationality in the marketplace often does not acknowledge the imperative of collective demands expressed by working-class urban groups, the rural poor, and other economic actors who seek to defend their precarious rights to property.

Debates over public policy intended to modify the rules that govern property rights are contingent on interaction among organized political interests and bureaucratic agencies. The transition to democracy from various forms of authoritarian rule shaped the institution of private property across the developing world in the late twentieth century. Bargaining over the privatization of assets in the former Soviet republics and Communist countries of Eastern Europe gave rise to legal ambiguity that hampered economic growth (Comisso 1991; Weimer 1996). Furthermore, Communist regimes in China, Vietnam, and Cuba continue to resist international pressures toward the restitution of prerevolutionary rights to private property.

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### PRIVATIZATION

Driven by a combination of factors, such as the scarcity of financial resources in private hands, a sense of social welfarism, a surge in economic nationalism,



and a strong belief that the state should serve as the primary “engine” of growth, many countries around the world invested very heavily in public enterprises. They invested in a plethora of manufacturing and service enterprises ranging from pencil, furniture, and automobile factories to water, hotel, and transport and telephone companies. In many countries, roads and buses, rail lines and trains, as well as airports and airlines either attracted substantial state investments or were the exclusive preserve of the state.

Often set up with lofty developmental goals and viewed as integral parts of the nation’s drive for true independence, national self-sufficiency, technological advancement, and rapid industrialize growth, such enterprises were often forced to operate according to political and social imperatives rather than sound economic and financial management principles. Governments often ran them down as they used them to perpetuate themselves in office by dispensing favors and privileges to supporters and families. In addition, the enterprises suffered from bloated payrolls as well as rampant inefficiency in their management and productivity. The net result was that by the 1980s, it had become very clear that, generally, most of such enterprises were not only performing poorly but also had become major drains to national financial coffers as they required annual state subsidies just to stay afloat.

### **Privatization: Definition and Meaning**

Typically, the word “privatization” is used to denote one of two ideas: (i) the shifting of a company’s ownership structure from being publicly traded in the open market because of the repurchasing of the company’s entire stocks by its employees or a private investor and (ii) the process of moving government-owned or government-controlled enterprises to privately owned or run firms. The task of this discussion is limited to the second definition. Specifically, this review seeks to examine some of the critical issues around public enterprise reform programs that achieved the level of orthodoxy during the 1980s.

The intent and principal impetus for privatization derives from reactions in the West against the growing role and perceived interventionist inefficiency of government and the public sector. Privatization means different things to people in different parts of the world and countries. This is because each country’s position within the global economy often helps in determining the likely buyers of the privatized assets. Whereas for citizens of the more advanced economies privatization of state-owned enterprises is seen as falling primarily under the gambit of domestic

policy (because the likely buyers are predominantly nationals of those countries), for people of the developing world, privatization signifies something vastly different because it often means the actual or possible transfer of state-owned assets to foreign investors and managers. Therefore, for citizens of countries in the developing world, privatization programs are seen not only as the denationalization of state assets but also are often shrouded in deep suspicion, controversy, resentment, and recrimination. This emotive reaction may be better understood within the context of the original intention of state ownership of the assets, which was usually driven by national self-assertion, concern for public access and welfare, and a commitment to equitable distribution of economic benefits. As such, the decision to privatize such assets by selling them to foreigners or without due regard to whom would get them locally is often seen as a betrayal of national interests and economic policy due to external coercion.

Such a response should neither be surprising nor understood as different from Western responses to the perceived excessive role of foreigners in their political economies. The negative reactions are worse when a country’s growing dependence on foreign investment creates concerns or Nationalist passions about erosions of its sovereign independence and authority. Beyond the foreign angle, privatization also triggers similar emotional responses frequently in countries that are experiencing severe societal cleavages. Race, ethnicity, class, religion, and region have also served as bases for challenging national privatization programs around the world. Due to these factors—collectively and singularly—privatization policies are repeatedly challenged, blocked, or delayed until the needs of citizens, domestic firms, and significant sectional interests are addressed. Specifically, this often means the setting aside or delineation of special rights to assets or shares of publicly offered companies for citizens and sectional interests.

### **The Logic and Scope of Privatization Programs**

During the past two and a half decades, the idea of privatization has taken center stage in domestic and international political economic circles as many governments (particularly in developing countries) struggled to make their policies and macroeconomic performance effective. Since 1980, more than fifteen thousand state-owned enterprises have been privatized in more than one hundred countries from Argentina

and the Czech Republic to Indonesia and Zambia. As already noted, privatization often followed decades of miserable economic results, which, despite some differences across a wide-range of states, were marked by a number of common characteristics. They include the following:

- Pervasive government participation in the domestic economy not only through widespread ownership of land, infrastructure, and industry but also through extensive regulatory frameworks that monitor day-to-day economic activity;
- Poorly developed and often disarticulated financial institutions and services;
- The use of money creation by government to finance activities rather the use of taxes and domestic borrowing;
- Government reliance on and use of fixed exchange rates and capital controls or direct controls of foreign exchange transactions; and
- The recourse to extensive foreign borrowing to finance current account deficits.

In examining the characteristics in the bulleted list, international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank concluded that economic inefficiency, rampant protectionism, extensive government subsidies, and public ownership of key industries were crucial contributory factors to the pervasive economic underdevelopment and underperformance. As such, they advocated economic restructuring or an adjustment strategy in which the government would disentangle itself from direct interventions in the market. In its place, the invisible hand of the market would take sway and reallocate resources rationally and more efficiently. The net result would be economic growth and development.

Generally without other viable alternatives, affected governments found themselves needing refinancing and the good graces of the creditor community to avoid costly default. However, since refinancing and technical assistance involves not only the provision of external resources but also the monitoring and restructuring of the debtor's macroeconomic affairs, this meant that the countries found themselves accepting the policy influences of either the IMF or the World Bank. Although the lines of focus have become less rigid, the IMF provides the premier institutional framework for debt management—new credits, demands for austerity measures, and a two-phase debt renegotiation function. Anchored on an ideological rejection of the activist state, the reform policies compel states to adopt minimalist and noninterventionist postures that encourage economic

stabilization, liberalization, and the privatization of state-owned assets.

Typically, the IMF and World Bank economic recovery packages have three component parts: (i) stabilization, which is a monetarist instrument that seeks to prevent chronic inflation by checking demand through the control of fiscal spending and money growth; (ii) structural adjustment, which seeks to effect a positive shift in the supply curve by enhancing market and trade incentives and eliminating gross productive inefficiencies; and (iii) growth conditionality, which seeks to free market forces by attracting investments and improving access to productive technology. The classic conditionality program focuses on the cutting of public and private spending, general public sector reforms, devaluation of the national currency, deregulation of financial sectors and interest rates, agricultural sector reforms, liberalization of trade and payments regimes, removal of subsidies, and the privatization of public enterprises.

In many ways, privatization represents one of the principal focus areas of a typical structural adjustment program. It is also one of the most politically sensitive issues that faces a reforming government in the developing world. Its requirement that national assets and icons be sold to individuals or companies who will then run such enterprises on the basis of market principles and the profit motive, however, runs counter to preferred and often-stated national social and economic objectives, which is one of the reasons it is such a sensitive issue. Furthermore, the effects of privatization are often not neutral because they touch quite directly on matters of who benefits or who loses from the reforms. Quite aside from the possibility that the sale of such enterprises may have politically sensitive ethnic, religious, or regional implications, there is also the possibility of class sensitivities as labor groups worry about potential job losses and price increases in the company's products or services as the new owners make critical decisions such as what and how much to produce, which suppliers must be abandoned or retained, whether to mechanize or use a labor-intensive production system, and whom to lay off or retain.

The sensitivities surrounding privatization may explain the general political controversies, conflicting attitudes, and half-hearted implementation of the program in different countries and regions around the world. In the Middle East, the implementation of privatization programs has been very slow in countries such as Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. In Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the privatization experience has been generally controversial and mixed; there has been very slow progress in Azerbaijan, Belarus,

Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, while very rapid progress has been made in much of the rest of the region, including in Armenia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Russia, and Slovak Republic.

In East, Southeast, and South Asia, privatization has been implemented with variable enthusiasm in a number of countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. In a number of other countries, such as in India, Indonesia, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan, the implementation of the program has been far more controversial and tumultuous. In India, for instance, protests against privatization reportedly attracted more than 50 million protesters on May 21, 2003. By contrast, and despite being a relatively closed economy, China has shown a strong desire to push its capitalist reform agenda very vigorously. With more than one hundred thousand state-owned enterprises, the Chinese government has moved aggressively to open up a wide range of firms for privatization. China Telecom and China Unicom, two of the country's biggest telecommunications companies, are among the companies slated for divestiture. This directly bucks the trend around the world toward protecting large state-owned firms. Furthermore, while many privatization programs around the world are weakened by lack of political resolve, the Chinese government has dismissed millions of workers since the late 1990s as part of its preparation to streamline state enterprises to make them easier to sell to foreign investors.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, privatization programs have often proven to be more political landmines than visionary initiatives for governments. In Haiti, Prime Minister Smarck Michel was forced to resign in September of 1995 after popular demonstrations and parliamentary opposition dogged his privatization and economic reform program. In other countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Peru, and Venezuela, privatization programs have also faced stiff public opposition. Although historically more open and diverse than other developing regions and perhaps driven by stiff opposition, several Latin American governments have sometimes taken backward steps from the global trend toward privatization. Forced by the failures of some important privatization efforts, many Latin American countries have attempted to make amends by actually establishing new state-owned firms or retaking control of previously privatized enterprises. For instance, for the first time since 1967, Argentina created a state-owned firm in 2004. The government also took over a troubled mail company and an airline; Uruguay not only conducted a plebiscite that reversed the privatization of the country's water

services but also amended its constitution to mandate permanent state-ownership of water companies; and Bolivia and Venezuela have both moved to reimpose strong public interest and to oversee rights over their respective oil and gas companies.

In Africa, whereas some of the privatizing countries embarked on the program with considerable excitement (Togo, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast or Cote d'Ivoire), many others did so with huge public outcries and recriminations (Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia). The reason for the variation was simple. Although many supporters of privatization in Africa are attracted by the efficiency logic for the disorganized and highly unproductive parastatal (owned or controlled at least partly by the government) companies, the political support for privatization has been very weak in most countries due to deep fears about the makeup of the likely beneficiaries. In other words, a privatization policy has been severely hampered by a widespread belief that the process would lead to a great concentration of economic power in the "wrong hands."

Specific national outcomes or the outlook toward privatization can be accounted for by a number of internal factors. They include ethnic, racial, and regional considerations; social structure and class factors; and state capacity and ideological propensity. It is hard to generalize about the continent or subregions as a whole; nevertheless, all three of these sets of variables are relatively similar within the main subregions. For instance, the social structures in East Africa consist of small indigenous business classes and comparatively large non-African commercial groups (Indians, Pakistanis, and Greeks). Similar patterns can be detected in the social structures of Central Africa and much of Southern Africa, where the economic power of ethnic and racial minorities (Indians, Pakistanis, and Europeans) has served sometimes to inflame emotions and seriously complicate privatization exercises. Because of fears about these groups becoming more deeply entrenched, official state doctrines in the subregions have tended toward interventionism. Not surprisingly, privatization has received lukewarm support or outright opposition in many of those countries.

By contrast, the situation in West Africa is somewhat different despite Indian and Lebanese presence. Though the non-African commercial groups are significant in some countries within the area, the indigenous commercial class is much larger and more confident than its East, Central, and Southern African counterparts. Moreover, a stronger tradition of probusiness ideologies is prevalent among many significant ethnic groups in West Africa despite the entrenchment of non-African elements by deliberate colonial policy. The conditions for privatization also

have been more propitious because of the prevalent promarket state doctrines in the subregion. Pressured by local groups to privatize, many West African governments have embraced the policy with greater enthusiasm than their counterparts in other regions. This is with the notable exception of Nigeria, where ethnic political competition has served to create a highly sensitive and politicized privatization environment.

In essence, in countries where there are differences in the racial or ethnic composition of the bureaucratic and entrepreneurial classes, privatization tends to be resisted because of perceptions that it serves either to transfer national wealth and power from one group to another or that it helps to entrench or exacerbate group inequalities. In this sense, privatization is not neutral for social groups since the exercise results in winners and losers. Thus, governments are often unable to implement privatization programs without significant attention to potential beneficiaries as well as the social and economic consequences of the program.

## The Case for Privatization

Basically, the case for privatization pivots around six specific arguments as described here:

- **The Efficiency/Profitability Argument** maintains that overwhelming evidence in both developed and developing countries demonstrate that ownership is a crucial determinant of company performance. As in developed countries such as Britain, Japan and New Zealand, privatization has produced strong results during the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries in developing countries such as Argentina, Chile, Cote d'Ivoire, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, and Singapore. According to proponents, the reason for this improved performance is the role individual incentives play in human use of scarce resources. Private ownership entails several inducement rights, such as the rights to use an asset; to change its form, substance, and location; and to transfer it in whole or in parts. Therefore, any restrictions to such rights would have a tranquilizing effect on activities that seek to maximize the utilization of an asset. In other words, individuals will work harder to grow and nurture their properties the more they stand to gain by doing so. On the other hand, individuals are less motivated to use their assets productively when they are faced with regulatory frameworks that severely

restrict or weaken their property rights. As such, whereas private ownership clusters rights and economic rewards, public ownership actually weakens them. Although modern firms often operate without the direct involvement of their owners, managers are often controlled through the workings of the market and the mobility of shareholders who may sell their shares as a signal of their unhappiness with management performance and inability to produce adequate returns on investment. The fear of losing their jobs due to poor performance will stimulate management into working harder to produce satisfactory results. By contrast, with no real checks on their dissipation of value, public enterprises lack a similar incentive system and, as such, are prone to underperformance.

- **The Political Interference Argument** contends that even when governments have good intentions and work hard to restructure poor performing state enterprises, the efforts frequently come to naught soon after things appear to have turned a positive corner due largely to endemic political interference. Lawrence Summers notes the following concerning the subject:

While it may be true in theory that a properly managed public enterprise can be as productive and efficient as a private one, the reality is that politics, usually of a virulent nature, intrudes, and efficiency is sacrificed. Public enterprise managers are rarely permitted to shed labor to produce at minimum cost. Moreover, procurement is often treated as a way of enriching contractors and procurement officers. (1992: 8)

- **The Deregulation as Panacea Argument** insists that privatization contributes toward macroeconomic stabilization by getting rid of losses and the need for subsidies to keep the enterprises afloat. Privatization also enables governments to reduce budget deficits and economic monetary overhang as individuals use accumulated cash to purchase shares in the enterprises being sold. Beyond those, it also serves as a useful mechanism for weaning governments of developing countries from serving as the locus for primitive capitalist accumulation for those either in state office or with access to the corridors of power. In countries such as Nigeria, Romania, and Russia, where proximity to state officeholders often is critical for the accumulation of wealth, the resultant struggle or associated corruption can impose destabilizing influences on the polity. In such countries, privatization can serve as a panacea to the productive incompetence of the elite clusters.

- **The Growth of the Private Sector Argument** holds that privatization of state assets will help grow and nurture not only the private sector but also a robust and competitive environment for the productive sectors of the economy. This will serve to ensure the creation of job opportunities as well as the direct involvement of citizens in economic activities of the country.
- **The Expansion of Foreign Partnership and Participation Argument** maintains that privatization can be very instrumental in attracting not only highly needed foreign and domestic financial investments but also cutting-edge managerial and technical know-how. This will have the positive effect of creating an atmosphere of confidence for actors in the domestic economy while also boosting opportunities for export trade due to more efficient and competitive production processes.
- **The Reduction or Elimination of Costly Government Role in the Economy Argument** sees privatization as an important mechanism for ensuring a more efficient government by pruning its role in the economy and its expenditures and budget deficits as well as by improving its budgetary structure, the allocation of resources, and the taxation and revenue collection system.

## The Case Against Privatization

The case against privatization is centered on six primary arguments:

- **The Efficiency/Profitability Argument** is frequently discussed by opponents of privatization who contend that economic efficiency has little to do with the ownership of the factors of production since there can be huge inefficiencies in the allocation of resources in both the public and private sectors. It all depends on the institutional checks and balances that are put in place to thwart or control potential problems such as graft, corruption, and abuses of public trust that can occur in both private and state-owned firms. Just as officials of state-owned enterprises have been known to run government firms for private ends—not for public good—officials of private companies have been known to engage in scandalous behaviors in pursuit of personal gains (at the expense of their shareholders). Indeed, empirical evidence from some studies across dozens of countries on the singular relevance of change in ownership as a decisive factor

in achieving positive gains in economic performance seem to demonstrate that other factors are very important. Factors such as market competitiveness, regulatory framework, and institutions to address agency issues are indispensable if privatization is to result in positive economic performance.

- **Fear of Renewed Foreign Domination Argument** represents one bitter source of unhappiness about privatization, that is the belief that it would result in the sale of national assets to foreign individuals and businesses and that it would result in entrenched neocolonial relationships. A corollary to this is often the belief that the program is an externally dictated imposition by the IMF, the World Bank, or Western governments.
- **Fear of Ethnic or Racial Domination Argument** is described by the fear that privatization would open or encrust economic domination by a rival ethnic or racial group. This may also serve to open the door for political domination by the now privileged group.
- **Social Justice Argument** describes the battle against the policy as literally a battle between good and evil, a fight between ill-gotten wealth and abject poverty. To these opponents, privatization represents another economic channel used by the Capitalist class to deny other citizens of their national patrimony by taking over ventures, often with resources earned largely by dubious means. Some proponents maintain that rather than sell off state assets at heavily discounted prices to a few wealthy persons or groups, it would be preferable to open up the terrain to competition. This would not only allow the would-be-buyers of the state assets to use their finances to build new and more efficient companies, but it would boost the economy by creating jobs and a more competitive and efficient economic environment.
- **Protection of Jobs Argument** is yet another argument of opponents of privatization. Although divestiture programs have an overarching aim of improving the efficiency of state-owned enterprises to free up scarce resources for social services and for economic expansion and national modernization, governments have been severely challenged by the impact of privatization on labor. Usually, there are fears that privatization will cause a massive amount of job losses as the state readies the target companies for privatization and as the new owners look to rationalize their payrolls to improve efficiency by shedding excess labor. The

potential of devastated lives due not only to unemployment and the loss of benefits but also to the absence of social safety nets for jobless workers have the regular effect of galvanizing workers and trade unions into rabid opponents of privatization.

- **Consumer Welfare Argument** refers to the critique that the benefits many state-owned enterprises often provide through their socially conscious pricing policies really seek to ensure that their products and services are accessible to broader segment of the citizenry; proponents of privatization point to poor service records and substandard goods often provided by these state-owned enterprises. Many such benefits, such as access to potable water, health care, and better nutrition, are so fundamental to improved human existence and economic productivity that their value cannot be properly factored into simple calculations. In a privatized economic environment grounded on simple profit calculations, many people will not only lose access to such basic services and jobs but also will be ravaged by a sense of hopelessness and inhumanity.

## Conclusion

In much of the developing world, privatization has come under severe domestic and external attacks for a variety of reasons, ranging from corrupt deals to unacceptable levels of social welfare losses and punitive impact on the poor. Yet, the reform of state-owned firms is often necessary—regardless of the decision on whether to privatize them—given the encumbering effects that loss-making and inefficient firms impose on the political economies of many developing states, which must divert scarce financial resources as subsidies to such ventures. Studies point to several areas of beneficial results for the privatized enterprises, such as improvements in operating efficiency and output, capital spending, state revenues, choices and prosperity for both consumers and employees, access to private finances, and profitability. Nevertheless, the net evidence on performance after privatization suggests mixed results depending on a variety of factors around the context of state capacity and the reform exercise. Among the key national variables are per capita income levels, the level of capital market development, government and foreign investors' shares in the privatized companies, and the timing and size of the issue.

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**See also Agriculture: Impact of Privatization; Capitalist Economic Model; Free Market Economy; Industrialization; Modernization; Private Property Rights; State-Directed Economy**

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## PUBLIC HEALTH

While developing countries have seen improvements in overall health and well-being, public health in most developing countries is problematic. This is due in large part to the very issues that challenge development

itself: economic difficulties, demographic changes, the environment, education, infrastructure, and food security. Together, these overlapping issues magnify common public health difficulties and create new difficulties in developing countries.

Just as development is a broad concept, so are the concepts of health and public health. In its definition of “health,” the World Health Organization (WHO) emphasizes not only the absence of disease but also the positive health of well-being. Public health is part of this, but it is not synonymous with health care or curative medicine. Public health focuses on the health of communities rather than individuals. As Garrett (2000) explains, public health fights “on behalf of the community, placing special attention on the poorest, least advantaged elements of that community, for it [is] amid conditions of poverty that disease usually arose.” In countries like the United States, public health has come to also mean, at least popularly, health care for the poor. This misperception carries over into the developing world and into the literature on health and development. The two are related, obviously, but not the same. When poverty-stricken populations experience difficulty in gaining access to health care and appropriate curative treatment, individual illness may create community health issues.

As a broad term, public health concentrates on the general well-being of a community and the means to that end. Because of the focus on society as whole, public health systems, like defense or roadway systems, become the responsibility of governments. Public health activities include the keeping of vital statistics; community prevention of and responses to infectious disease outbreaks; societywide prevention and education programs for chronic diseases; standard settings and regulations regarding water, food safety, and injuries; and assessment of environmental hazards and their effects on community health.

In developed and developing countries alike, public health systems face a number of challenges: limited financial resources, lack of political will, tension between community and individual rights, and moral or cultural obstacles. In developing countries, these challenges are magnified, and additional challenges are present. The magnified challenge of limited financial resources is obvious, particularly in the poorest of countries where governments can spend only a few dollars per person per year on health. Leaders of developing countries face many opportunity-cost choices for the revenue they do have; public health and health more generally are all too often at the bottom of the list.

For young democracies, governmental support for individual rights is often weak; public health measures may complicate efforts to strengthen these rights and

indeed may present a threat to individual rights during situations such as quarantines. In nondemocratic societies, where oppression is present, individual rights are often severely limited. This can, ironically, allow for effective public health interventions such as immunization campaigns. However, the lasting effects of associations between public health and oppression can be extremely detrimental to public health. The overall well-being of the Russian population, as a transitioning country, has dropped drastically since the break up of the Soviet Union due in part to its public health legacy.

In the immediate post-World War II period, the Soviet public health system was effective at reducing incidence of infectious diseases and other community health hazards. The public health system was one arm, albeit a successful one, of the repressive state. As time moved forward, however, the situation deteriorated. After 1991, Russians and Westerners alike learned that the Soviet Union’s mortality and life expectancy rates had worsened. Societal well-being suffered even more as the Soviet Union broke up and the Russian Federation faced serious economic problems. Russian citizens were suspicious of immunizations and other public health programs because of the negative associations with Soviet repression. Governmental funding for health care and public health has all but disappeared. Patients have become responsible for providing their own pharmaceuticals, if medicines are available at all. Hospitals lack basic infection-control tools, such as gloves and clean needles. Rates of infectious diseases, including drug-resistant tuberculosis or TB in prisons, have soared. With incredibly steep inflation, access to proper nutrition has become limited; estimates range widely but suggest as many as three-quarters of all Russian children may be malnourished. By the mid-1990s, Russia was in the unique position of having seen its male life expectancy drop by nearly ten years, due in part to alcoholism, drug use, and violent crime.

Moral and cultural challenges to public health exist as well. With the emergence of HIV/AIDS and the presence of other behavior-related diseases, communities face prevention methods that could collide with moral and cultural values. Campaigns promoting condom use to prevent HIV/AIDS remain controversial in the United States; they could hardly be less so in developing countries, particularly those with strong religious influences. Successful public health practices, imported from elsewhere in the world, can also disrupt traditional cultures or be ineffective in the face of cultural values. Again with regard to HIV/AIDS prevention, the cultures of many developing countries limit women’s rights and thus their ability to insist on condom use by their spouses or partners.

In addition to the problems they have in common with industrialized countries, developing countries face challenges that make public health problematic. Conflict, political instability, and governmental corruption all have deleterious effects on public health. Conflict damages what public health systems do exist. For example, Kim *et al.* (2000) write that in early 1990s Haiti, the *coup d'état* overthrowing Aristide disrupted measles vaccinations. Despite WHO and UNICEF intervention, immunization rates were already low, at about 40 percent. Rates dropped to 24% overall, and as low as 4% in some regions. Consequently, a major measles epidemic occurred. Kim *et al.* (2000) also write about conflict in El Salvador and document that one region, isolated by fighting, went without government health services for thirteen years. Through battlefields and existence of refugees, conflict also creates the potential for public health crises, such as infectious disease outbreaks.

It is important to note that a reciprocal relationship exists: public health crises can lead to conflict as well as be caused by them. As Price-Smith (2002) argues, severe infectious disease outbreaks and other public health situations can lead to internal conflict through the placement of blame on ethnic or socioeconomic groups or even to external conflict if a government seeks to turn society's focus outward, away from societal weaknesses due to a health crisis.

Even short of outright conflict, political instability limits the often already debatable political will for attention to public health. Government corruption leads to misappropriated funds and poorly regulated medical, water, environment, and public safety standards. Through poor regulation or overt corruption, patients in developing countries may find themselves in possession of counterfeit drugs—little more than vials of water, in some instances. Pharmaceutical companies may take advantage of poor governmental regulation to “dump” in developing countries drugs banned by industrialized countries (Phillips and Verhasselt 1994).

Developing countries lack support networks to mitigate the impact of not only conflict and instability but also other human-made or natural public health crises. As development begins, urbanization increases. Hundreds of thousands of people may live in inadequate housing with no safe water or sanitation—the very breeding ground of disease that led to the development of public health in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in cities like New York or London. Earthquakes, floods, mudslides, or typhoons only further magnify these conditions that are so damaging to public health. Moreover, as development occurs, populations encroach more and more into

undisturbed environments. The emergence of new infectious diseases is a public health crisis that can result from expanding communities and deforestation. Remote areas may lack medical personnel and surveillance mechanisms, thus allowing disease to spread.

Weak economies mean weak infrastructure. Lack of health infrastructure limits health services and the number of clinics, which in turn limit surveillance and data gathering. Vital statistics, such as birth and death rates, in developing countries have been difficult to obtain and frequently unreliable. The absence of electricity complicates primary health care and public health efforts, such as vaccination campaigns reliant upon cold storage. Lack of physical infrastructure, such as roads and railways, and lack of communication infrastructure limit individuals' access to health care as well as to public health information and immunization campaigns. Media reports present images of health care workers and volunteers traveling on foot or mule as they seek to immunize children house-to-house in remote regions of developing countries.

Garrett (2000) also argues that, given globalization, *community health* applies not only to localities but also to the nation-state and the world as a whole. In this world of rapid air travel and trade, the problematic public health of developing countries impacts the entire world. For this reason, international organizations such as WHO are active in addressing the public health of developing countries. WHO services to developing countries include information gathering and dissemination, surveillance, technical assistance, and emergency response. Other international organizations such as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), and the World Bank as well as national agencies, such as the United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), give attention to public health crises and campaigns throughout the developing world. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are also quite active in the areas of health services and public health in developing countries.

International efforts to eradicate poliomyelitis from the planet serve as an example of a global public health campaign. Following the example of successful eradication of smallpox, various international public health partners seek to eradicate polio by 2005. Begun in 1985, the campaign involves Rotary International, WHO, UNICEF, CDC, and numerous governments as key partners. In addition to arranging massive vaccination efforts, the campaign raises money and supplies, provides education and communication regarding immunizations, and has developed new techniques and tools for vaccine delivery. Volunteers are



crucial to the success of the global public health campaign, as illustrated in 1999 when more than 1 million Indian Rotary members and their families joined the government of India in immunizing more than 130 million children in one day, signaling the largest public health event ever in the world.” The campaign has so far succeeded in reducing the number of countries experiencing polio infections from 125 (1985) to 20 (2001). Incredibly, the global partners have succeeded in arranging for cease-fires in war-torn countries, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Afghanistan, to hold National Immunization Days. The campaign is currently on track but faces continued challenges to vaccinating children in countries experiencing conflict and in the poorest of nations (Rotary International 2002).

Global and local public health campaigns throughout developing countries have engendered some success. Indicators of public health in developing countries include overall societal well-being, as measured by statistics such as life expectancy or infant mortality. These statistics are problematic due to data availability and methodological questions but are nonetheless commonly presented. The world, developed and developing, has seen significant improvements in life expectancy and decreases in infant and adult mortality during the twentieth century. WHO’s *World Health Report 1999* provides the example of life expectancy improvements in Chile: a woman born in 1910 could expect to live to the age of thirty-three; a Chilean woman born in 1998 could expect to live to the age of seventy-eight. WHO data suggests that similar improvements in life expectancy have or soon will occur in most developing countries.

Though undeniably positive, these global improvements in life expectancy as well as decreases in mortality disguise considerable disparities between and within countries. In its 1999 report, WHO notes that the increases in life expectancy are being reversed in Africa, where HIV/AIDS is taking its terrible toll. Due to various factors, including alcohol and crime, the former Soviet-bloc countries have experienced drops in male life expectancies as they undergo transitions to democracy. Despite general global progress, developing countries as a group still experience higher proportions of infant and adult mortality rates than industrialized countries. As infant and under-five mortality decreases, more people live into adulthood but then die at a relatively young adult age due to a combination of poor nutrition as well as communicable and noncommunicable diseases.

Just as there are differences between countries, however, there are also differences within countries. The wealthy people of a society are better able to avoid weakened health because they have access to

good nutrition, adequate sanitation, and health care to prevent and/or treat infectious and noninfectious disease. What the history of public health teaches, however, is that wealth is an imperfect barrier to disease. Interactions between the upper classes and lower classes occur through domestic servants, for example, and so infectious diseases can affect all segments of society. However large the rich-poor gap is within a country, it is simply not broad enough to provide health safety to the rich. Public health should thus be the concern of all segments of society.

As measured by statistics such as life expectancy, the overall health of many developing societies is improved relative to their own history. Studies of these improvements suggest policies for further progress in societal well-being. Increases in life expectancy came from improved nutrition, water safety, and sanitation resulting from the industrial revolution and related emphasis on infrastructure improvements. Income and education levels also affect mortality, as does access to medical knowledge and technology. “Because ill-health traps people in poverty, sustained investment in the health of the poor could provide a policy lever for alleviating persistent poverty” (WHO 1999) and, thus, a policy lever for improving public health.

Other measures of overall societal well-being include a community’s or country’s ability to respond to public health emergencies. The capacity of developing countries to respond to infectious disease, for example, remains inadequate for both ever-present problems such as malaria and for more urgent outbreaks. This inadequacy is due to the various challenges to public health listed previously. International actors have proven vital to dealing with outbreaks of the Ebolavirus in Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, and Gabon. The public health systems of these developing countries were wholly unable to deal with the emergencies. The WHO and US CDC were especially vital to primary care, epidemiology, and prevention of further infection. Here, also, is seen a reciprocal relationship between health and development; lack of development has limited public health care and required international intervention in these infectious disease emergencies. But, as quarantines affected local trade and thus local development in Gabon, citizens blamed and turned against the foreigners in their midst. International public health teams had to withdraw, for a time, for their own safety.

In addition to infectious disease, developing countries face chronic, noninfectious diseases as well. The term “epidemiological transition” developed to explain the shift, in industrialized countries, from prevalence of infectious to chronic, noninfectious problems, such as cardiovascular diseases, cancers, and diabetes.

As their economies prospered, industrialized countries no longer faced widespread malnutrition or poor sanitation and could afford public health interventions, such as immunizing their populations against infectious diseases. They moved beyond general concern for communicable diseases and turned their focus to noncommunicable diseases. Developing countries, however, face what WHO (1999) calls the “double burden of emerging epidemics and persistent problems.” Developing societies still face the persistent problems of poor nutrition, lack of water safety and sanitation, and infectious diseases. At the same time, however, the process of development itself and even increased life expectancy open the doors to the chronic diseases and age-related mental illnesses associated with industrialized countries.

Tobacco-related illnesses provide a clear example of an “emerging epidemic” of chronic and preventable diseases. Production of tobacco products is a big business globally and, thus, the related illnesses form a global public health crisis. WHO (1999) estimates that roughly 4 million people worldwide died from tobacco use in 1998. One-third of the world’s smokers are Chinese, and China has the highest rate of smoking-related deaths in the world. More men than women smoke worldwide, but tobacco-use rates among women in developing countries are increasing. Public health campaigns against tobacco and smoking are commonplace and effective in industrialized countries. WHO (1999) reports that the percentages of US adults using tobacco products declined by not quite half between 1964 and 1997. This trend is visible in other industrialized countries as well. Tobacco control programs in industrialized countries include taxes, government regulation of tobacco sales and advertising, and antismoking public health campaigns focusing on health hazards.

While tobacco use in industrialized countries decreases, it increases by 3% to 4% per year in developing countries; among men in developing countries, tobacco use is at about 40% (WHO 1999). As the tobacco industry loses consumers in industrialized countries, it becomes more aggressive at marketing its product in developing countries, where tobacco control efforts are limited or nonexistent. In Africa, for example, the health consequences of smoking are little known (Elder 2001). Among developing country governments, misperceptions exist about the potential negative economic consequences of tobacco control measures, such as taxes and regulations. Many governments fear a reduction of revenue due to increased taxes as well as unemployment if cigarette makers go out of business. Tobacco companies, which make huge profits and wield considerable influence, often reinforce these misperceptions.

The WHO has instituted its “Tobacco-Free Initiative” to encourage tobacco control mechanisms such as taxes and regulations and increase public education campaigns throughout the developing world. Thailand is one success story. It banned smoking in many public venues, banned cigarette advertising, and engaged in antismoking public health campaigns. Smoking rates have dropped by about 4% in Thailand. Many Latin American countries now regulate advertising, and Brazil and Mexico both have national tobacco control programs (WHO 1999). The political will to engage in tobacco control is, however, lacking in many developing countries, which further demonstrates the challenges to improving public health worldwide.

Challenges to public health systems—limited financial resources, lack of political will, tension between community and individual rights, and moral or cultural obstacles—that are present in industrialized countries are even more difficult for developing countries to manage. In addition, developing countries must contend with conflict, political instability, lack of infrastructure, and other obstacles to public health. While there has been progress toward overall societal well-being in developing countries, the situation is still extremely serious in many areas. HIV/AIDS is reversing progress in life expectancies, infectious diseases continue to take their toll, and developing countries must now also contend with chronic, noncommunicable diseases. Global public health efforts and the involvement of international actors in developing countries support these countries’ public health. The development of strong public health systems in these countries requires just that: development. The level of development of a country complicates public health through simple economics, political stability, distribution of resources as reflected in the rich-poor gap, and conditions such as water safety and nutrition. The very issues that challenge development also challenge public health; bringing about successful development in developing countries will also bring about overall societal well-being and the means to protect public health.

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**See also Health Care; HIV/AIDS; Infant Mortality; Infectious Diseases; Mental Health; Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs); United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF); World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## PUBLIC SECTOR REFORM

Determining how states should be organized and structured is the most common and intractable problem in politics. It is especially vexing in the formative years of states. New polities, even when supported by well-established political cultures, often find the difficulties in ensuring that state organizations are reliable agents hard to overcome. The problem is further aggravated when, as is the case in many developing countries, political identity is fragmented and the state's capacity to meet demands is limited. Since the middle of the twentieth century, however, the general recognition of popular sovereignty and steadily increasing demands for accountable, transparent governments has placed reform of the public sector at the apex of public policy in the developing world.

Ideally, state organizations are agents of politically relevant populations. Controlling the actions of states requires, at a minimum, an elite consensus concerning the goals of state policy and structural designs calculated to direct the actions of both institutions and governments to achieve those goals (Posner 1999). It is just these conditions, however, that have proven problematic in developing countries. Elite consensus has proven hard to maintain as the goals of state policy have changed over time due to difficulties in building state capacity, demands for increased political participation, and pressures from an increasingly integrated global capitalist economy. This, in turn,

has led to cyclical efforts to reform states to meet these changing priorities and concomitant dangers of structural instability.

There have been two waves of public sector reform in the developing world since the middle of the twentieth century. The first occurred with the achievement of independence by the remaining colonial dependencies after World War II. The newly independent nations of Africa and Asia inherited governmental structures ill-suited for tasks of nation-building and promoting self-sufficient economic growth. Indeed, colonial institutions, both public and private, had been specifically created to nip independent political and economic action by the "native" population in the bud. Further, governments in the new states found themselves under considerable international pressure to adopt regimes compliant with existing international political blocs.

There was a general consensus concerning needed changes in the inherited public sector. First, state institutions needed to be reformed to ensure that they could take steps to promote self-sufficient and rapid economic growth. Faced with dependent economies, dominated by foreign firms, financed by foreign banks, and tied to foreign markets, public sector reforms were undertaken to provide organizations capable of accumulating capital and planning its investment for economic growth. Building on earlier examples of import substitution strategies, public sector institutions were restructured to increase the regulatory, planning, and extractive capacities of governments (Lewis 1955).

Second, there was a concerted effort made to increase popular participation in government. New election laws, more truly representative legislatures, stronger local presence by central governments, and reformed civil services were all put into place. Party organizations established in the colonial period were expanded and dedicated to political agitation in favor of government development policy. Bold attempts were made to tie increased government capacity to increased electoral participation as well (Weiner 1967).

Unhappily, many of these initiatives fell afoul of the legacy of economic underdevelopment and authoritarian politics left by the colonial era. As participation increased, the capacity of governments to deflect demands that would siphon off development capital for more immediate benefits became harder to resist. Directing economic development programs proved, in many cases, beyond the talents and means available. In response, governing elites often took refuge in the bureaucratic traditions of colonial times (Seidman 1972; Fitch and Oppenheimer 1966). Party regimes, ostensibly established to quell "tribalism,"

began the slow decay of the relevance of representative institutions and, finally, of parties themselves (Torres 1967). The reform efforts accompanying independence began to collapse into debt-ridden kleptocracy in much of the developing world (Andreski 1969).

A second wave of public sector reform in developing countries began to gain momentum in the final decades of the twentieth century. Paradoxically, the impetus for this new reform effort has been the indebtedness caused by the first. As desperate governments turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for financial assistance, they found a new round of public sector reform being forced on them in return. Here the focus was on actions that would enable governments in developing countries to meet their international debt obligations.

The international agencies recommended reversing the initial reforms that followed independence. In place of planning and regulation, governments were counseled to unleash market forces by decreasing regulation of financial transactions and foreign trade, abandoning domestic control of investment, and retreating from planning. Economic subsidies of all sorts were to be cut drastically or eliminated. Infrastructural projects were to be scaled back to more reasonable goals. Finally, services and benefits providing a “social wage” were to be severely restricted and the remaining funds were to be focused on education and provision of basic services (World Bank 1991).

In addition to these steps, the international organizations expressed strong support for political liberalization, including the establishment of multiparty regimes and regular elections. Anticorruption efforts were recommended and tied to stabilization of state finances. Independent court systems and police organizations supporting effective protection of property rights and the rule of law were also promoted (World Bank 1992). While no developing country has fully adopted this “Washington consensus” on public sector reform, enough measures have been instituted by various governments for this to be considered a second wave of public sector reform.

States adopting the new reforms have become more adept at obtaining foreign investment and have generally improved on their capacity to deliver services. The promised spurt in economic growth, however, has failed to materialize (Easterly 2001). Further, while corruption and organizational decay have been reduced, no one would assert that the second wave of public sector reform has ended these problems.

What is missing from both reform prescriptions is a commitment to the participatory imperative in

economic development. Both reform efforts were erected at the expense of popular mobilization; post-independence reforms smothered it under top-down planning and one-party regimes, “neoliberal” reforms under economic dependency, and constitutional restrictions on public policy. Unless public sector institutions can provide substantial communication concerning development laws and regulations between mass publics and legislatures and administrators, reform efforts are unlikely to bear full fruit (Ferguson 1994; Seidman 1978). With the encouraging purchase of democratic institutions in developing countries, future efforts may be more likely to succeed at this task.

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### PUERTO RICO

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico sits at the easternmost part of the island chain that forms the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean Sea. It is the smallest of these islands with a size of about thirty-five miles by one hundred miles and an area of 3,435 square miles. The Commonwealth consists of the island of Puerto Rico plus the adjacent islets of Vieques, Culebra, and Mona. Generally viewed as a colony of the United States, Puerto Rico is one thousand miles from

Miami, and it is part of the eastern gateway to the Panama Canal. Puerto Rico has a tropical ecosystem with coastal flatlands and mountainous central highlands. Small deposits of copper and nickel are its only mineral resources although there is the potential of onshore and offshore oil drilling. Spanish and English are the official languages of Puerto Rico, but English is a compulsory second language in schools, and it is widely used in business, industry, research, and education. The capital, San Juan, has an estimated population of 433,412, while the entire Commonwealth is home to about 3,897,960 people. More than 90% of the population is of Spanish ancestry.

Christopher Columbus claimed Puerto Rico for the Spanish upon his arrival in 1493. The Spanish chiefly regarded Puerto Rico as a military bastion, and they never concerned themselves much with agricultural or industrial development. Puerto Rico remained economically undeveloped until 1830, when sugarcane, coffee, and tobacco plantations were gradually developed. After Puerto Ricans began to press for independence, Spain granted the island broad powers of self-government in 1897. But during the Spanish-American War of 1898, American troops invaded the island, and Spain ceded it to the United States as part of the resulting peace treaty. Puerto Rico has remained an unincorporated US territory. Its people were granted US citizenship under the Jones Act in 1917 but essentially remain as the last colonists in the world. United States laws apply to the Puerto Rican people without their consent, and the US government contends that sovereignty over Puerto Rico resides solely in the United States and not in the people of Puerto Rico. In the Caribbean, Latin America, and the United Nations, Puerto Rico is widely regarded as a colony of the United States.

In 1940, industrialization was almost nonexistent. The tourism industry had not yet developed, with San Juan possessing only one adequate hotel. Government services were deficient. Few towns had sewer service, while running water and electricity were absent from most of the countryside. Puerto Rico, however, had all the stability of the US government as well as an exemption from federal taxation. The tax policy had developed in 1921 when US investors in the Philippines requested that Congress grant them a tax exemption for the Philippine business investments. Congress did not want to discriminate against its colonial investors, so it gave both the Philippines and Puerto Rico an exemption. Puerto Rico's tax laws, political stability, and supply of cheap labor led to a burst in industrialization in the late 1940s through the 1970s.

When World War II ended, Puerto Ricans began to press for independence from the United States.

Luis Muñoz Marín and his Popular Democratic Party, after pushing for independence, decided in 1946 to accept a Commonwealth status that essentially changed nothing in the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. Under the commonwealth formula, residents of Puerto Rico lack voting representation in Congress and do not participate in presidential elections. As US citizens, Puerto Ricans are subject to military service and most federal laws. Residents of the Commonwealth pay no federal income tax on locally generated earnings, but Puerto Rico government income tax rates are set at a level that closely parallels federal-plus-state levies on the mainland.

Muñoz became Puerto Rico's first elected governor in 1948 and remained in the position until 1964. Puerto Rico's governor is elected directly for a four-year term. A bicameral legislature consists of a twenty-seven-member Senate and a fifty-one-member House of Representatives, all elected for four-year terms. The enormous power entrusted to Muñoz and his party made possible a long-range program of economic and social change in the form of Operation Bootstrap.

Under the control of Teodoro Moscoso, Operation Bootstrap attempted to improve the lot of the Puerto Rican people by industrializing the economy. From the 1940s to the 1960s, Puerto Rico was transformed, largely by local initiative, from a rural to an industrialized society. Moscoso brought every type of industry that showed any interest in Puerto Rico to the island. He brought pharmaceutical, electronic, apparel, food product, and tourism industries. Such employment would provide better paying jobs and a steadier income than agricultural work. Puerto Rico continued to produce agricultural products, chiefly sugarcane, coffee, pineapples, plantains, and bananas; the country also offered livestock products and chickens, but people flocked to the cities to take advantage of industrial employment. Operation Bootstrap succeeded to the extent that by 1957, the United States boasted that Puerto Rico had become the showpiece of the Caribbean and a model of how free enterprise could transform a nation once thoroughly rooted in agriculture. While still poor by US standards, Puerto Rico stood ahead of the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Moscoso could not provide enough jobs for the people who wanted them. Unemployment actually increased during the 1948 to 1963 heyday of Operation Bootstrap. It remains at the level of 12% among the 1.3 million-person labor force. Moscoso did succeed in creating one of the best educated labor forces in Latin America, but an estimated 2.5 million Puerto Ricans have moved to the shores of the United States in search of better opportunities.

The Puerto Rican rate of growth is now well behind that of many other developing countries. The school dropout rate before the twelfth grade is 30%. The homicide rate is three times that of the United States. The island has also been designated by the United States Justice Department as having particularly severe problems with drug trafficking and is considered the prime point of entry for the South American drug cartels. Puerto Rico remains a major hub of Caribbean commerce, finance, tourism, and communications, but its future is unclear.

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**See also Operation Bootstrap, Puerto Rico**

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## **QADDAFI, MUAMMAR**

Qaddafi was born in 1942 (the exact date is uncertain) in a tent in the Libyan desert. His nomadic Bedouin family belonged to the Qadhdhafa tribe. The boy was tutored privately and then sent to an elementary (Koranic) school in the coastal town of Surt from 1953 to 1955. Qaddafi absorbed passionate Libyan nationalism from his father, who had once been jailed by the Italian colonial authorities. Qaddafi was fourteen years old at the time of the 1956 Suez crisis when Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser electrified radio listeners across the Arab world with fiery speeches. He attended the Sebha Preparatory School in the Fezzan region for five years but was expelled in 1961 for pan-Arab political agitation. After two years of high school in Misrata, he entered the Royal Libyan Military Academy at Benghazi in October 1963. There he organized a secretive Free Unionist Officers Movement. After graduating in 1965, the young officer was sent to Beaconsfield Military Academy in England for a nine-month training course.

Qaddafi organized revolutionary cells among fellow officers in the Royal Libyan Army. These plotters overthrew King Muhammad Idris al-Sanusi in a bloodless coup on September 1, 1969, and proclaimed a Libyan Arab Republic. The previously unknown Qaddafi emerged as president of the Revolutionary Command Council. He expelled Italians and Jews from Libya and forced the United States and Great Britain to vacate air bases in the country.

Qaddafi's idiosyncratic ideology is codified in his *Green Book*. He admired some aspects of Maoism and called for a Libyan "Cultural Revolution" to eliminate foreign influence, but he rejected both atheistic Marxism and Western representative democracy. Qaddafi proclaimed his "Third Universal Theory," which embraced pan-Arab nationalism, "true Islam," and "natural socialism." Islam is Libya's state religion, but Qaddafi forbids politicized sermons in Libyan mosques.

The official name for Libya is the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyya. Its unique political system is, in theory, a populist "government by the masses." No regional or class interests are recognized, and there is no role for traditional tribal leaders or modern urban entrepreneurs. The people are involved directly, indeed compulsorily: When elections are held for "Revolutionary Committees," all schools, shops, and factories close. The committees elect three thousand delegates to a national "People's Congress" that meets for only one week every year.

All real political power emanates from Qaddafi himself, who long ago renounced official titles and simply styles himself "Brother Leader." The government controls the media. There are no political parties or labor unions. Qaddafi has survived at least eight coup attempts, and he dispatches hit squads to assassinate exiled political opponents. Public administration is chaotic, especially since Qaddafi forced all government ministries to move their headquarters



## QADDAFI, MUAMMAR

from Tripoli to Surt and then replaced them with “people’s communities.” More confusing still is Qaddafi’s unique Libyan calendar, which counts the years from the Prophet’s birth, or sometimes from his death. The months July and August, named after Julius and Augustus Caesar, are now Nasser and Hannibal, respectively.

Qaddafi’s economic policies are intended to create “true socialism.” Rent is considered exploitative. Finance, commerce, and industry are largely nationalized, but in 2003, Qaddafi proposed privatization of the public sector. In fact, almost everyone is on the government payroll. Living standards are fairly high, thanks to oil revenues, which Qaddafi tries to distribute equitably. The government has built many schools, clinics, and public housing projects.

Colonel Qaddafi’s most ambitious development scheme is his Great Man-Made River Project, begun in 1984. The plan is to irrigate 185,000 acres of farmland along the Mediterranean coast with water drawn from underground aquifers in the southern desert and pumped through 2,500 miles of concrete pipe thirteen feet in diameter. Phase I was completed 1991 at a cost of \$3 billion. Tripoli began receiving water in 1996. The cost reached \$12 billion by 2000. American military analysts note that the pipe is large enough to accommodate military vehicles, and that it runs through a mountain where Qaddafi is thought to have built an underground chemical weapons factory.

Qaddafi’s foreign policy is quirky and dangerous, but not without its own principles of anti-imperialism and nonalignment. He refuses all contact with Israel. Qaddafi has attempted to merge Libya with Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, Chad, and Morocco, but these initiatives foundered, perhaps because other leaders feared Qaddafi’s penchant for military adventurism. He supported rebels in Chad for twelve years (1975–1987) and has encouraged coup plotters in Egypt and Sudan.

Since 1998, Qaddafi has directed his attention southward. The Libyan radio service was renamed the Voice of Africa. Qaddafi sent economic aid to Ghana, Zimbabwe, and Kenya and opened Libya’s borders to Africans, who came in great numbers to take even the most menial jobs. This policy proved highly unpopular among the citizenry, and race riots ensued.

In 2001, Colonel Qaddafi condemned the World Trade Center attacks and declared his opposition to terrorism, a surprising reversal for a man whose record includes support for the IRA, Basque separatists, Filipino secessionists, the Black Panthers, and various Palestinian factions. President Reagan claimed that Qaddafi tried to assassinate him, and after a 1986 Libyan-sponsored bombing of a West Berlin nightclub that killed two US soldiers, Reagan

sent jet fighters to bomb Qaddafi’s tent. The bombs missed Qaddafi but killed his five-year-old adopted daughter. The British Secret Service allegedly tried to assassinate Qaddafi in 1996 by using members of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, an organization linked to Osama bin Laden.

In 2003, Qaddafi seemed on his way to rehabilitation in the eyes of Western countries eager for normal trading relations with oil-rich Libya. Blame for the 1988 bombing of Pan American Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed all 270 people aboard, settled on a lower-level operative. Blame for the 1989 bombing of UTA Flight 772 over Niger, which killed all 170 people aboard, was pinned on Libyan intelligence chief Abdullah al-Sanusi, Qaddafi’s brother-in-law. Libya paid compensation to survivors but stipulated that this was not an admission of guilt.

The Libyan population will double in the next twenty-five years, and the government needs to create thirty thousand new jobs annually. Qaddafi recognizes the need for foreign investment. United Nations trade sanctions, which had seriously damaged the Libyan economy, were lifted in 1999.

There currently appears to be no viable domestic political opposition to Muammar Qaddafi. Muslim fundamentalists linked to Osama bin Laden operate from caves in eastern Libya but pose no serious threat to his continuation in power. The leader would like to bequeath power to his four sons.

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**See also Libya; North Africa: History and Economic Development; North Africa: International Relations**

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## QATAR

Qatar is a small peninsular state in the Persian Gulf, covering 4,427 square miles. Its only land border is with Saudi Arabia. Almost entirely desert, a mere 1.27% of its land is arable. Rain is rare, and temperatures in the summer average 48°C. Qatar underwent a

long-running dispute with Bahrain over the Hawar Islands, which they ended by referring the case to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). The ICJ ruling in 2001 gave the main island to Bahrain, with Qatar receiving significant maritime areas and resources.

Roughly 750,000 people live in Qatar, over 90% of them in urban areas. A sizeable proportion of the citizenry is part of the ruling al-Thani family. Four-fifths of the population are foreign workers, and immigrants must be residents for a minimum of twenty years (for Arabs) or thirty years (for non-Arabs) before being eligible for citizenship. Arabs comprise 40% of the population, Indians and Pakistanis each comprise 18%, Iranians comprise 10%, and the remaining 14% are other nationalities. Sunni Islam is the dominant faith, and Qataris subscribe to the strict Wahhabi sect also practiced in Saudi Arabia.

The area has been inhabited for several millennia, although its harsh conditions kept the population to a minimum. The Ottoman Empire ruled the territory for four centuries, beginning in 1538 when it wrested control from the Portuguese. During the nineteenth century, the al-Khalifa family—now the ruling family in Bahrain—dominated Qatar, until the British helped negotiate an end to tribute payments in 1872. The British replaced the Ottomans as the governing power, signing a treaty in 1916 that traded British protection for Qatar's pledge not to surrender territory or enter into relationships with foreign governments without British consent. The al-Thani family assumed absolute political control.

Britain's decision to withdraw east of the Suez Canal initially led Qatar to seek federation with Bahrain and the seven trucial states (now the United Arab Emirates). When such plans showed little progress, Qatar proclaimed its independence on September 3, 1971. Within six months, Shaykh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani, the kingdom's de facto ruler since the 1950s, replaced his cousin Shaykh Ahmad bin Ali al-Thani, who had formally assumed power in 1960. Ahmad's lax attitude toward governance and extravagant spending—his personal allowance represented 25% of Qatar's annual oil revenues—both contributed to Khalifa's decision to seize power. Khalifa immediately clamped down on the spending of the royal family, which often failed to draw a distinction between their personal finances and those of the state.

In 1995, Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani overthrew his father in a bloodless coup and embarked on an ambitious program of political and economic liberalization. Qatar became the first Gulf state to adopt universal suffrage in 1999, and despite its conservative and traditional society, women are playing a more visible role. In 2003, Hamad appointed a woman as

Cabinet minister—the first woman to serve in a ministerial capacity in the Gulf; a woman was elected to the Central Municipal Council; and a woman is president of the University of Qatar. Elections were held in 1999 and 2003 for the Central Municipal Council, which aims to improve the provision of municipal services; the twenty-nine-member body has consultative powers. A new constitution was overwhelmingly approved in an April 2003 public referendum. It grants some legislative powers to and increases the membership in the Advisory Council; thirty of the Council's forty-five members will be elected, and the emir will appoint the remainder. Hamad abolished official censorship in 1995, leading to the creation two years later of al-Jazeera, the outspoken and influential satellite news outlet. However, al-Jazeera rarely criticizes the al-Thani family or covers local news. Political parties are still not permitted.

Until oil was discovered in 1940, the economy was traditionally based on pearling, fishing, and herding. Commercial exports began in 1949. Oil revenues brought dramatic social improvements to Qatar. Health care, education, utilities, and housing are free to Qatari citizens. The formal school system opened in 1956, and the education budget grew 31% per year over the next decade. By 1970, eighty-eight schools had been established, including forty for girls, and the university opened in 1973. The literacy rate in 2002 was 84.2%. Women have fared well in the educational system, enjoying a literacy rate roughly equal to that of men, and markedly higher enrollments in tertiary educational institutions. Education and the workplace are segregated. The private Qatar Foundation has developed branch campuses of several leading American universities, including Carnegie-Mellon, Cornell, Texas A & M, and Virginia Commonwealth University, allowing students to study a Western curriculum in Qatar. The health system also has shown marked improvements. The first state hospital opened in 1959, and by 1970, Qatar led the Arab Middle East in terms of availability of services. Life expectancy rates increased from 62.1 to 72.2 years between 1970 and 2000, as infant and child mortality rates fell substantially.

Qatar's economy is dominated by the oil and gas sectors, which account for 55% of gross domestic product (GDP), 70% of government revenues, and 85% of export earnings. As its oil fields are expected to run dry by 2023, Qatar has begun to shift its economy from reliance on exports of oil to natural gas. It boasts the world's third largest natural gas reserves, and its North Field is the world's largest unassociated field. Qatar is participating in the multi-billion-dollar Dolphin Project, which will interconnect the natural gas grids of Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman, providing gas for both export

and domestic use. Hamad borrowed billions of dollars in the 1990s and restricted government spending so that he could devote resources to upgrading the oil and gas sectors. Qatar was rewarded with robust growth, a 9.9% average annual GDP growth between 1992 and 2002, driven by a sharp increase in exports of natural gas, increased oil production capacity, and increased refinery capacity. It produced between eight hundred thousand and nine hundred thousand barrels per day in 2002 and 2003.

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**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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### QUALITY OF LIFE: DEFINITION

*Quality of life* is not a term that can be simply defined. This is because quality of life is to be able to determine for oneself what quality of life actually means.

Development ethicists have argued that development theory should have at its core a concern to make assessments and devise a theoretical framework for how quality of life can be achieved for and by everyone. At its basis, there is a concern with equality as the principal constituent element of justice; the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen states, for example, that “every normative theory of social arrangement that has stood the test of time seems to demand equality of something—something that is regarded as particularly important in that theory.” Therefore, the question becomes what equality should consist of and how this can be brought about in practice. Sen’s proposal is that this equality lies in the equal freedom to pursue a life that “we have reason to value” (Sen 1992). The philosopher and public intellectual Martha Nussbaum takes this one step further and states that it is necessary to ground this in more concrete notions of

human quality of life. Nussbaum and Sen’s work in this area has fostered the development of the capability approach, which uses the language of functionings and capabilities to designate a theoretical framework from which to develop policies to improve the quality of life of individuals in developing countries. A functioning is an activity or state of being; a capability is the capacity or ability to exercise a certain functioning. For example, a person has the capability to eat healthfully if they have the capability to exercise the functioning of taking up and digesting food, coupled with the capability to exercise the functioning of accessing food that is nutritious.

Going beyond measurements of a state’s Gross Domestic Product, other factors such as distributive measurements of wealth (such as per capita income), the purchasing power of a currency, and a person’s access to goods and services are deemed absolutely central for any serious analysis of quality of life of the individual. The individual is the core unit of analysis of the assessment of quality of life. Yet a person’s access to political power, emotional health, and spiritual well-being are equally important components of this approach.

This necessitates a theory that can make prescriptions about procedures and desired outcomes, as well as criteria for measurement and evaluation. To do this, one needs to address the existence of different and supposedly irreconcilable value systems in the world today, an issue that has become more acute due to the ever-increasing interdependence of human beings worldwide. People from different backgrounds are more likely to interact with each other, which, in turn, is more likely to bring conflict (but also similarities) to the fore. Any list of what a human being requires to live a life that is said to have quality needs to be sensitive to this.

Key theorists tackling quality-of-life questions have sought to resolve these tensions in different ways. Some have started from a deliberation about “human needs”(see, for example, Goodin); others, such as Sen, have tried to develop approaches that do not necessitate agreement in the absolute but allow for unfinished agreement and overlap where synthesis in certain elements, known as capability sets, can be found; this method is more suited to making assessments of existing structures, rather than designating ideals to strive for. On the other hand, Nussbaum, for example, has opted for a more prescriptive approach with a more definite list of functionings that people must be able to exercise as capabilities. She holds these out as ideals that secure power for each person to pursue their own interpretation of the “good life” and has devised a list of capabilities of which all components are deemed of equal importance: life;

bodily integrity; bodily health; senses, imagination and health; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; symbiosis with other species; and control over one's own environment, political and material.

One critique of this is that even the basic premises of this approach—their starting points, such as equality, freedom, and autonomy—cannot be regarded as universally justifiable, and their roles might vary quite substantially in different societies. This makes it difficult to determine concrete impediments to freedom and choice, to determine where oppression occurs, and to make a moral case for injustice, if one wishes to respect cultural life in the forms that it is currently expressed. Related to this is the concern about when preferences have been adapted and capabilities compensated for (i.e., a determination of when a person has real freedom and real choice or when a person is constrained and socialized by factors that could be designated as wrong or alleviable). This has a bearing on the methodology of detecting what people really want and need and how this is to be measured. Questions posed relate to whether people's own personal preferences are to be the measure for capabilities and what a preference should be based on: desire and overall happiness of people taken together to form a society, justice, stability, or need. Likewise, going beyond autonomy and taking into consideration the

affiliative aspect of human life, one needs to define what the relationship between individual freedom and societal duties is, and lastly, it needs to be ascertained what all of this means for the socioeconomic structure of societies, local and global.

For these reasons, quality of life is not a straightforward concept. However, it is a crucial one in improving development policies beyond a one-dimensional economic assessment of a country's productivity.

EMMA DOWLING

**See also Basic Human Needs; Children and Development; Women: Role in Development**

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## **RAFSANJANI, ALI AKBAR**

Born in the town of Rafsanjan, province of Kerman in 1934, Ali Akbar Rafsanjani has been, and remains, one of the most influential figures in postrevolutionary Iranian politics. He studied Islamic jurisprudence under Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini beginning in 1951. He was active in the anti-Shah forces prior to the revolution and was jailed for his association with the Mujahedin e-Khalq. In 1979, the year the Shah was deposed, Rafsanjani formed the Islamic Republican Party. In 1980, he was elected to parliament, and since then has filled every major political position in the government since the revolution, including Speaker of the Parliament (1980–1989), Commander-in-Chief of the Iranian Armed Forces (1988–1989), and president (two terms, 1989–1993, 1993–1997).

He has been characterised as a pragmatic conservative, and his efforts towards reform in Iran should be seen in this light. During his time as speaker and his two terms as president, he sought a rapprochement with the West. As a result, Iran renewed diplomatic relations with France and Canada in 1988, the Soviet Union in 1989, and the United Kingdom in 1990. He was also instrumental in brokering the release of Western hostages from Lebanon during the same period. This reestablishment of links was part of an attempt to engage with the West as a necessary requirement to alleviate economic pressures felt by the Republic.

Rafsanjani has been closely aligned with both Supreme Leaders, and many of his appointments have grown out of this close link. This was the case with his

appointment by Ayatollah Khomeini as his representative on the war committee during the Iran-Iraq war, and subsequently as the Commander-in-Chief. This was also the case when Khomeini appointed him to the position of Chairman of the Expediency Council. He has been a proponent of reform within Iran, although this has been nearly exclusively applied to economic, rather than political, matters. On becoming president, Rafsanjani needed to address issues that were causing significant economic hardship to the people. A war-ravaged economy resulting from years of fighting Iraq, economic sanctions from the West, and a burgeoning, increasingly urbanised population put pressure on the system. Rafsanjani instituted successive five-year plans designed to revive the moribund economy. The emphasis was on a move towards a market economy, seeking both foreign and private investment, reducing government subsidies, and an increase in private ownership of economic assets. The first of the five-year plans put particular emphasis on the privatisation of state-controlled enterprises.

The economic reforms were only partially successful, given allegations of corruption over the privatisation of some enterprises, and the emergence of differences between the political factions within the parliament who were ultimately responsible for the passage of the reforms. On the positive side, agricultural output was increased, and a growth in privatised industrial production geared to exports was developed. These attempts at economic reform, however, have not been matched by any similar move towards political reform. While he has been characterised as a

pragmatist, willing to ally himself with conservatives or technocrats, depending on the issue he was confronting, he has generally been considered an opponent of political liberalisation. During the 1999 student riots against the nature of clerical rule, for example, Rafsanjani sided with the Supreme Leader and the conservatives, condemning the students for providing encouragement to what he claimed were United States efforts to regain influence in Iran.

RODGER SHANAHAN

**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Pahlavi, Shah Muhammed Reza**

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### RAHMAN, TUNKU ABDUL

Known by his honorific title *Tunku*, Abdul Rahman (1903–1990) was Prime Minister (PM) of the Federation of Malaya (1957–1963) and Malaysia (1963–1970). The *Bapa Kemerdekaan* (“Father of Independence”) was born Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, prince of the Sultan of Kedah. Educated in England, he claimed that racial discrimination there motivated his Malayan nationalism. He joined the civil service before returning to England for further studies, but was interrupted by World War II. Like many nationalists, Rahman saw the war as a definitive turning point. Malaya came under Japanese occupation in early 1942. Some Malays heralded this as the end of British imperialism. Most, however, realized Japanese brutality, and by 1945, accepted gradual independence under reinstated British rule. Britain’s “Alliance Plan” organized Malayan territories into an ethnically diverse union—formally cast as the Federation of Malaya in 1948.

Rahman became Chair of the nationalist United Malay National Organization (UMNO) in 1949, and its President in 1951. Malaya avoided the divisive nationalism endured elsewhere in Southeast Asia but was not without problems. There were secessionist movements, and between 1948 and 1960, the “Emergency”—a communist insurrection led by ethnic Chinese. Rahman worked with the British to suppress the insurgency. He also forged the multi-ethnic anti-communist Alliance Party with Chinese and Indian leaders. Emphasizing cooperation, he guaranteed minority rights in exchange for support backing Malay-led independence.

Some Malays opposed Rahman. They regarded UMNO as an elitist organization, or insufficiently Muslim. They also resented Chinese economic power. However, Rahman’s alliance worked, and on August 31, 1957, Malaya declared independence. Rahman was its first leader. He won additional elections in 1959, 1964, and 1969.

In September 1963, Rahman negotiated British-held Sarawak and Singapore into the Federation of Malaysia. Indonesia, and Philippines opposed the move. Clashes with Indonesian troops followed, but Rahman avoided war. He did the same when Singapore declared independence in 1965. As PM, Rahman also gained Malaysia an elected seat on the United Nations Security Council (1965) and helped form the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (1967).

Critics see Rahman as dictatorial in ignoring his party and Parliament. They also believe that he exacerbated ethnic tensions, culminating with violent race riots following May 1969 elections. The riots seriously divided UMNO. Future PM Mahatir Mohammed and others were expelled for denouncing Rahman as pro-Chinese. Some members defected to PAS—the opposition *Parti Islam se Tanah Malaya* (Pan-Malayan Islamic Party). Under pressure, Rahman resigned as PM in September 1970 and as UMNO President in June 1971. His multi-ethnic alliance collapsed.

Rahman later chaired the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), and headed *The Star* newspaper, often criticizing the government. PM Mahatir banned the newspaper in 1987. Rahman tried dividing UMNO to oppose Mahatir, backing the splinter group *Parti Melayu Semangat 46* (Spirit of ’46 Malaysian Party) in 1990 general elections.

Some argue that Rahman spent too much time focusing on racial harmony and not enough time developing the economy. However, others note that without his attempts to unify ethnicities, economic prosperity could never have been achieved.

ARNE KISLENKO

**See also Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Colonialism: History; Commonwealth (British); Counterinsurgency; Ethnic Conflicts: Southeast Asia; Indonesia; Inter-Religious Relations; Islam; Malaysia; Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC); Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations; Sukarno; United Malays National Organization (UMNO)**

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## RAIN FOREST, DESTRUCTION OF

Rain forests constitute the richest, most productive, and complex ecosystems on earth.

Tropical rain forests can be found in the Amazonian basin, South Asia, Australia, and Africa; Australia also has temperate rain forests, which can be found on the northwest coast of North America, New Zealand, Ireland, Scotland, and Norway as well.

### Rain Forest: Definition and Status

Rain forests cover less than 2% of the earth's surface; (or 6% of its land mass) they originally covered twice the current area. As some of the earth's richest natural reserves, the tropics contain the oldest living ecosystems of our planet. Southeast Asian forests can be traced back for 70 million to 100 million years. Rain forests receive four to eight meters of rain per year (Myers, Norman, *The Primary Source*). Without a dry or cold season, the tropical forests absorb as much as five times more rain than forests in a moderate climate. (Myers, Norman, *The Primary Source*)

Despite the small land area they cover, rain forests are home for about half of all life forms on our planet—as many as 30 million species of plants, animals, and insects. A typical four-square-mile patch of rain forest hosts as many as 125 mammal species, 400 species of birds, 100 of reptiles, 60 of amphibians, and 150 different species of butterflies, as well as 1,500 species of flowering plants and 750 species of trees. Rain forest species do not spread easily beyond their native habitats, and hence are found nowhere else in the world.

### The Extent of Destruction

The global rate of tropical deforestation has increased rapidly by more than 50% over the past decade. Many

scientists believe that nearly all tropical rain forest ecosystems will be gone by the year 2030.

Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, Laos, and the Philippines lost 88% of natural forests. Nearly all the primary rain forests in India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka have been ruined. The rain forest in Ivory Coast has been almost completely logged; however, the Congo, Cote D'Ivoire and other African countries have gone through the most severe rain forest destruction. More than 60% of Mexico's woodlands have fallen while Haiti rain forests have been completely destroyed. In contrast with other regions, South America still maintains a relatively high percentage of natural ecosystems, particularly in the Amazon and the southern tip of the continent. Unfortunately, however, these pristine areas are being degraded at an alarming rate due to disturbance by human activities.

### The Amazon

South America contains some of the world's largest remaining blocks of tropical rain forests, blanketing millions of square miles with the Amazon, Orinoco, and Paraguay Rivers (considered among the largest freshwater systems on earth). A vast expanse of the Amazon River Basin covers an area nearly the size of Europe (stretching over 2 million square miles). The Amazon River Basin retains the most extensive system of flooded forests on earth covering nearly 116,000 square miles. As the world's largest river basin, its streams and rivers supply 20% of the earth's fresh water. A dynamic ecosystem is maintained by yearly patterns of water levels creating and demolishing land along with the constant erosion of riverbanks. Annual fertilization comes from the deposited soil eroded from the Andes carried by annual flooding.

The Amazon is endowed with a variety of ecosystems containing an astonishing array of wildlife. One-third of the world's tropical woods (2,500 tree species) are known to exist only in the Amazon. The forests and freshwater ecosystems of the Amazon Basin host an extraordinary seasonal migration of aquatic and terrestrial animals in and out of the flooded forests. Animals and plants (found nowhere else in the world) thrive along the slopes of the Andes and Guayanan mountains. Rich aquatic and wildlife colonies abound along much of its coastlines.

The Southwestern Amazonian forests of western Brazil, northern Bolivia, and southeastern Peru (covering more than two hundred thousand square miles) form part of the world's largest intact rain forest region (with its distinctive oxbow lakes), cooled by



winds sweeping down from the Andes and warmed by a jungle blanket. The eco-region's forest types (considered to be among the earth's most biologically rich) are comprised of lowland tropical moist forests, unique flooded savannas dotted with palm trees, as well as an extensive area of bamboo-dominated forests (covering more than sixty-nine thousand square miles—an area the size of England) (World Wildlife Fund 2002). This extraordinary eco-region is maintained by high rainfall, complex topography and soils, and the meandering river systems that create habitat mosaics.

The region has an incredible array of freshwater fish, birds, and butterflies, many of which are found nowhere else. As many as 1,200 species of butterflies have been recorded. In addition, the Southwestern Amazonian forests remain one of the last refuges of the highly threatened jaguar, howler monkeys, pumas, ocelots, bush dogs, the harpy eagle, pink freshwater dolphins, the giant river otter, tapirs, and black caimans.

Many plant species (giant kapok trees, the forests' symbols, and the virola) in these flooded forests face extinction from exploitation due to the region's tripled human population since 1950. Logging the kapok tree and virola is accelerating deforestation over vast regions for biodiversity conservation in flooded forest ecosystem. The open floodplains are threatened by conversion to cattle ranches and the widespread introduction of water buffalo, which are not native to the region and cause damage to the shoreline vegetation and fish nursery areas. Overfishing, to supply the region's growing urban centers, could result in the localized extinction of prized species and the consequent loss of subsistence fishing for traditional river dwellers. Hydroelectric dams for the region disrupt such ecological processes as the migration of catfish, which travels from the estuary at the mouth of the Amazon upstream to Colombia and Peru to spawn.

### **The Effects of Rain Forest Destruction**

Human capacity for meeting material needs is seriously undermined by the elimination of diverse rain forest systems. Natural ecosystems provide genetic resources for improving human well-being. The supply from the rain forests includes a wide assortment of edible fruits and nuts as well as numerous plant products. Many of our favorite foods (avocado, banana, eggplant, fig, lemon, orange, peanut, pineapple, tomato, and countless others) were originally found in the rain forests. Many plants contain genetic materials essential to fortify our existing agricultural stock.

Medicinal plants from tropical rain forests were long used by native tribes. According to the National Cancer Institute, 70% of the plants useful for developing cancer treatment medicines are available only in the rain forests. Many medicines for other serious conditions such as heart ailments, arthritis, and Hodgkin's disease come from rain forest plants. The chemical compounds of fewer than 1% of tropical forest species have been thoroughly studied. We still do not know completely which plant species may contain the properties for curing various human diseases.

Many of the world's most biologically diverse regions are affected by rain forest destruction with the loss of rare species (tree, birds, fish, reptiles, amphibians, and mammals). Rapid lumbering has devastated native tribes. Timber-cutting and the building of dams and other industrial infrastructure has infringed upon or destroyed indigenous villages; overdevelopment of rain forest areas has also contributed to loss of food resources, contamination of drinking water, the spread of disease and loss or damage to archeological sites. Six to nine million indigenous people inhabited the Brazilian rain forest in 1500, but less than two hundred thousand remained by the end of the last century. Several uncontacted indigenous tribes living in biologically rich areas were exposed to a whooping cough and influenza epidemic that killed an estimated 50% of their population.

Forests fulfill human needs by performing ecologically balancing roles or functions, including the protection of soils, preservation of water, and provision of timber. The disappearance of forest (deforestation) causes various environmental consequences such as soil erosion, flooding, and climate changes. Forests control soil erosion by reducing flooding and replenishing groundwater supplies. The soils experience erosion within a few years after rain forest clearance and become unproductive without the nutrients provided by the vegetation.

Photosynthesis of plants within rain forest ecosystems plays a critical role in maintaining the earth's atmosphere: 50% of all oxygen comes from rain forests. By converting carbon into cellulose and releasing oxygen through photosynthesis, forests keep increases in carbon dioxide in check. Throughout past millennia, this has maintained a balance between oxygen and carbon dioxide levels in the air.

However, the consequences of human activities in the rain forests have interrelated and cumulative effects in the environment. Loss of the forests undermines the long-term ability of the earth's atmosphere to neutralize greenhouse gases. Tropical deforestation eliminates our planet's ability to absorb excessive atmospheric carbon since forests absorb and store

atmospheric carbon through photosynthesis. Rain forest loss, and hence increased levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide which contribute to global warming, has an impact on global climate patterns: the warmer temperatures cause melting of the polar ice caps and a rise in sea levels.

More carbon is being released into the atmosphere than ever, but fewer forests exist to remove it. About half the world's forests were removed over a thousand years ago; the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has been increasing steadily since 1850 with changes in the composition of the atmosphere caused by human activities.

In addition to coal, oil, and gas (which emits the most carbon dioxide into the atmosphere), the burning of vegetation in deforestation is the second largest contributing factor to the greenhouse effect with the release of huge amounts of carbon into the atmosphere (including carbon dioxide, methane, ozone, and nitrous oxide) through burning and decaying trees. According to some estimates, 23%–30% of all carbon dioxide in the atmosphere comes from deforestation taking place in Brazil, Indonesia, Burma, Mexico, Thailand, and other tropical countries.

## Causes of Destruction

The economic pressure on the developing world is difficult to reverse, and thus it is difficult to prevent the exploitation of rain forests for economic purposes. Timber extraction by clear-cutting results in wholesale environmental destruction. Destruction of rain forests is mainly attributed to various human activities, including logging, mineral exploration, and setting up plantations of rubber, coffee, and other crops.

Logging and clearing land for farming have proved the biggest causes of deforestation in places like Cameroon, which experienced the fastest deforestation rate in Africa in the late 1990s. Most tropical timber (teak, mahogany, rosewood, ebony, and iroko) consumed in the United States comes from in Indonesia, Malaysia, and other Southeast Asian countries that dominate world trade in tropical hardwoods. A growing timber trade encourages logging, and the majority of the globe's forests do not receive much protection.

Political corruption often feeds the destruction of rain forests, with bribery leading to lucrative logging concessions that generate exceptional profits for private contractors. Government policies have even contributed to excessive forest depletion

with tax and credit subsidies for wood-processing industries.

A direct and immediate process of depredations involves slash-and-burn farming, expansion of ranchland, and unsustainable logging of hardwoods. The uneven distribution of wealth and land is one major factor in the destruction of tropical forests; in the Amazon region, for example, people living on infertile land have traveled to the Amazon basin to practice slash-and-burn agriculture. With the arable land concentrated in the hands of a small, wealthy class, the Brazilian government has encouraged landless peasants to convert the Amazonian forest into small farms and ranches. Rapid population growth often is linked to forest destruction through pressure on new land by small farmers.

Large tracts of rain forest are in danger of being replaced by monocultural plantations of fast-growing, nonindigenous trees for paper-pulp production. Brazil may become one of the world's largest paper-pulp producers at the expense of rain forests. In addition, expansion of ranch land for beef production is responsible for rapid forest conversion, especially in the Amazon and Central America.

Agricultural expansion is not planned in a sustainable fashion, and economic gains have mostly been short-term and concentrated in a few hands. Land development and settlement schemes create monocultures of cash crops. The activities of multinational corporations, engaged in logging, mineral extraction, and agribusiness, emphasize use of chemical fertilizers and specialization in a few crops.

In addition, oil drilling, gas explorations, and mining, large-scale development projects also take their toll on the Amazon's wealth of forests. Exploration and production of oil represents one of the greatest threats to large areas of rain forest in Papua New Guinea, Africa, and the Amazon Basin. Forests are also depleted by the infrastructure, such as dams and highways, which must be built to support these enterprises. Critics have accused multinational corporations and international lending institutions of contributing directly and indirectly to the destruction of the rain forests and indigenous peoples through unregulated investments and tax incentives for projects that contribute to deforestation.

Unmanageable debt, lending policies of international financial institutions, fiscal incentives, and consumerism in affluent societies in Europe and the United States in particular all contribute to rapid deforestation and conversion of tropical land to other purposes. Large-scale, export-oriented commodity production for foreign exchange are driven by the need to service huge debt burdens.

## Efforts to Mitigate Deforestation

The forest supports many communities of indigenous people whose livelihood depends on the sustainability of the forest. Many indigenous systems of knowledge recognize the relationship between the forest and its human inhabitants. Sustainable use of resources for indigenous communities is dictated by religious teachings and sheer necessity and derives from an intimate familiarity with the workings of their habitat. Although the concept of sustainable development has been adopted by some national governments and nongovernmental conservation organizations, it is an ancient way of life for most traditional cultures. Indigenous populations make use of everything they harvest in the forest for food, clothing, medicine, and construction materials, and hence are able to take advantage of their resources without depleting them.

Advocates of rain forest preservation argue that income from extractive reserves set aside for use by their original inhabitants actually exceeds revenues generated from lumber and grazing on the same land. When harvested properly, these reserves will produce sustainable supplies of rubber, nuts, fruits, and other products. While maintaining a sustainable income, the reserves also are used to maintain native species. This system has been successfully implemented with the establishment of forest and lake reserves in Brazil, Peru, and Guatemala. Rubber tappers have been strong advocates for conservation and are helping prevent conversion of forest to pasture and agriculture. Local movements led by internationally known activist Chico Mendes and others attempted to save the Amazonian forests by helping inhabitants make a sustainable living. The oppression of the groups drew strong opposition from human rights, environmental, and indigenous groups around the world.

## Forest Management Programs

Sustainable use can generate a synergy between environment and development. Farmers can be more productive on smaller portions of land by using more effective agro-forestry methods. A variety of crop species and trees produce higher yields with organic farming than the usual methods of commercial agriculture. Though this small-scale farming is not yet widely practiced, it provides a hope for easing pressure on the rain forests. Logged land can be reclaimed to grow plants that support the subsistence of local people and help reduce the pressure on nearby primary forests.

Additionally, lifestyle changes by consumers can reduce demands on rain forest resources. Conserving energy reduces the need to for petroleum drilling. Recycling reduces waste of paper, aluminum, and tin products that, in many cases, come from the rain forests.

## International Efforts

A number of NGOs have engaged in various methods of preserving the rainforest. Some, including the Nature Conservancy and the Rainforest Preservation Foundation, have simply purchased large tracts of rain forest in order to keep them untouched. The Rainforest Preservation Foundation drew international attention by establishing the Mampiraua Sustainable Development Reserve, the largest Brazilian protected area for the conservation of flooded forests. Additionally, nonprofit organizations in Brazil and elsewhere have been established to help the indigenous populations manage the land.

International efforts also include support of the establishment of public preserves of rainforest land. For example, in return for financial assistance, Brazil agreed to preserve 10% of its remaining forest. However, this agreement was undermined by loosening of legal controls on the development of other parts of the Amazon by the Brazilian Congress. Additionally, the positions taken by Western governments and corporations have not been consistent. While the European Union supports rain forest conservation in Brazil, it also has funded the construction and rehabilitation of roads into the forests. The International Tropical Timber Organization also took some initiatives to slow deforestation in Malaysia and other countries, but without cooperation of member states, the measures have not been effective.

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**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Environmentalism; Sustainable Development**

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## RAMOS, FIDEL

Fidel Valdez Ramos, the twelfth president of the Republic of the Philippines, was the first military professional to be president of the country.

Born on March 18, 1928, to Narciso and Angela Ramos in Lingayen, Pangasinan, Ramos joined the military on 1951, where he was Second Lieutenant. He then served in the Philippine Expeditionary Force to Korea in 1952 and in the Philippine Civic Action Group to Vietnam from 1966 to 1968.

During the Marcos era, he headed the Philippine Constabulary, now known as the Philippine National Police, and served as Vice-Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. From February 22, 1986, Ramos, together with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, led the People Power movement that lasted for four days. The movement was successful and Corazon Aquino became president of the country. She at once promoted Ramos to full General and Chief of Staff. When Ramos retired after having served thirty years in the military, Aquino then appointed him as her Secretary of National Defense. In 1991, Ramos declared his candidacy for the presidency.

Endorsed by Aquino, he won the election and was sworn in as president on June 20, 1992. As president, his leadership of the country has been guided by his five planks. These five points are as follows: (1) peace and stability, (2) economic growth and sustainable development, (3) energy and power generation,

(4) environmental protection, and (5) streamlined democracy.

Ramos addressed the problem of the power shortage in 1992 and 1993 by building power plants. Known as Mr. Fix-It, he later built and renovated roads and infrastructure, knowing that this is one of the basic components of development. He also has liberated telecommunications and built the Light Rail Transit (LRT). Because of these renovations, investors have increased their presence in the nation. These developments helped the country's economy recover dramatically; the gross national product grew 5.5% in 1994. *Newsweek* magazine then hailed the Philippines as the world's first "green tiger" country.

But Ramos's crowning achievement was the signing of the peace agreement between the government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), which was led by Nur Misuari. After four years of careful negotiations, the peace agreement was finally signed on September 2, 1996. This treaty finally ended a longstanding uprising in Mindanao.

Toward the end of his term, Ramos wanted to amend the Constitution to allow him a second term. Public protests forced him to drop the demand. He stepped down from office after the end of his term in 1998.

Ramos became the country's third president of Ilocano descent and the first Protestant. He is married to Amelita and has five daughters.

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## RASTAFARIANISM

Rastafarianism is a social movement that arose among poor Jamaicans in 1930 during British colonial rule. As a revitalization movement with religious aspects, it brought hope to the poor people who adopted it and served as both protest and resistance to colonial rule, racism, and class differences that characterized the society at that time. From its inception it has served as an alternative to mainstream Jamaican society, politics, and religion. It became a repository of African values and practices in Jamaican culture. Later, it emerged as a broad cultural

## RASTAFARIANISM

movement that spread beyond Jamaica to the rest of the Caribbean, Canada, England, the United States, and Africa.

The name of the movement derives from Ras Tafari, which means “Duke Tafari,” the title and given name of the Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Selassie I (often referred to as Jah Ras Tafari). Central to the development and meaning of the movement is the belief that Ras Tafari is the black messiah or even the incarnation of *Jah* (God). Rastafarians believe that black people are the descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and therefore the modern incarnation of ancient Israel.

Rastafarians place an emphasis on Pan-African values, and the movement can be seen as a means of retaining important Jamaican cultural elements devalued by the larger society. They see establishment Jamaica and other parts of the world as Babylon, places of oppression, and Ethiopia or Africa as the Promised Land, or even as heaven, to which blacks should return. The idea of repatriation has been a strong sentiment within Rastafarianism from its beginnings. Most scholars acknowledge that the movement is patriarchal in its sentiments and treatment of women. Although some Rasta men have embraced the equality of women, others cite biblical sources for their subordination.

Typical of the Rastafarian way of life are a number of customs and rituals. Rastafarians tend to work and live communally; they wear dreadlocks, long and matted coils of hair; they employ the ritual use of *ganja* (marijuana); they use a special language/dialect as a marker of identity; many Rastas are vegetarians; and they prize self-reliance. Reggae music and its messages of protest and resistance are emblematic of the role that Rastafarianism has always played in the developing world. The lion, which symbolizes Ras Tafari, is a common symbol, along with the symbolic colors of red (blood of martyrs), black (the people), and green (the plant life).

### Colonial Origins of Rastafarianism

In 1930, Jamaica, like the rest of the world, was experiencing the Great Depression, which came in the wake of great changes in the world of Jamaican peasants: the shift from agriculture to wage labor with the coming of industrialization and the shift from rural to urban life. In addition, Jamaica was racially stratified with black peasants at the bottom of the social order and mostly living in poverty. All of these conditions led to the formation of the new movement,

making it nativistic in many of its elements, recapturing traditional practices and values of the Jamaican peasantry that were disrupted with the coming of industry.

Some scholars suggest that Rastafarianism can trace its roots back to the Maroon tradition of Jamaican slavery in which escaped slaves set up autonomous communal enclaves, which served as havens for other escaped slaves and repositories of African culture. And while there is certainly historical continuity in the maintenance of their African heritage and the use of religion as a means of unity, most scholars of the Rastafarian movement see a more direct connection between Rastafarianism and Garveyism, an earlier movement that arose around charismatic leader Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1887–1940) in the 1920s. Although Garvey had more followers in the United States, his movement began in Jamaica.

Garvey formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914. Central to the goals of the UNIA was the unity of blacks everywhere, the reclaiming of the African heritage and repatriation to an African homeland. The flag of the UNIA was red, black, and green, the colors that would later become symbols of the Rastafarians. Ethiopia also was central to Garveyism as was the African homeland. Marcus Garvey has endured as a key figure in Rastafarian thought and is seen by some as a prophet of Ras Tafari.

Rastafarianism had its inception with the crowning of Haile Selassie I in 1930, and the recognition and celebration of this event by ministers who worked in the poorest parts of Kingston constitute the actual beginnings of Rastafarianism. Some believed that he should replace the British monarch as the head of Jamaica. Early leaders of Rastafarianism, such as Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley, and Robert Hinds were all ministers and probable followers of Marcus Garvey. Of these, Leonard Howell may have had the most impact on the movement and its development.

### The Development of Rastafarianism

From the beginning, Rastafarianism posed a threat to the established political, religious, and social order in colonial Jamaica, so much so that its leaders were arrested and jailed with relative frequency. In 1940, Howell purchased land in rural Jamaica and started a commune called The Pinnacle. It was there, living much as the Maroons had, that many of the characteristics of the Rastafarian movement emerged and became fixed.

The 500–1,600 people in Howell's group lived communally, engaging in the growing and sale of a variety of crops. The Pinnacle allowed Rastafarians to recapture part of their lost affection for the land through this small-scale agriculture. It was also during this time that men began letting their hair grow long and began smoking *ganja*. This rural stage of Rastafarianism ended in 1954, when a final raid on the Pinnacle closed it down permanently.

The suppression of the Rastafarians forced them back into urban life, but they maintained many of the characteristics that they had developed in the country. Intensely anti-establishment and anti-authoritarian, they constituted a steady voice of protest against the conditions of colonialism under which they lived and generally refused to become involved with its politics. The movement entered a period during which it took firm root among the poor of Kingston, manifested itself in continual clashes with the establishment, and experienced a couple of abortive attempts at repatriation to Africa. However, changes in both the understanding of Rastafarianism by outsiders and increased activism on the part of Rastas themselves began after Jamaican independence came on August 6, 1962.

### Post-Colonial Resurgence of Rastafarianism

In the 1960s and 1970s Rastafarianism grew and branched out into formal associations, became linked to reggae music, and transformed itself from a local movement to an international one, largely due to its persistent voice against oppression and the state powers that be. The movement was also galvanized by a visit from Emperor Haile Selassie in 1966 and by his later offer of five hundred acres of land in Ethiopia for the repatriation of people of African descent.

After Jamaican independence, Rastas became embroiled in the political machinations of the competing political parties and in the political violence that ensued. These parties adopted Rasta symbolism as a connection to the poorer classes and, in so doing, legitimized Rastafarianism to a certain extent. Some formal religious associations emerged, each embodying a slightly different approach or ideology, such as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church; the Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church; and the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

Much of the controversy that continued to surround Rastafarianism centered on the use of *ganja* and the widespread sale and distribution throughout the Caribbean, whether or not the Rastas were directly involved. The Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church became known for its attempt to establish the legal use of marijuana in the United States. Perhaps the most

important element in the spread of Rastafarianism came from its association with reggae music, which became an internationally recognized form of protest. Its best-known practitioner, Bob Marley (1945–1981) engaged in political activism, much of it on behalf of African causes.

Because of its roots in protest and resistance, Rastafarianism grew from a local to an international phenomenon that took hold in parts of the world where people of African descent struggled to not only maintain their identities and values but to end the racial oppression to which they had been subjugated.

SUSAN LOVE BROWN

**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Coptic Church (Copts); Ethiopia; Jamaica; Pan-Africanism; Peasants, Impact of Development on; Selassie, Emperor Haile; Social Revolution**

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## REFUGEES

### Defining Refugees

The flight of people from situations of danger to places of safety and refuge has been a constant feature

of human history. All world religions contain some notions of asylum and protection, and churches and other religious institutions have frequently provided refuge for people in flight. Throughout history, people have fled either individually, as a family, or as part of a group to escape persecution and acts of violence. In the first half of the twentieth century, however, the large-scale movements of people across international borders within Europe as a result of war and the persecution of minorities, meant that refugees became matters of international politics for the first time.

In the aftermath of World War II, and in an attempt to control the flow of some four hundred thousand mainly Jewish European refugees fleeing the Third Reich and Fascism, the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees came into force. While initially concerned with the post-war European refugee crisis, the Refugee Convention provides the global definition of a refugee and sets out the responsibility of states in an international legal framework that is current today. That framework places an obligation on states and governments to guarantee people fleeing violence and persecution the right to asylum, and the right not to be returned to a country where his or her life or freedom would be threatened (non-refoulement). The United Nations (UN), through its specialised refugee agency, the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), is tasked with assisting governments to meet their Refugee Convention obligations, and provide international protection and assistance to people in flight.

The Refugee Convention defines a “refugee” as any person who:

Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. (Article 1A)

The diplomats who drafted the Refugee Convention anticipated the limitations of their work and by urging states to “apply the Convention beyond its strictly contractual scope, to other refugees in their territory” recognised that the definition adopted was restrictive and would not cover every refugee (Goodwin-Gill 1996:19). In recognition of this, and in response to changed circumstances, the scope of the Refugee Convention was broadened beyond events in pre-1950 Europe by the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees to include refugees anywhere in the world. However, the definition of a refugee has remained unchanged and has been incorporated into most states’ municipal laws. It is on the basis of this definition that the international community decides

which people should be entitled to protection and assistance from the UN, and which should be granted refugee status and the benefits of citizenship in a country of asylum; and conversely, which people should be excluded.

## Recent Refugee History

The postwar response to the refugees in Europe was relatively successful. Most who fled or were forcibly removed from Nazi Germany and other refugees from Fascism, were able to integrate into the refugee receiving countries of Western Europe and North America, and in an era of postwar reconstruction, these new populations found their skills in demand. Beyond Europe, however, following World War II and throughout the period of the Cold War, the refugee situation became far larger and more complex politically, institutionally and practically.

Decolonisation, which brought an end to British, French, and other European empires in the 1950s and 1960s, was associated with a series of national liberation wars. Particularly in Africa with conflicts in Zambia, Zaire, and Guinea-Bissau in the 1960s, but also civil war in Latin America, triggered large exoduses of people within countries and across borders into neighbouring states. These large, unplanned and chaotic movements of people brought about unprecedented political, economic, and humanitarian challenges for countries receiving refugees, and for the international system responding to those crises.

Further conflicts in the 1970s in Mozambique, Ethiopia, Sudan, Afghanistan, and Indo-China, generated even larger movements of people and demanded a proportionate international humanitarian response meeting immediate needs for food, shelter, medical care, and clothing. Solutions also had to be found for refugees in the medium and long-term. Camps created in countries of first asylum provided short-term protection and permitted the provision of assistance, but did not offer a long-term solution. The UN and refugee-receiving governments evolved three main strategies: (1) refugees returning home once conditions had improved, (2) local integration in the country of asylum, and (3) resettlement in another country prepared to take refugees on a permanent basis. The majority of refugees do return home once conflict has ended, and only around 1% find permanent resettlement in Europe, Australia, or North America.

The legal status of refugees fleeing liberation wars and other Cold War era conflicts was unclear. The

majority of refugees was not fleeing individual persecution at the hands of a state, but rather was fleeing generalised violence, insecurity, and poverty. Conflicts in the 1970s and 1980s were complex, involving many parties within states, but also with regional and international involvement. The nature of those conflicts meant that refugees found it increasingly difficult to meet the Refugee Convention requirement to prove individual persecution.

Protracted refugee emergencies in Africa in the 1980s and in Central America resulted in new regional approaches to improve the situation of refugees and to make clear the obligations of states and the international community. The 1984 Cartagena Declaration, for example, signed by Central American governments meeting in Colombia, accepted a broadened definition of refugees to reflect the more complex situation. The new refugee definition included people who fled their country, because their lives, safety, or freedom were threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights, or other circumstances seriously disturbing public order. The Declaration, building on the earlier 1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention on Refugees, was a response to the new phenomena of the sudden mass influx of refugees, and the prolonged nature of conflicts. The new regional approaches also took into account the evolution of international human rights law throughout the 1960s and 1970s, and the relevance of human rights for the refugee response.

Despite expectations to the contrary, the end of the Cold War brought about greater political instability and a sharp increase in internal conflicts. Cross-border refugee influxes and internal displacement as a result of conflict in Northern Iraq, the Great Lakes region of Central Africa, Chechnya, and in Sri Lanka increased refugee numbers from a few million in the 1970s to more than 25 million in the 1990s. Human rights abuses, most notably through “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia and Kosovo, became a deliberate strategy of conflict and the creation of refugees a deliberate war goal. Added to the cross-border population were a fluctuating number (but generally exceeding 7 million) of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The UN, and in particular the UNHCR, recognised that IDPs were people in “refugee-like situations” and UNHCR practice extended its mandate to include IDPs as “people of concern to the organisation.”

The contemporary refugee challenge remains unchanged—how best to respond to sudden movements of people against a backdrop of complex conflicts in a manner that guarantees refugee protection, provides short-term assistance, and offers a durable

solution to their plight. The challenge is made more difficult, however, as refugee receiving countries in Europe, North America, and Australia apply ever more restrictive asylum policies, sometimes blocking asylum seekers access to territory, reducing welfare rights, and making more stringent the determination of asylum requests. Countries of asylum are concerned about the increasing number of people on the move globally, the costs of hosting refugees, the perceived misuse of asylum procedures by “economic migrants,” and security threats. Proposed solutions to improve the management of refugees and general forced migration emergencies, include greater sharing of the “refugee burden” between states, increased funding for UNHCR and other agencies, the addressing of root causes of refugee flight, and the adoption of new legal instruments.

However, the main responsibility for responding to refugee needs and the main burden of costs is borne by countries in the Developing World that host refugee populations for long periods of time. More than 70% of people of concern who fall under the mandate of UNHCR and, therefore, are in need of protection and assistance are in Asia and Africa. Over the past ten years, the quality of asylum for refugees in those countries of first asylum has deteriorated. Wars have spilled over into camps, which have become recruiting grounds for new soldiers, and a resource for the continuation of war. Assistance in camps is in decline, and access across borders between developing countries is increasingly denied. The so-called “CNN effect” has tended to mean that international attention on refugee situations is short-term, resulting in funding shortfalls. Refugee movements, the creation and maintenance of camps, repatriation, and reintegration, pose a range of challenges for security and development in the Developing World.

## Explaining Refugee Movements

In seeking to explain the causes of refugee flight, there is a tendency to over-generalise, and it is often the case in such analysis that cause and effect are confused. While it is typically the case, as UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata stated in 1995, that “refugees are a direct result of conflict, which is often aggravated by poverty and social inequities” (Olaf Palme Memorial Lecture, June 14, Stockholm), academics have sought to uncover the underlying processes that result in poverty and conflict in any given situation.

It is clear that the immediate factors that precipitate refugee flight are diverse. For example, in the



1990s they ranged from violent struggles over the control of the illegal diamond market in Sierra Leone, the forced resettlement of villages with the intent of ethnically realigning populations, famine and drought, or what appears to be ethnic conflict between rival groups in a situation of resource scarcity. A number of theories have been advanced to explain forced migration episodes by making linkages between identified underlying processes and forced migration.

Aristide Zolberg (Zolberg 1983; Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo 1989) contends that mass refugee flows are a likely result of nation-state formation, which is frequently accompanied by political crises, the generation of victimised groups, and interstate wars. Together, Zolberg argues, these processes lead to persecution and the creation of three “types” of refugee. The *targeted* refugees who are singled out for violent treatment because of their membership in a particular group; *activists* who are the dissenters and rebels forced to flee the regimes to which they are opposed; and the *victims* who are accidentally caught in a violent situation.

Anthony Richmond, however, believes that this categorisation is insufficient to account for different behaviour under similar violent conditions, or for the compelling circumstances inducing migration which are not necessarily “violent” in the physical sense, but which are nonetheless extremely coercive (1993:9). Richmond has developed a “multivariate typology of reactive migration,” and a “systems model” that seek to explain the relationship between predisposing factors, structural constraints, precipitating events, and enabling circumstances in a given refugee movement.

In Richmond’s model, predisposing factors increasing the probability of “reactive migration” (refugee flight) are similar to those identified by Zolberg, and include extreme inequalities in wealth, new state formation, decolonisation and ethnic nationalism, the global military-industrial complex, and processes of economic, political and cultural globalisation. Structural factors constraining the movement of refugees include border enforcement and immigration control. Precipitating events include sudden changes in the economic, political, social, or environmental situation through for example genocidal programmes or internal revolution. Finally, enabling circumstances may include government policies that facilitate migration, and access to resources to organise flight.

Richmond’s multivariate model goes some way to identifying the multiple events and factors that combine at any given time to create conditions in which refugee movements are likely. However, refugee flight continues to be sporadic and unpredictable. Not all situations of violent social change, extreme poverty,

and repressive government generate refugee flows—South Africa, for example, was noticeable in the 1980s and early 1990s for the very low levels of cross-border refugee movement despite the considerable instability. Sri Lanka, on the other hand, during the same period generated more than five hundred thousand refugees, mainly Tamils from the North and East of the island who sought asylum in Europe and North America.

A number of authors and international organisations such as the World Bank make causal linkages between processes of underdevelopment, poverty, and refugees. J.K. Galbraith, for example, argues that the more widespread occurrence of political oppression and persecution in developing countries is part and parcel of the vicious cycle of poverty. It is certainly the case that the majority of refugees in transit or in camps in developing countries are drawn from the poorest segments of society. It also is the case that countries generating the largest number of refugees are those with the lowest per capita gross domestic product, most notably Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, and Afghanistan. Poverty alone, however, does not generate refugees, it is generally thought that only when other factors combine with poverty, for example, drought and famine, conflict, repressive government, and human rights violations, that large-scale refugee movements are likely to occur.

## Refugees: Development and Humanitarianism

The current international response to refugee crises is sometimes criticised for addressing the symptoms and ignoring the root causes of forced population displacement. The main components of the humanitarian response to forced migration emergencies include, temporary protection in refugee camps, the meeting of basic needs through provision of food, water, sanitation, health care and shelter, resettlement in third countries, and the repatriation of refugees to their countries of origin. These strategies, however, are frequently ameliorative measures that provide no long-term solutions to the problems of refugees or for the countries that generate refugees. In extreme cases, international assistance, for example, through the creation of insecure camps, the providing of food aid to combatants, repatriation programmes without safeguards for protection and livelihood re-establishment, may even exacerbate the conditions that precipitated flight in the first place. Others argue that that politically-driven humanitarian assistance “does harm” by delaying the resolution of conflicts, and commonly cite the role of aid in “sustaining a genocidal leadership

and its supporters in the refugee camps of Eastern Zaire” (in 1994) and by so doing dramatically increase the vulnerability of refugees.

In a bid to improve the response to refugee crises, there have been calls for a substantial increase in development aid to countries with refugee populations. Both to assist countries of origin and countries playing host to refugees, particularly in areas of poverty alleviation, education, good governance, and respect for human rights, and health care. Correlations are drawn between the reduction in official development assistance (aid from Western nations to poorer less developed nations) over the past ten years, and the increase in refugee numbers during the same period. However, others are more skeptical, arguing that “pro-poor growth” strategies pursued by donor governments in partnership with less developed countries since the late-1980s have failed to break the cycle of poverty and are unlikely to impact positively on the conditions that create forced migrants.

Elsewhere, it is argued that processes of globalisation, particularly through international trading arrangements that benefit advanced industrialised nations driven by the telecommunications revolution, have actively disadvantaged less developed countries, excluding them from the advantages of the global market and worsening the conditions that lead to oppressive government, poverty, and conflict. Lobbyists from the nongovernmental sector tend to argue that too much globalisation is the cause of deepening underdevelopment. While organisations such as the World Trade Organisation and the World Bank argue conversely that greater integration and inclusion of less developed economies in the global economy is the solution to poverty and good governance, and will lead to a reduction in refugee flows.

Agencies engaged in humanitarian assistance to refugees initiated a number of reforms in the 1990s to improve the situation of refugees. These included improved coordination between the main players leading to a speedier and more relevant response, targets for the quantity and quality of material assistance were agreed upon, and the increased involvement of displaced people in assistance operations was promoted.

A more significant development, however, since the end of the Cold War that has significantly shaped the response to forced migration emergencies has been the readiness of UN Security Council member states and other states to undertake humanitarian operations in ongoing civil wars for substantially humanitarian objectives. The first of these operations took place in April 1991 to create Safe Havens for displaced and persecuted Kurds in Northern Iraq, later interventions included the January 1992 creation of UNPROFOR in the former Yugoslavia and the December 1992

deployment of US troops in Somalia as part of the United Task Force operation. However, the success of these operations was extremely limited, and the beneficial impacts on refugees and IDPs minimal.

Post-Cold War humanitarian intervention, however, has proven to be selective, marked by a reluctance to intervene to halt human rights abuses in certain countries (for example, in Indonesia or Chechnya), and preferring a policy of refugee containment (that is, maintaining refugee populations close to the country of origin). In addition, poor countries perceive the international community as failing to share the burden imposed by refugees, whether in the form of compensation for impacts on the host areas or in ensuring that refugee camps include only bonafide refugees. The principle of voluntary repatriation is also being increasingly overridden: twenty countries expelled refugees from their territory during 1996. The starkest case was the repatriation of 1.2 million Rwandan refugees from Zaire and Tanzania in late 1996. The consequence according to the Overseas Development Institute in London, is that civilians fleeing conflict are now much more likely to remain within their own country than to cross the border as refugees. The September 11 attacks on the United States, and US-led military action in Afghanistan in 2001 and 2002, and the changed World Order will once again reshape “conflict management” and the “conditional approach” to intervention. The implications for forced migrants, however, are unclear.

## Refugees and Human Rights

Over the past decade, there has been an attempt, initiated in part by the UN, to strengthen the international legal framework for the protection of refugees. One initiative seeks to integrate international human rights law, refugee law, and humanitarian law into a comprehensive single body of law. Proponents point to the commonalities between the three historical streams, notably the shared roots in the aftermath of World War II and a determination that the Holocaust should not happen again; and common values reflected in a commitment to the inalienability of rights, the dignity and worth of the individual, and freedom and equality. It is argued that such integration would strengthen refugee policy and practice by making clear states legal obligations to refugees, and the rights to which refugees are entitled. Others are concerned, however, that in the absence of a fully-functioning, trusted, and independent judicial system in many developing countries, a rights-based approach would not be effective.

## The Refugee Experience

As refugee numbers have grown in the 1980s and 1990s, so academic and literary interest also has grown. Studies of the refugee experience have tended to focus on the impact on individuals and families or being uprooted from one's home and familiar surroundings, the risks and dangers of flight, and the difficult transitions involved in creating a new home. The refugee experience has provided a source of inspiration for authors, poets, and artists.

Academic work has focused on the success or otherwise in the "adaptation" of refugees and refugee communities in their place of resettlement. Adaptation relates mainly to refugees' participation in the economic, political, and social life of their host communities. It includes questions about social identity in the new setting, the retaining of language, and the continuation or discontinuation of values, traditions, and social habits characteristic of their culture. Particular attention has been paid to understanding the social worlds of refugees, which comprise the dense networks of social relationships in which they are enmeshed, the social forces that impinge on them, and the changes to these worlds brought about by displacement and resettlement.

For anthropologists in particular, the experiences of refugees have contributed to knowledge and understanding of the impact of rapid change, culture clash, the social construction of boundaries, conflicts between generations, and livelihood concerns in both the developing and developed world. A less developed area of research examines the psychological costs associated with forced uprooting. This includes attempts to better understand the significance of trauma arising from the direct experience of violence where refugees are either witnesses or participants to violence and the effects of such exposure on women and children, and the development of new approaches to psychological support.

### Refugees: Burden or Benefit?

The environmental impact of some refugee camps, reception centres and settlement schemes impose serious costs on developing countries playing host to refugee populations and have resulted in opposition to refugee influxes from certain countries and host communities. Camps with extremely high population density are frequently located in marginal or ecologically sensitive areas, and without environmental management, they rapidly become depleted as a result of tree

clearing for firewood and shelter construction. Whole lakes have been drained for camp consumption, and other water sources permanently contaminated. As attitudes towards the environment changed in the 1990s, so efforts were made to minimise the negative impact of refugee populations. Particular attention is now paid to the improved management of shelter construction, water and sanitation provision, and the development of new cooking stoves and fuel types.

Concerns also have been expressed by populations and states playing host to refugees about the socioeconomic impact of sudden and large-scale refugee influxes. Host communities frequently contend that refugee populations are temporary and unstable and do not share the indigenous population's commitment to the land and its natural resources. There is fear that refugee populations pursue short-term livelihood strategies and unsustainable resource use methods that degrade the land. It is feared that foreign aid used to establish and maintain camps inflates prices for all goods, and introduces a reliance on expensive imported produce. Development country governments are concerned that international aid is insufficient to cover recurrent costs of providing for refugee populations, and there is a danger that the sudden introduction of foreign NGOs creates alternative structures of government. Security concerns arise when refugee camps become a site for the continuation of a conflict and a recruiting ground for combatants—particularly where this leads to instability among the host society.

However, there also are examples where refugees have been able to play a more positive role in the local development process. The UNHCR cites the case during the 1980s, for example, where the large number of Ugandan refugees who fled to southern Sudan were able to contribute to a massive expansion in the area of land under cultivation. As a result, a number of refugee settlements that had initially been dependent on international assistance were soon able to provide the commodities which the World Food Programme needed for its projects in other parts of the country. More recently, the UNHCR claims, the presence of Mozambican refugees in southeastern Zambia also had many positive consequences for the local economy.

### Other Forced Migrants

#### *"Development Refugees"*

In academic analysis, and less so in policy discussions, there are attempts to consider the whole range of circumstances that create different types of forced

population displacement, interconnections between them, and how best to respond to them. This recognition of different domains of forced displacement has generated new categories of refugees, “environmental refugees,” “disaster refugees,” and “development refugees.”

The second largest group of forcibly displaced people in the world behind Refugee Convention defined refugees comprises people uprooted to make way for planned infrastructure development projects in developing countries. In 1994, the World Bank, following a review of World Bank-funded projects that involved the involuntary resettlement of populations, estimated that between 9 million and 10 million people are displaced each year as a direct result of hydro schemes (dams, reservoirs, and so forth) and road and other transport construction. The actual number is far greater when one adds to that total the numbers of people displaced by urban projects (such as slum clearance programmes and industrial developments), conservation programmes (for example, game parks and forestry initiatives), and schemes to promote the commercialisation of agriculture. Many more are indirectly displaced by planned development initiatives (for example, fisherfolk living downstream of a newly created dam which diverts rivers and removes livelihood opportunities).

While “development refugees” have not crossed an international border and are not considered “people of concern” to the UN, evidence suggests that the majority of people displaced and involuntarily resettled by planned development share many similarities with refugees and IDPs. Michael M. Cernea (2000) argues that the experience of involuntary resettlement is cumulated deprivation leading to multifaceted and persistent poverty. Cernea’s Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model suggests that the key impoverishment risks confronting development displacees are associated with the loss of land, jobs, housing, food security, and common property resources, and these losses are exacerbated by morbidity and mortality, social disarticulation, and marginalisation.

Further seminal longitudinal research by Thayer Scudder (1993) and Elizabeth Colson among people displaced by the construction of the Kariba Dam on the border between Zambia and Zimbabwe, reveals negative psychological, physiological, and sociocultural impacts over a number of generations. These include the undermining of community institutions and leaders, trauma, grief and anxiety, and declining health.

The numbers of people displaced by planned development is likely to increase dramatically over the coming decades as the need grows for irrigation, electricity, and infrastructure necessary to satisfy the demands of growing and increasingly urbanising

populations. At the same time, there is likely to be increased organised opposition to large projects on the grounds of environmental damage. As water scarcity becomes an issue of political tension between a number of countries (that is, Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt; Turkey and neighbouring countries who share the Euphrates River) and directly affecting minority populations in sensitive border areas, future hydro-schemes will be highly contested.

### *‘Environmental Refugees’*

Since the early 1980s, evidence has been accumulating to suggest that environmental change leading to natural resource depletion, particularly land degradation, is creating conditions in certain areas of developing countries that are hazardous for human habitation. As a result, people are leaving these areas and without alternative land for resettlement, enter a refugee-like situation and require assistance. The number of people who could be categorised as “environmental refugees” is difficult to estimate. Some reports predict there will be as many as 25 million environmentally induced forced migrants by 2020. Kibreab, however, argues that while environmental change may be one of the reasons for mass displacement, particularly in arid and semi-arid areas, displacement is more often a result of deliberate political actions that remove the capacity of people to manage predictable periods of environmental change, than the degraded conditions alone.

Recent scientific understanding has shown that emissions of greenhouse gases from developed countries have risen steeply over the past three decades, and international action, such as the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, have sought to reduce emissions and halt global warming. It is thought that global warming is contributing to the creation of environmental refugees as a result of more and increasingly erratic rainfall, and an increase in the frequency and severity of tropical storms. Such changed conditions directly threaten tens of millions of people who live in low-lying coastal areas and are dependent on coastal resources for their livelihoods.

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**See also Migration; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)**

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## RELIGION

Religion has had a significant and profound effect on development since the end of World War II. Consequently, churches have been key players within developing nations and civil society in a Western context, and accordingly made efforts to further their religious intentions. As political regimes changed, democracies emerged, and development occurred, the churches throughout the world have responded to meet the challenges faced in the new societies. Development occurs, and democracies arise out of any number of historical and cultural contexts that pose a unique set of circumstances for every developing nation and thus for the responding religious establishments. While some religious movements and churches have sought the betterment of their communities through peace, justice, and equality, others have done their fair share of contributing to, legitimating, and sustaining authoritarian and repressive political regimes. What is important is the commonality of responses by the churches and religious organizations, not the specifics of the processes of democratization and development, since every country that is developing does so

in different ways and under different political, economic and social conditions that cannot transcend the contexts in which change is occurring.

Religion and the churches have been involved in the political arena and in situations of change throughout the ages. The examples are numerous and continue into the modern era. Some churches have been prominent in liberation struggles throughout the world, responding to the political reality, from the Civil Rights Movement in the United States to liberation movements against authoritarianism in Latin America, communism in Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, and colonialism and despotism in Africa.

## Religion and a Developing Society

From a religious perspective, church leaders throughout the world have argued for the necessity of churches' involvement in politics. Kyril, the Archbishop of Smolensk and Kaliningrad as a representative of world church leader believes that the churches must not refrain from participating in lawmaking and the political process. They must formulate positions on issues that affect society, including: individual and social morality, politics, economics, ecology, culture, education, international relations, the rearing of children, marriage, and much more.

Churches are important actors in transitioning societies and can be effective in responding to newly emerging democratic civil societies. They have a unique access to the grassroots and can help in building a political culture of tolerance, reconciliation, and democratic values.

During periods of transition, the churches redefine their missions in response to the change occurring in the political, social, and economic contexts. This redefinition of mission and the dilemmas that arise from change have been prevalent among churches and religious ideologies throughout the world as they find themselves in changing and developing political situations. While transitioning political realities, historically, have not always led to democratization, emerging democracies (either liberal or popular, with varying degrees of success) are the order of the second half of the twentieth century. Within this democratization context, distinct according to a nation's history and cultures, some common global responses from the churches can be discerned.

As realities change, churches tend to experience a "crisis of identity," in which they are compelled to respond to a new situation with innovative political, social, and economic analysis, at the same time considering the appropriateness of their own pastoral

functions. With democratization, there often is an increase in secularization. With this, churches are confronted with a weakening of their influence and must address issues that accompany a more open, free, and competitive society, all the while preserving their constituencies. Interconnected with the churches' "crisis of identity" and an increase in secularization is their concern for the "common good." As the rich/poor, North/South divide increases, as ethnic wars continue, the environment is dissipated, and the poor struggle to be heard, churches are looked upon to provide a moral voice and sense of social responsibility. Further, they provide a civil society venue for debate and resources as democracies emerge and societies require reconstructing and reconciliation from a destructive past.

## Latin America

The majority of the literature dealing with the role of religion and church change in development comes from Latin American analyses of the relationship between religion and politics. One predominate theme emerges from Latin America. As the churches have responded, specifically to democratization, they strive to maintain their position in society and their influence among their members. They do this, however, in a variety of ways that are contingent upon and intricately interwoven with the historical and cultural context in which the churches function.

For example, as democracies emerged in Venezuela and Colombia in the early 1960s, the Catholic Church in these two countries responded differently because of the position and influence it held within each society. Venezuela is one of the more secular societies in Latin America. Here, the Church, historically poor and weak, consequently has had less influence on the populace than the Church in neighboring countries. It has been reluctant to alienate potential members by engaging in the political debates that are prevalent in a democracy, thus remaining focused on its internal spiritual and pastoral functions. The Catholic Church in Colombia, on the other hand, traditionally very powerful with a broad network of organizations and a great tradition of leadership had been at the forefront of innovative change in relation to the democratic political reality. It has acted in partnership with the government to further democratic values. The churches in both countries, however, work to build better communities as reflects their social and cultural contexts through pastoral activities. This has meant everything from striving for the consolidation of democracy, unifying the structures of the churches, and

working to alleviate the pressures of the poor and oppressed, all the while dealing with the questions of its identity, secularization and the common good.

Throughout Latin America a number of divergent responses with the churches have occurred due to democratization and development. One such response, expressed by the most conservative and corporatist social and political elements of various Latin American populations and supported by similar elements within the Catholic Church, has sought to establish a social and political order suffused with Christian principles in the name of Christendom. An alternative response to the conservatism of the Christendom advocates is that of Neo-Christendom, manifested by the Christian Democratic political parties. This element within the churches seeks to reform the world while giving more autonomy to the laity, relying on the laity to help the churches fulfill their missions, as opposed to relying on the sole authority of the priesthood.

A more radical response within the churches as they struggle for democracy is found in Liberation Theology, which brings together human and salvation history with the temporal and spiritual dimension of life. This response emphasizes the need for participation, involvement, and action in the here and now, while revealing the social and political implication of the gospel to the oppressed. It is a response to authoritarianism, springing from the churches' efforts to bring about a just and democratic society. Finally, those churches that hold the Evangelical-Pastoral position, in the "center" between the Christendom/Neo-Christendom and Liberation Theology emphasize the unity of the churches, building community and fraternity, revitalizing the message of the gospel, and disengaging from partisan politics in favor of a more general denunciation of injustice. The churches in Latin America have responded to democratization or the move towards democracy away from authoritarianism in all of these ways. In essence, these responses are manifested in the churches' pastoral actions, which strive for a community in the interest of the common good.

## Europe

Shifting focus from the Catholic Church in Latin America to a mixture of Protestant and Catholic churches in Europe, from countries that are highly religious to those that are more secular, similar patterns of change can be found. The power and influence of mainline churches fluctuates as the political and social reality of a nation changes. In Germany, for

example, the mainline churches held prominent and influential positions in the first decade after World War II as democracy emerged and developed after the fall of fascism. In the 1960s and 1970s, value changes in the people's priorities toward personal and social development left the influence of the churches in decline, especially in the political arena. The churches have responded to the increased secularization inherent in a democracy by going into a self-preservation mode while maintaining their influence in the traditional rites of passage (baptism, marriage, and death).

Contrary to the churches' limited position in West Germany, the churches in the former East Germany are held in high esteem by the citizens, in part due to their contribution to the opposition movement leading up to and during the 1989 revolution, which resulted in democratic transition. Nevertheless, these churches have experienced a period of disillusionment and a subsequent reorientation of their mission. This redefinition of mission, in a period of democratic transition, includes the acknowledgement that the churches have a continuing responsibility to be a witness in the public dimension (political, social and economic) and strive for reconciliation of the victims of the changing reality.

Other examples from Europe provide insight into the role that religions and churches can have when faced with changing political and social realities. In the Netherlands after World War II, with the ravages of fascism and the rebuilding of society, the value of democracy was strongly asserted in the churches. Later, as the society became more secularized and church membership declined, the importance of the laity in shaping religious life was emphasized. In Italy, reconstruction was a priority after World War II. The Catholic Church struggled between endorsing modernization and maintaining traditional religious values, while placing a moral expectation on society that economic and cultural opportunities would be promoted, along with a guarantee of democracy. Yet the church in Italy has been caught between taking definitive stands on social issues and losing political support. It has responded to the political reality by compromising itself on political problems and by adopting an attitude of moderation regarding development. As a result, it has isolated itself and is judged more for its actions than its statement of morals and beliefs.

While these individual cases provide examples within specific democratic contexts, they do not address religious and church responses to the changing reality in contemporary Europe: as the Common Market and the European Community become consolidated; as democratic structures are extended to

the international arena; and as the nations in the former Eastern bloc struggle to become more developed and democratized. From meetings held by the European Ecumenical Assembly in May 1989 (the first time since the Reformation that delegates from all the Christian churches on the continent met to examine the contemporary reality of their position within society), and the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in August 1992, a number of themes emerge as the churches respond to the changing political reality in Europe.

Functioning within a secular social context where the churches suffer from weak influence and the non-involvement of the population, there is the recognition for continuing conversion efforts—maintaining and increasing church memberships. In an effort to accomplish this, the churches realize they must continue in social, economic, political and cultural analysis, developing positions on economic justice, peace and security, ecology and the environment, and immigrants and refugees. They must be a voice of brotherly love and justice for the “other”—the Third World and oppressed whom Europe continues to tower above. They must examine themselves while defining the terms of the public debate on issues of democracy and social morality, acknowledging that what is good for civil society is also good for the churches.

## Africa

As with Latin America and Europe, the churches and religious movements throughout Africa have responded to political change and development, as independence movements succeeded, colonialism ended, and democracies emerged, in specific ways that are unique to their historical and cultural experiences. Generally speaking, churches throughout Africa responded to the oppressive political reality and the hopes for democratic justice with the theological doctrines of inculturation (African cultural rejuvenation) and liberation (freedom from oppression). While emphasizing different things, these are simply two names for the same process—mainly the empowerment of the black African in the face of oppression and domination, calling on spiritual and cultural aspects of the past and looking with hope toward the future. These religious movements, being affected by and contributing to the political reality, have been manifested within society in a number of different ways.

The first manifestation of church participation within civil and political society is dependent on the degree to which a religious movement or organization seeks ideological purity. In other words, high levels

of ideological purity and focus on sectarian customs and rituals will lead to a low degree of political involvement. Whereas religious groups that are multifaceted and open to diversity are more inclined to be activist and politically involved. Those religious groups with a greater commitment to ideological purity, with charismatic leaders, with closed recruitment patterns and which place a heavy emphasis on one particular issue or custom, will be less likely to become involved in political activity.

A second manifestation of African church involvement in society, responding to the political reality while striving for democracy, is one of accommodation. Succumbing to the White-dominant colonial regime in the hopes that eventually it would fall in the face of pleas for Christian morality. This describes the mainline English-speaking churches, yet the tendency toward accommodation had been embarked upon with considerable ambivalence, especially in the church environments that were predominately African, as opposed to European. In such churches, the Africans have struggled to maintain their equality in the face of White domination, claiming that all men are created equal before God. They have consistently refused to accommodate the political regime in their own oppression. Unfortunately, African accommodation and pleas for Christian morality and democratic justice, repeatedly fell upon deaf ears, often meeting with increased repression.

A third manifestation is seen in considering the differences between institutional (established) and independent and indigenous churches and how they engaged in political action in response to political change. Institutional churches, those arising from the European missions, are thought to be more accommodationist, working for change within the established power structure. Independent churches, those that have severed ties with the European mission churches and exist independently from the establishment, are thought to be more revolutionary and liberationist in their beliefs. The African indigenous churches, those with primarily traditional African religious elements but exhibiting many characteristics of Christianity, tend to be isolationist in their behavior—not engaging in the secular realm, but nevertheless political by being pastorally active.

### Religion's Involvement in Change

These examples show that religion, as embodied by churches have effected and are affected by development and political, social, and economic change in a variety of ways depending on the context in which

they function. A society that is developing and transitioning to democracy will experience more freedoms and, consequently, more forces competing for a voice, a condition inherent to democracy. In changing political contexts, churches either choose to continue to have a political voice or retreat into a purely spiritual realm, or function somewhere in between, as they grapple with the myriad of social issues that arise in a more open, modern, developing and democratic society. Some religions and their corresponding churches, as seen here, have positively contributed to development through the advocacy of peace, equality, and liberation. However, it is important to remember that others have often failed to live up to the ideals of justice and peace, while acting as coconspirators with the political elite to maintain authoritarian power structures.

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**See also Buddhism; Christianity; Christians in the Middle East; Coptic Church (Copts); Evangelical Protestantism; Hinduism; Islam; Islamic Fundamentalism; Judaism; Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Liberation Theology; Roman Catholic Church; Sufism; Tutu, Bishop Desmond; World Council of Churches; Wojtyła, Karol (Pope John Paul II); Wyszyński, Cardinal Stefan; Zionism**

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## REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA (FARC)

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (known by its Spanish acronym, FARC) traces its origins to a power-sharing compromise between Colombia's two main political parties in the early 1960s. Although the agreement ended more than a decade of political violence, Fidel Castro's nationalist revolution in Cuba inspired the formation of the FARC in 1964, and its intellectual founders were loyal followers of the Colombian Communist Party. Communists and dissident liberals originally constituted the organization, but the leadership now insists that it represents the rural poor against the influence of wealthy landowners and the United States over natural resources and national politics. The FARC is governed by a secretariat, led by Manuel Marulanda, and several senior military commanders. It consists of about eighteen thousand armed members. In FARC's early years, its guerrilla founders concentrated on expanding their bases of support in rural areas where centuries of colonization, exploitation and forced migration had impoverished the peasant population. Its main areas of operation were the southern provinces of Caquetá, Putumayo, Huila, Cauca, and Tolima, in the central regions of Magdalena Medio and Santander, and along the Antioquia-Córdoba northern border. FARC presently operates mostly in the jungles of the southeast and the plains at the base of the Andes mountain range, though it now includes several urban fronts.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the FARC was one of several guerrilla groups that included the National Liberation Army, the Popular Liberation Army, and the M-19. Though torn by internal disputes in the late 1970s, resulting in a diminished military capacity, the FARC received funding from the Soviet Union and support from Cuba during the Cold War and now maintains offices in Cuba, Mexico, and various European capitals. Experts blame FARC for 10%–15% of the approximately 3,500 civilian deaths that occur yearly in Colombia's civil war, which has killed some two hundred thousand people since 1964.

From 1982 to 1984, the government of conservative Belisario Betancur negotiated a ceasefire with the FARC and two other guerrilla groups. Hundreds of political prisoners, including many guerrilla leaders, received amnesty. In March 1984, the FARC signed a peace accord with the National Peace Commission and renounced the armed struggle. However, a paramilitary movement formed to break the ceasefire while Betancur took action against drug traffickers. These factors ended the peace process in 1986 when the guerrillas retreated to withstand the force unleashed

against them by the drug traffickers and right-wing paramilitary groups. By the mid 1990s, paramilitaries and drug traffickers had penetrated FARC-controlled areas of coca cultivation in the south, buying land, recruiting peasants, and organizing campaigns of terror and massacres against the civilian population.

Over the course of the 1990s, the civil war shifted from an ideological battle against a Marxist insurgency to a major conflict over control of territory and the drug market. In 1998, just before his inauguration as president, Conservative Andrés Pastrana visited FARC leader Manuel Marulanda to explore the possibility of peace talks. Pastrana agreed to withdraw army troops from five towns in guerrilla-controlled territory ceding an area twice the size of New Jersey. However, in February 2002, Pastrana ended peace negotiations after a plane hijacking and kidnapping of a Colombian senator from the aircraft and ordered the military to retake FARC-controlled zones. Alvaro Uribe Vélez won a landslide victory in Colombia's May 2002 presidential election by promising to crack down on the FARC. In August 2002, the FARC launched a mortar attack on the Presidential Palace where the new president was being inaugurated.

With the fall of the notorious Medellín and Cali cartels, the FARC gained greater access to lucrative sources of income in coca and heroin. The FARC generates income of \$200 million to \$400 million annually from the illegal drug trade, in addition to profits from kidnappings, extortion schemes, and unofficial taxes that it collects in the countryside for protection against government raids and right-wing paramilitary forces and the provision of social services. Poor farmers began to grow coca in neglected areas of the country under the protection of the FARC. However, some peasants complained of being ordered by local guerrilla commanders to grow coca and sell their harvests to a guerrilla-controlled monopoly. Colombian traffickers eclipsed their competitors in Peru and Bolivia but also captured part of the heroin market from interests in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan who deal in the United States market.

The Clinton administration proposed a \$1.6 billion military aid package for Colombia in January 2000 to eradicate the cultivation of the coca plant and eliminate the alliance between the FARC leadership and the producers of cocaine and heroin. In response, the FARC launched armed resistance in the southern department of Putumayo where the US anti-drug offensive was centered and demanded a halt to the so-called Plan Colombia's military component. The FARC has carried out dramatic ransom kidnappings of wealthy landowners, foreign tourists, and

prominent international and domestic officials. For example, the FARC kidnapped a presidential candidate, Ingrid Betancourt, who was traveling in guerrilla territory in February 2002. In March 1999, the FARC killed three American missionaries working in Colombia. The US State Department placed the FARC on its list of foreign terrorist organizations during this period.

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**See also** *Guerrilla Warfare; Northern South America: History and Economic Development*

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## REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE

The Argentinian Revolutionary Army of the People, or the *Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo* (ERP) was the militant arm of the Revolutionary Workers' Party, or the *Partido Revolucionario del Trabajo* (PRT), and the most active guerrilla group in Argentina in the early 1970s. Inspired by the success of the Cuban Revolution, Latin American guerrilla movements of this period grew in response to the instability of their governments and the effects of their faltering economies. From the late 1960s through the 1970s, there were more than a dozen guerrilla groups operating in Argentina alone.

The PRT-ERP shared in the belief that violent armed struggle could bring socialism to state power, envisioning a government responsive to working-class needs and liberated from North American imperialism. Yet the ERP distinguished itself from other guerrilla organizations by the level of its military development, by maintaining a separate political party that directed its armed struggle, and by its specific revolutionary principles, manifest in the organization's slogan: For the working class, Latin American and socialist revolution.

The PRT was founded in 1965 through a union of the IndoAmerican Popular Revolutionary Front, a socialist organization that both supported local indigenous sugar workers' protests and was influenced by a vision of Latin American revolutionary unity, and the Worker's Word, a Trotskyist organization with ties to the Peronist Resistance. In 1968, PRT leader Mário Roberto Santucho cited the need to move from theoretical discussions to more concrete practices and formed the branch of PRT that later organized the ERP as a "popular army." These early influences on the PRT-ERP marked its most salient characteristics: a Marxist focus on and incorporation of the working class, an internationalism that led to continent-wide collaboration (concretized in the Latin American Revolutionary Coordinating Council), an anti-intellectual tendency and emphasis on militant action, and a conviction in the need for armed struggle to replace capitalist structures with socialism.

Created in 1970, the ERP began its armed tactics with small actions for provisioning and "propaganda actions" meant to popularize its cause. In 1973, it changed its strategy and began attacking Argentinian Army bases and in 1975 fought in the largest military-guerrilla battle in Argentina at Mount Chingolo. With this armed activity, the ERP became more popularly recognizable than its political party, the PRT. The ERP's guerrilla actions, combined with the organizing work of the PRT, led to the height of the organization's membership in 1975, when the PRT-ERP counted five thousand to six thousand militants.

The PRT-ERP provided dispossessed and working-class Argentinians with a revolutionary and international alternative to the widespread populist Peronism. But military response to guerilla groups led to the annihilation of the ERP's armed ranks by 1976. Mário Roberto Santucho and other PRT-ERP directors were killed by the army in July 1976. Yet despite the virtual elimination of the militant left by the time of the 1976 coup, the military *junta* in power used the threat of rebel groups as a pretext for the brutal violence and ruthless repression that lasted from 1976 to 1983 and became known as the Dirty War.

CRISTINA CIELO

**See also** *Argentina; Guerrilla Warfare; Marxism; Montoneros; Perón, Juan Domingo*

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## REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR)

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (Frente Democrático Revolucionario, FDR) was the largest group representing the political left in El Salvador during the 1980s. On April 1, 1980, the FDR was established by the Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses (Coordinadora Revolucionaria de las Masas, CRM), an umbrella group representing a plethora of leftist political groups that included the social democrats. Until the presidential elections of 1988, however, political groups were excluded from the electoral process. Leftist political parties had been repressed since the late 1970s by right-wing paramilitary groups supporting the military dictatorship. By the mid-1980s, political violence had declined considerably, which allowed for greater political mobilization on the left.

In October 1980, the FDR joined the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional–FMLN), a militant leftist guerilla group. The new political/military alliance, the FMLN-FDR, represented five guerilla groups: the People's Revolutionary Army (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, ERP), the Popular Liberation Forces (Fuerzas Populares de Liberación, FPL), the Armed Forces of National Resistance (Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Nacional, FARN), the Communist Party of El Salvador (Partido Comunista de El Salvador, PCES), and the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores Centroamericanos, PRTC).

The FMLN-FDR was a Marxist-Leninist movement with a pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban orientation. They committed themselves to seizing power through a two-pronged military strategy of economic sabotage and a prolonged guerilla war of attrition based on a combination of Maoist, Vietnamese, and Guevarist principles. The FMLN-FDR sought to entrench its rural guerilla forces, while simultaneously developing urban support bases in preparation for overthrowing the Salvadoran government. From 1980 to 1982, politically-related violence in El Salvador increased dramatically as the FMLN-FDR increased its activities. The FMLN-FDR used kidnapping, torture, and murder to achieve its agenda. The guerilla groups armed their forces with US-made weapons captured from the Salvadoran army.

The FMLN-FDR focused international attention on El Salvador and became a formidable force both politically and militarily. In August 1981, the governments of France and Mexico recognized the FDR as a representative political force and called for a negotiated settlement between the rebels, and the government. FDR representatives carried on a political campaign abroad, while the FMLN forces continued their organizational and operational efforts in the field.

As the FMLN-FDR began to grow in strength and size, with the assistance of Nicaragua and Cuba, the Salvadoran army became less able to control the guerilla groups. The FMLN-FDR, however, was put on the defensive in 1984 when the United States sent substantial military aid to support the Salvadoran Army. On January 16, 1992, the administration of President Alfredo Cristiani (of ARENA, the right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance) signed a peace treaty with the FMLN-FDR, formally ending the twelve-year civil war that killed seventy-five thousand Salvadorans.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; El Salvador; Guerilla Warfare**

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## RHEE, SYNGMAN

As the first president (1948–1961) of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), Syngman Rhee is considered the "Father of Korea" and is credited with transforming South Korea from agricultural society to an industrial power. Politically, Rhee parlayed South Korea's status as a victim of Communist aggression into financial and military support from the United States that secured the transformation of the South Korean economy. Eventually his authoritarian rule, mismanagement of the Korean economy and his obvious rigging of the 1960 presidential election led to mass demonstrations that led to his forced resignation in April 1960 and subsequent exile to Hawaii.

He was born April 26, 1875, in Kaesong, Hwanghai Province, Korea. He entered the American

missionary Paejae High School in 1894, and worked as a reporter for the newspaper *Hyopsung* in 1896. During his teens, he became an ardent nationalist, advocating the independence of Korea. He was imprisoned in 1897 for leading demonstrations against the Korean monarchy. He was released from prison and moved to the United States in November 1904, where he studied at both Harvard and Princeton Universities, eventually earning a Ph.D. In 1911, Rhee returned to Korea as a YMCA teacher-evangelist. Forced into exile in 1904, Rhee was educated in the United States and was elected president of the Korean Government in Exile in 1919. He lived in Hawaii from 1913 to 1940, where he was principal of a Korean school and the leader of a Korean expatriate faction called *Tongjihoe* (Comrades' Society).

In 1919, Rhee was elected president of the Korean Provisional Government in exile. He served as president of the provisional government in 1921 and waged an independent movement for Korean independence in the United States.

Rhee returned to Korea on October 16, 1945, and became president of the Central Independence Promotion Council. Upon his return, Rhee called for the immediate independence of Korea. Following highly disputed elections in the south, Rhee was installed as the first President of the Republic of Korea in 1948. Rhee continually called for the reunification of the Korean Peninsula, by force if necessary. Shortly thereafter, the outbreak of the Korean War divided the Korean Peninsula into the capitalist South and communist North. For the duration of the Korean War, Rhee continually tried to sabotage armistice negotiations hoping to reunify the Korean Peninsula by force under his rule.

Faced with the task of building a nation that had been torn apart by a brutal civil war that divided the Korean Peninsula, Rhee succumbed to the temptation faced by leaders of emerging democracies: the centralization and consolidation of power. Rhee centralized his control over the state through the perpetuation of the buildup of the armed forces and control of the government apparatus. In order to consolidate power over government apparatus, Rhee aligned himself with the business and land-owning classes and oversaw the suppression of political dissent. He promulgated laws meant to intimidate and imprison political opponents.

Politically, Rhee parlayed Korea's status as a victim of Communist aggression into support from the United States. In 1953, Rhee signed the *United States–Republic of Korea Mutual Security Treaty* that secured long-term economic and military aid meant to rebuild South Korea's economy and military. Economically, Rhee mismanaged the development aid meant to

kick-start the South Korean economy. Instead of channeling foreign aid into industry, money went to the armed forces. Rhee also subsidized the import of various consumer goods such as food and beverages, clothing, and footwear. He also gave government protection to huge conglomerates (*chaebols*) that continue to dominate the Korean economy today.

Eventually, Rhee's heavy-handed centralization of power, political corruption, and continued military expansion alienated him from the Korean populace. Rhee was forced from power on April 26, 1960, largely in part to student-led demonstrations.

Syngman Rhee died in Honolulu, Hawaii, on July 19, 1965, at age ninety.

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## ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) is a philanthropic institution established by John D. Rockefeller, a North American industrialist, one of the so-called

robber barons of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In June 1909, Mr Rockefeller donated seventy-three thousand shares of the Standard Oil Company (at that time it represented a sum of \$50 million) to the creation of the Foundation. His son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., his son-in-law Harold Mac Cormick, and his usual partner Frederick Gates received the funds and started the organization. However, only in May 14, 1913, New York Governor William Sulzer approved the charter for the foundation, and soon that same year, it began operations, because of which many people claim that it was created in 1913.

Since its beginnings the Foundation set clearly its objectives: it was destined to promote the well-being and progress of the United States (US) and foreign citizens, to acquire and diffuse knowledge, and to promote the prevention and relief of all kind of human suffering. Its motto has since then stated: "To promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." Its slogan ran: "We Are a Partner, Not a Patron."

In 1913, the Rockefeller Foundation was endowed in several installments that totaled about \$250 million. But by the end of 2001, the market value of the Rockefeller Foundation's endowment was \$3.1 billion. It has given more than \$1.8 billion to thousands of grantees worldwide and has assisted directly in the training of nearly thirteen thousand Rockefeller Fellows.

Its headquarters were established in New York City, but the Foundation has had an increasingly global presence with the establishment of regional offices in Bangkok (Thailand), Nairobi (Kenya), San Francisco (US), and a also conference and study centre in Bellagio (Italy).

Through the years the Foundation has given assistance to all the aspects that encompass the concept of development. Therefore, it has financed projects related to the public health, medical education, increasing food production (agricultural and natural sciences division), scientific advancement, social research, the arts and humanities, international relations, and other fields formerly more focused on the US but then also all over the world.

During its early years the Foundation focused its actions on Public Health issues. Therefore, it participated in a worldwide campaign against the hookworm (a parasitical disease acquired by walking barefoot on polluted ground) until 1954. As a means to fight against the disease, the people were educated to change their environment and their habits so as to suppress the fatal animal agent. For that they used public health workers. The cure for hookworm, besides wearing shoes, consisted of capsules of thymol and salts. The RF acted through illustrated lectures and pamphlets to create the necessity among the

people to maintain sanitary conditions and defeat the illness. The main efforts were conducted in the rural areas of the southern US led by Dr. Wickliffe Rose but also important campaigns were carried out in India, Puerto Rico, and Colombia. Having recognized the success of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm Disease in the US, the Foundation formed the International Health Board (IHB) to extend its public health work overseas in 1913.

A similar campaign was held by the RF against the yellow fever in 1935. That year, a breakthrough was achieved when Dr. Max Theiler and his associates in the International Health Division (IHD), under the supervision of Dr. Sawyer, managed to develop a successful yellow fever vaccine. Although it was a team work, Dr. Theiler himself was honored in 1951 by receiving the Nobel Prize in medicine for this discovery.

Another accomplishment of the RF in the health medicine was the formation of nurses and the establishment of the first Public Health Schools. To accomplish that, the Foundation financed the creation of Public Health Nursing Schools in more than fifty countries besides the US. From 1921 on, Public Health Schools were installed in Prague, Toronto, London, Budapest, Copenhagen, Ankara, Madrid, Rome, Tokyo, Stockholm, Athens, and other cities. Also important was the Foundation's role in organizing the Public Health system in the postrevolutionary Mexico with, first, the campaign against the yellow fever and then with the establishment of Permanent Sanitary Units and the award of scholarships that allowed the training of Mexican professionals in the US.

The Foundation also established the China Medical Board (CMB) in its first years (1911) to develop a system of modern western medical education in China. In 1919, a formal Medical Education Division was established to carry out a program of medical education outside the US. The General Education Board (GEB), a separate Rockefeller philanthropy, was responsible for US medical education. Within this program, grants were made to related fields such as nursing and hospital and dispensary development. Fellowships in physics and chemistry through the National Research Council became a continuing interest in 1919. From 1919 to 1923, a Division of Studies within the RF was responsible for projects not covered by the IHB, CMB, or Medical Education Division.

The Foundation also financed scientists who fought battles against the Kyanasur disease (Kyanasur Forest Fever) in India in 1957, mainly in the Indian state of Mysore and against the Influenza virus. Besides, the Foundation played an important role in the development of medicine to fight malaria. In 1915, it

supported Sir Ronald Ross' experiments in the US to find a cure for malaria until he found a way to control it. By 1944, malaria had been eradicated from the US. Besides infectious diseases, the Foundation also supported research and advances in psychiatry, such as in the field of Biology of Behaviour at the University of Cambridge, the study of physiological psychology at the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the establishment of a department of Psychiatry at the University of Ibadan.

The RF carried the programs overseas. It favoured, together with the Brazilian government, the installment of the Belem Laboratory in Brazil, devoted to the study of viruses transmitted by mosquitoes, ticks, and other arthropods. The Foundation also created the Peking Union Medical College in China in the 1920s.

The Foundation also supported research in the genetics field mainly in the US but also in universities in Japan, Sweden, and Italy.

All this was part of the RF's early interests. In its early years, the Foundation's interest was concentrated on medicine and public health, as the hookworm and yellow fever campaigns prove. Later on, the Foundation's interest was more concerned with the development of agriculture and the agricultural sciences, in the US and overseas.

In 1951, the International Health Division was merged with the medical sciences program, and public health activity was deemphasized. Population studies, international relations, legal and political philosophy, institutional support of the arts, historical research, and agriculture were the main areas of grants during the 1950s.

During the 1960s, a formal population program was established. Grants were made to various institutions for the purpose of improving race relations. In 1968, the RF convened US and foreign experts at an international symposium, "Strategy for the Conquest of Hunger," to develop a plan to eradicate world hunger. Significant contributions were made by the Foundation to the modernization of agriculture in the developing countries, a fact known as the "Green Revolution."

During that decade, the Foundation began supporting research activities in Chile as part of Chile's Ten-Year Plan of Economic Development. The aim was to increase agricultural production by a more efficient use of existing farmlands. Therefore, the RF supported the building of two experimental stations, one near Santiago (Chile's capital) and the other near Temuco.

The Foundation also was present in Colombia in a project to increase the agricultural production. The main objective was to carry out laboratory and

field work so as to train skilled Colombian personnel to develop the programs. Also, in Mexico (University of Nuevo Leon in Monterrey) and Colombia (University of Andes), the Foundation has provided grants and funds. In Mexico, the scientists who worked under the Foundation's support developed the so-called "Green Revolution" in the country, which helped to increase the production of corn, the main alimentary Mexican resource, reducing the imports of this product.

Also, in India, the RF sponsored studies in native agricultural research, specially with the creation of the postgraduate school of the Indian Agriculture Research Institute in New Delhi, which the RF has helped with funds and by providing advisors and visiting professors. In 1959, it also established the International Rice Research Institute in Philippines.

In Africa, the Foundation has aided universities to deal with critical food and disease problems in the continent, and also in order to train personnel to staff governments and institutions.

Besides the agricultural sector, the Foundation also devoted resources to the promotion of the social sciences. For instance, in 1962, it provided a large amount of dollars to create the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ibadan and also to the University of Karthoum (Sudan) with library assistance in all disciplines.

The Foundation has helped developing countries by supporting the building of centers of academic excellence, such as the University of Ibadan (Nigeria); the University of East Africa, a complex of three separate growing colleges in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika; and the University of Valle in Cali (Colombia).

In the field of Social Sciences and Humanities, the RF contributed to the archaeological digs and excavations in the Agora zone, Greece. The Foundation also has supported the works of significant authors who were winners of the Nobel Prize, such as Ralph Bunche (winner in 1950), T. S. Eliot (1948 Nobel in literature). Other great achievements of the RF were providing a grant for the building of Oxford's world-famous Bodleian Library and the making of photographic copies of the complete card catalogues of the Library of Congress.

In the field of Arts and Culture, a remarkable work was the construction of the Art Conservation Centre of the Institute of Fine Arts in New York University, whose purpose is to explore and arrive at standards of conservation that can be disseminated to museums and other repertories. The Foundation also helped in the establishment of the Lincoln Centre in New York City and the Berkshire Music Festival at Tanglewood in Western Massachusetts.

During the 1970s, cooperative efforts with the Ford Foundation included the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), and regional research programs to improve understanding of population development links in Third World countries. Social history, including women's history, family history, and the use of oral history and film to document America's cultural heritage, was another new area in which the RF made grants. Grants in the humanities continued, including a fellowship program.

More recently, the Foundation has kept on contributing to the development of many countries by sponsoring the African Agricultural Technology Foundation to help farmers in sub-Saharan Africa gain access to hunger-reducing agricultural technologies. The Foundation also has financed the Public Sector Intellectual Property Resource for Agriculture (PIPRA) to make agricultural technologies more easily available for humanitarian purposes in the developing world.

One of the most valuable contributions was, during the 1990s, the resources spent on the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, a research project destined to speed the search for a vaccine to prevent HIV/AIDS all over the world. In relation to that research, the International Partnership for Microbicides Program was established to accelerate the discovery, development, and accessibility of microbicides to prevent transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

Within the medicine research field, the Foundation is currently financing the Global Alliance for Tuberculosis Drug Development, which seeks to accelerate the discovery and development of faster-acting and affordable drugs to fight tuberculosis.

Among the 170 Nobel Prize winners who developed their work under the Foundation's support (more recently also working in the Rockefeller University), we could name Werner Heisenberg (1932, Physics), Enrico Fermi (1938, Physics), Sir Hans Krebs (1953, Medicine), Edward L. Tatum (1958, Medicine), Emilio Segré (1959, Physics), Christian De Duve (1974, Medicine), John Harsanyi (1994, Economics, together with John Nash), Günter Blobel (1999, Physiology or Medicine), Paul Greengard (2000, Physiology or Medicine), and Roderick MacKinnon (2003, Chemistry).

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**See also Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

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## ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Throughout its long history of two millennia, the Catholic Church, in addition to carrying out its religious mission, has served as a builder of basic institutions that have been fundamental to the development of Western civilization and many prosperous societies. Institutions of law, local governance, education, and economic and social welfare were established and maintained by bishops within the diocesan structure of the Church, by individuals pursuing their own apostolic endeavors, and by religious orders that established semi-independent monastic foundations. As the largest single religious organization in the world today, the Church continues to call its membership to action. It has developed many relief and social welfare arms.

### Some Historical Considerations

The Catholic Church has served as a primary mechanism for institution building, first in the history of Western Europe and then in more recent centuries throughout the entire world. Christians of the first centuries established hospitals for the sick, hospices for weary travelers, and orphanages for abandoned children as part of the call to good works. As the Roman Empire collapsed under the weight of successive incursions by the competing tribes of Northern Europe, the Church, which was organized along ancient Roman territorial lines into diocese governed by bishops, served as the means through which law and civil organization was preserved. Bishops throughout

Europe established schools in association with their cathedrals to educate priests, and from these emerged eventually the first universities of Europe, which began forming in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These centuries also saw the rise of the guilds, medieval precursors to unions, in which various trades and industries were organized to protect the interests of various groups of artisans and to encourage spiritual awareness in the context of labor and production.

Another influence on the development of Europe during the early Middle Ages commenced as early as the sixth century, when Western monasticism took firm hold in Italy and Ireland. From these two centers of monasticism, monks radiated out into the furthest reaches of Europe to establish monasteries, which became institutions not only of prayer, but also islands of settled economic activity, centers of agricultural industry, and hives of education and preservation of scholarship. Monks invented books, kept libraries, set up schools, pharmacies, and hospitals. In the Benedictine tradition, monks worked in the fields, promoting settled agricultural industry in areas previously inhabited by nomadic tribes. Various monastic reform movements, including notably the Cluniac and Cistercian reforms in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, served as engines of commerce, trade, and economic development. The wealth generated by these monastic establishments garnered the attention and often the jealousy of local leaders, princes and kings, thus provoking conflict and contest over control of these important centers of learning and prosperity. During these times, the Roman Catholic Church served as a kind of transnational organization that knit various budding nations into an overarching cultural unit known as Christendom. However, under the pressure of growing nationalism and the Protestant Reformation, the Church's influence declined in Europe as nation-states emerged to claim control over activities once dominated by churchmen and religious orders. However, even as the Church lost its luster as a political actor on the European stage, its missionaries continued to practice evangelism throughout the world. This missionary activity followed the older familiar pattern not only of preaching and church-building, but also establishing Western-style schools, hospitals, orphanages, and social welfare organizations.

Throughout much of human history, charity and concern for the poor was the work of churches and private action, and only rarely as the primary work of national governments. Only in recent centuries, and most particularly in the last half of the twentieth century, did governments establish what are today called economic development or social welfare programs. While the governmental role in these activities

has increased substantially in modern times, a large part of the charitable work done in the world still remains in the hands of private bodies, chiefly religious institutions.

### Contemporary Activities

Through the Church's diocesan and parish structures and its hundreds of religious orders for men and women, bishops, pastors, and religious workers in every corner of the world continue to raise revenues for charitable redistribution, supporting religious schools and universities, food banks, orphanages, battered women's shelters, homes for unwed mothers, hospitals, health clinics, community development centers, AIDS hospices, emergency relief centers, and refugee assistance programs, among many other activities. One example is the St. Vincent De Paul Societies, active in distribution of food to the poor. These organizations were a product of action by Catholic laymen in honor of the founder of the Vincentians and the Sisters of Charity, St. Vincent de Paul, who in the seventeenth century founded the first Catholic religious orders to be free of cloister rules, so that they could work directly with the poor and orphaned children. A more recent example is the work of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, whose work among the poor in the slums of India has become legendary, and whose establishments now exist throughout the world offering care to millions of desperately poor and sick individuals. During the recent war in Kosovo, the principal agent of support to displaced persons and refugees, whether Serbs or Kosovar Albanian Muslims, was the local Mother Teresa Society.

Catholic action on behalf of the poor has spawned a growing number of private assistance agencies, which are motivated by Church teaching and serve as relief arms of national bishops conferences. The largest of these is Catholic Relief Services (CRS), which is the international relief arm of the US Catholic Conference of Bishops, with ties to other national Catholic bodies through Caritas Internationalis. CRS budgets for development and humanitarian assistance programs in nearly seventy countries typically exceed \$300 million annually. On the development programming side, its programs emphasize community development, agriculture, and water development programs and nutrition projects. CRS also serves as one of the main NGO collaborators with the US government in distribution of food aid throughout the world in famine emergencies. Caritas Internationalis, established in 1951 as the umbrella organization



for Roman Catholic national relief and development agencies in more than 150 countries, which include such bodies as the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), which was founded by the Catholic bishops of England and Wales in 1962. This work is truly global in nature, and contributes handsomely to the resource base available globally for work in humanitarian relief and development efforts. Catholic NGOs are among the largest, most numerous, influential, and reliable NGOs participating in the global development arena, many enjoying consultative status with the United Nations.

The Holy See also is engaged in activities related to the relief and development needs of the poor. There emerged as early as the eighth century in England a tradition of collecting and sending Alms to Rome for the special charitable intentions of the poor. This tradition rapidly spread throughout the European Church, and today is known as the "Peter's Pence" collection, which in modern times is undertaken throughout the universal church. Revenues collected in this global effort are redistributed to the most needy diocese and to emergency relief efforts. The Holy See also is a regular participant in international conferences dealing with international relief and development activities.

### Church Social Teaching

The modern papacy as well as modern materialist ideologies have contributed substantially to modern thinking about social and economic development. The nineteenth century saw the rise of two competing materialist conceptions of human economic development: capitalism and communism. In his landmark encyclical of 1891, *Rerum Novarum (On the Condition of the Working Classes)*, Pope Leo XIII offered a vision of human development emphasizing the spiritual nature of the human being in contrast to the view that human beings were but a factor in the processes of production and consumption of material goods. The rich and poor were seen by Leo as being bound by mutual obligations of respect and dignity. The worker was obliged to give a fair day's labor, the employer a fair day's wage. Workers were not to be exploited, worked beyond their capacity, exposed to corrupt influences, deprived of savings, or denied periods of rest and recreation. At the same time, Leo called on governments to recognize the rights of individuals to organize into associations, including not only unions, but also religious associations for mutual aid. He decried attempts by government to invade the

primary and natural rights of families, churches, and local associations to function at the local level for the benefit of persons.

Pope Pius XI, writing forty years later, at a time when fascist and communist systems of government were well-entrenched, reiterated many of the principles laid out by Leo XIII, attempting to advance a humane and just conception of human and economic development. In more recent times, Pope John Paul II, in his encyclical *On the Hundredth Anniversary of Rerum Novarum*, reflected on the themes treated by his predecessors in light of the then recent collapse of the Communist system. These and many additional papal encyclicals asserted the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity. The principle of solidarity calls human institutions to bring people together at various levels of cooperation to support peace and prosperity. The principle of subsidiarity demands that each level of cooperative endeavor respect and support the rights of the more immediate, intimate, particular, and local levels of cooperation to their independent spheres of action. No local government should usurp the proper role of families and local religious bodies to supply mutual aid and assistance, but rather local government should facilitate and complement such activity. Similarly, national government and international bodies should support the capacity of local governments to tend to their local activities, by complementing and facilitating such action through stimulating cooperation to help when local institutions and bodies require aid.

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**See also Christianity; Liberation Theology; Religion**

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## ROMANIA

Romania is located in southeastern Europe, bordering with Moldova in the east, with Ukraine in the north, Hungary and Serbia in the west, Bulgaria in the south, and bounded on the southeast by the Black Sea. The country has a land area of 237,500 square kilometers, comparatively its territory slightly smaller than the state of Oregon in the United States.

The population of Romania was estimated at 22,356,000 in 2004. It is a moderately urbanized country with about 52% of the people living in cities and towns. The country's capital city, Bucharest, is home to 2.4 million people (2004 est.) or 12% of the population. Romania has a negative population growth rate of  $-0.6\%$ , and the population steadily declines due to a low birth rate and emigration. Its official language is Romanian; Hungarian and German also are widely spoken. The population is 87% Eastern Orthodox Christianity, with 6.8% other types of Protestant, 5.6% Catholic, and a small 0.4% Muslim population.

For centuries, the territory of present-day Romania was contested by the Ottoman Empire, Hungary and Poland. In the eighteenth century, the Russian Empire stepped into the political arena in an attempt to establish its influence in the region. Romania entered the nineteenth century as a backward, feudal country with most of the population engaged in subsistence economy. The local elite waged a war for independence from foreign powers, and in 1857, the councils of the two major regions—Moldavia and Walachia—were united under the name of Romania. However, Romania was not recognized as a fully independent kingdom by the Congress of Berlin until 1878.

The most major economic and social changes arrived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the rulers of the country introduced limited economic reforms, including the land reform that broke up large estates. During World War I, Romania joined the Allies and acquired Transylvania and some other areas from Hungary, Bukovina from Austria, and Bessarabia from Russia. In the 1930s, however, the country moved away from the Allies and came under the influence of Nazi Germany. It entered World War II as a Nazi ally, but in 1944, the country surrendered to the Soviet Army and declared war on the Nazis. In 1947, the monarchy was abolished and the communist government came to power.

The communist government introduced a number of radical political and economic changes, and established the state control over all types of economic activities and a central state planning. In the 1950s and 1960s, the government introduced the program of collectivization and nationalized most of the

industrial enterprises. During the post-World War II period, the government emphasized the state-led industrialization that focused on building of heavy industry, light industries, mining, extraction of oil, and large-scale agriculture. However, unlike most of the socialist countries, Romania asserted some degree of economic and political independence from the Soviet Union and Soviet dominated economic block. Until the 1990s, Romania remained one of the poorest countries in Eastern Europe due to the economic mismanagement, distortions in economic planning, and authoritarian policies of the Romanian leadership.

Major changes came in 1989 as the regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu, the Romanian authoritarian leader, collapsed and a new leadership came to power. The new government relinquished the centrally-planned economy and introduced limited democratization and economic reforms. The economic changes were inconsistent, however, and the country experienced a severe economic decline in the early 1990s. Many industrial enterprises and mines lost state subsidies and were gradually closed. The unemployment rate skyrocketed, and many people moved to western Europe in search of jobs and a better life.

## Recent Development

Romania introduced its new democratic constitution in 1991, and the Romanian government promised to conduct major political and economic changes. Several factors, however, undermined the post-communist development in the country. One was the inconsistency of the economic reforms and privatization. Inflation remained high throughout the 1990s. Many enterprises and newly created private farms remained inefficient, and a significant proportion of the population expressed its anger and disapproval of the government's policies. The other problem was the ethnic tensions between the Romanians and some ethnic minorities, such as Hungarians, Roma, and Germans. There also was a deep disagreement within the ruling political coalition. All together, this led to political instability and consequently made the country less attractive for foreign direct investments.

Agriculture, industries, and services are the three main pillars of Romanian economy, contributing 13.0%, 37.9%, and 49.1%, respectively to the gross domestic product (World Bank estimate 2003). The county exports raw materials, textile, metals, and some manufactured products to international markets. Romania imports machinery, fuel, industrial

## ROMANIA

consumer goods, and food products. Due to the transitional recession and the loss of traditional markets for Romanian goods, the country's economy increasingly relies on foreign assistance and credits. Total external debt has reached about \$20 billion (World Bank estimate 2003).

In the early 2000s the country achieved macroeconomic stability and stabilized the living standards among the population. The government continued to negotiate full membership in the NATO and European Union. Yet, Romania remains one of the poorest countries of the southeastern Europe, with about 25% of the population living below the poverty line (World Bank estimate 2004) and a sizeable number of people leaving for other countries in search of jobs. In 2004, the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index put Romania in sixty-ninth place out of 177, behind neighboring Bulgaria and Hungary but ahead of Moldova and the Ukraine.

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**See also Ceausescu, Nicolae; Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe**

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## RUSSIA

Historically, economic development in Russia has faced major natural handicaps: isolation from world markets, vast distances, and a harsh climate (in northern regions, the soil is poor, while in the fertile black-earth belt, the short growing season and inadequate precipitation make harvests uncertain). Until the 1860s, peasant cultivators toiled under serf-like conditions that restricted entrepreneurial initiative, while the urban merchant class was relatively weak. An industrial spurt, aided by foreign capital, in the 1890s was interrupted by war and revolution (1904–1906); thereafter the economy revived on a broader

base but collapsed under the immense strains of World War I. This touched off another violent revolution and three years of civil war, famine, and disease that cost 10 million lives. Reconstruction under the Bolshevik (Communist) regime was rapid but marred by tension between the favored industrial workers and supposedly “backward” peasant smallholders. The town–country divide deepened after 1929, when Joseph Stalin imposed the Socialist Economic Model involving brutal agricultural collectivization and centralized planning (what Westerners call a “command economy”). Emphasis on the expansion of heavy industry (including armaments) engendered an endemic shortage of consumer goods; 5 million died in the catastrophic famine of 1932–1933; millions more Gulag convicts toiled until they dropped. Stalinist totalitarianism left no place for autonomous civic organizations or human rights; the individual was just a cog in a faceless administrative machine. Even so, ordinary folk did manage to express their preferences indirectly, for example, by resisting imposition of higher work norms and distrusting exaggerated claims by regime propagandists. They appreciated improved provision of health and educational facilities. In many scientific and technological fields, expertise reached a high level. The “Soviet intelligentsia,” officially categorized as a social stratum distinct from the working classes, lacked physical security yet was granted material advantages to keep it loyal. Its aspirations posed an implicit long-term threat to the viability of the dictatorship.

In 1941–1945, the command economy proved its worth as the State Defense Council mobilized human and material resources on a massive scale to boost the war effort. In threatened areas, factories were evacuated for reassembly in the rear. By 1944, output of aircraft was four, and output of tanks was ten times 1940 levels. In 1945, the USSR had 11.6 million men and women under arms; 60% of the labor force was female. Agricultural production plummeted, because much land was lost to the enemy and able-bodied workers were scarce; peasant women sometimes pulled the ploughs themselves. State controls were somewhat relaxed, and private allotments informally allowed to expand. Most people went hungry. The rationing system, which operated erratically, entitled nonessential workers to only 400 grams of bread a day (1944). Food also was received, along with arms and equipment, from the Western allies and made a significant contribution to victory. The war cost the USSR dearly: casualties were enormous (9.1 million troops, ca. 27 million overall), among them, over 2 million people, mainly Jews, massacred by the Nazis and some 3 million prisoners of war who died in German captivity. More than 1,700 towns, seventy thousand

villages, thirty thousand factories and 65,000 kilometers of railroad track were reduced to rubble.

In the postwar years, Stalin reasserted traditional controls and priorities. During the Fourth Five-Year plan (1946–1950), heavy industrial output more than doubled, while that of consumer goods grew by less than a quarter. The urban labor force was swollen by the resumed influx from the countryside, where in 1946, drought and infrastructural damage led to another serious famine. By 1953, the Gulag population topped 5 million (including “settlers,” mostly deported non-Russians, but excluding Axis POW). The abrupt cessation of Lend-Lease (August 1945) dashed hopes of obtaining Western capital, but some was derived by looting resources in Germany and eastern Europe, where “joint-stock companies” provided the USSR with raw materials, machinery, and manufactures at nominal prices. More important were the funds squeezed from the peasantry. Private plots were scaled down and confiscatory taxes levied on the revenue they generated; quotas for compulsory delivery of farm produce were raised. These impositions helped to bring about the famine. In 1952, the actual grain harvest (kept secret!) was lower than in 1940, when there had been fewer mouths to feed. Another source of state funds was a currency reform (1947) which wiped out nine-tenths of people’s wartime savings—a means of reducing inflation while goods were scarce—and the practice of deducting state loan contributions from workers’ pay packets. Ceaseless campaigns of “socialist emulation” helped to keep wage-earners compliant. At first, many willingly bore sacrifices for the common good, but this mood evaporated.

The post-Stalin leaders realized the need for economic reform yet wanted to keep the Stalinist command economy fundamentally unchanged. G.M. Malenkov, identified with a shift of effort towards consumer goods production, was worsted by N.S. Khrushchev, who claimed expertise on agricultural problems. Collective farmers received higher prices, while quotas and taxes were reduced; yet no encouragement was offered to the private sector, with which 3% of the sown area provided nearly half the country’s meat and milk (1958–1965). Instead of increasing incentives for producers in the European heartland, the regime launched a bold campaign to sow grain on “virgin and idle land” (actually used by natives as pasture) in Kazakhstan and elsewhere. Hundreds of thousands of “volunteers” went east, but the authorities underestimated the operation’s costs and disregarded scientists’ warnings of the high ecological risks. Another campaign, which later had to be abandoned, fostered the cultivation of corn (maize) as fodder, even in unsuitable areas. Artificial

fertilizer output rose from 7 million tons in 1953 to 31 million in 1965 and 112 million in 1985, but here, too, careless application resulted in environmental damage. Food output increased under Khrushchev (cereals from an annual average of 82 million tons in 1949–1952 to 132 million in 1961–1964, milk from 36 million to 63 million tons), but the main beneficiaries of constant meddling were not farmers but omnipotent local officials in the party *nomenklatura*.

Leonid Brezhnev (1964–1982) and his immediate successors pursued a more consistent long-term agricultural strategy, boosting investment, which in the 1970s ran at 26% of total state outlays, over twice the proportion under Stalin. Despite these subsidies, which the state could ill afford, many weaker farms ran into debt, notably because managers had too little power or incentive to think in terms of profitability: livestock raising, for example, was uneconomic at official prices, and by international comparison, Soviet cattle were skinny beasts. Even so, annual per capita consumption of dairy products rose from 251 to 323 kg. (1962–1985); for eggs the corresponding figures were 124 and 260 units, while bread and flour consumption declined (156 to 133 kg.), signifying a shift to a more wholesome diet. But in the 1970s, statisticians were told to stop publishing data on cereal output, as harvests were embarrassingly low, and in the worst years, grain had to be imported from the West.

Khrushchev tried to devolve the cumbersome system of industrial management but ran into bureaucratic obstruction, so that after his fall in 1964, power was again concentrated in Gosplan and central (all-Union) ministries for various branches (including “medium machine-building,” the code word for nuclear weapons manufacture). In the late 1960s, A.I. Kosygin’s name was associated with another administrative reform that gave managers and workers bonuses if their enterprise made a profit. But since prices were still fixed centrally, it was hard to establish profit levels, and the bonus system lent itself to abuse. The output of staple producer goods grew exponentially: steel from 45 million tons (1953) to 91 million in 1965 and 155 million twenty years later; iron ore rose from 72 to 153 and then 248 million tons. The figures for cotton fabrics, characteristically, were less spectacular: 4.2, 5.5, and 7.7 million square metres; for footwear 271, 486, and 787 million pairs. Most significant was the shift in the fuel balance from coal to oil, and especially natural gas, vast reserves of which were discovered and exploited in western Siberia. By 1985, this source contributed 35.5% of total energy consumption. Nuclear power, a relatively “late developer,” stood at 10.8%. Soviet reactors had serious design flaws, which were one factor in the Chernobyl disaster (April 26, 1986). Nuclear waste often was

disposed of casually, and serious environmental pollution also occurred from leaky oil pipelines, chemical factory emissions, and the like: Arctic regions, the Aral Sea, Lake Baikal, and the Kazakh steppe were among the hardest hit areas. An informal “Green” movement emerged in the 1970s but made little impact on the thinking of industrial officials concerned with fulfilling their plan targets for physical output, cost what it may.

Road transport and automobile production were relatively neglected, but the railroad system expanded, and by 1985, one-third of the network had been electrified. Much effort went into constructing an alternative to the Trans-Siberian route, the 3,500-kilometer Baikal-Amur line through the eastern Siberian taiga, where permafrost posed tough problems. Civilian air transport became an important means of communication over long distances and in more remote regions. By 1980, the state enterprise Aeroflot carried 100 million passengers; fares were uneconomically cheap, so that Armenian fruit-growers, for instance, could fly to Moscow to market their wares.

Soviet town dwellers enjoyed inexpensive subsidized housing, although average apartment size (“living space”) was only nine square metres per capita. From the 1950s onward, rows of standardized apartment blocks, built of prefabricated materials by modern techniques, appeared in city suburbs. Though aesthetically unappealing, they represented a pragmatic solution to the acute accommodation shortage among the burgeoning urban population—a factor that strained family cohesion. The divorce rate grew alarmingly. Most wives had to combine jobs with household chores, including endless queuing for scarce commodities. Women usually earned lower wages and held positions with lesser status than men, who enjoyed more leisure—and drink. Statistically, alcoholism cost fifty thousand lives (probably an underestimate) in 1980; five years later, 4.5 million addicts were receiving medical treatment. Young people preferred Western-style “pop” culture to unimaginative officially sponsored offerings; their parents’ political views, at least in private, were often unorthodox. Cynicism became widespread, behind a mask of conformity; people with means shopped on the black market (“second economy”), which the regime had to tolerate *faute de mieux*. Workers sometimes grumbled about wages or conditions or even the lack of independent trade unions, but most were reconciled to a system that provided full employment, “free” health care, and the prospect of social promotion for those who regularly fulfilled their norms. Peasant earnings were at last catching up on those of urban workers.

Benefits also accrued to elites in developing countries that Moscow sought to wean away from

“imperialism.” Initially, policy was liberal: loans were repayable in locally produced goods or soft currency at low interest rates, but from the 1960s, as debts mounted, there was a shift towards greater discrimination (and the supply of military hardware). According to US estimates, from 1954 to 1985 the USSR supplied \$97.9 billion in aid. About half went to Cuba and Vietnam; smaller amounts reached India, Turkey, Ethiopia, Iran, Angola, and Syria; the last-named country received mostly arms transfers. Soviet “third world” aid was much smaller than that from Western sources, but its political and psychological impact was often greater. These foreign investments had to be unceremoniously abandoned once priorities changed after 1985.

Mikhail S. Gorbachev (1985–1991) was the first Soviet leader to tackle the economic “stagnation” (his term) resulting from long-standing neglect of vital problems, notably the decline in growth and productivity rates. The drying up of the labor supply as rural overpopulation eased made it essential to use manpower less wastefully. Behind these dilemmas lay disenchantment among the Soviet intelligentsia, which now formed a sizeable “middle class,” at the ruling party’s ideological dogmatism and at bureaucratic incompetence. Gorbachev’s “acceleration” drive encouraged managers to modernize equipment and adopt information technology while simultaneously boosting output and improving the quality of goods. This overambitious campaign engendered inflationary pressures and budgetary deficits. The extra currency put into circulation rose from 4% (1985–1986) to 11.8% in 1988 and 28% two years later; by 1989, the state debt reached 42.8% of gross national product (GNP). “Restructuring” (*perestroika*) was broadened in scope to endorse the formation of producers’ cooperatives and, more generally, the emancipation of civil society from ideological constraints. From 1987, stimulated by the new “openness” (*glasnost*), thousands of informal organizations appeared, some of which adopted political goals. Pressure from below—it was mainly a “middle-class” phenomenon—forced Gorbachev to adjust his thinking further and come out in favor of market socialism and (quasi-) constitutional government, thereby reluctantly yielding the party’s monopoly on state power. National minority leaders vociferously sought control over regional resources, which undermined economic relationships across the Union. The elected Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, and several teams of professional advisers recommended rapid transition to free-enterprise capitalism, with extensive privatization, but Gorbachev held back. He knew that such radical ideas were unpopular; the general public associated them with profiteering, criminality, and vast income

differentials that offended entrenched egalitarian sentiments.

Initially, the Soviet collapse (1991) held out the prospect of a flourishing market economy based on extensive foreign investment in Russia's immense natural resources and skilled labor force. However, "transition" turned out to be a slow, painful process, and a depression ensued; one can even speak of "demodernization." In 1992, Egor Gaidar's "shock therapy" led to a sudden twenty-six fold increase in prices. Hyper-inflation wiped out people's savings and devalued wages and pensions. Privatization made little headway in agriculture, but industrial assets were given away to insiders (managers and other employees) under a voucher system which, although designed to empower ordinary people, ended up enriching a new class of "oligarchs," as they pejoratively came to be called. In later years, privatization was handled more discreetly by selling state enterprises via the new commercial banks. These financial institutions mushroomed but remained under-capitalized, since ordinary Russian savers distrusted them and preferred to keep their money under the mattress (or in the state savings bank), as they had done before, while businessmen transferred their profits to safe offshore locations, taking advantage of lax exchange controls, instead of investing them productively at home; meanwhile foreign investors were deterred by the prevalent corruption and red tape. Irresponsible banking practices, e.g. loans with inadequate security, were factors in the August 1998 crash, when the government declared a moratorium on its payments and the twenty largest banks were wiped out. Many new entrepreneurs faced ruin; fortunately, less damage was done at lower levels, and after a few months, the economy began to revive. Yet market reform had been badly discredited, not least because it went hand in hand with rampant crime. Mafia bosses built villas with high-security installations and indulged in other forms of conspicuous consumption, while one fifth—and after the crash one third—of the population was reduced to subsistence level. They survived by petty barter trade and transactions on the margin of the law that went unrecorded in official statistics. In 1999, average life expectancy sank to 65.5 years (men 59.9, women 72), one year lower than in 1998. Health spending per capita was minimal, and the population shrank by 5%–6% per annum.

Still more ominous was the decline in manufacturing. Numerous large Soviet-era plants, no longer economic, fell idle. In 1996, total employment stood at 4.2 million (1985; 8.3 million); output of trucks and tractors amounted to 134,000 and 14,000, respectively (1985; 688,000 and 261,000). Spending on research and development all but collapsed. The Russian

economy was living largely on its Soviet inheritance. Oil and gas output, much of it exported—Gasprom, the giant consortium, became a major player in international markets—held up relatively well, but here, too, the industry's capital stock was not renewed, storing up problems for the future.

In 2000, a new president, V.V. Putin, set out to overcome the unplanned attrition of state power and prestige. This entailed *inter alia* reforming the notoriously inefficient system of tax collection, which imposed a heavy burden even on privileged large enterprises. Harsh police measures had proved ineffective in the face of a "fiscal evasion culture". Another problem was the competition for resources between the center and the regions. Faint signs appeared of a possible turnaround. In 2000, GNP grew unprecedentedly by 8.3%. In May 2001, the Duma approved a legislative package, long advocated by the IMF, strengthening the Central Bank's powers over insolvent financial institutions and providing incentives for the repatriation of fugitive capital (estimated at \$24 billion in 2000 alone). The stock exchange rallied, and optimists hoped that Russia might yet find a middle way between the Scylla of the Stalinist command economy and the Charybdis of Yeltsin's "market bolshevism."

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**See also Communist Economic Model; De-Stalinization (1953–1956); Khrushchev, Nikita; Socialist Economic Model; Stalin, Joseph**

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## RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Eastern Slavs were converted to Christianity at the end of the tenth century of our era. The Church was organized on the Greek pattern, being under the canonical authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Russian patriarchate did not establish its autonomy, i.e. its separation from Constantinople, until 1589.

Peter the Great abolished the patriarchate in 1721 and established a synod composed of prelates and presided over by a layman. The Holy Synod was housed with other lay ministries in the new capital Peter built, St. Petersburg. Ordinary Russians, however, continued to see Moscow as their spiritual home.

### The Church and 1917

The February Revolution of 1917 undermined the Orthodox Church, but the Provisional Government did not try to crush it by force. Rather, they illegitimated all church rituals and adopted the Gregorian calendar used in the West. The government also interfered with the old Cyrillic alphabet by dispensing with some of the familiar letters.

What affected it most in the new era proclaimed after the October Revolution was the separation of church and state on February 5, 1918. Among other things, schools still under the Church's administration were taken away; however, the Church, for a brief period, was no longer under the state's control, enabling it to summon a council and re-establish the Patriarchate.

Vladimir Lenin (1917–1925) considered the Orthodox Church a contemptible form of "fideism." However, more tolerant Marxists argued that socialism would naturally undermine the "superstructure," and religion would peter out by itself. But the revolutionary regime did not hesitate to seize Church property.

During the Civil War, most of the clergy took sides against the Bolsheviks. A Temporary Ecclesiastical Administration emerged in southern Russia, then controlled by the Whites. When the Red Army forced their retreat, this body moved to Sremski Karlovci in Serbia. Calling itself the Church in Exile, it refused to recognize the Moscow patriarchate which appointed Evlogii (Vasilii Georgievsky, 1868–1948) as the Metropolitan of the Russian Church in Western Europe. Russians abroad had to choose between the Karlovci Synod, which refused to recognize the Soviet controlled Moscow patriarchate, and Evlogii's metropolitanate, which did. In the United States, despite the breakdown of the USSR, authority still

remains divided between the Church in Exile and the Orthodox Church of America (OCA).

The Soviet regime also backed a movement called the "Living Church," which had been set up by liberals and enjoyed the support of parish priests who wished to curb the power of monks and bishops. With the help of the secret police, which infiltrated it, the "Living Church" was able to take over close to a third of the Orthodox churches in Russia.

In 1925, a gathering of bishops nominated Metropolitan Sergei to lead the "Patriarchal" Church, which was recognized in 1927 by a regime no longer interested in the "Living Church." By then, it has been estimated that, despite the church's setbacks, it was functioning on a scale not much smaller than in 1917.

### The Church in Stalin's Shadow

The census of 1937, which included a question about religious belief, was suppressed—in part because of the population deficiency they recorded following collectivization and the purges. Another rumored reason for the suppression was that no less than 40% of the population had declared their religious conviction. But the leadership of the Orthodox Church had by now been cowed, and the coming of the war further complicated its position.

In a dramatic reversal of Soviet policy, Stalin promulgated a truce with the Church. Churches were reopened, and in return, Metropolitan Sergei publicly announced in 1942 that Stalin was "the divinely anointed leader of our armed and cultural forces leading us to victory over the barbarian invasion." Stalin reciprocated by restoring the patriarchate, to which the wily Sergei was duly nominated. Along with this official resumption of relations between Church and State, the government retained strict control over ecclesiastical property and personnel.

During the war, the leadership of the Orthodox Church of Georgia, the Armenian Church, the Baptists and Evangelical Christians, and the Moslems accepted a similar status to the Orthodox Church, although some clergymen—such as the Roman Catholics and the imprisoned prelates of Solovetsk—refused to accept it. Jews suffered more than any other religious group.

During the de-Stalinization campaign that began three years after Stalin's death, convicted clergymen were—like political prisoners—released from the camps. But Nikita Khrushchev (1953–1964), for all his compassion, is said to have been responsible for the closing down of more than ten thousand churches.

## Dissent and Freedom of Worship

Leonid Brezhnev (1964–1982), who led a plot to oust Khrushchev from power in 1964, was more tolerant than his predecessor on matters of religion and permitted about five hundred Orthodox churches to be reopened. The convergence that occurred in the Brezhnev years between literary dissidence and religious protest was not surprising, although it seemed so at the time. The dissidents did not call for the overthrow of the Soviet system, but for the elimination of abuses, “socialist legality,” and enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution and of other laws dealing with freedom of conscience, speech and press.

By its cynicism and lack of conviction either in Communism or in any viable alternative, the worn-out *apparatchiks* around Brezhnev paved the way for the surprising revival of the Orthodox faith, which came with Mikhail Gorbachev (1985–1991). *Pere-stroika* and *glasnost*, the twin policies of renewal and openness which he advocated, did not at first include the Church as such, but its authority was brought in to lend Gorbachev’s reforms legitimacy. Under the present post-Soviet constitution, Orthodoxy shares its recognition as an official religion of state together with Islam and Judaism.

Whether the external revival of Orthodoxy, as manifested in the building of hundreds of churches and ecclesiastical foundations of various sorts and the generous publication of Christian literature, represents a genuine religious revival with deeper roots, it is perhaps still too early to tell. Urban and educated Russia is, for obvious reasons today, a largely secular society, but Orthodoxy appears to have become a part of the cultural identity even of citizens whose attendance at church is limited to Easter and Christmas (newly restored as public holidays, and now nationally celebrated under the old Julian calendar).

## Numbers

In 1996, the overall number of Orthodox worshippers was estimated at 182 million. Of these, 70 million to 80 million are to be found in the Russian Federation. Of Ukraine’s population, close to 30 million are Orthodox. Next in size is Rumania with 20 million and Greece with 9.5 million. The United States has close to 7 million Orthodox citizens, which is about the same number as the Orthodox population of Serbia and Monte Negro. Poland has 800,000; Finland, 56,000; Estonia, 300,000; Latvia, 400,000; Lithuania, 150,000; Georgia, 2.8 million; Kazakhstan, 4 million;

Uzbekistan, 900,000; Belarus, around 5 million; Bulgaria, 6 million; Moldavia, around 3 million; Macedonia, 1.2 million; Germany, 550,000; United Kingdom, 440,000; France, 260,000; Austria and Switzerland, about 70,000 each; and Australia, 480,000.

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## See also Russia

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## RWANDA

The “Land of a Thousand Hills” is situated in East Central Africa, bordering to the North with Uganda, with Tanzania to the East, Burundi to the South, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the West. The total territory is 26,338 square kilometers (24,948 square kilometers land area). The country is landlocked. Most of the country is savanna grassland, mostly grassy uplands and hills, with declining altitude from west to east. Climate is mild, with frost and snow possible in mountains; there are rainy seasons between November and April. Rwanda is the most densely populated African country with an estimated 8.24 million residents (2004), comprised of the dominating ethnicity Hutu (84%), minority Tutsi (15%), and pygmoid Twa (1%). The capital is Kigali, founded in 1907 (with a population close to four hundred thousand).



In the fourteenth century, Tutsis settled massively into what is now Rwanda and, under King Ruganzu Ndori, removed the indigenous Twa and Hutu peoples. About the end of eighteenth century, Tutsi King Kigeri Rwabugiri established a centralized military state. In 1890, Rwanda became part of German East Africa, but in 1916, Belgian forces occupied it. After the World War I, League of Nations granted Belgium mandate to govern Rouanda-Urundi—transferred in 1946 by the United Nations (UN) as trust territory, ruled indirectly by Tutsi. In 1957, Hutus called for a change in Rwanda's power structure to give them a voice, and formed political parties. In 1959, they overthrew the Tutsi King Kigeri V, forcing him with tens of thousands of Tutsis into exile in Uganda. Within the next years, thousands of Tutsis were killed, and some 150,000 were driven into exile.

In 1961, Rwanda separated with Urundi, later Burundi, and was proclaimed a republic. The next year, it became independent with a Hutu president, Gregoire Kayibanda; another Tutsi exodus. Following an incursion by Tutsi rebels from Burundi, in 1963, twenty thousand Hutus were killed. In 1973, Kayibanda was ousted in military coup led by Juvenal Habyarimana. He was elected president in 1978, and a new constitution was ratified. In 1988, some fifty thousand Hutu refugees fled from Burundi following ethnic violence there. The Tutsi exiles formed a rebel group, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), to invade from Uganda in 1990. In the next year, new multiparty constitution was promulgated. In 1993, President Habyarimana signed in Arusha, Tanzania a power-sharing agreement with the Tutsis. In April 1994, Habyarimana and his Burundian homologue were killed after their plane was shot down near Kigali. RPF launched a major offensive; extremist Hutu militia and elements of the Rwandan military began massacre of Tutsis. Within one hundred days, around eight hundred thousand Tutsis and moderate Hutus were slaughtered.

Fearing Tutsi retaliation, Hutu militias fled to neighboring countries, taking with them around 2 million Hutu refugees. Later, most of them returned home, but about ten thousand remaining formed an extremist insurgency in the neighboring Zaire. In 1995, UN-appointed international tribunal began charging and sentencing those responsible for the atrocities. In 1996, Rwandan troops assaulted Hutu militia in Zaire. In 1997, Rwandan- and Ugandan-backed Zaire rebels deposed president Mobutu; Laurent Kabila replaced him and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Congo. Next year, however, Rwanda switched to support rebel forces against Kabila for failing to expel Hutu militias. In March 2000, Rwandan President Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, resigned after a feud

regarding the cabinet composition and after parliament began anti-corruption investigations against Hutu politicians. Vice President Paul Kagame became the new president. In October, traditional *gacaca* courts started to clear the 1994 genocide cases. A new flag and national anthem were unveiled to promote national unity and reconciliation. In April 2002, former president Bizimungu was arrested and charged with illegal political activity and threats to state security. In July, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo signed a peace deal. In May 2003, a draft constitution designed to prevent another genocide, banning the incitement of ethnic hatred, was adopted. In August, Paul Kagame claimed a landslide victory in the first presidential elections since the 1994 genocide, and his Rwandan Patriotic Front won absolute majority in the first multiparty parliamentary elections, marred by irregularities and fraud. In March, French reports accused President Kagame of ordering an attack on the president's plane in 1994, which sparked genocide. In June, Bizimungu was sentenced to fifteen years in jail for embezzlement, inciting violence and associating with criminals.

Increasing power centralization, intolerance of dissent, the rigid Hutu extremist insurgency across the border, and involvement in two wars in the neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo continue to hinder Rwanda's efforts to escape the violence. Despite UN peacekeeping and political leaders' efforts to end hostilities, localized clashes persist. Tutsi, Hutu, Hema, Lendu, and other adverse ethnic groups, guerrilla fighters, armed gangs, and various government forces continue fighting in the Great Lakes region, transgressing the boundaries.

Rwanda is a poor rural country, with about 90% of the population engaged in mainly subsistence agriculture. Tea and coffee are main export commodities. The 1994 genocide practically wiped out Rwanda's fragile economic base, gravely impoverishing the population. Rwanda succeeded in stabilizing and recovering economically to prewar levels, although poverty persists. World prices' decline deprived Rwanda of desperately needed hard currency. A fertile ecosystem fails to meet the needs of the fast population growth. Imports exceed about three times export revenues. Rwanda qualified for debt relief in 2000, but high defense expenditures make international donors limit the program. Strife restricts prospects for tourism.

The economic infrastructure of Rwanda is extremely inadequate. There are less than one thousand kilometers of paved roads from a total of about eleven thousand kilometers. Only one airport is capable of hosting contemporary aircrafts. There are no railroads. The adult literacy rate is 70.4% (2003). According to the World Health Organization data,

there are approximately twenty-one nurses and 1.9 physicians per one hundred thousand persons. Life expectancy is slightly less than forty years for males and about year and half more for females (2004 estimate). The population growth rate is of 1.82% (2004 estimate), while infant mortality (101.68 deaths per 1,000 live births) is among the highest in Africa. Rwanda began economic reforms in 1995, focusing on trade, privatization, improvement of public administration, the budget, and financial management, as well as private-sector development.

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**See also African Development Bank (ADB); African Monetary Fund (AfMF); Burundi; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; East African Community; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa; Ethnicity: Impact on Politics and Society; Organization of African Unity (OAU)**

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## **SADAT, ANWAR**

Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat (1918–1981) became the president of Egypt in 1970, succeeding Gamal Abdel Nasser. During the eleven years of his presidency, until his assassination, Sadat was involved with war and then peace with Israel, for which he was a joint winner of the Nobel Prize, as well as negotiating with the Soviet Union and other Arab states for support of the economic development of his country.

Born into modest circumstances, Sadat entered a country ruled as a colony by the British. A new constitution was adopted in 1922 which set in place a monarchy and a parliament. However, the British found themselves required to make accommodations with the nationally popular Wafd party for the sake of order. One such accommodation was the creation of a military school and it was here that Sadat received crucial formative education. He graduated in 1938 and, during World War II, plotted with fellow officers to drive the British out of Egypt. He was captured and imprisoned but subsequently escaped and went on to join Nasser's Free Officers group. In the revolution of 1952, Sadat was an active participant and the status he gained led to his enjoying high office under Nasser, although it was far from clear that he would emerge as the designated successor.

Under Nasser, pan-Arab socialist policies were favoured which led to an import-substitution growth model which featured significant levels of trade protection. Sadat's administration faced the problems caused by this model, which failed in Egypt because of the inability to develop sufficient exports and export

markets, as well as improving the level of human capital. Facing problems of internal unrest and sporadic violence, Sadat introduced a new *intifah* (openness) policy which led to progressively higher levels of foreign trade and which was continued by his successor Hosni Mubarak. These policies have struggled to overcome the problems of embedded interests benefiting from existing barriers, together with persistent failures to develop the labour market, partly resulting from cultural and religious factors. The ability of Middle East Muslim states to establish suitable methods for economic cooperation.

However, Sadat is better known for his foreign policy actions than his very limited amount of domestic success. During the Cold War period, Egypt had accepted Soviet support to counter American backing for the state of Israel. However, Sadat felt the thousands of Soviet technicians present in the country were insufficiently productive and a drag on his foreign policy freedom. Consequently, they were all expelled shortly after he became president. In the following year, a joint invasion of Israel with Syria led to the 1973 Arab–Israeli War, which was a limited success in that Sadat became the first Arab leader to reclaim territory lost to the Israelis—in the Sinai Peninsula in this case. After this war, Sadat changed his policy and worked instead for peace, despite the great unpopularity of such a change in Egypt. He visited Israel in 1977, traveling to the Knesset in Jerusalem to outline his plans for peace. This subsequently gave rise to the 1978 Camp David Accords between Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin which

were mediated by the US President, Jimmy Carter. The fruits of the Accords included the first treaty between an Arab country and Israel and, in 1978, the joint award of the Nobel Peace Prize for Sadat and Begin. Sadat's actions were in part motivated by the desire to secure badly needed US aid for the Egyptian economy. This began in 1975 and had reached flows of more than \$1 billion US per year by the 1980s. Sadat was also concerned by the slow progress of negotiations with the Israelis: two agreements about the Sinai Peninsula had been signed in 1974 and 1975 but many problems remained unresolved. The Palestinian issue was prominent among these but so too were the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Popular belief in Egypt that Sadat had failed to do enough to promote Palestinian interests fuelled economic protests and, early in 1977, riots throughout the country led to nearly one hundred dead and thousands wounded or else arrested.

The inflows of economic assistance only slowly provided assistance to the Egyptian people, since a great deal was inefficiently used in trying to promote uncompetitive industries. At the same time, there has been something of a brain drain of Egyptian intellectuals to many of the oil-producing states of the Middle East.

However, continued inability to provide sustained growth in the domestic economy coupled with unrest among religious groups arising from the peace process made Egypt an increasingly dangerous place for Sadat. His attempts to suppress dissent were only partly successful and, reviewing the troops in 1981 on the anniversary of the Arab–Israeli War, he was assassinated by members of the armed forces.

Anwar Sadat was a transitional political figure on a road to the future that has not yet, five years into the twenty-first century, arrived for the Egyptian people. He demonstrated some fleeting Arab military success against the US-backed Israeli military and he opened the economy to development methods more suitable for the time but without being able to ensure that these were sufficient or sufficiently well sustained. His pan-Arab internationalist brothers and cousins failed him and failed to follow the vision he was able to enounce.

JOHN WALSH

**See also Arab–Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Egypt**

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### SALINAS DE GORTARI, CARLOS

President of Mexico from 1988 to 1994, Carlos Salinas de Gortari's administration carried out major transformations in the social and economic structures of the country by opening its once-protectionist borders to international markets and transnational forces. By embracing the neoliberal recipes of privatization, liberalized trade, and deregulating economic governance, Salinas de Gortari increased Mexico's international competitiveness; however, social polarization, inequalities, and political conflicts also increased. Controversy and corruption also plagued his presidency, making him and several of his closest collaborators the targets of various criminal investigations.

Salinas de Gortari was born in 1948 and grew up in a family closely associated with Mexico's Institutionalized Revolutionary Party (PRI for its acronym in Spanish) at that time the unchallenged centre of national political rule. Salinas de Gortari received a doctoral degree in political economy from Harvard University in 1978, and using his active militancy in the PRI as a springboard managed to occupy high-ranking positions in key financial and planning departments of the public service. Capitalizing on a growing reputation as an efficient and assertive public servant, Salinas de Gortari played an important role in Miguel de la Madrid's presidency (1982–1988), especially in the drafting and implementation of drastic austerity measures and structural adjustment that followed Mexico's almost catastrophic period of foreign debt repayment crises (1982–1984).

Salinas de Gortari's technocratic character and unwavering party loyalty earned him the PRI's presidential nomination for the 1988 general elections. His main opponent was Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano, the charismatic son of former PRI revered leader Lázaro Cárdenas, who had broken ranks with the PRI after unsuccessfully leading a campaign for democratic reform within the party. On election day controversy ensued: as early results projected favorable results for Cárdenas, the electronic system that tallied the votes suffered a sudden technical breakdown. At the end of the impasse, Salinas de Gortari was declared the winner with barely 50% of the votes. Cárdenas and his followers accused the PRI of perpetrating an electoral fraud of massive proportions, and although the evidence supported their claims, the country's electoral authorities validated the results.

These accusations of fraud and corruption would taint Salinas de Gortari's administration, while shedding light on the growing political decadence of the PRI and fueling the development of a national multi-dimensional movement pushing for nationwide political reform.

Salinas de Gortari was determined to transform Mexico from a largely protectionist country to one espousing market-oriented principles that embraced international capital and dealt on the basis of free trade. Three sets of reforms constituted the basis of this ambitious project. First, Salinas de Gortari set out to privatize the country's entire banking system. In essence, the administration claimed that this campaign of privatization would eliminate inefficiency and provide the state with funds to finance pressing socioeconomic needs. Eventually, the drive to privatize went beyond the banking sector and touched all publicly owned corporations and institutions, from telecommunications to drinking water facilities. By the end of Salinas de Gortari's presidency, more than 90% of the country's formerly public enterprises were totally or partially owned by private hands.

Second, Salinas de Gortari amended Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution, one of the pillars of socioeconomic justice that resulted from the Mexican Revolution. Article 27 guaranteed state protection and assistance for small agricultural cooperative communities, or *ejidos*, that were established during the comprehensive land reform campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s and played a major role in securing the country's supply of staple foods. Salinas de Gortari claimed that these protectionist agricultural measures curtailed the competitiveness and productivity of the Mexican countryside given the allegedly large percentage of land used for "unproductive purposes." The reform of Article 27 allowed private capital to buy and/or rent *ejido* land, while eliminating all public programs that assisted *ejidos* in the attainment of inputs, credit, and market access. Moreover, this constitutional amendment was seen as a prerequisite for Mexico to successfully negotiate its entry into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in order to enable multinational corporations (MNCs) to buy previously protected land for the development of agribusiness ventures.

Finally, Salinas de Gortari intensified the outward-oriented, export-based model of economic development by multiplying Mexico's free trade agreements. The most important of these was NAFTA, which entered into force in 1994. Moreover, Salinas de Gortari also signed free trade agreements with most Central American countries, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, and Bolivia, and managed to obtain membership in transnational economic organizations, such as

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Undoubtedly, the substantial changes undertaken during Salinas de Gortari's administration enabled Mexico to diversify its economic base, increase its exports, receive more foreign direct investment (FDI), and create jobs in key sectors of the economy, such as the manufacturing and auto assembling industries. However, these market reforms also provoked major disruptions for millions of Mexicans at the middle and lower strata, especially for the small producer agricultural sector given its inability to compete with cheap grain coming from the United States, the impacts of the rise in prices for basic services due to privatization, and the fall in real wages due to recurring monetary crises that neoliberal policies allegedly helped to trigger. In December 1994, just a few days after Salinas de Gortari had left power, the national currency, the *peso*, lost 60% of its value. All fingers pointed to Salinas de Gortari's economic policies as the main cause of the crisis. Furthermore, the growing displacement and poverty in the Mexican countryside due to the liberal agricultural policies implemented by Salinas de Gortari have been identified as the elements that catalyzed the 1994 indigenous uprising in the southern state of Chiapas, which was led by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN).

Since leaving office Salinas de Gortari has been burdened by several criminal charges that range from murder to embezzlement of public funds. Taking advantage of Ireland's lack of an extradition treaty with Mexico, Salinas de Gortari has resided in Dublin since 1996 and has managed to avoid prosecution.

CARLOS VELÁSQUEZ CARRILLO

**See also Mexico: History and Economic Development; Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI); North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN)**

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## SALVATION ARMY

The Salvation Army traces its origins as a Protestant home mission begun by the Reverend William Booth in London's East End in 1865. But its post-World War II growth has occurred mainly in the developing world. When his mission's growth faltered in the 1878, Booth developed strategies to save it: a military system of command; employment of women ministers (officers); and by 1890, social services to appeal to the poor and urban ethnic minorities. And he opened overseas missions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Before 1945, the Salvation Army followed Britain's Union Jack into British colonies, and after the colonizer's retreat, it turned over most leadership to nationals. Booth's commissioner Frederick St. George de Lautour Tucker, a third generation member of the Indian Civil Service, arrived in Bombay in 1882. As Fakir Singh (prince of religious mendicants) he tried to convert Indians to evangelical Christianity by dressing as a wandering fakir. But he found few to join his Army. Other Christian missions had already partitioned India, and Tucker only enrolled malcontents from other missions.

Finally he found that the Army appealed to India's outcasts and "criminal tribes." Starting with these poor "soldiers" and farm colonies, schools, hospitals, and other social services, his Army grew. By January 2000, India had 227,133 soldiers. In Asia, the Army had 357,057 soldiers, 35% of its international membership. In Africa it had 422,721 soldiers, 41.5% of its membership. In Latin America there were 17,492 soldiers. Thus 797,270 (77.5%) of all 1,019,137 Salvationists live in developing nations, with its largest membership in India, Kenya-Uganda, and Zimbabwe. However, it is unclear how accurate these statistics are. According to a Salvation Army leader, they vary by national culture. An Indian born into a religion may be inactive, but s/he may not be removed from the register even upon death. What is clear is that most Salvationists live in the developing world of the Army's 108 countries and territories. (Membership statistics are from *The Salvation Army 2004 Yearbook* [London: The Salvation Army International Headquarters, 2004]).

In each country the Army's churches are largely self-supporting, but schools, hospitals, and other social services receive financial support from funds the Army

raises from governments and public contributions in the developed world. Prior to 1947, nearly all Salvation Army leaders were Europeans, North Americans, or from Australia-New Zealand. By 2001, most in Africa and South Asia are native-born. The transition came as African and Asian Salvationists insisted on leading their post-colonial countries, and developing world governments refused to accept foreign leaders. No longer would the leaders speak only English, nor would Salvationists pray, as one Indian officer put it, to "our father who art in London."

Salvation Army history in the developing world is written or edited by officers in the West. And the Army has not yet elected a General, its sole international commander, from a developing country. But there are now new voices in the Army's high councils who represent the developing nations.

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**See also Christianity; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

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## SAMOA

The Samoan archipelago, which stretches across more than three hundred miles of the South Pacific Ocean, is divided into two political entities, the Independent State of Samoa (formerly Western Samoa, now known generally as "Samoa") and American Samoa. The people of both countries are linked by extended familial ties, owing to the two countries' long-standing but now discarded reciprocal free immigration policies, but political and economic distinctions still divide the two countries.

Samoa consists chiefly of the two large islands of Savai'i (656 square miles) and Upolu (430 square miles), the latter including the capital city of Apia. American Samoa occupies the archipelago's seven eastern islands, the largest of which, Tutuila (fifty-six square miles), hosts the country's capital, Pago Pago. The island chain lies on the South Pacific's primary

hurricane corridor, with major storms regularly forming each year between November and April, and devastating cyclones regularly destroy crops, damage infrastructure, and disrupt economic activity. The larger islands have high mountain peaks that drop off sharply to the sea, with few plains and little cultivable land area. The population of Samoa is 160,000, while American Samoa has approximately 68,000 citizens. Both countries have an average annual population growth rate of 2%.

In the late nineteenth century, the Samoan islands were the focus of intense competition among the Great Powers, which needed Pacific coaling stations for their fleets. In 1899, the archipelago was partitioned at the 171st meridian. Germany took possession of the larger western sector, while the United States obtained the smaller eastern islands. After Germany's defeat in World War I, its Pacific possessions were placed under a League of Nations mandate administered by New Zealand. Wellington enforced its authority against an independence movement in 1920s, but after World War II it promoted measured progress toward autonomy for Western Samoa. The country became independent in January 1962.

The economy of Western Samoa, traditionally dependent upon intensive plantation-style cultivation of coconuts and copra, has remained heavily oriented toward agricultural exports. As a result, domestic budgets are vulnerable to commodity price fluctuations, a fact that inhibits long-term economic development planning. Since the mid-1980s, a relatively new industry has emerged, that of tropical hardwood harvesting, processing, and export. Although profitable, the industry has caused widespread environmental damage, including the deforestation of 40% of the country's total land area. With United Nations aid money, the Samoan government has designated several zones as "conservation areas" where tree harvesting is banned. A small environmental movement is growing, and both the government and commercial entrepreneurs are beginning to promote eco-tourism as a new source of hard currency revenues.

To curb its welfare expenses and as a mechanism to reduce overcrowding, the Samoan government encourages emigration, and Samoan youth regularly leave the country in search of employment. New Zealand accepts 1,100 Samoan immigrants annually, and during periods of prosperity many times this number are allowed in on "guest" visas, on the assumption that young Samoans will accept unattractive low-wage jobs. Hundreds more Samoans are believed to enter New Zealand and Australia illegally each year, merging into the underground economies of the host countries. Samoans regularly move to American Samoa, attracted by relatively high-wage cannery jobs. Remittances

from family members working abroad support many Samoan households. The government also relies upon international development aid, particularly for financing large infrastructure projects.

After the 1899 partition, the American sector of Samoa was administered by the US Navy, which established coaling facilities at the deep water harbor of Pago Pago. During World War II, Tutuila island saw the construction of air fields, storage depots, and training facilities to support Navy and Marine forces in the Pacific. Nonetheless, central features of traditional Samoan political culture remained intact, including communal land ownership and the relaxed administration of social affairs by local familial chiefs, known as "matai." In 1951, the Navy transferred its authority over the territory to the US Department of the Interior, and consultations began on the introduction of a constitution. The new document, introduced in 1960, provided for a bicameral legislative body with special roles for senior matai, but all foreign affairs issues remained under the control of Washington, DC. In 1980, American Samoa elected its first non-voting delegate to the US House of Representatives.

During the early 1960s, President John F. Kennedy ordered that federal educational, welfare, and infrastructure development programs be implemented in American Samoa. Roads, schools, harbor and airport facilities, electricity production plants, and medical clinics were built, welfare and educational benefits were introduced, and new jobs were created in the construction and operation of large tuna canneries near Pago Pago. Funding cuts in the 1970s and 1980s reduced benefits paid to individuals supported by federal programs, and public facilities went without regular maintenance or improvements. In the early 2000s, more than half the government's revenue was supplied by direct grants from the United States.

As a US territory, American Samoa has absorbed American popular culture through radio, television, music, and films. Traditionalists and nationalists pointed to these influences to explain the rising incidence of juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, and illegal drug usage during the 1990s, stimulating a movement for a return to "fa'a Samoa," or traditional Samoan folkways. Local legislative initiatives placed restrictions on foreign investment and land purchases by non-Samoans.

Over 90% of American Samoa's populace resides on Tutuila, concentrated around the harbor at Pago Pago. Unemployment regularly exceeds 10%, and it is estimated that each year, half of the country's high school graduates move to the United States, particularly to Hawaii and the West Coast, in search of better educational and employment opportunities.



Most make permanent homes in the United States and regularly remit cash to family members remaining in American Samoa.

Tuna canning and fish processing are the largest industries in American Samoa, with agricultural products a distant second. The largest market for all exports is the United States. The canneries at Pago Pago attract migrants from Western Samoa and Tonga. For many, moving to American Samoa presents the possibility of obtaining permanent resident status in the territory, and thereby eventually gaining the right to legally enter the United States.

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**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## SANCTIONS, ECONOMIC

In recent decades, economic sanctions have become a household phrase as they have been imposed more frequently on a number of countries—Cuba, Iraq, Libya, Haiti (1991–1994), Iran, North Korea, and South Africa (before it abandoned apartheid) to name a few—although some of these date back 40 years. Economic sanctions involve one or more countries, referred to as *sender(s)*, who inflict or threaten to inflict on another country, the *target*, economic and financial costs in order to change that country's behavior. The action by the sender consists of but is not restricted to boycott, restriction of access to financial resources, denial of trade, and blocking of

assets. The offending behavior of the target country could be in the sphere of military (occupation of Kuwait by Iraq), human rights (South Africa during apartheid, Poland in 1981, China), hostage taking (Iran), support for terrorism (Libya), the economy (countries who restrict their markets), or environmental concerns. Sanctions are unilateral when there is only one sender and multilateral when there are a number of senders or are even imposed by the United Nations. The target is usually a single country although there have been cases where several countries were targets of economic sanctions. As a result of sanctions both the sender and target incur costs, and the costs to the sender may be even greater in absolute magnitude. Yet because usually the sender is a powerful country and the target a smaller nation, the relative costs to the target are more pronounced. Sanctions are usually applied to the government, companies, and citizens of the target country or to companies and citizens of the sender country who trade with or invest in the target country. Cases exist, however, where sanctions acquire extraterritorial character and are imposed on third-country companies who deal with the target.

Sanctions have a long history and date back to 432 BC when Athens imposed a trade embargo on Megara. In their modern reincarnation during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, economic sanctions have been imposed close to 170 times on different countries. What is interesting is the proliferation of economic sanctions in the past two decades. Between 1914 and 1990, the number of sanctions is estimated at 115, but since 1990 more than fifty sanctions have been imposed.

The rate of success of sanctions in achieving their publicly stated goals—that is, to change the offending countries political behavior—is low. The best estimates put it at 25% to 30%. One has only to look at four decades of sanctions on Cuba and more than ten years on Iraq for the confirmation of their ineffectiveness. Sanctions are more effective when multilateral and when third parties—countries or blocks of countries which are neither senders nor targets—do not thwart them. It is not unusual for the neighbors of the target country or nations with which it has had trade and investment relations to continue their dealings clandestinely or even openly and reap financial benefits. Nevertheless, these considerations should not be taken to mean that economic sanctions do not inflict economic costs on the countries under sanctions. Indeed, such costs can be quite substantial and cripple an economy. Therefore, some have argued that economic sanctions have a broader purpose, that they send a signal to the world as to the resolve and power of the sanction-imposing country. Others have sought

to explain the rationale for sanctions and the recent surge in their number by the actions of interest groups and by public choice theory. We present three rationales for imposing economic sanctions. None of these explanations are applicable to all cases. Nevertheless, individually or in combination, they account for the majority if not all instances of economic sanctions. Empirical work on the study of sanctions and their impact has just begun. Work on econometric models specifically designed to quantify the effect of sanctions on both sender and target countries would be a desirable avenue of research.

One explanation for the proliferation of economic sanctions observes that sanctions are something between war and no action at all. Faced with an international situation that is morally objectionable or politically unacceptable—for instance, apartheid in South Africa, ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia, human rights violations in Haiti, Iraq's intentions toward its neighbors, and state-sponsored terrorism of Libya—other countries have a number of choices. Warfare is costly in human and financial terms and may not be popular at home. Passivity, on the other hand, could be politically damaging and morally unacceptable both at home and abroad. Economic sanctions are a happy medium. But this does not explain why in the face of the lackluster performance of sanctions, governments still resort to them. The problem is that this view does not consider the signal or expressive value of sanctions.

A second explanation may be that in reality sanctions have been more successful than raw statistics show. First, there have been many successful episodes, albeit small ones, while a few prominent unsuccessful cases have grabbed headlines. Second, sanctions prevent the recurrence of the offending behavior by other countries. For example, it has been noted that by imposing an embargo on Cuba, the United States discouraged other Latin American countries from becoming communist. Thus, a country facing a situation where its principles are trampled upon has to make a stand. Failure to do so or follow through with economic sanctions (even if the stated goals of the sanctions are not achieved) would be to invite further encroachments. It also may earn the sender a reputation of being a paper tiger, and serve as a signal to other countries that they too need not take warnings seriously. The target on its part may refuse to budge because to submit once may invite blackmail. The sender may demand more and more concessions. Thus, regardless of the costs, the target may refuse to change its behavior. Furthermore, it may turn the sanctions into a national cause and try to rally the populace around the flag. The upshot of all these reactions would be two countries in a

locked-horn position and with no end in sight. Such episodes of sanctions could be considered successful in achieving their aims, because their prolonged histories stand as a reminder to other nations and relieve the sender of the need to impose further sanctions.

While the previous view seems sound and has explanatory value, it requires econometric validation. We cannot believe in a theory based on an event not happening, unless we clearly specify what might have happened and show evidence as to its likely occurrence. This may be a tall order in the case of sanctions, but it should be possible to specify a behavioral model along the lines of models dealing with self-selection in labor economics, and subject it to empirical testing.

A third view of economic sanctions is based on the observation that a nation consists of many interest groups with different and sometimes opposing objectives. Thus, for simplicity, we can divide voters in the sender country into three interest groups; one group may benefit from or be in favor of sanctions, another may be harmed by or oppose them, and the third be neutral or unaffected. The same division could be applied to people in the target country. Now each of the first two groups in the sender country would try to advance their own agenda through influencing the elected officials. Each group would try to elect candidates sympathetic to their cause and find allies among the neutral group. Elected officials, in turn, would try to curry favor with influential interest groups. When the group in favor of economic sanctions gets the upper hand, sanctions will be instituted against the target country, and when those opposed to it muster the necessary votes, they will prevent them from going into effect or if they are already in place remove them. For its part the interest group in the target country which benefits from sanctions will do its utmost to prevent any softening on the part of its own government that could lead to the removal of the sanctions. Hence, members of the group rally around the flag and organize demonstrations against foreign meddling in the internal affairs of the homeland. In this game, third parties—that is, governments, companies, and citizens of the countries that are neither senders nor target—will try to maximize their own gains. This may entail trying to circumvent or even remove the sanctions, or to make lucrative deals with the target country.

As an example, observe that groups concerned about terrorism in the Middle East and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as well as supporters of Israel work hard to keep the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) in place. While as a result of the prohibition of trade with and investment in Iran many businesses and particularly oil companies stand

to lose. On their part, Iranian people and their elected representatives have sought rapprochement with the United States while the unelected conservative officials have spurned even dialogue with America. Conservatives have both financial and political vested interests in confronting the United States. Third parties have also been at work. When the American company Conoco had to withdraw from a deal with Iran, the French company Total took its place. Similarly, European countries and Russia have tried to benefit from trade with Iran.

A parallel situation exists regarding Cuba. The large Cuban community in the United States is against any dealing with the Castro regime, while many businesses would like to trade with that country. European firms, on the other hand, are against the provision of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 that imposes sanctions on companies who benefit from the use of properties of Americans, including naturalized citizens, confiscated by the Cuban government.

This theory too helps us to better understand the reasons for imposing sanctions through an analysis of the political process. Nevertheless, the model should not be taken too literally. The two co-sponsors of the LIBERTAD Act, Helms of North Carolina and Burton of Indiana, could not be said to have been influenced by the Cuban community in America, as neither state has a large presence of Cuban-Americans. Their motives may have been ideological opposition to communism and promotion of international recognition of and respect for private property rights. One may surmise that it is more likely for an interest group to succeed in enacting its legislation when its goal is in line with a broader consensus. Also one has to be skeptical of the rallying-around-the-flag argument if it is based only on demonstrations in the target country. Petty dictators run many target countries and the populace may have no choice but to participate in these public shows of support for the government.

The communications revolution has brought people around the globe ever closer to each other. Any conflict, civil rights violation, or terrorist act immediately attains the character of an international problem. The global village calls for the observance of rules of civil society by all, and since this is not going to be the case, the need and calls for sanctions will increase. In the absence of an international body to enforce human rights and the rules of civil society, powerful countries individually or in coalitions will find it necessary to enforce compliance. The use of military force will not always be desirable or even possible. Therefore, sanctions will become the weapon of choice on many occasions. Moreover, globalization

has resulted in the growing interdependence of markets and economies. This, in turn, requires that all participants submit to the discipline of the market and play the game fairly or, at the least, refrain from flagrant violations. It is unlikely that in the foreseeable future all nations will give up on export subsidies and protectionist policies, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its rules notwithstanding. Economic disputes too will add to the cases of sanctions. On the other hand, many in the business community consider sanctions an interference with free trade. Fearful of their abuse by interest groups, a trend to oppose sanctions as frivolous acts has taken shape. Thus, for the foreseeable future, economic sanctions will remain an important issue of our time. A rigorous theoretical and empirical analysis of this subject is vitally needed.

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### See also Private Property Rights

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## **SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FSLN)**

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led a successful insurgency that ousted Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle on July 19, 1979, then ruled the impoverished Central American country until 1990, when it was defeated in democratic elections. It remains the main opposition political party in the country, winning nearly half of the seats in the National Assembly in the 2001 elections. Since 1990, its support has been fairly constant at about 30%–40% of the vote, despite the defection of certain key leaders such as former Vice President Sergio Ramirez.

### **Origins and History**

The FSLN takes its name from Nicaraguan hero Augusto César Sandino, a Liberal reformer who held US forces at bay for six years, leading to their departure in 1933, following a relatively fair election won by fellow Liberal Juan Sacasa. Sandino's philosophy was, above all, nationalistic, and he even broke ties with Augustín Farabundo Martí—who led a failed rebellion in El Salvador in 1932—because of the latter's adherence to communism. Sandino was double-crossed and killed in 1934 by then head of the newly created National Guard, Anastasio Somoza García, who later became president and founded the familial dictatorship overthrown by the self-declared heirs to Sandino's nationalist cause in 1979.

The FSLN, according to the sole surviving founder Tomás Borge, was an historical response to this dictatorship and its ties to the United States. Its primary goal was to defeat the Somoza dictatorship via armed struggle, and to take political power in order to achieve democratization and progress in Nicaragua. It drew not only upon the nationalism of Sandino but on certain aspects of Marxism-Leninism and Christian humanism, borrowing the latter from Liberation Theology, which resonated throughout Latin America. Founded in 1961, the FSLN was an obscure guerrilla movement that took its inspiration from the successful insurgency led by Fidel Castro in Cuba. Its principal leader until his death in 1976 was Carlos Fonseca, whose writings continue to inspire the movement. The Sandinistas resisted, however, the temptation to build a cult of personality around any one leader, relying instead on a nine-man National Directorate that represented equally the three "tendencies" within the movement—the Prolonged Popular War tendency, the Terceristas (of which Daniel and brother Humberto Ortega were leading members), and the

Proletarian tendency. In theory, as well as in practice, these nine men made decisions based upon discussion and consensus.

### **The Sandinista Revolution**

When the Sandinistas triumphed over the National Guard and Somoza in 1979, they had built a broad opposition coalition that included twenty existing political parties and groups in Nicaragua. At first, a five-person junta was named to govern the country, including Ortega, Ramirez, Alfonso Robelo, Violeta de Chamorro, and Moisés Hassan. But the FSLN moved quickly to strengthen its own base of support by creating a number of affiliated organizations, including the Sandinista Workers Central (CST) labor union, the Association of Rural Workers (ATC), and the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), the latter of which were neighborhood groups criticized for allegedly silencing dissent, though their primary purpose was to attend to peoples' immediate needs. Despite the defection of several of its coalition members, the Sandinistas continued to tolerate a political opposition, even after evidence of US influence emerged. The Reagan administration, upon taking office in early 1981, was openly hostile to the FSLN-dominated government and financed a covert war to overthrow it. Undeterred, the Sandinistas carried out sweeping economic and land reforms, aimed primarily at the country's impoverished population. Private investment was tolerated and even encouraged in what was declared to be a mixed economy.

The Sandinistas held their first elections in November 1984, despite the ongoing proxy war. Six political parties to both the left and the right of the FSLN agreed to participate, while four others opted to boycott, claiming the conditions did not meet their demands. The United States used that boycott to contend that the elections were a sham, but most observers present concluded that, given the circumstances, the voting was as free and fair as could be expected. Daniel Ortega was elected president with 67% of the popular vote, while the FSLN captured sixty-one of the ninety-six seats in the new National Assembly. By 1987, Nicaragua had a new constitution, but its economic situation was deteriorating rapidly in the face of the US embargo and covert war. By the late 1980s, inflation had reached 675% and more than two-thirds of the government's budget was being devoted to defense.

It was under these trying conditions that the Sandinistas submitted to another election in 1990, facing off against former junta member Chamorro and the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO), which

## SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FSLN)

enjoyed US backing. Ortega lost to Chamorro, 55% to 41%, and the FSLN agreed to hand over power. But they captured thirty-nine of the ninety-two National Assembly seats and, with the dissolution of UNO soon after the election, the Sandinistas continued to exercise considerable influence and power. They worked to minimize the impact of neo-liberal reforms (neo-liberalism) on workers while defending other aspects of their revolution, such as land redistribution and education. In the most recent elections, on November 4, 2001, Ortega again ran for president and again lost, this time to Enrique Bolaños of the Constitutionalist Liberal Party (PLC). But the FSLN won forty-three of the ninety assembly seats and claimed victory in that regard.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central America: International Relations**

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## SAUDI ARABIA

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia extends from the Red Sea in the west to the Arabian Gulf in the east; bordered on the north by Jordan, Iraq and Kuwait, on the south, by Yemen and Oman, and on the east by the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar and Bahrain. Almost all of Saudi Arabia consists of semi-desert and desert with oases, where half of the total surface is uninhabitable desert. The two major desert regions are, in the north, the An Nefud Desert, and in the south, the great Rub al-Khali desert also called the

Empty Quarter due to its lack of inhabitants. Between those lie the Nejd massif central plateau and the plain of El Hasa, the country's only fertile region.

Most of the western parts of Saudi Arabia are plateau; the east is lowland, with a very hot climate. With the exception of the province of Asir with its towns of Jizan on the western coast and Najran, Saudi Arabia has a desert climate characterized by extreme heat during the day, a sudden drop in temperature at night and erratic rainfall. The two main extremes in climate are felt between the coastal lands and the interior. Along the coastal regions of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf temperatures seldom rise above 100°F, but the relative humidity is usually more than 85% and frequently 100% for extended periods.

The inner part of the country includes the Nejd, and the great deserts. The average summer temperature is 113°F, but readings of up to 129°F are common. The heat becomes intense shortly after sunrise and lasts until sunset, followed by comparatively cool nights. During winter, the temperature seldom drops below 32°F, but the almost total absence of humidity and the high wind factor create a cold atmosphere. In the spring and autumn, temperatures average 84°F. All over the country there is very little rain. There are no permanent rivers and lakes. Although the average rainfall is four inches per year, whole regions may not experience rainfall for several years. When such droughts occur affected areas may not be able to sustain either livestock or agriculture with great losses as happened in the 1957 droughts.

The population is currently estimated at 25.1 million and has a growth rate of 3% annually. The total area of the country is estimated at 829,995 square miles with a population density of 30.3 persons per square mile. The boundaries of the Kingdom are not clearly determined in desert areas, especially the border with the Sultanate of Oman and the UAE. The city of Riyadh, located in the Nejd plateau, is the capitol and largest city with an estimated population of 3.5 million, which accounts for 14% of the total population.

Besides the capitol, major cities are located in the west side of the country. They include Jeddah, the religious centres of Makkah al-Mukarrama (Mecca) and Medina. On the east coast, are located the cities of Dammam, Al-Khubar and Dhahran, the oil industry capitol. In a similar way to other countries that possess lots of desert land (for example, Libya), most of the population lives in the cities, making 86% of the population urban. The geographical concentration of the population in the cities is the result of the disappearance of the Bedouin way of life as the Kingdom was united in 1932.

The Muslim tradition in the Arabia peninsula originated with Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, who was born in Mecca around 570 CE. He started the Islamic traditions when the Qur'an (or Koran) was revealed to him, which later was written and considered the holy book of the Muslims. After conquering the Mecca in 630 CE, Muhammad died two years later but left behind him an Islamic Community ruled by caliphs as political leaders who spread the Islam. However in the year 661 CE the caliphs moved the political centre of the Islam to Damascus (Syria). The Muslims wouldn't gain a total control of the country until the eighteenth century. The Kingdom's origins lay in the eighteenth century with the ancient Wahhabi movement, which gained the allegiance of the powerful and traditional Saud family of the Nejd, in central Arabia. Supported by a large Bedouin following, the Sauds brought most of the peninsula under their control. It was Abdulaziz bin Abdelrahman Al-Saud (also known as Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud or more simply as Ibn Saud) who laid the basis of the present Saudi Arabian state. After facing some conflicts, Ibn Saud took Riyadh in 1902 to become master of the Nejd by 1906. He later conquered the Al-Hasa region from the Ottoman Turks and soon extended his control over other areas.

Finally on September 23, 1932, that region was combined with the Nejd to establish the *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, an absolute and united monarchy, ruled under Islamic law. The Holy Qur'an was established as the constitution and Ibn Saud became the king and prime minister. Saudi Arabia became a hereditary monarchy. It was then when King Ibn Saud compelled most of the Bedouins to abandon traditional ways and encouraged their settlement as farmers. During his time, Ibn Saud initiated the real process of nation building as he began the development of the country's infrastructure by first establishing roads, basic communications systems, improving education, national health care and agriculture.

His three sons continued his work: Saud, Faisal, and Khalid. The eldest son of King Ibn Saud, Saud acceded to the throne upon his father's death in 1953. He instituted the Council of Ministers and established the Ministries of Health, Education and Commerce. A large number of schools and the Kingdom's first institute of higher education, King Saud University, were opened in Riyadh in 1957. In 1960, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed and Saudi Arabia became a stable and strong member until the present days. Faisal bin Abdulaziz became king in 1964. While his father had shaped the Kingdom, Faisal built and consolidated the country. Following the assassination of Faisal in 1975, King Khalid's reign (1975–1982) began.

Stressing Islamic orthodoxy and conservatism while expanding the country's economy, Khalid continued developing social programs and educational structures. Later on, due to an illness Khalid died in June 1982 and King Fahd bin Abdulaziz took over the government.

For thousands of years, the economy of the Arabian Peninsula had been determined by autonomous clusters of people living near wells and oases, under the Bedouin way of life. Until the middle of the 1930s, the recently united Kingdom's economical structure was based on agriculture, including nomads who raised livestock by moving their animals to the limited forage produced by infrequent rains. Production was limited to serve very small markets and existed essentially on a subsistence level. Trade was limited primarily to camel caravans. As cities formed, the main sources of income were trade and fishing on the Red Sea coast, the annual influxes of income derived from pilgrims who visited the holy places and the growing of products mainly on the eastern coast. Imports on several alimentary products were necessary to satisfy the demand.

However, in 1938, the discovery of huge reserves of oil by a United States company provoked the most structural change for the economy of Saudi Arabia. Initially, the newly established oil industry had only an indirect impact on this primitive economy. The establishment of the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco, predecessor of Saudi Aramco) triggered major changes in the economy of the kingdom, especially in the Eastern Province. Development of the oil fields required ancillary construction of modern ports, roads, housing, power plants, and water systems.

The discovery of oil ended the kingdom's isolation and introduced new ways to organize the production and distribution of goods and services. Nowadays, the oil industry located in the northeast along the Persian Gulf dominates the Kingdom's economy: the petroleum sector accounts for roughly 75% of budget revenues, 45% of the gross domestic product (GDP), and 90% of export earnings. In 2004, Saudi Arabia's GDP was estimated at \$287.8 billion with a per capita income of about \$11,800. Major trading partners are the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and other European Union countries. Saudi Arabia contains about one quarter of the world's known reserves. The dynamics of the oil industry encouraged the development of other sectors in the Kingdom. Since 1962, Saudi Arabia has increasingly been producing natural gas liquids along with the exploitation of petroleum. Also some minerals are extracted and exported such as limestone, gypsum, marble, clay, iron ore, copper, gold, bauxite, and uranium. Agriculture only represents 4% of the GDP and consists mainly

of wheat, barley, dates, citrus fruit, vegetables, and livestock products. Agriculture is a growing economic sector and the country is approaching food self-sufficiency.

Due to the large incomes provided by the oil sector, the country has gone through considerable social development. During the last four decades the health standards have improved significantly with the establishment of a network of public primary health care centres and clinics throughout the country, which provide preventive, prenatal, emergency, and basic health services. The number of health centres and clinics rose from 591 in 1970 to over 3,300 by 2000.

This is complemented by a network of hospitals and specialized treatment facilities, located strategically in major urban areas such as Riyadh or Makkah. The results of the program have been to lower the infant mortality rate from 105 per 1,000 births in 1975 to 25 per 1,000 live births in 2000. Consequently, the life expectancy at birth rose from fifty-four years in 1975 to seventy-two in 2002. Also the mortality of children under age five has significantly been lowered from 141 per 1,000 births in 1975 to 30 per 1,000 in 2000. However, despite having increased the number of hospitals and beds, Saudi Arabia's ratio of one hospital bed per 440 people is among the lowest in the world.

The Saudi government also cares for social welfare having instituted during the 1980s some programs that provide social security pensions, benefits, and relief assistance to the disabled, the elderly, orphans, and widows without income. The government has also been active in housing policies by financing construction and building the infrastructure to enable housing development. Substantial housing has been built for low-income Saudis, public employees, and students. An important government policy has been to provide interest-free, easy-term loans for home construction. For this purpose, the Real Estate Development Fund was established in 1975 to provide financing to individuals and private companies. However, despite the large number of foreign workers within Saudi Arabia, only Saudi citizens are allowed to own property.

As for education, the formal primary education began in Saudi Arabia in the 1930s. By 1945, King Ibn Saud had initiated an extensive program to establish schools in the Kingdom. By 1951, the country had 226 schools with 29,887 students. Today, Saudi Arabia's nationwide public educational system comprises eight universities, more than twenty-four thousand schools, and a large number of colleges and other educational and training institutions. The first university, now known as King Saud University, was founded in Riyadh in 1957. Other universities such as the Islamic University of Imam Muhammad Ibn

Saud in Riyadh, the Islamic University at Medina or the King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals were later founded.

Since the government extended public education to girls in 1960, the public educational system is open to every citizen and provides students with free education, books and health services. Although school is not compulsory, 59% of children were attending primary school in 2002 and the secondary school enrollment ratio reached 53% in 2002. A noticeable increase in literacy over the last decades of the twentieth century is one indicator of the success of the government's efforts. According to 1970 data, the Saudis had one of the lowest literacy rates in the Middle East: 15% for men and 3% for women. In 1990, 66% of the adult population was literate while in 2002 it reached 78% for both men and women.

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**See also** *Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO); Arab-Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973); Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Organization of Exporting Petroleum Countries (OPEC); Palestinian Diaspora*

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#### SELASSIE, EMPEROR HAILE

Haile Selassie (1892-1975), Conquering Lion of Judah, Elect of God, King of Kings, and 225th emperor of the Ethiopian dynasty was born on July 23, 1892. Until his official coronation at age thirty-eight he was known by his birth name, Tafari Makonnen. His father was a cousin of the progressive Emperor Menelik II. He received a modern education from French missionary tutors. In Tafari's youth, Ethiopia used a feudal system of land tenure. Speakers of the Amhara

language controlled the economy, the established Coptic church and the political system. Most administrators were large landowners. Peasant farmers were taxed up to 90% of their harvest.

By age twenty, Tafari had married Woizero Menen (with whom he eventually had six children). In 1913, Menelik II died and was succeeded by his grandson, Lij Yasu. Yasu sided with Ottoman Turks in World War I, and converted to Islam. Tafari deposed Yasu in 1916. Menelik's daughter Zawditu was named Empress, and Tafari became her regent, and heir apparent, with the title *Ras* (prince). For the next decade Ras Tafari built up his own military force while maneuvering between conservatives and reformers. His heart lay entirely with the latter faction, especially after he returned from his first visit to Europe in 1924. In 1928, he forced Zawditu to crown him as *Negus* (king) and two years later, after Zawditu mysteriously died, he became Emperor with the throne name Haile Selassie I.

Ethiopia, with very few roads across its mountainous terrain and with more than eighty local languages, was nearly ungovernable. Haile Selassie promulgated a constitution in 1931, but this was hardly a move toward democracy, as it provided that "the person of the Emperor is sacred, his dignity inviolable, and his power indisputable." The real purpose was to centralize power. That meant installing relatives as provincial governors and rotating them frequently.

Haile Selassie wanted Ethiopia to have modern schools, clinics, and banks, but his reforms were halted by the Italian invasion of October 1935. He is best remembered for his eloquent but futile appeal to the League of Nations to resist Fascist aggression. He spent five years in London before returning to Addis Ababa with British troops in May 1941.

In the postwar period, Haile Selassie continued, but at a slower pace, his cautious program of modernization. He abolished slavery but was unable to implement land reform. He steered effectively through the shoals of international politics, granted base rights to the United States Air Force, and annexed Eritrea. He held elections for the lower house of parliament in 1957, but continued to rule as an absolute monarch.

From 1960 onward, the Emperor's life grew increasingly difficult. In that year, one of his sons was implicated in a coup attempt. In 1962, his wife died. The seventy-year-old man sought respite from his loneliness by frequent foreign travel (including a visit to Jamaica, where members of the Rastafarian sect greeted him as Jesus Christ) but his government ground to a halt when he was gone. By 1970, he had become isolated, and seemed oblivious to the coming storm. A terrible famine in 1973 and 1974 took the lives of an estimated two hundred thousand people. In

February 1974, a general strike called to protest unchecked inflation spread to all sectors of the population, including teachers, taxi drivers, Coptic priests, and even prostitutes. The aged emperor's response was to hand out cash from the window of his limousine.

Haile Selassie was deposed in a military coup on September 12, 1974. He lived out his days under house arrest, still believing, or pretending, that he was in power. The new military government announced on August 27, 1975, that he had died in his sleep, but they hid his remains under a toilet in the palace, where they were discovered in 1992. In November 2000, the emperor was reburied alongside his wife in Addis Ababa's Trinity Cathedral.

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**See also Ethiopia; Rastafarianism**

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## SELF-DETERMINATION

Self-determination consists of the political and legal processes and structures through which a people gain and maintain control over their own destinies. With the creation of the United Nations (UN), self-determination of peoples became an established principle of international law. The principle is embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Common Article 1(1) of these Covenants provides that: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

The UN General Assembly invoked this principle in its 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in which it stated that subjection of peoples to alien domination constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights and violates the peoples' right to freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. In accordance with the principle of self-determination, the UN supported the independence of colonies in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere.

Although there is no international legal definition of "peoples," who are entitled to the right of self-determination, the term is generally used to describe



a population who shares the following characteristics: (1) a common historical tradition; (2) self-identity as a distinctive cultural or ethnic group; (3) cultural homogeneity; (4) a shared language; (5) a shared religion; and (6) a traditional territorial connection. In practice, however, the United Nations and its member states have been reluctant to extend the right of self-determination of peoples beyond overseas colonized territories. Even the former colonies (now independent states) are reluctant to recognize their own ethnically distinct citizens' full right to self-determination, fearing it might lead to demands for separation and secession.

Today, many indigenous communities throughout the world are claiming the right to self-determination. These are peoples, such as American Indians and Australian Aborigines, who constitute a "first people," with a prior history of territorial occupation and an ancestral attachment to their land before it was conquered and occupied by others. They now live within existing states as subordinate peoples. They are determined, however, to preserve and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the bases of their continued existence as peoples with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems.

Indigenous peoples see their situations as being identical to those of colonized peoples who have been conquered and then ruled by others. They argue that the so-called "salt water test" (which limits the rights of self-determination to colonized lands that exist across the oceans from the colonizing country) should not apply to them. Other conquered peoples claiming the right to self-determination include the Chechens, who are dominated by Russia; the Palestinians, whose land is occupied by Israel; the Kurds, living in Turkey, Iraq and Iran; and the Catholics of Northern Ireland. The first three of these peoples want to establish their own independent states, while the Northern Irish Catholics want to become part of Ireland.

The right of self-determination conflicts with the principle of preserving the territorial integrity of sovereign states—a principle also found in the UN Charter. Although the exercise of self-determination can include secession from an existing state and the creation of a new one, it also includes other less dramatic choices. The UN General Assembly's 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States explains that implementation of the right to self-determination need not conflict with the territorial sovereignty or political unity of a state. The Declaration provides that a people exercising their right of self-determination may choose to form a federation with an existing state, integration into an existing state as

an autonomous region, or "any other political status freely determined by a people" short of secession.

The Declaration goes on to explain the conditions under which peoples are not justified in seeking secession and independence from a sovereign state. It states that independent countries possessing a government that effectively represent the whole of their population (ethnic minorities included) are considered to be conducting themselves in conformity with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. For example, if an indigenous people or ethnic minority reside in a democratic state that enables them to participate effectively in the political process and economy and to practice their religion and culture, then they are exercising their right of self-determination and have no cause to secede. When this is not the case, however, peoples have the right to act to control their own destinies.

The right to secede is an option of last resort, justified by serious government violations of human rights, persistent discrimination, and other grave injustices. Self-determination examples of succession in recent decades include the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan to form Bangladesh, and the separation of East Timor from Indonesia. In each of these cases, distinct peoples created independent states and thereby shattered the federations or unitary state of which they had been a part.

Examples of self-determination within an existing state include Italy's five special autonomous regions with extensive local powers defined by the constitution: Trentino–Alto Adige (containing the German-speaking people of the South Tyrol), Friuli–Venezia Giulia (containing Slovene and Friulian speakers), Val d'Aosta (containing French speakers), as well as the islands of Sardinia and Sicily. Each of these regions has unique, "non-Italian" cultural, linguistic, and historical characteristics that have justified extensive delegations of powers from Rome to the regional authorities to permit decision-making on local educational, economic, cultural, and budgetary issues.

Some other autonomy arrangements include the Sami Parliaments in the Nordic countries, the Nunavut territory in Canada, and the ancestral territory of indigenous people in Panama.

The trend in world politics has been for enlightened states to attempt sincerely to accommodate the self-determination aspirations of their ethnic minorities, while other states continue to suppress and deny their minorities or subjugated peoples this fundamental right.

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**See also Political Culture**

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## SENEGAL

The Republic of Senegal is a coastal West African country just south of the Sahara Desert, bordered by Mauritania, Mali, Guinea, and Guinea-Bissau. The country has about 310 miles of Atlantic coastline. The Gambia constitutes a sliver of territory about twenty miles wide and two hundred miles long that extends from the coast eastward along the Gambia River, separating the southern region of the Casamance from the rest of Senegal. The climate is predominantly tropical, with a rainy season, lasting from June through October, followed by a cool dry season. The greatest amount of rainfall occurs in the south, which receives about seventy inches annually, compared to twenty inches in the far north along the Senegal River. The nation is drained by the Senegal, Sine, Saloum, Gambia and Casamance Rivers. Flat, rolling plains and sandy soil characterize much of Senegal except in the Casamance region which has some forest areas. The population is estimated at approximately 10 million, with an estimated growth rate of 3.3% annually. The capital, Dakar, situated on the Atlantic coast, has a population of about 1.7 million.

Prior to French occupation and the consolidation of colonial rule in the middle to late nineteenth century, the Senegal region was dominated by a series of Muslim Wolof and Fulbe kingdoms and some non-Muslim Serer states. Wars among the various states produced significant numbers of slaves for the trans-Atlantic trade. With abolition of slavery in the early nineteenth century, the French shifted their emphasis to the production and export of peanuts, creating a monocrop colony. Throughout the colonial period, Senegal occupied a special place in the Federation of West Africa. In 1960, the country achieved independence under the leadership of Leopold Sedar Senghor, a prominent intellectual as well as politician.

Senghor maintained close ties with France, which continued to supply considerable technical, financial, and military assistance to the country. He also courted the powerful Muslim brotherhoods whose support was critical to his electoral victories and the dominance of his Socialist Party. The country was often hailed as one of the few democracies in Africa with an enviable record of religious toleration and ethnic cooperation. The military was kept in check and did not interfere in politics. However, the monocrop economy, centered on peanut production, was vulnerable to world market fluctuations and the severe Sahelian droughts of the 1970s. The state intervened directly in the economy, with poor results. When Senghor voluntarily handed over power in 1980 to his chosen successor, Abdou Diouf, the country faced a serious economic crisis. Diouf continued his predecessor's policies of strong ties to France and close cooperation with the Muslim leadership. Diouf attempted to diversify the economy by promoting fishing and tourism. He also announced a plan to privatize state-owned firms, but economic progress was minimal. Falling export values, rising costs of living, periodic droughts, and growing unemployment, especially among secondary school and university graduates, led to some unrest among students and the urban population in Dakar, most notably in widespread riots in 1988. Diouf also faced a mounting secessionist movement in the largely non-Muslim and non-Wolof southern region of the Casamance. In 1989, ethnic tensions with Mauritania erupted into massacres and mass repatriation between the two countries. Despite these problems, Diouf and the Socialist party continued to dominate national politics throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

In 1994, the devaluation of Senegal's currency, which is tied to the French franc, caused serious economic disruption, especially in the urban areas. Inflation, falling living standards, rapid urbanization and population growth, and a decline in agricultural production led to increased discontent with the regime. In the late 1990s, Senegalese intervention in a coup d'etat in neighboring Guinea-Bissau and a harsh crackdown on Casamance separatists further eroded popular support for the regime. In the elections of 2000, Abdoulaye Wade, a long-time leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party and the candidate of a coalition of opposition parties, defeated Diouf who retired from politics. Wade has promised economic reform and privatization, political liberalization, and a peaceful resolution to the secessionist crisis in the Casamance. Progress in all these areas has been slow. The secessionist movement in the Casamance has continued with mounting casualties on both sides. Much of the nation's trade is dominated by Lebanese and French merchants who deposit their profits overseas. While

some peace talks have been initiated with Casamance rebels, violence has dramatically curtailed the tourism industry, one of the region's few economic prospects.

Senegal's economic infrastructure, which at independence was relatively advanced for the region, has deteriorated somewhat since the 1970s. Some roads have been constructed but the railroads, built during colonial rule, are antiquated and unreliable. Plans for a bridge across the Gambia River to link the northern and southern regions remain at a standstill. The port at Dakar needs modernization to accommodate larger vessels, and the fisheries industry has not been actively developed. Senegal has some phosphate deposits but advances have been slow in exploiting the resource. The country does have two universities, one in Dakar and one in Saint-Louis, and numerous secondary schools. During the Senghor and Diouf years, the schools were periodically closed to prevent unrest. The adult literacy rate averages less than 50%, and is markedly lower in the rural areas. Modern health care is accessible to only a small, urban elite group. France continues to provide large amounts of aid, as do some oil-rich Muslim states. Another important source of income is remittances from Senegalese living in Europe and the United States. Migration from the rural areas to Dakar, and out-migration to other countries, pose serious problems for the country. Although over 90% of the population is Muslim, there is no militant Islamic movement of note in the country. Lack of noticeable improvement in the nation's economy may lead to serious political and social disruption in the future.

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## SÉNGHOR, LEOPOLD

The founding father and first president of the Republic of Senegal in West Africa from 1960 to 1980, Leopold Sedar Senghor is one of Africa's outstanding intellectual and political figures. A Roman Catholic and member of the Serer ethnic group, he led a predominantly Muslim and Wolof nation. Although an intellectual, his greatest appeal was to the peasants. He is also a renowned poet and the main promoter of the concept of *negritude*. In 1983, he was the first African elected to the prestigious *Academie Francaise*. He retired to France in the 1980s.

Lepold Sedar Sénghor was born October 9, 1906, in Joal, a coastal town in central Senegal. His father was a Serer Catholic and his mother a Fulani Muslim, but Senghor was raised as a Catholic in predominantly Muslim Senegal. The country is also dominated by the Wolof ethnic group, making Senghor a "double minority." He was also the major political figure not to come from the "Four Communes" where Africans could get French citizenship and special privileges. He attended the Ngasobil Catholic Mission School and prepared for the priesthood at Libermann Seminary in Dakar but he transferred to the Public Secondary School in Dakar (later Lycee Van Vollenhoven). By all accounts, he was an exceptional pupil. In 1928, he went to France to study at the Lycee Louis le Grand where one of his classmates was Georges Pompidou, later president of France. They remained lifelong friends.

In France in the 1930s, inspired by the romantic vision of Africa in Harlem Renaissance authors and early European ethnographers, Senghor began to produce poetry that helped launch the concept of *negritude*. He contrasted African ways with all that he considered wrong with the West—rationalism, mechanization, capitalism, materialism, bourgeois values, individualism, competition, and a stiff, cold ugliness. He became one of the first Africans to express discontent with the French colonial policy of assimilation. He retained an intense and lifelong admiration for French culture, especially in the fields of language, literature, and philosophy. He married a Frenchwoman and always spent considerable time in France.

In 1931, Senghor received his *licence es lettres*. In 1935, he became the first African to pass the *Agregation* competitive examination, but only after he had become a naturalized French citizen. The following year he was drafted into the French army. After military service, he taught in Tours and outside of Paris. At the start of World War II, he was again called up. After being captured and nearly killed by German troops, he spent two years as a prisoner of war and upon his release in 1942, he returned to teaching near Paris and worked with the French resistance.

With the end of the war, his literary career reached fruition with the publication of his first volume of poetry, *Chants d'Ombre*. In 1945, he entered politics and was elected a deputy to the French Assembly with the support of the French Socialist Party. In 1948, Senghor formed the *Bloc Democratie Senegalais* which promoted a type of "African socialism," based on traditional village cooperation, religious faith, and a new nationalism. That same year, he and Alioune Diop launched *Presence Africaine*, a Paris magazine devoted to the promotion of African culture and *negritude*. He was also appointed professor at the *Ecole nationale d'Outre-Mer*.

When given the choice in 1958 to vote for autonomy or continued association with France, Senghor argued strongly for autonomy and continued close ties with France. But in 1960, as the French ended colonial rule in West Africa, Senghor negotiated independence for the Mali Federation (Senegal and French Soudan, later Mali) which became independent in June. The federation quickly fell apart and Senghor declared Senegal an independent republic. He was elected president and he appointed Mamadou Dia prime minister. Senghor quickly nationalized peanut marketing, initiated rural cooperatives, and instituted a national system of agricultural credit, extension services, and cooperative administration. He also carefully courted powerful Muslim leaders.

In 1962, a constitutional crisis erupted and Mamadou Dia and his top allies were arrested and imprisoned for treason. The constitution was rewritten to provide for a single, strong executive, and Senghor ruled with an iron hand for the next eight years. Opposition parties were eliminated through banning or absorption, and freedom of the press and association were severely limited. Senghor overcame political unrest in 1963 and student riots in 1968 by force. He was reelected president unopposed in 1963, 1968, and 1973. His strong political position allowed him free reign to promote African culture. The Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar in 1966 crowned his promotion of *negritude*. He helped set up various regional development associations, winning him respect as an elder statesman. However, Senegal's economic base did not expand, the national debt increased and infrastructure deteriorated. The Senegalese peasants, however, never wavered in their admiration for Senghor.

In 1970, Senghor felt confident enough to reintroduce the position of prime minister and appointed Abdou Diouf, an obscure young technocrat. Two opposition parties were legalized in the 1970s but Senghor still won the 1978 election in a landslide. He changed the name of his political party from the *Union Progressiste Senegalaise* to the *Parti Socialiste* (PS). The 1970s were a particularly difficult period for

the Senegalese economy with a major drought in the mid-1970s and declining prices and demand for peanuts, the country's only real export. Many of the socialist policies promoted by Senghor were clearly not working. Even large amounts of international assistance, especially from France, did not improve economic conditions. Senghor appeared increasingly distant and aloof from politics, with Abou Diouf taking over the running of the daily government and international affairs. Senghor continued to write poetry. In 1974, he won the Apollinaire Prize for Poetry and he published volumes of poetry in 1979 and 1980. On December 31, 1980, Senghor resigned in favor of Diouf who ruled the country for the next twenty years. Senghor thus became the first African leader installed at independence to resign voluntarily.

In 1983, he was the first African elected to the *Academie Francaise*. He continued to pursue his career as one of Africa's most respected statesmen, remaining on the international scene for many years being involved with the Socialist International and the Palestine Liberation Organization. In 1988, he published a philosophical memoir, *Ce que je crois* (What I Believe). He also published some poetry in the 1990s. He now lives in Verson, France, the home of his wife, and is rarely seen in public.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; Senegal; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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### SERBIA

The largest of former Yugoslavia's republics, and currently a partner with Montenegro in a loose union known as Serbia and Montenegro, Serbia is located in the heart of Southeastern Europe. Its location plays an important role as a traffic corridor between Western Europe and Asia. In terms of physical geography,

the country has an ideal combination of Panonian and Kosovo lowlands in the north and south, separated by uplands that reach elevations exceeding seven thousand feet. Although technically landlocked, Serbia has a direct connection with the global sea through the Danube River. The climate is continental with cold, occasionally harsh, winters and hot summers. The population is 7.5 million, without Kosovo and Metohija province. If this province is included, the population is estimated to be approximately 10 million. The capital, Belgrade (1.57 million), is a modern city that grew from an ancient settlement. It is situated at the juncture of the Sava and Danube rivers.

Serbia's ethnic and religious composition is rather complex. Serbs, people of South Slavic origin and generally practitioners of Eastern Orthodox Christian religion, constitute two thirds of the population. Ethnic Albanians, who are overwhelmingly Muslim, and for political reasons boycott the census, are the largest minority group. They number approximately 16% to 17% of the population and are found primarily in Kosovo and Metohija. Hungarians are a Roman Catholic minority with significant numbers in the province of Vojvodina.

As is true of its neighboring states, Serbia's history began during medieval times when it emerged as a kingdom under the rule of the Nemanjić dynasty. Before falling under control of the advancing Ottoman Empire, the Serbian kingdom reached its greatest extent during the period of Dušan Nemanjić's reign (1331–1355). Although he built a strong empire, it crumbled soon after Dušan's death. For the next four centuries, Serbia was a province of the Ottoman Empire. It often became a war torn area during the endless conflicts between Ottomans and Habsburgs over their quest for domination of Southeastern Europe. This conflict, in fact, slowed the pace of development that was occurring in other parts of Europe at the time. When it finally achieved independence from the Turks in 1878, Serbia lagged far behind much of the remainder of Europe in terms of both political and economic development. It was primarily an agricultural country with a dominantly peasant population and with very little urban industrial development. In addition to its historical lack of development, economic growth was further hindered by the country's involvement in several wars. After World War I, the South Slavs joined the new country known since 1929 as Yugoslavia. The Serbian dynasty, Karaorević, ruled the country.

Until World War II, agriculture remained the leading economic activity. Yet in the war's aftermath, the situation gradually began changing with the implementation of new economic policies in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Communist revolutionaries gained

power and abolished the kingdom. They promoted rapid urbanization and industrialization wherever possible. A Socialist self-management economic policy, involving worker-managed enterprises, was implemented. It proved to be both different and more effective than the Soviet-style management and was largely responsible for the improved economic growth and living conditions experienced during the 1950s, improved the conditions and growth during the 1950s. Unfortunately, additional reforms that could have reduced inflation and limited the mounting external debt were blocked in the 1960s, because of fear that reforms might undermine communist ideology and weaken communism's strength and importance. Serbia suffered limited economic growth under the burden of communist control, while both the rate of inflation and unemployment increased during the following decade. Many citizens, rather than being unemployed at home, emigrated westward to more developed republics, or elsewhere in Europe.

At the time of President Tito's death in 1980, Serbia and other former Yugoslav republics were suffering severe economic difficulties, including high foreign debt. As a country that relied on imports for its energy, Serbia was further crippled economically by soaring oil prices. Internal ethnic problems were at the same time fueling the rise of nationalism and separatism in Kosovo and Metohija province, Serbia's least developed region. A great majority of the province's residents were ethnic Albanians who believed that their rights were endangered. Poor economic conditions, high unemployment, exploding population growth, and sharp cultural differences increased antagonisms between Serbs and ethnic Albanians who agitated for Kosovo and Metohija's elevation to the status of a republic independent from Serbia. In 1987, by riding the wave of reactionary Serb nationalism, Slobodan Milošević became a leading figure in Serbia's governing body, the League of Communists. Immediately, he began to implement hard measures on Kosovo and Metohija. Two years later he was elected president of Serbia which, in the aftermath of former Yugoslavia's 1991 breakup, formed a union (also called Yugoslavia) with Montenegro in 1992. Because of direct involvement in ethnic conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia suffered both politically and economically from the sanctions implemented by the international community. Inflation, measured in thousands of percent, skyrocketed to some of the highest rates ever recorded. International trade relations almost disintegrated and the local economy underwent restructuring. Yet the country continued to fall into an ever deeper crisis.

By the end of the twentieth century, the gross domestic product (GDP) had plummeted more than

50% below the 1990 level. In addition to the already existing crisis, NATO's attack against Serbia in 1999 destroyed much of its still functioning infrastructure. An air campaign conducted to prevent hostilities in Kosovo and Metohija targeted communications, factories, bridges, power plants, and administration buildings throughout the country. In the years that followed, Serbians ousted Milošević—who ruled as president of Serbia and Yugoslavia for over a decade—elected a new government, and was able to finally remove the long-standing economic sanctions. Even though the military conflict is now over, economic hardship continues. Inflation is under control, but the unemployment rate is close to 30%, with the underemployment rate standing much higher. Drastic budget cuts that were necessary to manage fiscal deficits allow hardly any additional spending. The government continues to rely on foreign assistance in order to prevent yet another crisis, a situation hardly conducive to the development of a stable, long-term economic policy.

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**See also Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Tito, Josip Broz (Marshall Tito); Yugoslavia**

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## SEX TRADE/TRAFFICKING

Descriptions of how the bodies of women and children can become sexual commodities to be traded and trafficked range from compassionate elucidations of Geisha values and practices to examinations of the socioeconomic basis for using children for sex. Understanding how people's bodies become sexual commodities through development processes can be gained by focusing on Asia and Eastern Europe. Although different geographic regions they are enmeshed in similar global relations of power.

Many texts examine how clients from First World countries, who use impoverished people's bodies for sex, frame their social values in terms of racial and economic dominance. And, within economically disadvantaged countries, sex trade workers can experience profoundly different work encounters due to social prejudice, unequal privilege, and class difference.

Many poor Asian countries, for example, are shaped by ambiguous yet powerful notions of economic 'development' that are predicated on the use of women and children's bodies in particular. Since World War II, Asian peoples' exposure to military bases, the unequal distribution of wealth and employment opportunities, and social perceptions of women's family role, have placed acute pressures on women to earn an income. Despite their gains towards social, political, and legal equality, impoverished Asian and Eastern European women and children also remain the targets of sexual violence. Class and caste-based prejudices are forged by perceptions of their social and sexual inferiority in societies that are intensely patriarchal in structures, relations, and ideologies.

Sex trade workers should not, however, be conceived solely as "victims." Researchers note the real physical dangers of sexually transmitted diseases among sex workers but many also show how sex workers negotiate their daily experience. It is important to acknowledge the diversity of people who work in the global sex trade, their differing motivations, and the variation in how they may be coerced. A singular notion of the prostitute is reductive for "the prostitute" does not exist. Rather, there are different women, men, and children whose bodies are marketed as commodities within an assorted range of circumstances and for a variety of purposes. Examining the difficulties of their lives within the context of the social, economic, and political constraints of class and country enables a more complex and compassionate understanding of their experiences to be portrayed.

## The Sex Trade and Sex Tourism

In the past twenty-five years, there has been a substantial rise in mass tourism, particularly to "developing" countries. Immediately after the 1940–1945 war, most travel trafficked between North America and Western Europe. A change then occurred in the mid-1970s: from 8% of tourists who travelled to third world countries, the figure rose to 17% in the mid-1980s. Mass tourism was promoted by international power brokers such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as an integral part of modernisation and development processes. To promote growth and social transformation, tourism was marketed as an industry that would metamorphose poor countries' poverty into an unspoiled paradise that would draw desirable foreign currency.

Tourism now provides a conduit for foreign currency that Third World countries require in order to operate in the global marketplace. Yet the ways that

tourism is organised can range from benign indifference to deliberate economic and political exploitation. Critics argue that media images, tourist brochures, and airline advertising have exhorted the yielding promise of the “Singapore girl,” Thailand as the “Land of Smiles,” or Lauda Air’s offer to “Fly Your Dreams” through the naked body of a woman of color. Images of women as uni-dimensional objects are associated with corporate male adventure and domesticated female availability, selling Third World tourism while simultaneously constructing women and young children as unspoiled and powerless resources, ready to be acquired.

Acquisitive economic power relations are linked with women and children’s impoverishment as key factors that shape the sex trade, for destitution affects women and men differently. Researchers argue that the social myths that women do not acquire financial responsibilities during their lifetimes are simplistic, given that more than a third of the world’s households are headed by women who are solely responsible for all their household production and needs. Women are further disadvantaged when life circumstances dictate they become head of household, because they lack the necessary social support and training.

Inequalities in development become clear when recognising that women and children from poorer countries are trafficked to wealthier. Thai women have increasingly been trafficked to Japan since the 1970s. The trade peaked during the early 1990s, with estimations that there were about one hundred thousand Filipino and Thai sex workers in Japan. It is important to recognise also that trafficking is not limited to impoverished Third World countries. A Belgian court has sentenced eight people for participating in a criminal ring that trafficked pre-pubescent girls from Hungary and Romania to Belgium for forced sex work. The example shows that there are multiple suppliers and many destinations for women and children drawn into the global sex trade and how raw relations of economic, physical, and gendered power have shaped “sex” into an international industry.

The international and gendered nature of sex trafficking is also manifested in rich nation-state men crossing borders to purchase the use of other’s bodies. Eighty-five percent of tourists into the Philippines are male. Further, the growing trade in Eastern European women to destinations such as Germany, the United States, Switzerland, Japan, and Macau supports substantial criminal involvement, with most trafficking businesses owned or protected by criminal groups. Inhabitants from European Union affiliated countries are legally able to start businesses in the Netherlands, so that criminal groups may use lawful opportunities to enter the sex trade.

## The Sex Trade and Free Choice

The common structural factors to the sex trade and trafficking as connections to development are the impoverishment of women, social, and cultural perceptions of women and children’s bodies as profitable commodities, and the increased acceptance of capitalism as the primary economic and political frame. So why do perceptions of sex work as profitable enterprise and protestations that women and children assert free choice when entering the industry exist? Critics argue that “choice” encompasses negotiating and enforcing contracts on terms that also suit the sex worker. But there are reports that some clients use impoverished children *because* they are seen to eroticise extreme powerlessness. The reports suggest there is little public recognition that conditions of work can constitute modern slavery and provide opportunities for sadistic practices.

Critics allege that the sex trade mirrors relations of domination, subordination and exploitation between First and Third Worlds. Men travel from bordering countries, such as Malaysia with Thailand, and Middle Eastern countries where religious censure restricts sexual practices. Consumers in countries such as Thailand or Sri Lanka exploit the permissive attitude towards sex with children. They are individuals, small groups of friends, and larger groups of men travelling as a company bonus. They enjoy the novelty of a different experience and an escape from the constraints of the social codes and customs of home. Although many travel specifically to use impoverished women and children’s bodies for sex governments maintain an ambiguous standpoint, arguing that any tourist is welcome due to their expenditure of foreign currency.

Significantly however, and in contrast to Westerners’ profession of an ideology that favours and protects children until their late teenage years, research has exposed the conflicting reality of indigent children. Undercover agents have been offered children of four, five, or six years of age for sexual use. Rather than discussing sex work as consensual acts of sexuality between adults, researchers have analysed how well-bred squeamishness and crosscultural blindness to behaviour outside First World countries means that the global criminalisation of the use of children for sex is resisted. Prejudices of race, age, class, and gender intersect to culturally sanction sex with children that do not safeguard their psyches and bodies. Such work shows how the notion of worker control is a conceptual delusion for impoverished children who have nothing other than their bodies to sell in order to survive, and who are enmeshed in relations where powerlessness has sexual value.

There is a “need” that drives a consumer-oriented society that works on the principle of supply and demand, in which the growth of child prostitution can occur only because there are people who want such services. Indeed, estimates suggest that 1,380,000 children are presently working in the commercial sex trade in Asia and the Pacific Islands, more than 702,000 in Latin America, in the United States one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand. Global profits from trafficking in children for sexual exploitation reach approximately \$5 billion per year.

Pragmatists argue that while community responses must be examined and enacted, there are strong arguments for global society to guarantee the safety and interests of its most vulnerable members. They propose a deeper political awareness of the problem in terms of creating relevant legislation, effective implementation of the law, and adequate penalties such as mandatory jail sentences rather than fines of a few hundred dollars. However, because legislation is rarely written with a consideration for children it can conflict with customary law that maintains patriarchal control. Community organisations consequently need to develop educational programs aimed at children, parents, and community leaders, particularly stressing the strong social bonds of rural communities so that children are not merely exchanged for consumer goods.

It is proposed that parliamentarians must also recognise that: (1) rising gross national product in many third world countries is produced through the bodies of women and children as merchandise in the sex trade; (2) tourists are not above a host country's law and that traffic in children is as malignant as traffic in drugs; and (3) countries that are targeted as destinations for paedophiles should not bear the educative burden of local communities alone. Social commentators argue that an international effort to make the child sex trade a crime against humanity must be conducted and, as is the case in Australia, internationalising the crime would ensure that nationals are tried in their home country.

Researchers' analyses of the sex trade in the impoverished countries of Eastern Europe and Asia argue that development processes, travel, and sex trafficking are profoundly gendered. Male capacity to control women and children's sense of security and self-worth is at the heart of the sex trade's power relations. Yet women and children's personal and physical lives cannot be separated from the increasingly complex, globalised, and commodified relations of power generated within development processes. Authors argue that sex workers should not be judged but that ethical boundaries should be imposed upon the use of sexual labour.

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**See also Children and Development; Women: Role in Development**

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## SEYCHELLES

The Republic of Seychelles is an archipelago in the Indian Ocean off the East-African coast north of Madagascar. Consisting of 115 islands—partly granitic, partly coralline—Seychelles are scattered over 1.3 million square kilometers of ocean. The total landmass adds up to 454 square kilometers. Only thirty-three islands are inhabited. The main island, Mahé, has an area of 154 square kilometers and rises to over nine hundred meters at its highest point. Of the approximately eighty-one thousand inhabitants about 80% live on Mahé, most of them in the capital, Victoria. Being located outside the cyclone belt, Seychelles have a most favorable tropical climate with average maximum temperatures around 30°C and average minimum temperatures around 24°C.

Originally uninhabited, Seychelles were claimed by the French in 1756 and named after the influential French family de Séchelles. The first settlement was



established in 1770 and some rather unsuccessful efforts were taken to cultivate rice and maize based on slave labor. When a British Naval squadron took possession of Mahé in 1794 total population was less than two thousand. In spite of the British claim French administration continued, the status of the islands being uncertain for two decades. In 1810, the British invaded the Île de France, and in 1814 British sovereignty over the islands in the south-west Indian Ocean, including Seychelles, was established by the Treaty of Paris. Britain's interest in the southwest Indian Ocean Islands rather followed strategic considerations than developmental concerns. Hence Seychelles, administered from Mauritius, comprised a rather neglected part of the British Empire throughout the nineteenth century. When Seychelles took up copra production in the late nineteenth century living conditions improved, however, with the opening of the Suez Canal the route around Africa became less important and Seychelles lost their strategic position and were virtually cut off from shipping routes. In 1903, Seychelles was separated from Mauritius becoming a colony of its own. Colonial legacy is reflected in the official languages of modern Seychelles, English, French, and Seselwa. Seselwa—or simply Kreol—a French based creole-language is spoken by over 95% of Seychelois.

First elections for four of the twelve seats in the Legislative Council were held in 1948; however, franchise was restricted to literacy and property. Universal adult franchise was introduced only in 1967, when two newly established parties, the *Seychelles Democratic Party* (SDP), led by James Mancham, and the *Seychelles People's United Party* (SPUP), led by France-Albert René, won four respectively three of the eight elected seats. Subsequently a new constitution was adopted, widening the government's responsibilities. New elections in 1970 resulted in a victory of the SDP and Mancham became chief minister, a position he held until independence in 1976. Following independence Mancham became the first elected president of the newly formed Republic of Seychelles, with René being prime minister in a coalition government. In 1977, Mancham was overthrown in a coup d'état, when Tanzanian trained Seychelois rebels took over power and made René president. It is hardly disputed that the coup was engineered by René and Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere. However, while René's personal ambitions must not be neglected, Marcus Franda points to the possibility that Mancham's international reputation as a playboy, spending more time abroad than governing his country while his duties were left to information minister David Jaubert, a notorious man-about-town, may have furthered events (Franda 1982:49 ff.). As of 1978 Seychelles

was declared a single-party state governed according to "socialist" principles. However, the government managed to avoid any deeper involvement in the east-west conflict. At the same time the SPUP merged with other, smaller parties and was renamed *Seychelles People's Progressive Front* (SPPF). In 1979 and successive elections, René was confirmed in office by more than 90% of the votes in each case. A failed coup in 1981 led to prosecution and imprisonment of the alleged mercenaries in Seychelles and South Africa. According to their leader, Michael Hoare, the mercenaries were supported by South African military and intelligence officials; however, this involvement was not officially confirmed. In 1991, the SPPF declared an end to the one-party state and drafting of a new constitution was initiated. After rejection by the electorate in 1992, a revised constitution was approved in a 1993 referendum. Accordingly the president is both head of state and head of government. The cabinet is appointed by the president and has to be approved by the parliament. In subsequent presidential elections René was reelected president with 59.5% of the votes. Parliamentary elections held at the same time yielded twenty-eight seats for the SPPF, four seats for Mancham's reestablished SDP, and one seat for the newly founded *Parti Seselwi*, later renamed *Seychelles National Party* (SNP), originally founded as an underground movement by the Anglican priest Wavel Ramkalavan. Freedom of press and independence of the national broadcasting corporation were granted in 1992 and at the same time the state of emergency, declared after the 1981 coup attempt, was abolished. In the latest presidential elections in 2001, René was reelected with 54.19% while Ramkalavan gained 44.95% of the votes. In April 2004, René stepped down in favor of vice-president James Michel. The latest parliamentary elections in 2002 yielded 54.3% and twenty-three seats for the SPPF and 42.6% and eleven seats for the SNP.

Regarding economical and social development, major improvements have been achieved only within the last thirty years. Despite governor Percy Selwyn-Clarke's attempts in the late 1940s to improve public schooling, housing, and health service which were quickly canceled when Selwyn-Clarke was removed from office in 1952, no progress worth mentioning was gained during the last colonial decades. With construction of the international airport on Mahé in 1971, however, the foundation of the country's most important economical resource—tourism—was laid. Following the 1977 coup, measures were taken to develop fishing industry and agriculture in order to diversify the economic basis. For this purpose a number of parastatal companies were founded. Most important trading partner is the EU. As of 2002, the per capita gross domestic product was \$18,232 PPP—the

highest rate in sub-Saharan Africa while life expectancy is estimated at seventy-one years. Medical care is free for all citizens. While in colonial times primary education was provided either privately or by the church, following independence the educational system was nationalized, improved and a polytechnic and several training centers for post-secondary education were established. As of 2002, 99.1% of citizens between fifteen and twenty-four years of age are literate. The tsunami of 2004 is reported to have caused relatively minor damage.

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See also Nyerere, Julius

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## SHINING PATH/SENDERO LUMINOSO

The Shining Path was founded in the 1968 as a splinter group of the Communist party of Peru, headed by Abimael Guzmán Raynoso ("Presidente Gonzalo"), a professor of philosophy at the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga in Ayacucho. It has been described as one of the most effective, terrifying, and elusive armed organizations in Latin America. Because of its indiscriminate use of violence, it has been compared with Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. But Sendero is a unique phenomenon. Unlike most revolutionary movements in Latin America, it managed to be virtually independent of foreign support. It was also the first military organization to gain a broad following among the urban, marginalized poor, while attracting sections of the upper classes and significant numbers of women militants, thus penetrating all walks of Peruvian life.

### Brief Chronology of the Movement

From its beginnings through the late 1970s, Sendero confined its activities to Ayacucho and the neighboring

provinces of Huancavelica and Apurímac, and remained a university based, unarmed movement. In April 1980, on the eve of the first democratic elections in seventeen years, Sendero began pursuing the armed struggle to overthrow the Peruvian government and its institutions. It also began its geographic expansion. By the mid-1980s, it controlled about two thirds of the highlands and had spread out to Lima and to other areas of the Peruvian hinterland, mainly the Upper Huallaga Valley and Amazonia. In 1983, the Peruvian army entered the conflict. The "dirty war" escalated plunging Peru into a cycle of brutal repression, increasing violence, killings, and disappearances. It is estimated that as a consequence of the conflict between Sendero and the army, approximately thirty thousand people, mostly civilians, died and six hundred thousand became internal refugees. After Alberto Fujimori came to power in 1990, local officials and peasants, angered by some of Sendero's tactics, shifted their allegiance back to the government. Rural paramilitary units, created and armed by the army to defend the countryside against Sendero, greatly weakened the movement. Support decreased even further following Guzmán's capture in 1992, arrests of Shining Path leaders in 1995, defections, and Fujimori's amnesty program for repentant terrorists which saw more than six thousand Sendero members surrendered to the authorities. In 1993, when Guzmán declared an end to the armed struggle, a Sendero faction continued armed opposition conducting sporadic attacks. The movement seems to have settled in for a long period of low-level conflict.

### Goals, Ideology, and Strategies

Sendero's stated goal is to destroy existing Peruvian institutions and establish the "People's Republic of Peru," a united front based on the alliance of the working classes and the peasantry and led by the Communist Party. Its ideology, known as "Gonzalo Thought" is an adaptation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality. It is particularly influenced by the doctrines of Mao Zedong and José Carlos Mariátegui. From Maoism it embraced the strategy of a protracted "people's war," that envisaged developing base areas in the countryside to eventually take control of the cities by combining attacks from the outside with insurrections from within. From Mariátegui, it adopted the analysis of Peru as a semi-feudal society. Mariátegui, the founder of Peru's first communist party, believed that Marxism would open "a shining path to revolution." It is from this line that the name of the movement derives.

## Social Appeal

A number of factors contributed to create a fertile ground for revolutionary change in Ayacucho during the 1960s and 1970s. One important factor was the extreme poverty of the region. Among Peru's most underdeveloped provinces, plagued by continuing economic problems, with little commerce and scarce resources, the Ayacucho people lived in pre-industrial conditions. Another factor is the dramatic growth of Huamanga University in Ayacucho, a result of the educational efforts that Peruvian governments carried out during that period. In 1977, the university population constituted more than a quarter of the overall population of Ayacucho, and at its peak half of the students were actively involved with the movement. Thus Sendero appealed initially to peasants and students, angered by Peru's racial and class division and by the region's economic depression. Sendero is not an indigenous organization. Although it made inroads into many of the Indian communities of the area, it did not identify with the struggles of the indigenous populations. It is rather a mestizo organization in a nation where mestizos are a majority discriminated upon and excluded from status and power. In the cities, Sendero was active in developing a broad base, which included impoverished shantytown dwellers, different sectors of the working class and some sectors of the middle class.

## Revolutionary Activities

Once the armed struggle began, Sendero employed mainly guerrilla tactics, including the blowing up of bridges and power lines, bombing campaigns, selective assassinations, terrorist actions against state officers, army and police personnel, foreign interests, and groups accused of cooperating with neocolonialists, such as NGOs, peasant and labor leaders and community organizers. It is widely believed that these activities were financed by Sendero's links with the drug trade, allegedly developed following its expansion into the Upper Huallaga Valley, the most important coca leaf growing region in the world. According to many sources, Sendero charged drug runners and coca growers for protection and taxed producers, thus gaining a multi-million dollar source of revenue, used to finance arms and training programs. Sendero has strenuously denied this accusation.

In 1985, Sendero began developing "base areas" in the countryside, controlled by "people's committees." In these areas, Sendero performed all government

functions, including collecting taxes, distributing land, setting production targets and prices, running schools, dispensing justice, and providing welfare for the elderly. Women were given ownership of land and were equally represented by the local people's committees. Abuses against women, such as rape and domestic violence, were not tolerated. In some of these areas, peasants noted a marked improvement in public services and safety. But Sendero eventually alienated initial supporters with its attempts to institute collective farms, forced recruitment, and "popular trials" of local officials.

Similar attempts to organise all aspects of social life at the neighbourhood level were carried out in the impoverished urban areas, either by infiltrating existing local associations or by destroying them and replacing them with front organisations. Thus, Sendero tried to dominate every aspect of social activity in both countryside and cities. The aim was to create a shadow state led by Guzmán, which would emerge openly in due time and replace the Peruvian government. Sendero's decline brought an end to this plan. Whether the movement will ever recover is doubtful, particularly given present events in the world focussed on terrorism as the major enemy of civilised people.

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## SIAD BARRE, MOHAMMED

Mohammad Siad Barre ruled Somalia from 1969–1991, and presided over the country's economic and political disintegration. His rule was marked by repression, civil and international wars, an intensification of divisive clan loyalties, and economic crisis.

Born in 1919, Siad Barre belonged to the Mareehaan and Ogadeni clans. He joined the police in 1941 and rose through the ranks of the Somali National Army (SNA) to become commander-in-chief in 1965. After the army took power in October 1969, Siad Barre became president of the ruling Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC). One year later, he declared Somalia a socialist state. His pursuit of socialism was more pragmatic than ideological, and was heavily influenced by Islam. He employed the feared National Security Services to stifle dissent and instituted a cult of personality, styling himself the "Victorious Leader."

The SRC initiated a sweeping program of economic and social development. It promised to attack corruption and diminish the strength of clan loyalties; resettled 140,000 nomads in agricultural settlements; promoted the rights of women; restructured local government; introduced a script for written Somali; and launched a crash literacy campaign. Somalia's literacy rate rose from an estimated 5% to a reported 55% in the mid-1970s, but had slid back to 24% by 1990. The SRC emphasized state control of the economy and central planning, and its program produced some modest success. However, by the late 1970s, massive military spending, corruption, and drought were dragging the economy down.

The Somali army nearly quintupled in size from 1969–1977, as the Soviet Union and its allies poured military aid into Somalia. In 1977, Siad Barre ordered an invasion of Ethiopia aimed at seizing the Ogaden region. Viewing Ethiopia as the more strategic state, the Soviets switched sides, and cut off arms supplies to Somalia. Siad Barre expelled all Soviet bloc personnel in November and turned instead to the United States for assistance. The SNA suffered devastating losses before withdrawing in March 1978, and the war brought exports to a halt. Forced to borrow to cover the military's losses and the cost of food imports, Somalia labored under an enormous debt burden. Throughout the 1980s, real gross domestic product (GDP) declined at 1.7% a year.

The humiliating Ogaden defeat sharpened clan conflicts, which in turn intensified the regime's repression. As a result of an unsuccessful coup in 1978 and the emergence of armed opposition led by the Majeerteen, the government took severe reprisals against the clan. The settlement of 250,000 Ogadeni refugees in the Isaaq-dominated northwest helped spur the creation the Somali National Movement (SNM), which also took up arms against the regime. Siad Barre's government waged a ruthless scorched earth campaign against its enemies; in addition to murder, rape, and torture, it destroyed water sources and grazing grounds, and looted and killed animals. Full-scale civil war erupted in 1988 when the SNM tried to capture

Hargeisa and Burao. The regime responded with ferocity, leveling the two mainly Isaaq cities. The regime's brutality alienated the Hawiye, which dominated the Mogdishu area, and the clan joined the struggle against Siad Barre in 1989. Siad Barre fled Mogadishu for Nigeria in January 1991, and the Somali state collapsed. Siad Barre died in Nigeria on January 2, 1995.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa; Somalia**

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## SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone was founded in 1787, by British abolitionists as a refuge for freed slaves from London, Jamaica, and the United States. The number of so-called "Poor Blacks" had increased dramatically following the American Revolution, leading to clashes with White unemployed. The Sierra Leone settlement was to be a self-governing agrarian commune, modelled on a romantic vision of ancient Israel. The initial settlers consisted of four hundred freed slaves, mainly male, and sixty White prostitutes, to be reformed through marriage.

The enterprise was reorganised as the Sierra Leone Company in 1791, and the settlement replenished in 1792 by Nova Scotian "Black Loyalists." Former slaves who fled their American revolutionary masters, they were evacuated with other "loyalists" to Canada, where they pioneered homesteads in Nova Scotia. Swindled out of their farms by unscrupulous Canadian land speculators, they sent a delegation of England, where they were persuaded to move in Sierra Leone.

Exactions by the Company led to a Nova Scotian rebellion in 1800. The uprising was put down by the unexpected arrival of a British squadron bringing Maroon ex-slaves, transported to Sierra Leone following a protracted rebellion in Jamaica.

Following the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the bankrupt Sierra Leone Company sold the settlement, now called Freetown, to the Crown as an

anti-slave trade naval station. During the following decades, thousands of recaptives from slaving ships were liberated and settled in rural villages around Freetown, under the supervision of missionaries. The humanitarian vision was of Christian, Western-educated peasant communities under the authority of the vicar and supplying produce to Freetown.

In 1827, the Church Missionary Society established Fourah Bay College to train African clergy to evangelise “heathen” Africa. By 1854, Fourah Bay College was offering Durham University degrees: ex-slaves rose to become doctors, lawyers and even an Anglican bishop—Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, a Yoruba recaptive. The settlers and recaptives gradually intermarried to form a Creole elite. However by the 1880s, racism was undermining Creole opportunities: excluded from the colonial senior service and unable to compete against powerful European trading companies.

In 1896, the hinterland was incorporated as a British protectorate but imposition of a hut-tax sparked a bloody rebellion by indigenous peoples two years later. The need to raise revenue to pay for British colonisation was a problem as Sierra Leone had limited resources. Diamonds were then discovered in 1930.

In 1933, Sierra Leone Selection Trust (SLST), linked to De Beers, was granted ninety-nine-year exclusive prospecting and marketing rights, with a percentage of profits going to the colonial government. By 1937, SLST was exporting over £1 million in diamonds, however the real expansion came after World War II.

From the start, SLST had problems of protecting its monopoly. Alluvial diamonds could be recovered by simple technology. The 1936 Diamond Industry Protection Ordinance prohibited strangers from entering diamond areas but was difficult to enforce.

By the mid-1950s, illicit diamond dealing was a major problem. Sierra Leone nationalists denounced the SLST monopoly, the local Kono people resented receiving little from the diamond wealth, and the colonial authorities found it politically difficult to move against illicitly diamond-mining peasants. Illicit diamonds were sold to unauthorised Lebanese merchants, who smuggled them to the growing Middle Eastern cutting and polishing industry. In 1955, territory and lease-time held by SLST were greatly reduced but by then independence for Sierra Leone was rapidly advancing.

Milton Margai’s Sierra Leone People’s Party (SLPP), an alliance of southern Mende and the Creole elite, formed the first government, in 1961. When Milton died in 1964, his half-brother Albert Margai took power but alienated the Creole civil servants by his Africanisation policies. The opposition All-People’s Congress (APC) of Siaka Stevens, a trade

union leader supported by northern Temne, won the 1967 elections. The army staged a coup but civilian rule was restored in 1968, with Siaka Stevens as prime minister.

In 1970, the government acquired a 51% stake in SLST, restructured as the National Diamond Mining Company (DIMINCO). Official exports of Sierra Leone diamonds fell dramatically, from over 2 million carats in 1970 to less than six hundred thousand carats in 1980 to less than fifty thousand carats by the end of the 1980s, with an escalation of illicit diamond dealing. Stevens exploited popular resentment against Lebanese traders, while doing deals with Jamil Mohammed, one of the leading illicit diamond traders.

Another attempted coup in 1971 led to Stevens declaring Sierra Leone a republic, however discontent mounted as the economic situation deteriorated. The peasant majority survived on a subsistence economy, supplemented by sale of vegetable oil-seed (peanuts and palm oil) for exports, produce such as rice for the domestic market or meagre wages in mining—in addition to diamonds, there was the development of iron mining and rutile—one of the world largest suppliers of titanium oxide used on non-stick frying pans and heat shields on space craft. However, Sierra Leone suffered from declining terms of trade and corruption.

Stevens retired in 1985 and was succeeded by the incompetent General Joseph Momoh. Plagued by conspiracies and strikes, he ruled under a state of emergency until overthrown in 1992 by Captain Valentine Strasser.

Meanwhile, popular discontent coalesced around the militant Revolutionary United Front (RUF) under Foday Sankoh, allied with the Liberian rebel Charles Taylor. RUF degenerated into banditry and illicit diamond dealing. In 1993, Strasser, with the support of peasant *Kamajor* militia trained by Executive Outcomes mercenaries, launched a campaign against RUF. However, the Sierra Leone army fragmented and Strasser was overthrown in a bloody coup in 1996, by Brig. Maada-Bio, a Mende with links to RUF.

Under international pressure, Maada-Bio held a presidential election, won by Ahmad Tejan Kabba of a revised SLPP. When the army attempted another coup in 1996, President Kabba sought protection from the Nigerian ECOMOG forces, based in Freetown for operations in Liberia. RUF, under pressure from the Nigerians and the *Kamajor*, signed a peace accord.

In May 1997, Major Johnny-Paul Koroma, with the support of RUF, staged a coup and sought to drive the Nigerian-led ECOMOG forces out of Freetown. President Kabba fled to Guinea.

In February 1998, ECOWAS forces, supported by the *Kamajor*, defeated the Koroma junta. By mid-1998, President Kabbah was back in Freetown and

RUF forced back to negotiations. The Lome Accord of 1999 imposed a fragile “government of national unity,” including RUF, who began demanding the withdrawal of the United Nations peacekeepers (UNAMSIL). RUF attacks on UNAMSIL led to British military intervention.

On July 5, 2000, United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1306, prohibiting “the direct or indirect import of all rough diamonds from Sierra Leone,” except diamonds certified by the Sierra Leone government. Tejan Kabba was elected president in 2002; SLPP won 83 of 112 Parliamentary seats. The UN established a Special Court for crimes against humanity; however, Foday Sankoh died in a hospital in 2003.

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**See also West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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## SIHANOUK, NORODOM

Preah Bat Samdeeh Prea, better known by his royal name of Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922), was born in Phnom Penh on October 31, 1922. Between 1930 and 1940 he received his primary schooling at Francois Baudin School in that city, and then traveled south to Saigon for his secondary training at Chasseloupe-Laubat School.

He assumed the throne of Cambodia at age nineteen in April 1941 when he was elected king by the

Council of the Crown. Throughout the rest of his years his actions have often caused him to be portrayed in the West as erratic and flighty. However, the intent behind his frequent reversals of policy was to keep his nation neutral and to avoid the power struggles of larger and stronger countries.

He has been a man of wide-ranging interests, trying his hand at writing, producing, directing, and acting in movies. He wrote songs and was a sufficiently competent musician to play clarinet and saxophone. He dabbled at cooking, promoted sports for his people, and was a fair horseman. He wrote books, one of which was *My War with the CIA: Memoirs of Norodom Sihanouk* (New York: Pantheon, 1973). He is the father of fourteen children.

His political efforts were often fruitful. As a result of his lobbying in 1952 and 1953, Cambodia won its complete independence from France without a shot fired. Shortly afterward, in April 1955, he abdicated the throne in honor of his father, Norodom Suramarit. He then founded the People's Socialist Community, a political party that received 82% of the vote in the next election. Thus Sihanouk—no longer king—became prime minister and was again at the helm of Cambodia. In the 1950s and 1960s, he was the dominant figure in Cambodian affairs, giving rise to the saying that “Sihanouk is Cambodia.”

In 1956, along with Josip Broz Tito, Gamal Abdul Nasser, President Sukarno of Indonesia, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Sihanouk—always desirous of neutrality in world affairs—became one of the founders of the Movement of Nonaligned Nations. In 1960, upon the death of his father, the Parliament elected Sihanouk as Head of State.

In the years of the Vietnam conflict, Sihanouk's greatest concern was to keep his country out of the violence engulfing his eastern neighbor. The two countries had long been enemies in a contest that went centuries into the past. Already Vietnamese troops and settlers were in eastern Cambodia, even moving boundary markers. Sihanouk came to believe that if he helped the Vietnamese revolutionaries, they might be more willing to respect Cambodian independence after their victory. Thus he allowed them to set up bases on Cambodian soil and to bring supplies into the region through the port city of Sihanoukville. Sihanouk also did not object when troops of the Viet Cong and the northern People's Army used the eastern portion of Cambodia as a sanctuary, safe from US bombings. Such actions, however, infuriated the government of the United States. For Cambodia the consequences were severe.

From March 18, 1969, to May 26, 1970, the United States pursued a top secret bombing campaign in Cambodia known as MENU, supposedly to deny

sanctuary to enemy forces in the eastern portion of the country. Try as he might, there was little Sihanouk could do about it, and even after the secrecy was lifted the bombing continued.

As the MENU bombing came to an end, with the country in turmoil, Sihanouk chose an army officer, General Lon Nol, to head a new right-wing Government of National Salvation. For a time he and Sihanouk were able to work together but Nol became increasingly agitated when Sihanouk objected to some of his policies. On March 18, 1970, while on a visit to the USSR, Sihanouk became a victim of a *coup d'état*. Lon Nol established the short-lived Khmer Republic (1972–1975). Despite massive injections of advisers, equipment, and financial aid from the United States, however, Lon Nol was unable to quiet the unrest rampant in Cambodia. Warring factions continued to clash and the communists began to emerge as the strongest political force in the land.

Following the coup d'état that had unseated him, Sihanouk joined forces with the communists (Khmer Rouge) who had become increasingly active and powerful, and he soon headed their National United Front.

Civil war continued to engulf the land, ending only with Pol Pot's emergence as leader of the Cambodian communist National United Front, headed by the Sihanouk government in exile that sought to overthrow the Lon Nol government. On April 17, 1975, Pol Pot's regime decreed a new constitution providing that the old kingdom be abolished in favor of the Democratic State of Kampuchea, a communist experiment in which Pol Pot wanted to destroy Cambodian culture so that he and his party could start from year zero to build a resilient communist state. The communists murdered about one-third of the Cambodian people. Sihanouk resigned as president of Pol Pot's Democratic State of Kampuchea after a year's service. He did, however, still retain his royal title. The troubles that beset his country so preyed upon Sihanouk's mind that on August 11, 1997, he offered to abdicate (again) and objected to the Khmer Rouge government's recent ouster of his son as prime minister in a bloody coup, calling it an illegal act. Pol Pot was not influenced by such behavior. His devastating rule lasted until the Vietnamese invaded in 1978 after months of escalating quarrels. The Vietnamese entered Phnom Penh in January 1979, forcing Pol Pot to flee, and they remained there as occupiers for ten years. Sihanouk also departed that year, flying out of Phnom Penh into self-imposed exile just ahead of the Vietnamese Army.

In 1982 he again became president of his nation for a short time before once again leaving office. In 1991, returning from thirteen years in exile, and convinced he could play a part in healing the wounds caused by

years of civil war and societal unrest, Sihanouk returned to Cambodia as "head of state" to govern until elections could be held in 1993. That year, at the head of a new party, the United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia, Sihanouk won a narrow electoral victory. Shortly thereafter, a new constitution restored the monarchy with Sihanouk as king, a position he had abdicated thirty-eight years earlier. This time, however, his kingship became a constitutional monarchy in which Sihanouk reigned but did not rule.

The turmoil of the Cambodian government and people continued in the following years. Still, as of the date of this writing (2004) Sihanouk, aged eighty-one and in fragile health, continued his efforts to serve his people. Royalty for six decades and living in a palatial guesthouse in Beijing, the mercurial Sihanouk announced that he would (again) abdicate.

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**See also Cambodia; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development**

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### SIKHISM (SIKHS)

A striking feature of Sikhism is that its development can be traced closely with historical events. The roots of Sikhism can be traced to the fifteenth century, to its founding by Guru Nanak (1469–1539 CE). Nanak hailed from the Punjab, which before the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, belonged to a single region.

The word "Sikh" derives from Sanskrit, from the word *sisya*, meaning "disciple." The Sikhs are the followers of the ten Gurus whose teachings are compiled in the *Adi Granth* later known as the *Guru Granth Sahib*. It is a composition of hymns of which 974 hymns have been composed by Guru Nanak. His compositions resonate with the teachings of spiritual Gurus of the *Bhakti* tradition of the time such as Kabir (1440–1518 CE), Ravidas (1500 CE) and other *Bhakti* reformers. Nanak communicated his divine revelations through songs and poems. His message to his followers included: faith in one true God; worship of *satnam* (true name), which was synonymous with the nature and being of God; importance of the Guru's instruction in the realization of God;

faith in *karma* (good deeds); attainment of *moksha* by serving others and on the Guru's grace. In the words of Guru Nanak, "Words do not the saint or sinner make. Actions alone are written in the book of fate." He condemned the caste system of Hinduism as folly and irrelevant in the attainment of *moksha*, and disapproved of the practice of asceticism and renunciation of family life. According to him only in community life could one practice righteous living in a meaningful way. His *Janam Sakhis* (life stories) tells us how he was called into God's presence.

The institution of what can be termed Guruship, founded by Guru Nanak, was continued under the succeeding nine Gurus, whose contributions preserved and enhanced the Sikh faith. The fifth Guru, Arjun Dev completed the construction of the Golden temple at Amritsar and installed in it the holy scripture known as *Adi Granth*. His martyrdom in 1606 by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, marked the militarization of the Sikhs. The sixth Guru, Hargobind established the *Akal Takht* (Timeless Throne) from which he issued edicts in his role as the spiritual and military leader. The Sikhs fought several battles to preserve their faith. The ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur was executed in 1675 by the orders of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. The tenth Guru, Gobind Singh established the brotherhood of all Sikhs through their commitment to the *Khalsa*, which was intended to protect the Sikh faith. Members of the *Khalsa* were required to adopt *panj kakke* (the five Ks): *kesh* (uncut hair), *kangha* (comb), *kirpan* (sword), *kachha* (cotton breeches), and *kara* (bangle). After Guru Gobind Singh the authority of the Sikh faith was vested in the Sikh community and on the scriptures which were placed in the *Gurdwara*, the sacred sanctuary of the Sikh community.

The disintegration of the Mughal empire at the end of the eighteenth century, led to the creation of a Sikh kingdom in the Punjab under Ranjit Singh (1780–1839). Though successful in building a large army, his successors were unable to withstand British pressure and in 1850, Punjab was annexed to British India. The Sikhs earned a distinction as outstanding soldiers in the British army. However, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919 was a major turning point in the relation between Sikhs and the British. By the orders of General E H Dyer ten thousand people who were holding a protest meeting were fired on. This massacre fueled anti-British sentiments and added strength to the freedom movement.

Throughout its history the Sikh community has been struggling to maintain a distinct identity from the dominant Hindus. In 1909, the *Anand Marriage Act* recognized distinctive Sikh rites in order to distinguish it from Hindu practice. Between the years

1920–1925, the Sikh movement was led by a Sikh leadership known as the *Akali Dal*. By the *Sikh Gurdwara Act* of 1925, control of *gurdwaras* was conferred on the *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee* (SGPC) which continues to be the most powerful elected body of the Sikhs. The independence of India from British rule and the consequent partition in 1947 divided the Sikh homeland of Punjab between India and the new state of Pakistan. Most Sikhs and Hindus fled to the Indian side of the border.

The Sikhs in the Indian Punjab campaigned for a new state of Punjabi speakers to be created from the existing Punjab. The state boundaries were redrawn in 1966 and Punjab became the majority Sikh state. In 1973, the *Anandpur Sahib* resolution was issued. However, the Indian Government did not accept the *Akali's* religious and economic demands as put forth by the resolution. Frustrated with the situation the followers of a militant Sikh preacher Jarnail Singh Bhindrawala (1947–1989) espoused violence as the path for Sikh autonomy. Their demands for greater political autonomy culminated in "Operation Bluestar" in June 1984, when Indian troops attacked the Golden Temple complex in order to flush out the militants from within the confines of the holy temple. Sikhs saw this attack as a persecution of their faith. This was followed by the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards on October 31, 1984. Anti-Sikh rioting followed in India for four days. Sikh politics was dominated by anger and frustration until the mid-1990s. Indira Gandhi's son and successor Rajiv Gandhi reached an agreement with the moderate Sikh leader Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and conceded much of what the Akalis had all along been demanding. In 1999, Sikhs worldwide celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of the Sikh *Khalsa*, the community of saint-soldiers. Currently the Punjab is peaceful. However, the rise of Hindu nationalism have given Sikhs cause for alarm as they continue to be vigilant about maintaining their distinct identity.

YOSAY WANGDI

**See also India; Kashmir Dispute**

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## SILVA, LUIZ INÁCIO “LULA” DA

Born in the Northeast Brazilian city of Garanhuns, interior of the state of Pernambuco, on the October 27, 1945, Luis Inácio “Lula” da Silva, nicknamed “the son of Brazil,” was one of eight children. The family was not well off, and “Lula” da Silva began working at age seven as a vendor of peanuts and oranges on the streets of Santos, São Paulo, while attending primary school. At the age of fourteen he landed a new job with Armazéns Gerais Columbia. Afterwards, “Lula” da Silva transferred to the Fábrica de Parafusos Marte and at the age of fifteen, he was admitted to the Senai—Serviço Nacional da Indústria (National Industry Service) where he studied for the next three year and graduated as a metal worker.

During the 1960s at the height of the Brazilian authoritarian government, “Lula” da Silva landed a new job in the city of São Bernardo do Campo, part of the ABC *paulista* (formed by the cities of Santo Andre, São Bernardo do Campo, and São Caetano located in the State of São Paulo), where he began his involvement with politics. “Lula” da Silva’s involvement in politics was a matter of coincidence rather than aspirations. His brother, José Ferreira da Silva, better known as Frei Chico, had been invited to run for office for the worker’s union but he declined passing that responsibility to “Lula” da Silva who gladly accepted.

In April 1980, “Lula” da Silva and the worker’s union led a worker’s strike that paralyzed the industrial heart of Brazil: São Paulo. The military regime in power along with the industrial elite retaliated against the workers. Several union workers were detained under Brazil’s National Security Law. Among the detainees was da Silva, who was sentenced to three years and six months in prison. But, the following year the Brazilian Supreme Court overturned the conviction. Convinced that the workers needed their own representation in Congress, da Silva on February 10, 1980, founded the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers Party or PT) together with other union workers, Brazilian intellectuals, politicians, and members of Brazil’s social movements.

The following year, in August 1983, da Silva founded the *Central Unica dos Trabalhadores* (CUT), an organization to advance the rights of workers without the tutelage of the state, as it was commonly practiced in Brazil. In 1984, da Silva participated in one of the most important events in the history of Brazil: the movement for “*diretas-já*” [*direct elections now*]. The movement, which took millions of Brazilians to the street, demanded that the military step down and return democracy to Brazil, after twenty-one years of military dictatorship. “Lula” da Silva ran

for governor of São Paulo in 1982 but lost; in 1986 he ran for senator (federal deputy) and became the most voted senator in the history of Brazil with 651,763 votes.

In 1989, the PT launched “Lula” da Silva as their presidential candidate. “Lula” da Silva ran against the unknown candidate Fernando Collor de Mello from the state of Alagoas. “Lula” da Silva lost in his first attempt to win the presidency, receiving 47% of the votes. In 1993, “Lula” da Silva began his campaign for human rights and citizenship for all Brazilians regardless of their socio-economic status or ethnicity, which would later become the cornerstone of his presidency (Programa Fome Zero or Program Hunger Zero). “Lula” da Silva attempted again the office of the presidency running in 1994 against Senator Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Cardoso received 44% of the vote against da Silva’s 22%. In 1998, da Silva made another attempt for the presidency against Cardoso, who had modified the Constitution to allow him to run a second term. The results were almost identical to 1994. However, in 2002, da Silva was elected president, defeating José Serra, the government candidate, in a run-off election.

The Brazilian government under “Lula” da Silva has been pressing for enhanced international cooperation to combat international terrorism; da Silva was, however, fiercely opposed to the 2003 invasion of Iraq led by the United States. Brazil is also arguing for an expansion of the United Nations’ Security Council, to which it desires addition as a permanent member.

President “Lula” da Silva’s administration has given priority to strengthening of the scientific and technological infrastructure. However, the *Bolsa Família* (Family Assistance Program) is perhaps its most ambitious program. The *Bolsa Família* provides up to R\$100 (\$50 US) per family per month in addition to health care, education, and other social programs. Another program started by the “Lula” da Silva government was *Programa Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger Program) which has as its main objectives the total eradication of hunger and social exclusion in Brazil. The program’s initial efforts were geared towards emergency relief, but the program’s long-term goal is to create long-term food security throughout Brazil via agrarian form and support of family farms, with the aim of making Brazil self-sufficient for its food supplies. Vouchers for poor families are also part of the program, along with food banks, school meals programs, and programs aimed at pregnant women and mothers with infants.

The da Silva administration has faced criticism regarding its environmental policies. Despite da Silva’s reputation as a supporter of environmental causes,

deforestation in Brazil continues to increase. He has also expressed support for a bill that will lift Brazil's ban on genetically modified crops. There have also been allegations of corruption within both the Worker's Party and da Silva's inner circle; nevertheless, da Silva's popularity remains high.

JOSE DA CRUZ

**See also Brazil; Cardoso, Fernando Henrique**

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## SINGAPORE

### Singapore's Early Era: The Challenge of Poverty and Insecurity

The Republic of Singapore is an island located in the middle of Southeast Asia at geographical coordinates 1°17'N 103°51'E, its land area of 648 square kilometers. It is home to 4,185,000 people, of whom 3,437,000 are Singapore citizens. Foreign guest workers and their families, who occupy 25% of the country's jobs—mainly in low productive sectors such as services and construction and high productivity sectors such as high tech manufacturing and information technology—comprise the remainder of the population. The island is at sea level and its climate features hot, humid monsoon rainy periods without pronounced rainy or dry seasons. Singapore's diverse ethnic composition is 77% Chinese, 15% Malay, 6% Indian, and 2% persons of mixed ethnicity. Four official languages exist: English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil. The population's religious composition includes persons who practice Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Sikhism, Taoism, and Confucianism.

The small but complex city-state achieved its independence from Britain in 1963 as part of the Federation of Malaysia, an arrangement doomed not to last because of ethnic tensions involving Chinese dominated Singapore and the remainder of Malaysia. It was expelled from the Federation in 1965, a time

when Singapore's economy was in shambles and its national and regional security was tenuous.

### Early Singapore's Poverty and Insecurity

Singapore's maritime infrastructure had barely been able to sustain the island's fragile and one-dimensional economy, which was stagnating from wartime damages. The island's once pre-eminent role in Britain's Asian defense strategy had come to an inglorious end due to its defeat at the hands of the Japanese. Singapore's ethnically diverse population was segregated throughout the island. A severe housing shortage went unabated. The existing housing stock was decaying, and the concentrated and fragmented nature of land ownership inhibited housing development. A rapidly growing population was putting increasing pressures on the economy's dwindling capacity to satisfy housing requirements and other basic needs, particularly for education and health care. Only one in five housing units had a sewage connection and consequently water-borne communicable diseases were epidemic. Malaria and tuberculosis were rampant and cholera was part of everyday life throughout the island. Rat infestation plagued schools, health clinics and opium houses alike. Medical facilities were woefully inadequate to deal with the widespread public health problems that these conditions produced.

Unemployment and underemployment abounded and poverty was widespread. Education, civic participation, and business and employment opportunities were reserved mainly for the Chinese elite—this was a legacy of British colonial rule. Ethnic chauvinism persisted throughout the island pitting Chinese against Malay against Indian, and eventually leading to inter-racial rioting—a phenomenon that ultimately separated Singapore from Malaysia. Ethnic antagonism produced student militancy and gave rise to a climate of bitter antagonism among the young of Singapore. The ethnic conflict, combined with ideological dogmatism and inflexibility, exacerbated the chaos and ultimately caused Singapore's expulsion from the Federation. It was up to the country's leadership both in the Government and within the People's Action Party to find Singapore's "own way" to pursue economic development and maintain national sovereignty.

### Singapore's Pursuit of Development and Sovereignty

In 1965, the government began to design and to apply policies aimed at eradicating poverty by promoting

economic growth that would provide the basis for social development and security. The government's key objective was to maintain social order within the country's multi-racial society. It pursued its objectives via policies that collectively had a three-fold focus: educating and training people, maintaining peace with Singapore's regional neighbors (particularly Malaysia and Indonesia) and gaining the confidence of investors from developed market economy countries. The systematically applied policies and administrative practices sought to create internal social order, more educated and productive workers, regional security, and a positive investment climate.

Specific policies and practices centered on developing a sound saving and investment system, an outward looking free market orientation, a superb education and training system, a substantial commitment to invest in research and development, and above all, an honest and efficient government and bureaucracy. Government operated on the conviction that policies and practices need to be combined in a way that formed an organic whole where the key to success would always be a capable, non-corruptible, development-oriented government and bureaucracy.

From the onset of nationhood, Singapore's relatively small national economy has been highly open to trade and foreign investment and its growth exported. Monetary and fiscal policies continue to face constraints in the form of financial leaks into the global economy. As a consequence, macroeconomic stability has always been pursued via a combination of handling imports and re-exports efficiently and promoting exports of domestic origin effectively through exchange rate policies and wage and salary controls that have kept the country's prices competitive in global markets.

In its committed pursuit of material progress, internal stability, and national sovereignty, the government gave lower priority to other goals such as equity in the distribution of economic benefits. Virtually no public attention was paid to promoting non-economic values such as individual freedom, intellectual, and artistic creativity and political competition. The road chosen by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and the authoritarian leadership of the People's Action Party and the government has been widely criticized as harsh and careless when it comes to paying attention to the non-economic costs of Singapore's material progress. Despite the criticism coming from abroad and from some citizens at home, Lee Kwan Yew and his associates have been unquestionably successful in furthering Singapore's economic development. From 1965 onward, almost miraculous material progress began to take place. Throughout the four decades that followed independence, Singapore was one of the world's fastest growing economies.

## A Modern, Developed Market Economy

Progress took place because the aforementioned policies were put into place effectively and efficiently. The result was an economy that was transformed from a trading entrepot to a balanced, multi-segment economic structure. The new structure featured a basic transportation and financial infrastructure to support the economy's growing external sector and a manufacturing sector that shifted from low value added, basic labor intensive items to higher value added items that were more sophisticated and consequently were more capital and highly skilled labor intensive.

Material progress was not the result of a "miracle." It came about through a combination of human effort and public policies based up this important recognition: Singapore has a small domestic demand and attempts to improve macroeconomic performance through monetary and fiscal policies have little domestic impact because the "foreign leakage" is too large. Instead, the government has employed micro economic policies in the form of wage and salary controls that have a direct impact on the cost of exports. Flexible wages and salaries keep employment levels high, assure that export prices remain competitive, and when price regulation is introduced into the policy mix, the domestic consumption of basic need items is sustained.

Production has been continually aimed at progressively higher value added exports destined for markets in North America, Europe, and Asia. Production processes continue to combine foreign capital and technology and domestic investment with a continually improving domestic human resource base augmented by critically important expatriate labor. Efforts to continue gaining and maintaining access to markets abroad has always been a key feature of the country's foreign economic policy mix. Singapore became a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group, the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and, at the global level, the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Singapore's sustained material progress was so pronounced that by the late 1990s its capita income was among the highest in the world and it is now classified as a "developed market economy country." In addition to Singapore's high per capita income, the indices measuring the personal quality of material life and the state of human development place contemporary Singapore within the higher echelon of the world's economies. From 1976 to the onset of the Asian financial crisis of 1999–2000, the country's gross domestic product (GDP) grew by an average

7.8% in real terms while the annual rate of inflation was only 1.6%. The growth and price stability that the economy experienced during the period was based on exports that on average made accounted for 51.6% of Singapore's GDP during the period.

By the year 2000, per capita national income in Singapore grew to \$25,000 US annually. The infant mortality rate dropped to four per one thousand births and life expectancy rose to seventy-eight years. Primary and secondary school participation rates for male and female students reached 92% while the literacy rate exceeded 95%. The United Nation's human development index (HDI) that measures a nation's progress based on the above factors rose to 0.876 placing Singapore among the top fifteen high performing countries based on this measure. The financial crisis temporarily put a stop to Singapore's progress but by 2002 economic growth and social development resumed their upward swings.

Other evidences of domestic progress include a superb international airline, a "state-of-the art" convention center and a clean and safe environment that attracts millions of professional visitors and tourists to the island republic each year. On the professional front, not only was the first Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organization held in Singapore, but also it is home to the Secretariats of both APEC and PECC. The country's infrastructure is strong. The Port of Singapore ranks along side the ports of Hong Kong and Rotterdam as the world's largest in terms of dockings, tonnage, and values handled. The Singapore Monetary Authority, operating on the bases of both prudential financial practices and the principle of transparency, oversees a finance and banking system that provides financial services to countries throughout the region. Because of its sound financial system, Singapore was less seriously affected by the recent Asian financial crisis. Because of this, the International Monetary Fund uses Singapore as a base for training bankers and financial service personnel from other countries.

### **Consequences Arising from Singapore's Road to Progress**

The road to progress chosen by Singapore's founding and current leaders not only produced domestic economic progress and national sovereignty but it contributed to regional stability. Home ownership is at 80%–85%, homelessness is rare, and high-quality basic health care is universally accessible. The educational system is superb. Singapore's Central Provident Fund (CPF) provides support for older Singaporeans. It is also the

financial means via which people purchase housing. The CPF continues to grow and it is managed in a sound and prudential fashion so that it continues to provide the people of Singapore with a superb social-financial system. In 1997, the CPF was modified to add an important new feature—the CPF Investment Scheme that permitted individuals more opportunities to choose patterns of individual investments within a set of government approved companies.

The firm guiding hand of government that propelled Singapore's economic development process has not been highly successful in furthering other social values such as open competitive politics and individual freedom. There has arisen a clear and profound dichotomy between Singapore's material and social progress and its authoritative government and non-competitive political system: along the road to material success, official Singapore became suspicious of real and perceived threats both external and internal.

The seeds of suspicion were sown during the period 1963 to 1965 when the government responded to an external environment that was perceived to be hostile, unstable, and threatening. At that time Singapore's leadership chose a social and political governance structure that was based upon three principles. First, it created a climate of political and social discipline that was to become the cornerstone to government policies and practices. The intent was to assure that no internal threat would develop in a way that permitted outside influences to challenge the leadership and the government. Second, it spawned a willing group of followers who would acquiesce to being governed tightly regardless of any inequities and unfairness associated with the government's actions. Third, it fostered an environment wherein authoritarian social engineering was practiced in an effort to assure social and political stability.

The key question facing contemporary Singapore is whether a government and political system based upon suspicion has outlived its usefulness. Even with broadly based acquiescence and support, during future elections the ruling People's Action Party (PAP) will have to confront this basic issue as well as others including the gaps in income distribution and wealth. The wealth and income distribution gaps are serious and widening. From the government's perspective this is a natural consequence of globalization. However, a growing number of citizens see distribution inequities as the result of reliance on expatriate labor and favoritism among the local economic elite. While the PAP continues to receive some 65% of the vote, one out of every three citizens voted for a minority party candidate, which could cause the ruling party's magnitude of control over the Parliament to dissipate.

ROBERT L. CURRY, JR.

See also **Export-Oriented Economies; Foreign Residents in Developing Countries; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations**

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## SINGLE-PARTY STATES

Single-party states are those in which one political party, which goes largely unchallenged, enjoys a monopoly on power within the state structures. The ruling party has a wider variety of functions than is usually the case in a multi-party competitive democracy. The ruling party may serve as the primary mechanism for determining access to decision-making authority, staffing the bureaucracy, distributing political goods, articulating and channeling interests, maintaining security, and articulating state ideology, as well as organizing and contesting elections. These elections may not offer real choices to voters, but serve important legitimizing functions for the regime.

Such a party may still have competitors for control of government functions. These competitors might include the military, the bureaucracy, and the authoritarian leader. The party is generally independent from these non-party actors. For instance, the Brazilian military regime (1964–1985) did not permit any real autonomy to the Alliance for National Renovation (ARENA), its political party vehicle, and would therefore not be considered an example of a single-party state. Likewise, a system such as Iraq under Saddam Hussein, in which the party serves primarily as a vehicle for a personalistic leader, is not properly considered a single-party state.

Within the category of single-party states there is considerable variation in regime characteristics. Some regimes have a constitutionally mandated role for the party, often describing the party as the leading force in society and prohibiting all other political parties. These are typically Communist party-states, but this was also true of many African regimes. Other states, including Communist Poland, permitted the existence of other parties, but only those that were supporters of the ruling party's right to govern. Still others, such as Mexico and Senegal (except from 1966–1976), permitted various parties to contest elections but did not permit any but the ruling party to win them. This differentiates the single-party state from a dominant party in a democratic system, as found in Japan and Sweden throughout much of the same period. In these last two cases, the governing party had no guarantee of continued political dominance, opposition parties could expect to form a legitimate opposition in the legislature, and the party system's primary role was to legitimize government through elections.

The historic origins of the single-party state lie in Marxism-Leninism, although fascist parties in Europe in the twentieth century also employed the party-state regime model. Marxism calls for the dictatorship of the proletariat to govern the state until the state itself withers away. V. I. Lenin articulated a model for the exercise of this dictatorship based on a centralized political party made up of cadres acting as the vanguard of the proletariat. Many single-party states adopted the Leninist model, including non-Marxist regimes. The Kuomintang in the Republic of China is a particularly interesting example of a non-Marxist party organized along Leninist principles. Many of Asia's nationalist movements did adopt Marxist ideology along with Leninist organizational principles as they successfully fought their way to power, as in China, North Korea, and Indochina.

For much of the post-World War II period, the single-party state was the most widespread regime type in the developing world. Communist party-states were established in Central and Eastern Europe, China and North Korea in the late 1940s, and North Vietnam in 1954, joining the two pre-war Communist party-states, the Soviet Union and Mongolia. Non-communist hegemonic party-states were established in Mexico in 1938 and Paraguay in 1947. Depending on how one classifies different cases, some eighteen single-party states were established in the 1960s, mostly in Africa. The only new Communist party-state established in the 1960s was in Cuba. Numerous other African states moved effectively towards single-party status, although formal establishment of such a regime may not have taken place until the 1970s. By 1988, some fifty-seven countries had single-party

regimes. These included the Soviet Union and the eight Communist states in Central Europe and the Balkans; fifteen of the seventeen countries in East and Central Africa; seven countries each in Southern Africa and in West Africa; five Arab countries; ten countries in Central, East, and Southeast Asia; and four countries in Latin America.

Lenin's theories of imperialism were compelling to many of the leaders of the newly independent states of the 1950s and 1960s, who articulated justifications for the adoption of the single-party model to overcome the legacies of colonialism. Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Sékou Touré in Guinea, for example, sought to nationalize their nations' economies in order to prevent the repatriation of profits to Europe, to promote industrialization, and to allow for the distribution of wealth. The movement of all the people, represented in the single mass party and led by the vanguard elite, was needed to break the power of particular interests that enjoyed special links to the metropolitan state and benefited from neo-colonial relationships. The Chinese referred to these local agents of the metropolitan bourgeoisie as the comprador class, whose interests were inherently anti-national.

However, relatively few single-party regimes adopted a fully developed class analysis as part of their ideology. In Africa and the Arab world, various versions of African and Arab Socialism became official regime ideology. Sékou Touré argued that African class structure did not resemble that of Europe, and as parties represent class interests, the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) was not in fact a party because it represented the nation, not any single set of class interests. Arab or African Socialism took on even more flexible ideological shapes in the hands of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt and Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia. While Sékou Touré denied the existence of classes and internal class conflict, Nasser saw the creation of a single-party as a means to contain the potential for class conflict in Egyptian society. Similarly, Zambia's United National Independence Party (UNIP) promoted Kaunda's official ideology of "Humanism" rather than a more rigorously socialist ideology. African Socialism was usually conceived to be a revalorization of pre-colonial communitarian norms, modernized by the activity of the Party. The local committees of the PDG in the early period after independence in Guinea may not have behaved much differently from traditional village councils.

In many African states, the mass-based independence movement led by a Western-educated elite became the base for the post-independence single-party. The goals of this party were to provide national unity, political stability, and social and economic development. The concern for national unity was not

unfounded, as multiparty systems in Africa have tended to reflect ethnic divisions, with tragic consequences in several cases, such as in Nigeria and more recently the Republic of Congo. As Nkrumah said, "A multi-party system introduced into Africa results in the perpetuation of feudalism, tribalism and regionalism, and in inordinate power struggle and rivalry." Many parties in single-party regimes adopted national symbols as their own and denied the use of these symbols to others. Indeed, the possibility of loyal opposition is denied to other parties, for in the nationalist formulation of the single-party ideology, to oppose the ruling party is to oppose the nation itself. On the other hand, single-party systems have also provided political cover for ethnic-based interests that have sought to dominate the state, as in Kenya and Malawi.

The Leninist model was particularly well suited to the developmentalist state that characterized the developing world from the 1950s to the 1970s. Mobilizing resources for what was envisioned as a rapid, dramatic, and revolutionary change in society required institutions capable of communicating directly with the masses and subordinating opposition embedded in either neo-colonialist or traditionalist structures to the general will of the new nation. Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere argued that:

The Party has to help the people to understand what the government is doing and why; it has to help the people to co-operate with their government... But the Party has also to ensure that the government stays in close touch with the feelings, the difficulties and the aspirations of the people. It has to speak for the people. And it has to educate the people and help them to see what the government's actions mean in terms of their own future security and their own future opportunities.

The role of the party in actual implementation of development policies varies greatly among single-party states. The strong role of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in Tanzania contrasts markedly with the role of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in Kenya, which played almost no part in policy implementation. As states adopted extensive economic planning, including cooperativization and in several cases collectivization of agriculture, party militants became essential promoters of state goals on the ground. In some cases the party acted as the state bureaucracy, while in others it served as a check on the bureaucrats who actually implemented policy. In Syria, for example, the Baath party under Hafiz al-Asad had the power to review and influence the formulation of policies as they were developed through regular institutions of government. Many single-party states found that administration through the party was often inefficient, and sought eventually

to separate the party from the bureaucracy and administration. This was particularly characteristic of the Communist-party states in the late 1970s, including Cuba, China, and Vietnam.

Single-parties also played more non-ideological roles in many states. Party membership was often essential for participation in distributional alliances controlled by the party or the national leader. States that permitted opposition parties, such as Mexico, Paraguay, and Senegal, used elections as a means to determine access to divisible goods among competitive patron-client networks. However, this was also true in Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya during periods when opposition parties were prohibited and competing networks operated as factions within the party. The relatively prosaic distribution of largesse has had at least as great an impact on patterns of development, for good and for ill, as have great schemes based on central state planning.

The overall impact of the single-party state on political and economic development has often been negative. While these regimes have arguably contributed to national unity and have created periods of political stability, most of them have fallen well short of the goals they set for themselves. The single-party model has suffered several problems. These include personalism, corruption, inflexibility, irrationality, authoritarianism, and human rights violations. In short, these regimes suffer from the ills of dictatorship, and while some have been less abusive than others the tendency for abuse is inherent in the regime design itself.

Few single-party regimes were able to overcome the tendency towards personalistic decision-making. While some, such as Mexico and Vietnam, were able to achieve a degree of rotation of elites and avoid cults of personality, personalistic and capricious decision-making is still found in regimes without external checks. While competitive multi-party systems may be as corrupt, the combination of unchecked corruption and inflexibility in an authoritarian state is more likely to lead to disasters, as Amartya Sen has famously observed. Likewise, while single-party regimes are not alone in authoritarianism and human rights abuses, they have generally not been good performers on these measures, contrasting notably on these grounds with competitive multi-party systems.

The economic crises and adoption of neoliberal ideology in the 1980s accompanied the abandonment of both Marxist political economy and Leninist political organization in much of the world. Between 1989 and 1992, twenty-nine single-party regimes were replaced by either multi-party democracies, military regimes, or, in several cases, anarchy. By the end of 2001, only fourteen of these regimes survived, and of these, only five, all Communist party-states, retained

the constitutional mandate for single-party hegemony. The commitment to single-party rule as the means for national development has been completely abandoned, except in Cuba and North Korea. In virtually no part of the world is the single-party model today celebrated as the appropriate means for the developing world to achieve development.

BRIAN TURNER

**See also Authoritarianism; Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regimes; Central and Eastern Europe, History and Economic Development; China; Cuba; Dictatorships; Egypt; Ghana; Guinea; Kenya; Paraguay; Senegal; Taiwan; Vietnam**

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### SLOVAKIA

A new, land-locked Central European nation of approximately 5.3 million, Slovakia, or the Slovak Republic, is bordered by Poland to the north, the Ukraine to the east, Hungary to the south, and Austria and the Czech Republic to the west. Thirty percent of its 18,922 square miles is mountainous in the north; 20% of Slovakia is forested. The Danube is the nation's major river. Slovakia's two largest

cities—Bratislava, the capital in the southwest, and Kosice, in the southeast—dominate the otherwise agricultural lowlands. One-third of the country's land is under cultivation. Slovakia has a continental climate with cold, dry winters and hot, humid summers. Temperatures in the capital range from 30°F in the winter to 70°F in the summer; rainfall averages 25.5 inches annually.

## Political History

For centuries, Slovakia was a small part of much larger empires. It first was part of the Great Moravian Empire (830–907), then under Hungarian rule from the eleventh until the early twentieth centuries. Under the Hapsburgs, Slovakia was called Upper Hungary. As part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Slovaks were pressured to relinquish their national identity. Despite these efforts to eradicate the Slovakian identity, a nationalist revival occurred in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Partial sovereignty was realized after World War I under the leadership of Thomas G. Masaryk, the founding first president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia (1918–1935). Despite his democratic leadership, some Slovaks were frustrated by a unitary state directed from Prague. The dissatisfaction of Sudeten Germans within the newly created state, as well as its noted industrial capacity, provided Adolf Hitler with a pretext for occupying Czechoslovakia after the Munich Agreement of 1938. A puppet fascist Slovak state was established in March 1939 under the national cleric, Monsignor Josef Tiso. In contrast to the passive resistance of the Czechs, the Slovak National Uprising began in August 1944 and continued for several months before it was quashed.

Czechoslovakia was restored after the end of World War II, with some concessions to Slovak demands for autonomy by means of a regional legislature and an executive. The Communists seized power in 1947–1948, ending this federal experiment for twenty years. Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992), a Slovak, was made head of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia in January 1968. His immediate reform movement, known as the Prague Spring—in part a delayed de-Stalinization program—was crushed on August 21, 1968. Czechoslovakia, however, continued one of the reforms that led to the country's federalization in 1969, again giving Slovaks some national institutions that enjoyed limited autonomy. Ironically, both fascism and communism contributed to Slovak nationalism.

Dubcek's replacement was his early supporter and fellow Slovak, Gustav Husak (1913–1991). Husak

was jailed from 1940–1943 by the Nazi-backed Slovak puppet government and afterward played a role in the 1944 Slovak uprising. In 1951, he was purged from the Communist party on charges of “nationalism.” While serving a subsequent six-year sentence, Husak wrote a history of the 1944 revolt. His prison sentence was declared illegal in 1963 when he was politically rehabilitated.

Historically an agricultural region, Slovakia began to industrialize after the 1948 communist takeover. Enormous heavy industry and armament plants were constructed, creating dependence on the Soviet Union as a customer for the products. Husak's government was one of the sternest in east Central Europe, but it helped to improve the Slovak standard of living.

## Independence

Communist Czechoslovakia unraveled within the twenty-three days of the “Velvet Revolution” of late 1989, leaving opposition forces unprepared for the sudden transition to parliamentary democracy. Economic, political, and ethnic tensions between the Czechs and the Slovaks overwhelmed the new leadership, and the seventy-four-year-old union crumbled, despite public-opinion polls that suggested that a majority of both Czechs and Slovaks were against independence. The Slovak Republic gained its independence on January 1, 1993, largely because of Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar. Klaus, Czechoslovakia's ideological prime minister with a Ph.D. in economics, saw himself as the Margaret Thatcher of Central Europe. Meciar, Slovakia's first prime minister, is sometimes referred to as the Huey Long of the Danube. Political inexperience coupled with ideological inclinations in both leaders led to the split.

A former amateur boxer, corporate lawyer, and an authoritarian populist, Meciar slowed the pace of privatization of the economy. He dominated foreign policy and aggravated tensions with Hungary. His demagogic methods—exploiting ethnic fears, efforts to control the media and corrupt political practices—led to his public rejection in the fall of 1998.

## The Anti-Meciar Coalition

For the past three years, opposition political parties to Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) have provided stability for the nation and moved it in a progressive direction. In 2000, The Organization for Economic Cooperation and



## SLOVAKIA

Development (OECD) for the first time classified Slovakia as having a functioning market economy. A majority of the population favors entry into the European Union (EU). Also in 2000, Slovakia received more foreign investment than in the previous seven years combined. And in late 2001, the governing coalition initiated the process to decentralize state authority, a goal popular among Slovaks and urged by the EU. Public administration reform is scheduled to be completed in 2004, the date by which Slovaks hope to be eligible for EU entry. The European Union is Slovakia's largest trading partner; more than 60% of its exports go to the EU.

Despite many reforms, the unemployment rate hovers near 19%, the highest in Europe. Polls show that Meciar's HZDS with 28.1% of the public remains the single most popular party. National elections are scheduled for fall 2002, creating a challenge for the smaller opposition parties to stay united against Meciar. All parties, however, lack leaders of the stature of the late Dubcek. Even Meciar has been forced to favor integration with the EU and NATO, supported by nearly half of the Slovakian public and which the Czechs joined in 1999.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Czech Republic; Dubcek, Alexander; Soviet Bloc**

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## SLOVENIA

The Republic of Slovenia lies at the crossroads called the Balkans—sandwiched between the remnants of the Hapsburg Empire to the north, the Ottoman

Empire to the south and east, and the Venetian Republic to the west. The small nation, of about 7,800 square miles in area, has long been known for its alpine vistas and pleasant climate. Ninety percent of the nation—lined by the Karawanken Mountains along its northern border with Austria and the Julian Alps and Kras (Karst) Plateau along its western border with Italy—lies above one thousand feet elevation, with a range of above nine thousand feet in the mountains to sea level along the Adriatic coast. More than 60% of the landscape is forested; 30% is classified as agricultural land, according to Slovenia government statistics. Climate is mild and humid—no dry season. Temperatures in the capitol city of Ljubljana, for example, typically range from 24°F in the winter to 80°F in the summer. Precipitation—snow in the winter and rain at other times of the year—is plentiful year-round. Slovenia has approximately 2 million residents—the largest cities are Ljubljana (250,000 residents) and Maribor (ninety-five thousand residents).

The Slovene people first settled in the Danube Valley and eastern Alps in the sixth century CE. Shortly afterward, Germanic rulers, the Carolingians in the eighth century, assumed control of what is now Slovenia. Rule then passed to another line of Germanic rulers, the Holy Roman Emperors in the ninth century, and to the Hapsburgs in turn in the fifteenth century. The Hapsburgs retained control of Slovenia for most of the next four centuries—with a brief interruption during the Napoleonic Wars. The Hapsburg Empire began to fragment in the nineteenth century, with subject peoples—including the Slovenes—clamoring for more autonomy. The empire collapsed following its defeat in World War I, and the Slovenes in 1919 joined the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—which was later named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1928. Shortly after the start of World War II, Axis powers (Italy and subsequently Germany) invaded and ruled the region from 1941 to 1945. A Soviet satellite state, the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (later the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), was established following the end of World War II.

While Soviet strongman Joseph Stalin intended Yugoslavia to be a subservient, vassal state, Yugoslav strongman Josip Broz Tito, who was elected president of the republic in 1953, had other intentions and managed to keep Yugoslavia free of Soviet dominance. Tito also managed to suppress separatist movements throughout Yugoslavia, and the disparate peoples—including the Slovenes—managed to get along reasonably peacefully until Tito's death in 1980.

Following Tito's death, Serb politicians began to assert more control over the affairs of the other peoples that comprised Yugoslavia. Nationalist

rhetoric by Serb strongman Slobodan Milošević did little to encourage most of the other peoples to remain a part of Yugoslavia. Despite pressure from the United States and the many European nations that Yugoslavia should remain united, the General Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia declared the right to secede from Yugoslavia. Eighty-eight percent of the Slovene people voted to do so on December 23, 1990. The republic then declared its independence on June 25, 1991, and won that independence in a ten-day war in which the Yugoslav army withdrew in the face of stiff resistance from the Slovenes. The Slovenes escaped Yugoslavia at relatively little cost.

The Vatican was the first to recognize Slovenia, which has a majority Roman Catholic population. Germany likewise recognized the new nation, and the European Economic Community and the United States followed suit early in 1992. The new Slovene republic then joined the United Nations on May 22, 1992. Slovenia was determined to be an active member of the European and world communities, and, after years of preparation, joined both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union in 2004.

The Slovenes quickly established a stable democracy after declaring independence in 1991. Milan Kučan was elected its first president on December 6, 1992. Kučan was reelected in 1997. Janez Drnovšek was elected Slovenia's second president on December 1, 2002.

Slovenia was one of the former Yugoslavia's most advanced and prosperous republics. As a result of its nearly bloodless war of independence, its democratic government, and its close ties to the West, Slovenia has been able to remain relatively prosperous. Its economy has kept growing, even though many other nations in transition from communist or socialist economist have experienced slowdowns. In March 2004, Slovenia's prosperity allowed it to change roles from a borrower nation to a donor nation at the World Bank.

Slovenia's estimated gross domestic product in 2003 was \$37 billion, which amounts to about \$19,000 GDP per capita. The nation boasts of abundant natural resources, such as forest products, hydro-power, coal, and metals. (It likewise suffers from environmental problems as a result of developing these resources, but is making more progress than similar states in mitigating those problems.) Despite Slovenia's natural wealth, the biggest sector of its economy is the service sector, which comprises 57% of Slovenia's GDP. The industrial sector is second at 40%. Both inflation and unemployment are something of a problem, with the inflation rate in 2003 estimated Inflation (in consumer prices) was estimated to be a little more than 5% in 2003. According to government

statistics, unemployment was estimated to be about 6.6% in 2003, with the highest rate for adults being among those aged between twenty and twenty-four (14.8%). Slovenia enjoys a slight trade surplus with other nations.

The population is fairly stable, with the growth rate essentially at 0%. Fourteen percent of the population is younger than fifteen years of age. Fifteen percent is older than sixty-five. The median age is about forty. Average life expectancy at birth is seventy-six years (seventy-two for males; eighty for females). Death rates per one thousand population slightly exceed birth rates (10.15 to 8.9).

Slovenia was much more fortunate than its sister nations in escaping the bloodshed visited upon its sister nations following the breakup of Yugoslavia. It enjoys many advantages—in terms of human, economic, and natural resources—that bode well for the republic's future.

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**See also Albania; Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatia; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe; Macedonia; Milošević, Slobodan; Montenegro; Serbia; Nationalism, Definition; North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); Self-Determination; Tito, Josip Broz (Marshall Tito); Tudzhman, Franjo; Yugoslavia**

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### SMAZE

Smaze or smoke haze is defined as a heavy atmospheric condition that offers reduced visibility because of the presence of suspended particles. Air pollution is placed in two general categories: indoor and outdoor. Indoor air pollution is created by cooking and heating inside, while outdoor air pollution results from the combustion of fossil fuels for human consumption. Smaze is a type of outdoor pollution that causes public health problems, such as respiratory

infections, and increases the burden of disease within a country.

In the developing world, since 1945, a rapidly increasing birth rate, coupled with a decreasing death rate, has caused a population boom that has resulted in rapid urbanization and exacerbated the phenomena of smaze. For example, Mexico City has a population of 22 million people and approximately 3.5 million automobiles. Automobiles are a primary cause of smaze in Mexico City and throughout the developing world. The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends that cities have ninety milligrams or less per cubic meter of suspended particles in the air. The WHO estimates that the air of Mexico City has double the recommended number of suspended particles. These suspended particles cause respiratory conditions, increased disease prevalence, and contribute to higher infant mortality rates. Smaze also causes adverse environmental problems, such as acid rain and corrosion.

The Mexican government has responded to this crisis by implementing legislation during the late 1980s to combat the problem. The General Law of Ecological Balance and Environmental Protection (LGEEPA) of 1988 aimed to reduce all environmental pollution. In 1996, the LGEEPA was amended to include sustainable development projects. These projects included the creation of the Center for Sustainable Transport in Mexico City (CSTMC), which aimed to create sustainable transportation infrastructure, such as a rapid transit bus system and retrofitting older diesel engines on vehicles and trucks to reduce air pollutants. In addition, the Mexican government enacted a five-year National Environmental Program (1996–2000), which invested over \$10 million to reduce air pollution in Mexico City. This program included tax incentives to purchase pollution control equipment and alternative fuels, while requiring catalytic converters on all automobiles.

Another reason for smaze was increased deforestation caused by slash and burn agriculture and increased logging activities. Throughout the developing world, agricultural expansion, exasperated by food insecurity issues of the rural Third World poor, has decreased the size of the rain forests as peasants move deeper into the rain forests. The rain forests, however, have traditionally served as natural filters to eliminate pollutants from the air. As the size of tropical rain forests decreases, smaze levels increase. In addition, deforestation leads to increased drought conditions, which makes forests more susceptible to fire, which also increases smaze.

LAZARUS F. O'SAKO

**See also Acid Precipitation; Deforestation; Environment: Government Policies; Mexico; Rain Forest,**

## **Destruction of; Sustainable Development; Urbanization: Impact on Environment**

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## **SOCIAL REVOLUTION**

Social Revolution is a complex phenomenon and an elusive term. Generally the concept is subsumed within the sociological literature under the category of collective behavior, or that group behavior which is less predictable, less formal, and less subject to routine human activity. Social revolution represents the “extreme situations” in human behavior when the relatively stable social order has been disrupted and even irreparably shattered. As a phenomenon, social revolution incorporates many aspects of societal change including the political, the economic, the cultural, and the social structural. As *social* revolution rather than simply revolution, the phenomenon may incorporate uprisings, rebellions, and insurrections but is never limited to these violent events alone.

There are many competing definitions of social revolution and of revolution in general. Key disputes include the following: the kind, extent, and persistence of social change; the means of effecting change, that is, whether violence and the threat of force are essential components of social revolution; and the ideological direction of that societal change. Social revolution in contrast to simple revolution implies broad and fundamental change in all or most aspects of societal life from values to institutions. Also, social revolution is considered more than an attempted change; the revolutionary process and subsequent societal change must succeed or persist—how long remains in dispute. Thus, a revolutionary uprising that fails or a process of social change that is not consolidated cannot be a true revolution or a social revolution.

Most theorists of revolution, such as the sociologist, Chalmers Johnson, also tend to agree that such widespread societal change can only be effected by the threat or use of force and violence, so that a non-violent social revolution is not only a contradiction in terms but impossible in the real world. Nevertheless, briefly in the 1960s, the idea of a non-violent, cultural revolution, or “revolution in the minds of men” represented a popular alternative to this view.

Although, there have been no historical cases of a non-violent, cultural revolution, some theorists of revolution, such as Dale Yoder and Rex Hopper, focused on normative and cultural change, however effected. They described revolution as “the change in the social attitudes and values basic to the traditional institutional order.”

Finally, some theorists, such as Hannah Arendt, insisted that all revolutions must be progressive ideologically and/or incorporate “the struggle for freedom” and “the sense of a new beginning.” This last “democratic” revolution theory posed some difficulties in meshing the theoretical literature with the historical cases of social revolution in the twentieth century. Major social revolutions of the twentieth century, such as the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Chinese Revolution of 1949, and the Cuban Revolution of 1959 were Marxist revolutions. In one sense, these revolutions used violence, in Arendt’s words, to institute a “different form of government.” However, most scholars of revolution would agree that these historical cases did not meet Arendt’s test to create a “new body politic, where the liberation from oppression aims at least at the constitution of freedom.”

Despite the debate over the exact components of social revolution, and the means by which an astute observer can determine if it has indeed occurred, several definitions of revolution and of social revolution are especially helpful. Chalmers Johnson views revolution as expanding concentric circles of violent change “in government, and/or regime, and/or society.” Although this broad definition does not distinguish between societal revolution and mere insurrections, Johnson notes that “total” revolution, in contrast with “simple” revolution, recasts a society’s entire structure of values and division of labor, or society’s norms and institutions.

The most comprehensive description of social revolution is that of Samuel P. Huntington. “A revolution,” he writes, “is a rapid, fundamental, and violence domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership, government activity and policies.” His definition clearly distinguishes among lower-level, and perhaps unsuccessful coup d’etats, rebellions and insurrections, and “social” or “great” revolutions. In the latter category Huntington includes the French, Mexican, Chinese, Russian, and Cuban revolutions, but notably excludes from his list of historical cases the American Revolution of 1776. Huntington insists on the distinction between wars of independence, or “a struggle of one community against rule by an alien community,” and a social revolution which necessitates major changes to the social structure.

As important as determining *what* constitutes social revolution, is explaining the *why* or the causality of social revolution. In the literature of revolution theories of revolutionary change abound with little distinction between the “simple” revolution and the “total,” or “great,” or “social” revolutions. A shared, central assumption of theorists is that causality of human rebellion remains operative in all types of revolution. Some theorists, however, accord this dimension greater importance than others. For example, in the view of leading political theorist, Ted Robert Gurr, revolution can be best understood as but one of many expressions of civil strife and collective violence.

Theories of revolutionary causality can be grouped into four main categories: psychological and social psychological; social systemic and structural; power-conflict; and international systemic. Gurr is an exponent of the psychological explanation of civil violence, which includes simple revolution and great or social revolutions. Another related theorist is James Davies who incorporates a social and historical dimension. The psychological and social psychological explanation for revolution focuses on “the minds of men” or states of mind of individuals and groups. The psychological theory which triggers individual and group rebellion is that of frustration-aggression activated by perceptions or feelings of relative deprivation. It is important to note that relative deprivation is distinct from absolute deprivation, which describes the actual conditions of poverty, inequality, repression, or injustice, as opposed to perceptions of these conditions. When individuals become frustrated by relative deprivation, which is a perceived and comparative sense of discrepancy between their expectations and capabilities to achieve “the goods and conditions of life” to which they believe they are rightfully entitled,” they respond with aggression. If the government is blamed for this frustration, then aggression is most likely to take the form of civil or political violence against the government and its political leaders. The degree of politicized discontent, therefore, influences the magnitude and forms that political violence can take, ranging from turmoil to full-scale social revolution.

James Davies relies upon this relative deprivation model to propose the J-curve theory of rising expectations. In his words, “revolution is most likely to take place when a prolonged period of rising expectations and rising gratifications is followed by a short period of sharp reversal.” It is the suddenness of the reversal in social conditions after a prolonged period of improvement that triggers insecurity, fear, and discontent. Davies terms this period of sharp reversal the “intolerable gap” between a person’s expectations and gratifications. This gap provokes individual and

societal-wide frustrations, and when it becomes intolerable may explode into violent action or revolution. The Davies theory of revolutionary causality ostensibly places a greater emphasis on collective behavior and societal factors as induced by economic downturns and tragic historical events. Both the Gurr and Davies' psychological explanations of revolution, however, have been difficult to test or verify empirically, in large part, because neither theory has successfully measured, as opposed to inferred, qualitative factors, and individual or collective states of mind.

A number of the social systemic and structural explanations of revolution focus on either or both the "lag" and "disharmony" effects believed to exist in the complex process of social change. Theories in this category generally assume that extensive and rapid social change is disruptive and breeds discontent and strain which feed social turmoil. To some degree these theories imply a type of "systemic frustration" or systemic failure as the necessary preconditions for social revolution. Although reminiscent of the relative deprivation and J-curve effects of the psychological theories, certain social systemic explanations (for example, Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend and Betty Nesvold) rely more on structural conditions and their wider impact in creating "the revolutionary state of mind."

Modernization and the conflict between traditional societies and transitional and modernizing ones, especially the tensions between the values and structures of an old or receding social order and a new and emergent one are often identified to be at fault. A classic in this genre is Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, which describes social revolution as one outcome of the challenge of modernization and the process of capitalist economic development. Employing the Marxian historical dialectic, Moore argues that the transformation of traditional agrarian and pre-capitalist societies into a new capitalist and industrialized economic order unleashed class conflict and social revolution. Democracy resulted out of this struggle, either peacefully or via social revolution, when the bourgeoisie or capitalists emerged as the dominant class in the modernization process. Social revolution of the peasant type, however, led to an authoritarian or totalitarian outcome.

The anthropologist, Eric Wolf, proposes a similar theory linking social revolution and the diffusion of "North Atlantic capitalism." Historically, the process of capitalist development inflicted an alien cultural and economic system on wide geographical regions of the world which precipitated internal strife and social revolution. This diffusion of capitalist values and structures of economic organization reduced the value of man into that of an economic actor and alienated him

from the production and creative process and eroded his social and communal ties. The insidious process of societal subversion in the transition from an old to new social order created social conflict and intolerable strain, which was ultimately expressed in social revolution.

Perhaps the culmination of this social subversion explanation for revolution is found in the social systemic theory of revolutionary change of Chalmers Johnson. In the sociological literature, Johnson is a structural-functionalist, or one who views the social system as analogous to a living, adaptive organism with established structures, processes, goals, and functions. The main purpose or goal of all these structures and processes is to preserve and maintain vital functions and the viability of the social system. Society as a system must maintain itself in a steady state or adaptive equilibrium. Social revolution occurs when the components of society are unable to "preserve system structure in the face of changing environmental conditions." In short, society can no longer adapt to the forces of change, so that, in his terms, the social system falls into disequilibrium. Social revolution, therefore, represents the complete breakdown of a "disequilibrated social system."

Despite the jargon, Johnson's schema of social revolution is an elegant process model that moves from longer term environmental and social causes to medium-term political and more immediate strategic causes of revolution. "There are two clusters of mutually-influencing necessary . . . causes of any revolution," he explains. "First there are the pressures created by a disequilibrated social system—a society which is changing and which is in need of further change if it is to continue to exist." Then a "second cluster of necessary causes revolves around the quality of the purposeful change being undertaken while a system is disequilibrated." And lastly, he writes, "the final, or sufficient, cause of a revolution is some ingredient, usually contributed by fortune, which deprives the elite of its chief weapon for enforcing social behavior (accelerator)." Terms, such as "power-deflation" in the decision-making arena and "status protestors" describe attempts by policy elites to correct or rebalance the system and to control polarization of pro- and anti-system interest groups. Finally an "accelerator" or an event that provides hope to the insurgents and undermines and prevents authorities from using force to reestablish order, leads to the loss of authority of the elites and a revolutionary insurrection.

The Johnson model serves as an effective organizing device to explain the key elements of major social revolutions. The theory explains revolution within a holistic framework, emphasizing the important relationship between values and structures and between

objective conditions and evaluations of these. Nevertheless, Johnson's model of social revolution has not served as a predictive theory. Moreover, some critics argue that the theory distorts social reality and exaggerates the degree of social stability that generally exists in most societies.

The competing explanation of social revolution by Charles Tilly, in contrast to Johnson's assumptions of social stability, holds that the norm in social and political behavior is power struggle and conflict. Ultimately revolution can only succeed because of supportive political conditions and power relationships. Developed in reaction to the complex conditions for revolution imposed by the social systemic theorists, the power-conflict approach redefined revolution as primarily a political phenomenon and an endemic struggle over scarce resources, power and influence. Thus the focus is not on social revolution but on revolution generally and challenges to the established political order and its monopoly of coercive force.

Conflict is endemic because not all groups enjoy access to power and influence, and political actors must compete constantly for access to the state. Government is defined as the organizational structure which controls the principal means of coercion. The non-governmental actors are the contenders in the struggle for power and influence. These include the polity, or the groups which interact with the government and are generally successful in realizing their political demands; and the challengers which are excluded from the polity and compete unsuccessfully in the political struggle. A third group, the non-contenders, are not active participants in the political system. The patterns of interaction among these actors, much like competing interest groups, create potentially conflictive political behavior that can readily escalate into revolution. Indeed revolution occurs when the government controlled by a single polity becomes the object of struggle by contending groups. Because threat and conflict are constant features of political participation, no special psychological or motivational factors of rage or deprivation are necessary to explain revolution. In a sense, this "realist" theory reduces revolution to an innate, instinctual struggle for power, comparable to realism in the international relations theory of Hans Morgenthau.

Although within this conflict tradition, Marxist-Leninist explanations of social revolution focus on another set of key actors: classes, the state, and the international system. Karl Marx's classic theory describes social revolutions as "the locomotives of history" or as the product of inevitable historical forces driven by the mode of production within any given society and the violent clash between the owners and non-owners of the means of production or property.

In the capitalist stage of production these opposing classes are the capitalists or bourgeoisie and the workers or the proletariat, respectively. As the relations of production in capitalism deteriorate and workers misery intensifies, workers develop class consciousness and launch a "national struggle," which spontaneously "breaks out into open revolution" against the bourgeoisie.

Lenin, the famous Russian revolutionary, internationalized the Marxist theory of social revolution and adapted it to the particular reality of medieval Czarist Russia. Through the creation of a Marxist-Leninist party and a broad class alliance of workers and peasants, Lenin defied classic Marxism and proved that social revolution could also engulf Russia, a backward, pre-capitalist, and pre-industrial society. His greatest contribution to social revolution, however, was his theory of imperialism as "the highest stage of capitalism." Mature capitalism, Lenin argued, had extended its lease on life by exporting its system abroad to colonies, opening up new markets and new sources of cheap raw materials. In the process, the world capitalist revolution which Marx predicted to begin in the most highly developed and industrialized countries instead shifted to the underdeveloped, Third World countries. The Russian Revolution became the vanguard in this chain of international social revolution. Joseph Stalin extended this Leninist theory: "Formerly, it was the accepted thing to speak of the existence or absence of objective conditions for the proletarian revolution in individual countries. . . . Now we must speak of the existence of objective conditions for the revolution in the entire system of world imperialist economy as an integral unit." Thus, revolution will begin "where the chain of imperialism is weakest."

In *States and Social Revolution*, Theda Skocpol adapts both the class struggle and internationalizing dimensions of the Marxist-Leninist theories of revolution by redefining and emphasizing the role of the state as a central autonomous actor. "Social revolutions," she argues, "should be analyzed from a structural perspective, with special attention devoted to international contexts and to developments at home and abroad that affect the breakdown of the state organizations." Skocpol views the state as a power broker between dominant and subject classes in society, sometimes reflecting dominant class interests, but fundamentally independent of class and motivated by the goals of internal order, efficient governance and resource extraction, and survival in the competitive international system.

In the final analysis, social revolution is caused by a crisis of state that is both domestically and internationally induced. Social revolution involves

the “intersection between international conditions and pressures ... and class-structured economies, and politically organized interests.” In other words, a powerful and effective state and a supportive international system translate into the absence of social revolution. Skocpol’s explanation of the causes of social revolution clearly exemplifies an international systemic theory. Her theory departs from the traditional view of revolution as an exclusively internal or sub-national phenomenon, and demonstrates the correctness of Lenin’s logic that social revolution remains internationally conditioned.

Indeed, the most significant trend in theories of social revolution in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been in the international dimension. Skocpol’s focus on the international environment of the state and on its structural properties represents a necessary conceptual shift, long implied, but never as explicitly and convincingly elaborated. Social revolution exclusively conceptualized as “internal war,” the innovative term of Harold Eckstein, no longer resonates in this era of globalization when the theoretical and actual boundaries between revolution and war are less defined. In the twentieth century, the term revolutionary war favored by Mao Zedong and Ho Chi Minh in their Marxist social revolutions in China and Vietnam, respectively, exemplified this growing elision of revolution and war. Today, for example, global terrorism operates extraterritorially and serves both the ends of internal and external war.

Nevertheless, an essential lesson learned in the most recent historical cases of social revolution in Nicaragua and Iran is that causality is fundamentally internal. National societies and people make social revolutions because the causes are rooted in internal, domestic conditions. External influences and intervention may temporarily tip the scales in revolutionary strategy, but have been unsuccessful in promoting lasting reform or stability. Internationalization or globalization of social revolution through intervention has confounded local and regional problems with global power conflicts—earlier East-West tensions, today North-South tensions. Global terrorism, to the extent that it may have become an instrument of social revolution within countries, as well as within specific world regions, or the world system as a whole, appears to have fallen into a similar trap. Perhaps this meshing of internal and external war has become the face of social revolution today.

WALTRAUD Q. MORALES

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### SOCIALISM

In Marxist doctrine, Socialism is the stage of society that comes between the capitalist stage and the communist stage, in which private ownership of the means of production and distribution has been eliminated. Socialism established itself worldwide to the extent of receiving global acceptance in the twentieth century not so much because it was built into a system by such profound thinkers as Marx and Engels; nor even because it was espoused by a devoted and brilliant activist like Lenin, who applied the theory, with such variations as were necessary, to a concrete situation. Those were certainly important, but the main reason for the spread of socialism was that it answered some specific needs. It was only because the prevailing social order, capitalism, was unable to meet these needs, or the contradictions, to use the Marxian jargon, which it had generated, that an alternative system was conceived, and, that is why, most importantly, it was widely accepted.

Two consequences follow from this. First, socialism as a social order which seeks to supplant capitalism can succeed only as long as it needs, or resolves the contradictions of capitalism, to the satisfaction of the people, specifically the articulate section thereof,

and does not itself generate contradictions which alienate the people. Second, socialism can retain its competitive advantage over capitalism, which continues to exist as a parallel order, as long as the latter does not, by suitable modifications of its system, resolve by itself the grosser forms of contradiction it had earlier generated.

Karl Marx is sometimes criticised for having built his system round the basic conflict between the owners of the means of production, the industrial bourgeoisie, and the industrial workers, the proletariat. On this basis, he foresaw socialist revolutions taking place in the highly industrialised countries where the proletariat was or could be well organised. This did not happen. The criticism of the Marxian thesis is, therefore, legitimate. The system that Marx built was, however, not vitiated, because the contradiction which he had identified did exist in reality between the owners of the means of production and the private profit motive which inspired them, on the one hand and the interests of the property-less masses on the other. In fact, where Marx erred was to take a narrow view of the contradiction and emphasize the conflict between the industrial bourgeoisie and the workers only.

Another illusion that early communists cherished was that of a world revolution. Trotsky, for instance, regarded socialism in only one country as an anomaly. As a consequence, an element of competition was introduced which led to the ruinous Cold War. The Cold War exhausted both sides, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). It converted the former into the biggest debtor country in the world. The United States also lost some of its competitive edge to its allies, and industrial rivals like Japan and Germany. It, however, not only survived, but with the help of the entire capitalist bloc, was able to inflict a mortal blow on the Soviet Union and the then socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Engaged in a financially exhausting arms race with the United States and concentrating all its energies on such areas as space research, missile technology, *et al.*, the socialist group lagged behind in industries and manufactures.

The contradictions of capitalism, which were the *raison d'être* of socialism were indeed to an extent resolved by the socialist regimes. The health and education services were superior to any in the capitalist world. As a consequence, there was a certain amount of leveling down. The glittering shop windows catering for the rich, the luxuries of five-star existence in the developed capitalist countries were markedly absent in the socialist states. This was not inconsistent with the socialist philosophy and would have presented no insuperable contradiction if the cardinal

mistake had not been made of denying democracy to the masses. In fact, not only was democracy denied, but the state resorted to violence and terror in enforcing its diktat. This certainly reached its height under Stalin in the Soviet Union, but was accepted as a principle of state policy by all communist regimes, even in the post-Stalin Soviet Union and in all Eastern European states.

Two consequences followed from this. First, the masses, denied all participation in governance of the country and often forced to accept decisions handed down from above, developed no understanding of the socialist system. They regarded the benefits they received in social affairs as gratuitous, while they not only resented such high-handed measures as forced collectivisation, but nursed grievances against some of the development measures of the five year plans that were handed down to them without consultation. In these circumstances, socialist consciousness did not develop and when socialism was in peril, there was no mass upsurge to defend it.

Second, a more serious contradiction developed from the denial of democracy. In the name of the vanguard role of the Party, power was appropriated by Party cadres, and shared by them with the government bureaucracy which grew in strength with the implementation of centralised plan. A new class thus developed in what should have been a classless society, which exercised the immense powers of the state. And it was here that the time-tested dictum, that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, operated. The Party and government bosses lived in luxurious dachas, moved about in limousines and generally threw their weight about. This not only alienated the masses, but what was perhaps worse, distorted the vision of the young aspiring Party cadres and government bureaucracy who, with no allegiance to the concept of socialistic equality, were lured by the luxuries of the developed capitalist countries. It was this class of people, executives in state undertakings, Party and government officials, who started the drift, some by physical migration to the West.

Stalin is generally blamed for having introduced dictatorial and terrorist methods in state administration. The blame is not undeserved except that these practices were not introduced, but only carried to an excess by him. The seeds of Stalinism were sown when pleas for democracy by leaders like Rosa Luxemburg were not heeded and concepts of democratic centralism and dictatorship of the proletariat were sponsored by Lenin himself, the architect of the Revolution of 1917. It is possible that the circumstances immediately following the Revolution compelled him to do so, and that had Lenin lived longer, he would have introduced real democracy. This is, however, a matter



of speculation. The fact remains that the humanistic aspect of socialism which was not only the reason for its emergence as a social system, but its basic strength is replacing the then unjust social order, was overlooked in the popular mind, and socialism came to be identified with denial of democracy, dictatorial methods and even violence.

The second factor, namely, readjustment of mature capitalism to meet the contradictions generated in the earlier phase, also operated. With technological advancement, the needs for exploitation of local labour as in nineteenth century Britain, or of slave labour as in the United States, or even of the colonial masses as practised by several of the West European countries for primary accumulation of capital, ceased to exist. Enough was produced for the employers to share a part of it with the workers. This was reflected not only in better conditions of service, but in welfare measures and social security systems. Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Beveridge Plan in Britain, as also Welfareism in the Nordic countries during the post World War II period, represented this changing face of capitalism.

These measures undoubtedly lacked stability. They depended on the decisions of capitalists of what could be spared after providing the necessary incentives to risk capital and attracting managerial talent. An industrial recession, as at present, has witnessed such measures being slashed. Social security has suffered with the rise of unemployment, again as at present. With "jobless growth" on account of technological advances, the future holds little prospects of improvement.

Nevertheless, the improvements offered to the standard of living of the workers in the developed capitalist countries have lured them to demand more out of the present system rather than change it. Economism has taken the place of revolutionary fervour in these countries.

It is not within the purview of this essay to undertake a detailed analysis of the immediate circumstances that led to the collapse of socialism in the erstwhile Soviet Union and the East European combines. Obviously, no leader firmly rooted in socialist values appeared who had sufficient stature to make the much-needed changes in the prevailing regimes. In retrospect, Khrushchev who exposed excesses of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress showed no understanding of the basic malaise. The system continued, though the excesses were avoided. The last attempt to change the system was by Mikhail Gorbachev with his *perestroika* and *glasnost*. They were ill-conceived, and ended in disaster, throwing doubts about his credentials as a devoted socialist. The collapse was complete both in

the heartland of the erstwhile Soviet Union and in East Europe. Socialism was replaced by the primordial instincts of ethnicity, regionalism, and religious fundamentalism. But socialism is not dead beyond revival.

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### SOCIALIST ECONOMIC MODEL

There are many types of socialist economic models; however, all share the key principles of collective ownership of the means of production, egalitarianism, and public provision of social services.

The oldest and most widespread type is the Marxist one, based on the philosophies of German radical philosopher Karl Marx. He considered communist society, an association of free men acting as one collective, yielding a great social workforce which is used consciously and in a planned manner to achieve the society's common goals.

The Marxist theory is based on the classical economic theory of labor value adjusted to modern capitalist production methods. The only source of value is the work itself, the value of each demanded good is directly proportional only with the amount of labor used to produce that good. In capitalism the workers sell their labor as a commodity. The capitalists, who own the means of production, sell goods at higher prices than they have paid for the labor. This extra value enriches the capitalist, who profits without working, just by owning the means of production which are also the result of previous exploitation.

Capitalists can better exploit their workers if they put them to work on machines, hence producing more goods for the same labor costs. The "relative surplus

value” of each good grows. The hopes of higher profits will result in competition, which can increase to that extent when too much is produced, exceeding demand. This extra production capacity, leads to crises, which lead to massive layoffs and bankruptcy of smaller firms. This subsequently fosters the concentration of capital as the large firms survive. These firms, taking advantage of the large pool of available labor versus the small number of jobs, can drive down the wage level. The reduction of labor costs and the reduced competition, paralleled with the crisis, cause the devaluation of capital goods which in turn favors the increase of the production until the process repeats itself ending into a new depression, after a shorter cycle by this time. As the main ideology of capitalism is the struggle for permanent, unlimited growth, the system draws itself into collapse by its inherent nature, since unlimited growth cannot be sustained. Thus wages become smaller and smaller to increase profits. Classical Marxism affirms that this decadence is continuous, the process can be delayed but the final collapse cannot be avoided. Therefore the “inherently rotten” capitalism is speeding its way towards self-destruction. The socialist revolution wipes out the roots of the establishment—the private ownership, the capitalist class—but maintains at the same time its achievements: the high productivity, educated worker class, and the economies of scale. Thus according to Marx, the order of achieving perfection looks as it follows: capitalism as the thesis, socialism as the antithesis and communism as the synthesis.

In Lenin’s vision of this accelerated process of self-combustion, capitalism cannot be satisfied with the existing resources; therefore, in the highest stage of its evolution, it turns into imperialism. The continuing growth can be maintained only through conquests and other ways of extended control and domination. This will result in leading capitalist countries trying to control the world’s resources, causing large scale wars. Because wars destroy production factors, there is need for another successful war to repair or complete the depleted resources. In this case, war prospects eliminate competition and gearing up production, causing growth and excess supply of goods. However, this will cause price levels to plummet, and therefore yet another war will be needed to create proper demand. The resulting high prices yielded by the shortage will increase revenue levels to satisfy the ever growing capitalist hunger for profits. So capitalist states will destroy each other in the end—a vision Stalin firmly believed.

Stalin continued the societal transformation started by Lenin, but in a radical style Marx or Lenin couldn’t have imagined. The Stalinist model meant the total nationalization of all the means of

production, including land, services, and commercial activity. Thus the state became the one and only capitalist, having a complete monopoly not only in the economy but in the society as well, in the form of totalitarianism.

The economy operated according to the will of its central planners. In five-year plans, bureaucrats forecast the needs of the economy and population for five years ahead. The price system was determined by the state, by planners who made forecasts regarding production targets and consumption patterns. This socialist model involved a huge bureaucratic apparatus without feedback from the markets. This in turn avoided the influence of business cycles; thus the model would ideally achieve macroeconomic stability mostly due to its closed character. Since markets and the price mechanism were nonexistent or could not play their regulatory role, planners created a rigid system based on dirigisme. This resulted in an economy of shortages due to forced savings and industrialization.

The ownership and control structure of the socialist enterprise has three pillars: the paternalist leader (the party), the state bureaucracy, and the corporate management. In the Stalinist model, the greatest role was played by the paternalist leader; in the central European model, by the corporate management. The state paternalism was expressed by the securing of markets for the products.

When socialism was first introduced, it was beneficial to the poorer strata of society, as it leveled incomes and wealth through reallocation of the existing resources. Countries who adopted it virtually put an end to unemployment, although at the costs of giving up competition as well as productivity requirements. As the surplus value and previously seized capital stock vanished, accompanied by fading enthusiasm on the part of workers, most of the socialist companies stayed in a situation of permanent bankruptcy governed by the state. Due to central planning an economy of shortages followed, certain categories of consumer goods, especially basic ones like food and energy had to be rationed leading to severe malnutrition (Stalinist Soviet Union, Ceausescu’s Romania) and famine (Ukraine after WWI and currently North Korea).

After de-Stalinization, market socialism emerged. Market socialism, as with all socialist models, relies on public ownership of the means of production, but the decision-making and information structure are decentralized and the economy is coordinated by the market forces. Labor incentives are pecuniary. In the event of shortage or surplus, prices are adjusted to reach macroeconomic equilibrium. This control of pricing can be used to correct market failures like

externalities or to lessen the impact of business cycles. The income of the economy can be viewed as “social dividend” and is used to finance investment to achieve growth and distributional goals.

The cooperative version of market socialism differs from the prototype (Lange) model in that that decisions at the enterprise level are taken by the workers, which in turn leads to an equitable income distribution. This resembles more a market system as the prices are set by markets, not by the planners, and the labor market is liberalized. Cooperative market socialism eliminates capitalist dichotomy between management and labor and achieves greater social justice, but can lead to misallocation of labor and resources, resulting in unemployment.

Some leaders of Central European countries tried to turn the socialist model into “socialism with human face.” The Hungarian model of welfare communism, “goulash communism,” adopted in compensation after the crushing of the anti-Soviet Hungarian revolution in 1956, aborted partially the forced industrialization path. The economy became more open, allowing private entrepreneurship in form of small cooperatives or economic workgroups. The quasi-socialist model couldn’t overcome the inherent difficulties of the system; growth and the standards of living were maintained at the heavy cost of foreign debt.

In the former Yugoslavia, Marshall Tito introduced a cooperative type of socialism, based on worker ownership and open economy where foreign trade wasn’t used only to correct planning failures. The Yugoslav model inspired neighboring socialist countries. The country replacing central planning with bottom-up and informational indicative planning. The economy became open and integrated into the world economy, with non binding macroeconomic targets. Fiscal or monetary policy was used at a minimum level to stabilize economy. Ongoing decentralization led to enterprise autonomy, allowing workers to control the use of their profits. Private entrepreneurship was allowed as in Hungary, but if a workforce exceeded five people, it must be organized as a workers’ cooperative. In cooperatives, workers elected the workers’ council which acted as a board of directors. Governance structures resembled that of a capitalist firm. In spite of worker management of the enterprises, however, investment remained highly centralized and saving was forced especially through high taxes. The government would over invest and routinely bail out failing enterprises.

Fidel Castro remained faithful to total isolation. The Cuban model was inspired also by pre Colombian cooperative labor and was based on a combination of national pride with social dignity, augmented by strong fears of total social and economic annihilation

by the United States. The paternalistic regime has survived, and has gradually opened its markets without changing its ideology.

The isolationist stance was followed by Ceausescu, who turned Romania into a model Stalinist economy mixed with nationalist socialist ideology. National-communist Romania adopted an almost complete autarky compensated by a state fueled aggressive nationalism—denying the key principle of communism, the brotherhood of the nations.

All these routes to communist socialism converged to a common and nearly simultaneous end—the mostly peaceful collapse of the Soviet Union, its European satellite regimes, and most of its third world allies. This was the consequence of the adoption of the human-face socialism in the Soviet Union under party leader and president Mikhail Gorbachev. As the Soviet Union’s status as a superpower vanished, the forces of international solidarity were proven too weak to withhold the system from economic and political collapse.

One reason for the failure of the socialist economic model was the political ideology that promised better standards of living than in capitalism, but which failed to deliver. The other reason was purely political and mostly cultural: former communist societies in Europe and Eurasia were fed up with dictatorship and longed for democracy, which was seen as inextricably linked to capitalism. Some nations, such as China, maintained their communist political establishment but loosened their markets, leading to a state-controlled capitalist development path.

Vietnam abandoned its mixture of national ideological unity and orthodox socialism and has adopted market economy with socialistic orientation. After twenty years of reforms, or “doi moi,” Vietnam has accepted market mechanisms and international economic integration as the means to build-up socialism. In spite of the successes, the necessary market—economy institutions are not fully established and lack transparency. The economy does not provide a level playing field for private enterprises and is largely dominated by big state-owned monopolies.

The Chinese model of socialism evolved on Marxist foundations, settling on extreme uniformization and canceling individual initiative. Mao Zedong envisioned development based on agriculture, given the rural nature of most of the country, but the Cultural Revolution tried to wipe out every traditional value and thus make way for rootless modernity. Witnessing the reform process and the downfall of socialism in the Soviet bloc, China developed a socialist market economy, becoming more of a developmental economy without much social concern. The Chinese socialist market economy model maintained the classical

planned economy structure allowing for privatization, small private enterprise creation and foreign direct investment, while heavily subsidizing large state companies in order to develop successful Chinese multinational corporations in strategic sectors. The economy is controlled from the top; leading enterprises are founded or owned by important party officials, while the general population is given small investment and entrepreneurship opportunities. The country has embarked on a breakneck pace of industrialization, transforming the mainly rural society into the factory of the world. Although producing outstanding growth and posing serious economic challenges to other market leaders, the Chinese production is mainly low-tech assembly-line output of components, while the developed world's companies own the intellectual property rights. This situation may change soon as China tries to follow a similar technological development path like Japan and the earlier "tigers." On the other hand the uneven income distribution affects the masses heavily and lack of democratic freedom makes the foundations of this third way quite fragile.

A noncommunist socialist economic model was developed by Sweden which preserved private ownership and markets but leveled the inefficiencies of the resulting income distribution by differentiated taxation, regulating the labor market, and providing a social security net for every employee, creating a successful welfare state.

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**See also China; Communist Economic Model; Cuba; Free Market Economy; Marxism; Mixed Economy; Soviet Bloc; State-Directed Economy**

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### SOLIDARITY UNION

**Solidarity** (*Solidarnosc* in Polish), Polish trade union that initiated the beginning of political reform in communist Poland. Founded in Gdansk in September 1980 as a coalition of trade unions, Solidarity's original goals were to protest sharp inflationary pressures in the 1970s, particularly of high price increases for food.

Like much of the industrialized world in the 1970s, increased energy and material costs imposed inflationary pressures that damaged the Polish economy. Furthermore, contractual agreements with the Soviet Union favored supplying Moscow with raw materials and food at lower than any reasonable market rate. Poland and other countries within the Warsaw Pact essentially subsidized some of the Soviet Union's costs. Though the system was packaged differently, it economically resembled some of the unfair trading practices that Britain and France had imposed on their colonies during their imperial eras. Moscow routinely issued demands with regard to trade, production, and distribution on its satellite countries. Locals had virtually no input and national governments in many ways performed as provincial or state governments. This Soviet command economy system was inefficient and resulted in tremendous shortages in essential products such as food, toilet paper, and soap.

Economists frequently blame the lack of a market mechanism in determining price and value for the collapse of the communist system. Black markets, which inevitably benefit the wealthy and the well-connected, flourished under such conditions. It is an economic paradox in that a government-controlled price system would create black markets that would benefit the elite. Solidarity emerged as a movement that sought to correct such injustices. The government-controlled market adjusted prices upward to reflect the growing costs endured by the state agricultural board. By the mid-1970s, serious protests emerged from workers who endured increasingly difficult conditions. After a food strike in 1976 that resulted in the arrest of thousands of workers, a group of intellectuals decided to form the Workers' Defense Committee (*Komitet Obrony Robotnikow; KOR*). The KOR provided assistance to the families of those that were imprisoned.

Gdansk, a large industrial port city, was the geographic center of the Solidarity movement. Lech Walesa, an electrician by trade, became one of the leaders of the effort to improve living conditions for workers. By the summer of 1980, Walesa was widely perceived as a “moderate” leader who sought to negotiate better pay and lower prices for workers. As protesters grew in size (from the thousands to tens of thousands) and in scope (they began to spread throughout Poland), Walesa obtained stronger bargaining powers with the government. On August 30, 1980, the Polish government signed an accord that allowed unions to be free and independent from the national communist party, gave them the right to strike, and allowed limited freedoms of religious and political expression. These reforms were substantial for the time in Eastern Europe. In many ways, these reflected the efforts of the Czechoslovakian government in spring 1968 and in Hungary during 1956 to develop a more democratic version of communism.

On September 22, 1980, a delegation of thirty-six regional trade unions met and Solidarity was formally founded as a national political entity. The formalization disbanded the KOR as members became part of a legitimately recognized group. After viewing heavy industry’s success, a group of over a thousand farmers met in Warsaw on December 14, 1980, to form Rural Solidarity (*Wiejska Solidarnosc*) to assist the agricultural sector in voicing opposition to national communist production and pricing policies.

The Polish government under the leadership of Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski played a difficult balancing act in trying to keep Polish workers satisfied and maintaining the confidence of the Soviet government. Throughout 1981, the Solidarity efforts increased. Walesa and other moderates continued to struggle between the militant wing of their movement and continual negotiations with Jaruzelski’s regime. The Soviet government openly and covertly interfered with Solidarity’s negotiations. Jaruzelski was constantly reminded by the Soviets of the consequences (a Soviet invasion such as in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Hungary in 1956) of his inability to restrict the Solidarity movement. The pressures increased too much for Jaruzelski. Fearing military intervention by the Soviets, martial law was imposed on December 13, 1981. For over nineteen months, the Polish military ran the daily affairs of the government. Walesa and most of the leadership were imprisoned during this crackdown. Polish martial law continued until after the political climate in Moscow softened (with the deaths of Soviet leader Brezhnev in November 1982 and the terminal illness of longtime KGB director and succeeding Soviet leader Andropov). By the summer of 1983, conditions slowly became

normalized. Throughout the remainder of the 1980s Solidarity functioned as the voice of opposition to the national communist party. In 1989, political reforms due in part to Soviet leader Gorbachev’s increasing tolerance, allowed open elections. Walesa became the first democratically elected leader of Poland by the end of 1989.

Solidarity’s chief contribution to development was that it functioned as a type of evolution within the communist system. The organization also underscored the paradox of the communist system established under Stalin after WWII. The political system was supposed to represent the interests of the workers and yet when the workers expressed an opinion different from the establishment, they were suppressed. Solidarity serves as a reminder of the non-democratic nature of Polish communism. Ideologically, the movement was compromised of many types. The organization’s power was based in its opposition to tyrannical conditions. The movement functioned more as a social democratic movement. However, there were other minor coalitions or special interest groups within (such as Catholics, small farmers who sought privatization, and intellectuals seeking more freedom of speech) Solidarity that gave it national and international appeal.

The martial law crisis of 1981–1983 reminded the world of the essential communist imperialism that Stalin and his agents had established. This coincided with Ronald Reagan’s rise to the US presidency with his accusations of the Soviet Union as “an evil empire.” The martial law and other suppressive actions used against Solidarity played right into President Reagan’s portrayal of the immoral Soviet Union. Many authors cite Solidarity’s civil disobedience as the beginning of the end of Soviet control of Eastern Europe. However, it was new Soviet leadership under Gorbachev (not within Poland) that allowed significant reform to occur. Solidarity can be viewed as a product of the elitist form of communism constructed during the Cold War. The workers sought better living conditions against a government that claimed to guarantee them.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe: International Relations; Jaruzelski, Wojciech; Poland; Soviet Bloc; Stalin, Joseph; Walesa, Lech**

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## SOLOMON ISLANDS

The Solomon Islands are a constitutional monarchy with the English monarch as Head of State, represented by a Governor General appointed by the Parliament for five years. The National Parliament comprises fifty members elected by first past the post vote for a four-year term. The Prime Minister, elected by the Members of Parliament for a four-year term, selects a Ministry who are officially appointed by the Governor General. The country is divided into nine provinces, each with a local Assembly elected by popular vote and a Premier. The Provincial Assemblies have local responsibilities in the fields of health, education and communications.

In late 1998 a violent conflict erupted between the inhabitants of the island of Guadalcanal and thousands of migrant-settlers, mainly from the neighbouring island of Malaita, who were attracted to the economic opportunities offered by the capital, Honiara. A *coup* by the Malaita Eagle Force in June 2000 ousted Prime Minister Ulufa'alu. A peace agreement signed in Townsville in October 2000, failed to end the violence and armed groups are still active in Honiara and elsewhere in Guadalcanal. In late August 2002, a Cabinet Minister was assassinated on the Weathercoast of Guadalcanal for which rebel leader, Harold Keke claimed responsibility. The Solomon Islands cabinet has been criticised by donor countries for failing to curb militia members and Cabinet Ministers themselves have been responsible for attacks on a local newspaper office and threats to kill. Many of the police are reported to be running illegal businesses and have refused to hand in weapons stolen from police armouries. A ceasefire was signed between warring ethnic groups on August 5, 2000, followed by the Townsville Peace Agreement on October 15, 2000,

and the Marau Peace Agreement on February 7, 2001, which was facilitated by Australia and New Zealand. An International Peace Monitoring Team was forced by ex-combatants to withdraw from most of its outposts, illustrating the failure of the agreements to bring about sustainable peace.

The social, economic, and political complexities of resource extraction are common to conflicts about development in the Solomon Islands, to which must be added the difficulties generated by in-migration. The conflict resolution process that was used to diminish the 1998–2000 conflict in the Solomon Islands was critiqued for failing to address underlying governance related problems that were focused on decentralisation and internal migration. The central government failed to respond effectively to demands for better distribution of resources to the different provinces; failed to address problems that had arisen from internal migrations, in particular the settlement of Malaitans on Guadalcanal Island; and failed to ameliorate confusion regarding the applicability of the traditional practice of compensation payments, which meant that the people of Guadalcanal did not have access to clear channels to seek redress for their grievances.

The Solomon Islands Alliance for Change party's *kastom* feast in Honiara, held to try to settle the conflict, was also deemed ineffective because opposition party members were not present, and issues raised by people from Guadalcanal were not addressed. However, the government did establish a committee to review the existing government system, and the Honiara Peace Accord called for an investigation into land that had allegedly been illegally acquired by Malaitan settlers. Nevertheless, as the conflict escalated, resolution efforts were concentrated on stopping the violence, attention to underlying issues dissipated, and progress towards the implementation of constitutional reform and discussion of internal migration was slowed. Hence, it is likely that conflict about development will continue in the Solomon Islands due to the problems generated by an incapable and failing state, young male unemployment, in-migration, and patriarchal attitudes towards women, combined with ineffective internationally based conflict resolution processes that do not respect local concerns.

Indeed, Australia perceives the Solomon Islands' inherent political instability as providing a potential site for terrorist activities. But inequitable distribution of resource extraction benefits link to ethnic tensions, the subordination of women, and youth unemployment and warrior constructions of masculinity to limit potential benefits from development.

Solomon Islands women, in particular, have faced the many challenges of ethnic conflict and then

lawlessness as armed gangs held sway before 2003's Australian-led intervention. Solomon Islands men, used to the status gained from war and weapons, had difficulty reintegrating into fragile postwar societies, which offered few employment opportunities. As frustration led to battering of wives and children, violence and lack of respect for girls and women are now considered key human rights issues throughout Pacific countries.

Significantly, the capacities of Solomon Islands women are also unrecognised. Women interposed themselves between the two militias in the capital Honiara for weeks in an effort to end conflict, and formed the Bougainville Women for Peace and Freedom (BWPF) group, which worked with militia groups, the government and others to promote peace in 2000. Recent publications recount the stories of women who fled their homes for the jungle to escape violence, living on the run, giving birth in leaf shelters and caring for the frail and the elderly, and using customary knowledge and self-reliance to rebuild community structures in their bushland.

Also unrecognised by development project designers and practitioners in the Solomon Islands is the social significance of the Christian church. The organisation is a key to effective policy implementation and potential political stability in many south Pacific nations where significant proportions of the population self-identify as Christian. Church institutions play both positive and negative roles, sometimes generating strong connections between peoples and a constructive sense of nationhood, at others denominations become sources of division and members mobilise around their ethnic and religious identities. Another important oversight is that women's groups created by churches which are active in townships and rural areas, conduct important group activities, and serve their community's needs, are barely acknowledged.

Currently a mosaic of post-conflict societies, Solomon Islanders have significant work ahead to ensure all citizens receive the benefits of development.

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**See also Globalization: Impact on Development; Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations; Women: Role in Development**

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### SOMALIA

Somalia is an arid country in the northeast Horn of Africa. The plains between the Jubba and Shebelle rivers, south of the capital of Mogadishu, are the only significant farming areas. Most Somalis were traditionally nomadic camel and goat herders, organised around clan and lineage ties. The limits of clan territory were that which they could successfully defend amidst constantly shifting clan alliances. Somali perceived no boundaries in the Western sense of tenure or fixed territory. There are Somali communities in Djibouti, Kenya, and the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, as well as Somalia.

Today many educated Somali have moved to the towns seeking employment. The main export trade is livestock through the northern ports of Berbera and Bossaso to the Middle East market and across the southern border into Kenya. However, the main sources of income for many are remittances, some \$1 billion US per year, from relatives in the Somalia diaspora. In November 2001, many Somalis suffered when the United States froze the assets of al-Barakaat, the main international exchange institution

in Somalia, on the grounds of possible links to al Qaida.

Arab traders established coastal towns, which came under Omani rule in the sixteenth century, though pastoral Somali nomads of the interior were little affected. Egypt claimed northern Somalia in 1875, but withdrew in 1884. In 1885, Britain declared a protectorate over northern Somaliland to safeguard access to the Red Sea and the Suez Canal but largely ignored it. Italy claimed the southern Indian Ocean coastline in 1889 and established cotton, sugar, and banana plantations in the Jubba.

After Italy's defeat in 1941, southern Somalia was briefly occupied by British forces but returned to Italy as a United Nations (UN) trusteeship in 1950, in preparation for independence. The nationalist Somali Youth League (SYL) won the election in Italian Somaliland in 1956. Elections in British Somaliland in 1960 were won by the Somali National League (SNL), which advocated reunification and independence, achieved on July 1, 1960.

Somali reunification proved difficult. The new republic was built on two quite different colonial experiences and lacked a national infrastructure. There were irredentist claims against Ethiopia, French Somaliland (became Djibouti in 1977), and the Somali-populated Northern Frontier District of Kenya, as well as internal clan rivalries reflected in the proliferation of political parties. An unsuccessful war with Ethiopia in 1964, over the irredentist claims to the Somali region of Ogaden in Ethiopia, exacerbated internal tension, culminating in the assassination of Pres. Shermakhe. A week later on October 21, 1969, a military coup brought Maj.-Gen. Mohammed Siyad Barre to power.

The Revolutionary Council under Siyad Barre adopted a policy of "scientific socialism," close ties with the Soviet Union, and nationalism through the use of Somali as a written language. Yet the country remained desperately poor. Barre sought to rally popularity by launching an attack on Ethiopia over the Ogaden in 1977. The Soviets changed sides and Cuban-backed Ethiopian forces routed the Somali army, leading to an attempted coup. The autocratic one-party government held elections in August 1979, in an attempt at legitimacy against the clandestine opposition Somalia Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), founded in 1979. In 1981, the Issaq-separatist Somali National Movement (SNM) began demanding regional autonomy for former British Somaliland. When Ethiopia and Somalia signed an accord in 1987, alienated Ogadenis formed the rebel Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM).

In August 1990, the SPM, SNM and Hawiye-based United Somali Congress (USC) formed a loose

alliance against Barre, who fled to Kenya in January 1991. A short-lived government of national reconciliation ruptured when Ali Mahdi Mohamed was named interim president, reigniting clan rivalries. Ali Mahdi was forced to flee Mogadishu in November 1991, after an assault by USC forced under Gen. Mohammed Farrah Aydid, who proclaimed himself head of state.

The Issaq separatists formed a breakaway Somaliland Republic under SNM leader Abduraham Ahmed Ali, who was ousted as president by SNM rival Mohamed Ibrahim Egal in May 1993. Egal died in 2002, succeeded as president by Dahir Riyale Kahin.

Civil war raged, infrastructure collapsed and drought hit, putting 1.5 million at risk. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali berated the UN Security Council for inaction. Ali Mahdi pleaded for UN intervention, opposed by Aydid. The airlifts of food aid sparked fresh clan violence, forcing the withdrawal of aid workers.

In December 1992, some twenty-eight thousand US troops, plus contingents of the French Foreign Legion, Italy, Canada, Australia, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and a host of other countries, arrived in Somalia, though their mission was unclear. While the US administration insisted they were there simply to secure humanitarian aid, the UN Secretary-General pushed for a more interventionist disarming of hostile factions and pacification. Short-term military and aid objectives took precedence over any Somali political resolution.

The US-led military and UN failed to understand the shifting alliances of Somali clan politics. Many Somalis saw US policy of blaming Aydid as anti-Hawiye clan and pro-Majerteen/Darod. When the US helicopter attacked an alleged Aydid munitions base, killing numerous Somali clan leaders who had gathered for negotiations, opposition to the US/UN presence broadened, leading to a military withdrawal in 1995, amidst mutual accusations and self-justifications.

In June 1995, Aydid was ousted as head of the United Somali Congress-Somali National Alliance (USC-SNA) by rival kinsmen Osman Ali Ato, though Aydid's son, US-educated former Marine, Hussien 'Aydid,' eventually assumed control of the USC.

In January 1997, leaders of 26 Somali factions met at Sodere in Ethiopia to form a National Salvation Council, boycotted by Hussien Aydid. In December 1997, another peace accord based on a federal structure was formulated in Cairo. A third Somali National Salvation Council meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in January 1998, but few were prepared to surrender parochial power. An interim Somali government of national unity under Abdulkassim Salat Hassan was proclaimed at Arta, Djibouti, in August 2000, only to be challenged by a coalition of southern Somali warlords backed by Ethiopia.



Failure of the Cairo accord led to the creation of a Harti/Darod clan-based state of 'Puntland' in 1998, under strongman Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed of the Somali Salvation Democratic-Front. In 1992, Yusuf had thwarted an incursion from the south by Aydid's Hawiye-based United Somali Congress and crushed the Islamic fundamentalist in the northern port of Bosasso, thereby earning the support of the Americans, channeled through their ally, Ethiopia.

In 2004, a new federal government of national unity was negotiated in Nairobi. The parliament was based on clan allegiances, the four major clans—Digil-Mirifle, Darod, Hawiye, and Dir, with sixty-one seats each, with thirty-one seats divided amongst the lesser clans. Abdullahi Yusuf of Puntland, a Harti-Darod, became president. The speaker of the Parliament went to Shariff Hassan Sheikh Adan, of the Digil-Mirifle clan, with a Hawiye as Prime Minister. Somaliland has refused to join the new government. While the international community has tended to cautiously welcome the new government, to many educated Somalis it merely rewards the warlords.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations**

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### SOMOZA DEBAYLE, ANASTASIO

Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the second son of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza García, was born on December 5, 1925. He was educated at Saint Leo Preparatory College in Florida (at present Saint Leo University), and on Long Island before graduating

West Point Military Academy in 1946. The following year his father appointed him as a head of the National Guard. At this position, he was able effectively to hold enormous power.

Following Somoza Senior's murder in 1956, Anastasio's elder brother, Luis, accepted the presidency, according to a special provision in the constitution for the possible sudden death of the president. He was politically-oriented, educated at Louisiana State University, the University of California, and the University of Maryland. Luis wanted to promote modernization of Nicaragua. He tried to keep lower family profile, and to bring new leaders to rise in the Liberal party. He created new jobs, but they failed to help the poor. This provoked mutinies that were strongly suppressed by the National Guard under Anastasio. Luis despised the idea of his younger brother becoming president, even kept him from running in 1963. After Luis died from a heart attack, just few months later in a rigged election Anastasio won the presidency. Anastasio stepped down from the presidency in 1972, due to the legal provision that barred immediate re-election.

One of the most notorious incidents of corruption in Somoza's regime occurred in 1972 after an earthquake that killed and wounded hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans. By imposing the martial law, Somoza—as head of the National Guard—became again the country's leader. Thirty million dollars in international relief supplies were seized and sold to the highest bidder.

These circumstances did not prevent Somoza from re-election as a president in the following elections in 1974—even after the powerful Catholic church joined opposition against him. By the late 1970s, human rights groups were reproving the sad record of human rights violations by Somoza's government. Support for the opposition Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was growing all over the country, and resistance reached the point of a rebellion. This forced Somoza to escape on July 17, 1979, and to fly off initially to Miami, Florida, and later to Asunción, Paraguay, where he was assassinated by Sandinista agents on September 17, 1980.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Nicaragua; Nicaraguan Revolution; Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); Somoza García, Anastasio**

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## SOMOZA GARCÍA, ANASTASIO

Anastasio Somoza García (1896–1956) was born in 1896 to a relatively well-off coffee grower in San Marcos. He was educated at the National Institute of Oriental Studies to earn his degree from the Pierce School of Business Administration in Philadelphia. He married Salvadora DeBayle to enter one of the country's most important aristocratic families. In 1933, he was appointed as the first Nicaraguan commander of National Guard, he skillfully used it to seize power. On February 21, 1934, he induced the popular hero, Augusto Sandino—who had earlier signed a truce and put down his arms, ending years of armed battle that caused an US intervention, to attend a special dinner, where he was executed.

Three years later, following the assassination of President Juan Bautista Sacasa, Somoza seized control of the country to initiate a dynasty of dictators that ruled country with US support for forty-three years.

Somoza managed to stay in power by applying a triple rule. The first element of the Somoza strategy was keeping the National Guard sated, pleased, and loyal. With Somoza's encouragement the guardsmen ran gambling houses, prostitution and smuggling rings in order to bring in profits. The next element, keeping the United States happy, involved as first priority backing the US policy, at least nominally. During World War II, Nicaragua allowed the United States to use national territory as a staging ground for international operations. After eliminating the Sandino threat, Somoza began to give out political appointments to his more powerful opponents in exchange for making them silent. Somoza was the authentic ruling power all over his career; even while sometimes he yielded others take the presidency as puppet leaders for an appearance of legitimacy. He maintained this system for twenty years, that turned Nicaragua in a family venture, and his sons continued it after him. Although Somoza succeeded in enormously increasing his personal wealth while in office, he also encouraged certain economic policies that strengthened the national infrastructure and wealth of the nation to a certain extent.

Somoza García had many political enemies, and coups against him were attempted periodically, even

within the National Guard. For protection, he constructed a secure compound within his residence and kept private bodyguards. Nevertheless, on September 21, 1956, while attending a PLN party in Leon to celebrate his nomination for the presidency, Somoza García was fatally wounded by Rigoberto Lopez Pérez, a twenty-seven-year-old poet. The dictator was flown to the Panama Canal Zone, where he died eight days later.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Nicaragua; Nicaraguan Revolution; Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); Somoza DeBayle, Anastasio**

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## SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK

Soros Foundations Network (SFN) is a group of autonomous foundations established by the Hungarian American philanthropist, George Soros. The Network is committed to promote open society throughout the Central and Eastern European countries, the Commonwealth of Independent States, and a number of developing countries in Africa and South East Asia, as well as to strengthen the existing open society in the United States.

## The Idea of Open Society

The term “open society” was coined by the Austrian British philosopher Sir Karl Popper in his monumental study *Open Society and its Enemies*. Being Popper's disciple George Soros has adopted this concept, provided it with further meanings, and began working on its implementation into practice. According to Soros, open society recognizes all positive aspects of democracy. Open society is opposed to the closed societies of various dictatorial types. Closed society preaches unjustified optimism and “offers certainty and permanence but denies individual freedom” (Soros 2000). On the other hand, individual freedom is the highest value of open society but the later does

not promise certainty and permanence to its citizens. Soros builds his whole conception upon the notion of fallibility meaning that there is no guarantee any of human projects will succeed. Criticism is the main characteristic of open society, that is, individual expectations are constantly corrected by criticism forming a near-equilibrium relationship with reality. While dogmatism belongs to closed society characterized by far from equilibrium relationship between individual expectations and reality. At present, the most serious threat to open society is not closeness but disintegration featuring dynamic disequilibrium of chaos and disorientation due to rapid change of economic and social reality entirely out of government and citizen control.

The core principal of open society is social justice as a matter of international concern. It is viewed not as equality but in Rawlsian terms holding that the increasing wealth must also benefit the disadvantaged in the developing countries, as well as those in the industrialized ones. This principle and the principles of individual freedom and human rights constitute the seven conditions of an open society:

- Regular, free, and fair elections;
- Free and pluralistic media;
- The rule of law upheld by an independent judiciary;
- Constitutional protection of minority rights;
- A market economy that respects property rights and provides opportunities and a safety net for the disadvantaged;
- A commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts; and
- Laws that are enforced to curb corruption (Aryeh Neier as cited by Soros 2000).

## Soros Foundations

The first Soros foundation, Open Society Fund began in South Africa in 1979 and then continued in Hungary in 1985. A number of foundations were established in Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union after the Communist Parties started losing power there in 1989. At the end of 2000, Soros foundations included twenty-eight national foundations, two sub-national foundation in Yugoslavian province of Kosovo and in Yugoslavian Republic of Montenegro, and two regional foundations—one for Southern Africa, another for West Africa. They all share the common mission to promote the development of open society but they are autonomous institutions and structure their activities according to the specific conditions in the given country or region.

The foundations in the ten Central and Eastern European countries that are candidates for European Union membership shifted their focus in 1999 from developmental approach to public policy. They promote membership criteria that are also essential for the open society mission: (1) protection of the rights of Roma and other minorities, (2) criminal justice reform, (3) the reduction of corruption, and (4) strengthening civil society participation in policy-making.

Another part of Europe that is covered by the Soros foundations is the Balkans, recently named South East Europe. Immediately after the 1999 NATO's humanitarian military operation in Yugoslavia, the European Union countries, the United States, Canada, and Russia decided to establish a Stability Pact (SP) for South East Europe aiming at coping with the war destruction in Montenegro and Serbia, including Kosovo, as well as creating conditions for democratization of the Yugoslavian nation. The SP was designed with the wider scope to support the economic development and foster civil society in the entire region of South East Europe. Along these lines, Soros foundations are working to enhance "European integration through the development of peaceful, lawful, tolerant, and democratic states" (*Building Open Societies* 2001).

Activities of the foundations in Russia are directed to "facilitate the country's political, economic, and social development" (*Building Open Societies* 2001). An issue of special urgent actions is public health deteriorated significantly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the other nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States the foundations "are attempting to persuade the governments and institutions to adopt the international standards of good governance, human rights, and economic policy" (*Building Open Societies* 2001).

Open society has being promoted in Africa by two regional foundations—for Southern Africa and Western Africa and one national foundation—for South Africa. All three of them are "working for peace and stability, human rights, fair elections, independent media, and the rule of law" (*Building Open Societies* 2001). They support public radio as a powerful means for education about issues of public health and reconciliation. Another topical issue here is crime prevention in South Africa.

## Network Programs and Other Initiatives

There are a number of issues across the countries where Soros foundations operate, which are

addressed by the network programs. Each particular foundation participates in these programs on its own discretion. The activities of the programs are divided into three categories: those that provide assistance to foundations' initiatives, others that provide services outside a specific foundation operation area, and scholarship and fellowship competition programs. Network programs are administrated by the Open Society Institute (OSI), a private operating and grant making foundation, with offices in New York City, Budapest, Brussels, Paris, and Washington, DC (closed in June 2001). The offices in New York and Budapest also secure administrative, financial, and technical support to the network foundations (the New York office administrates the US programs, which are not discussed in this entry). The Budapest office organizes certain programs throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States centered on human rights, ethnic and minority issues, civil society, and women's issues. The Brussels office maintains relations between Soros Foundation Network (SFN) and the European Union (EU) and the Paris office is involved in bilateral cooperation with France and other West European countries.

Network programs include among others Arts and Culture Program, Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute, Economic and Business Development Program, International Higher Education Support Program, Local Government and Public Service Reform Program, and Public Health Programs. The Art and Culture Program is committed to work for autonomous and innovative arts sector, to support international cooperation in the field of art and culture, and to encourage structural changes in cultural policy. Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute operates in Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Mongolia. It assists developing the rule of law, respect for human rights, and democratic institutions. Its activities deal with criminal justice, anticorruption, juvenile justice, access to justice and legal aid, judicial reform, media legislation, and legal education. Economic and Business Development Program aims at helping to introduce market economy and create more jobs. It concentrates on small businesses development, microfinance, retraining the former military staff, and business education. International Higher Education Support Program has as its strategic goal institution building and faculty development. It also creates new opportunities for students from Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. The objective of the Local Government and Public Service Reform Program is to enhance effective and democratic local governments and public administration,

as well as to assist public policy research in the all countries where the SFN is active. Public Health Programs are developed in Central and Eastern Europe. Before 1999, the Programs were attempting to improve the individual health care but later they began dealing with the relationship between the development of society and the health level of its citizens. Now, the programs center on new approaches in medical service delivery, development of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working on health care issues, and training medical and social care professionals.

Other initiatives of the SFN treat topics or regions of common importance beyond the reach of its national or regional foundations. They consist of Belarusian Initiative, the Burma Project/Southeast Asia Initiative, Central Eurasia Project, Landmines Project, Project Syndicate, and Roma Program. Belarusian Initiative encourages various grassroots activities aiming foremost at empowering the NGOs. Here preparation of a new generation of leaders, training programs, and projects promoting rights of women are included. The Burma Project provides scholarships and internships for Burmese students worldwide. It also helps creating electronic newspapers and web sites in several local languages. The principal nation to benefit from the Southeast Asia Initiative is Indonesia. In this case, OSI does not build its own structures but tries to work with local organizations that share its mission and commitment. The Central Eurasia Project attempts to increase the respect for the rule of law, the free exchange of ideas and information, and tolerance for different cultures. This Project extends over Turkey and Iran. Fostering civil society is the core objective in Turkey and in Iran; the goal is building closer relations between Iran and the United States through exchange of scholars, writers, journalists, and publishers.

SFN established an institution of higher learning, the Central European University (CEU) in 1991. Now, CEU has campuses in Budapest and Warsaw. It is committed to advance open society in the former Soviet block countries through outstanding level of graduate studies in fields of social sciences, humanities, and comparative and international law.

### **The Open Society Alliance**

Soros foundations have been working for promotion of civil society and other elements of democracy as an alternative to the totalitarian societies. Within ten years, they became a substantial factor in building open society throughout the post-totalitarian

countries of Europe and Eurasia and in other places that have suffered of dictatorial regimes. In late 1990s, George Soros concluded that the main enemy of the open society is not the dogmatism of closed societies anymore but the dogmatism of market fundamentalism. According to the later, common good can be described in the terms of market values and all social and political problems can be resolved by the free market. In fact, market values constitute only one part of common good; another very important part of it is sustained by social values. NGOs on behalf of civil society and governments can be very useful in developing market and social values all over the globe. Nevertheless, they are not sufficient to strive for the common good since more often than not they are run "like businesses, generating revenues by advocating a case" (Soros 2000). A new international organization is needed to be committed solely to working for common good through developing open society worldwide. It is described as the global alliance for open society and ought to be led by the most developed democracies.

The goal of the Alliance would be to coordinate the activities of member countries in promoting a global open society. There are two distinct but interconnected objectives to be accomplished: One is to help evolution of open societies within individual countries; the other is to foster the development of international law and international standards of behavior (Soros 2000).

The first step forming this Alliance was founding an intergovernmental body, Community for Democracies (CD) in Warsaw, Poland in June 2000. Foreign ministers and other high officials from about 100 countries were the founders of this organization. The funding for CD is expected to come from the governments to support the intergovernmental activities and from OSI for NGO's that would enhance CD in its mission to develop open society. Many of the CD countries participate in the Stability Pact for the South East Europe. The fate of the Stability Pact will be a test for CD and the development of global open society. SFN participates in the Pact's Working Tables on Democratization and Human Rights and on Security Issues.

SFN have planed both the foundations and the global alliance to become self-sustainable by 2010 when Soros support will cease.

ALEXANDER GUNGOV

**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations**

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## SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is the southernmost country in Africa. On its western, southern, and eastern sides, it has a long coastline bordering the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. It is bordered on the northwest by Namibia, to the north by Botswana, and to the northeast by Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Swaziland. The nation of Lesotho is enclosed entirely by South Africa, situated in South Africa's eastern central plain.

South Africa's climate varies throughout its regions, which include mountains to the west, east, and south; grasslands on the central plateau; and coastal regions along the ocean. However, temperatures remain temperate to tropical most of the year, though the mountainous regions and parts of the plains experience cold weather during the winters. The dry season is from May to August. The population is estimated at 42,718,530, with a negative growth rate of -0.25% annually due to AIDS and emigration. The administrative capital, Pretoria, is located in the northeastern part of the country, and has a population of about 2 million. Cape Town, located on the southwestern coast on the Cape of Good Hope, with a population of about 3 million, is the legislative center, and Bloemfontein, in the middle of the central plain, with a population of about 750,000, is the judicial center.

*South Africa is divided into nine provinces:* Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Western Cape in the west and south; Free State in the central region; Limpopo and North West in the north and northwest; KwaZulu-Natal in the eastern region; Gauteng and Mpumalanga in the northeast. There are eleven languages spoken in the country. The major categories of indigenous inhabitants of the region are the Nguni,

including various Ndebele (Western Cape and North-West), Swazi, Xhosa (in the Eastern Cape), and Zulu (KwaZulu-Natal) peoples, the Sotho-Tswana (Free State), and the *Venda* (North).

Beginning in the seventeenth century, streams of immigrants began to arrive to the country. Many were either seeking economic advancement or fleeing persecution. Key groups were the Dutch, the British, the Hugenots, and East Indian. Currently there are four major ethnic categories. Traditionally the most powerful group was the Whites, which could be sub-divided into Afrikaner (highest ranked) and the British. Next are the Coloureds, the South African term for multiracial people. Third are the Indians. Fourth are the indigenous Black African Tribes. The Cape (especially Cape Town) is considered the locus for the Coloured and Natal is the locus for the Indians.

## The History of South Africa

Cape Town was the first European settlement in South Africa. The British initially decided not to settle in the Cape area. The Dutch, on the other hand, recognized the strategic value of the area and began emigrating there in 1652. The Dutch East India Trading Company, which commissioned the first settlement in the area, was instrumental in the development of the Cape region. More Dutch immigrants, commonly called as the Boers and Afrikaners, settled in the area. As the port city developed, the need for labor rapidly became intense. Initially slaves and exiled Indonesians were imported.

In 1671, the first Huguenot refugee, Francois Vilion (later known with the last name Viljoen), arrived to the Cape. The major stream of Huguenots, fleeing France to escape religious persecution, arrived between 1688 and 1689. The Dutch East India Company encouraged emigration because it would provide needed labor. It preferred Dutch immigrants because they possessed desired qualities, common religious beliefs, and were trained as craftsmen or farmers. As the Dutch settlement expanded, the Huguenots found themselves being forced to recede from their original lands. In 1695, they rose up against the Dutch, but were defeated. They retreated to the northern part of the country.

With the increasing presence of abolitionist missionaries and the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, approximately twelve thousand Afrikaner farmers (known as the Trek Boers) began to expand their territories toward the north and the east into lands occupied by the indigenous populations and

Huguenots, seeking grazing lands for their cattle. The Huguenots resisted the attempted conquest, so the Trekkers then attempted to conquer the indigenous Xhosa people living in the east. The Xhosa engaged in skirmishes against the Trekkers and finally, in 1779, wars erupted.

The Colonial government was weak, and two short-lived Dutch republics were established. The power struggle continued until the arrival of the British to the area and the resulting annexation of the colony into the United Kingdom in 1795. Battles occurred between the Whites (both British and Afrikaners) and the indigenous peoples. Two key Zulu leaders in some of these battles were King Shaka and military leader Mzilikazi. The Boers initially attempted to settle in Natal, occupied by the British, but moved on to establish the Free Orange State and the South Africa Republic (Transvaal or ZAR: Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek) to the north.

The Cape colony, still a British territory, was evolving. Tacit steps had been taken to develop a system of political equality among races. In theory it was to be based upon economic qualifications, but in practice it excluded the majority of Africans and multiracial people. This was due, in part because of the discovery of diamonds. The Natal region was more conducive to sugar production and as the crop prospered the need labor needs increased. Indian laborers were imported to work in the fields.

In 1877, the Transvaal was taken over by the British, however, soon after there was a major rebellion. Several years later, pro-Afrikaner Paul Kruger had been elected as president of the republic. In 1886, gold was discovered in Witwaterstrand. Two wars were fought for possession of key territories. The first Anglo-Boer War was fought from 1880 to 1881. The second Anglo-Boer War, also known as the South African War, started on October 11, 1899. After ultimate defeat of the British, the Union of South Africa was established on May 31, 1910.

## The Apartheid System

### *Introduction of the Apartheid System*

In 1910, the policy of consistent racial separation was introduced via a group of laws that seriously curtailed the rights of the Black majority. The "Mines and Works Act" of 1911 limited black workers to only menial work. In the "Native Land Act" of 1913, approximately 7.3% of South African territories were designated as reservations for Blacks. They were barred from purchasing any lands outside these

areas. The only province with a non-racial franchise was the Cape, and there Blacks were barred from being members of parliament. At the establishment of the Union, there was an estimated 6 million inhabitants with 67% being Black African, 9% Coloured, and 2.5% Asian (Indian). Under General Louis Botha, the Afrikaners maintained power as a result of the merger of two Afrikaner parties into the South African Party. Soon thereafter, White supremacy became permanently entrenched as a result of the passage of the Masters and Servants Act, the restriction of skilled work to Whites only, the implementation of the pass laws, the institution of the Native Poll Tax and the 1913 Land Act that ensured white ownership of 90% of the country.

Independence was achieved in 1934 by South Africa. Soon thereafter, in 1936, Blacks were further disenfranchised when they were removed from the common voters roll in the Cape. During 1937, laws were passed to stem Black urbanization and municipalities were compelled to segregate black African and white residents. In 1946, Jan Smuts introduced a bill that limited the movement, property ownership, residence, and empowerment of Indians.

As of 1948, the apartheid (literally “aparthood” in Afrikaans) system became the official policy of the country with the election of the Nationalist Party. D.F. Malan coined the concept of “apartheid” and consistently enforced the policy. The separation of the “races” was not limited to the economic sector. Marriage or any conjugal relationship between members of different racial groups were strictly forbidden. Racial segregation was introduced in all public institutions and offices, in public transport, and on public toilets. Until the 1980s, Blacks were expected to step off of the sidewalk when a White person approached. Under this Party, such laws as the Group Areas Act which rigidly specified the racial division of land and the Populations Registration Act classifying people based upon race were passed in 1950. What is commonly referred to as the “petty apartheid” practice on buses and in post offices was introduced with the passage of the *Separate Amenities Act* of 1953.

After members of the ANC ratified the Freedom Charter which endorsed non-racialism and human rights in 1955, 156 leaders were arrested and charged with high treason. Their trial continued until 1961 when they were acquitted. In 1958, the foundation for the establishment of homelands was laid with *The Promotion of Black Self-Government Acts*. The homelands, or “bantustans,” established in the harshest, driest, and least fertile areas in the country, were designed to alienate the indigenous African Blacks from their traditional lands. The National Party and its policies remained in power until 1994.

### ***Resistance to Apartheid***

The resistance to apartheid occurred both internally and globally. In the 1940s, the government of India seized many opportunities to bring attention to the disenfranchisement of Indians in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Defiance Campaign began in 1952 and took a non-violent approach. Yet the outcome was the imprisonment of thousands of participants.

During the 1960s and 1970s, anti-apartheid protests occurred both within South Africa and in other countries. The 1960s ushered in massive resistance to apartheid and even greater repressive measures imposed by the South African government. On March 21, 1960, a peaceful demonstration in Sharpsville changed to a massacre when police killed sixty-nine and injured 160 unarmed demonstrators. A State of Emergency was declared giving the government the opportunity to introduce the new “right to detain without trial.” The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) and other empowerment organizations were declared illegal.

The indigenous peoples organized grassroots organizations and widespread resistance, but the worldwide outcry against the massive violation of human rights did not occur until the Soweto Massacre occurred on June 16, 1976. Children who were peacefully protesting the imposition of Afrikaans as the official language for instruction were struck down. In response, groups around the world mounted major anti-apartheid initiatives. Marches, demonstrations, and boycotts against corporations that did business with and/or had investments in South Africa organized worldwide. Embassies were picketed and ships headed to South Africa were physically blocked by demonstrators. Some demonstrations were peaceful and others became violent. The United Nations constituencies began to call for economic sanctions against South Africa. Resolution 1761 was passed in November 1962, and subsequent resolutions at the World Conference Against Racism in 1978 and 1982 were also passed.

### ***The Demise of the Formal Apartheid System***

During earlier periods in the twentieth century, various countries contributed to the South Africa’s development through financial assistance and donor aid. From an economic perspective, the various countries benefited from the South African system, and an intricate system of interdependence developed. For example, South Africa has traditionally been the

primary source for diamonds worldwide. As technology evolved, the need for diamonds increased. In addition to the traditional use of diamonds as a luxury item, industries began to design tools and equipment using diamonds because of its strength. Countries found themselves in a dilemma. While they may not have supported the apartheid system, overt pressure and interference could result in the denial of critically needed minerals found in abundance in South Africa. Thus, for a long time South Africa had the leverage to prevent major interference with the social structure. As time passed however, the constituency pressures within many countries, including the United States, became too great and national governments were pressured into taking stances against the continuation of the apartheid system. In the 1980s, the apartheid system began to crumble and a movement to end strengthened.

On February 2, 1990, South African president F.W. de Klerk lifted the ban on thirty-three major activist human rights groups including ANC and PAC. After 27 years of imprisonment, Nelson Mandela, the leader of ANC, was released on February 11, 1990. The first democratic election was held April 26–29, 1994, with Nelson Mandela being inaugurated as the first indigenous South African president on May 10, 1994. Both F.W. de Klerk and ANC's Thabo Mbeki were inaugurated as deputy presidents. The country's second democratic election on June 2, 1999, brought Thabo Mbeki to the office of president.

### Education

After the dismantling of the apartheid system, a new educational system was established that permits intermingling between the various ethnic groups, although the major institutions continue to have the ethnic specific concentrations of past eras.

The major education spans approximately thirteen years (grades). Of those, grades 10–12 and the reception year (grade 0) are not compulsory. Students have access to higher education, but the vast majority of the minority groups cannot afford it. There are twenty-two universities/colleges, sixteen technikons, and an evolving community college system.

### Concluding Comments

Since established as a colony, South Africa has had a deeply divisive and destructive legacy of inequality and severe human rights violations. Yet, its oppressed peoples have shared their cultures with the world

through their music, traditional dress, food, and artwork, making the world richer. With the transition from an all white apartheid system to an inclusive pluralist democracy, the world will follow its evolution with anticipation. In its new configuration, it is a young country with tremendous potential. As it evolves, it could become a model for inclusiveness, or it could return to its old path. The leadership, attitudes, and commitment of the people will determine this beautiful and unique country's fate.

E. VALERIE SMITH

**See also Apartheid; Botha, P.W.; Buthelezi, Mangosuthu Gatscha; De Klerk, Frederik W.; Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Mandela, Nelson; Mbeki, Thabo; Minorities/Discrimination; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations; Tutu, Bishop Desmond; Verwoerd, Hendrik**

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### SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION (SAARC)

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established on December 5, 1985, by the leaders of seven South Asian countries—Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan,



and Sri Lanka—to address the issues of regional peace and development in South Asia. The first concrete proposal for establishing a framework for regional cooperation in South Asia came from the late president of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman on May 2, 1980. Prior to this, the idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was discussed in at least three conferences: the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in April 1947, the Baguio Conference in the Philippines in May 1950, and the Colombo Powers Conference in April 1954. During his visit to India in December 1977, the Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman discussed the need for a framework of regional cooperation with the newly elected Indian Prime Minister, Morarji Desai. At the same time, in his inaugural speech to the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee, which met in Kathmandu in December 1977, King Birendra of Nepal called for close regional cooperation among the South Asian countries in sharing river waters. Welcoming the King's call, President Ziaur Rahman further pursued the discussion of regional cooperation informally with the leaders of the South Asian countries during the Commonwealth Summit meeting in Lusaka in 1979 and the Non-Aligned Summit meeting in Havana in 1979. After his visit to Sri Lanka and discussion with the Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene in November 1979, the Bangladesh president finalized a proposal of regional cooperation among the South Asian countries.

President Ziaur Rahman's initiative to establish a regional organization in South Asia during 1975–1979 was shaped by the following factors: (1) Ziaur Rahman's need for Indian support to legitimize his coup d'état regime after the assassination of Bangladesh's first and most popular President Mujibur Rahman in 1975; (2) change in the political leadership in the South Asian countries and the new leaders' willingness to embrace accommodative diplomacy; (3) the second oil crisis in 1979 and its adverse impact on the balance of payment situations of all the South Asian countries; (4) assurance of economic assistance for multilateral cooperative projects on sharing water resources of Ganga and Brahmaputra by the US President Jimmy Carter and British Prime Minister James Callaghan during their visit to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in January 1978; (5) the rapid deterioration of the South Asian security environment as a result of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979; and (6) the publication of a background report by the Committee on Studies for Cooperation in Development in South Asia (CSCD), identifying many feasible areas of cooperation.

The Bangladesh proposal was promptly endorsed by the smaller states of South Asia—Nepal, Sri

Lanka, the Maldives, and Bhutan. Initially, India and Pakistan expressed skepticism for the proposal. India's main concern was the proposal's reference to the security matters in South Asia and the inclusion of all bilateral disputes with India on the SAARC agenda for discussion. Indian policy makers were strongly opposed to such an idea because of their fear that discussions on bilateral conflicts in a multilateral forum will eventually lead to India's isolation, and will provide an opportunity for South Asian neighbors to “gang up” against India. Pakistan assumed that it might be an Indian strategy to create a regional organization that would ensure India's economic and military dominance in the region. After a series of quiet diplomatic consultations at the United Nations headquarters in New York from August to September 1980, the South Asian foreign ministers agreed to ask Bangladesh to prepare the draft of a working paper for discussion among the foreign secretaries of the South Asian countries. After intense discussion on the issue of security provision with the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan, the new Bangladesh draft paper dropped all references to security matters and suggested only noncontroversial areas for cooperation. After three years of preparatory discussion at the foreign secretaries level, the first South Asian foreign ministers' conference was held in Delhi from August 1–3, 1983, where a formal declaration on regional cooperation was adopted establishing an organization known as the South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC). Following the New Delhi meeting, three more meetings of the foreign ministers were held at Male (July 10–11, 1984), Thimpu (May 13–14, 1985), and Dhaka (December 5, 1985) to finalize the details of the areas of cooperation. At the Dhaka meeting, the South Asian foreign ministers decided to change the name of the organization from South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) to South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The change in the acronym was based on the thinking that while SARC refers to the process of South Asian regional cooperation, SAARC marks the establishment of an organization to promote and develop such cooperation. Following this change in the name, the first SAARC summit meeting of the heads of state or government of the seven South Asian member countries was held at Dhaka from December 7–8, 1985.

Since 1985, SAARC has evolved slowly in terms of institutions and programs. In 1987, a permanent SAARC Secretariat was established in Kathmandu, Nepal. Four SAARC regional institutions have been established so far: SAARC Agricultural Information Center (Dhaka/ Bangladesh); SAARC Tuberculosis Center (Baktapur/Nepal); SAARC

Meteorological Center (Dhaka/Bangladesh); and SAARC Documentation Center (New Delhi/India). Four regional conventions/agreements have been signed: Agreement on Establishing SAARC Food Security Reserve (Third SAARC Summit, Kathmandu, 1987); SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism (Third SAARC Summit, Kathmandu, 1987); SAARC Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (Fifth SAARC Summit, Male, 1990); Agreement on SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (Seventh SAARC Summit, Dhaka 1993). Three SAARC Funds have also been established: SAARC Fund for Regional Projects (1991); SAARC-Japan Special Fund (1993); and South Asian Development Fund (1995).

SAARC's slow growth can be attributed to the following factors. First, the Indo-Pakistan tension remains the most important reason for SAARC's modest growth since 1990s. The root of Indo-Pakistan tension lies in the Kashmir issue and India's overwhelming military and economic domination in the region and Pakistan's continuing challenge to achieve military power parity with India. With the acquisition of nuclear bombs in May 1998 by both India and Pakistan, the latter's objective of balancing India's military power may have been partially fulfilled. But the strategic military balance of power achieved by Pakistan does not alleviate South Asia's so called "security complex" and does not guarantee peace or growth of cooperative activities in the region. The unresolved Kashmir issue and an increase in cross-border terrorism have further deepened the political divide between India and Pakistan, limiting the growth of multilateral cooperation in South Asia. One discernible consequence of Indo-Pakistan tension is the frequent cancellation of SAARC annual summits since 1998. It is important to note that one of the critical objectives of the SAARC annual summits is to facilitate the so called "courtesy call" meeting between the political leaders of South Asian countries. This informal courtesy call meeting allows the leaders to carry on dialog outside the SAARC forums in order to deepen their mutual understanding of each other's problems. But since SAARC's inception in 1985, only twelve summits have been held, limiting the opportunity for the leaders to meet at frequent intervals and engage in multilateral cooperation. In fact, while the first six SAARC Summits were held annually, the rest six Summits were held without any regular annual interval. The eleventh SAARC Summit, which was scheduled to be held in 1999, was cancelled many times due to Indo-Pak tension, triggered by a regime change in Pakistan in 1999, when General Pervez Musharraf deposed prime minister Nawaz Sharif in a military coup. The Indian

initiative, led by the former prime minister A.B.Vajpayee, to improve relations with Pakistan did not produce any positive result due to the failure of Agra Summit in 2001, where Pakistan raised the Kashmir issue much to the disliking of India. Eventually, after four years of the tenth summit, the eleventh summit was held in Kathmandu in 2002. Similarly, the twelfth SAARC Summit at Islamabad was eventually held after two postponements caused by India's refusal to confirm Pakistan's earlier proposed dates of Summit on January 11–13, 2003.

Second, South Asian countries do not share a common external threat perception, which makes it difficult for the leaders of these countries to work toward common regional security strategies. Most South Asian countries perceive their main threat to be India. India, on the other hand, perceives an external threat to her regional security concerns by Pakistan's military challenge with the support of external powers. The narrow political base of the South Asian ruling elites provides few opportunities for them to ignore regional security threats or to transcend the necessity of support from their dominant domestic groups. Thus, scapegoating has become a preferred policy choice for the South Asian ruling elites, making regional accommodation a difficult goal. It is not surprising, therefore, that SAARC-related policies and programs have received low priorities by the South Asian ruling elites over the past decade.

Third, SAARC's progress has remained limited during the past decade due to the emergence of two types of mutually competing ruling coalitions, i.e., a weak liberalizing coalitions in India and a nationalist-fundamentalist coalitions in Pakistan. India's weak liberalizing coalitions since early 1990s have come under greater pressure to accommodate the varying demands and interests of their coalition partners to ensure their political survival. It has become difficult for weak liberalizing coalitions to downplay regional security threat and to ignore scapegoating (blaming external enemy) as an instrument of their national policies. Thus, India's weak liberalizing coalitions remain tentative about regional cooperative initiatives, although they do not demonstrate the same degree of antipathy toward regional cooperation policies as the nationalist-fundamentalist coalitions.

The nationalist-fundamentalist ruling coalitions in Pakistan since 1990s and the military regime after 1999 have often shown more preference for domestic-oriented and extra-regional-oriented policies than policies with a regional thrust in order to ensure Pakistan's strategic significance to extra-regional powers and maintain their political clout in domestic politics. Needless to say, such policies of externalization and external mediation of bilateral problems have

prevented close and continuous regional interactions between India and Pakistan, making regional cooperation goals difficult to achieve.

Fourth, intra-regional trade among SAARC countries is quite modest, which has contributed to a limited interdependence among the South Asian countries. India's trade with SAARC members amount to only 2% of its total global trade, while Pakistan's trade with the region is less than 5% of its total trade. The low level of intra-regional imports and exports of India and Pakistan indicate how little these two relatively developed economies in South Asia depend on the region's markets. On the other hand, the industrialized countries remain the major trading partners for the SAARC countries. Also, the SAARC countries' trade with the developing countries and other Asian countries far outweigh the trade among themselves.

One major reason for this limited intra-regional trade is that SAARC countries, with the exception of India and Pakistan, do not have a diversified product base. Being primary producers, they tend to export similar items and thus compete with each other. The existence of a high rate of tariff and nontariff barriers in South Asian countries, with some modest exception of Sri Lanka, has become an important constraining factor for the expansion of intra-regional trade. Second, the fear of Indian goods dominating regional market has prevented South Asian countries, and most notably Pakistan, to increase the volume of intra-regional trade. Third, the lack of adequate transport and information links among the South Asian countries poses serious problems for the expansion of intra-regional trade. Finally, although most SAARC members have pursued economic liberalization policies after the early 1990s, these paths have not led to an increase in intra-regional trade because of political differences and a lack of willingness to create trade complementarities among the leaders of the South Asian countries.

Following the example of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), the SAARC member countries signed a framework pact for the creation of South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) on January 6, 2004, in order to reduce or eliminate tariffs among the SAARC member countries. The SAFTA is scheduled to come into force at the start of 2006. Besides contributing to an increase in the volume of trade among the South Asian countries, the SAFTA would also enable SAARC member countries to obtain production inputs from each other at lower costs. The savings on logistics due to shorter distances and storage times would result in huge savings for South Asian manufacturers and consumers. Despite the potential of substantial economic benefits, the success of

SAFTA will depend largely on the rapprochement between India and Pakistan.

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**See also Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Central Asia; Indian–Pakistani Wars; Kashmir Dispute**

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### SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO)

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was the leading liberation movement in Namibia's long struggle for independence from South African rule. It has been Namibia's ruling party since 1990.

SWAPO traces its origins to the Ovamboland People's Congress, founded in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1958 by Toivo ya-Toivo and others, as a body to resist the system of contract labour introduced into the north of Namibia by the South African rulers. At about the same time, the young Sam Nujoma tried to organise workers in Namibia itself, and was one of those responsible for the founding of the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) in 1959. It was the Windhoek massacre of December 1959, in which the police killed twelve unarmed protesters in the territory's capital, that persuaded Nujoma and others of the need for a broad-based liberation movement that would, if necessary, take up arms to resist the South African occupation regime. In the aftermath of the massacre, Nujoma and other leading activists fled from Namibia to raise the cause of their country's independence from South African rule at the United Nations (UN), which recognised the special status of the territory as a former mandate of the League of Nations.

In April 1960, the OPO changed its name to SWAPO, the new name reflecting the desire on the part of Nujoma and others to bring together all the people of the territory to oust the South Africans. Though SWAPO did always have supporters from other ethnic groups, its dominant support has always come from the Ovambo-speaking people of the north, who make up over half of the country's population. Nujoma became president of the organization, a position which he has retained since its founding. Though the UN adopted the name "Namibia" for the country in the late 1960s, in place of the colonial "South West Africa," used by the South Africans, by then the name SWAPO was so well known that the organization decided to retain it. Though its leadership was based first at Dar es Salaam, then Lusaka and then Luanda in Angola, SWAPO always retained a significant presence inside Namibia. Though never banned by the South Africans, SWAPO was treated very harshly by the South African authorities, and most of the internal leadership was detained at one time or another. For much of the 1970s and early 1980s it was hardly able to operate above ground in Namibia, and with mass mobilisation within the country virtually impossible, it was the external leadership that drove the struggle, both militarily and diplomatically.

In the early 1960s, SWAPO competed for support both within Namibia and internationally with the South West African National Union (SWANU), which drew most of its support from the Herero people and developed links with the Chinese. Though SWANU was regarded as more radical than SWAPO at that time, it was SWAPO that was able to gain the crucial support of the Organisation of African Unity's liberation committee. SWAPO was recognised as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, first by the OAU and then by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

SWAPO gained this recognition largely through armed struggle. Until mid-1966, the SWAPO leadership hoped that the International Court of Justice in The Hague would rule that South Africa's rule of Namibia was illegal. When it did not, SWAPO announced that it was launching its armed struggle, and in August 1966 the first clash took place in northern Namibia between SWAPO guerrillas and the South African police. By the end of the liberation war twenty-three years later, SWAPO had lost over ten thousand fighters in a conflict that over time began to resemble a conventional war rather than a guerilla conflict and was fought mainly in southern Angola rather than in Namibia itself. In the single bloodiest encounter, over six hundred SWAPO supporters were killed when the South African Defence Force raided

the SWAPO settlement at Cassinga in southern Angola on May 4, 1978.

In the achievement of Namibia's liberation, SWAPO's diplomatic activity was as important as its armed struggle. Through constant lobbying at the UN and in other fora, SWAPO forced the Namibian issue onto the international agenda. In 1977, the key Western powers negotiated with SWAPO and the South Africans to compromise on a plan providing for UN involvement in the transition to independence. The compromise was not popular within SWAPO, but it accepted the agreement in July 1978, only to find that the South Africans would then not implement the plan for a UN-led transition to independence. There followed a decade of waiting for that plan to be implemented, years in which SWAPO was traumatised by a so-called spy scandal, in which those alleged to be spies were detained and tortured, sometimes to death, in southern Angola. Finally, as a result of negotiations for the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola, the transition plan was implemented from April 1, 1989. In early April 1989, over three hundred SWAPO fighters were killed by the South Africans in northern Namibia before the UN arrived, but after the UN's arrival, the country was able to engage in peaceful preparations for an election in November.

In the November election, SWAPO gained 57% of the vote for the Constituent Assembly (CA) to draw up a constitution for the new country. By then SWAPO had dropped much of its earlier socialist rhetoric, initially adopted in part because of the support it obtained from the Soviet Union, and had accepted that the economy would remain mixed and there should be a multi-party democracy. The CA chose Nujoma to be the country's first president, and after a liberal democratic constitution was adopted, Namibia became independent in March 1990 and the first SWAPO government was sworn in. In subsequent elections, SWAPO increased its support to over two-thirds of the electorate, and it changed the constitution to allow Nujoma to run for a third term as president, on the grounds that he had first become the country's president as a result of the wishes of the CA rather than the people. In 2004, he was persuaded not to run for a fourth term. He then in effect chose his successor, Hifikepunye Pohamba, who was elected the new president of the country in the November 2004 election.

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**See also Namibia; South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

To refer to Southeast Asia as a single region is a relatively recent phenomenon stemming from its new-found strategic importance during World War II. Research has identified historical links between the countries and commonalities in traditions such as the governance of kingdoms and the rise and fall of empires. However, in general Southeast Asia is regarded more as a political and geographical concept than a region defined by cultural similarities. From Myanmar (formerly Burma) in the west, to the Philippines and Indonesia on its eastern side, with Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei in between, the area is marked by diverse histories, religions, languages, ethnicity, geography, political, and economic systems.

For example, Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world (2004), with 219 million people living on six thousand of the more than seventeen thousand islands that make up this archipelago. It is also the country with the largest Muslim population (82%) in the world. In contrast to Indonesia, Laos' 5.6 million people are predominantly Buddhist. This landlocked country is the lowest ranked in the region on the UNDP's Human Development Index (2004, ranked 135/177). Political systems in the region range from the authoritarian regime of Myanmar, to centralised socialist states such as Vietnam, the absolute monarchy of Brunei, to the constitutional monarchy of Thailand and the presidential democracy of the Philippines. Countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Laos are relatively modern states with their borders determined by colonial occupation in the nineteenth century and in the case of Malaysia, a federation formed after WWII.

Over 8% of the world's population (548 million in 2004) live within Southeast Asia's 1,735,448 square miles. Thirty-one percent of that population is under the age of fifteen years and 38% live in urban areas. Four of the world's major religions, Islam, Buddhism (both Mahayana and Theravada), Hinduism, and Christianity are widely practiced. Generational change, population growth, urbanisation and subsequent environmental challenges, ethnic and

communal conflict and health concerns such as AIDS and the outbreaks of new diseases such as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) are increasingly important issues in the region, impacting on its economic development.

Climatically, Southeast Asia is predominantly a tropical zone, affected by two monsoons that bring heavy rains during October to February in the east, and between April and August in the western parts of the region. Monsoons can bring with them devastating storms, but when the rains are weak, the area is subject to drought and declining agricultural production. In recent years, dry conditions have also led to massive bush fires (in Malaysia and Indonesia in 1998, for example). The region's geography ranges from mountain ranges to forested hillsides, flat river valleys and coastal plains. One of the world's major rivers, the Mekong, runs from Tibet through the heart of Southeast Asia, crossing Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

Despite their diversity the countries of Southeast Asia have been linked for centuries by trade and the movement of people. Stories of colonialism, struggles for independence, and the economic and social challenges within the region post-World War II continue to thread the countries together. The following sections will briefly overview the history and economic development of the region, beginning with the decline of European colonialism. Southeast Asia's colonial past still influences the economic, political, and social structures in the region today.

### Colonialism in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia's strategic position on the trade routes between Europe and China, and its own production of attractive commodities such as spice, led to increasing contact with European traders. By the eighteenth century, the region consisted of some forty states, principalities and kingdoms with European control of various regional maritime trading posts (Osbourne 1997). But by the nineteenth century new international boundaries became established and new political institutions were created as European states exerted their power. All of the countries of present day Southeast Asia were under the control of a European state, with the exception of Thailand: the Dutch in Indonesia, the Portuguese in what is now Timor L'este, the French in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, the British in Brunei, Malaya, Myanmar, and Singapore, and Spain and the United States in the Philippines. While Thailand was the only country to escape direct rule, its royal family did make diplomatic concessions

and lost control of parts of their territory to the French and British.

The impact of colonialism was uneven. Writers such as Osbourne (1997) argue that the Dutch were of little importance to the majority of the Indonesian population until the mid-eighteenth century. The Spanish on the other hand, in the Philippines from the seventeenth century, embedded Christianity into the country and created strong links between church and state. Europeans were not the first foreign influences in Southeast Asia. India and China had for hundreds of years impinged on the region, from outright Chinese incursion into Vietnam, to the spread of India's Buddhism across Myanmar. Contact with traders from the Arab states led to the relocation of Islam throughout the Malay peninsula, Indonesia, and the Philippines by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, European colonisation coincided with the industrial revolution which created rapid changes in economic organisation.

The transformation of the economies of the region, and the establishment of a new economic relationship with Europe began in earnest in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. New industries such as rubber production were established, and traditional ones such as rice, sugar, and copra were expanded to meet European demands. Agribusiness in the form of plantation farming was introduced and economies re-oriented towards producing exports. These changes disrupted economic patterns and at times impoverished local, rural populations. The result was at times rural unrest, for example, in Cambodia in 1915 and 1916, as many as one hundred thousand farmers protested against economic change (Osbourne 1997).

Some of the adjustments included the introduction of a cash economy as opposed to former practices of bartering; wage labour as opposed to feudal labour and subsistence farming; the availability of consumer goods for those now with disposable incomes; the growth of retail businesses; and the expansion of infrastructure and communications such as road and rail. New institutions such as banking were introduced. New taxes were imposed in some areas, and new authorities inserted into village structures. At the same time, a process of urbanisation was taking place and the major trading cities of the colonial period became cosmopolitan centres with a mix of European, local, Indian, and Chinese communities.

While rapid economic transition was taking place between the latter half of the nineteenth century and up to WWII, it was also at this time that the colonial regimes began to feel the impact of the growing nationalist independence movements. Nationalism was fuelled by an awareness of political domination and the accrual of the economic benefits of development

to European countries rather than to nationals within Southeast Asia itself.

## The Rise of Nationalism

There were many incidents of resistance and rebellion against the colonial powers (the wars fought against the Dutch as they expanded their control over Indonesia, for example, and the British "pacification" of Myanmar). However, following WWI, these struggles began to develop new approaches, based not only on the idea of removing European control, but also instituting new forms of government once they had gone. The period between the World Wars saw the coming to prominence of some of the most well-known Southeast Asian leaders, such as Sukarno in Indonesia and Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam.

Ideas relating to socialism, communism, and localised variants of democracy were proposed, stemming from a new class of intelligentsia. The Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905 and the Chinese Revolution of 1911 provided inspiration. Religions such as Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia, and Buddhism in Myanmar were also rallying points for ideas of national unity. At times these movements were designed to differentiate 'nationals' from immigrants who were a source of economic competition, such as the Chinese community in Indonesia and the Indian community in Myanmar.

The independence movements in each country found themselves facing different challenges and developing diverse responses as a result. In Cambodia and Laos, the French had retained the traditional ruling class under their administration and, according to Osbourne (1997), there was therefore less nationalist sentiment than in neighbouring Vietnam. In the Philippines, the United States, who had seized control from the Spanish in 1898, found themselves in another conflict with forces of the new Philippine Republic that had declared independence. In 1901, most hostilities ceased when America stated they would grant independence, although it wasn't until 1935 that internal self-government was granted, and full independence came in 1946. The response of the French and the Dutch towards resistance in Vietnam and Indonesia was repression, exile, and imprisonment of leaders. Even Thailand, so far untouched by large scale effects of colonialism, underwent something of a revolution in 1932, when it was declared that the King would be a constitutional monarch rather than an absolute ruler.

World War II was a turning point in the history of Southeast Asia. There was both collaboration and

resistance by existing colonial rulers, local elites, and nationalist movements. The French brokered a deal with the Japanese where they would retain nominal control in return for Japanese use of Indochina as a training, supply and staging area. This agreement lasted until 1945 when the Japanese finally took control. The British and Dutch were defeated and lost Malaya, Singapore, Myanmar, and Indonesia in 1942. The Philippines fell a few months later. Only Thailand, again, escaped occupation by brokering a deal with the Japanese, allowing troops to move across its territory in return for maintaining its independence.

At the end of the war, Thailand was relatively unscathed but the same could not be said for the former colonial powers. Britain was counting the cost of keeping its empire and one by one its former colonies achieved independence. Myanmar (1948), Malaya, and Singapore had relatively smooth transitions to independence over the next twenty years. Malaya gained its independence in 1957 and formed the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, incorporating the last of the British empire's Southeast Asian outposts (Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah). Singapore separated and formed its own state in 1965 primarily as a result of communal tensions and unresolved administrative issues.

The transfer of power, however, was not without a degree of conflict. There was factional fighting and dissidence in Myanmar. In Malaya, an Emergency was imposed by the British between 1948 and 1960 as a communist inspired insurgency threatened the state. In the Philippines, Huk insurgents, another Communist-led group that had fought against the Japanese, began a rebellion post-1946 independence, after elected representatives were refused their seats in parliament. The insurgency was defeated by the 1950s. In Brunei, a revolt following the only elections to ever be held in the country in 1962 (won by a party who opposed the monarchy but whose demands were rejected by the ruling elite) was quickly overcome by British troops. Brunei became self-governing in 1959 but remained a British protectorate until its independence in 1984.

Two major conflicts in particular marked the post-World War II period. From 1946, the Dutch fought a loose coalition of anti-colonial forces for control over Indonesia, eventually relinquishing power in 1949. Vietnam's conflict lasted much longer. While France granted independence to Cambodia and Laos in 1953, attempts to reassert their authority in Vietnam were met by resistance and war from 1945 until 1954, when the country was eventually partitioned at the 17th parallel. In the following decade United States military involvement in the region increased until an overt war was being fought with communist forces in the

south that lasted until 1975. This conflict spilled over into neighbouring Cambodia and Laos.

## Post-Independence Development

During the immediate post-World War II period, agriculture still dominated the economies of Southeast Asia, however there were changes taking place that would see a new phase of economic and social reorganisation. The countries in the region faced similar challenges post-Independence: the transfer of control over resources and commerce to new governments; poverty alleviation; increasing population growth that was threatening to erode economic gains; the need for social infrastructure such as education and health care; maintaining national unity and the management of immigrant and minority ethnic communities (particularly in those countries which prior to annexation by colonial forces or prior to independence did not exist, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Laos); and in the case of Indochina, ongoing conflict and civil war.

To address these challenges, according to Hussey (1996), there were four key elements of the dominant development model of the 1950s and 1960s that were applied to Southeast Asia: the need to promote savings and investment; the need to support agriculture as a resource for the generation of capital to invest in industrialisation; the need to promote domestic production and nascent industries through adopting policies of import substitution and tariff protection; and the need to encourage national governments to direct development to prevent market failure. However, different countries again took different paths, with varying degrees of success.

In terms of governance, three dominant political systems were adopted in the region: first, institutions influenced by British- or United States-style democracy with a preference for more market oriented economies; second, the instituting of centralised, authoritarian government with a preference for command economies; and third, the installation of a military regime or a form of government with close ties to the military, also with a more centralised economic framework. An inherent uncertainty in some countries saw nascent democracies overthrown by military coups. This degree of insecurity was not surprising. Old orders were threatened by new ideas, and deep inequalities and disparities in wealth and power still existed throughout Southeast Asia despite the promise of a better future once independence was gained.

Ferdinand Marcos, leader of the Philippines from 1965 to 1986, adopted a policy of 'constitutional

authoritarianism' after he declared martial law in 1972. Myanmar, following a coup in 1962, ushered in a new totalitarian regime that remains one of the most repressive in the region. Until the 1990s, Myanmar continued to prefer to look inwards, developing policies of self-reliance and shunning foreign alliances. In 1965 in Indonesia, after a failed coup attempt involving the Communist party, the army installed General Suharto as President and massacres of suspected communist and communist sympathisers followed. It is conservatively estimated that at least 250,000 people were killed at this time (Osbourne 1997). South Vietnam's American sponsored President, Ngo Dinh Diem, was overthrown in a coup in 1963. In the 1970s and 1980s, Thailand had a succession of military and authoritarian governments.

The former monarchies of Southeast Asia provided a sense of continuity although in less powerful formats in Malaysia, Thailand, and Indochina. The monarchy in Brunei, however, has maintained a more absolute authority. The former king of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk, who abdicated to form his own political party and rule the country as a politician from 1955, espoused a form of "Buddhist Socialism" (Church 1999). He was later overthrown in a right-wing coup in 1970. A civil war ensued, with United States military involvement. Vietnamese communist forces assisted the newly formed Khmer Rouge in their fight with Cambodia's new government. In 1975, the Khmer Rouge, under the leadership of Pol Pot, gained control and began their return to "year zero," a policy that removed technological development and intellectual life from Cambodia in the name of removing foreign and capitalist influences. The country was forcibly returned to an agrarian society. It is believed that up to 1 million people were executed and a million more died as a result of the Khmer Rouge's policies between 1975 and 1979. The regime only came to an end when Vietnam retaliated over Khmer incursions into their territory, invading the country in 1978 and installing a new regime. China in turn attacked the northern borders of Vietnam in 1979. Vietnam had undergone its own process of agrarian collectivisation following the 1975 fall of Saigon and the instigation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Its economy declined, exacerbated by natural disasters (in particular, floods in 1977–1978), and a United States trade embargo. Industrial and agricultural output fell and food rations were instituted.

Indochina, that is, Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, was shattered by its regional and civil wars. As a result, by the 1970s there was a clear division between these countries and Myanmar, still languishing in terms of social and economic indicators, and those

with stable government and increasing economic growth; countries such as Malaysia and Singapore, led by the iconic figures of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad (1981–2003) and Lee Kwan Yew (1965–1990) respectively. Mahathir and Lee at times espoused the idea of an "Asian Values" approach to development, based on traditions of elite governance and bureaucratic administration, in opposition to western ideas of "liberal democracy." While regular elections are held in both Malaysia and Singapore, there are tight restrictions on media, freedom of speech, political opposition and the management of communal diversity. Whether there is a link between this more authoritarian approach to governance and economic growth is debatable but certainly by the 1990s, there was considerable development in these countries; Singapore, in particular, which is the only Southeast Asian country regarded as industrialised.

## Reform and Economic Growth

Economic development has been uneven in Southeast Asia, not only between countries but also within them, between urban and rural areas in particular and between ethnic communities. Lubeck (1998) argues that differing combinations of social class, ethnicity, and gender contributed to the varying experiences of economic development, but the impact of wars, internal strife, and political ideology that ravaged Southeast Asian states cannot be discounted either.

In 1967, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed to promote economic cooperation among its members (at that time, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand). As is evident from the inaugural membership, the ASEAN was originally a grouping of countries opposed to communist expansion in the region. Its expanding membership however, reflects the changing status of those communist states. Indochina, while still heavily dependent on subsistence farming and international aid, has moved towards hybrid models including private production. Laos, as with Cambodia, had begun a policy of agricultural co-operativisation in 1978 that was ended in 1979 after resistance from local farmers. It began a 'New Economic Management' program in 1986, but development has been hindered by its landlocked geography and lack of resources for industrialisation. Cambodia emphasised private sector development in its 1986–1990 Five Year Plan, introducing foreign investment laws in 1989. Since 1993, market-based economic practices began to dominate but political unrest and uncertainty



throughout the 1990s has hampered growth and reconstruction. As with Laos in particular and Vietnam to some extent, the economy is supported by foreign aid and loans, and hindered by inadequate infrastructure and opaque governance.

The end of Cold War support from the former Soviet Union helped to drive economic reform in Vietnam. Thirty percent of Vietnam's state budget had been aid from the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (Church 1999). Vietnam's centralised economy began to waver in 1986, when, in line with the reforms taking place in Russia, a policy of *doi moi* or 'renovation' began. By the mid to late 1990s, relations were re-established with regional neighbours, and the United States lifted its trade embargo. Contemporary Vietnam has free market enterprises alongside state owned ones, although there are some concerns that prosperity, concentrated in the south, is again dividing the country.

Myanmar also announced a new economic regime, an "Open Door" policy, in 1988, but as with all aspects of life in this country, the economy remains under tight state control. Various countries have called for a boycott of trade with Myanmar, to add to embargos on arms sales, visa bans and asset freezing, as a result of the state's repression of the democracy movement. However, data in 2003 would indicate that there is a still a willingness on the part of international companies, particularly from the Asia region, to develop trade relations with this resource rich country. Myanmar maintained its non-aligned stance until 1997 when it too joined ASEAN, following on from Brunei (1987), Vietnam (1995), Laos (1997), and Cambodia (1999).

In 2003, agriculture was still the largest sector of gross domestic product for the Indochina countries and Myanmar although Vietnam's manufacturing sector was almost equal to that of its agricultural production. On the other economic side of Southeast Asia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Thailand were racing ahead in terms of economic development, with rapid growth and diversification during the 1970s and 1980s, and measurable declines in poverty. By the 1990s, they were experiencing booming economies with manufacturing the largest sector of their gross domestic product (2003 data). Capital cities such as Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur became major global financial and trade centres. Reorienting their economies towards exports and foreign direct investment (FDI) played an important role in accelerating growth rates (Hussey 1996). Thompson (1998) argues that the region also benefited from the international trade and investment regime established by such bodies as the IMF, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation.

New technologies, including high yield varieties of rice, revolutionised agricultural production. Indonesia, for example, by 1983 had its first rice surplus in a hundred years (Church 1999). As with the industrial revolution that came with European colonialism, the impact of post-independence agrarian reform was not always positive, creating social dislocation for often the poorest, most vulnerable sectors of Southeast Asian society and driving rural migration to cities (Scott 1985). Promised land redistribution after Independence was not as wide spread as had been hoped by many farmers who had become landless under colonial rule (Mackerras 1995). However, it can be argued that the agricultural reforms did provide a basis for contemporary economic development. The Indonesian economy was subject to continuous financial growth from the 1960s. Agricultural development was followed by industrialisation, then international investment and export oriented manufacturing, particularly in consumer goods.

Malaysia's New Economic Policy (NEP) was instigated in 1971, motivated by Malaysia's new leaders and the idea that economic and social disparity fuelled ethnic and communal tensions. The policy saw a massive increase in government intervention in the Malaysian business sector. Between the 1970s and 1990s, the economy grew on average 6.8% per year (Church 1999). The privatisation of public enterprises began in the 1980s and exports were diversified from primary products such as rubber and tin to include manufactured goods (electronics, chemicals, foods, textiles) and increasingly the services sector.

By the late nineteenth century Singapore was an important warehousing, distribution and shipping centre for British companies operating in Southeast Asia. By 1960, at least 70% of its workforce was employed in the services sector (Church 1999). Under Lee Kwan Yew, the next thirty years were spent building Singapore's manufacturing base and establishing massive government owned enterprises. The city-state has subsequently transformed itself from a fishing village to a financial and services sector hub for Asia with one of the highest rates of per capita income in the region. It is, in the twentieth century, positioning itself as a centre for research and development and the export of high- and bio-technology.

Thailand, having avoided colonial rule and contemporary war, and having had only an occasional political crisis, maintained high growth rates throughout the 1980s, fuelled by foreign investment from Asian powerhouses such as Japan and also from the United States. Japan has had an influential role in the development of Southeast Asia viewing the region as both a source of raw materials and a market for Japanese goods. Thailand's economy, once based on

rice growing, now included diversified agricultural and manufacturing products, and Bangkok had become another important financial centre in the region.

The Philippines on the other hand saw its economic development stagnate. According to Church (1999), in the 1960s the Philippines was one of the most successful and prosperous manufacturing countries in Southeast Asia. Major family controlled conglomerates grew but as a whole the country's economic growth was not sustainable. According to Hussey (1996), declining growth rates were largely due to unwillingness within the Marcos government to create social and economic reform. After Marcos' exile in 1986, and the return of democracy, the economy has again improved but the country still faces serious social and economic challenges. Manufacturing is the dominant sector of its gross domestic product but the economy is supported by remittances from foreign nationals working in other parts of Asia, the Middle East, and North America (approximately 7% of gross national product, 2003). A rural-urban divide has underpinned unrest in the country and Islamic insurgents continue to clash sporadically with government forces.

Collectively, the countries of Southeast Asia have maintained a commitment to promote cooperation in the region. Apart from ASEAN, another economic grouping, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), was established in 1989, to further support economic growth and cooperation in the region by lobbying to reduce tariffs and trade barriers. It has twenty-one members, including all ASEAN states except Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. ASEAN itself is expanding to incorporate cooperation with China, Japan, and South Korea (becoming ASEAN + 3). Since 1992, six of the ASEAN countries have signed a Free Trade Agreement, incorporating almost 96% of ASEAN trade, reducing and eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers within the region in an attempt to create a trading bloc. Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia are yet to be in a position to sign on to the agreement but are expected to do so by 2010.

By the 1990s, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand had maintained extremely high levels of growth over several decades. Even the Philippines and Vietnam were showing signs of recuperation. The speed of economic development, however, brought with it inevitable stresses: an overburdened infrastructure (particular in mega-cities such as Manila or Bangkok); deforestation and environmental degradation; depopulation of rural centres; and questions around labour rights were prominent issues. The rapid pace of change also created tensions within the economic system itself. As a result newly industrialising Southeast Asia's growth was to come to a shuddering halt in 1997.

## The Asian Economic Crisis and Beyond

In 1997, the Thai government, in the face of market-driven pressure on the currency, floated the Baht, which had previously been fixed to the US dollar. The economy was already showing signs of strain as a result of high rates of borrowing and a large current account deficit. The financial sector had been liberalised during the 1990s but safeguards had failed to keep pace, and weaknesses in the banking system were exposed. The combination sent the currency into freefall, halving its value and causing the stockmarket to lose three quarters of its worth. The impact on the economy resulted in estimated job losses of over a million initially and more followed when the International Monetary Fund imposed strict conditions on its 'bailout' package (Church 1999).

The crisis in Thailand triggered similar events in neighbouring countries and as far away as Korea and Japan, sending Southeast Asia region into recession. The impact of the crisis varied from country to country but Indonesia was worse affected with its currency at one point just one-sixth of its pre-crisis value (Arndt and Hill 1999), inflation increasing and its gross domestic product severely declining. In Malaysia, the Ringgit's value was halved and the share market decimated. Unemployment and poverty rose throughout the region, particularly among urban poor. The agricultural sector was less affected, being less exposed to the financial system and export crops benefiting from currency devaluations.

Vietnam, Singapore, and the Philippines were the least affected countries but the crisis in general augured the need for reform. Structural problems were highlighted, in particular a lack of good governance and investment in unproductive infrastructure and speculation. The crisis also led to a questioning of the international financial system as foreign speculators profited from the falling markets in Asia.

In Indonesia, the economic downturn impacted on the legitimacy of the Suharto government. Ruling for over thirty years, corruption and lack of transparency had been tolerated while the economy was stable but as increasing numbers of people suffered they looked to the government for accountability. Public protests led to Suharto's resignation in 1998. This is generally regarded as the beginning of the introduction of wider political reform in Indonesia.

While it could be argued that the crisis of 1997–1998 resulted in stronger economic accountability, there are still issues that need to be addressed that will impact on development in the region in the future. The environment is a particularly contentious issue as regional leaders have argued that they be

allowed to develop as industrialised nations in the West have done, without restrictions due to environmental factors. Environmental groups continue to lobby for greater implementation of sustainable development strategies, control of green house gas emissions and an end to logging of rainforests. A related issue is that of energy security. Countries whose natural resources are the mainstay of their economies, for example, Brunei's oil and gas supplies, are beginning to look for alternative means of productivity. Brunei's investments in other countries will no doubt assist in maintaining its high standard of living. On the other hand, Indonesia, a major supplier of petroleum, has not been able to translate the wealth from this resource into the wider well being of its population. It is argued by writers such as Hussey that this is because the benefits are dissipated by Indonesia's population growth.

Population growth is another issue for the region. Indonesia had a population of 8.5 million in 1800 but 219 million today. The population of Thailand has increased by almost 50% in the thirty years since 1975. The demographic composition of the region is also shifting. The youth population (fifteen to twenty-five years) has become the largest segment, driving changing consumption patterns and social attitudes. The population is increasingly urbanised, educated, and middle class, increasing the impetus for political change.

The likelihood of conflict increases as populations grow and pressure is placed on arable land and urban centres. There are deep divisions still between rural poor and urban affluence that also feeds into black markets such as "the Golden Triangle," one of the world's major narcotics producing areas, linking Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand. Issues of national unity have become particularly pertinent post-September 11, 2001. There has been a resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism in the Philippines and Thailand, and bombings of western tourist sites and embassies in Indonesia (2002–2004). Indonesia finally relinquished Timor-L'este in 2002, but is still attempting to overcome communal violence in another of its provinces, Aceh. Countries such as Myanmar have outstanding unresolved conflicts with their indigenous ethnic minorities. Internationally, there is also a degree of underlying tension between China and its smaller neighbours over the Spratly Islands (South China Sea), claimed by Malaysia, the Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam, Taiwan, and China.

Health issues, such as AIDS, are likely to impact on future development in particular areas. Almost 1% of people between the ages of fifteen and forty-nine (some 5 million) are living with HIV/AIDS in Southeast Asia (2004). A new deadly virus, SARS

(Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome), spread from China in 2003 to other parts of the region including Hong Kong and Singapore (and as far away as Canada). The disease impacted heavily on tourism, one of the region's growing economic sectors.

In terms of economic development, the newly industrialising countries of Southeast Asia continue to adapt to changing global conditions. The region has been a supplier of raw materials for European markets, then a manufacturer of materials for export, and in the future economies could be restructured yet again as the services sector, including tourism and business process outsourcing (call centres, for example), becomes dominant. The Philippines and Malaysia have already established outsourcing as a viable sector of the economy, although it is still a small industry compared with India. While trade ties with India and China have existed for over 2,500 years this relationship is also taking on a new form. The growth of the Indian and Chinese economies is drawing in resources from Southeast Asia and creating competition particularly in the manufacturing of cheaper consumer goods. However, transformation is a hallmark of post-World War II economic development in Southeast Asia. Enmeshed in increasing interconnections of trade and the movement of people, the region will maintain its historical position as a central point of global contact and change.

MELISSA BUTCHER

**See also Brunei; Cambodia; Cultural Perceptions; Ethnic Conflicts: Southeast Asia; Green Revolution; Indonesia; Laos; Malaysia; Myanmar; Philippines; Singapore; Southeast Asia: International Relations; Thailand; Vietnam**

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Southeast Asia is one of the most politically and ethnically diverse regions of the world. As a result, international relations within the region and with countries from outside the region are particularly complex and intricate. Few of the ten countries considered have such a dominant political constituency that there is not widespread opinion about relations with almost any external actor.

In the past, critical external relations were with China and with trading representatives of India, Persian, and the Arab states. Subsequently, European and then American involvement became increasingly important as trading gave way to colonisation. International relations then became subject to international geostrategic concerns, such as World War II, the spread of communism and forces such as international terrorism. States within Southeast Asia have also increasingly become important actors in their own right, moving from passive to active participants on the international stage.

### Historical Background

State formation in Southeast Asia has historically concerned the creation of loose networks of small, often city-based states. Population density has always been low and there have been insufficient people to fill up the whole of the landscape. Kings and rulers throughout history, therefore, have treated people (including people of other states) as valuable resources to be maintained or acquired from elsewhere, by force if necessary. Consequently, the long history of warfare between states within the region has been characterized not by the desire to gain territory—for there have never been enough people available to hold on to large swathes of land for more than a few years but, rather, the desire to obtain slaves and to

destroy the works of rival states. Slaves as well as domestic labour were used to build monuments and religious works to demonstrate the vigour and merit of rulers.

Most states, therefore, consisted of comparatively small areas of land surrounding a central city, with a few villages acting as a network to the next small state. In archipelago Southeast Asia, states would mostly be based on coastal sites and be linked together with other islands by convenient shipping lanes. Alliances to counter the threat of external aggressors were possible (for example the famous three way alliance established in northern Thailand to resist the Mongol advance) but these were limited in scale and in time.

At one stage or another, almost every state in the region accepted the nominal or actual suzerainty of the Chinese emperor. This was advantageous in that it permitted access to trade networks with China—often conducted under the guise of providing tribute to the emperor—and connecting the states with those as far away as the Mediterranean and even the Americas. The spice trade linking locations as remote as the Moluccas Islands has a history of thousands of years and involved numerous intermediaries at different stages to make it feasible. Consequently, most states had a more or less permanent contingent of international merchants to help organise trade and in some cases these foreigners were permitted to achieve high office. Relations were more or less friendly over the long-term, therefore, although local incidences of xenophobia and racial tension have erupted from time to time. The smooth organisation of a cosmopolitan population was assisted by the general practice of allowing foreigners to cohabit with local women on a formal, contracted basis (in addition to the numerous informal occasions) in a social system in which the woman concerned did not lose any status after the end of the arrangement and, indeed, may have gained some by access to material goods provided by the foreigner.

Southeast Asian states were originally passive providers of accommodation for international traders but, eventually, goods produced in the region did obtain popularity and Southeast Asian nations took more active roles in commerce. However, this active role ceased when the arrival of European traders to participate in the system changed into colonizers who sought to dominate the political and economic systems completely. Prior to colonisation, accounts of Southeast Asia depict a healthy, wealthy population equal in stature to Europeans. After several generations of colonisation, most Southeast Asians have become known as short of stature, short-lived and short of money.

## The Legacy of Colonisation

The Philippines were colonised by the Spanish and subsequently by the United States; Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were colonised by the French; Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch, with some continuing Portuguese enclaves, such as East Timor (now Timor Leste); Malaysia, Singapore and Burma (now Myanmar) were colonised by the British. Only Thailand (previously known as Siam) was able to avoid formal colonisation and even then this was achieved through lengthy bouts of diplomacy and provision of concessions, willingly or unwillingly provided.

Just as there were various colonizers, so too were there various colonial experiences. Former French and Dutch possessions, for example, consider the experience to be wholly negative and destructive and people in those countries still harbour a significant amount of resentment and ill-will towards the colonisers. The attitudes of former British colonies, on the other hand, are more complex because of the British policy of divide and rule, which set one class or ethnicity within a country to rule or administer others and, as a result, some local people certainly gained as a result of colonisation. Nevertheless, every country was involved in its own struggle for independence and self-determination which intensified during the twentieth century as first communism provided a different ideology offering ostensible freedom and secondly the victories of Japan in World War II demonstrated that Europeans were not invincible after all. While the British ceded their empire at the conclusion of WWII, the French and Dutch were more reluctant to do so and attempted to re-establish their dominance in Indochina and in Indonesia—both of which actions led to bloody wars and the eventual expulsion of the Europeans, in the case of Vietnam, the expulsion of the French opened the way for communism and the subsequent American War.

## The Communist Threat

In the early years of its manifestation, Communism was seen as an immensely attractive form of ideology which demonstrated a logic for the operations of colonisation but also showed how it would ultimately wither and be defeated. The eventual victory of the Chinese Communist Party in expelling Chiang Kai-Shek's foreign backed Nationalists and the Japanese invaders alike through purely local efforts, particularly through the efforts of apparently disempowered

rural people such as were to be found throughout Southeast Asia, only hardened the resolve. As a result, it attracted adherents in nearly every country of the region. In most cases, a fierce struggle ensued as the nationalist governments sought to eliminate an ideology that they believed would result in their countries again being dominated by a foreign power. Most notably, the northern part of Vietnam turned to Communism and this sparked the invasion of the United States and allied troops, which only resulted amidst terrible casualties and destruction in the fall of the west-looking South Vietnamese government and massive outflows of refugees and migrants. Subsequent international relations were hugely affected by this war, which resulted in the imposition of sanctions upon the country by the United States and the locking of Vietnam into the Communist world, where aid and assistance could be most commonly obtained either from the Soviet Union or China, which introduced a new twist into a long and generally problematic relationship.

The US War in Vietnam had many other consequences. The presence of large numbers of US and allied troops in the region stimulated the industrial level development of bar and sex industries in friendly local cities such as Bangkok, Taipei, and Singapore. It also brought alliances with various ethnic minorities who had been encouraged to make common cause with the Americans in return for future autonomy that the Americans were not able to grant. This subsequently led to the large-scale relocation of the Hmong people from their homes in upland Laos and Thailand into the United States in a process that has so far lasted decades.

Communism was also victorious in Laos, which was dragged into the conflict in Vietnam and has the dubious distinction of having the most heavily bombed population per capita in the world. Domination of Laos by Vietnamese subsequently ensured that almost all of the former's relations with the outside world were mediated on the official level by Vietnamese trained sensibilities. This even extended to having a significant impact on cross-Mekong contacts between the Laotians and the millions of ethnic Lao living in the northeastern part of Thailand. The situation was even more extreme in Cambodia, where the Communist-inspired Khmer Rouge swept to power and launched a campaign of ideological purification that led to the deaths of millions and the almost complete absence of contact with the outside world. Refugees on the Thai border, for example, were sent back to Cambodia. The Vietnamese invasion of 1979 that ended the Khmer Rouge reign led to further sanctions against Vietnam and a brief border war with China. The frozen atmosphere with China

followed by the collapse of the Soviet system led to the almost complete absence of badly needed overseas assistance and effectively drove the return to a market-based system.

The struggle against Communism in Malaya, Singapore, and Thailand, was ultimately successful and helped to cement relations with western powers. However, measures taken were often extreme and, in Malaysia, involved an extensive internal war (labelled an “emergency” by the British state prosecuting it for insurance reasons). These actions further distanced the pro- and anti-communist positions of states and actors within the region and led to further disunity.

### **Irredentism and Autonomous Movements**

Southeast Asian states have in common, therefore, multiethnic populations distributed unevenly across their territories. State borders have been arbitrarily drawn in many cases by colonial powers and in others borders are not yet fully demarcated. Low levels of population in most parts of the region have reduced the need to maximize geographical territory and this has meant that disputes over ownership of some remote areas have emerged with the discovery of important resources located near them. One example of this is the Spratly Islands, which are a chain of almost uninhabitable island tops spread over a wide expanse of ocean but which are nevertheless claimed and partly occupied by forces from China, Vietnam, and Taiwan in full and Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei in part. Establishing a diplomatic process to determine ownership has required a difficult and lengthy effort that is not yet complete. However, it has offered some guidelines for future negotiations.

Irredentism is the desire of fragmented communities to reintegrate into their own state. It is related to the desire for autonomy, which involves the desire of a community wholly administered by a state of which it is part to rule itself with a greater degree of independence. Many states fear these phenomena because of the danger to stability to security and indeed to access to resources. In recent years, the former Portuguese colony of Timor Leste (East Timor) has managed to gain independence from Indonesia in the face of determined opposition and at the cost of the almost complete physical destruction of its infrastructure. The presence of offshore reserves of oil and gas are partly responsible for the bitterness of much of the opposition to independence. Other areas within Indonesia also wishing to

obtain independence include Aceh on Sumatra, which has been the result of years of revolt suppression by central state forces and which has continued despite the recent devastation following the earthquake and tsunami disaster of December 26, 2004. Other areas in which these movements are of importance include the Moros islands in the Philippines, the southern provinces of Thailand that were once Pattani and the Shan states of Myanmar. In each of these cases, acts of terrorism by insurgents and government reprisals in response have become an almost daily phenomenon.

These movements have had numerous impacts on international relations. Firstly, cross-border conflict or the use of border regions as hiding places divides neighbouring states. Secondly, other regions may be drawn into the conflict; both from within or without the region and this can lead to intensification of disputes, especially if the all-important loss of face becomes a reality. Dealing with these actual and potential issues was an important spurring force for the creation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which has become the main forum for international discussion.

### **ASEAN**

International relations within the Southeast Asian region have been dominated by the creation of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which provided a forum for debate that was previously lacking. Despite the numerous apparent problems with the debates produced, which frequently appear to be greatly abstracted from real life, the importance of ASEAN has been to provide a place where Southeast Asian leaders can communicate with each other informally and, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, sufficient commonality of purpose has been established for ASEAN to undertake negotiations on a bilateral and multilateral basis with economic partners such as China, South Korea, Japan, and Australia.

In a region lacking political forums and much commonality of purpose, it was both essential and highly problematic that an association of nations be formed to create a space in which issues of mutual importance may be discussed, even if public discourse necessarily remained drenched in rhetoric. The first incarnation of the Big 5 that constituted the early ASEAN were, in 1967, a disparate group united by a few common concerns. Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines were a collection of largely post-colonial societies fearing the spread of

Communism and the outbreak of ethnically based violence. As autocratic societies, they were unwilling to participate in international discussions in which their own undemocratic nature could be criticised. Hence, a *modus operandi* was developed in which no public discussion of what were considered to be each other's internal affairs was considered acceptable. Deals, when possible, were done strictly behind doors. Those numerous technocrats and diplomats who devoted years to negotiating agreements could find their efforts apparently cast aside by the effects of a grandstanding speech. Yet, nevertheless, the scope of agreements between ASEAN members has both broadened and deepened.

In subsequent years, the five remaining Southeast Asian states have also joined ASEAN: Brunei joined in 1984, Vietnam in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and, finally, Cambodia in 1998. Only tiny new East Timor remains outside the fold. There are few if any other organisations in the world in which military autocracies can rub shoulders with communist states, absolute monarchies, and democracies. While ASEAN is far from perfect, it is a great deal better than the alternative. The original declaration of association read in part that:

The Association represents the collective will of the nations of to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessings of peace, freedom, and prosperity.

This was restated slightly in 1995 in the following terms: "Cooperative peace and shared prosperity shall be the fundamental goals of ASEAN." It is true that no large scale warfare between ASEAN members has broken out since its inception, although genuine peace has always been and remains a fragile vision. Areas of considerable tension include the *konfrontasi* between Indonesia and Malaysia, rivalry between Malaysia and Singapore and access to water resources, the destruction of East Timor by Indonesian forces, the sporadic outbreaks of violence on the Thai-Myanmar border as Myanmar forces battle against various ethnic groups seeking autonomy and, perhaps most significant of all, the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979 intended to rid that benighted country of the scourge of the Khmer Rouge.

Ethnic Vietnamese suffered greatly during the Khmer Rouge domination of Cambodia and the fact that the two states can now co-exist in ASEAN without either publicly demanding reparations or trials points to a possibly sustainable model of international relations in one of the more problematic areas of the world.

Within the ASEAN region, a number of specific issues exist which have particular impact upon international relations and these will now be dealt with individually.

## Migration Issues

The most important migration issue in Southeast Asia has been the presence of Chinese migrants within the region. Chinese have been present in almost every part of the region since at least the sixth century CE. While most may never throughout history have been to mainland China or know anyone there individually, nevertheless the link to the antecedent village or province has remained strong. The claim of the central state upon the loyalties of emigrants has also, of course, historically been of great importance. This has led to a variety of implications of a more or less positive nature. On the positive side, the remittances of money and trading relationships established with ancestral villages and regions has been economically beneficial, while the practice of exporting Chinese women for marriage to migrants has in some case prevented integration into local societies. Resentment against ethnic Chinese has been easy to foster in times of economic or political distress and, during the 1997 financial crisis, for example, ethnic Chinese were attacked with particular savagery in Indonesia.

The low level of public and political discourse throughout most of the region has meant that it has become very easy for ethnic violence to flare very quickly. For the sake of rumours and gossip, there were intense although short-lived riots against Thais and Thai interests in Cambodia, for example, while Burmese migrant workers have been persecuted by Thai citizens and authorities, as too have Indonesian migrant workers been persecuted in Malaysia. Migrant workers, central figures in most modern economies, have proved themselves to be vulnerable to various types of abuse across border and negotiations concerning their fair treatment has constituted an important issue in some state relations.

## The Role (Post-War) of Japan

Having been part of the lengthy struggle for independence, many sections of Southeast Asian society were reluctant to welcome the large scale arrival of Japanese corporations investing in their economies. While governments welcomed the prospect of employment

opportunities and possible technology transfer, they were also wary of possibly giving away economic sovereignty to organisations that seemed unwilling to accept local people among the management structure. The Japanese government was slow to accept a political leadership role and, partly as a result, overseas development assistance (international aid) was often considered to have an ulterior motive. This coloured relationship between Southeast Asian nations and Japan that is only in the twenty-first century that Japanese government agencies began meaningfully to take a leadership role in economic reform and integration within the area, leading to more openness about the intentions of the Japanese state.

The globalisation of popular media and of many consumer goods markets has meant that aspects of Japanese culture (as well as those from various other countries) have become much more prevalent in Southeast Asia and this too has assisted in promoting friendly relations, as have also various exchange schemes.

## Religious Issues

State relations in the premodern world were often influenced by religion and their legacy has continued until the current day. The Islamisation of many of the island regions of Southeast Asia has meant that states in those areas frequently look west to their Islamic brothers in the Arab world rather than north to their rather closer neighbours in mainland Southeast Asia. This has become more important in recent years as the internationalisation of religious teaching in Malaysia, the south of Thailand and Indonesia, as well as southern regions of the Philippines, has been associated with the rise of fundamentalist beliefs and a possible link with terrorism. Certainly, movements seeking autonomy from a non-Islamic state government have taken on a more violent nature which has included targeting western people and interests.

## Development Implications

The concept of statehood came late to most Southeast Asian nations and so the practice of conducting international state relations that are binding on all actors within a state was also only lately developed. Centuries of treating with other states from a position of often supine weakness further influenced the nature of the discourse and intention of state leaders.

Cultural factors have also played a part. The result has been a frequent degree of defensiveness and obfuscation when dealing with the world. State leaders neither wish to reveal facts about their home countries nor accept criticism of their policies or state of development. As previous *de facto* spokesperson for ASEAN, Malaysia's Dr. Mahathir Mohammed was not averse to bringing up the ills of the colonial past caused by western powers both to explain present imperfections and to turn the tables of criticism.

Generally, therefore, the level of political discourse in public, together with the low level of meaningful public participation in policy formation, has meant that not only has international dialogue been of an inefficient manner but also that decisions taken at governmental level have little or no ownership at lower levels and hence are difficult to implement.

The use of minority peoples as proxies by external states as also increased internal fragmentation and led to some punitive policies taken against them. In the case of international development assistance, the additional agenda issues brought to negotiations by international partners has led to a short term approach to development priorities and unevenness in application.

ASEAN has proved successful within the very limited remit that it has provided for itself. While co-operation has slowly evolved, a more open and wide-ranging discourse would have provided more development opportunities for the people of the region. In any case, greater openness to cultural influences within the region should have helped to promote understanding and tolerance and would have saved a great deal of misery for put upon minorities.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southeast Asia; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development**

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The official ASEAN website is available at: <http://www.aseansec.org/>

## SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION (SEATO)

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was inspired by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and forged by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1954. In that year, following the Geneva Conference, the United States (US), led by Dulles, who feared communist advances in Southeast Asia, began negotiations with indigenous states and colonial powers in the region in an effort to form a regional defense system. On September 8, 1954, eight signed the SEATO treaty as part of the Manila Pact. The organization, which ostensibly paralleled the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), officially began operations on February 19, 1955, following ratification of the treaty by the US Senate.

The founding members included Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the US, Great Britain, and France. Of note were those nations not included: Taiwan, because the treaty did not accept countries north of 21°30' North latitude; neutral states such as India, Burma, and Indonesia, which refused membership; and Cambodia, Laos, and South Viet Nam, which were denied membership by the tenets of the Geneva Accords. Indeed, France, still smarting from its humiliating defeat at Dien Bien Phu and its resulting loss of Indochina, opposed full membership for her former colonies—Cambodia, Laos, and South Viet Nam.

While the agreement created a council to provide for consultation and it allowed "for the common defense" of all the treaty partners, promising action "to meet the common danger," unlike NATO, it did not form a unified military command. At the same time, the SEATO Treaty contained a separate protocol that designated Cambodia, Laos, and South Viet Nam as "vital" to regional security. As such, SEATO nations were obligated to place a "security umbrella" over these states. In spite of the questionable legality of this protocol, which essentially countered the tenets of the Geneva Accords, Dulles insisted that it was

essential to assure the "tranquility and safety" of the treaty signers.

Following the Gulf of Tonkin Incident in mid-1964, President Lyndon Baines Johnson cited this protocol as the basis for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the expansion of America's military commitment to what became the Second Indochina War. In fact, he never consulted his SEATO partners in this matter. Ironically, by March 1969, his successor, President Richard M. Nixon had reinterpreted this very same protocol, declaring that it did not justify or require the commitment of US military forces to the region. This led to the initiation of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy.

By 1971, many SEATO nations, especially France and Thailand, had become very uncomfortable with America's handling of the war in Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos. These escalating tensions reached a climax with the fall of Sai Gon in 1975. With the advent of detente and the beginning of US policies that would eventually end the Cold War, most SEATO states no longer saw a need for the organization. On June 30, 1977, the alliance was formally dissolved during laconic ceremonies in Bangkok, Thailand.

Clearly, SEATO did little for the development of states in Southeast Asia since it was a Cold War political creation, mostly designed to protect US interests in its broader struggle against the Soviet Union and China. One could argue that SEATO retarded the growth of nations such as Kampuchea, Laos, and Viet Nam. One thing it did contribute was to inspire indigenous leaders to seek an alternative organization made up of regional states. Indeed, over the past thirty years, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), comprised of, and led by regional nations, has successfully facilitated significant economic growth and social stability in Southeast Asia.

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## SOUTHERN AFRICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### The Region Defined

The Southern Africa region has been defined as including as few as nine nations and as many as fourteen. The principal organizing group since 1979 has been the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The SADC deals with political and economic development, but it is also concerned with social and cultural issues. When the SADC first organized it included nine states, but in 1992 it expanded to fourteen: Angola; Botswana; the Democratic Republic of the Congo; Lesotho; Malawi; Mauritius; Mozambique; Namibia; Seychelles; South Africa; Swaziland; Tanzania; Zambia; and Zimbabwe. This essay will discuss the joint historical and economic development of the fourteen state region.

### Early Residents

Southern African history began with the arrival of the San and Khoikhoi who inhabited each of the fourteen nations. The Khoisan (Khoikoi and San) arrived long before other African migrants and Europeans. For the pre-historic period archaeologists and anthropologists have uncovered fossil remains that show that *Homo sapiens* had arrived in Southern Africa from the North around 50,000 BCE, long before San hunter-gatherers and Khoikhoi herders. The Khoisan, later termed “Bushmen” and “Hottentots” by Europeans, came from the North around 14,000 BCE. Bantu followed in the first century CE and gradually displaced most of the Khoisan by intermarriage or force. Africans at this juncture were multi-ethnic as was apparent in the numerous languages they spoke.

The region’s history and economy were influenced by its semi-tropical/temperate climate and its location in the Southern half of the African continent. By the fifteenth century the Cape of Good Hope, at Africa’s southern tip, became a port on a route that tied Europe to East Africa and Asia until the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. The climate on the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts made the Cape an ideal market for Portuguese, Dutch, French, Spanish, Belgian, and British ships to restock food and fuel stores en route to valued Asian and East African spices, cloths, exotic foods, and slaves. In the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries European immigrants began to

arrive in Southern Africa where they established spheres of influence and political hegemony.

European migration and economic interest in Southern Africa began when Portugal’s Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 after navigating the southwestern Atlantic coast. Vasco da Gama’s 1497 expedition sailed up Africa’s east coast to present-day Kenya where he established a port at Melinda before he continued on to Arabia, then eastward to India. Portugal dominated the trade route to Asia throughout the sixteenth century and built forts in what are now the Southern African states of Angola and Mozambique. Most of Southern Africa had direct or indirect trade with the Portuguese.

At the end of the sixteenth century English and Dutch merchant-sailors challenged Portugal’s economic monopoly in Southern Africa and bartered with Africans of the Cape to replenish their ships with meat, water, and timber for the ships’ broken masts. English trade with the Khoisan continued until 1652, when they decided not to build a permanent fort at the Cape. In place of the English, the Dutch East India Company set up a supply station at Table Bay and encouraged trade with the Khoisan and Dutch settlers. At the same time as the Dutch increased their presence during the seventeenth century, Bantu-speaking Africans were moving south and French Huguenot (Reformed Protestants) arrived to escape religious persecution in France and melted into the Dutch Protestant Afrikaner community. Germany colonized Namibia and Tanganyika (Tanzania) in 1884. The Asian influence in southern Africa was most pronounced in Madagascar and Zanzibar and began 2,000 years ago. Madagascar’s population is primarily Malayo-Indonesian, but its official languages are French and Malagasi. It became independent of France in 1960.

Southern Africa was thus distinguished by a mix of people who gathered there. By the twentieth century southern Africans spoke eleven official languages and many local dialects. After 1945, this polyglot of people threw off the European yoke and formed democratic states. Events that abolished apartheid (racial separation) marked the region’s greatest success as it rejected laws and customs that marked a brutal political, economic, social, and cultural history in the pre- and post-World War II era.

### Precursors of Post-1945 Economic Development

The post-1945 Southern African economies evolved out of early nineteenth century clashes between rival

Bantu-speaking communities due to increasing population and decreasing water supply that depleted grain and hunting resources. The African population increase that began at the end of the eighteenth century came as a result of the introduction of corn (maize), a crop that the Portuguese brought from America where native people grew it. Because corn was less drought-resistant than indigenous grains it caused periods of famine that paralleled what happened in Ireland as a result of the failure of another Native American crop, the potato, in the 1840s. The Portuguese ivory trade drew Africans to Mozambique and increased the need for food and water.

Economic conditions led to political tensions, with large tribes fighting to dominate the land and food supply. The arrival of Dutch Afrikaans-speakers, French Huguenot, British, Portuguese, Belgian, German, and Bantu, further disrupted the lives of the generally peaceful Khoisan. When Africans refused to work for Europeans on the land and in mines, the whites imported slaves from West and East Africa, as well as India and China. Wars between Africans and Europeans, and African and African, were over land with scarce water resources, but also over valuable mineral resources.

European states in the nineteenth century drew boundaries that did not take into consideration religious, cultural, and language differences. African states with no cultural core found it difficult to resist service to European economic interests. Therefore Southern African wars fought since 1945 over land, mineral wealth, and ethnic dominance were ignited by a European scramble for Southern Africa's land and wealth. As a result, post-1945 African independence movements were complicated by internal and external ethnic struggles for dominance. Southern Africa, as much as any African region, provides historical insight into problems of balkanization, ethnic tensions, and control of land and wealth that have elevated the grasping for power. To discuss wars and treaties in Southern Africa is beyond the scope of this essay. More specific information is covered in essays on the fourteen nations in the region. This essay deals with the regional history and economies.

### **South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mauritius, Seychelles, Tanzania, and Namibia**

Eleven of the fourteen nations in the South African Development Community are former British colonies. They are sufficiently similar to discuss them together.

The dominant nation in 2005 in terms of economic and political leadership, size, and population, is the Republic of South Africa. South Africa was the base from which Britain launched its expansion in Southern Africa and Asia. From South Africa it conquered the territories of present-day Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, and Indian Ocean islands of Madagascar, Mauritius, and the Seychelles. Britain received former German colonies of Tanzania and Namibia after World War I as League of Nations mandates. Two states within the borders of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland, were Native Reserves, later Homelands. These states became members of the British Commonwealth in the post-1945 period. South Africa continued to dominate the region after 1945 in spite of the fact that it was the last to gain African majority rule (1994).

In 1890, the British South Africa Company (BSAC), a commercial enterprise headed by diamond czar Cecil John Rhodes, moved to conquer what are today Zimbabwe, Zambia in 1890, and Malawi (Nyasaland Protectorate) in 1891. Rhodes' dream was to create a Cape to Cairo British economic corridor—to take minerals from Africa and such other wealth as his BSAC could develop. Missionaries, mainly Protestant evangelicals, followed the union jack in the name of Western Christian civilization. Zimbabwe was under imperial rule till 1880; Zambia and Malawi gained independence in 1964. European political rule was supported by white settler economic, social-cultural domination. Malawi, visited by the Scottish missionary David Livingstone in 1859, became a British Protectorate in 1891. The BSAC ruled Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) until 1923, when it turned the government over to white settler regimes.

South Africa has 1,219,912 square kilometers of land (about twice the size of the American state of Texas). The Republic, composed after 1984 of four provinces: Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, includes in its territory several islands in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. It borders on six independent nations: Botswana; Lesotho; Swaziland; Mozambique; Namibia; and Zimbabwe. Like most Southern African nations, 12% of South Africa's land is arable and even that land is susceptible to prolonged droughts. Its interior is a large plateau (veldt) surrounded by rugged hills and a thin coastal plain along the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. A new multi-ethnic African-led federal democracy took over in 1996 under President Nelson Mandela. Its 42,718,530 citizens wrestle with criminal and ethnic violence in their quest for peace, justice, and prosperity. The struggle is reflected in books by Nobel Prize winner Nadine Gordimer and Booker Prize

winner J. M. Coetzee. While South Africans are not alone in working out economic, racial, and language differences, they are doing so with people from three continents—Africa, Europe, and Asia, another phenomena they share with the other Southern African states.

Modern South Africa's economic history began with a discovery of rich mineral deposits in 1860–1880. In 1867 prospectors found diamonds and by 1869–70 the claims produced a rush of prospectors. The British annexed the fields and denied the claims of Dutch Afrikaners in the area. By the 1880s, Cecil Rhodes' DeBeers Consolidated Mines had bought the original mines and most small claims. Diamonds, South Africa's largest export, provided employment and subsidiary industries that fueled economic growth. By 1900, exports grew to £15 million; £4 million came from diamonds. A growing economy spurred immigration and produced a lust for more diamonds and gold, and attacks on African tribes in Shona and Ndebele territories to the north where there were more mineral deposits, but not the large gold and diamond deposits that Rhodes BSAC sought.

Africans had mined gold in southern Africa for centuries and traded it with the Portuguese and Arabs. After Afrikaners discovered gold in South Africa about fifty thousand Africans migrated each year to mines around Kimberley and Johannesburg. African farmers in Basutoland (Lesotho), the Cape and Natal, supplied growing populations around mines, interior cities and coastal ports. "Coloureds" (mixed African and white) and Indians prospered as skilled tradesmen and shopkeepers. When there was a gold strike near Johannesburg in Witwatersrand (the Rand) in 1886, English businessmen, enriched by diamond mining, bought the claims. Gold output increased to almost £8 million in 1895, 20% of the world's production. By 1900, Europeans had invested more in South African diamond and gold mines than in all the rest of Africa. Gold mines employed one hundred thousand Africans; diamond mines about twenty thousand.

In 1945, diamond and gold still dominated the mining industry. In 2005, South Africa maintained its position as the world's largest producer of platinum, gold, chromium. Minerals dominated its combined exports of \$33.8 billion. Its major trading partners were the European Union, United States, and Japan. Its gross domestic product (GDP) was \$456.7 billion, an estimated \$10,700 per capita. The 12% of its land that was arable produced corn (the staple food of its African population), wheat, sugarcane, fruits, and vegetables. Meat products included beef, poultry, mutton, wool, and

dairy products. Of its 17 million workers, 45% worked in service industries, 30% in agriculture, 25% in industry and commerce, but 37 % were unemployed. Service industries in Southern Africa include many low paid domestic servants from villages who are seeking cash income for school fees and other necessities.

Six of the countries in the former British colonies of Southern Africa are landlocked: Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho. They are therefore dependent on neighbors, particularly South Africa, for access to markets. In 2004, the estimated populations were: Zimbabwe, 12,671,860; Malawi, 11,906,855; Zambia, 10,462,436; Botswana, 1,561,973; Lesotho, 1,864,040, and Swaziland, 1,167,241. In the area approximately 98% of the people are African; the other 2% are European and Asian. Between one and 11% of the land was arable and produced maize, tobacco, sugarcane, tea, coffee, cotton, chocolate, rice, and peanuts (ground nuts). While the principal livestock was cattle, which had a social value in bargaining for brides for sons (bride price), they also grew sheep, goats, and pigs. Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana are rich in mineral resources: copper; chromium; nickel; there were deposits of gold, diamonds, coal, asbestos, cobalt, zinc, and lead in the six countries. In each country, approximately 86% of the population is at least partially employed, but most rural farmers are operating on subsistence basis of virtually no cash income. A primary concern, most notably in Zimbabwe and South Africa, was the uneven distribution of land between the majority African farmers, and the minority of white commercial farmers. Options facing the governments are: compensation to white farmers and redistribution to Africans; and confiscation without compensation based on the taking of the land in the nineteenth century by Europeans with no compensation to Africans. Funds for compensation would to come from outside the region, mainly Europe and America.

Lesotho and Swaziland, former African Homelands (and before that Native Reserves), are surrounded by South Africa. They gained independence from Britain in 1966 and 1968. Apart from a few diamond deposits in Lesotho they have few minerals. Lesotho's GDP was estimated at \$5.5 billion, \$3,000 per capita in 2003. Seventy percent of its trade was with the United States; 24% with South Africa. Eighty-six percent of its workers were subsistence farmers, many of whom also worked in South Africa. Swaziland had an estimated GDP of \$5.7 billion in 2003; \$4,900 per capita. Its principal industries were asbestos and coal mining. Seventy-two percent of its exports went to South Africa.

The island nations of Madagascar, Mauritius, and Seychelles, located in the Indian Ocean, have characteristics that differ from the six former British mainland colonies. Madagascar has an area of just 226,656 square miles, but a three thousand mile coastline. On the 4% of its land that is arable, it grows coffee, vanilla, sugarcane, and cloves. Its 17,501,871 people are of mixed ethnicity: Malayo-Indonesian, African, Arab, French, Indian, Creole, and Comoran. In 1964, it received independence from Britain. It had a 2003 estimated GDP of \$13 billion, \$800 per person and few natural resources. Mauritius has an area of just 718 square miles, and a 110 mile coastline. But 49% of its land is arable. Its population of 1,220,481 is 68% Indo-Mauritian, and 27% Creole. The official language is English, but the largest religious groups are Hindu (52%), Christian (28%), and Muslim (16.6%), where most nations in the region have a majority Christian population and a significant number of indigenous religions. It gained independence from Britain in 1968. The Seychelles area is 27,699 square miles, with 250 miles of coastline. Seven percent of its land is arable. Its population was 5,883,889 by a 2003 estimate and its people were a mix of Asians, Africans, and Europeans. English and French are both official languages. The GDP was \$626 million, \$7,800 per person, in a 2002 estimate. Tourism was its largest industry. Seventy-one percent of its workers were employed in service industries; only 10% in agriculture. Ninety-four percent of its people were Christian.

The former Portuguese colonies of Angola on the Atlantic Ocean and Mozambique on the Indian Ocean received their independence in 1975, due to turmoil in the Portuguese government. Angola has a territory of 481,352 square miles (nearly twice the size of Texas) and a coastline of 994 miles. Only 2% of its land is arable. Its 2004 population estimate was 10,978,552. Ninety-seven percent came from African ethnic groups, 2% mestizo, and 1% European. Eighty-five percent of the population was engaged in subsistence agriculture; 15% in industry. Agriculture includes sheep grazing, bananas, sugarcane, coffee, sisal, corn, cotton, tapioca, and vegetables. It is rich in natural resources, including petroleum, diamonds, iron, phosphates, and copper. Its GDP in 2003 was \$20.5 billion, \$1,900 per capita, with 41% of its exports going to the US and 14% to China. Mozambique had a population estimated at 18,811,731 in 2003, 99% of whom were African. Only 4% of its 309,494 sq. miles of land are arable. Its crops are cotton, cashew nuts, sugar, tea, and its natural resources are coal, natural gas, and titanium. Forty-one percent of its imports come from South Africa.

### **Post–World War II: Apartheid Laws (1948–1976) and the Freedom Struggle (1948–2005) in Southern Africa**

In 1913, the Union of South Africa passed a Natives Land Act, limiting Africans to Native Reserves (the United States called their restricted areas “Indian Reservations”). This was the first of many apartheid (separation) laws of the 1913–1948 period. The dominant political parties were Afrikaner coalitions, with little British interference. Africans organized the African National Congress. These policies increased after World War II throughout southern Africa.

From 1948 to 2005, Southern Africa moved from white-run minority governments, many of whom opposed racial mingling, to one-person-one-vote rule majority-run democracies. The change was accompanied by both physical violence and heroic gestures of line-crossing on the part of Africans and whites to accommodate the interests of all parties. The 1910–1948 apartheid laws in Southern Africa rested on assumptions that placed race above class, religion, education, or other distinctions. By 1948, the Afrikaner South African National Party had gained the support of both Afrikaans and English-speakers and retained political and economic dominance for four decades. (For the history of separation in other thirteen Southern African states see the entries on each state).

South Africa’s Population Registration Act (1950) separated races into white, coloured, and native (Bantu). Identity cards insured apartheid’s enforcement. A 1950 Group Areas Act updated the Natives Land Acts, in spite of the 1954 Tomlinson Commission finding that African areas could support only two-thirds of their populations. Rather than provide more land in Native Reserves, the government removed more Africans from white areas. A Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) disallowed interracial marriages; and an Immorality Act (1950) banned interracial sexual relations. Under a 1951 Bantu Authorities Act, the government appointed chiefs and headmen as tribal, regional, and territorial authorities and abolished elected Natives Representative Councils.

There was little opposition to apartheid in South Africa. The Afrikaner National Party won reelection in 1953 and 1958 with increasing majorities. In 1958, Hendrik F. Verwoerd, the leading exponent of apartheid, became Prime Minister, and in 1961, based on a referendum, declared South Africa to be a republic, independent of Britain. In 1965, when independent African nations of the British Commonwealth, supported by Canada and India, attacked South Africa’s

ethnic agenda, the National Party withdrew South Africa from the British Commonwealth. On September 6, 1966, an attendant stabbed Verwoerd to death, but his successor, B. J. Vorster, carried the apartheid legacy from 1966 to 1978.

### **The Birth of Democracy in Southern Africa, 1961–2005**

Apartheid died a slow death in the 1970s and 1980s. Black South Africans, the international community of nations, and a few South African whites led the way. The freedom struggle, begun in the 1950s in Britain's southern African territories, was encouraged by the independence of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana in 1957. It grew in the 1960s as the African National Congress (ANC), Pan-African Congress (PAC), and South African Communist Party (SACP), turned in frustration to violent means to overcome apartheid. Strategic targets included power plants, police stations, and chiefs and headmen who collaborated with the government. By 1964, many black leaders were arrested, including Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, who went to prison for life. Oliver Tambo escaped capture and led the resistance from Zambia. African leaders in other southern African colonies were suffering the same fate. But Tanzania gained independence in 1961 and united with Zanzibar in 1964, the year Zambia and Malawi won independence.

Several forces pressured white regimes while black leaders were in prison. African Trades Unions led strikes for better working conditions and pay. Workers racial consciousness was partly due to economic growth and international support. In 1973, the United Nations (UN) declared apartheid to be a "crime against humanity." In 1976, thousands of South Africa's black school children revolted against teaching in Afrikaans, the language of their oppressor. In 1977, police killings of black civilians climaxed with the death of student leader Steve Biko while in police custody. Other blacks went to neighboring African states for military training. In 1975, Mozambique and Angola gained independence from Portugal, and in 1979 Rhodesia's white government was on the verge of yielding power to Robert Mugabe's Patriotic Front that led to Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

In the 1980s, economic problems caused white government and business leaders to reevaluate South Africa's isolation. Following boom years in the 1960s and 1970s, GDP was declining. Many whites were becoming poorer and skilled labor was leaving the country. Apartheid had become expensive to administer and

the black population was growing much faster than the white. In 1977, the UN embargoed the sale of arms to South Africa and the American civil rights movement made significant progress. In 1978, Prime Minister Vorster resigned under corruption charges and P.W. Botha replaced him.

Two forces nudged South Africa away from apartheid. Black trades unions grew to over 1 million members and demanded accommodation. Prime Minister Botha, in a 1994 constitution, reached out to Coloureds (those of mixed African-white ancestry) and Indians, by setting up a tricameral legislature: a 178 member white House of Assembly; eighty-five member coloured House of Representatives; forty-five member Indian House of Delegates; all democratically elected. Africans, 75% of the population, remained unrepresented. But in 1986 Botha gave in to demands to rescind pass laws and repeal bans on multiracial political parties and interracial sex and marriage, but he stopped short of desegregating schools, closing disparities in health and welfare services, and allowing Africans to own property outside "homelands" (formerly Native Reserves). In 1985, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and US President Ronald Reagan opposed sanctions, but in 1986 the US Congress passed an Anti-Apartheid Act over Reagan's veto, as other nations put pressure on the South African government.

In 1989, F.W. de Klerk succeeded Botha as National Party head and State President, and in 1990 de Klerk unbanned three African parties, the ANC, PAC, and SACP, and released Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. In 1991, after the de Klerk government repealed most apartheid laws, white voters supported a resolution to negotiate with African leaders. In 1992, South Africa joined the Southern African Development Community (SADC) with Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In 1993, de Klerk and Mandela, with eighteen other party leaders, endorsed an interim constitution under which South Africa would be ruled pending a permanent constitution. In 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) won South Africa's first democratic, nonracial election under an interim constitution. Nelson Mandela became president on May 10.

Foreign governments lifted economic sanctions. South Africa rejoined the British Commonwealth and negotiated cooperative agreements with Southern African states of the SADC. In the 1999 election, the ANC won 66% of the vote and the Democratic Party replaced the National Party as the official opposition. Mandela had retired after his five-year term and Thabo Mbeki, his Deputy President, became President. This completed the transition from white

colonial-era governments to fourteen majority-led democratic states. Not all of the states are stable, nor are all of the economies viable. An HIV/AIDS pandemic is producing huge death tolls and millions of orphans. Much of the Southern African economy is in subsistence farming as Africans are farming minimally productive arid land prone to devastating droughts. White commercial farmers are on the best land, which their families inherited from white colonial government grants in the nineteenth century. Land reform and health are the obsessions of Southern African governments in 2005.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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## SOUTHERN AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### Brief History and Background

Arguably, contemporary Southern Africa is Africa's most diverse subregion in terms not only of geography but also of the people who populate it. Sandwiched between the Indian and the Atlantic oceans and spotting great landmarks in the Drakensburg Mountains and the Kalahari Desert, the subregion includes Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Although other countries such as Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Seychelles, and Tanzania are sometimes included in some scholarly definitions of the subregion, they are perhaps more properly located in other continental subregions. This is despite their economic links to the subregion through membership (previous

in the case of Seychelles) in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Madagascar and Mauritius are included despite their comparatively more distinct contexts. With a population of approximately 127.5 million people and over 6.5 million square kilometers of territory, Southern Africa is a vast region.

Although their broad areas of differences can easily separate Southern African states, they are linked and united by their common historical experiences, cultures, and challenges. Artificial creations of former colonial powers—Britain, France, Germany, and Portugal—they show remarkable similarity in the diversity of their peoples who include the numerically dominant Bantu groups as well as the variously significant Khoisan, European, South Asian, and Malay-Polynesian communities. In many ways, this diversity has helped to define and give shape to the internal and external relations of virtually all member states of the subregion.

The human similarities notwithstanding, it is the differentiating characteristics that punctuate the nature and contours of Southern African intra-regional and non-regional relations. Southern African states vary widely in terms of size, ranging from Lesotho and Swaziland at less than thirty-one thousand and eighteen thousand square kilometers respectively to Angola and South Africa, which are far larger with more than 1.2 million square kilometers each of total land area. At between 1.1 million and 2 million people, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, and Namibia are considerably much smaller than Mozambique with 19 million people or South Africa with more than 42 million people.

In many ways, Southern Africa's unique historical and cultural contexts as well as its recent colonial and post-colonial political and economic activities have coalesced to transform the subregion from Africa's most conflict-ridden and troubled area before the 1990s to one of the continent's most stable and prosperous subregions (along with North Africa). It is also probably the most integrated and harmonized subregion in Africa not only in terms of the linkages between the national economies but also in terms of the transport and communications infrastructure, and the human migration patterns centering on the mining of one of the world's most resource-laden areas.

Attracted by the resources of the subregion as well as more congenial (European friendly) climatic conditions, Southern Africa was completely colonized by European states before the beginning of the twentieth century—thus culminating a process that began during the fifteenth century. Unlike West Africa, with its less friendly climatic conditions, Southern Africa

experienced a significant demographic transformation that saw the entrance and resettlement of significant numbers of Europeans and South Asians in the area. The resultant white minority rule, which followed or coupled European colonialism, shaped not only the political and cultural experiences of much of the subregion but also the nature and development of its economies. By the middle of the twentieth century, European presence and rule had created severely segmented societies in much of Southern Africa in which whites were given special privileges and rights. By contrast, Africans were explicitly denied extensive array of rights—including that of citizenship in extreme cases. Although European colonialism was often harsh everywhere, it was especially so in many parts of Southern Africa. Africans lost their land, cattle, and human dignity more extensively and with far greater intensity and purpose than occurred anywhere else in Africa or Asia. Although European colonial and minority rule brought certain benefits to Southern Africa, particularly in the form of technology, technical know-how, and capital, the racism and highly exploitative labor system which characterized the use of Africans in both the mining and agricultural sectors combined to trigger violent eruptions and resistance to white domination. Although military progress and complete success were forestalled for decades due to the vast superiority of European military technology, the last bastions of white minority rule in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe finally gave way to majoritarian rule by the mid-1990s.

Nevertheless, the period of European minority domination also coincided with both the linking and deepening of Southern African incorporation—rather than integration—into the global political economy as a peripheral producer of raw minerals and unprocessed agricultural products. With the solitary exception of South Africa, spared because of its vast mineral resources and white control, the rest of Southern Africa states also became reservoirs of cheap migrant labor and effectively (more or less) indirect outposts of South African economic hegemony. For its part, South Africa—riding on its mineral wealth and designated semi-periphery status—developed a significant industrial capacity, which is not only crucial for the Southern African subregion but also has become increasingly important for the rest of Africa and the world. As the premier mineral producing subregion of Africa, Southern Africa produces and exports a wide variety of mineral resources such as coal, chrome, diamonds, gold, petroleum, platinum, and uranium to Europe, North America, and Asia. The subregion receives value-added consumer goods and capital equipment.

### **Intra-Southern African Relations**

In many ways, South Africa is the one country whose activities in the subregion serve to define and shape regional relations. Without a doubt, South Africa is by far the pivotal state in Southern Africa. In no other subregion of Africa is one country's fate so closely woven to the prospects of its regional partners. With superior transport and communications infrastructure, educational and research institutions, modern manufacturing, mining and agricultural sectors, and an overall economy that dwarfs the combined output of its subregional neighbors, South Africa dominates Southern African economic relations. With a gross domestic product (GDP) that is 60% larger than the combined GDP of the other subregional states, large trade surpluses with every Southern African state, and with widening import and export trade ratios with the subregion, post-apartheid South Africa is a reluctant hegemon in Southern Africa.

However, with a checkered apartheid history that was marked by aggressive and hostile attitudes towards its neighbors, post-apartheid South Africa is still grappling to find its non-economic niche in Southern Africa. Although other states within the subregion need South Africa's industrial output, economic strength, and technology, they remain deeply weary of its intentions and commitment to mutually beneficial and cooperative relations. Chastened by the apartheid-era policy and vision of subjecting the subregion to serving South African interests through ambitious cooperation proposals that envisaged South Africa at the center of a constellation of states. This was not only Pretoria's brazen response to the breaching of the formerly impervious white buffer zone around apartheid South Africa due to Angolan and Mozambican independence from Portugal but also a desperate attempt to woo neighboring states away from Soviet influence and from giving support and sanctuary to both the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Southern African subregion was not only caught in the crossfire of the anti-apartheid struggle but also was deeply affected and devastated by the political, economic, and military destabilization policies that constituted South Africa's "total onslaught" strategy against them. Southern Africa shouldered the bulk of the burdens associated with apartheid South Africa's desperate attempts to maintain white minority rule. As such, Southern African subregional relations were particularly marked and blighted by apartheid. This legacy, along with negative perceptions about post apartheid South Africa's aggressive



economic expansion in the subregion and political arrogance, has continued to inform and shape Southern Africa relations. This is despite Pretoria's deliberate efforts to allay concerns through policy pronouncements and indications about its benign intentions, and about shared regional destiny and the imperative of integration. To drive the point home, South Africa's ruling ANC party has been forced to explicitly reject any hegemonic ambitions for South Africa.

Top government leaders have reaffirmed this position as has the Department of Foreign Affairs with its outline of government's new priorities in Southern Africa: promotion of peace and security; promotion of intra-regional trade and investment; promotion of regional tourism; poverty alleviation; promotion of health; promotion of all people to people contacts between South Africa and its neighbors; human resource development; promotion of human rights; inter-regional co-operation aimed at combating crime.

Despite such efforts at reassurance, the rapid expansion into other parts of Southern Africa by South African corporate capital has awakened new concerns about the country's evolving status as an economic hegemon. This is not helped by the historical asymmetry between South Africa and the rest of the subregion in terms not only of population size, technical know-how and technology, economic and financial capacity, transport and communications infrastructure, and energy-production capacity. Furthermore, South Africa's domestic imperatives, which have contributed to its reluctance to concede commercial terrain to its neighbors in their areas of comparative advantage as well as her slowness to actively adopt unfavorable SADC policies, have fuelled suspicions and perceptions that it continues to harbor hegemonic ambitions in Southern Africa.

Also facilitating Southern African relations are a number of institutions and organizations including Common Monetary Area (Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland), Southern African Customs Union (Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland), and SADC. Of these, SADC is the largest and potentially most important for each of the member states. However, both the Common Monetary Area (CMA) and Southern African Customs Union (SACU) provide vital services for the member states. For instance, the CMA not only links and places at par the currencies of Lesotho, Namibia, and Swaziland to the South African rand but also allows the rand to circulate freely within the other countries. The net effects of the arrangement include the following for the affiliated countries: access to the South African capital markets, fully convertible

currencies, and greater and easier trading links with South Africa.

The peoples of Southern Africa have been interacting for hundreds of years. Relations in the modern era have been defined by both the anti-colonial struggles and the war against the white minority rule in Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe as well as the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique. As noted previously, the anti-apartheid conflict imposed huge costs on the entire subregion in terms of damaged and lost lives and property.

### **Relations with Other African States**

Contemporary relations between Southern Africa and other parts of the continent were defined primarily over the past fifty years by the struggle to rid the continent of white minority rule in the subregion. Various, other African countries assisted in a number of ways; they contributed scarce financial resources, provided travel documents and used their diplomatic offices, extended educational grants and scholarships, provided arms and military training to Southern African resistance fighters, and took the causes to other governments and internal forums for external political, financial, diplomatic, and military support. These efforts were necessary because Southern Africa was the last region to be liberated politically from European domination.

Although post-liberation relations have centered on economic linkages, particularly the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), important relationships have also evolved around the civil wars, political struggles and instability, and issues of human rights violations around the continent. NEPAD has contributed towards building a general understanding that the subregional and regional integration is vital if Africa is to deal successfully with the long-term challenges facing the continent. This has reinforced the Abuja treaty of 1991, which envisioned subregional integration as crucial parts of the puzzle for the development of the African Economic Community. Through the various activities of NEPAD, Africa is gradually moving closer to articulating fully the goal of an integrated and complementary subregional infrastructure, with skills development and exchange, import substitution, and diversified production and markets.

Amongst the major contestations have been the land reform controversy in Zimbabwe; human rights violations in Nigeria's Niger Delta; coups attempts in Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, and Togo; and conflicts in Angola, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire,

DRC, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Western Sahara. Through the good offices of the African Union, ECOWAS, SADC and other regional and subregional organizations and institutions, Southern African countries have been interacting with other African countries on issues of mutual interest. Together, they have also worked to address continental relations with other parts of the world. With the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa) and his colleagues Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Algeria) and Abdoulaye Wade, (Senegal), through their articulation and work on NEPAD, Africa's developmental challenges have received and stimulated global attention and growing commitment. The commitment to address common economic and political issues, including sticky problems around conflict management and resolution as well as good governance, transparency, and accountability have served not only to transform public and intellectual discourse about the nature of African leadership but also elevated issues about external links and responsibility for many African problems.

### **Relations with Global Powers and Beyond the Continent**

Given its large number of Europeans and persons of South Asian and Southeast Asian background, it is not surprising that Southern Africa states generally have strong links with Europe and Asia. France, Germany, Greece, India, Indonesia, Netherlands, Pakistan, Portugal, United Kingdom, United States, and the Scandinavian states are some of the states with which Southern Africa states have built strong ties economic, political, and cultural ties. These ties have also been reinforced by the historical links between the various countries. While some of the ties, especially the South-South links, have been largely fraternal, the relationships with members of the OECD tend to reflect the realities of interactions between unequal partners. In the main, Southern African states (including South Africa) are very dependent on external transaction flows to maintain their economic viability. Furthermore, with the exception of a few counties such as Botswana, Mauritius, and South Africa, the member states of the subregion require (and attract) substantial levels of concessional aid flows, particularly from the OECD states, to tackle serious developmental challenges. Unfortunately, such flows fall way short of actual needs. For instance, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have struggled to deal with problems inherited from preceding colonial

governments without the necessary support from relevant or other Western aid donors. Indeed, the little amount of aid flows that came through could be subjected to the policy preferences of the donor states. As Zimbabwe discovered with its controversial land reforms, aid flows can be interrupted abruptly when national policies run afoul of donor imperatives.

Indeed, as with other African countries, Southern African countries not only inherited unfavorable social, political, and economic circumstances from their colonial rulers but also they lack the capacity to restructure their future. A postcolonial international environment that is dominated by the West exacerbates this situation. The net result is that collectively, they are finding it extremely difficult to have relevance in a fast changing and globalizing international environment.

### **Southern African International Relations: Prospects for the Future**

Southern Africa is a subregion on the mend despite a series of very serious challenges, particularly the world's highest incidence of HIV/AIDS infection. With serious conflict now contained in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, the subregion has gone from Africa's problem area in 1980 to one of its most stable subregions in 2005. There is now a need to move forward and build on the gains from the resolution of some of the world's more sticky conflicts. Addressing and winning the battle against the HIV/AIDS pandemic and subregional integration should be high on the list. Although the battle against HIV/AIDS seems to be on, the failure to tackle the problems aggressively has not only retarded many of the gains made within the health fields over the past two or three generations as life expectancy has crashed within the southern African subregion but also threatens to impinge on other efforts aimed at fostering transformative processes of development.

In regard to subregional integration, there is a bit of a lull in the struggle to wrestle with the challenge. Perhaps, at the base of the problem is South African inability to develop a stable and mutually acceptable relationship with other SADC and Southern African partners. Lingering problems have persisted on a number of issue-areas: immigration policies, differing views on armed conflicts, the question of land reforms in Zimbabwe, and South African role as a subregional economic power. South Africa's decision to sign a separate agreement with the European Union as well as its foot dragging on liberalizing its trade regimes

within SADC stipulations have caused serious consternation and protests among other SADC members.

These problems notwithstanding, Southern Africa is well placed to further build and consolidate the historical lines of interactions of the communities and peoples of the subregion. For this to happen, however, South Africa would have to play a more positive role of engaging its subregional partners in a way that builds confidence in its leadership. As the most capable and the country with the most to gain from subregional cooperation, South Africa must assume the burden of effective leadership, which may entail commitment of resources and willingness to forego certain short-term gains. The positive political roles that South Africa is now playing through its active mediation efforts in Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire are positive signals, which must be sustained and extended to concrete economic activities in Southern Africa and the entire continent.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development**

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## SOUTHERN AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION (SACU)

SACU being the oldest Customs Union in the world came into existence in 1910 through a multilateral union agreement between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. On December 11, 1969, following the independence of the later countries in the 1960s, a new agreement was entered into between the four contracting parties which amongst others reformed the revenue sharing arrangements. Namibia became part of the agreement formally in 1990 after her political independence. Before independence, Namibia was regarded as a de facto member of SACU even though BLN never recognised this de facto membership.

The aim of SACU is to establish free trading area in goods among the member countries and to impose a common tariff on imports from non-member countries. In this regard the customs union is therefore intended to provide wider and unhindered market access to members. The BLNS countries are believed to not have fully maximised this benefit of expanded market access both in terms of population and income. South Africa is believed to have been utilising this advantaged offered by the Customs union. The situation of the BLNS inability to compete with the South Africa can be explained by the following factors:

- *South African predominance in terms of economic size and industrial development driven at times by strong nationally pursued industrial development schemes;*
- *South Africa's and consequently, SACU isolation from foreign trade due to sanctions being applied to South Africa during the apartheid era;*
- *South Africa's unilateral use of tariff rebates to certain domestic industry (notably the motor vehicle assembly and textile industries) giving it a one-sided advantage vis-à-vis BLNS;*
- *BLNS limited use of infant industry concessions in the 1969 agreement due to stringent and onerous provisions;*
- *However, it can be equally stated that the BLNS have rarely and seriously attempted to penetrate the South Africa and each other's markets, despite the protected trade environment by the customs union.*

Apart from the fact that SACU provides a common excise tariff (CET), which are at the moment set unilaterally by South Africa, South Africa also remained the custodian of the SACU revenue pool. Therefore all customs and excise duties collected are paid into the South African national revenue fund. The revenue is shared among the member states according to the formula as stipulated in the 1969 agreement. Each member state's share was therefore calculated accordingly, except for South Africa, which received the residual.

For the BLNS countries, SACU revenue constituted a greater share of their state revenue and therefore that is why SACU is viewed by the member states especially the BLNS to be of such an utmost important to them.

Against this backdrop, with South Africa receiving the residual and setting the common external tariff amongst others, the 1969 agreement was viewed to be undemocratic and non-transparent as the concentration of all discretionary powers was given to South Africa. In addition, it was established that BLNS have not been fairly compensated. Another shortcoming within the 1969 was the fact that there were no formal structures established except for the SACU commission. This situation called for the renegotiation of the agreement. The renegotiation started off in 1994, following the political independence of South Africa, with the objectives of democratising the governance of SACU, setting new institutional arrangements, setting of a new revenue formula amongst others. After a length and protracted renegotiation process, the new SACU agreement was finally signed in October 2002.

The 2002 agreement ensured that each member country has equal powers in terms of trade policy formulations, tariffs determination, duties, and rebates determination. In this light the following institutions are provided for:

**Council of Ministers:** It is a supreme decision making authority made up of member states' ministers responsible for SACU affairs. It is responsible for the overall policy direction and functioning of SACU institutions.

**SACU Commission:** Consists of permanent secretaries of departments/ministries responsible for SACU affairs. It is responsible for the implementation of the new agreement, ensuring that decisions taken by the council are implemented and in addition oversee the management of common revenue pool and supervises the work of the Secretariat.

**The Secretariat:** It is located in Windhoek, Namibia and it is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the SACU.

**The Tariff Board:** An independent institution made up of experts from member countries, it makes

recommendations to the Council with regard to tariffs and customs.

**Technical Liaison Committees:** These are sector specific committees responsible to advice the Commission on sector specific issues. They are Agricultural Liaison Committee, Customs Technical Liaison Committee, Trade and Industry Liaison Committee, and Transport Liaison Committee.

**The Tribunal:** Settles disputes arising from the applications of the agreement.

Apart from the above institutions as specified in the new agreement, another notable development is the introduction of the new SACU revenue sharing formula. The new formula dictates that the share accruing to each member state will be calculated from the following three components:

**The Customs Component:** Each country share is derived from the proportion of the country's Cost-Insurance-Freight (CIF) intra-SACU imports to the total intra-SACU imports of Common Customs Area.

**The Excise Component:** It is set at 85% of total excise duties and each member's share shall be calculated from the value of its GDP in a specific calendar year as a percentage of total SACU GDP in that specific calendar year.

**The Development Component:** It is set at 15% of excise duties, however this rate is subject to change from time to time. The share accruing to each member country is calculated based on the country's GDP per capita compared to the average of SACU's GDP per capita. The development component ensured that poorer countries, that is countries whose GDP per capita falls below per capita SACU average, are compensated by the other relatively well do member states.

In the era of globalisation, SACU is also involved in several free trade talks with MERCOSOUR, EFTA, and the United States. Whereas it is expected that upon finalisation of these negotiations, SACU will be able to extend its own markets and have improved access to the world's largest markets such as United States, China, and South American states. The challenge that is facing SACU at the moment is the capacity of being able to negotiate with the other parties, for an agreement that would be able to accommodate the wider interests of all the SACU member countries. In addition, upon completion of the FTAs is the anticipated fall in the revenue accrued to SACU countries as a result of trade liberalisation. This should raise a concern to SACU countries in particular the BLNS, as SACU receipts contribute considerable amount to their fiscal revenue.

In the midst of these however, it is hoped that with the introduction of the new agreement and the free

## SOUTHERN AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION (SACU)

trade agreements that SACU is involved in will enhance trade promotion both within SACU and without SACU so as to increase standard of living, economic growth, and poverty alleviation for the SACU states.

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**See also Botswana; Lesotho; South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations; Swaziland**

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## SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

Established in 1992 to replace the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which had been in existence since 1980, SADC is now one of the major regional economic blocs in Africa. Its forerunner, SADCC, was founded by the Frontline States, to foster economic development and political solidarity among members, and to reduce their dependence on apartheid South Africa. Accordingly, SADCC's integrative strategy deliberately avoided competition and duplication, and favored the coordination of economic projects among member states. The transformation from SADCC into SADC was prompted by several factors, including the release of Nelson Mandela (in 1990) and the ensuing negotiations within South Africa to end apartheid; the proliferation of trading blocs; and the intensification of global economic competition. By the early 1990s, the leaders had realized that while SADCC had served them well, there was the need to shift their focus from mere coordination of development projects and opposition to South Africa to the more complex task of integrating their economies, hence the signing of the

SADC Treaty at Windhoek, Namibia, in August 1992. In 2005, SADC had fourteen members: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

### Objectives

SADC's objectives, as contained in Article Five of its Treaty, are to

... achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration; evolve common political values, systems and institutions; promote and defend peace and security; promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance, and the interdependent of Members States. (SADC 1992)

Other expressed goals are to achieve complementarity between national and regional programs; promote productive use of the region's resources; foster environmental sustainability; and strengthen the cultural ties among people in the region (SADC 1992). In 2000, SADC added the explicit aim of combating HIV/AIDS to its objectives, in cognizance of the devastation wreaked by this disease in Southern Africa. In pursuance of these objectives, SADC proposed to harmonize political, social, and economic policies of members; mobilize people of the region to take initiatives to enhance their socio-economic and cultural ties; to promote the free movement of capital, labour, goods and service across the region. The guiding principles of SADC, according to its Treaty, entail a respect for the sovereign equality of all members; the promotion of peace and security in the region; and adherence to democratic principles such as rule of law and respect for human rights.

### Institutional Structure

SADC started with a decentralized institutional framework, with which all members were given responsibility to coordinate projects in specific sectors throughout the regions. This structure was to avoid the pitfalls of many regional blocs in Africa, by which centralized bureaucracies alienated some members. However, by the late 1990s, it was clear that this decentralized system was not working, due to the lack of staffing and resources in some member states

to handle their coordinating responsibilities and the differences in administrative procedures, qualifications, and performance criteria for staffs involved in the management of regional programs. Consequently, at an Extraordinary Summit in Windhoek, in 2001, a centralized structure was adopted, and the exiting Co-coordinating Units were grouped into four clusters (or Directorates)—Trade Industry, Finance and Investment; Infrastructure and Services; Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources; Social and Human Development and Special Programs. The main institutions, following this restructuring, are the Summit, which is the ultimate policy-making body, made up of Heads of States and Governments; the Secretariat, which is headed by the Executive Secretary at the headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana; the Troika, which consists of the Chair, Incoming Chair, and Outgoing Chair; and the Organ, which is responsible for politics, defense, and security. Others are the Council of Ministers, which oversees the implementation of SADC programmes; and the Tribunal, which settles SADC-related disputes.

## Contributions to Development

To help meet the challenges and economic competition engendered by globalization, SADC has focused much of its attention on its regional economic integration initiatives, with a major thrust of its activities dealing with the development of infrastructure to facilitate factor mobility across member states. More specifically, SADC has upgraded and developed regional roads and airports in several cities in the region (for example, Gaborone, Lilongwe and Mastapa), and developed direct air travel and satellite telecommunication links between all capitals. In March 2004, SADC launched a Strategic Plan, setting out specific measures and timeframes for bringing down trade barriers: these include the elimination of exchange controls on intra-SADC transactions by 2006; the creation of a Free Trade Area by 2008; and the establishment of a Custom Union by 2010. Also, SADC launched its Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISPD) in 2004 to intensify its efforts toward the alleviation of poverty and hunger; democratic governance; conflict prevention and resolution; and the fight against HIV/AIDS. Other RISPD initiatives relate to the development of science and technology; the creation of effective disaster preparedness mechanisms; and the consolidation of international cooperation with other regional blocs. The Summit has also signed a Declaration on Gender and Development, calling for the equitable representation

and involvement of men and women in all SADC operations.

Despite its accomplishments, SADC still needs to grapple with several difficult problems in Southern Africa if it is to bring its current initiative to fruition. These include the huge disparity in economic development among its members; the dominance of South Africa; the biting poverty and HIV/AIDS pandemic in the region; and the political crisis in countries such as Zimbabwe, Angola, and DRC. There is also the need to expedite land reforms in Namibia and South Africa to prevent Zimbabwe-style land invasion; to resolve the dialectical tensions and overlaps between SADC and other blocs in the region (for example, Southern African Custom Union and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa); and, to build alliances with such pan-African organizations and initiatives as the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

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**See also Southern African Custom Union (SACU); Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations.**

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## SOUTHERN CONE COMMON MARKET (MERCOSUR)

### Introduction

MERCOSUR (MERCOSUL in Portuguese), or Common Market of the South, is the name used for the free trade agreement among the countries of the Southern Cone of South America, namely, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Bolivia and Chile are associate members. MERCOSUR is designed to increase the levels and range of products traded amongst these neighboring countries. Indeed, the MERCOSUR includes approximately 44% of Latin America's territory, and 59% of its gross domestic product (GDP).

As we discuss later, the MERCOSUR should also be seen in a strategic context, as a means of bolstering the negotiating strength of the region vis-à-vis the United States, the European Union and Japan in international trade talks. In that regard, the timing of the MERCOSUR is clearly tied to the development of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1992, from which every Latin American country except for Mexico was excluded. MERCOSUR countries still constitute a small amount of the overall international economic activity, with a combined GDP of approximately \$1.9 trillion as of 2002 versus \$10.4 for the US, \$5.7 for China, and \$3.6 for Japan alone. Still, the common market fulfills a long-standing dream within Latin America to create greater intra-regional connections, particularly in terms of economic ties. In this sense, MERCOSUR is a bold experiment both in Latin America, given a long history of trade integration failures in the region, and globally, in the sense of being only one of a few trade integration regimes among developing countries. Indeed, a basic calculation of intra- vs. extra-regional trade from 1994–2000 shows significant increases in the share of intra-MERCOSUR trade, with the lone exception of Uruguay. However, much of the trade has involved bilateral increases in trade with Brazil and Argentina and between those two countries.

### Origins of MERCOSUR

The development of MERCOSUR must be understood in the context of the transition of military to civilian rule which took place through most of the region in the early 1980s. Significant military expenditures had been created on the premise of national

security risks from neighboring countries. Indeed, the sub-region has historically been convulsed with high international tensions, including devastating wars between Peru, Bolivia, and Chile; Paraguay and Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina; and Bolivia and Paraguay.

In 1985, Jose Sarney became the first civilian Brazilian president in over two decades. Meanwhile, his Argentine counterpart Raul Alfonsín had taken over as the first civilian President since a 1976 coup. These two Presidents met in 1985 to sign the *Foz de Iguazu* Declaration establishing the High-level Joint Commission spur on binational integration. In July 1986, Argentina and Brazil signed the Integration and Economic Cooperation Program and 12 protocols were approved. Special importance was given in the agreement to the capital assets sector, wheat, foods, the iron and steel industry, and the automobile industry. In 1988, the Integration, Cooperation, and Development Agreement was created. The Agreement aimed at creating a common market between Argentina and Brazil over a ten-year period. The Agreement focused on tariff reductions, and was signed in 1990 by both parties, with an expected date of implementation of December 1994.

On March 26, 1991, Paraguay and Uruguay joined the Agreement under the Treaty of Asunción, with the idea of creating a regional common mkt. The preamble to the agreement states that the purpose of MERCOSUR is the expansion of domestic markets, through integration, in order to achieve economic development and social justice. The Treaty mentions the integration of other regions in the world as a motivating factor. It also states that integration is an important way to improve economic efficiency, environmental preservation, infrastructure linking the countries, and macroeconomic coordination. It also emphasizes gradualism, flexibility, and balance, as guiding principles, and these help to explain the nature of MERCOSUR's historical development, as described below.

There are several important amendments to the MERCOSUR. The Brasilia Protocol was signed in 1992 to set up a dispute settlement mechanism. On December 17, 1994, the Ouro Preto Protocol was signed, creating a common external tariffs and some basic institutional architecture, both set to take effect in January 1995.

While MERCOSUR has an elaborate formal structure, in practice, much of the MERCOSUR's activity appears to operate through informal negotiations and meetings, through "Grupos de Trabajo," or working groups that focus on particular issues. As of 2003, there were working groups in the following areas: commercial issues; customs issues; technical

standards; fiscal and monetary policies relating to trade; coordination of macroeconomic policies; inland transport; maritime transport; industrial and technological policy; agricultural policy; and energy policy. For example, the Brasilia Protocol has yet to be fully enforced. In practice, the Trade Commission has negotiated solutions for emerging problems, rather than relying upon the formal dispute resolution mechanism.

Similarly, the main focus of MERCOSUR in substantive terms has been on tariff reduction, and the transition period of the agreement should have led to a progressive liberalization. In practice, however, an "Adaptation System" was established for cases in which tariff reductions were not completed by August 1994 or where appeals were made for protection clauses. Through this system, countries obtained an additional time to for tariff reductions and significant exemptions for sensitive sectors have been continued.

### **Problems Within MERCOSUR**

It is important to note that, historically speaking, the MERCOSUR economies have had limited internal trade owing to a number of differences within the region. As Spanish colonies, the countries of the Southern Cone generally developed with a limited number of products and a heavy reliance on commodity exports. Moreover, geographic obstacles, including the Amazon jungle and the Andes have created major obstacles to the creation of dense internal infrastructure that would allow for trade within and amongst the various trade partners. The political regimes in the region are also at different stages of development. While democracies seem stable in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, there is more volatility and military presence in Bolivia and Paraguay.

MERCOSUR also has serious internal differences in the size and nature of the different economies. Brazil has the tenth largest economy in the world. Argentina's economy is about one quarter the size of Brazil's and Chile about 10% of Brazil's. Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia are each only about 2% the size of Brazil's economy. Moreover, while Brazil, Argentina, and Chile have diversified economies, Uruguay and Paraguay's are concentrated in services and agriculture, and Bolivia in mining. This has naturally led to tensions along two axes: between Brazil and Argentina on the one hand, and between these big two and the smaller economies of the MERCOSUR on the other. In a sense, we can surmise that the enticement of the Brazilian market, with its population of approximately 180 million, and a rapidly

growing middle class, is the main attraction for other partners to the agreement.

Unlike the rest of the countries of South America, MERCOSUR has not been as dominated in its trade relations with the United States. Instead, MERCOSUR countries have historically traded equally with the European Union. However, because Chile's neo-liberal economic policies, including a recently signed free trade agreement with the United States, have set it apart from the rest of the members in the sense that it has a more liberalized economy and a number of separate free trade agreements with other parties. Therefore, Chile has remained an associate and not integral member. Bolivia is also an associate member as it is also a part of the Andean Pact free trade association, with a different set of rules and interests.

In fact, the MERCOSUR countries still have a strong dependency on outside investment, technology, and markets. MERCOSUR countries, particularly Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay have huge external debts, so that they are continually in negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and private lenders to ensure the continuing flow of external investment. Major differences and ongoing crises in fiscal policy make the next logical step, a move towards monetary union, highly unlikely for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, given the economic crisis in Argentina and Uruguay, it is even unlikely that further tariff reductions in sensitive sectors will take place.

On the other hand, Brazil also has needs for its growing economy. For example, Brazil has recently developed a multimillion dollar gas pipeline to move natural gas from Bolivia to meet the growing energy demands of its population centers. It is noteworthy that Bolivia and Chile have had increasing tensions over Bolivia's desire for access rights to Chile's northern ports, dating back to the nineteenth century when the territory was seized by Chile from Bolivia. Brazil, like Argentina, also shares hydroelectric dams with Paraguay and Uruguay.

On an external level, Brazil has become an important player in terms of international trade negotiations. As noted previously, a rapprochement between Brazil and Argentina occurred in 2003, following the Argentine devaluation. The new Argentine government, after the nadir of the crisis, seems attuned towards a foreign policy more independent of the United States and more pro-active towards further developing MERCOSUR. A vibrant and coordinated MERCOSUR can strengthen each of the members' bargaining positions, which is crucial to the outcomes of negotiations for subsequent multilateral trade rounds and for a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas in particular. Ongoing negotiations on a free trade agreement with the European Union remain a possibility, however, the



large potential agricultural exports from MERCOSUR have been a stumbling block. Indeed, there are continuing discussions of the possibility of extending MERCOSUR to other countries in the region, however, the level of liberalization, geographic boundaries (the Amazon), and even lower levels of trade across the continent have historically inhibited trade across the continent.

The MERCOSUR has wider implications for development. MERCOSUR seeks to increase internal trade amongst developing countries, creating a method of development that allows some time for the member countries to reach international levels of competitiveness while continuing to grow. MERCOSUR is one of the few global examples of successful “horizontal” or “South-South” trade. In sum, MERCOSUR is an important step forward not only for creating internal solidarity, but also for reducing, if not replacing, external dependency.

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**See also Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations**

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## SOUTHERN CONE (LATIN AMERICA): HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### History and Economic Development

The Southern Cone refers to the countries of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, which are located in the southern half of South America and resembles a cone shape, with the tip pointing towards Antarctica. The Southern Cone has had quite a distinctive development trajectory from other Latin American regions. To begin with, because it is located much farther away from the United States, there has

been less interference from the superpower to the north. Moreover, while encompassing a wide variety of geographical regions, a large part of the Cone has a very temperate climate and extremely fertile plains growing areas, where massive amounts of wheat, cattle, and coffee are produced for export. Equally important is the fact that most of the indigenous population of the region was wiped out by war and disease, so the development dynamics are quite distinct from the rest of Latin America. With the exception of Paraguay and parts of Brazil, the Southern Cone is largely a region of European immigrants. The military has been a ubiquitous actor in the region, with frequent coups and takeovers of governments. Similarly, the economic development of the region has been highly volatile. Both of these factors have roots in both geography and historical developments. Unfortunately, the periodic economic spurts have not led to any equitable growth in the region. Despite these commonalities, we should also note that Brazil has quite distinct characteristics and a different development trajectory within the region.

In terms of geography, we must discuss Brazil separately from the rest of the region. Brazil covers a vast amount of territory, some 3.3 million square miles, and has a population of around 159.7 million. This dwarfs the size of other members of the region. Argentina has a population of only 35.4 million and 1.1 million square miles. The territory of Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay is considerably smaller in each case. Chile has 14.6 million people; Paraguay 5.1 million, and Uruguay just 3.2 million. Brazil also has an incredible variety of geographic features and biodiversity. Brazil is famous as the home of most of the Amazon rainforest, which is considered an international treasure for its biodiversity and the significant contribution to oxygen in the Earth’s atmosphere. The Amazon river itself is one of the longest in the world. However, much of the Amazon so far remains underdeveloped. Because of the difficulty of the terrain and the tropical climate, as the Brazilian government paves roads in the rainforest, there is the spread of slash-and-burn agricultural techniques. By these practices, the rainforest is burned down, and cattle or other agricultural crops are grown in the soil. Experience has shown that the rainforest soil tends to leach its nutrients rather quickly, so that the rancher is forced to move on to another stretch of the rainforest. Unfortunately, once the rainforest is burned down, in many cases, it is lost forever. International organizations, the Brazilian government, and non-governmental organizations are all trying to preserve portions of the Amazon, but they seem to be fighting an uphill battle, since Brazil’s poverty so overwhelmingly motivates new waves of migration and forest development.

Because of the inhospitableness of the Amazon area, there is a feeling that Brazil is still a frontier country, slowly expanding into the unknown territory of the jungle. The southwest area of the country includes the pantanal, an area of swamps, and the Brazilian highlands, where the capital, Brasilia, is located. Brasilia was created as a planned city in 1960 to try to redirect Brazilians' attention towards the vast untapped interior of the country. The majority of the country's population and activity have traditionally been concentrated close to the Atlantic coast, in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which dominate Brazil's economy and politics. The Northeast, which contains rich agricultural land as well, producing much of the world's oranges and sugar, has in modern times lagged behind the rest of the country for a variety of historical and political reasons.

As we move south from Brazil in the region, the climate and topography change considerably. Paraguay is, geographically speaking, a country with two regions. The northwestern part, called the Chaco, is part steppe and part desert. The southeastern part is an area of rich agricultural and cattle-raising land, and the home to the majority of the population. Paraguay's population is somewhat unique in that a large majority have some Guarani blood, from the indigenous groups that inhabited the region. Guarani is still the major language spoken in Paraguay, along with Spanish. The capital of Paraguay, Asunción, is a major port. The two major rivers of the region, the Paraná and the Paraguay, pass from Brazil past Paraguay and then form the incredibly rich soils of the Río de la Plata river basin, which empties into the Atlantic Ocean between Argentina and Uruguay. The areas around the rivers in each of the countries are home to a significant portion of the world's wheat and cattle production. Much of Uruguay's economy has been based upon the export of meat from cattle raising, and its capital city, Montevideo, is an important port. Uruguay is largely a flat plains area, but its coast line boasts fantastic beaches.

Argentina's capital city, Buenos Aires, is the main port city for the Río de la Plata and home to about half the country's population. Buenos Aires has dominated the country's political and economic decision making. The other main pole of development in Argentina has been northward along the river in the cattle-producing and industrialized cities of Santa Fé, Rosario, and Córdoba. To the west is the wine-producing area of Mendoza, which is on the eastern side of the towering Andes mountain chain. The Argentine national symbol, the gaucho, represents the cowboy rancher from before the nineteenth century, who worked in the vast pampas, or plains, moving cattle along to new grazing spots. Argentina has newfound

wealth in this area in terms of rich sources of natural gas, as well as in the area farther south called Patagonia. Along with Bolivia, Argentina has become the main fuels supplier to the Southern Cone. Patagonia in the south is a cold but generally dry area that ends with the famous Straits of Magellan area and then Antarctica.

Across the Andes mountains to the west is Chile. Because of the quite formidable obstacle of the Andes, and the sparsely populated Atacama desert to the north, where it borders Peru and Bolivia, Chile has had an isolated historical development. Chile occupies a narrow area of land from the Andes to the Pacific ocean. Being on the fault line means that Chile suffers from occasional earthquakes, some of which have been quite devastating. The northern part of the country provides much of the copper and other mining that has been the backbone of the Chilean economy. The central valleys around Santiago are the home to a large proportion of the population as well as the wine making industry and cattle and agricultural producers. Santiago has been the center of political and economic decision-making and is the home to much of the country's manufacturing and service industries. Farther south is the Swiss-like lake district where much of the important fruit industry is located. The South also hosts the important port cities of Concepción, Temuco, Valdivia, and Puerto Montt. These ports serve as an important conduit for the vast quantities of timber, some of it grown in the largely undeveloped areas to the south, that Chile exports each year. Chile's main outpost close to Antarctica is Punta Arenas. Though most of Chile's indigenous population was wiped out, there are important remaining concentrations in the South, mostly of the Araucanian group. In sum, in Chile, as elsewhere in the Southern Cone, significant geographic obstacles exist to both national and regional economic development.

Brazil's historical roots also put it apart from its neighbors. First, Brazil was a Portuguese, not a Spanish colony, and Portuguese remains the official language. Second, Brazil passed through a largely peaceful transition from colony to independent country, unlike its neighbors who fought for their freedom from Spain. Third, Brazil has a large population of African descendants who were an important part of the sugar cane boom of the eighteenth century in the northeast and the coffee boom of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, but the legacy of slavery continues to haunt Brazil. Fourth, Brazil has been a much more centralized country in terms of economic and political decision-making with a high level of government planning.

From the turn of the twentieth century, there is some convergence between Brazil's history and the rest of the Southern Cone. In Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, (but not Paraguay) there were massive waves of European immigration. Some estimates have increases of more than 500% in the population of the major cities from the 1890s to the 1920s. These waves of immigration changed the politics, economics, and identity of the nations. The new wave of immigrants included vast numbers from central and southern Europe, including Germany and Italy. The new immigrants brought new ideas, including socialism, anarchism, communism, and fascism. With the new wave of immigration, labor unionization really took off. The unions provided a backbone for a long historical struggle between leftist adherents of a socialist vision and more conservative elements who wanted a limited democracy and economic growth without major redistribution of income or wealth.

The new politics of the 1920s in the region was one of a transition from a landed agricultural oligarchy, whose power was based on control of the primary agricultural exports, including mining, cattle, and wheat, to a broader-based political and economic structure. It is quite ironic to note that it was the success of the agricultural boom in exports, along with the new immigration wave, that created the new economic base for the middle class. The new middle class consisted of businessmen, state bureaucrats, and skilled laborers who worked in mining and in new infrastructure. While the military has been a long-standing feature of the region as a bulwark of conservative oligarchy, in the 1920s it was "progressive" military officers who carried out coups on behalf of "radical" political leaders who promised the growing middle class new access to political decision making through increasing voting and other rights. These reforms faced significant resistance to them by the agricultural elite. Thus, in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the 1920s were marked by great uncertainty as the radical parties attempted to consolidate a new political order, but conservative elements, backed by other parts of the military, launched operations, including coups, to stop these changes.

In Paraguay, by contrast, the agricultural oligarchy was never effectively challenged. In good part, this is because Paraguay remains a largely agriculturally-based economy. Thus, the industrialization process and the large waves of immigration never really hit Paraguay as it did in the neighboring states. Moreover, the Paraguayan military was effectively united for long stretches under a series of iron fist dictatorships, culminating in the Stroessner regime from 1954 to 1989. During this time the Colorado Party of Stroessner allowed token elections, but the press and

dissent were tightly controlled. In 1989, Paraguay joined the democratic transition of its neighbors but its problems remain somewhat idiosyncratic.

Uruguay also had a unique historical feature in the rise of José Batlle y Ordóñez (or Batlle for short). As in Argentina, Uruguay's gaucho base had undergone a severe transformation in the end of the nineteenth century, moving from free-range cattle to the forceful fencing in of ranches. After a series of civil wars involving the military between rival Blanco and Colorado factions in good part related to these changes, Batlle, a Colorado leader, was elected in 1905. Batlle then presided over a long period in which he was able to utilize the political stability and economic boom of Uruguay's growing cattle and wool exports to create an extremely unusual socioeconomic experiment in the history of development. Batlle presided over a period in which, with moderate exaggeration, Uruguay became known as "the Switzerland" of Latin America. This term referred to the highly developed social legislation and state direction of Batlle's government. Batlle enacted strong labor protection laws, initiated basic social welfare programs, and began a legacy of state led corporations that continue today, albeit in a more fragile state.

The export boom as well as Batlle's experiment were brought to an abrupt halt with the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Since colonial times, like other developing countries, Southern Cone countries' economies have been centered around primary product exports. When the prices and/or demand of those exports (see entry for Trade Policies and Development) decline, every economy falls into a tailspin. With the Great Depression, Southern Cone exports faltered initially but recovered when demand during World War II resumed. However, the economies remained cut off from new imports of manufactured and industrial goods. This started a necessary transformation of the Cone economies that would lead to a new set of political and economic relationships.

The 1930s and 1940s in Argentina and Brazil were marked by the rise of a new kind of dictatorship—one based on popular support. While in Chile and Uruguay the period of new middle class participation was carried out democratically, Argentina and Brazil were dominated by the personal rule of Juan Perón and Getulio Vargas. Peron and Vargas shared the unusual role of both organizing the middle class and then limiting its participation through channels they established in the state. Both used the military to achieve power and to repress enemies. Both initiated a strong program of state-led domestic industrialization through a policy now called import substituting industrialization (ISI, see entry for Trade Policies and Development). As a result, Vargas and Perón can be seen as the key

figures that consolidate the transition from an agricultural oligarchy to a centralized and industrialized state. In order to consolidate this transition, both set up strong state bureaucracies that planned and managed their economies. In political terms, both dictators also set up strong political parties that were linked to state-created unions. In effect, both had the ingenious idea of undercutting union support for Marxist parties by creating their own. However, centralization of power has its costs. In the case of Vargas and Perón, both were overthrown by the same military that had supported their initial efforts.

While both dictators consolidated power and changed the political and economic trajectories of their countries, there have been important differences in their legacies. The Peronist political party, linked initially to the dictator, but with its base in the labor unions, continues to be a major force in Argentine politics. Peronists were able to attract most disaffected sectors of Argentina's middle class, thus usurping and consolidating support away from Marxist parties. Because of the blocking power of the Peronist party, Argentina has had a hard time carrying through on neoliberal (see entry entitled "Neoliberalism") economic reforms. In Brazil, meanwhile, though there are a number of important unions, after Vargas, the unions never really coalesced into a major political force. It is interesting to note that in both Argentina and Brazil, the agricultural oligarchy, though defeated for control, continues to play a major role in decisions.

Throughout the Southern Cone, with the exception of Paraguay, the 1960s and 1970s was a period of civil war. While some countries, such as Chile, managed to maintain democracy at least initially, the outcome of the political polarization of the times was military dictatorship. We should remember that the key event in Latin America was the Cuban Revolution in 1959, which symbolized and inspired Marxist parties throughout the region to move decisively from attempts to gain power through elections to guerrilla actions. The 1960s was a period of polarization between Left (Marxist) and Right (Conservatives) throughout the world. The leftist guerrillas seem in hindsight to have been quite naïve about the difficulties and levels of resistance that they would face in attempting to institute a socialist revolution. Unlike the inept and corrupt Bautista regime in Cuba, there was not the same level of popular anger at existing regimes. Moreover, once the Cuban Revolution had occurred, the military in Latin America became more vigilant to prevent the surprise turn to Marxism and the Soviet Union that Castro had pulled off. The Soviet Union also became reluctant to put forward the substantial resources needed for successful military campaigns to counter the vastly increased training and

funding that the United States began to provide to Latin American militaries.

The military governments that took over in the 1960s and 1970s were authoritarian, but of a different nature than the previous regimes. Guillermo O'Donnell, an Argentine, coined the term "bureaucratic authoritarianism" to describe these regimes. Rather than relying solely upon a personalistic dictatorship, they built up bureaucracies. While the initial motivation of these regimes was to wipe out leftist guerrillas, their purpose came to include leading the economic development process. O'Donnell explained that these two purposes were related through repression of labor in order to keep wages down during the import-substituting industrialization phase of development (see Trade and Development entry). Thus, some parts of the bureaucracy were designed towards repression, such as the secret police, and others towards economic planning. The Southern Cone's experience roughly fits O'Donnell's description, but with some important caveats. First, in both Paraguay and Chile, there was more of a military dictatorship. Second, the military showed that it was not necessarily wedded to the planning model, since, in Chile and Argentina in the 1970s and the rest of the region in the 1980s, the military began to endorse Neo-Liberal (see entry) ideas, involving the removal of the state from economic planning.

In Chile, the Left took a unique step in actually winning an election, albeit by a small fraction, and then attempting to institute socialism, at times extra-constitutionally. Salvador Allende, the Socialist elected President of Chile in 1970, seemed to move back and forth with the multiparty factions of his coalition. As in other countries, the Chilean Left was highly fragmented among those who wanted an immediate revolution, and those who thought it was important to work more gradually. Once in power, Allende was not able to follow through on the sketchy economic plans he had for Chile. While expropriating the US-dominated copper interests was a huge popular success, the dispute over compensation solidified US enmity towards the Allende regime. After a good first year, a major decline in copper prices, uncertainty about which other companies would be taken over by the state, and hyper-inflation, led to a period of economic chaos. Ironically, it was middle class workers and unions' actions, such as a trucker's strike, that landed the decisive blow to the regime. The chaos was ended by a military coup led by Augusto Pinochet in 1973, who then instituted one of the most severe repressions in the region's history.

In Uruguay and Argentina, the urban guerrilla warfare of the Left brutalized the population. While the guerrillas were able to gain an occasional big

victory, for the most part, in hindsight clear victory seems unlikely against a well-organized and fortified foe such as the military. Moreover, the chaos that the guerrillas brought to both the economic and political situation wore on the general population, some of whom eventually openly supported military intervention. We should remember that the classic guerrilla campaigns of Mao in China and Castro in Cuba involved rural areas, where there was popular support, continual cover in the topography and foliage, and outside support in the form of funding and arms from the Soviet Union.

The military victory in Chile was eventually repeated in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. However, the brutality of both the guerrillas and the military, and the ensuing economic chaos left a deep scar on the region. The generation who grew up amidst the chaos are still dealing with the fact their families were divided in the civil wars, that loved ones “disappeared,” and the brutality of both sides. Much of the activist portion of the Left went into exile, often in Europe, an experience which moderated their view on revolutionary change and the desirability of socialism à la the Soviet Union.

The military governments’ economic legacies are decidedly more mixed. While Chile’s neoliberal policies have been hailed as an economic miracle and a model for the rest of the region, Chile has had some very rough economic periods. Chile experienced a major recession from 1975–1977 and another as well as a series of bank failures in 1982. Nonetheless, Chile’s macroeconomic stability is remarkable among developing countries and some of its economic reforms, such as the privatization of pension funds, have attracted international attention. In Argentina, the Argentine military’s inability to control inflation led initially to a handover of power to former arch-rivals, the Peronists in 1973. The military took over again in 1976, this time half-heartedly following macroeconomic reforms similar to those in Chile. Paul Lewis, among others, described this as the “cyclical crisis of Argentine capitalism.” The cycle describes the attempt to set up economic pacts across the important labor and industrial groups in society when a new government takes over. At some point, one of the members of this coalition is unable or unwilling to keep their end of the bargain, and the attempt to maintain economic reform falls apart, leading to another crisis. This model seemed to describe well the inflationary cycles in Argentina for the past three decades until democratic President Carlos Menem took power (see entries for Argentina and Menem, Carlos) in 1989. A Peronist, Menem turned his back on the labor and domestic industry base of the party in a turn towards neoliberalism. The Argentine

economy went through an almost decade-long growth spurt with low inflation, albeit with continuing unemployment, and seemed poised to break out of the cycle. Unfortunately, amidst severe pressure on the fixed exchange rate and with the collapse of the Brazilian currency in 1999, the Argentine economy went into a tail-spin from which it has yet to recover.

Paraguay, under Stroessner, experienced economic stability, but much of the country remains backwards in terms of basic indicators of the quality of life, such as access to education and health care. Besides basic agricultural exports, the Paraguayan government depends on the large Itaipú and Yacretá dam projects by which they sell most of their share of the hydroelectricity to Brazil and Argentina respectively. In Uruguay, the military was able to restore some confidence to the economy following the civil war, and Montevideo became an international financial and trade services center. However, economic growth never approached the glory days of Batlle. Brazil’s military, by contrast, prides itself on the bureaucratic planning of industrialization. In the early years of the dictatorship in the 1960s, Brazil was being hailed as a “miracle” growth economy among developing nations. During this decade the Brazil managed to build a strong industrial base which allowed it to diversify its exports away from agriculture, a feat Argentina never came close to matching to the same degree. Today, Brazil is a world-leading exporter of armaments, airplanes, steel, and a leading assembly site of automobiles. Thus, there remains some lingering nostalgia today for the economic achievements of the military government as well as the high growth rates of that era. In 1994, Brazilian democracy seemed consolidated with the victory of former dependency theorist Fernando Henrique Cardoso (see Brazil entry). A former socialist, Cardoso was elected on the basis of his successful fight against inflation as Finance Minister in the former Administration. Cardoso’s successful management of Brazilian macroeconomics, controlling inflation for the first time in decades, earned him re-election in 1998. By the Constitution, Cardoso could not run again. Moreover, by the time of the next election in 2002, there was a growing desire by many Brazilians for a change in direction. Not only did the middle and upper classes feel that their opportunities had stagnated, but representatives of marginalized groups, such as the MST (*Movimento sem Terra*, or Movement of the Landless) had become more active in their demands. The result was the election of Luis Ignacio “Lula” da Silva, who promised a new era in Brazilian politics. Coming from humble origins, Lula had worked his way up the union and Workers’ Party (PT) hierarchy in Brazil. After several unsuccessful campaigns, Lula finally

succeeded through moving towards the political center, in particular promising financial stability. However, this promise seemed to become a greater priority to some than his efforts to reduce poverty, including a “War on Hunger.”

These economic developments have had major effects on the politics of the region. In every case, economic growth was accompanied by increasing inequality of distribution. Moreover, a lot of the growth of the 1970s, with the partial exception of Chile, was based upon international borrowing. A good portion of the borrowing in the region went to pay for increased oil prices, as every country in the region at the time was heavily dependent upon oil imports. With the exception of Argentina and Paraguay, that remains the case today. Therefore, when international interest rates were raised by double digits in the early 1980s by US monetary policy, the debt crisis hit the region hard. With the exception of Chile, every country in the region experienced major inflationary pressures and a recession. A combination of the consolidation of the civilian opposition towards a centrist coalition and the ongoing inability of the military to get their economies jump-started led to an overwhelming pressure for the return of democracy by the mid-1980s.

However, the circumstances of the transition varied greatly from one country to another. With the exception of Argentina, the military seems to lurk in the shadows of the new democratic governments. In every case but Argentina, the military was able to guarantee itself amnesty for its human rights abuses. In Uruguay, the population, fearing further military intervention as well as social polarization, passed a plebiscite granting the amnesty. As a result, Uruguay seems to be moving back towards a more stable democratic base. In Argentina, the resounding failure of the military in economic affairs as well as the Malvinas War (see later) led to a much clearer renunciation of their role. Brazil had an unusual transition to democracy as the military went through a series of attempts at creating a stable but “responsible” two party system to be slowly introduced that it called “abertura,” or opening. The military government’s attempts seem to have failed, as Brazil’s political parties remain highly fragmented. Brazil’s attempts to create a more stable democracy resulted in a new Constitution in 1988, but the new political rules, including a partly proportional representation voting system, seems to have even further exacerbated the situation. In Chile, Pinochet and the constitutional restrictions he placed upon democracy remain in place. The famous attempt at bringing Pinochet to trial for war crimes in London during a visit in 1999 seems to have failed to bring any closure to the dark period of military rule. In Paraguay, the

democracy remains equally fragile, with the military interfering directly and indirectly in political decision making. Lacking any history of democratic rule, Paraguay seems to be struggling in its transition.

In general, the greatest threat to the new centrist democracies of the Southern Cone continues to be slow economic growth. Even Chile, the star pupil of neoliberal policies, slowed down by the late 1990s. The ongoing monetary crises in Brazil (1998–1999) and Argentina (beginning in 2000) equally wreaked havoc in Paraguay and Uruguay, whose economies are so dependent upon their larger neighbors. In sum, it remains to be seen whether the current economic malaise will create a serious problem for the continuation of neoliberal policies. With staggering levels of external debt on one side and domestic economic disquiet on the other, Southern Cone governments find themselves in exceedingly difficult positions regarding development strategies.

## International Relations

Unlike other developing regions, the Southern Cone has a limited history of international warfare. Almost all the most significant wars took place before the twentieth century. The War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870), in which a dispute between Paraguay and Uruguay resulted in Brazil and Argentina joining Uruguay, reportedly wiped out half the Paraguayan population and more than 80% of the males. Among them were Chile’s seizure of Bolivia’s only seaport and occupation of Lima, Peru, in the War of the Pacific (1879–1883) centered around control of the then booming nitrate resources located in that region. The only significant recent war was the Chaco War (1932–1935) in which Paraguay defeated Bolivia for control of a disputed desert territory which supposedly contains large petroleum reserves. While there have been ongoing border disputes among many of the countries in the region, these disputes seem to have died down considerably with the democratic transition and the strengthening of regional economic ties in MERCOSUR (discussed below).

The major international war that involved outside powers was the Malvinas War (1982), in which the Argentine military invaded the Falkland Islands (called the Malvinas by Argentina), which had been controlled for some time by the United Kingdom. Given the naval superiority of Britain and the help of the United States, the result was predictable. The invasion was a spectacular failure, with the main result being the complete loss of face of the Argentine military at home.

While Argentina and Uruguay had achieved virtual First World economic levels early in the twentieth century, the period after World War II has been one of steady decline. By contrast, Brazil's territorial size and immense relative population, coupled with high economic growth rates and successful industrialization over the same period have placed it in a position of regional superpower, eclipsing its one-time regional rival in Argentina. With the consummation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1992, in which Mexico gained unencumbered access to the US market, the economic dynamics of the Southern Cone shifted towards Brazilian economic leadership.

While every country in the region has traditionally looked to Europe and to a lesser extent, the United States as the main trading partner, there was a growing fear that the successful integration experiments in both the European Union and the NAFTA would leave the Southern Cone left without competitive access to its main markets. Moreover, when US President George Bush began raising the ideas of a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA), the traditionally protectionist Southern Cone countries began to consider banding together in order to improve their bargaining position with the United States. The result is a free trade agreement for the Southern Cone, called the MERCOSUR (Common Market of the South) which began in 1994. MERCOSUR revolves around free trade between Brazil and Argentina, but Paraguay and Uruguay are also partners. Bolivia and Chile are associate members. Though intra-regional trade increases have been spectacular, there have been important limits to the MERCOSUR process. First, there are several key sectors, such as autos and footwear, that have exceptions to open trade. Second, unlike NAFTA, MERCOSUR does not have a clear dispute mechanism settlement. Third, MERCOSUR is really just a forum for national-level negotiations. There are working groups who attempt to negotiate new agreements in MERCOSUR, but they can not be considered part of a regional institution. With ongoing currency crises in Brazil (1999) and Argentina (2001), the prospects for further agreements in the MERCOSUR seem unlikely, at least for the short-term. Given domestic US opposition, the FTAA process seems equally stalled. In the long-run, however, the ongoing increases in trade and investment among the MERCOSUR countries, such as those in energy, may revive progress.

ANIL HIRA

**See also Allende Gossens, Salvador; Argentina; Brazil; Chile; Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Cone (Latin America); Paraguay; Perón, Juan Domingo; Pinochet Ugarte,**

**Augusto; Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations; Uruguay**

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### SOUTHERN CONE (LATIN AMERICA): INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Latin America's southern cone is composed of the independent nations of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Prior to 1945, foreign relations were primarily dominated by relationships with the United Kingdom. It was not until after 1945, however, that the United States became significant economically or politically in the region. The military governments that ruled the southern cone nations during the Cold War were vehemently anti-communist and received generous US economic and military aid packages. The southern cone nations, because of their distance from the United States and their European outlook, however, have often pursued foreign policies independent of US policy goals and objectives. The most important foreign policy initiatives in the post-Cold War period revolve around economic issues. The formation of MERCOSUR—a regional program of economic integration and cooperation

between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay—in the early 1990s is an essential component of the foreign relations of those nations.

## Argentina

After achieving independence from Spain in 1816, Argentina was marked by a bitter struggle for national self-determination between two contending elite factions: the Liberal elites in the Buenos Aires region, who wanted a strong central government, and the Conservative elites, who wanted a federal government based on regional control. The ensuing political confusion allowed Paraguay and Uruguay, once part of the Viceroyalty of La Plata, to achieve their independence. In addition, the British and French were able to take advantage of Argentina politically and economically. For example, in 1833, the British occupied the Falkland Islands.

The Liberal elites were able to implement a stable political and economic system in 1862. They attempted to create a national identity and a foreign policy based on Argentinian exceptionalism and European civilization. They also implemented an export-led economy based on beef and wheat exports. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Argentinian government promoted the immigration of millions of Europeans, especially from Italy, to help develop the beef and wheat industry. These Europeans, known as *Inquilinos*, were promised land in return for clearing the pampas grass from the large estates of the elites. The *Inquilinos*, however, were denied their land and Argentina lost its chance to develop a large rural middle class. Nevertheless, the Argentinians created a viable economic system, based on beef and wheat exports to the British, that thrived until the Great Depression. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Argentina accounted for 30% of British foreign investment. The entire meat packing industry was dominated by US and British investors.

During the 1930s, the Conservative elites and their supporters in the military eliminated democracy, repressed labor, and led the nation out of the Great Depression by reinforcing economic ties to the British. The 1933 Roca-Runciman Treaty secured a market in England for Argentinian exports while maintaining Argentina's dependent relationship on the British. In 1943, reacting to elite domination, labor unrest, and Argentina's economic dependence on England, a group of middle level military officers, who called the elites *vendepatrias* (country sellers), led a military coup that demanded a new domestic and foreign policy

geared to restore Argentinian pride and prosperity. The new government, composed of officers who were members of the Group of United Officers (GOU) and favorable towards Fascism, declared neutrality in World War II. In response, the United States froze Argentinian gold reserves in the United States, recalled the US ambassador, and restricted trade with Argentina. US pressure convinced the Argentinian government to break diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in 1944. Nevertheless, although Argentina eventually declared war on Germany, after the war Argentina became a refuge for Nazi war criminals.

In 1946, Juan Perón, a member of the military government since 1943 who had been openly sympathetic to the Nazis, ran for president of Argentina. On the eve of Argentina's 1946 presidential elections, US Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Spruille Braden spearheaded an anti-Perón campaign. The US government published a "Blue Book" charging Perón with pro-Nazi activities. Perón responded by charging the US with imperialism and easily won the elections. An ardent anti-communist, Perón initiated a government based on economic nationalism. He nationalized most foreign companies in Argentina and established state-run industries. Because of his export earnings, he was able to offer economic advantages to the workers. Perón's popularity with labor was enhanced by his wife, Eva "Evita" Duarte. Declining export prices in the early 1950s meant, however, that his concessions to labor could not be sustained. In 1955, the Argentinian industrialists, supported by the military, ousted Perón, who went into exile.

From 1955 to 1973, Argentina abandoned its nationalistic economic and foreign policy. The civilian-military administrations, which were vehemently anti-communist, de-nationalized Argentinian companies and encouraged foreign investment. By 1968, the US had over \$1 billion invested in Argentina. Argentina's economy, however, failed to recover and the foreign debt, all but eliminated by Perón, rose to over \$3 billion during the 1960s. Disgruntled workers, however, continued to clamor for Perón's return from exile. Economic and political chaos, enhanced by increased left-wing revolutionary activity, convinced the military to allow Perón to return from exile in 1973 and assume the presidency. Returning with his third wife, Isabel Martínez, Perón was unable to address Argentina's economic and political woes. In 1974, he died and Isabel took over, but chaos ensued and she was deposed by a military coup in 1976.

The new military dictatorship instituted a reign of terror, the so-called Dirty War, against all leftist forces. Thousands of people disappeared, which placed Argentina in the international spotlight of



human rights agencies such as Amnesty International. The military, inept at running the economy, attempted to divert attention by invading the Falkland Islands in 1982. Argentina's military generals, believing that the British would not resort to force to regain islands that were militarily and strategically unimportant, miscalculated the determination of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. To compound the situation, the Argentinian military government, which was ill-prepared to fight a war, lied to the Argentinian people that they were winning the war. Argentina's defeat led to the return of civilian government in 1983.

Since 1983, US–Argentinian foreign relations have been excellent. Argentina was the only Latin American nation to participate in the 1990–1991 Gulf War and all phases of the 1994 Haiti operation. Argentina, however, was reluctant to contribute troops to the coalition forces in Iraq in 2003. Eager for closer ties to industrialized nations, Argentina abandoned the non-aligned movement in the early 1990s. In 1999, Argentina and the United Kingdom agreed to normalize travel between Argentina and the Falkland Islands. A strong proponent of enhanced regional stability in South America, Argentina has revitalized its relationship with Brazil and settled border disputes with Chile. Argentina's most important trading partners are the MERCOSUR members and the European Union (EU).

## Brazil

Brazilian independence in 1822 was bloodless and much less turbulent than the destructive wars of independence in the rest of South America. Whereas the former Spanish colonies in South America splintered into numerous nations and spent decades searching for a form of government that would have legitimacy in the eyes of its populace, the Brazilians, who remained united, had the Portuguese royal family, the Braganzas. In 1821, when Portugal's João VI returned to Lisbon to quell a rebellion, he left his son Pedro I in Brazil to lead the Brazilian independence movement. Although the constitutional monarchy served the Brazilians well and the nation grew economically and geographically during the nineteenth century, in 1889, after Emperor Pedro II became debilitated by diabetes, the military, and the elites, who viewed the monarchy as an archaic institution, sent the Braganzas into exile and established a republic. During the twentieth century, because of its size—the seventh largest economy and the fifth largest nation in the world—Brazil has played an important role in

hemispheric relations. Although critics of US foreign policy frequently refer to the United States as the Colossus of the North, many Brazilians approvingly refer to their nation as the Colossus of the South.

In 1808, when the Braganzas first arrived in Rio de Janeiro, the United States was the first nation to establish a consulate in Brazil. It was, however, not until after World War II that the United States became Brazil's primary trading partner and foreign investor. In addition, the US has consistently supported Brazil's impressive attempts at industrialization. In 1941, the United States, fearful of expanding German economic activity in South America, facilitated the construction of Latin America's largest steel mill at Volta Redonda, which became the cornerstone of Brazil's import substitution industrialization strategy. The US has also sought Brazilian support for US foreign policy initiatives. Although the Brazilians have frequently pursued an independent foreign policy, US–Brazilian relations have, for the most part, been close.

During the presidency of Enrico Dutra, which maintained very friendly relations with the United States, Brazil outlawed the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. In 1947, Brazil hosted the conference that established the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the so-called Rio Treaty. When Getúlio Vargas returned to power in 1951, relations with the United States cooled. Vargas, who blamed the United States for his removal from power in 1945, pushed for a more independent foreign policy and supported nationalistic policies such as the creation of Petrobrás, Brazil's state-run oil company. After Vargas's suicide in 1954, however, friendly relations with the United States were resumed.

During Juscelino Kubitschek's administration, the Brazilians lured US investors to Brazil with very favorable terms. By 1960, US investments in Brazil were over \$1.5 billion. Relations with the US cooled after Jânio Quadros took office in 1961. Quadros renewed relations with the Soviet Union and criticized Kennedy's failed Bay of Pigs invasion. Citing his inability to deal with Brazil's elite-dominated congress, Quadros resigned in 1961 and was replaced by his vice president, João Goulart. Goulart's populist rhetoric and attempt at centrist politics alienated the increasingly vocal forces of the left and right wings of the political spectrum. In 1962, the Brazilian government passed a law that severely restricted profit remittances from foreign investment in Brazil, which caused new foreign investment in Brazil to disappear by 1964. In late 1963, to show its disfavor, the US reduced foreign aid to Brazil. Although the US was not directly involved in the overthrow of Goulart on March 31, 1964, it

immediately recognized the military dictatorship established by Humberto Castello Branco.

Castello Branco, the first of a series of military presidents, received generous economic and military aid packages from the United States. Between 1964 and 1970, Brazil received over \$2 billion in US aid. In return, the Brazilian government adopted a policy of total alignment with the United States. Brazil broke diplomatic relations with Cuba, sent Brazilian communists into exile, and compensated foreign investors who had their investments expropriated. In 1965, the Brazilian army contributed two thousand troops to the OAS force sent to the Dominican Republic to end that nation's civil war. Subsequent military presidents, although maintaining friendly relations with the United States, pursued a more independent course in foreign policy, especially in the aftermath of the failure of the United States to contain communism in Vietnam. For example, the Brazilians refused to sign a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Relations chilled when the Carter administration published a report citing human rights violations in Brazil. Relations were further strained during the early 1980s by Brazil's \$5 billion trade surplus with the United States.

Following Brazil's return to civilian government in 1985, the Brazilians have opened their economy to increased international participation through privatization of state-run industries and neo-liberal economic reforms. Since the nineteenth century, Brazil's greatest rival in Latin America has been Argentina. In 1991, however, Brazil and Argentina, along with Uruguay and Paraguay, signed the Treaty of Asunción, which resulted in the formation of MERCOSUR, a regional economic integration program in the southern cone. Plans are under negotiation to also incorporate Chile and Bolivia.

Trade between the EU and Brazil is also extensive. By 1995, German investments in Brazil were second only to the United States. In December 1995, the EU signed an important free-trade protocol with MERCOSUR, the first protocol ever between two regional trading blocs. Since 1995, Brazil has used the potential to expand trade with the EU to pressure the United States to grant more favorable trade relations with Brazil. Since the EU members do not require visas from Brazilians, the Brazilians do not require visas from EU members. The US, however, requires Brazilians to have a visa to enter the United States. As such, the Brazilians, citing reciprocity, insist that US citizens purchase visas before entering Brazil.

Brazil attaches great importance to its foreign relations with Japan. Since Brazil established diplomatic relations with Japan in 1897, there has been a large influx of Japanese immigrants to Brazil. Brazilians of Japanese descent constitute one of the largest ethnic

segments of Brazil's population. Brazil is also home to Japan's largest expatriate community. Beginning in the 1960s, Japan began to invest heavily in Brazil's mining, steel, aluminum, telecommunications, manufacturing, and agricultural sectors. As a result, mineral and agricultural exports to Japan increased dramatically. Currently, 250,000 Brazilians of Japanese descent work in Japan. Their remittances to family members in Brazil comprise a significant component of the Brazilian economy.

## Chile

During the nineteenth century, Chile's foreign policy was characterized by close economic ties with the British and territorial expansion against the Mapuche Indians in the south and the Bolivians and Peruvians in the north. Since independence, Chilean elites had invested in the vast nitrate fields of the Atacama Desert, then belonging to Bolivia and Peru. The Atacama Desert had the world's largest deposit of nitrates, which were used by the Europeans as a fertilizer to increase food production. The British were the largest importers of nitrates from Chile and the largest supplier of manufactured goods to Chile. During the 1870s, Bolivia increased taxation on the Chilean mine owners operating in Bolivia, while the Peruvian government nationalized the Chilean-owned nitrate mines in Peru. Although the mine owners were compensated with Peruvian government bonds, the Chilean government launched the War of the Pacific (1879–1883) against Bolivia and Peru. The superior Chilean forces, which defeated Bolivia and Peru, conquered the Atacama Desert for Chile. Bolivia became a landlocked nation and Valparaiso, Chile replaced Callao, Peru as the main port on South America's Pacific coast. During the war, however, British speculators, such as John Thomas North, purchased the virtually worthless Peruvian government bonds. At the end of the war, therefore, the Chilean government decided that the British speculators were the legal owners of the nitrate mines. The result was a Chilean economy dependent on exports and imports to and from England.

The Chilean nitrate boom, however, was short-lived. During World War I, the Germans discovered a way to produce nitrates by fixing nitrogen from the air, which signaled the end of Chile's Liberal export-led economy based on nitrates. Although Chile had limited foreign relations with the United States during the nineteenth century, after World War I copper became Chile's leading export and the United States replaced England as the dominant economic power in Chile. Chilean copper was a strategic metal used

in airplanes and bullets by the Allied powers during World War II. Despite strong internal pressure in Chile to support the Axis powers, the Chilean government eventually broke diplomatic relations with Germany.

During the early post-World War II years, the Chilean government supported the US struggle against international communism. The growing influence of the Marxist left in Chilean politics, however, led to an increase of anti-US public sentiment in Chile. This resentment was exacerbated by the decline of international copper prices after the Korean War, opposition to US intervention in Vietnam, and US meddling in domestic Chilean politics. As part of President John F. Kennedy's agenda of presenting Latin American nations as models of democratic development to counteract the popularity of Fidel Castro's Cuban Revolution in the Third World, in 1964 the US CIA financially supported the candidacy of political centrist Eduardo Frei Montalva. The CIA funding, which amounted to over \$20 million, facilitated Frei's victory over Marxist presidential candidate Salvador Allende. During the 1960s, Chile received more US aid per capita than any other Latin American nation.

The US government viewed Allende's 1970 presidential victory as detrimental to the struggle against international communism. US National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger was especially concerned about the implications for European politics following the democratic election of a Marxist in Chile. The US government, failing to keep Allende from taking office, initiated a covert campaign to destabilize his government after Allende's inauguration. Allende's government nationalized the Chilean holdings of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) and copper giants Anaconda and Kennecott. In 1971, Castro toured Chile, often accompanied by Allende. Much of Chile's press, controlled by the elites, condemned Allende's actions and called for his overthrow. Although the United States did not directly overthrow the Allende regime, it welcomed Augusto Pinochet's 1973 military coup and provided extensive economic and military aid to Pinochet's military regime. Pinochet's dictatorship was responsible for the disappearance of almost 3,000 Chileans. Although this number pales in comparison to the number of disappeared people in Argentina at the same time, human rights activists labeled Pinochet's regime a brutal authoritarian dictatorship. Nevertheless, Pinochet introduced neo-liberal economic reforms that revived Chile's economy.

Although relations between the US and Chile were strained during Jimmy Carter's presidential administration, Ronald Reagan's 1980 election restored amicable US-Chilean relations. During Reagan's first

administration, US officials argued that anti-communist authoritarian regimes, such as Pinochet's government, were needed to stop the spread of international communism. By 1984, however, facing increased criticism for US actions against Nicaragua's Sandinistas, US officials, cognizant of human rights abuses in Chile, began to worry that Pinochet was no longer a solution to a potential threat from the radical left, but part of the problem. The US and Western European nations welcomed the October 5, 1988, plebiscite by Chilean voters that rejected the continuation of Pinochet's government into the 1990s. The 1989 election of Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin to the presidency once again restored the amicability of US-Chilean relations. The US welcomed Chile's commitment to free-market economic policies while praising the Chilean government's commitment to democracy. The US has indicated a willingness to sign a free-trade agreement with Chile in the aftermath of the successful implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico and Canada. Although the US continues to be an important trading partner for Chile, in the post-Cold War period Japan has replaced the United States as Chile's largest trading partner.

## Paraguay

Since independence in 1812, Paraguay has been a buffer state between Brazil and Argentina, the two largest nations in South America. As such, Paraguayan foreign relations have been conditioned by its relations with its larger neighbors. Being one of Latin America's two landlocked nations has caused Paraguayan foreign relations to oscillate between periods of isolationism and expansionism. Paraguay's first leader, José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, established a strong, centralized state that attempted to develop independently of its stronger neighbors. In 1864, however, Paraguayan leader Francisco Solano López, in an attempt to expand and reinforce Paraguay's northern frontier, declared war on Brazil. The War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870), fought against Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, resulted in the death of over half of Paraguay's population and the loss of over 25% of Paraguay's territory to Brazil and Argentina. Subsequent Paraguayan leaders sought to strike a balance between the influence of its two larger neighbors. Nevertheless, since the port of Buenos Aires provided the only access to external markets, Paraguay depended heavily on Argentina for trade, which caused many Paraguayans to resent their dependence on Argentina.

During the Chaco War (1932–1935), Paraguay expanded westward into Bolivian territory. In the aftermath of the conflict, war hero Colonel Rafael Franco attempted to establish a democratic regime, but Liberal elites overthrew his government in 1937. The Liberal government, facing mounting pressure from the US government, surrendered the oil-rich land that it had won during the war with Bolivia. During World War II, the military government of Higinio Morínigo, although favoring German economic interests, supported the Allied cause in return for generous US loans and military hardware. After World War II, liberal forces launched a civil war in 1947 that resulted in economic and political pandemonium. Alfredo Stroessner, a veteran of the Chaco War, established a military dictatorship in 1954 that lasted until 1989.

Stroessner's foreign policy was based on two principles: nonintervention in the affairs of other countries and no relations with nations ruled by Marxists. In 1959, Stroessner severed relations with Cuba after Fidel Castro's revolution. In 1980, Stroessner broke diplomatic relations with Nicaragua after the Sandinistas came to power. Like most Paraguayans, Stroessner resented Paraguay's dependence on Argentina. In an attempt to lessen Paraguayan dependence on Argentina, Stroessner encouraged increased ties with Brazil. During the 1950s, Brazil granted Paraguay free-port privileges on the Brazilian coast at Parana-gua and built the Friendship Bridge over the Río Paraná, which linked Asunción, Paraguay's capital, to the Parana-gua coast. The signing of the Treaty of Itaipú in 1973, which eventually resulted in the construction of the world's largest hydroelectric dam, epitomized the growing relationship between Paraguay and Brazil.

Stroessner benefitted politically and economically from his new relationship with Brazil. The infusion of money and jobs associated with the Itaipú dam project caused the Paraguayan economy to grow rapidly during the 1970s. During the 1980s, Brazil provided most of Paraguay's military equipment and training and Brazilian banks financed much of Paraguay's foreign debt. Since Paraguayan energy consumption was limited, the Treaty of Itaipú authorized Paraguayan sales of excess electricity to Brazil. Although the electricity was sold at discounted prices, it generated millions of dollars for the Paraguayan government. Notwithstanding Brazil's transition to civilian government in 1985, Paraguayan-Brazilian relations remained friendly. The Brazilian government, content with the stability that Stroessner provided, refrained from criticizing the aging dictator. In 1986, however, Brazil's president met with Argentina's president to discuss increased economic cooperation in the southern cone. The Brazilian and Argentinian leaders

insisted that only democratic nations could participate in the proposed regional economic integration program. Although participation in the proposed program could have helped the Paraguayan economy, Stroessner refused to consider the democratization of the Paraguayan political system.

During the 1980s, diplomatic relations between Paraguay and Argentina were increasingly strained. During the 1983 Argentine presidential elections, Paraguayan civilian opposition leader Domingo Laíno campaigned for Radical Civic Union (UCR) candidate Raúl Alfonsín among the thousands of Argentine citizens of Paraguayan descent. After Alfonsín's election, the Argentinian president allowed Laíno to stage anti-Stroessner rallies in Argentina. Stroessner also refused to respond to Argentina's requests for the extradition of former Argentinian military officers accused of human rights violations during the so-called Dirty War of the late 1970s.

From 1945 to the late 1970s, foreign relations between Paraguay and the United States were conditioned by the Cold War. The US was concerned about anti-communism and security interests, while the Stroessner government desired economic aid. As such, Stroessner was one of the staunchest supporters of US security policies in the hemisphere. In the OAS and the UN, when security issues were raised, Paraguay voted with the United States more consistently than did any other South American country. Paraguay was rewarded with generous economic aid packages and one of the largest Peace Corps contingents in Latin America. The human rights agenda of Jimmy Carter's presidential administration, however, signaled an end to overtly friendly US-Paraguayan relations. US concern over continued human rights abuses in Paraguay continued after the election of Ronald Reagan. US-Paraguayan relations were also strained by the involvement of some members of Stroessner's government in narcotics trafficking, especially the participation of certain sectors of the Paraguayan military in the operation of cocaine laboratories. Critics claimed that Stroessner's sons Gustavo and Alfredo, Jr. were heavily involved in the narcotics trade. Nevertheless, in 1988, the Reagan administration certified to the US Congress that the Paraguayan government was cooperating with US drug enforcement officials.

In 1988, when Chilean voters rejected Augusto Pinochet's attempt to extend the Chilean military dictatorship into the 1990s, the possibility of implementing a democratic government in Chile in 1990 served to further isolate Stroessner from the democratic tide sweeping through South America. In 1989, Stroessner's youngest son Alfredo's father-in-law, General Andrés Rodríguez, overthrew the aging dictator. Stroessner retired to a fortified home in Brazil,

safe from possible extradition attempts in the future. Rodríguez initiated the transition to democracy in Paraguay. As a result, Paraguay was admitted to MERCOSUR, the regional common market phasing out tariffs between Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay. In addition, the US rewarded Paraguay with preferential trade arrangements and increased amounts of foreign aid.

## Uruguay

Uruguay's foreign policy has been shaped by its status as the second smallest country in South America, its location between Argentina and Brazil, its history of being a victim of foreign intervention, and its long democratic tradition. Although traditionally a part of the Spanish empire in the New World, Uruguay was seized by Portuguese forces from Brazil in 1817. Uruguayan revolutionaries, supported by Argentina, launched an invasion of Uruguay in 1825, defeated the army of newly-independent Brazil, and declared independence in 1828. The British government, eager to preserve Uruguay as a buffer state between Argentina and Brazil, convinced Uruguay's neighbors to accept Uruguayan independence. Nevertheless, England, France, Italy, Argentina, and Brazil frequently intervened in Uruguayan politics during the nineteenth century.

Beginning with José Batlle y Ordóñez's government in 1903, Uruguay has actively pursued democratic government and been active in international and regional organizations. US-Uruguayan relations have been based on a common dedication to democratic ideals. Although Uruguay initially attempted neutrality in both world wars, it ultimately sided with the Allied powers. In World War I, Uruguay broke diplomatic relations with Germany in October 1917. In 1941, Uruguay allowed the United States to build naval and air bases in Uruguay. US military training and supplies helped the Uruguayan military deter Argentina's expansionist agenda during the 1940s. In January 1942, Uruguay broke diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. The US responded with increased loans. In February 1945, Uruguay declared war on the Axis powers. Uruguay joined the UN in 1945 and has been a member of most UN specialized agencies. In 1947, Uruguay signed the Rio Treaty, a regional alliance that established a mutual defense system in the Americas.

During the post-World War II period Uruguay underwent rapid industrialization and urbanization. Although the government made great advances in social welfare reform, the elites, allied with foreign

investors, continued to dominate the political economy. During the 1960s, however, industrial production dropped by 50% and agricultural production stagnated. At the same time, increased left-wing guerrilla activity exacerbated the ensuing political and economic chaos. The violent Tupamaro urban guerrillas—middle class Marxists, for the most part—attacked businesses, government buildings, and foreign embassies. Although the Tupamaros wreaked havoc on the national economy and committed numerous atrocities, during their raids the guerrillas uncovered numerous documents that revealed excessive corruption at national and international levels.

The Tupamaros, attempting to change the political system democratically, called for a cease-fire in 1971. Meanwhile, the Brazilian military plotted a military coup with the Uruguayan military in the event of a leftist victory in the 1971 presidential elections. The election of ultra-conservative Juan María Bordaberry, however, shelved the Brazilian plan while simultaneously increasing the radicalization of the Tupamaros. In 1973, with the support of the Brazilian military and President Bordaberry, the Uruguayan military, opposed to communist insurgency and liberal democracy, established a military dictatorship that lasted until 1985. During the military dictatorship, US economic and military aid increased dramatically. At the same time, the Uruguayan government, in an attempt to reestablish economic stability, signed a series of economic agreements with Brazil and Argentina designed to increase Uruguayan trade with its larger neighbors.

In 1985, following the return to civilian rule with the presidential election of Julio María Sanguinetti, Uruguay's foreign policy underwent an abrupt change. Although disagreeing with their political systems, Sanguinetti renewed foreign relations with Cuba, Nicaragua, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union. Despite Uruguay's criticism of US military interventionism in Nicaragua, Libya, and Panama, US-Uruguayan relations after 1985 were excellent. In 1986, Sanguinetti received a warm welcome at the White House during an official visit to the United States.

The key to Uruguay's new foreign policy, however, was Sanguinetti's desire for regional integration in the Río de la Plata basin. Sanguinetti's efforts at promoting regional integration, built on the protocols signed by the military government during the 1970s, were facilitated in the late 1980s by the demise of military dictatorships in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Paraguay. Sanguinetti was especially eager to establish a closer economic relationship with Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. The presidents of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay met in 1985 to advance their

integration process, which resulted in the creation of MERCOSUR, a regional economic association that was eventually joined by Paraguay when the four nations signed the Treaty of Asunción in 1991.

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**See also Allende Gossens, Salvador; Amnesty International; Argentina; Authoritarianism; Bolivia; Brazil; Bureaucratic Authoritarianism; Cardoso, Fernando Henrique; Central Intelligence Agency; Chile; Import Substitution Industrialization; Itaipú; Dam; Kubitschek, Juscelino; Menem, Carlos; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Paraguay; Perón, Juan Domingo; Pinochet Ugarte, Augusto; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); Stroessner, Alfredo; Uruguay; Vargas, Getúlio**

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### SOVIET BLOC

The Soviet Bloc was an affiliation of Eastern and Central European nations, led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) that emerged from the destruction and chaos of World War II. The core nations included the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and, for nearly fifteen years, Albania.

Following the end of WWII, the Soviet Red Army found itself in a dominant position in most of Eastern and Central Europe with the exceptions of Yugoslavia and Albania. The Soviets aimed to transform East-Central Europe into a buffer zone that would impede any future aggression from Western Europe. In addition, significant ideological differences worsened relations between the Western nations (Western Europe and the United States) and the emerging Soviet Bloc.

Following the partition of Germany into military zones of occupation by the Allies, which was ratified at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences in 1945, the Soviet Union pursued a policy of political intervention that began with the formation of East Germany in 1948. Encouraged by the power vacuum created by the defeat of Nazi Germany, Soviet forces moved into much of East-Central Europe. The leaders of Romania, for example, had expected the Western Allies to fill the void in Eastern Europe after WWII and did not anticipate the arrival of the Red Army. The Soviets helped to transform East-Central Europe into a series of pro-Soviet regimes that would take their cues from Moscow.

Outside this immediate core of the Soviet Bloc were two ideologically allied states—Yugoslavia and Albania. In Albania, under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, a highly repressive Stalinist regime was established and an initially close relationship with the Soviet Bloc was reversed in favor of increased isolationism and a tacit alliance with China by 1960. Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia had initially expected Yugoslavia to be directly integrated into a greater Soviet Union and yet, because he had come to power without Soviet aid, Tito turned Yugoslavia into the only neutral and independent Communist state in Eastern Europe that remained outside of the orbit of the Soviet Bloc. The core Soviet Bloc survived these peripheral events, and the member states cemented their relations economically and politically through the formation of Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact in 1955.

The Soviet Bloc found itself the main rival of an alliance of nations led by the United States. During a period of hostile relations referred to as the Cold War, the US-led Western Allies and the Soviet Bloc vied for power in post-war Europe and came close to war on a number of occasions such as with the crisis caused by the Soviet blockade of Berlin in 1948 to 1949. This act resulted in the Berlin airlift that prompted the USSR to back down from a direct confrontation with the Western Allies. The USSR installed a socialist post-war government in neighboring Austria, but Austria evolved (with covert US assistance) into an officially neutral state outside the Soviet Bloc.

The US and its allies formed a defence pact in 1949 called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). President Truman's Marshall Plan (initiated between 1949 and 1951) helped to rebuild and revitalize Western Europe in order to maintain a prodigious front against the Soviet Bloc. The US remained the economic and industrial superpower and initially was the sole nation with the atomic bomb, until the Soviets also developed nuclear weapons in 1949. This situation developed into a nuclear arms race between the two superpowers of the United States and USSR that resulted in a military standoff, as both sides feared mutual nuclear annihilation. This also kept the two sides divided along what came to be referred to as the Iron Curtain, which separated the Soviet Bloc states from Western Europe.

The nations of the Soviet Bloc did not always exist in a harmonious and unified manner and periods of internal unrest often required Soviet Bloc military intervention (or threats) in order to maintain governments favorable to Moscow. The 1956 Hungarian Revolution was a direct challenge to the Soviet Bloc and in particular its ideology of totalitarianism. The Soviet army moved against the Hungarian uprising and forcibly brought Hungary back into the Soviet Bloc. This challenge to Soviet Bloc unity was repeated with the Prague Spring of 1968. Most of the countries of the Warsaw Pact participated in an invasion of Czechoslovakia in order to insure that the Soviet Bloc would remain intact. The USSR justified its intervention with a policy that came to be known as the Brezhnev Doctrine, following a speech by Leonid Brezhnev that specified that any nations that sought to reverse the "socialist" ideology of communist states would become a concern for all communist states (and thus be subject to military intervention).

The intervention by the Soviet Bloc was not universally praised even by its own member states. The most pronounced opposition to this incursion was Romanian President Nicolai Ceausescu who refused to support the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but stopped short of attempting to leave the Soviet Bloc.

Romania did in fact pursue a semi-independent course that included renewing relations with Albania and China even though both states were no longer amicable towards the Soviet Bloc as a whole. Despite his defiance, Ceausescu's brutally repressive policies appear to have placated Soviet leaders.

Another serious challenge to the unity of the Soviet Bloc came in the early 1980s, when Poland saw the ascension of the Solidarity Movement led by Lech Walesa. The Solidarity Movement agitated against the Soviet-backed Polish puppet regime, but was quelled in 1980 by the invocation of martial law and fears by the Polish government that the build-up of Soviet Bloc troops, along the Polish border, signified a possible military intervention. By contrast, Bulgaria and East Germany maintained stable pro-Soviet regimes and remained unwavering members of the Soviet Bloc.

The Soviet Bloc began to disintegrate in 1989 following the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR. With the USSR transforming itself from a totalitarian nation to a more democratic one, the Soviet Bloc states of East-Central Europe instituted rapid reforms and began to move away from communism. Many of the Soviet Bloc nations have since joined the West through such organizations as the European Union and even NATO.

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### SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka is a relatively small developing nation in South Asia with a land area of 65,610 square kilometers. Sri Lanka is located between latitudes 5°55'–9°51' N and longitudes 79°41'–81°53' E, 880 kilometers north of equator, in the Indian ocean to the south of India but separated from the Indian subcontinent by a strip of sea which, at its narrowest, is

about 40 kilometers. Sri Lanka possesses a pleasant tropical climate with average temperature of 25–30°C in the low lands. The temperature goes down with rising altitude. The highest point is Mt. Pidurutalagala (2,524 meters).

Sri Lanka's 19 million (2000) population is diverse both in ethnicity (Sinhalese 74%, Tamils 18.1%, and Moors 7.5%) and religion (Buddhists 69.3%, Hindus 15.5%, Christians 7.6%, and Muslims 7.5%). Sri Lanka is the home of Theravada Buddhism and her Pali chronicles, the *Dipavamsa* (Chronicle of the Island) and *Mahavamsa* (The Great Chronicle) composed in the fourth and fifth centuries CE, the only historical records that prevail in South Asia, give extensive descriptions of the history of Buddhism and its expansion and success in the island and record a history which traces the first Sinhala inhabitants in the island in the fifth century BCE and mentions the first formal introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka with the auspicious of the Indian Emperor Asoka in the third century BCE.

Sri Lanka has a complex colonial history extending over four hundred years. The Portuguese colonized some coastal areas from 1505; then the Dutch succeeded in controlling those areas from the mid-seventeenth century and finally, the British ruled the entire country from 1815 until 1948 when Sri Lanka became an independent nation. With the introduction of a new constitution in 1972, the name of the country changed from Ceylon to Sri Lanka.

Natural resources of Sri Lanka are limestone, graphite, mineral sands, gems, phosphates, clay, and hydropower. Arable lands are 14%. Current environmental issues are deforestation, soil erosion, endangered wildlife due to urbanization and increased pollution and threats to freshwater due to industrial waste and sewage runoff. With a strategic location in the Indian Ocean, Sri Lanka has the potential to become an industrialized nation. In 1978, Sri Lanka implemented an "open market" economic policy, which had significant impact in changing the shape of the economy. Though plantation crops were 93% of exports in 1970, they decreased to 20% in 1996; in that year, textiles and garments accounted for 63% of exports. Thus, Sri Lanka's most dynamic industries are food processing, textiles and apparel, food and beverages, telecommunications, and insurance and banking.

While gross domestic product (GDP) grew at an annual rate of 5.5% in the early 1990s due to drought and deteriorating security condition, it declined to 3.8% in 1996. Economy comprises of agriculture 21%, industries 19%, and services 60% (1998). Population below poverty line is 22% (1997). Unemployment rate is 9.5% (1998). As a developing nation, Sri Lanka's

per capita GDP is \$856 US (2000). Five to six percent of GDP goes for military expenses. The economic conditions in Sri Lanka deteriorated rapidly during the last five decades after Independence on February 4, 1948. Before the current ethnic conflict, for many years, Sri Lanka was regarded as a model for development. In 1977, the United Nations (UN) development report scored Sri Lanka as a seven out of ten.

During the last two decades, in particular, Sri Lanka has been struggling hard to survive by facing one of the most feared separatist movements in history costing both human lives and material resources which can be efficiently used for Sri Lanka's economic development. The ethnic conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils has drawn the country backward economically and damaged all aspects of human life threatening to destroy civil society, social structures and harmony on local, regional, and national scales. The most serious hurdle for Sri Lanka's development today is the worst natural disaster, the Tsunami Tidal Waves of December 26, 2004. The tsunami killed nearly forty thousand people, displacing another two hundred thousand and seriously damaging over five hundred miles in coastal areas. This brutal destruction of the livelihood of an already impoverished nation will slow down the development in the years to come.

However, Sri Lanka has some important human resources that are not adequately used for effective development. Literacy rate is 90.2% (male 93.4% and female 87.2%), one of the highest in Asia, second only to Japan, Korea, and Singapore; school enrollment rate is 90% for elementary, 70% for secondary. Sri Lanka has a nationalized higher education system with more than seven national universities where education is free of charge. Three languages—Sinhala, Tamil, and English—are widely used in daily transactions in official business and language of instruction in schools and universities are Sinhala and Tamil. Ten percent of the population speaks English competently. Sri Lanka's life expectancy is seventy-two years; infant mortality rate is 16.5 persons per 1,000. As a social welfare state, Sri Lanka provides basic health-care for 93% of the population.

In terms of female participation in politics, economic development, and social welfare, Sri Lanka has made a remarkable progress. Women have been active in politics and made a mark in world politics. In July 1960, Mrs. Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike (1916–2000), widow of Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike (1899–1959), became the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka becoming the first female to hold such a post. In terms of rural development, Sarvodaya Sramadana Movement (f. 1958) of A.T. Ariyaratne, inspired by Buddhist values, has made a remarkable success. Also the Gam Udava (Village Awakening) Project of



President R. Premadasa (d. 1993) has made a significant contribution for village development.

Important changes that occurred in Sri Lankan politics after 1956 had serious implications on the development of the country. The “Sinhala only” language policy of Mr. Bandaranaike’s government in the late 1950s devastated national harmony, alienating moderate Tamils from the political process by encouraging them to seek alternative solutions to their problems. Party politics with limited vision abused national sensibilities of Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims, feeding into a great sense of insecurity, unrest, and distrust towards each other. The decline of the economy had severe impact in intensifying growing distrust among ethnic groups leading to violent and militant armed groups. Growing unrest among the youth expressed by Janatha Vimukti Peramuna in 1971 and later by Tamil youth groups demonstrate that economic conditions are roots of the current civil strife in Sri Lanka. Complicating the unforeseen consequences of ethnic unrest, Sri Lanka has failed to foster harmony among various ethnic and religious minorities who consider Sri Lanka as their home.

In achieving Sri Lanka’s economic objectives for development, Sri Lanka’s burden is seeking resources and strategies in building trust and respect towards each ethnic and religious minorities who live in the island and encouraging them to share country’s resources on an egalitarian basis.

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**See also Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations**

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## ST. CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS

The islands of St. Christopher (also known as St. Kitts) and Nevis, which are part of the Leeward

Islands, are geographically mountainous and volcanic in origin. They are separated by a narrow strait 3.2 kilometers wide. St. Kitts, the larger of the two islands, is 168 square kilometers. It is oval-shaped with a small peninsula at its southeastern end. Mountains extend through the central part of the island. Mount Liamuiga, a dormant volcano with an elevation of 1,156 meters, is the highest point on the island. Nevis, which lies to the south of St. Kitts, is cone-shaped, ten kilometers wide and thirteen kilometers long, and has a total land area of ninety-three square kilometers. Nevis Peak is the highest point on the island at 965 meters. Nevis’s soil is less fertile than St. Kitts’s soil and has experienced much worse erosion. St. Kitts and Nevis was a founding member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) in 1983. The Eastern Caribbean Central Bank is located in St. Kitts.

St. Kitts was the first English colony in the Caribbean. Although Christopher Columbus discovered the island in 1493, it was not settled by Europeans until 1623, when a party of Englishmen established a colony at Sandy Bay. In 1624, the French established a colony on the other side of the island. The French founded Basseterre, the capital, in 1627. Nevis was colonized in 1628 by a group of English colonists from St. Kitts. In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht granted the entire island to the British. After furtive attempts at tobacco cultivation, sugar was introduced on both islands during the mid-seventeenth century. Slaves were imported from Africa to expand the sugar industry. The majority of the forty-five thousand people in St. Kitts and Nevis are descended from Africans.

Soil erosion caused by extensive sugar cultivation on Nevis convinced the British to replace large-scale sugar cultivation with small-scale subsistence agriculture on that island. During the colonial period, to simplify administrative tasks, the British attached the somewhat distant Anguilla to the colony of St. Kitts and Nevis. In 1958, the three-island group of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla entered the West Indies Federation, which was dismantled in 1962. In 1967, the British government, which continued to control foreign affairs and national defense, granted St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla local autonomy. Anguilla immediately opted out of the association. St. Kitts and Nevis became independent on September 19, 1983. St. Kitts and Nevis supported the October 1983 US intervention in Grenada and dispatched a small force of police to participate in the Caribbean Peace Force on the island.

St. Lucia is a parliamentary democracy based on the British model. The head of state, Queen Elizabeth II, is represented by a governor—Cuthbert Sebastian—who is appointed by the British government. Since the governor’s power is primarily advisory and

ceremonial, real power is vested in the prime minister, who is usually the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly. The National Assembly is composed of eleven elected members (representatives) and three appointed members (senators). Two of the senators are appointed by the governor general on the advice of the prime minister. The other is named on the advice of the leader of the opposition.

The uniqueness of the 1983 Constitution derives from the provisions for the autonomy of the island of Nevis and the establishment of the separate Nevis Island Assembly. The island of Nevis elects representatives both to the National Assembly and to its own Nevis Island Assembly, a body of five elected and three appointed representatives. The Nevis Island Assembly may amend or revoke legislation passed by the National Assembly. At the time of independence, Nevis was also granted the right of secession. Secession from the nation requires a two-thirds vote in the Nevis Island Assembly and the approval of two-thirds of the voters in an island-wide referendum. The Nevis Island Assembly is led by a premier, a position analogous to a prime minister.

The Labour Party, organized by Robert Bradshaw in 1932, dominated the political system until 1979. By 1979, political opposition to the Labour Party had coalesced into two party groupings, the People's Action Movement (PAM) on St. Kitts, which supported economic diversification away from sugar and toward tourism, increased domestic food production, and increased autonomy for Nevis, and the Nevis Reformation Party (NRP) on Nevis. PAM and NRP, who had formed a coalition led by Kennedy Simmonds (b. 1936), came to power in 1979. The PAM/NRP coalition cleared the way for the independence of St. Kitts and Nevis as a two-island federation. The Labour Party, led by Denzil Douglas (b. 1953), returned to power in 1995.

In the mid-1980s, the government envisioned the economic future of St. Kitts and Nevis as dependent on tourism, light manufacturing, and a scaled-down sugar industry. To create a workforce to manage the country's tourist industry, the government invested heavily in the economic and social infrastructure of the nation. The result was an extensive road network, the Golden Rock International Airport that allowed for direct flights from the United States and Canada, and a deep-water port in Basseterre that allowed for an increase in the number of cruise ship calls. The government also encouraged labor-intensive export light manufacturing. Although the potential seemed great, the economy did not keep pace with the rapidly expanding population. As a result, nearly 20% of the population has left in search of employment. Remittances to family members at home became a

substantial portion of the national economy. In addition, natural disasters, such as hurricanes, and man-made disasters, such as the events of September 11, 2001, have impeded the growth of the tourist industry.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS)**

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### ST. HELENA

St. Helena is one of the United Kingdom's few remaining overseas territories and one of the world's most isolated island settlements. A lone mid-ocean island, volcanic in origin, and a mere 122 square kilometers in size, St. Helena is situated at Latitude 15°55' S and Longitude 5°45' W, 1,930 kilometers west of Angola, its nearest mainland. The nearest land is Ascension Island, 1,125 kilometers away. St. Helena is surrounded by steep cliffs and has a central ridge which reaches 818 meters above sea level. The only inland waters are small streams which are fed by springs in the central hills. Two-thirds of the island is now barren. The vegetation below four hundred meters is very scanty and consists largely of cactus. Above that level, the island consists mostly of pasture, introduced pine forests, and now disused plantations of New Zealand flax. There is little arable land.

St. Helena was uninhabited when it was discovered by the Portuguese in about 1502 and was only settled and fortified by the London East India Company in 1659. The Company's proprietorship of the island continued until April 1834, when St. Helena was vested in the Crown by the Government of India Act 1833. The island has been a British territory ever since. St. Helena's present day community, which is wholly British in character, has its origins in the East India Company's seventeenth century settlement, which consisted of English settlers and an increasing number of slaves, from West Africa initially, but

predominantly from the Indian subcontinent and from Madagascar. By 1718, the island's population amounted to 542 whites (including a garrison of 128) and 411 slaves. The population continued to increase gradually, although the importation of slaves was made illegal in 1792, and slavery was finally abolished in 1832. Immigration to St. Helena had largely come to an end by the 1830s, a period followed by the gradual and by now complete integration of the island's various ethnic groups. The island's population peaked at 5,838 in 1871, but economic depression led to the emigration of more than two thousand St. Helenians to the Cape and to Natal. By 1901, St. Helena's population had sunk to 3,342. At the last census in 1998, St. Helena's resident population numbered 4,916 (including expatriates), of whom over eight hundred lived in the capital Jamestown. In 2004, the population was estimated to have declined to around four thousand, emigration having been boosted by the islander's re-acquisition of the right to full UK passports, as provided for by the British Overseas Territories Act 2002 (the automatic right of entry into the United Kingdom had been lost by St. Helenians under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962).

Under the proprietorship of the East India Company, St. Helena was administered by a governor and council appointed by the Company, a system continued after St. Helena came under the control of Her Majesty's (HM) Government. The first non-official members were introduced onto the council in 1878, and a separate advisory council was formed in 1939. This new council allowed for a small element of popular representation, a measure which was enlarged by reforms in 1956. In 1963, the island's first general elections to a newly constituted advisory council took place. This council was reconstituted as a legislative council in 1966. The island's 1988 constitution enhanced the responsibilities of the legislative council and today both the legislative and the executive council have a majority of non-official members. Island politics is marked by personalities, rather than parties; and there are no unions. Authority over the island is ultimately vested in Her Majesty, while the island's executive authority rests with the governor in council, the latter composed of ex-officio members as well as the elected heads of legislative council committees. A new constitution introducing a ministerial system of government is currently being considered. The governor retains a number of reserved powers, primarily with respect to defence, external affairs, internal security, justice, finance, and shipping. There have certainly never been any moves towards independence from the United Kingdom and if anything, there has been a desire for a closer integration with "the mother country."

St. Helena had originally been intended to serve as a maritime base, rather than as a colony, and its economy was never geared towards self-sufficiency. During the proprietorship of the East India Company and during most of the nineteenth century, the island's economy revolved around the provision of supplies for shipping and for the local garrison. In 1802, a total of 169 ships called at the island, and this figure had risen to 1,044 ships in 1860. Partly due to the advent of steam, the number of visiting ships began to decline in the decade prior to the opening of the Suez Canal (850 ships in 1865), which led to the eventual collapse in shipping by 1910, when a mere fifty-one ships called at the island. This also resulted in the collapse of the island's economy. The establishment of a flax industry, started in earnest in 1907, went a considerable way towards easing unemployment and increasing local revenue in the early half of the twentieth century. But this new industry in turn declined and its last mills closed during the 1960s. Since then the island has had virtually no industry of its own, and is nowadays largely dependent on aid from the United Kingdom. In 2004/2005 this amounted to a grant-in-aid of £5.66 million out of an expenditure of £18.56 million. In addition the island received a shipping subsidy (£2.45 million), development aid (£1.9 million), and technical co-operation (£2.53 million), accounting for a total of £12.56 million in aid. The island's gross domestic product (GDP) for 2002–2003 amounted to £3,076 per capita. In the same period, exports of goods and services amounted to a 7% of GDP, while imports amounted to 76% of GDP. The island's only major export is fish, although a promising new industry is coffee, which has been exported in small quantities since 1989. While the majority of St. Helena's labour force (62% in 1998) are employed by government and its agencies on the island itself, over 1,200 islanders work off-shore, primarily on Ascension Island and the Falkland Islands. 12.7% of the labour force were unemployed in 2001–2002. Educational provision is well developed on St. Helena, which in 1998 had a literacy rate of 98% (population twelve years and older), although there is no local provision for higher/further education. For islanders with overseas qualifications, local wages (especially when compared to wages paid to expatriates) provide little incentive to return to the island. The average life expectancy is seventy-five years, with infant mortality (under five years) a low 0.3%.

Improvements in transport links are now seen as they key to improvements in St. Helena's economy, which suffers, as in the sixteenth century, from the fact that the island's only transport link with the outside world is by ship. The island's London registered RMS

*St. Helena*, a purpose built cargo/passenger vessel of 6,767 tonnes, travels at regular intervals between St. Helena and South Africa (via Namibia). There has never been an airstrip on the island, but plans to construct one have been under serious consideration since the 1990s. It is hoped that an airport will solve some of the difficulties of access which have prevented the development of a larger scale tourist industry, in turn providing local employment and reducing emigration, while providing a more efficient link with the island for those St. Helenians who do work off-shore.

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## ST. LUCIA

St. Lucia, which is located roughly in the center of the Windward Islands, lies between Martinique to the north and St. Vincent and the Grenadines to the south. The pear-shaped island is 616 square kilometers and is a typical Windward Island formation of volcanic rock. The island is dominated by high peaks and rain forests in the interior and has a 158 kilometer coastline of sandy beaches. The highest point on the island is Mount Gimie, which is 950 meters above sea level. St. Lucia is also known for its natural deep-water harbors. Castries, the capital city where about one-third of the population lives, is located on the north-west coast and has an excellent natural harbor. The island is named in honor of St. Lucy, the patron saint of blindness and one of the major saints in the Catholic canon. St. Lucia was a founding member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) in 1983. St. Lucia is also the headquarters of the Eastern Caribbean Telecommunications Authority.

The Carib Indians inhabited the island when it was first sighted by Spanish explorers during the early

sixteenth century. The Indians resisted British, French, and Dutch attempts at colonization until the seventeenth century. The French, however, were able to establish the first permanent settlement on the island in 1660. Nevertheless, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the British and French fought over control of St. Lucia. Since the island's deep-water harbors afforded protection for naval vessels, control of St. Lucia changed hands fourteen different times during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The British established absolute control in 1814 after they defeated Napoleon's armies in Europe. The majority of the island's inhabitants, however, were pro-French and the British government experienced decades of internal conflict before the people of St. Lucia accepted British rule. Although English is the official language and spoken by 80% of the population, the cultural footprint of the early French presence on the island is still evident. Many of St. Lucia's 160,000 people, especially those in rural areas, speak a French patois. In addition, over 90% of the people are Roman Catholics. In 1958, St. Lucia joined the West Indies Federation, which was dissolved in 1962 after Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the association. In 1967, the British government, which continued to control foreign affairs and national defense, granted St. Lucia local autonomy. St. Lucia became independent on February 22, 1979. In 1983, St. Lucia sent members of its Special Services Unit into active duty in the 1983 US-sponsored invasion of Grenada.

St. Lucia is a parliamentary democracy based on the British model. The head of state, Queen Elizabeth II, is represented by a governor—Pearlette Louisy since 1997—who is appointed by the British government. Since the governor's power is primarily advisory and ceremonial, real power is vested in the prime minister, who is usually the leader of the majority party in the House of Assembly. The bicameral legislature in St. Lucia consists of the House of Assembly, whose seventeen members are elected for five year terms, and a Senate, whose eleven members are appointed by the governor after consultation with political, economic, and religious figures in society. Politics has been dominated by competition between the United Workers Party (UWP) and the St. Lucia Labor Party (SLP). John Compton, the former leader of the UWP, was premier of St. Lucia from 1964 until independence in 1979, when he became prime minister. Shortly after independence, the SLP took control of the House of Assembly. Compton returned to power in 1982 and remained the prime minister until his resignation in 1996. The SLP won an overwhelming majority in the House of Assembly in 1997 and

Kenny Anthony became the prime minister. Anthony and the SLP won subsequent elections in 2001.

During the colonial period, St. Lucia's economy was dominated by sugar production. The importation of African slaves stimulated sugar production and transformed the ethnic composition of the island. Over 90% of St. Lucia's people are descendants of African slaves. During the 1960s, the economy was dramatically transformed from a sugar-based economy to one dedicated to banana production. This transformation initially improved the economic situation of small farmers because banana crops could be produced on small plots. During the 1990s, however, as the Europeans implemented more restrictive trade policies, St. Lucia, faced with declining revenues from banana exports, began to implement a long-term economic development program based on a diversified economy. Particularly ominous for the people of St. Lucia was the European Union's plan to end preferential access to its markets by St. Lucia's bananas by 2006.

Although agriculture is still an important component of the national economy, St. Lucia has made significant gains in developing the manufacturing sector and attracting a greater portion of the West Indies' tourist trade. As of 2004, St. Lucia's manufacturing sector is the most diverse in the Eastern Caribbean. Small-scale manufacturing has benefitted from improvements in roads, sewage, communications, schools, and port facilities. The largest economic transformation has been the construction of a Caribbean Development Bank-funded petroleum storage and transshipment center. Despite a series of devastating hurricanes, the tourist industry continued to grow until the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

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**See also Caribbean Development Bank; Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Grenada; Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS)**

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## ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

St. Vincent and the Grenadines, a federation of thirty-two islands in the Windward Islands, lies between St. Lucia to the north and Grenada to the south. St. Vincent occupies 344 square kilometers of the nation's total territory. The Grenadines, a collection of islands between St. Vincent and Grenada, comprise the remaining forty-five square kilometers of the nation's territory. The most notable islands in the Grenadines are Bequia, Baliceaux, Mustique, Petit Mustique, Savan, Petit Canouan, Canouan, Mayreau, Tobago Cays, Union Island, and Petit St. Vincent. Kingston, the capital, is located on St. Vincent. St. Vincent and the Grenadines were founding members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) in 1983.

The Carib Indians on St. Vincent resisted European conquest until the eighteenth century. Runaway African slaves from St. Lucia and Grenada frequently sought refuge on St. Vincent. The Carib Indians not only gave the runaway slaves shelter, they also intermarried with the blacks, which created a large population of zambos known in St. Vincent as the Black Caribs. Nevertheless, by the 1720s, the French had established settlements on St. Vincent and were using slave labor to grow sugar, cotton, and tobacco. After France lost the French and Indian War in 1763, St. Vincent was ceded to the British. Although St. Vincent was returned to France in 1779, the British resumed authority in 1783.

Whereas the French had been conciliatory towards the Black Caribs, the British were intent on crushing dissent. Following a Black Carib revolt in 1796, the British deported five thousand Black Caribs to Roatan Island off the coast of Honduras. Nevertheless, the French colonial footprint is still evident. Although the country's official language is English and most of the people speak English, a French patois is still spoken in the rural areas of some of the Grenadine Islands. The British abolished slavery in St. Vincent in 1834. To address the resulting labor shortage, the British encouraged the immigration of Portuguese and East Indians during the nineteenth century. In an attempt to establish a unified administration in the eastern Caribbean, in 1958, the British placed St. Vincent and the Grenadines in the West Indies Federation, which was dissolved in 1962 after Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the association. In 1967, the British government, which continued to control foreign affairs and national defense, granted St. Vincent and the Grenadines local autonomy. St. Vincent and the Grenadines became independent on October 27, 1979, the last of the Windward Islands to gain independence from the United Kingdom.

St. Vincent and the Grenadines is a parliamentary democracy based on the British model. The head of state, Queen Elizabeth II, is represented by a governor—Fredrick Ballantyne—who is appointed by the British government. Since the governor's power is primarily advisory and ceremonial, real power is vested in the prime minister, who is usually the leader of the majority party in the House of Assembly. The legislature in St. Vincent and the Grenadines consists of fifteen elected representatives and six appointed senators. The six senators are appointed by the governor, four on the advice of the prime minister, and two on the advice of the leader of the opposition. The parliamentary term in office is five years, although the prime minister can call elections earlier.

Politics has been dominated by competition between the St. Vincent Labour Party (SVLP) and the New Democratic Party (NDP). SVLP Prime Minister R. Milton Cato led the nation to independence and held power until 1984. In September 1979, militant Rastafarians led by Lennox Charles seized Union Island. Cato requested military assistance from Barbados, which sent detachments of the Barbados Defense Force to capture the insurgents and restore order. NDP Prime Minister James Mitchell held power from 1984 until 2001. In 2001, a revised labor party called the United Labour Party (ULP) took power under Ralph Gonsalves (b. 1945).

St. Vincent's economy is heavily dependent on agriculture. Bananas account for over 50% of the nation's exports. In April 1979, La Soufriere volcano erupted and there was extensive agricultural damage. Hurricanes have also devastated banana plantations. Dependence on a single crop export-led economy has made the nation's economy vulnerable to external factors. Particularly ominous for the people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines is the European Union's plan to end preferential access to its markets by 2006. During the 1980s, therefore, the government encouraged the development of the tourist industry. During the 1990s, tourism replaced banana exports as the chief source of foreign exchange. The Grenadines have become especially popular with yachtsmen. Affordable boat trips within the Grenadines have also increased the number of visitors per year. New cruise ship berths helped to increase the number of tourists to over two hundred thousand annually by 2000. Nevertheless, because of a high birth rate, unemployment, and the negative impact of the events of September 11, 2001, on the tourist industry, thousands of people have emigrated in search of employment.

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**See also Barbados; Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations;**

## **Grenada; Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS); St. Lucia**

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## **STALIN, JOSEPH**

"Joseph Stalin" was the byname of Josef Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili (born December 21 [9 December, old style], 1879, Gori, Georgia, Russia). Born into poverty, Stalin trained to become an Orthodox priest. In 1900, after leaving the priesthood training due to his communist/atheist beliefs, he joined the Russian revolutionar and earned his name, Stalin ("man of steel" in Russian), by supervising and committing violent acts against the Czarist government.

In 1922, with the support of Vladimir Lenin, he became the secretary general of the communist party. By 1924, Stalin with Bukharin's assistance had contaminated most state documents with fraudulent and revisionist information. After Lenin's death, Stalin formed an unofficial "triumvirate" (himself, Zinoviev, and Kamenev) to control the fledgling communist state. Throughout the mid-1920s, he struggled with numerous political rivals but emerged as the Soviet Union's undisputed leader by 1928. He controlled the population through fear, repressing any dissent through systematic purges, which included imprisonment and executions. His harsh regime and cult of personality soon made communism synonymous with totalitarianism.

Stalin's approach to foreign policy was largely influenced by Zinoviev and Kamenev who advocated "one-state socialism." Under this theory, the Soviet Union would serve as a successful global model of socialism, helping to covertly promote and control satellite regimes. Instead of launching outright revolutionary activities, internal workers' movements were promoted with the assistance of Stalin's secret police and KGB global network. This tactic spurred revolutions against capitalism in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

The 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact briefly allied Stalin with Hitler until the 1941 German invasion. Stalin then switched alliances and awkwardly cooperated with the United States and Great Britain until the defeat of Germany and Japan in 1945. After the war, Stalin's determination to control all occupied lands with communist governments created the Cold War struggle.

Considered the father of the Soviet Union, of which he declared himself General Secretary in 1941, Stalin's greatest achievement, other than defeating Nazi Germany, was rapid industrialization and the construction of an elaborate infrastructure. However, Stalin's impact on the Soviet Union was often profoundly negative: disastrous agricultural reforms that resulted in the starvation of millions; highly mechanized five-year plans that created massive shortages and surpluses of goods; and an enormous network of military, paramilitary, police and secret police networks that eventually consumed over half of the country's gross domestic product.

Though Stalin claimed to be a devout communist, he consistently ignored ideology in his operational concerns. He shifted alliances within the party based on the advantage they would give him. While his rivals were consumed with debate and theories, Stalin focused on the practical matters of expanding and accumulating power. Stalin's quest for power fueled his paranoia, which caused numerous disruptions in the Soviet hierarchy. This included the expulsion, forced exile, and eventual assassination of arch-rival Trotsky in 1940, who was writing a book to expose Stalin as a fraud of communism.

Whether in peace or war, civil liberties were few. During Stalin's roughly thirty years of control, 40–50 million Soviets died due to war and political purges in the 1930s and again in the early 1950s.

Though more Russians died in World War II than any other nationality, the country emerged as the world's second strongest power. Stalin exhibited shrewd diplomatic skills in the allied conferences (Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam) which resulted in substantial territorial concessions in Eastern Europe and North Korea.

Stalin died in Moscow on March 5, 1953.

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**See also De-Stalinization (1953–1956); Khrushchev, Nikita; Russia; Soviet Bloc**

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## STATE-DIRECTED ECONOMY

Mainly characteristic of the socialist Marxist model, a state-directed economy signifies an economy where production—distribution of the products, prices, output, export-import structure and volume, wages, allocation of resources—are determined by the state, an administrative body through its government, commissions, and public bodies. In almost every country there is some government intervention in the economy—voluntarily or involuntarily—through the tax system, tariffs and non tariff barriers to international trade, credit rationing, subsidies, and separate fiscal and economic regimes for state and private companies.

In its purest form, a state directed economy is the opposite of a free market economy. Production is determined through comprehensive countrywide sectoral and synthetic plans, both for the short term (one to five years) and for the long term in the form of general directives forming a kind of “strategy.” Thus the supply of each product or at least the significant commodities are planned; however, the statistics upon which the planning is based can be unreliable, since there is a tendency to inflate results for the sake of producing growth at the forecasted rate. The central planners also fix the wages and the prices and thus determine the demand for each product, though this is usually not done via any sort of market analysis. By fixing the price of consumer necessities and all other commodities produced by the state, the standards of living can be determined and maintained for long time if shortages do not occur. But it is difficult to plan accurate with so many variables and unknown data.

While consumption of individuals can be forecasted with a margin of error, the consumption of state enterprises is much more difficult to foresee. For an economy to function smoothly, all companies must meet the planned output, costs, and revenues. If the economy is not closed, the fluctuations of supply and demand and prices on the world market will wreak havoc in the raw material and energy supply of the production.

Shortages occurring in a chain can be alleviated by fixing prices of high-demand commodities at high levels, since there are no markets to serve as alternate suppliers. Rationing is done via regulating the delivery of the commodity in question or imposition of administrative barriers for the purchase of that commodity.

The labor market can also be planned: the state will determine how many specialists the work force needs in various sectors, and thus the composition and education level of the work force is determined in advance, according to the economy's needs. This makes a rigid labor force structure which cannot adapt easily to new plans or circumstances.

Changing demands of the world market require readjusting the qualifications structure, including provisions for retraining adults in different fields to keep the economy competitive. Of course, this planning policy creates shortages in certain professions and produces excess number of graduates from others. On the other hand, the employees benefit when education costs are supported by the state; in market economies, such training puts a heavy burden on the individuals' financial and time budgets.

By fixing wages, the state establishes a job hierarchy which reflects the social cost of producing a certain professional and the social importance of his activity. This isn't much reflected in income level differences due to egalitarian policies. Similar salary levels achieve a equitable income distribution, since the basic needs of most people are the same. The central planner may efficiently use the human resources of the society by practically eliminating unemployment and securing everybody a source of income. Thus the use of resources becomes more efficient on a social scale than it would be under purely market considerations. For increasing productivity, more flexible approaches allow for performance-related wage systems and the functioning of market mechanisms in the nonessential goods markets, keeping fixed prices at least for necessities such as food, housing, and energy.

Most of the state directed economies of the developing world have relied on the Solow model of economic growth, favoring accumulation of physical capital, namely industrialization, and using a high savings ratio necessary for large-scale industrial, social, and transportation infrastructure. These planners generally favored the primary and secondary sector, neglecting the tertiary, and became less competitive entering the actual post-industrial phase. Low levels of consumption led to the neglecting of the domestic markets' demand, while the countries found themselves with superfluous industrial capacities both in mining and processing. In spite of their decade-long efforts these economies couldn't reach their steady

state with optimal consumption because of over-investment on one hand and under-consumption on the other.

Another consequence of the fixed price system and non profit orientation of the companies was that even high-performing companies were not allowed to retain their profits and begin the necessary microeconomic investment for increasing productivity and competitiveness. Profits were redistributed among companies with net losses, regardless of whether the loss occurred because the nature of the company's activity was unprofitable, or because the company was mismanaged. Thus, funds were often regularly given to institutions that did not manage them well, and hence lowered productivity even further. In the early 1990s, privatization of the enterprises seemed to be the only solution for the sake of increasing efficiency, productivity inside the firms and competitiveness on the markets.

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**See also Communist Economic Model; Free Market Economy; Marxism; Mixed Economy; Socialist Economic Model**

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#### STROESSNER, ALFREDO

Alfredo Stroessner, president of Paraguay from 1954–1989, was born to German immigrant parents in Encarnación, Paraguay on November 3, 1912. He entered the Paraguayan military academy in 1929 and fought in the Chaco War from 1932–1935. He was promoted to major and studied in Brazil in 1940 and then given command of a main artillery unit followed by an assignment to army staff headquarters. He defended Paraguay's capital, Asunción, during the 1947 civil war and became the head of the army in



1951. In 1954, he ousted the sitting president and assumed the office himself. He was re-elected seven times between 1954–1989.

Stroessner presided over one of the longest military dictatorships in Latin American history. Other than rhetorical attention, no effective emphasis was given to social or economic development.

The regime managed the country via the force of the military and the network of the historic, conservative party, the Colorado. Military brutality and political repression were justified based on allegations of threats to national security from communist and leftist subversion.

Paraguay has always been among the poorest countries of the world, with vast social divides between rich and poor. A small elite of Spanish, or other European, descent has held most of the property and assets of the country. It continued to do so under Stroessner with an economy of export agriculture and nascent, elementary industry. The majority of the population, as today, was Guaraní Indian or *mestizo*, people of mixed native and European blood. Even though the majority of Paraguayans spoke Guaraní as their native or first language, this population was marginalized. Any expression of dissatisfaction or criticism by the native or *mestizo* population or by an opposition politician was brutally repressed, the country kept under a stage of siege. Seven presidential elections were staged that dutifully returned Stroessner to power.

Stroessner's power was initially based on his reputation as a military hero beginning in the Chaco War, between Paraguay and Bolivia during the 1930s. He built upon that base, once in the presidency, by regularly purging disloyal officers. He strengthened his hold over the Colorado Party by allowing its many bickering factions to fight among themselves. They progressively eliminated each other and he remained the dominant, stable power. Dominance of the party gave him a massive organization for control of civilian and political life.

The Stroessner regime did not aim to destroy the existing political and/or socioeconomic power structure. Rather, it sought to reinforce it under the control of one man. The fervid anti-Communism of the regime at a time when Marxists such as Cheddi Jagan in British Guyana and Fidel Castro in Cuba were emerging in the region earned Stroessner the support of the United States. Stroessner tolerated widespread illegal activities by military and political leaders and encouraged foreign investment.

He obtained some significant rural support by enticing peasants to move to the northeast of the country with the promise of free public land. These agricultural settlements considerably increased the country's agricultural production and exports yet at

the same time subjected settlers to the uncertainties of world commodities markets.

The highpoint of the Stroessner regime occurred in 1982 with the inauguration of the Itaipú Dam. Built in conjunction with Brazil on the Paraná River, the boundary between the two countries, the mammoth dam was able to supply electricity to all of Paraguay. However, the country was too underdeveloped to use so much energy. The Stroessner regime profited by selling most of it back to the dynamic industrial sector in southern Brazil.

The stagnation of the Paraguayan economy, accompanied by inflation and unemployment, and relentless repression, prompted the military to remove from office in 1989. He was exiled to Brazil, and resides in Brasília.

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**See also Paraguay; Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations**

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## STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS (SAPS)

Developing or emerging market economies may be faced with economic instability in the form of either or both external and internal imbalance. The former is manifested in a balance of payments crisis, a falling currency and unsustainable foreign debt obligations. The latter may involve a stagnant or declining economy, high inflation, and large government budget deficits. In these circumstances, member countries may look for financial support from the world's two

main multilateral aid and financial institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The World Bank consults and lends money for a range of sectoral activities including agriculture, energy, transportation, education, health and nutrition, and urban development. It also focuses on improving economic policies within individual countries. A significant part of its lending is for structural adjustment: to support reforms rather than specific investments. The International Monetary Fund allows member countries to borrow, subject to agreed-upon conditions regarding their economic policies. Adherence to these conditions and reforms is in many cases a prerequisite to obtaining other larger public and private loans.

A SAP provides loans to countries on the condition that they undertake a combination of economic policy reforms measures aimed to improve long-term economic growth outcomes. These programs links disbursements of funds to the meeting of specified conditions (performance criteria) negotiated with the government of the member country. While these programs are often negotiated in the context of economic crisis, and attempt to restore balance of payments viability and macroeconomic stability, they are geared to increasing international competitiveness and improved economic efficiency in the use of domestic resources. Recently, these programs, which frequently involve some combination of higher interest rates, government spending cuts and higher taxes, and the abolition of various subsidies on consumption items have provoked criticism as having negative effects on populations who are already economically and socially disadvantaged. Additionally, environmentalists have objected to the conditions in which natural resources are exploited to meet the productivity and export quotas.

The SAPs often include trade liberalization measures that require fewer restrictions on foreign trade. These include reducing or abolishing tariffs and quotas on imports, a less restrictive stance towards foreign investment, an adjusted exchange rate, and capital account liberalization that reduces controls on any form of capital flows across national boundaries. The internal market-oriented structural reforms promote deregulation of domestic markets and the privatization of government enterprises.

### **The Effectiveness of Structural Adjustment Programs**

The effectiveness of SAPs is a hotly debated issue. One issue relates to the speed of the structural

adjustment required. Should all of these policies be implemented immediately or only gradually? Many economists argue that what is needed are gradual reforms to minimise short-term costs, such as business failure and unemployment. Others argue that the most serious problem with a market liberalisation program is the political resistance that it generates, as the long-term benefits can be difficult to perceive while the short-term costs are all too apparent. Hence the longer the delay, the greater the political opposition to further reform that will arise. In addition, many of the structural reforms implemented may be reversed once the program is over. If the liberalisation measures are expected to be reversed in time, then the government or the public may actually take steps that will undermine the effectiveness of the reform program.

A second issue relates to the sequencing of structural reforms. Many commentators point to the crucial role of foreign capital inflow during the structural reform period to reduce the frictions that will emerge during the transition. However, it may be preferable that controls on foreign capital only be relaxed after trade and other industrial sector distortions have been dismantled. The reason for this is that capital inflow will result in a real exchange rate appreciation that disadvantages exporters. Meanwhile, the tariff reductions will disadvantage domestic producers facing lower-priced imports.

There is also considerable disagreement on the benefits of trade liberalization policies. Have trade liberalisation packages played an important role in the strong performance of outward-oriented economies? A number of countries, such as Japan, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan have promoted exports but in an environment where imports had not been fully liberalised. The success of the East Asian countries with export-led growth suggests that some selectively determined degree of government intervention played a key role.

Privatization strategies have also been questioned, particularly in the transitional economies of Eastern Europe. Public assets may be sold off below their real value in order to find a buyer and to generate quick cash flow, with a loss of public accountability. Privatization might then mean that income-generating assets are sold, leaving behind all the residual 'unproductive' activities, plus a new layer of watchdog agencies to regulate the newly privatized activities.

Many of these issues have been examined empirically but the results are mixed on the SAPs overall effectiveness. Often the results depend on the characteristics of the specific country concerned. Countries have generated a variety of responses to basically similar SAPs. This seems to reflect the importance of

differences in institutional, social, and historical conditions between countries. In the context of the 1997 Asian Crisis further debate has escalated on the effectiveness of SAPs, particularly the financial deregulation requirements. The impacts of SAPs on social sectors and the poor have been particularly troublesome and the IMF and World Bank are attempting to incorporate social safety nets into their programs.

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## SUBSISTENCE LIVING

The seemingly infinite *ways by which human beings could make a living*, especially food acquisition and satisfaction of basic needs such as clothing and shelter, can actually be narrowed down to four basic types: *foraging*, *horticulture*, *pastoralism*, and *agriculture*. It is important to recognize that variation exists within each of these subsistence patterns; thus, the characteristics that are identified for each should be regarded as tendencies, not absolutes.

### Foraging

Foragers rely entirely on *wild food sources*—plants, animals, and fish. Contemporary (and presumably prehistoric) foragers live(d) in small, kin-based nomadic groups called *bands*. Social organization tends toward fluidity and flexibility, as the band size, location and composition are adjusted to both variation in food sources and also social factors such as interpersonal tensions. Resources are freely shared with other group members, an exchange pattern known as *generalized reciprocity* (Sahlins 1972). While

not completely equal, nonetheless foraging groups tend to be the most *egalitarian* societies known cross-culturally (Friedl 1978; Kent 1993).

Division of labor is minimal and usually based loosely upon gender, with men usually doing most of the hunting and women performing the bulk of the gathering. Valued though meat is, it is gathering of plant foods (especially among tropical foragers) that usually provide a larger portion of the diet than hunting (Lee 1992). This is one of the reasons why today the alternative term, *hunting and gathering*, is little used to describe this mode of subsistence.

Long presumed to be an excessively harsh lifestyle, in recent decades foraging has been reassessed by anthropologists (Lee and DeVore 1968). It appears that members of many foraging groups work fewer hours per day/week and have greater amounts of leisure time persons living in agricultural and/or industrial societies. Foragers today are usually found in areas of marginal agricultural potential, e.g., deserts and semi-deserts, arctic regions, and tropical rainforests, often as a result of having been pushed there over time by larger, more powerful societies. A corollary is that contemporary foragers, such as the *San* of Southern Africa, are *not* Stone Age relics; rather, they are modern humans who have been interacting with members of other societies for long periods of time (Gordon 1992).

The coming of the *Neolithic* ("New Stone Age") roughly ten thousand years ago saw humans gradually domesticate certain wild plant and animal species. This seemingly modest development eventually triggered massive changes in human settlement patterns, division of labor, social stratification, as well as political and religious organization (Diamond 1987). The production of surplus permitted some individuals to specialize in non-food producing tasks, including religious and political leadership (Harris 1989).

### Pastoralism

Pastoralism entails subsistence reliance on *domesticated herd animals*, with variation in the species kept depending upon environment. Normally herds will be comprised of mixed species, as different varieties of animals contribute different products and often utilize different sources of forage. Although pastoralism is frequently combined with small-scale cultivation, ideologically animal husbandry is considered to be preferable. If pastoralists do not themselves cultivate crops, then invariably they trade animal products for foodstuffs such as cereals, as well as non-food necessities such as domestic goods or clothing. The Middle

Eastern *Bedouin* and East African *Maasai* are prime examples. Like foraging, pastoralism normally involves a high degree of *mobility* and it too is usually found in areas of marginal agricultural potential, that is, those which are too dry or too high for farming, such as deserts and mountainous areas of the Middle East, savannas of Eastern and Southern Africa, and parts of the Himalayas. In mountainous areas, such as major portions of Iran and Iraq, it usually consists of seasonal vertical migrations, a pattern designated as *transhumance*.

## Horticulture

Though in popular usage it usually connotes flower gardening, in terms of subsistence patterns this term refers to *non-intensive crop production* without the use of animal or chemical fertilizers, irrigation, draft animals, or mechanization. Tools are relatively simple (for example, digging sticks, hoes, machetes) and the primary goal is *food production for self sufficiency*. Horticulture usually relies on the use of *slash and burn techniques*, both to clear land of natural vegetation and enhance soil fertility in the form of ash. Plots are typically intercropped, as multiple species are planted in the same field, for variable lengths of time, depending upon local conditions. These fields are then abandoned and this fallowing allows rejuvenation of natural vegetation. Horticulturalists have excellent knowledge of their environments, often making more taxonomic distinctions than scientists (Conklin 1954). Most often found in tropical forests, given the proper set of conditions—especially abundant land and relatively small populations—horticultural systems *can* be infinitely sustainable, contrary to their prevalent image as wasteful, destructive, and “primitive” practices (Reed 1997). Only recently, with disruption of traditional land-use practices and population controls among horticultural groups, in tandem with exogenous pressures (for example, the influx of urban settlers, cattle ranchers, loggers, and gold miners), have areas such as the Amazon Basin faced such dire threats as exist today.

## Agriculture

Agriculture involves *intensive, continuous use of land* for crop production, at least some of which is marketed. Agricultural intensification has been an ongoing process for thousands of years (Boserup 1965) and today a huge continuum of agricultural production

exists—from the smallholder peasant farms of Latin America, Africa, and Asia to the large, industrialized and commercial farms of Europe and North America. Since they are under almost continuous use, *agricultural fields must be fertilized*. While peasant farmers still tend to utilize animal fertilizer, commercial farmers depend heavily upon petroleum based chemicals for their fertilizers, as well as for pesticides and herbicides. Contrary to the intercropping typical of horticultural systems, with agricultural intensification, especially mechanized production, there is a distinct tendency toward *monocropping*. This is true even in time-tested systems such as the traditional wet-rice cultivation of Southeast Asia (for example, Vietnam and Thailand) and the Indonesian archipelago (Geertz 1963).

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**See also Bedouins; Peasants, Impact of Development on**

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## SUDAN

Al-Jumhurriya as-Sudan—the Republic of Sudan—is one of the poorest countries of the world and is rife with ethnic and religious warfare, while social problems such as slavery and disease seriously restrict life expectancy and the possibilities for social and economic development. Life expectancy is low, at fifty-four for men and fifty-seven for women, while per capita gross national income (GNI) was estimated to be \$460 US in 2003.

## Geography and Climate

Sudan is located in north eastern Africa, at approximately 15° N and 30° E. It lies to the south of Egypt,

the west of Eritrea and Ethiopia, the north of Uganda and the east of Chad, among other neighbours. Sudan has a port on the Red Sea at Port Sudan and a large part of inhabited Sudan is located on the valley drained by the River Nile. There are few large settlements apart from the three cities of the capital of Khartoum, North Khartoum, and Omdurman. Regional cities are little more than towns and generally suffer from poor communications and infrastructure.

Sudan is a very large country, approximately the same size as western Europe, occupying some 2.5 million square kilometers. It links the Sahara Desert with the tropical rainforest far to the south. This area includes a wide variety of different types of terrain. Transportation and communications are very difficult on such a scale.

The population was estimated to be around 34 million in 1999, approximately 30% of whom live in urban areas.

### History

The first people to live in Sudan were Africans centred on what is now modern Khartoum, where contact was made with Egypt and other states. Sudanese created the Nubian empire in the north of the country and, with the introduction of the camel around 300 CE, navigation of the desert became possible and trade between African and Mediterranean states was greatly facilitated. In the sixth century, Christian missionaries entered the region and made conversions and built churches among the Nobatae and Beja people living in the north and east.

The Arab Conquest period saw a powerful Arab army invade the country to as far south as Dongola. However, the Arabs could not conquer the land and an arrangement was made to fix the border with Arab-controlled Egypt at its current location and a barrier posted to prevent cross-border movements. This arrangement enabled stability until the invasion of Sudan by Ottoman Egypt in 1820, which resulted in the conquest of a large tranche of the country. The successful occupation was repressive but succeeded in modernizing the country. Western pressure added to local Egyptian control ended some corruption and banned but did not stop the centuries' old practice of slavery.

Resentment of external control, especially the presence of Christian merchants and their importance, led to the emergence of the Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmed, who led a rebellion of religious nature aimed at sweeping away everything considered to be corrupt.

This rebellion led to the defeat of Anglo-Egyptian forces and the independence of Sudan. This did not last long before Anglo-Egyptian forces reconquered the country, ruling it according to a subsequently established Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. This regime aimed at suppressing rebellion and maintaining a light tax burden to avoid arousing more unrest. Nevertheless, nationalism erupted into a fresh revolt in 1924 which was crushed by the British who also took the occasion to expel Egyptian interests from the country, albeit temporarily. It was not until after WWII that British rule over Sudan was finally ended.

The early years of independent Sudan proved to be something of a disappointment to the people as parliamentary rule was insufficient to rid the country of entrenched interests or corruption. In 1958, a military coup brought a new administration that favoured the promotion of Islam and Arabic interests and the rejection of western ideals and indeed missionaries. This was deeply unpopular among the Christian and animist peoples of the south who have spent much of the time subsequently in revolt against government forces. Prosecuting military activities at a distance has proved very difficult for the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) were able to achieve a number of important successes. However, ethnic differences remain of critical importance to many Sudanese and arming tribes with modern firearms has led to hugely increased loss of life.

### Government and Politics

The parliamentary democracy instituted by the British has fallen into disrepute as a result of military coup and autocratic control of government. Democracy and free speech throughout the country are severely curtailed by government censoring of all media. Poverty and poor communications mean few people have access to alternative sources of news and information. Parliament itself was suspended by presidential decree at the end of 1999. No elections have been held since 1996.

Sharia Law was imposed in 1989 after the military coup that brought Lieutenant-General Umar Hasan Ahmed al-Bashir to power. It calls for strong penalties for offences such as drinking alcohol, fornication, or criticizing Muslim institutions. This law is supported by the Arabic people of the north but alien to the traditions of many other people. As poverty and crime are deeply correlated, many poor people have fallen foul of the amputations required for theft and similar penalties that hugely reduce their future economic and social opportunities.

Resistance to government control in the south has been led by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) under the leadership of John Garang, formerly a member of the national military force. The SPLA has received covert material support from the United States, which considers Sudan to be a supporter of terrorism, as the cruise missile strikes against the Al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant in 1998 demonstrated. There have been persistent attempts to link Sudan with the Osama Bin Laden–inspired al Qaeda network.

## **Economy and Industry**

Sudan has very little industry and much of its economy is based on subsistence agriculture, with some 80% of the labour force involved in agriculture. The lack of natural resources, especially potable water, and the harshness of much of the terrain mean that any form of production for exports is very difficult. One of the few exceptions is the breeding of camels which are sent to Arabia for use in racing. Other exports include basic agricultural commodities such as cotton. Philanthropic and charitable giving by Islamic societies and states has replaced the inflows of aid and investment that, in the 1970s, led to a large number of failed projects. A noticeable brain drain was stimulated by the demand for skilled labour in the oil-producing countries of the Persian Gulf and, until 1999, the reliance on imports of oil and many other basic commodities left the country at the mercy of market forces. However, the discovery of oil and the creation of an oil pipeline for exports, together with a program of structural adjustment have stabilized the economy to some extent. Nevertheless, national indebtedness remains a significant problem. So too is a general skilled labour shortage and low levels of literacy and education, especially among women.

## **Health Issues**

Most of the health problems associated with poverty and warfare affect Sudan. In addition, female health is significantly negatively affected by the practice of female circumcision among some peoples. This practice is disastrous for women's health and has a serious impact on reproduction. Cultural practices are instrumental in withholding health treatment for some categories of people, including some with mental health problems. For people living in the desert or jungles of the south, access to health care of any sort is

problematic. Government priorities for healthcare usually do not include older people.

Approximately 2.6% of the population is estimated to be HIV positive while other diseases include Ebola haemorrhagic fever, hepatitis E, shigellosis, and yellow fever. Many forms of foodborne and waterborne disease are considered to be endemic and chloroquine-resistant malaria is prevalent throughout the country.

Mental health is particularly poorly catered for and many healthcare professionals have left the country. Trauma and stress needs caused by warfare and slavery are not currently catered for and government intervention in non-governmental organization (NGO) work is reducing such development aid as reaches Sudan.

## **Ethnic Diversity**

The country is sharply divided between the Arabic people of the north, who are strongly Muslim in faith and mostly derive from nomadic tribes such as the Hadendowa and related Beja peoples, and the African peoples from mostly the south and the west. Fifty-two percent of the population are black, 39% are Arabs, and 6% Beja peoples. Some black African people are Muslims but dislike the Sharia laws, while many are Christians or animists. A wide range of diverse peoples has been placed in the same country for the purposes of administrative convenience on behalf of previously colonizing British. The diversity of peoples and beliefs make nation-building particularly difficult as few have a coherent image of Sudan as a unitary state or even any desire to belong to a larger social structure. The state itself appears to be predatory to many and, at the end of 2004, more evidence is emerging of state attacks on refugee camps inhabited by ethnic minority peoples.

## **Slavery**

Sudan suffers from a slavery trade that is one of the most persistent and pernicious in the world. Evidence suggests that the government itself colludes with slave raiders who capture people during attacks on communities of black Christians or animists or Muslims whose devotion is questioned. It is said that some seventy thousand people have been trafficked into forced labour and sex slavery by these means. The result has been to clear areas considered to be problematic, either because of resistance to the government

or because of proximity to the construction sites of the Greater Nile Oil Project.

## Darfur

The Region of Darfur in the west of Sudan has witnessed tensions for many years between the nomadic Arabs and the sedentary African farmers of the Mas-saleet, Zagawa, and Fur tribes. These have escalated in recent years and armed conflict was initiated by some who claimed the government was supporting the Arab people to the detriment of the black Sudanese. This has been followed by the emergence of the Janjaweed militia force, which has taken reprisals on the black peoples, riding into villages and towns on horses, camels, and vehicles, and engaging in rape, pillage, and slave-taking. It is argued by some that the Janjaweed are supported by members of the government. In any case, some seventy thousand people are believed to have been killed as a result of fighting in the region as of October 2004 and around 1.5 million have fled their homes, leading to a major humanitarian crisis. Aid efforts are being hampered by political considerations as the Sudanese government contends with the allegation made against it by NGOs of genocide.

## Prospects

The Sudanese government is being placed under continuing aggressive scrutiny as a result of its possible support of militia such as the Janjaweed in Darfur, its alleged support of or links with terrorism and its role in promoting slavery in the country. Until transparency is enforced on government actions, it seems unlikely that much progress will be made on developmental goals.

As the US-led "War on Terror" seems set to continue, Sudan would need to distance itself firmly from supposed support for terrorism in order to benefit fully from the international support it so badly needs.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa**

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## SUFISM

Sufism is the mystical and esoteric practice of the religion of Islam. It refers to a broad set of various different movements, some founded in antiquity, others of more modern vintage, but all of which trace their roots to the early establishment of the Islamic faith. Sufi orders are found throughout the Islamic world, representing all of the traditions of Islam, and have also been established among Muslims in Western nations.

The most likely origin of the term is in the Arabic word *suf*, meaning "wool," describing the woolen cloak worn by Muslim mystics during the seventh century. Sufis understand Muhammed to be to the originator of the tradition of Islamic mysticism, which was handed down directly and indirectly to several Sufi orders. The early successors Abu Bakr and Ali are said to have been Sufis, and their leadership led to the emergence of several important early Sufi practices laid down by Hasan al-Basri and his students in the eighth century. The movement declined as a result of opposition from religious authorities in the tenth and eleventh centuries by virtue of its perceived heterodoxy and openness to strong drink. It was reinvigorated in the works of Muhammed al-Ghazali (1059–1111), an Iranian scholar living in Baghdad, and Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Arabi (1165–1240), a Spanish scholar who completed his work in the city of Damascus. While these two are among the greatest authorities in the Sufi tradition, neither established his own unique order.

Since the twelfth century, Sufis have been loosely organized into orders called *turuq*, (paths, s. *tariqa*) founded by eminent leaders known as *walis* (saints) or *shaykhs* (leaders). The largest and most significant of these include the Qadiriya, the Rifa'iya, the Shadhiliya, the Mevleviya, the Naqshbandiya, and the Chishtiya. More modern *tariqas* include the Tijaniya, the Ahmadiya, the Sanusiya, and the Khatmiya.

Sufi theology begins with an endeavor to be “drowned,” or to become “extinct” in the Eternal, an attempt to lose one’s finite existence in an experience of divine unity. To this end, individual Sufis consider themselves to be strongly directed: central figures are said to be travelers on their way back to God. It shares many features in common with the mystical traditions of other faiths, including the desire to move beyond mere righteousness toward a closer union with the deity. Sufis argue that their movement is universal in that it is reflective of the general search for God in spirit, and therefore can be informed by other religious viewpoints in its general search for the divine. This has led many to understand Sufi theology and practice to be syncretistic, reflecting a mixture of beliefs to be found in the monastic and mystical life of other religions.

In addition to the usual Islamic strictures placed on Muslims, Sufi practices include direct emulation of the leaders of the order, fasting and prayer, incantation and repetition of the names of God, (*dhikr Allah*), veneration of saints at community celebrations (*mawlid*s) and tombs, attendance at instructional sessions with the head of the order (*dars*), and the practice of retreat or isolation (*khalwa*). The Sufi tradition is one that seeks to emulate spiritual over temporal enrichment, and as a result they are often called by Arabic *faqir* and Turkish *dervish* (meaning “poor”). Some don inexpensive robes known as *khalwa* and use simple wooden rosaries known as *sibha*. One group, the Mevleviya, is particularly noted for the practice of dancing in circular motion, earning them the name “whirling dervishes.”

While most Sufi orders are predominantly male, women have long had an important role to play as Sufis. One woman, Rabi’a al-Adawiya (717–801) was among the earliest and most revered of the Sufis. Many Sufi orders permit women to lead female orders and to participate equally in Sufi rituals and ceremonies.

Sufism was integral to the spread of Islam in many parts of Asia and Africa, particularly in areas beyond the spread of Muslim empires. Given their strict discipline and organization, Sufi orders became natural poles of opposition to colonial powers in many of these areas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In China, leaders of the Naqshbandi order began a revolt against Chinese domination in the late eighteenth century. Shamil (1796–1871), from a Chechen branch of the Naqshbandi order, led a war against the Russian Empire from 1834 to 1859. Muhammed Ahmad (1844–1885), founder of the Sudanese *ansar* Sufi order, known by his followers as the Mahdi, led an independence movement against British authorities in the 1880s. Sufi orders remain important sources of

political authority in Sudan, where the Umma Party remains closely associated the *ansar* and the Democratic Unionist Party is dominated by the *khatmiya* Sufi order. In Libya, the Sanusiya order presented a significant challenge to French and Italian colonial authorities during the early twentieth century.

As a result of opposition coming from orthodox Islamic elements beginning with the Salafist movement of the early nineteenth century, Sufis have been marginalized as representatives of backward and overly syncretistic “folk religion” in some areas of the Middle East. Urbanization and modernization both presented major challenges to the largely rural Sufi movements. However, Sufi orders continue to be significant to social and political life in places such as South Asia, Indonesia, Sudan, and the Sahel, where their tombs and shrines remain important centers of ritual devotion. For example, in the West African states of Senegal and Gambia, the Tijaniya order directs social services such as shelters for the homeless, medical supports, and educational initiatives for poor farmers. Likewise among Pashtuns in Afghanistan, Sufis of the Naqshbandi Qadiriya order take on the role of mediators and arbitrators in many local settings, also being prominent local educators.

Sufi orders often create communal and commercial opportunities for their members, including agricultural collectives and businesses. Sufi meeting houses (*zawiya*) serve as important social centers in small communities and neighborhoods. The magical power attributed to Sufis—they are commonly held to possess the ability to convey a special blessing (*baraka*)—means that they are often approached for healing and spiritual advice. In many locales, Sufi orders have tended to become involved in social development and service projects, such as health care, orphanages, and educational facilities. All of this gives Sufi orders a natural political resonance, and has led to increased regulation and control over their leadership and practices through governing bodies. For example, in Syria, a policy of co-optation by the state has provided room for pro-regime orders such as the Kufitariya while restricting and silencing orders more critical of the state through repression. The increasing politicization and polarization of Islam in the developing world has contributed to the diversification of Sufi orders. They have adapted both by supporting the more radicalized elements in locations such as Iraq and Afghanistan, and in seeking to present a more moderate and popular face to Western audiences.

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**See also** Islam



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### SUKARNO

Achmed Sukarno (1901–1970) was the most respected, admired, charismatic, and remembered leader of Indonesia.

After graduating from High School, he studied in his country engineering and architecture at the Bandung Technical College where he first became involved in nationalist activity. In 1927, Sukarno established the Indonesian Nationalist Union, which was later known as the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI). This new party's aim was to achieve independence for Indonesia through popular struggle against the Dutch, who had been controlling Indonesia as a colony since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

As years passed, Sukarno managed to gather large crowds who followed him because of his persuasive oratory skills and his ideas of liberation from secular colonialism. He was imprisoned some times during Dutch occupation and then, in 1942, after the Japanese invaded the country, he collaborated with them but only as an opportunity to gain popularity. After World War II and, with the defeat of the Japanese, on August 17, 1945, Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta declared the long-awaited Indonesian independence, and became, respectively, Indonesia's first president and vice-president. He also established the first Constitution which constituted a very important progress for national unity, a long data trouble since Indonesia's territory is composed by hundred of separated islands.

A year later, in 1946, began the *Independence War*, when Dutch and British forces invaded the country; and during those years armed conflicts between the Dutch and Indonesian guerrilla persisted. Due to international pressure, in 1949 the war finished when Netherlands agreed to transfer sovereignty over almost all Indonesia to the federal Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI). On July 5, 1959, President Sukarno decided to put an end to current liberal democracy regime and started what he called *Guided Democracy*, a coalition of very dissimilar

groups in the government. Sukarno had always tried to balance the three primary social forces in Indonesia: the revolutionary nationalistic Army; the popular mass-based Islamic organizations; and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), and Guided Democracy was an attempt to do so. It was a delicate balance between Nationalism (NAS), Religion or *Agama* (A), and Communism (KOM) (NASAKOM). Then Sukarno carried out several measures to unify and help develop the Archipelago as a country and a nation.

One of his most important achievements was to adopt Bahasa Indonesia as the national language. This was very important as most of the people who lived on the different islands had developed greatly different dialects and there wasn't a common language for all that created a common identity.

So as to solve his many economical difficulties, several established Dutch banks were nationalized during the 1950s, including the Bank of Java, which became the central bank of Indonesia, in 1953. The five state banks were merged into a single conglomerate, and private banking virtually ceased.

Another of his contributions to development was the installation of democracy as the political regime for excellence. Outside of a small number of urban areas, the people still lived in a cultural milieu that stressed status hierarchies and obedience to authority. Therefore, although his regime was forced to add some dictatorial features, he promoted democracy as the best political regime for the country. Independent Indonesia's first general election took place on September 29, 1955, and Sukarno's PNI won a slim plurality with the largest number of votes, 22.3%.

In spite of all this encouraging measures, Sukarno has often come in for a lot of criticism for not setting economical growth as a priority in the country's development strategy. However, this point is controversial because his attempts to improve the economical situation were often blocked. For instance, he tried to implement a vast land reform but his efforts were blocked by landowners and Sukarno's own bureaucrats.

Notwithstanding the bad economical situation, Sukarno retained enormous popularity among ordinary Indonesians, awakening in them a great sense of pride in being Indonesian. In 1963, having Sukarno proclaimed himself president for life, the PKI announced a policy of direct action and began dispossessing landlords and distributing the land to poor Javanese, northern Sumatrans, and Balinese peasants.

Regarding his foreign policy, he was the president who initiated the historic Asia-Africa Conference at Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955, which encouraged the spread of the *Non-Aligned Movement*. He also turned away from the West by rejecting their financial aid and came closer towards the People's Republic of

China and the Soviet Union for development assistance. Later on in 1965, owing to the creation of the Malaysian Federation, he separated his country from the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. He argued that the British-supported state (Malaysia) would function as a base from which “neocolonial” forces could exert influence in the region.

This challenging foreign policy was opposed to the United States and other Western countries, which saw his regime as an obstacle for the free exploitation of Indonesia’s valuable natural resources (mainly oil and minerals). Indonesia had also a great value as a strategic position in the South East of Asia. All these reasons account for the permanent interest of the superpowers for the Archipelago, known as the Asian Jewel.

All his inner and foreign policy were resented by the Western countries that considered him as a rival. The weight of superpowers would be very important to disrupt the delicate balance of power he had formed. The end of Sukarno’s regime was suddenly prompted on September 30, 1965, when an alleged communist coup by the so-called September 30 Movement killed six generals and one lieutenant. The next day Maj-Gen. Suharto, seized the situation, including the army’s control and blamed the Indonesian Communist Party as the coup-plotter. Although controversial, many researchers sustain that this incident had been organized and financially supported by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in order to end with Sukarno’s communist and hostile regime. In 1967, the Parliament named Suharto acting president and installed him as president a year later. Sukarno’s power over the nation had already been fully diminished until his formal deposition on March 27, 1968. Sukarno finally retired to the island of Jakarta where he died in June 21, 1970.

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**See also Bandung Conference (1955); Ethnic Conflicts: Southeast Asia; Indonesia; Islam; Nonaligned Movement**

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## SURINAME

Suriname (former Dutch Guiana) is located on the northeast coast of South America between Guyana (former British Guiana) and French Guiana. Brazil lies to the south and the Atlantic Ocean to the north. The land area is about sixty-three thousand square miles.

Suriname’s coastline consists largely of mangrove swamps rooted in alluvial mud from the Amazon River deposited by coastal currents. A strip of low land running along the coast and averaging thirty miles in width contains most of the nation’s agricultural land and population. Inland lies a narrow savannah zone. The interior (80% of the land area) consists of very sparsely populated, largely roadless, upland rain forest. Lying just north of the equator, Suriname is hot year round. There are two rainy seasons, a short one in December and a longer one from March to July.

The population of Suriname (only 430,000 by 2003 estimate) is very diverse. Using official census categories, the largest group (37% of the population) is “Hindustanis,” whose ancestors came from India. The second largest group (31%) is Creoles, Christian of African descent. The Muslim Javanese (15%) are mostly employed in rice agriculture. Maroons (also called Bush Negroes) constitute 10% of the population. They are descended from slaves who escaped and created independent African societies in the jungle. Six Bush Negro tribes are recognized today: the Aluku, Ndjuka, Kwinti, Matawai, Paramaka, and Saramaka. Amerindians (Arawaks, Caribs, Tirios, Akoerio, and Wajana) are only 2.5% of the population. Their traditional way is little affected by the modern world. There are small numbers of Chinese and Europeans. Not counted in any census are illegal Brazilian immigrants, mostly gold miners. There may be as many as thirty-five thousand of these. The religious breakdown of Suriname’s population is Hindu (27%), Muslim (20%), Roman Catholic (23%), Protestant (25%), and animists (5%).

The Guiana coast was sparsely populated when first sighted by Spanish explorers in 1498. British settlers failed to establish viable plantations and by the terms of the Treaty of Breda (1667) the Netherlands

acquired Suriname in exchange for New Amsterdam (New York) and Suriname remained a Dutch colony for the next three centuries. Dutch plantation owners were notoriously cruel to their slaves, many of whom fled upriver. Suriname's rivers are navigable by shallow-draft boats only up to the first fall line; thereafter frequent portages are required. Due to their isolation, the Bush Negroes preserve their synoptic African culture in relatively undisturbed form. This may change, as some now work in Paramaribo and in the Netherlands.

Plantation crops grown for export (coffee, indigo, cacao, cotton, and especially sugar) were by the nineteenth century mostly replaced by food crops grown for internal consumption: rice, plantain, and bananas. Britain re-occupied Suriname in 1804 and banned the slave trade in 1808. The Dutch regained control in 1816. The Dutch abolished slavery in 1863 but bound slaves to their plantations at low wages for another ten years. Almost all slaves left the plantations at the first chance. They were replaced by indentured laborers from India (a total of thirty-seven thousand between 1873 and 1916) and from Java (a total of thirty-three thousand between 1890 and 1940).

Bauxite, the ore from which aluminum is refined, was discovered in Suriname in 1915. During World War II, Suriname supplied the allies with this strategic metal, essential for the manufacture of airplanes. After the war the Dutch granted Suriname progressively greater autonomy, despite the absence of strong pro-independence sentiment among the people. Elections in November 1973 brought to power an alliance of Creole and Javanese parties advocating independence. Suriname became a sovereign nation on November 25, 1975, with Henk Arron, a Creole, as Prime Minister. Approximately forty thousand people of Asian descent emigrated to the Netherlands.

Prime Minister Arron was deposed in a military coup on February 25, 1980. Sergeant-Major Désiré Bouterse emerged as leader of the ruling National Military Council. Bouterse closed newspapers, banned political parties, dissolved parliament, suspended the constitution, and promoted himself to Lieutenant-Colonel. A period of extreme political chaos ensued, including six attempted coups over the next three years. After fifteen prominent opposition leaders were tortured and killed in December 1982 the United States and the Netherlands suspended economic aid. Government social services went into decline. Bush Negro insurgents, led by Bouterse's ex-bodyguard Ronnie Brunswijk, shut down the mining industry around the eastern town of Moengo. In 1987, the military agreed to elections. Bouterse's party won only two of fifty-one seats in the National Assembly but he continued in power,

having by now promoted himself to commander-in-chief. Bouterse "resigned" in 1990 but influenced policy from behind the scenes for the rest of the decade. In July 1999, a Dutch court convicted Bouterse *in absentia* of smuggling nearly two tons of cocaine.

Civil society in Suriname is highly concentrated in Paramaribo. Political parties tend to represent ethnic groups rather than ideological positions. The National Party of Suriname represents Creoles and the Progressive Reform Party represents Hindustanis. The Javanese and Maroons are represented by smaller parties.

Government mismanagement of the economy has brought inflation and unemployment. Nearly half the workforce is employed by the government itself. Agriculture accounts for another 20% of the labor force. Rice is the food staple and the main crop. Food exports include bananas, coconuts, and shrimp. A dam on the Surinam River at Afobaka, paid for by the aluminum companies, creates one of the largest reservoirs in the world and produces electricity needed for aluminum production. Gold mining is carried on illegally and therefore contributes little to the official national budget while generating toxic runoff. Oil production is controlled by the state oil company. There are potentially exploitable deposits of iron ore, copper, nickel, platinum, and manganese. The rainforest contains much valuable timber, but decision-makers must balance receipts from the forestry industry, which it controls, against potential income from eco-tourism. Suriname's rich bio-diversity is now recognized as an economic asset and the government has designated a large area of the highlands as the Central Suriname Nature Reserve.

Health and nutrition are good, with life expectancy at sixty-nine years. Suriname has achieved a 93% literacy rate despite its linguistic diversity. Dutch is the official language but the *lingua franca* is Sranan Tongo, a pidgin consisting of words derived from English, Dutch, and other European and African languages. Hindi, Javanese, and various tribal languages are also spoken. Education is compulsory for ages six to twelve.

Suriname's foreign policy is constrained by the need for economic aid from the Netherlands and the United States. Assistance has been conditionally resumed now that the military has relinquished some of its power and the Bush Negro insurgents have been integrated into the national police force. Territorial claims against Guyana and French Guiana remain active, but neither neighbor is likely to concede territory, as the Armed Forces of Suriname number less than two thousand men.

In elections held in May 2000, the fifty-one-member National Assembly elected Ronald

Venetiaan president. The next elections are scheduled for May 2005. In January 2004, Suriname changed the name of its national currency from the guilder to the dollar.

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## SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

As defined by the United Nations-sponsored Brundtland Report, the objective of sustainable development is to meet the demands of the current generation without compromising the needs of future generations. It is an attempt to be both environmentally conscious and economically productive, two ideals which have traditionally clashed with one another, both in the developing and developed world. This debate is probably most pronounced in the developing world where the rate of increase in environmental change and pollution is highest. While blame for the vast majority of the greenhouse gas emissions to date lies at the feet of the developed world, carbon dioxide emissions from developing countries are expected to pass those from the developed states of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development by the year 2025. The differences in the Northern and Southern hemisphere, the developed and developing world, are central to understanding the debate about sustainable development. Yet before broaching this subject and the neocolonial and green imperialism arguments it introduces, it is important to consider some of the fundamental definitional issues that remain in contention regarding sustainable development.

Sustainable development is about development as opposed to growth. The distinction between development and growth is a critical point. While direct tension between these two interests can at times exist (that is, choosing to allow ivory trade by states such as Botswana, South Africa, and Namibia in 1997 and 2002 as those states have viable elephant populations despite the overall threatened status of African elephants and the resulting international ban on African elephant ivory trade in place since 1989), the two are

more accurately described as complimentary. Any viable long term economic development must directly incorporate ecological health. Just precisely how this is done politically, however, remains a highly contentious issue. Short and long term interests often clash. No consensus exists when it comes to implementing the ideas of sustainable development.

Too often, discussion of economic development is wrongly used interchangeably with that of economic growth. Yet the two terms are decidedly not synonymous. Growth is a quantitative measure; development is qualitative. There is a point where growth comes too fast, or there is simply too much of it. Unsustainable development is development without a plan—which, depending on the definition may not be development at all, but instead simply uncontrolled growth. It is a cancer that ultimately hurts the economy as well as the ecological base on which this economy is built.

To avoid this pitfall, scholars such as former World Bank economist Herman Daly and theologian John Cobb advocate restructuring economies so that they live off the interest of the earth without encroaching upon its capital. Again, what is most notable about this definition is the fact that it incorporates both an inter-generational and intra-generational equity dimension. Future generations are left the resources and ecologically viable environment they will need, and the environmental costs and benefits of today are distributed equitably among those living in the current generation. One generation does not shoulder a disproportionate share of burden. And one region or class within the generation does not shoulder more than its share either. This approach shifts emphasis to maintenance of the earth and its resources, encouraging societies to limit the degree to which they borrow from their children's future. Stewardship becomes the *modus operandi* instead of exploitation.

Looking past this theoretical introduction to the diplomatic history of sustainable development offers additional insight here. The term became part of the global discourse in 1980 with the publication of *World Conservation Strategy* by the hybrid non-governmental organization (NGO) and international organization (IO) known popularly as the World Conservation Union and more formerly as the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), a serendipitous source considering the central role NGOs play in the sustainable development debate today. By 1987, the earlier mentioned Brundtland Commission, led by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Brundtland, popularized the term outright with its publication, *Our Common Future*. Often referred to as the Brundtland Report this work sought to establish a foundation for the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de

Janeiro, Brazil. Officially referred to as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), this was the largest gathering of state leaders at the time. Held twenty years after the 1972 groundbreaking United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden, the Earth Summit sought to achieve multilateral agreements in five key areas. These were the Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, Statement of Forest Principles, Climate Convention, and Biodiversity Convention. Despite high prioritization in a number of state delegations and vast press coverage worldwide, delegates came away with little more than non-binding recommendations. Development interests, particularly within the constraints of an overarching Northern-Southern hemisphere conflict, prevented any tangible results from emerging. Thus some charge that nothing more than hot air emerged out of Rio, that the primary legacy of the Earth Summit has been the extent to which the term sustainable development is now a contested political terrain. This continued even in the aftermath of the progressive World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002.

Part of the blame here must still fall on a continuing fundamental deficiency in traditional economic thinking. More than just two measures are needed to describe profit. To truly measure development, economists and diplomats alike need more categories than merely net and gross profit. To consider sustainable development, decision-makers require a more elaborate system, one that better incorporates environmental accounting. Proposals on the table include basic measures of environmental “goods” and environmental “bads,” to add and subtract respectively from the gross national product (GNP). Of course, application of such practices raises critical complications in terms of cost-benefit analysis. How does one determine what is good and what is bad? And perhaps just as controversial, precisely who makes this determination? Several genuine efforts to meet this demand do exist. Perhaps the most universally accepted new measure to date is the United Nations’ Human Development Index (HDI). Developed in 1990 by the Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq, it has been an integral component of the annual report for the United Nations Development Program since 1993. The HDI incorporates life expectancy, literacy, poverty, and education, in addition to per capita gross domestic product adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP).

Much of what makes sustainable development complicated today is its truly global nature, that is, the problems of climate change, ozone depletion, and species extinction all rest in unsustainable practices. Globalization shapes this, particularly as the

technological advances in communication and transportation have brought even the most physically distant markets ever closer together. Still other impacts are somewhat more localized yet not region specific, appearing in both developed and developing world communities, for example, hazardous waste disposal, transportation pollution, and urban or suburban sprawl. And some such as over-consumption and rampant population growth are generally considered most problematic in either one region of the world or the other, that is, they are symbolic of the North-South divide. For example, in the North, in the developed world, the major sustainable development issues revolve around consumption and waste—and the impact of these activities on the so-called “green agenda” which targets depletion of water and forest resources. More precisely there is a systemic problem with over-consumption in the developed world, where some 20% of the world’s population consumes roughly 80% of the world’s resources. This, in turn, is tied to a problem with waste, specifically the packaging from the products of this consumption. One should also acknowledge that our original definition of the term sustainable development used the phrase development needs, not wants. Much of the consumption in the developed world fits the latter category instead of the former.

Looking towards the South, in the developing world, local communities deal with a somewhat different subset of sustainable development difficulties, one more often described in the context of the “brown agenda.” These are the “pollution of poverty” issues such as sanitation, soil erosion, and drinking water quality. In essence, this type of unsustainable development is tied to two phenomena. One such phenomenon is burgeoning population in areas ill-equipped to handle this rapid growth, that is, the Sudan’s estimated population growth rate in 2004 was 2.64%. Another phenomenon at work is the simple fact that the developing world is trying to catch up economically to the rest of the world—and to do so quickly in much the same manner as the developed world did. Being relatively late comers to the industrial revolution, the developing world is at a disadvantage in the global trading market. Herein lays partial validity in the charges of neo-colonialism or green imperialism that are, at times, levied against the Northern hemisphere. Those from the rich developed world essentially insist that the developing states not to make the same mistakes the developed states did, that the developing world should be more patient in pursuing the benefits of economic development. One could easily label such advice as hypocritical—unless developed states put their money where their mouth is so to speak and provide the necessary financial assistance

to offset any economic sacrifices made by the developing world. Furthermore, there can be the perception that developed states might not always be offering well intentioned advice. Some developing states fear their sovereignty may be compromised to the benefit of more advanced powers just as during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century heyday of imperialism and its extraction of natural resources for the mother country. But these fears notwithstanding, developing states best interests are indeed served by pursuing a carefully planned development path. The advice to consider long term as well as short term development interests is highly advantageous to both the developing and developed world. Yes the developed world can make a common heritage of humankind argument when it comes to protecting species diversity or the lungs of the planet in the Amazonian rainforests. But this is not a zero-sum game where one player's gain is another's loss. All parties, both developing and developed states alike can benefit here—and all can lose.

It is with this understanding that a handful of international agreements have come into force during the last two to three decades, each seeking to address common interests in fostering global sustainable development. Some examples of these range from the 1997 Kyoto Protocol on climate change to the 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer to the 1973 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). Within the United Nations (UN) family, a number of organs often aid in developing both specific international treaties such as these and the larger, more amorphous regimes they foster. Two agencies of particular note are the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the latter of which is the only UN agency headquartered in the developing world. Over the last decade, moreover, The Global Environment Facility (GEF) is still another UN-affiliated institution that supports more sustainable development. In short, the GEF helps developing countries with projects by granting funds to decrease environmental impacts of these projects. Managed by the three implementing agencies of UNEP, UNDP, and the World Bank, this institution targets the six environmental issues of biodiversity, climate change, land degradation, international waters, ozone depletion, and persistent organic pollutants (POPs).

From this broad overview a few final concluding comments can be made. First, while some natural resources are renewable, others are certainly finite—and even renewable resources such as water, trees, or fish can be harvested in ways that make their replacement impossible. This means fundamental limits to the

carrying capacity of the earth do exist. Second, most parties agree that communities need to incorporate such limits into the economic, environmental, and social goals they establish. The interdependence of these issues must be fully recognized. Third, thanks largely to the eloquent and concise wording of the Brundtland Report, general agreement on the need for both inter-generational and intra-generational equity now exists. Together these three components represent the common denominator in effective sustainable development programs around the globe. Of course, identifying these characteristics is not meant to suggest that there is one correct path towards sustainable development. While planning ahead is critical, the blueprint model, a one size fits all mentality, will not work when it comes to sustainable development.

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**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Development History and Theory; Development, Measures of; Ecotourism; Environmentalism; Global Climate Change; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); Population Growth: Impact on Development; Third World; United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**

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### SWAZILAND

The Kingdom of Swaziland is a small landlocked country in southeast Africa, bounded by South Africa on the north, west, and south, and Mozambique to the East. This eastern border coincides with the Lebombo Mountains, a traditional limit to the Swazi. Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the region the various tribes which make up the Swazi people were not bound by national borders but by geography and the presence of competing tribes, particularly the Zulu.

The tribes which make up the Swazi are the Nguni, the Sotho, and the Tonga. Tongaland, part of what is now South Africa, was the home of these tribes until they were forced to the north in the eighteenth century. The earliest recognized ruler of these tribes which make up the Swazi was Ngwane, who led the tribes westward through the Lebombo Mountains to what is now Swaziland. Further definition of the borders was made by his great-grandson, Mswati, who became king in 1840. The Swazi name is derived from King Mswati's.

Mswati attempted to avoid conflict with the arriving Europeans (British and Boers) as well as with the Zulu. He granted lands to the Europeans, and the British helped to remove the threat of the Zulu. Following his death in 1858, a struggle for power within the royal family resulted in the appointment of one of Mswati's sons, Mbandzeni, as king to rule alongside the mother of Mswati's other son Ludonga, who had been killed; because Swazi tradition calls for the king to rule alongside the queen mother and Mbandzeni's mother had died, Mswati's other wife took the post. Mbandzeni reaffirmed the concessions which Mswati had made to the Boers.

The presence of white Europeans caused difficulty for the Swazi rulers, because these foreigners did not respect the traditions and territories of the native population. In addition, the foreigners saw value in such things as minerals (including gold) which would require development for extraction. In exchange for territorial concessions, the Europeans offered relatively cheap trade goods (including firearms) and animals.

Great Britain acquired control over Swaziland as a result of its victory in the Anglo Boer War of 1899.

Under British rule, modern institutions such as money, schools, political redistricting, and taxes were introduced. One of the princes of the royal family, Sobhuza II, was eventually sent to school in the Union of South Africa and would become the first "modern" ruler of Swaziland.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Swaziland was a largely underdeveloped country, with its people torn between traditional ways and the Western ways brought in by the Europeans. During the 1930s, the first efforts were made by Hilda Kuper to document Swazi culture, and her writings provide the basis for much of what is known of Swazi history in the West.

Swaziland's location (nearly surrounded by South Africa) put Swaziland at a disadvantage in trade. Because the country is landlocked it must export through either South Africa or Mozambique, and South Africa was able to effectively control its trade policies. In World War II, some of these restrictions were lifted, and following the war the economic status of the Swazi improved somewhat, since the mining industry made employment opportunities available.

By the 1950s, highways were being built, and even traditional activities like agriculture were being modernized leading to greater productivity.

In 1963, Great Britain imposed the Swaziland Independence Constitution on the nation, establishing legislative and executive councils. While this was in keeping with European institutions of government, it was very much at odds with traditional forms of government in Swaziland. Nevertheless in 1964 elections were held for the Legislative Council, and subsequently the council proposed changes to the constitution leading to the establishment of a Senate and House of Assembly. This constitution took effect in 1967. Swaziland declared independence from Great Britain on September 6, 1968, and a new Independence Constitution took effect; this constitution was suspended in 1973. Other changes were made, and Swaziland currently operates under a constitution put in place in November 2003.

Between the 1950s and 1990s, the population of Swaziland nearly quadrupled, and by 1995 over 1 million people lived in the country. Population growth is expected to moderate in the first decade of the twenty-first century, then drop slightly before the middle of this century.

Swaziland is still a functioning monarchy, although it also has many Western political institutions. One of King Sobhuza II's wives gave birth to the present king, in 1968. The prince was named Makhosetive ("King of All Nations"), and like his father was educated in South Africa. Upon the death of his father in 1982, King Sobhuza II's primary wife

became the Queen Regent. Makhosetive took the title of King Mswati III, and with his own mother began to rule the country.

King Mswati III came under criticism in 2002 over an incident which reveals the degree to which the nation has developed. Traditionally the Swazi king has selected his wives at an annual event, the Reed Dance, at which young women dance for him. In October 2002, one such woman was chosen and taken by the king's agents to one of the palaces, from which she was not permitted communication with her mother. The girl's mother sued the king, and King Mswati III threatened to dismiss the judges hearing the case.

The demand for human rights, particularly women's rights, in Swaziland is very much a modern development in Africa's last monarchy and the king has shown no willingness to change. However, advocates for human rights point out the king's behavior might encourage other men to kidnap their own brides, a procedure unacceptable anywhere but especially in Swaziland, which has a rate of infection with HIV/AIDS which became the highest in the world in 2004.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southern Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; Southern Africa: International Relations**

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## SYRIA

Syria had a gross domestic product (GDP) of \$17 billion and a population of 16 million in 2000. About 80% of the population are Arab speaking and about 70% Sunni Moslems. The main sectors of the economy are agriculture and oil. Syria is one of the few economies in the Middle East not to have experienced significant liberalization, privatization, and freer foreign trade. President Bashar el-Assad was appointed after the death of his father, Hafez el-Assad in 2000. They are both from the minority Alawite community. The later took power in a military coup in 1971.

In the 1970s, gross domestic product increased by an annual average of 10% in real terms. Although the 1970s were years of growth, the economy did not experience structural change. In 1970, agriculture accounted for 20% of GDP, industry 25%, and services 48%, in 1980 and in 1990 the shares were virtually unchanged. The increase in the share of industry was due to the development of the oil sector rather than to the industrialization of the economy: the share of manufacturing in the economy hardly changed.

In the early 1970s, the Syrian economy experienced nationalization; import protection; large-scale state investment; expansion of the public sector, restrictions on the private sector; subsidization of many goods and services, a multiple exchange rate system and tight controls over the movement of capital. The banking system was totally controlled by the government.

Economic policy in the 1970s aimed at increasing industrial employment, expanding the role of the public sector, while at the same time, private sector activity was permitted within strict limits. The aim was to transform the country within the ideological framework of Arab socialism, from an agriculturally based economy to an industrial one.

Syria benefited from foreign aid from both the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the Arab Gulf States. Private remittances also increased as Syrians joined other Arab emigrants to work in the Gulf after the 1973–1974 rise in oil prices. As a result of the decline in Gulf oil revenues in the mid-1980s and disputes with the Syrian and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), capital inflows declined. The fall in the oil revenues of Gulf States also reduced the demand for Syrian labor there and remittances consequently declined. These factors, accompanied by bad harvests, due to drought in 1982–1984, led to a near zero economic growth rate between 1982 and 1985. This deterioration led to a series of changes in economic policies, at first in the direction of austerity and later towards liberalization.

Given the country's backward technological state, turnkey projects were imported; whole plants were bought from foreign firms and they supplied personnel to set them up. Syria lacked the skilled manpower to operate many of these plants and the heavily politicized and centralized management systems employed failed to make optimal use of the investments after they were completed. Most economic activity was carried out within the framework of a series of five year plans which were inspired by the Soviet Union's experience. The main aim was to generate fast economic growth through public sector investment. The emphasis of the plans varied, with a larger share of



funds being allocated to industry in the 1970s and 1980s than in the 1960s.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the public sector was dominant. However, the actual amount invested in the public sector was always much lower than planned. This was due to the failure of the government to obtain finance for projects in the plan and its inability to undertake all that it hoped to because of administrative failings. On the other hand the private sector exceeded its share in every plan, suggesting that a more decentralized approach would have been more successful.

The 1980s were much more problematic. Between 1980 and 1990, the economy grew more slowly than the population. Capital inflows from the Arab world declined. It was against this background that Syria began to reform its economy in the late 1980s. This was done on an ad hoc basis designed to cope with increasing internal pressures rather than on the basis of a comprehensive program.

Some of the problems that affected the economy in the 1970s and 1980s continued in the early 1990s. These included rapid population growth; reliance on rental incomes such as workers' remittances and foreign aid; a very small manufacturing sector; formidable bureaucracy and politicization of the public sector; high defense spending and a large military establishment; economic isolation, water and electricity shortages. The government subsidized prices through a complex budgetary system and administered other controls with distorting effects throughout the economy.

The period 1990–1994 was one of fast economic growth, with GDP increasing by an annual average of 7.5%. In 1995–1996, it was 6.5% and in 1997–1999 it was estimated at –3%. The deceleration was due to a number of factors. The manufacturing sector suffered from increased competition from imports that resulted from the partial liberalization of foreign trade. The adoption of more stringent financial policies by the government squeezed demand and thus helped to slow the rate of growth. Crude oil production and refining output declined in 1996. A draught

that had severe effects on agricultural production in 1999 reinforced these trends.

In recent years, oil exports revenues have also played an important role. Changes in aid and remittance as well as oil revenues have had significant effects on the economy, but their levels were largely outside the control of the government. Since 1994 there has also been a significant inflow of capital from Syrian residents abroad who have invested in new projects under Law Number 10 of 1991.

Economic reforms have had ideological significance in that the regime now wants the private sector to play a major role, especially in investment. Private capital has been invested in sectors of the economy that were previously closed to it.

Structural change takes time and it is therefore necessary to measure development over a period of five to ten years. Between 1980 and 1994, agriculture's share in the economy declined by 4.1%; the mining and quarrying sector's share tripled as a result of the expansion of the oil sector. Although, manufacturing increased in absolute terms, it was very significant that its share in the economy declined. In 1998, it accounted for only 7% of GDP, less than in 1985.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Middle East; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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## TAIWAN

### Background Information

Taiwan, officially known as the Republic of China (ROC), is an island of thirty-six thousand square kilometres in the Western Pacific and has a population of 22,749,838. The island is located north of the Philippines, south of Japan, and to the southeast of China. Most of Taiwan is composed of rugged mountain terrain, leaving the alluvial plains of the western coast as the major areas of population and urban settlement. The east coast of the island, with the exception of a rift valley extending from Hualien to Taitung, is largely unsuitable for agriculture and is sparsely settled. The Central Mountain Range runs down the centre of the island from north to south. Jade Mountain (Yushan), at 13,113 feet (3,997 meters), is the tallest mountain peak in East Asia. Straddling the Tropic of Cancer, Taiwan has long, hot summers and cool winters. Winters are cold and rainy in the north, but generally remain warm and sunny in the south. Typhoon season lasts from July to September, which can bring violent storms and dangerous floods to Taiwan.

From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was a Japanese colony. During that time, its economy was based primarily on agricultural exports and industrial processing of agricultural by-products. Major infrastructure projects, including railroads, ports, and hydroelectric dams, were constructed at that time and served as the base

for later development. The island's development under the subsequent rule of the Chinese Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang*, KMT) has thus appeared as nothing short of phenomenal. In 1962, Taiwan had a per capita gross national product (GNP) of \$170 USD, placing its economy between those of Zaire and Congo. In 1999, Taiwan calculated its Human Development Index as twenty-third in the world, including a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of \$19,197 USD, showing that its economy had reached the standards of Southern Europe. This economic feat has been treated in academic literature as a paradigmatic example of growth with equity.

### The Political Context of Taiwan's Postwar Development

Taiwan's rapid economic development is closely related to the exigencies of the Cold War. At the conclusion of World War II in 1945, the Allies "returned" Taiwan to the Republic of China (ROC) under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) and his party, the KMT. The first two years of KMT rule were marked by high inflation, widespread unemployment, and rampant corruption in forms ranging from KMT soldiers stealing from the local population to the government moving entire factories to China.

When local Taiwanese people protested against corruption and undemocratic rule in February 1947,

the KMT state responded by sending troops to Taiwan and killing more than twenty thousand people in the massacre, which is now known as the 2:28 Incident. After the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the KMT retreated to Taiwan. The KMT ruled the island—under martial law for forty years—with the claims that only they remained the legitimate government of China and that they would eventually push back the Communists.

Due to its experience in the Korean War, the United States perceived the importance of KMT-ruled Taiwan as an “unsinkable battleship” in the Cold War against Communism and began full support of Chiang Kai-shek. Faced with the spectre of potential domestic opposition and/or invasion from the Communist mainland, the KMT was willing to cooperate with the US government and build Taiwan into a model of successful Asian capitalism.

## Agricultural Development

With US encouragement, Taiwan began implementing “Land-to-the-Tiller” agricultural reforms in agriculture in 1953. Members of the landlord class, still covered by the violent events of February 28, 1947, offered no resistance and accepted stock holdings in nascent state industrial enterprises as compensation for their lands. The state also invested heavily in rural infrastructure and irrigation. From 1954 to 1967, agricultural production maintained an annual rate of 4.4%, a growth that helped check discontentment in the countryside. Overvaluation of the New Taiwan (NT) dollar on world markets, combined with agricultural taxes and policies (such as compulsory procurement of rice at below-market prices), made it possible for the government to transfer resources from agriculture to industry.

## Industrial Development

Taiwan began its postwar industrial development with import substitution policies by establishing public enterprises in fields such as steel, petroleum refineries, and shipbuilding; the island also started protecting and nurturing private investment in textiles, plastics, and synthetic fibres. With US financial support and expert advice, as well as preferential access to US markets, Taiwan by the 1960s was able to begin selective policies of export substitution. The initial thrust was primarily focused on labour-intensive production of textiles, footwear, plastic goods, and bicycles.

Taiwan soon developed an industrial structure combining large, often state-owned, industries in the upstream sectors with dense subcontracting networks of private Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the downstream sectors. “Mainlanders,” the Mandarin-speaking people who came with Chiang Kai-shek from China in 1949, held most of the key positions in government and large industry. The “native Taiwanese,” who had already lived in Taiwan for generations, were mostly left with positions in labour and in the riskier SME sector.

State campaigns played an instrumental role in the development of these industries. The KMT government, for example, launched a “Living Rooms as Factories” Movement in the 1970s to channel the surplus labour of mothers into subcontracting production in family-owned SMEs. In the larger firms, strong social control, including the placement of security forces in all large factories, ensured a docile workforce with little opposition and no autonomous labour movement.

## Economic and Political Shock Waves

In the mid-1970s through the late 1970s, Taiwan was hit by a number of economic and political shocks. Taiwan responded to the Oil Crisis of 1973–1974 and subsequent inflationary pressures by shifting the emphasis of industrial policies to non-energy-intensive, less polluting, and technology-intensive fields such as machine tools, semiconductors, computers, telecommunications, and biotechnology. In 1980, the Hsinchu Science-based Industry was opened to facilitate cooperation between research units of universities and government institutions as well as between domestic and foreign high-tech firms.

At approximately the same time, as the world began to recognize the existence of the People's Republic of China, the KMT's “Republic of China” of Taiwan lost international recognition. The United Nations (UN) ceased recognition of the ROC in 1971, giving the Chinese seat in the UN Security Council to the PRC. Japan and Canada both shifted diplomatic recognition to the PRC in 1972. The United States followed suit in 1979. Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975. His son, Chiang Ching-kuo (1909–1988), replaced him as chairman of the KMT in 1975 and as president of the ROC in 1978. Throughout these political changes, a democratic opposition arose demanding the end of martial law and independence of Taiwan from the KMT-imposed Republic of China.

In December 1979, a Human Rights Day celebration in the southern city of Kaohsiung ended in chaos after pro-government instigators incited violence, and

police used tear gas against the crowd. The KMT used the incident, known as the Kaohsiung Incident, as an excuse to arrest leading members of the opposition. Many of those arrested, including Annette Lu (Lu Hsiu-lien), continued to build up an opposition movement and the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in the years to come.

## Political and Economic Restructuring

In response to demands of a renewed opposition movement, martial law was finally abolished in 1987. Chiang Ching-kuo died in 1988, to be replaced by his handpicked successor Vice President Lee Teng-hui (b. 1923). In 1996, Lee Teng-hui was the first democratically elected and the first native Taiwanese president in the history of the ROC. In 2000, the opposition DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian was elected president with feminist opposition leader Annette Lu as his chosen vice president.

In the 1990s, due to a rise in the value of the NT dollar and correspondingly high cost of Taiwanese labour, Taiwan underwent further industrial restructuring with a shift from labour-intensive to capital-intensive production. Labour-intensive manufacturing processes, such as for shoes and electronic goods, largely shifted production to mainland China and Southeast Asia, with domestic production shifting to high-tech, capital-intensive industries. Those labour-intensive firms that remained in Taiwan began hiring foreign workers from Thailand, the Philippines, and other Southeast Asian countries to cut labour costs. Taiwan thus became a net exporter of capital in the region.

## Rise and Decline of the Information Technology Sector

With economic restructuring, the Taiwanese economy became increasingly dependent on computers and related industries. In 1997, the hardware information technology industry yielded a total production value of \$30 billion USD, making it Taiwan's most important foreign exchange earner. Since 1995, Taiwan has been the world's third largest computer hardware supplier, trailing only behind the United States and Japan. In 2000 to 2001, this dependency brought relative economic hardship to Taiwan as the result of a world downturn in the information technology industries. In the second quarter of 2001, the economy contracted by 2.35%, after more than two decades of more than 6% annual growth. In September 2001,

unemployment rose to 5.32%, bringing hardship and economic insecurity to a population that had enjoyed unemployment rates of around 2% since the 1970s. This negative economic condition was surely exacerbated by rapid movement of industrial production from Taiwan to China.

## Development of Civil Society

Economic development and prosperity in Taiwan have also led to the creation of a vibrant civil society. Women, formerly urged to follow Confucian virtues of submission to men during the "Living Rooms as Factories" campaign, began lobbying for equal rights through feminist groups such as the Women's Awakening Foundation. Independent labour unions, such as the Taiwan Labour Front, were formed to lobby for workers' rights and began holding an annual march on Labour Day. Environmental groups, including the Taiwan Environmental Protection Union, the Green Party, and local chapters of Greenpeace, started working on issues ranging from nuclear waste to the protection of endangered migratory birds. In 2000, the planned construction of the controversial fourth nuclear power plant became one of the main issues in the presidential election. Some Taiwanese industrialists began claiming that vocal labour and environmental lobbies make Taiwan an unattractive place for investment.

An indigenous rights movement emerged to defend the 3% of Taiwan's population who are of Austronesian ethnicity. Systematically marginalized culturally and economically under both Japanese and KMT rule, these First Nations of Formosa are arguably the main losers in Taiwan's economic development. Many of the issues raised by the movement are thus directly related to development. The Tao people of Orchid Island, for example, lobbied for the removal of nuclear waste from their island and limited self-rule. The Taroko people of Hualien County demanded that Asia Cement return land plots that had been illegally transferred from aboriginal farmers. Indigenous rights received institutional recognition through the establishment of a cabinet-level Council of Aboriginal Affairs in 1996 and the inclusion of indigenous rights in a 1997 amendment to the ROC Constitution.

## Relations with China

As many Taiwanese-owned firms transfer industrial production to low-wage China, the economies of

Taiwan and China have become more closely inter-related than ever in history. China, which claims Taiwan as part of its own territory, has isolated the island state diplomatically. China's actions towards Taiwan in recent years have wavered between promises of economic cooperation and threats of military invasion, which have even escalated to a missile crisis during Taiwan's presidential election of 1996. Some Taiwanese people, especially those who came over from China with Chiang Kai-shek in 1949, see in the Chinese economic reform hopes for reviving a united, democratic, and prosperous Republic of China that encompasses both China and Taiwan. The possibility of economic and political union with China has thus become one of the main development debates in Taiwan.

Pro-unification forces argue that only full integration of the two economies will protect Taiwan's high standard of living by making it easier for Taiwanese entrepreneurs to invest in the mainland. Those who argue for the status quo or legal independence argue that it is precisely mainland investment and the related loss of production in Taiwan that have precipitated economic crisis. Surveys conducted by the Mainland Affairs Council in July 2001 showed that 20% of the Taiwanese populace lean toward unification, 16.6% toward legal independence, and the remaining majority prefer to maintain the status quo of *de facto* independence. However, President Chen Shui-bian has been a supporter of Taiwanese independence, and many (including China) think that he will eventually attempt to officially separate Taiwan, which was granted full UN membership in 2001 from mainland China. In early 2005, China passed an anti-secession law, permitting the use of military force should Taiwan attempt to break away. This law has caused great consternation not just for Taiwan but internationally, as the United States has its own legal requirement to assist Taiwan in the event of military action against it, in order to maintain democracy.

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### TAJIKISTAN

The Republic of Tajikistan is located in Central Asia, bordering with China in the east, with Kyrgyzstan in the northeast, with Uzbekistan in the northwest and west, and with Afghanistan in the south. This landlocked mountainous country has a land area of 143,100 square kilometers (55,250 square miles) and is the smallest in the Central Asian region.

The population of Tajikistan was estimated at about 6,578,680 in 2001. It is one of the least urbanized countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) with around 72% of its people living in rural areas (CIA estimate). The country's capital city, Dushanbe (known as Stalinabad between 1929 and 1961), is home to 550,000 people (estimated in 2001) or 8% of the population. Tajikistan has one of the fastest growing populations in the CIS with the growth rate of 2.12% (33.23 births per 1,000 people estimated in 2001), and its population could double within the next twenty to twenty-five years. The official language is Tajik; Russian is widely used in government and business; and Uzbek is also widely spoken. Sunni Muslims make up 85% of the population, with a 5% Shi'a minority, and 10% of the population follows other religions, such as Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Lutheranism, and Evangelical Lutheranism.

Since ancient times, the Persian-speaking Tajiks were engaged in labor-intensive agriculture, crafts, and servicing trade on the Great Silk Road. They established flourishing city-states in Central Asia and developed sophisticated architectural and irrigation skills. However, these city-states suffered considerably from the thirteenth century onward because of the devastating Genghis Khan invasion and numerous incursions led by various Turkic-speaking khans.

Consequently, the Tajik society entered the nineteenth century as a backward, feudal country with most of the population engaged in subsistence economy. The Great Game—the competition between Great Britain and Russia—established a line of control between the great empires, when one part of Tajik-populated land was given to Afghanistan and the other part was annexed to a Turkistan governor-generalship that was controlled by Russia.

Major economic and social changes were brought to the Tajik society after the Russian Revolution of 1917. The territory of Tajikistan was the last area in Central Asia where the Bolsheviks had established their control after suppressing British-sponsored resistance. In 1924, with Soviet assistance, Tajikistan became a Soviet Autonomous Republic (province), a constituent part of the Uzbekistan Republic. Only in 1929 was it granted the status of the union republic, a constituent part of the USSR, when it was established within its present borders plus an additional territory of Leninabad region. The Communist Party of Tajikistan (CPT) came to power, to remain the single ruling party for the next seventy years.

After establishing full control over the territory of Tajikistan, the Soviet government has made consistent attempts to overcome both the patriarchal nature of the society and the backwardness of the national economy that was mainly based on subsistence agriculture. Although informally the government tolerated some degree of entrepreneurship, it established tight state control over most of the enterprises and directed economic development through central planning. In the 1930s, the government forced all farmers to join *kolkhozy*, or the state-controlled cooperatives (specializing in cotton, silk, and crop cultivation). During World War II, the Soviet government relocated a number of factories from the Nazi-occupied territories and established new industries, including defense, heavy industry (such as agricultural machinery), light industry (such as food processing and textile and garment manufacturing), and mining of nonferrous metals. It also invested in construction of huge hydroelectric power stations, one of the most expensive schemes in the USSR. According to official statistics, Tajikistan's economy grew twenty-one-fold between 1940 and 1984; however, in the 1970s and 1980s, the economy grew at a considerably slower rate due to rising structural and other difficulties in the Soviet-planned economy. The state-led rapid economic development and intensive agriculture led to environmental degradation and erosion of the fragile soil of mountainous oases and valleys.

In the middle of the 1980s, Gorbachev launched his *perestroika* policy that aimed at the stimulation of economic growth through economic decentralization.

This policy split the ranks of the CPT and led to a popular unrest in Dushanbe in 1990. Although the CPT won parliamentary elections in 1990 and its representative, Rahmon Nabyev, won presidential elections, the opposition refused to recognize the results. On the eve of its independence, Tajikistan was sliding into a civil war.

### Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Century Developments

Tajikistan declared its independence from the USSR on September 9, 1991. The conservative government resisted any kind of radical political and economic reforms and stuck to the Soviet era policies and ideology. In 1992, the civil war, fueled by a regional rivalry and growing Islamic radicalism, broke out in Tajikistan and led to the ousting of President Nabyev. After numerous clashes in which both sides—the government and the opposition—destroyed infrastructure, properties, and irrigation systems, a coalition of regional elites installed Imomali Rakhmonov as the head of the parliament. In 1994, he won the presidential elections. In 1997, with Russian assistance, he managed to end the war after signing a peace accord with the United Tajik Opposition (UTO). The agreement granted the UTO several governmental positions. In the bitter contested presidential elections of 1999, the UTO candidate lost to President Rakhmonov.

Since 1997, the Tajikistan's government has adopted a program of postwar economic reconstruction focusing on restoration of major sectors of the economy and achieving food self-efficiency. The government welcomes private initiatives, promotes liberalization of its trade, and has opened up the national economy to international investment. It was among the last CIS states to introduce its national currency, the somoni, in October 2000. According to the World Bank, Tajikistan's economy declined at an average annual rate of 10% between 1990 and 2000 due to devastating effects of the civil war. The country increasingly relies on the export of raw materials to the international market, especially aluminum, cotton, and fruits. The country needs considerable foreign direct investments and international assistance to modernize existing technologies and to conduct major economic changes.

Agriculture, industries, and services are the three main pillars of the modern Tajikistan's economy, contributing 19.4, 25.7, and 54.9%, respectively, to the gross domestic product (GDP) (World Bank, 2001 estimate). The country depends heavily on imports of

machinery, fuel, industrial consumer goods, and food products. In 1999 and 2000, the national government appealed to the international community for food assistance, as its population faced hunger and starvation from the devastating drought. Total external debt reached \$922 million (USD) in 2001, and it is expected to grow in the near future.

Due to the civil war and difficulties of postwar reconciliation, there was a steady decline in living standards among all groups of the population, especially women and children. The country remains the poorest country in the former Soviet Union, with average monthly wages equal to \$12 to \$15 USD and with 83% of the population living below the poverty line (World Bank 2001 estimate). At least fifty thousand people per annum leave for other countries in a search for jobs and better standards of living. In 2001, the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP's) Human Development Index (HDI) put Tajikistan in 103rd place out of 162, behind all the former Soviet countries.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations**

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## TALIBAN

The Taliban is a fundamentalist Islamic movement that came to power in the chaos of Afghanistan in the years after the Soviet occupation (1979–1989). The group's most notorious act was to have provided safe havens for Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda terrorist organization after the attacks of September 11, 2001 against the United States' World Trade Center in New York and Pentagon in Washington, DC.

## Background

In the 1970s, Afghanistan was a client state of the Soviet Union. Unsatisfied with the leadership of its client, the Soviets staged an invasion on Christmas Eve 1979 and put in place a more compliant government. This brutal invasion inspired a widespread revolt against the Soviet presence. A guerilla war against the Soviets went on for ten years. The guerillas were supported by Islamic states around the world (as well as by the United States, which provided covert aid to the anti-Soviet fighters). The fighters in this war, many of them volunteers from the Islamic world, called themselves *mujahideen* (holy warriors). The war did immense damage to Afghanistan, killing hundreds of thousands and leaving millions homeless. The war also radicalized Islamic extremists who saw the guerilla wars in Afghanistan as part of a larger war between Islamic values and corrupt foreign ideologies.

By the late 1980s, the Soviets had decided that the war in Afghanistan could not be won. In 1989, they pulled out their troops. The Soviet defeat, however, did not end the fighting in Afghanistan. The *mujahideen* spent three more years fighting against the pro-Soviet government that remained in place, finally defeating it in 1992. They then fought amongst themselves as different factions of the *mujahideen*, each backing a different leader and fighting over control of the country. It was in this context of more than a dozen years of turmoil that the Taliban rose to power.

The word Taliban comes from the Arabic word for student, "talib," combined with the Persian plural suffix "-an." This name is appropriate because the Taliban began as a student movement. The roots of the Taliban's ideology are in India. In the nineteenth century, a conservative Islamic movement arose called the Deobandi Movement, named after the Indian town of Deoband, in which its most famous learning center was located. Deobandi *madrassas* (religious schools) taught a very traditional interpretation of Islam in which modern education was disparaged and women were placed in a strongly subservient role. Deobandi-style *madrassas* spread across South Asia but were particularly prominent and influential in Pakistan, a country to which many Afghans had fled during the ongoing wars in their country. Many Afghani returned to their country after spending time in these *madrassas* and were strongly committed to bringing about a traditional Islamic state in their homeland. Starting in 1994 in the southern province of Kandahar, a group of these Deobandi-inspired Afghan students began the Taliban movement.

The students' attempt to retake the country received broad support from many people in Afghanistan who

were tired of the constant fighting between various *mujahideen* warlords. The Taliban was also aided in its rise to power by early financial support from Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi who had dedicated his life to Islamic holy war. From a small group of men, the Taliban quickly expanded into a nationwide movement and spread across the country, defeating most of the Afghan warlords (many of whose troops deserted wholesale to the Taliban forces). By 1999, the group controlled 95% of the country (a small area remained under the control of the opposition warlord named Ahmad Shah Massoud). Afghanistan's civil war was largely over, and the country's new rulers were the Taliban forces.

### **Afghanistan Under the Taliban**

Following ideological roots, the Taliban set about imposing its interpretation of Islam on Afghanistan. Under the leadership of Mullah Muhammad Omar, the Taliban forces attacked anything they interpreted as not in accord with traditional Islamic values. They banned television, ordered men to grow traditionally long beards, and attacked non-Muslim religious symbols. The most infamous of these attacks was the March 2001 destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas, giant statues carved into a mountainside that were at least 1,500 years old.

The Taliban also targeted the producers of opium and heroin in Afghanistan (both drugs are derived from the poppy plant, which is easily grown in Afghanistan's climate). The Taliban's strict adherence to the Koran, and the group's ruthless methods, led it to successfully ban the opium and heroin trade in Afghanistan. Although this was supported by some foreign anti-drug organizations, it had a negative effect on many Afghans because heroin export was one of their main sources of income.

A key group victimized by Taliban orthodoxy was Afghan women. The Taliban decreed that women be covered from head to toe in a traditional black robe called a chador. Women who wore high heels under their robes were beaten. Most damagingly, women were forced to quit their jobs. In a poor country where many men were dead after the years of fighting and where women were therefore often the primary income earners, this decree was economically devastating. The Taliban's restrictions also extended to young girls who were forbidden from attending school (Deoband orthodoxy argued that girls needed no education after the age of eight).

The Taliban's narrow-minded religious attitudes hampered efforts of international aid organizations

that were making efforts to rebuild the war-shattered country. Female aid workers were often harassed, and some organizations responded by withdrawing their employees. Even those organizations that stayed found it difficult to raise funds for a country that had such anti-Western beliefs.

The Taliban also allied itself with forces hostile to the United States, most notoriously Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden was a close confidant of Afghan leader Mullah Omar and was allowed to establish bases and training camps for his al-Qaeda organization in Afghanistan. By 2001, Afghanistan had become the primary base of bin Laden and al-Qaeda.

Many Afghans were unhappy with the Taliban. Its extremist policies did not suit Afghanistan's relatively more relaxed attitudes toward Islam. Afghanistan's many ethnic minorities also were disturbed by the Taliban's tendency to favor the Pashtun over other ethnic groups. Kandahar, where the Taliban gained their first foothold, was dominated by ethnic Pashtun. The inability of the Taliban to relieve Afghanistan's desperate poverty also alienated many people. Nevertheless, the Taliban had many supporters among conservative Muslims and Pashtun chauvinists.

### **The United States Intervention**

The Taliban's support for bin Laden and al-Qaeda became fatally important after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States. President George Bush, with widespread international support, held the Taliban government partially responsible for the attacks because of its support for Bin Laden. The Taliban refused US demands that bin Laden be extradited for his responsibility in the September 11 attacks. President Bush responded by ordering US forces to overthrow the Taliban. The United States was aided in its efforts by Ahmad Shah Massoud and his Northern Alliance, which had never given up in its war against the Taliban. Backed by heavy US air power and a small number of elite US troops, the Northern Alliance was able to come down out of its strongholds and retake the country in a few months. US bombing began in early October, and by December 7, the Taliban had lost their final base in Kandahar.

Although the US-aided attack was able to overthrow the Taliban, it did not succeed in capturing bin Laden, who was believed to have escaped into the mountainous regions of neighboring Pakistan. Pakistan's government had been one of the Taliban's few international supporters (along with Saudi Arabia). After September 11, Pakistan became officially hostile



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to the Taliban, but many Pakistanis, including some government officials, were still sympathetic to both the Taliban and Osama bin Laden.

Under US supervision, but also with extensive help from the rest of the international community, a coalition of Afghan groups met in Bonn, Germany, and agreed to the creation of a coalition government. Hamid Karzai was elected president of the first post-Taliban government by representatives from around the country. Karzai was reelected in October 2004 in the new Afghanistan's first national elections (in contrast with the Taliban's attitudes toward women, Karzai's government included three women ministers).

The new Afghan government faced significant challenges, including a country still devastated by war, regional warlords who were reluctant to share power with the central government, and a Taliban force that still had not completely admitted defeat. Thousands of US and other foreign troops continued to operate in Afghanistan, helping Karzai's government to maintain order and track down still active bands of Taliban guerillas. The Taliban's period of rule had left impoverished the country, but some Afghans, particularly in the southern areas, remained sympathetic to its conservative Islamic ideology. The hostility to the presence of foreigners on Afghan soil also helped to give Taliban insurgents some popular support. Even after the 2004 elections, Taliban attacks, particularly in hard-to-reach rural areas, remained a serious problem.

Most Afghans, however, seemed to be generally relieved to be free from the Taliban's onerous restrictions and religious rulings. Taliban government bodies, like the Department to Prevent Vice, were replaced by schools and hospitals (funded, in part, by more than \$2 billion of international aid). A dark lining to this silver cloud is the resurgence of the heroin trade. In 2004, freed from the Taliban's antidrug policies, Afghanistan again became the world's number one exporter of heroin.

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**See also Afghanistan; Women: Legal Status; Women Living under Muslim Laws (WLUML); Women: Role in Development**

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## TANZANIA

### Geography, Topography, and Climate

Tanzania consists of Tanganyika, on the African mainland, and the offshore islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The country is situated in East Africa, bordered by the Indian Ocean to the east and by Lake Tanganyika to the west, and comprises 945,087 square kilometres. From the coast, it rises to high plateaus and mountainous regions. The climate is heavily influenced by the monsoon seasons. The coast has a tropical climate with an annual rainfall of approximately one thousand millimetres, while the highlands have a moderate climate with an annual rainfall of approximately two thousand millimetres. Ecological conditions limit agriculture to a relatively small section of the country.

### Historic Past and Economic Situation

Tanzania is inhabited by the Bantu peoples, with Indian and Arab minorities on the coast. From the first century CE onward, the coast and the islands have had commercial contacts with the Middle East. In part, this has led to the near total Islamization of the coast and islands. Main export goods were raw materials, such as ivory. The coast was occupied by the Portuguese from the beginning of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries and thereafter by the Omanis, many of whom settled on Zanzibar. In 1884, the Germans claimed formal possession of Tanganyika, and in 1890, the British became the hegemonial power in the Omani Sultanate of Zanzibar. After the First World War, Britain received a League of Nations mandate for Tanganyika.

In the 1920s Africans founded local welfare societies to help those whose livelihoods suffered under the colonial economy. One of these societies, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), gained influence throughout the whole territory. In April 1953, the teacher Julius K. Nyerere was elected president of the TAA. Together with other young Nationalists, he founded the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954. The focus of TANU's program was the fight for independence and the establishment of a

democratic state. TANU grew rapidly and became influential in the entire country. Pressure on the colonial government grew; in September 1958 and February 1959, TANU had to concede elections for African members for the Legislative Council, which were overwhelmingly won by TANU. The first free, common and equal elections in 1962 were also won by TANU with an absolute majority.

Tanganyika became independent in 1961 and Zanzibar in 1963; in 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged into the United Republic of Tanzania. The republic was ruled as a one-party state by Julius Nyerere and TANU. In 1977, TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), which had ruled Zanzibar under the auspices of TANU, formed the Revolutionary Party or *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM). Nyerere surrendered office to his Vice President Hassan Ali Mwinyi in 1985, who ruled Tanzania until 1995. In 1990, the government officially sanctioned political debate on multiparty democracy as an alternative to continued one-party rule by the CCM. This one-party rule had led to a bureaucratic paralysis, though the population largely accepted this. In 1992, Tanzania changed its constitution and introduced a multiparty system. This transition was executed in an orderly fashion. In October 1995, multiparty legislative elections were held for the first time. The CCM achieved a significant majority, particularly because of their omnipresence in the political and social sectors and because the new political parties and their candidates remained weak. Benjamin Mkapa of the CCM was elected President and was easily reelected in October 2000.

Tanzania's economy is still predominantly dependent on agriculture. Main export goods are coffee, cotton, tobacco, and sisal. Main trading partners are the United Kingdom, France, Japan, and India. The government seeks to maintain macroeconomic stability and has received good marks from the donor community for its economic and administrative reform efforts. Foreign direct investment into the industrial sector is relatively high. Significant efforts are being made to develop tourism. However, the disastrous economic and social situations of vast parts of the population have not improved and continue to show a downward tendency. Many people earn their living in the informal sector. The situation has been aggravated by the privatisation of state enterprises, which has resulted in job losses. In addition, occasional droughts have reduced agricultural production and have served to aggravate the already precarious situation. As such, Tanzania is still one of the poorest countries in the world.

The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was estimated at \$600 (USD) in 2003; the labor force occupation in 2002 included agriculture (80%) and

industry and services (20%). The infant mortality rate was estimated at 102.13 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2004. Life expectancy of the total population amounts to 44.39 years (2004). The HIV/AIDS rate in the country is high: the prevalence of the disease amongst adults was 7.8% (1.5 million people in 2001). In 2001, approximately 140,000 Tanzanians died of AIDS. The *CIA Fact Book* (2003) estimates that 78.2% of the total population aged fifteen and over can read and write English, Swahili, or Arabic.

## Economic and Civil Development Since 1945

In 1945, Africans were nominated for the first time to the Legislative Council in Tanganyika, through which the British administration maintained political control. The number of African members was subsequently increased from two to four, with three unofficial Asian members and four European members. During the second half of the 1950s, the influence of TANU in the council increased considerably, partially through effective co-optation of the Asian minority. In September 1960, a predominantly TANU government took office.

On Zanzibar, only the Europeans and Arabs were represented in the Legislative Council. Though a reform of the Council took place in the mid-1950s, the unrest among local African and Arab political circles increased and was channeled into the formation of political parties. The first was the mostly Arab Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) created in 1955, whose political program was modeled on the Marxist/Pan-Arabist regime in Egypt. In 1957, the more moderate Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) was founded. Subsequently, the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples' Party (ZPPP) splintered off from the ASP. The British finally agreed to allow free elections for six of the seats in the Legislative Council. The elections took place in July 1957; the ASP won five seats, and the small Muslim League won the sixth seat. The ethnic and political hostility among the parties continued to grow, however, and manifested itself especially in the form of the mutual boycotting of the one party by the other. The elections of January 1961 produced a deadlock because of the twenty-two seats; the ASP and ZNP each occupied eleven. New elections took place in June, with the ZNP and ZPPP forming an election coalition. Favoured by the majority voting system, the coalition won thirteen seats and the ASP only ten, though the ASP had the most votes. The ASP smelled electoral fraud; fighting broke out, leaving sixty-eight people dead. The last preindependence elections, which took place in June 1963, confirmed the results of 1961, even

though the ASP again topped the list. In December 1963, Zanzibar became independent under a ZNP/ZPPP government, which, however, was swept away by a “revolution” in January 1964. This revolution was mainly pursued by the ASP under Sheikh Karume, who expelled the Sultan and many Arabs and Indians from the island. TANU and ASP, which had maintained friendly relations since the struggle for independence, formed Tanganyika and Zanzibar into a union on April 26, 1964. However, Zanzibar remained relatively autonomous in respect to its domestic affairs.

Immediately following Tanganyika’s independence, efforts were made to implement a program that depended on foreign investment to support massive, capital-intensive industrialization and agricultural development projects. From 1961 to 1965, the number of manufacturing establishments employing ten people or more increased by almost 160%. However, Tanzania’s economy was mainly governed by the still-existing colonial-style economic structures, namely large tea, sisal, and cotton plantations producing for the European markets. These structures supported a pattern of investment and income distribution that favoured a small number of farmers and foreign entrepreneurs. On the other hand, Tanzania completely neglected its own national food requirements and the diversification of export products.

By the middle of the 1960s, it became apparent that the ambitious plans were not yielding anticipated results and that Tanzania’s economy had to rely mainly on foreign donors. Income differentials increased dramatically, rural-based development was ignored, and local expertise remained inadequate. Facing these imbalances, President Nyerere launched a Socialist development agenda in 1967, outlined in the so-called Arusha Declaration. Priority was now given to the state-controlled development of the agricultural sector through *Ujamaa Vijijini* (Socialism in the Villages). Peasants were moved to newly constructed settlements to promote efficient agricultural production; foreign investment was discouraged to limit the dependence on outside help. These policies of self-reliance, however, provoked a long-term economic downswing and macroeconomic imbalances: since every domestic demand was to be fulfilled by domestic production, Tanzania forced its withdrawal from international markets. Outside factors like severe price fluctuations for coffee on the world market and two oil-price shocks (1973–1974 and 1979) worsened the situation. When the *Ujamaa* policies failed to produce the desired results, Tanzania found itself in a serious economic crisis in the early 1980s. However, by leveling the potentially divisive array of social groups and by promoting Swahili as a national language, *Ujamaa* made Tanzania one of the few African countries that

remained relatively undisturbed by ethnic, racial, and religious conflicts.

In 1986, the newly appointed CCM government under President Mwinyi embarked on a broad-based Economic Recovery Programme supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The statist *Ujamaa* orientation was gradually abandoned in favour of a market-oriented approach, and the government started to sell off some of its many parastatals.

Once Tanzania changed its constitution and introduced a multiparty system in 1992, the first multiparty elections were held in 1995, first on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and then on the mainland. To a high degree, the elections on Zanzibar revolved around the issue of future relations between the islands and the mainland. The ruling party, the CCM, stood for the continuation of the Union status quo, while the Zanzibarian Civic United Front (CUF) wanted greater independence for Zanzibar within the Union. CCM won twenty-six seats in Zanzibar’s Parliament against CUF’s twenty-four. Subsequently, the CCM was accused by CUF of electoral fraud, and foreign observers reported irregularities. For example, in some constituencies, the numbers of votes were counted higher than the number of registered voters. The elections on the mainland were clearly won by the CCM.

The new President, Benjamin Mkapa, represented a break with the past. In accordance with the IMF, he launched reforms aiming at increasing the effectiveness of fiscal policy, promoting the private sector by deregulating investments, divesting parastatals, and paying more attention to basic health care and infrastructure. In 1996, the IMF approved a three-year credit. Though Tanzania still enjoys political stability, the steady growth of the private economical sector and successive job losses endanger the social cohesion of the country. Moreover, in the wake of the formation of political parties, ethnic and religious tensions have increased. In particular, Indians have been under frequent verbal attack by opposition parties on the mainland. For example, in January 1993, the leader of the Democratic Party (DP), Christopher Mtikila, utilizing African resentments against the Asian residents, stirred up aggression against the Asian Tanzanians by accusing them of economically exploiting the African majority. Violence immediately followed Mtikila’s campaign, and Indian Tanzanians were physically attacked by DP supporters.

The Muslim-Christian divide within the Union shows signs of widening because of Zanzibar’s strife for more independence from the Christian-dominated mainland. There exists growing dissatisfaction of African Muslims on the mainland in regard to their continuing discrimination in many sectors of life, and

there are a latent mixture of social problems and religious animosities. The general elections in October 2000 brought a convincing victory for Mkapa and the CCM on the mainland, while the CCM victory on Zanzibar was again suspected by the CUF and foreign observers to have been doctored by the election committee. Subsequent outbreaks of violence by CUF supporters and bomb threats create a tense atmosphere on both the islands and the mainland.

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## TECHNOLOGY: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

### The Premises of Transferring Technology and Economic Development

J. Schumpeter (1939), who states that the main cause of the 1929 Depression was too-sudden economic growth, was inspired by the ideas of the economist C. Juglar (1862). As a matter of fact, the rapid increase of entrepreneurs led to the decrease of profits, and when the export markets were overloaded, incentives for innovation dramatically declined; then depression set in. The new phase of economic expansion would begin only with the emergence of new markets, followed by innovations. J. Schumpeter (1954) considers that profit seeking is the heart of the capitalistic system's growth. Profit is the reward of the dynamic and innovative entrepreneur. Profit seeking is thus the

motivator of technological progress, which is the engine of growth. Irregularities in technological progress explain the irregularities in economic growth. Then, innovation develops best in clusters, where complementary innovations bring the dynamic of economic growth. For R. Solow (1956), technological progress comes about with the increase of population, which then increases the work factor; thus, technological progress sustains the rhythm of economic growth. Solow states that these two factors are exogenous: (i) technological progress and (ii) increase in population.

### Technological Progress and Technological Learning for Development

For his work on the Indian Economic Plan in the 1960s, A. Sen (1982) made technological choices, and these choices were represented by the intermediary choice of techniques in terms of capital intensity and were stated to maximize capital and labor strengths.

In general, the question of choice of technology led the economy in a specific direction that is called dualism, with its own distinction between technological progress in the traditional sector and technology in the modern sector. The modern sector has the capacity to attract capital and is characterized by a fixed coefficient of substitution between various sectors with more or fewer techniques incorporated according to the sector. These techniques are determined by the greater or lesser necessity of combining capital and labor resources; technological progress in this modern sector increases the capital-intensive sector. However, in the traditional sector, the production methods are more flexible. There can be substitutions between capital and labor resources. The dominant vision in the 1960s gave preference to technological progress that maximized the capital intensity of the product. This technological progress resulted in accelerating economic growth.

The economist F. Perroux (1961) in his book, *The Economy of the Twentieth Century*, explains that economic growth must not be confused with economic progress. According to the author, the evolution of society does not depend on the increase in the real revenue of the population but rather on living and social conditions, especially health, education, security, and freedom. Economic progress is linked to social progress and technological progress.

In the 1970s, the economic debate on technological progress was centered on the question of intermediate technologies, a question analyzed by I. Sachs (1980) in his book on ecodevelopment. Arguments continued with A. Emmanuel (1981); he analyzed

ecodevelopment with the use of appropriated technologies, mentioning the saving of nature and local technological capacity, enabling the selection of intermediate technologies. For both economists, ecodevelopment signifies respect toward the environment and traditions in an idyllic vision of village organization. Local and imported technology could act as a bridge between traditional and modern techniques and could result in appropriately adapted technology. These adapted technologies formed the pattern used in Southeast Asian countries at the end of the 1970s. But J. Galtung (1978), in his research paper for UNCTAD which became the highlight point for the researchers at the United Nations University, developed a new approach to economics in mentioning the necessary step toward an autonomous technology for developing countries that can lead to development and ecological balance.

Up to the 1980s, technological progress was considered to be an exogenous production factor, which means not being influenced by the behavior of economic agents, or resulted from economic activity. In the following decade, a neoclassical economic current suggests that technological progress and innovation are endogenous variables. Paul Romer (1986), in his article "Increasing Returns and Long-Run Growth," clearly stipulates that technological progress is a decisive factor of growth. In his article "Increasing Returns and New Development in the Theory of Growth," P. Romer (1991) mentions that technological progress is naturally endogenous because it is the result of the behavior of economic agents and especially the behavior of enterprises. As a result, state intervention is also considered to be more legitimate. Governments then support research and development, and technological progress is accepted as endogenous to the enterprise. Government has gained a new legitimacy in its intervention in business affairs, especially in the Newly Industrialized Economies; this new theory of growth comes with technological change and the right institutions. The New Theory of Growth tends to promote knowledge economy as the base to sustain economic growth.

Some economists mention that innovation is often the source of efficient specialization. When top companies are the only ones to master microchip production, they are the ones that particularly benefit because of their specialization and because of the strong demand for data-processing products. In the beginning of the 2000, this industry of high-added value, because of its great innovative capacity, could contribute to effective specialization in the home country and in the producing country.

If governments are to sustain technological progress, the question is: How can governments best

support technological progress? Technological progress is often the condition for the enterprise to maintain its quality competitiveness vis-à-vis its competitors in new promising markets, especially in East Asian countries.

The economic and technological interdependence in East Asia was an important background for the development of the New Industrialized Economies. Innovation was the most important point for the development of these economies, and each country was linked to the "dynamic regional system of innovation and technological learning" (Hobday, 1995). Direct investment and trade linkage to the technological system were the crucial points of the development of these economies. In East Asian countries, high technology start-up companies were the mainstay of frontier innovation. Governments of the East Asian countries were able to foster modern infrastructures to respond to companies that were involved in innovation.

The latecomers have passed through different stages of technological development. At the beginning, firms were producing labor-intensive products by means of joint ventures and subcontracting, and these arrangements were made mainly by Japanese companies and in a lesser degree by US and European firms. However, transnational companies were also attracted to East Asian countries for the reason of low labor costs. These latter companies supplied training and taught manufacturing processes to local engineers, who in turn trained local technicians.

Later, the same companies were set up to produce consumer electrical goods and electronic products. Some local companies at that time set up their own subsidiaries, becoming thus the supplier of transnational companies by upgrading their production process. Then, to meet more complex export demands, these firms were forced to acquire higher technological know-how. They learned to design products under Original Equipment Manufacture (OEM) arrangements. These new companies benefited from the improvement of transportation and communication infrastructures. Furthermore, they took advantage of a well-educated labor force.

Industrial and technological innovations were set up to further new opportunities. New suppliers for local companies learned new skills and responded positively to foreign investment. Technological advance and automation were improved particularly in Singapore; but as labor costs increased, companies relocated to technological parks, such as Batam.

Industrial structures, especially in the electronics industry, comprising transnational companies as well as smaller ones emerged. The vision of technological integration in East Asia was devised in Hong Kong through the interplay of technological learning and

practice by which firms acquired technological excellence. Firms, by this process, could increase their knowledge and improve the skills of their labor force.

The Hobday (2000) thesis was meant to show that the latecomer countries were able to upgrade their way of managing their economies by technological learning. This model consisted in bringing together industry, research, and technological learning to better their production system in stages. This model of the 1980s had to confront and replace the rigid traditional stages of development. In order to bring latecomer countries up to leader country standards, it was imperative to invent new products and simultaneously to combine innovative capacities, low-cost production facilities, and high-range niche markets.

The originality of East Asian subsidiaries was to link technology and export markets in such a way as to avoid technological bottlenecks in some export markets. Thus, the linkage of technological learning and market capabilities had so increased profit margins and markets that new products needed to be introduced through long-term investments in research and development.

This unique system of technological development through innovation in East Asian countries took center stage in development and research. Through the electronics industry, manufacturing technology could be mastered, thereby improving the process of technological production. This pattern of technological innovation is responsible for the dominant development of East Asian countries, through progressively updating the innovative capacities to take advantage of market opportunities.

### **Global Production Networking and Technological Change**

After the financial crisis of 1997, which badly disrupted the Asian and global economies, the process of technological advance and production networking started again under World Trade Organization (WTO) impetus. Furthermore, China's entry in the WTO was also an overriding factor for regional development and the setting up of international networks.

Firms that had developed the OEM have now risen to Original Design Manufacture (ODM) codes and even to Original Brand Manufacture status, which extend to global production networks.

These networks were implemented to level trade barriers; to consolidate such industries as electronics, engineering, and automotive; and to bring geographic proximity to markets. For instance, the production of trucks and passenger cars for East Asian markets has

shifted to Thailand, and now leading automotive companies are choosing China and to some extent Korea as the competitive hub for regional networking. Companies have favored China and Thailand because of lower costs and the better-educated labor force.

East Asian firms are responding to the changes in their market environment by using global production networks, the competitiveness of their technological capacities, and the increase in foreign direct investment.

The export-led growth of development in East Asian countries in the 1960s, spurred by the "Dragons," was followed by other newly industrialized countries (Yusuf, Altaf, and Nabeshima 2004a).

Japanese foreign direct investment and technology have largely stimulated an upward movement of Asian economies (Androuais 2003). Japanese international companies have, starting in the 1960s, built a regional division of labor that has consistently emphasized technology-intensive production in Asia to serve Japanese markets. The East Asian countries won the reputation of a politically stable region with an industrial performance coupled with export competitiveness, all of which has attracted foreign direct investment, especially from Japanese companies but also from US and European firms. By the 1980s, East Asian countries were drawn into an interregional network of trade and direct foreign investment.

Market deregulation and WTO rulings sustaining trade liberalization have favored high-range markets to improve the competitive level of technological changes. The integration of East Asian countries, including China, will extend the dynamics of trade liberalization both for exports and FDI, which in turn will aid the Asian firms to become a part of the global network of competitiveness and technological development.

If the newly industrialized Asian countries have already found the way to rapid industrialization, China is gaining technological capacities even more quickly than her neighbors. The increase of technological capacity is becoming urgent for the East Asian countries because they have to avoid the trap of low-level growth associated with light commodity production.

In the middle of the 1990s, a new element of information technology used in all transactions appeared in production networks, especially in the multinational firms. The assimilation of this new element has been particularly rapid because of the desire to dispatch new technology and establish technological mechanisms in the new markets. Information technology has reinforced competitiveness in the regional and global markets.

Some governments, such as in East Asian countries, have set up policies for the support of technological advance. The major condition required is an educated

labor force; labor migration of educated human capital is a factor in technological advance. In addition, private and public research institutions financed by subsidies, grants, and tax incentives are needed; and finally, technology transfer through foreign direct investment is required. Liberalization of economies is a necessary step for the increase of Research and Development (R&D) capacity (Yusuf, Altaf, and Nabeshima 2004b).

To innovate, sufficient capacity to assimilate and absorb new technology is a requisite. In an analytical framework for understanding the evolution of an innovation, it is essential to have a broad perspective on the economy (Tigre and O'Connor 2003). Then, to consider the innovation, three questions should be asked: (1) What difference will the innovation bring to economy at the national level? (2) What impact will the innovation have on the increase of income distribution and the reduction of poverty? (3) What measures are needed to implement the innovation?

In order to boost research and development, governments usually orient their efforts toward state-of-the-art technology. In technological change and innovation, it is important to work at the macroeconomic level concerning long-term economic development and the internationalization of an economy as well as at the microeconomic level within the firm. Different authors in the 1990s gave a definition of the new technology of knowledge (Kagami, Humphery, and Piore 1998) by singling out five main paths of technological acquisition for developing countries:

1. **Transfer of technology through foreign direct investment:** A multinational company establishes a branch in the developing country to produce, for example, electronic goods by assembling parts and components. Local industries provide the workforce that learns the new production methods, and then these local industries supply standardized parts and components. The multinational companies give on-the-job training to local workers for the assembling process, and the local technicians learn the production process and are aided by foreign technicians. With the new technology information, new forms of capital appear. Joint ventures employ this new technology, reduce costs, and bring up the level of technology in production know-how.
2. **Purchasing new technology:** Technology has a cost, and R&D workshops have to be organized. New technologies must be registered under local patent laws.
3. **Acquisition of new machines embodying new technology:** New machinery produces new products

in which are embedded innovative technologies. Moreover, developing countries disassemble new products and produce new copies equal to the original; this phenomenon is called "reverse engineering." As shown earlier, appropriate products were devised to facilitate the adaptation to local conditions; this process was hotly criticized by developed countries because of violation of industrial property rights and also criticized in developing countries because consumers wanted the upgraded products immediately.

4. **Catching-up efforts on the part of developing countries:** Domestic efforts can be divided into two forms, private sector initiatives and government support. In the private sector, new products are mainly the result of a combination of various factors, such as quality control, design and materials innovations, and management know-how. Foreign direct investment usually provides the major capital needed. As for government support, it is primarily in the form of R&D for the development and dissemination of technology through national institutions by direct financial support and subsidies.
5. **Technological cooperation through Official Development Assistance (ODA):** Other paths for technology transfer are provided by a multinational or binational cooperation. Governmental assistance in technology development takes different forms, such as constructing training centers, dispatching experts, providing financial assistance, and offering information services dealing with technology.

The new strategies for transferring technology in developing countries have had positive results. In the local subsidiaries, the level of skills and knowledge in the production process improved through the transfer of technology. Technology fostered small and medium enterprises to create supporting industries. Many governments in Southeast Asian countries have assisted these enterprises through various programs: (i) financial and fiscal support for new innovative businesses; (ii) assistance in basic technological development; (iii) horizontal networking among small and medium enterprises; and (iv) upgrading of skills.

### The Innovation Cluster Process

The cyclical characteristics of economic activity result from the fact that entrepreneurs tend to associate in new combinations called "innovation clusters,"

grouped around a major innovation or an important new niche. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, in the context of globalization, economists paid great attention to the impact of innovation on economic competitiveness. When state-of-the-art production is reached, innovation and a competitive quality-price ratio are conditions of survival for the company at the global level. Innovation also impacts quality competitiveness by improving product performance.

Spatial networks have been organized to accomplish different forms of clusters. It is possible to identify these clusters through different patterns of activity or innovative capacities. The major clusters benefit from the reduction of distance-related costs and from internalizing the stationary external savings. New forms of clusters are taking place that favor interchanges between local firms and universities.

Another type of effective cluster involves the export-processing zones that exist in developing countries; but these clusters cannot be fully integrated into the local economy because they are merely enclaves and are not linked to the rest of the region. The last type of cluster takes form in science and technology parks; its infrastructure and technological orientation have to generate human resources, knowledge, and capital. This type of cluster is engaged in resource, market, and investment seeking. The best examples are the technological Batam Park in the Riau archipelago of the transboundary experiment of Singapore and Johor as well as the software cluster in Bangalore.

The first growth triangle was established in the Singapore-Johor-Riau archipelago in 1989, combining three competitive areas to attract regional and international investors to the subregion. Three geographic points formed this joint development: Singapore because of its technological and industrial infrastructure that attracted multinational companies; Johor because of its water resources and its proximity to and traditional links with Singapore; and Batam (Riau) because of its ability to profit from the new liberalization of India and attract foreign investments (Chia Siow Yue 1997).

A few years later, the Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore (IMS) growth triangle (GT) was formed. It was a new form of subregional economic cooperation in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries. This form of cooperation was set up to establish industrial cooperation programs and to enhance their economic clout. The IMS-GT has strengthened the economic complementarities and geographical proximity. This form of subregional process has developed factor endowments, competitive advantages, research allocation, and reduction of costs, all at different levels. The system has enhanced the clustering effect in the region and has developed

infrastructures in commerce, finance, transportation, and telecommunications. It has also, because of the participating governments, organized the education and training of a high quality labor force.

These joint ventures brought about greater cooperation between Indian and foreign software companies. The main elements promoting hi-tech clusters (Saxenian 1983) have been identified by regional economists (Krugman 1992). In the case of Bangalore, engineers came to live in the city next to the university and established links with companies in the software and computer industry. At the same time, state-owned companies in the communications, machine tools, and electronics industries set up research institutions. These combinations have fostered the growth of hi-tech software clusters. High technology parks have also been set up in Bangalore, benefiting from fiscal incentives to attract the most highly reputed firms, which, in turn, attract the best-educated engineers.

Transport cost reduction is also an important element of the cluster concept. Concentration in a specific location gives advantages in cost reduction. Information is transferred globally in real time by satellite between Bangalore enterprises and client companies (Dunning 2002). This software cluster in the city of Bangalore was able to attract a number of knowledge-related industries and succeeded in becoming less isolated because of its networking and the development of its computer software industry that broke into the global economy. The software cluster is designed for human-resource-intensive and knowledge-oriented industry. In Bangalore, clusters consist mainly of the electronics industry, small and medium companies, subsidiaries of larger companies, and joint ventures that were set up in the mid-1990s.

Another example of a knowledge-based economy is in Hong Kong, which has developed a finance and information center for both local and multinational firms. Moreover, Hong Kong has forged linkage with other Asian economies. Its cluster economy, knowledge intensive and research centered, has developed in spite of lack of clear governmental policies. This form of cluster is able to intensify competitive advantage and link the globalization-localization characteristics in the economy.

Because of its cluster economy, beginning in 1995, Hong Kong has surpassed its small-scale geographic situation and has become a motor in the regional economy. Hong Kong's cluster economy has served as a magnet for foreign firms. Although Hong Kong is an enclave, its competitive clusters have evolved from its knowledge-based economy.

In most clusters, cross-border labor flow has contributed to the success of the enterprises. In their field work for the Japan Bank for International



Cooperation, M. Hafiz M., A. Giroud, and K. Koster wrote in 2001 that “the multinational firms have been useful routes for transferring knowledge to East Asian and Southeast Asian workers and companies.” However, this transfer was not done in an automatic way because on the one hand, the multinational firms were not delivering enough technology, and on the other hand, the local companies were not absorbing the transferred technology, meaning that more significant efforts have to be made for improving the transfer of knowledge. Furthermore, recently specific recommendations associated with the transfer of technology through foreign direct investments have been set up to improve mechanisms and find ways for reducing poverty in poor countries in such a way that they can learn from the experience of the new industrialized economies (NIES). Other studies have been started in the form of questionnaire surveys and used to complete research work on the transfer of technology affected by multinational firms. For instance, the surveys conducted in multinational firms in ASEAN countries point out that they need an incentive to establish good-quality support industries for creating an enabling environment for foreign direct investment (FDI). ASEAN countries request the support of multinational institutions especially because of the competitive companies from China in the region. The knowledge-technology base of the ASEAN firms need quite a boost, and multinational firms are able to assist in the transfer of technology.

Case studies, made in Brazil and South Korea, show that innovative products and cluster processes were competitive in the domestic and export markets (Mytelka 1999). But in the two countries, the reasons for innovation linked to competitiveness are different, especially regarding telecommunication products. Mytelka presents five factors to explain the differences between the two countries: (i) opportunities and constraints imposed by the evolution of world technology; (ii) evolution of the characteristics of international competitiveness in the telecommunications sector; (iii) structure of the telecommunications supply sector and enterprises that form the national telecommunications network; (iv) traditional practice of local enterprises in terms of competitiveness and innovation; and (v) impact of governmental actions.

### **Concluding Remarks: Competitive Environment for Technology and Challenges**

Even in highly protected national markets, the new digital technology has rapidly spread in spite of high R&D costs. This new technology encouraged

numerous start-ups in the 1980s and has contributed to modifying production, leading to other advanced techniques and giving developing countries access to these techniques. A competitive environment accelerated the phenomena although national telecommunications monopolies initially constituted an obstacle for the start-ups. Investment in telecommunications equipment, special rules for bidding, and protective practices stimulated local efforts for R&D.

Although technology has a central place in Asian and Pacific economies, poverty has not yet been completely eradicated and remains one of the biggest challenges for these economies (Braga and Chino, 2002). Technological impetus has improved nutrition, health, and livelihood, but some regions and various social groups remain excluded from this promise and progress. Their needs are better addressed because of the diffusion of information technology, and in the twenty-first century, they will hopefully be able to get access to this form of technology.

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## TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

Territorial disputes can be defined as conflicting claims over a territory between states or groups being on opposite footing, often recognized as warring parties. The parties are usually states recognized by each other, but frequently one of them is a national community or regional population that had prior statehood on the disputed land (such as Tibet) that is no longer recognized by the occupying power (such as by China). In other cases, the dispute is between a state (Sri Lanka) and a secessionist group that can have or even not have some of the disputed territory under control (such as the group of Tamil Tigers). In other cases, both parties claim exclusive rights on the territory that they possess or control partially (the Koreans). The material object of this political and legal dispute is a territory consisting either exclusively of land or

sea, or the territory has both, such as islands and their surrounding sea (Falklands). Otherwise, the territory's composition may include fresh water surfaces on border lakes and rivers (the Aral Sea or the Danube).

The legal object is the possession or control of such territories for geostrategic, economic, historical, or purely political reasons. Strategic reasons include the right of passage and therefore the right to levy taxes on through traffic (Suez canal, Panama Canal, airspace over the territory), to extend the territorial waters for defense purposes, to extend exclusive mining rights over the continental shelf by the coastal country, or to exert exclusive fishing rights or control of the fishing activities of other countries in the disputed sea area.

Exclusive economic reasons explain the disputes over regions with huge natural resources like fertile farmland, oil, gas, timber, or fresh water (such as from the rivers Tigris, Euphrates, Jordan, Danube, or Ganges). Mixed reasons include the existence of the same or similar ethnicity population (Russians, Slavs, or Kurds), the presence of those with the same religion (Muslims of Kashmir), or the prior statehood over that land (Turkey, Hungary, Greece, or Ecuador). Claims may be open (Palestine) or hidden where the parties try to avoid open confrontation because they fear direct war or negative international reactions (Europe), leading to isolation and subsequently imposed political and economic sanctions. The latter are used many times to deter a party to abandon its claims (such as South Africa in the case of Namibia, Yugoslavia and Serbia in case of Croatia, or Bosnia).

Religion was a major cause of territory disputes during the history leading to crusades, with the *Dzhahads* aiming at control of the Holy Land, Palestine, which is considered the birthplace of many religions. In other cases, the extension of that religion served as a political justification for conquering large territories (Spain for Latin-America, Russia for Eastern Europe and Siberia, or the Arabs for the Middle -East and North Africa). After the nineteenth- and twentieth-century emergence of nationalism, religion became the driving force behind the claims of new territories (Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria due to Arab and Jewish nationalism) or reclaiming previously lost territories (Germany, Ethiopia, Bolivia, and Japan). The drive for asserting previously lost independence was also a factor in claiming territories (such as in Poland, Ukraine, India, or Vietnam). This claim might have been directed toward one state (Ottoman, Russian, British, French, or Spanish empires) or more states at the same time. In many cases, territorial disputes arouse from contractual ambiguity (the main stream of the river, which changes over time, such as the Danube) concerning boundaries drawn only on the

## TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

map a very long time ago whose exact location is disputed (Persian Gulf states, Latin America countries) or concerning borders through uninhabited and uniform areas, like plains, deserts, jungles, seas, where there are no natural demarcation objects (such as Arabia, Amazonas basin, sea boundaries). Territorial disputes are the most frequent causes of modern day wars (Falklands), and if direct confrontation is too risky for one of the parties because of a lack of adequate military power, terrorism may replace usual military actions (Basque country, Palestine, Chechnya). With terrorism, usually nonstate entities try to influence the leading politicians of the decisive powers (United States, former colonial powers within the European Union (EU), Russia, China, India, or Australia); to influence states having military might (United States, France, or United Kingdom) to withdraw troops (from Iraq, Algeria, Northern Ireland); or to exert pressure on another state to withdraw its troops (Israel, Indonesia). By invasion, a party in a territorial dispute asserts its imagined or real sovereignty over that territory (Iranjaya, Falklands, Cyprus, Aksai-Chin, West Bank of the Jordan River, Golan Heights) in spite of the fact that international law in general and the United Nations charter condemns such actions or threats with the use of force. For the great powers, condemnation is almost absolute for annexations of territories and crushing of political independence of a sovereign country, principles largely ignored.

### Europe

Europe is full of hidden claims—irrespective to the developmental stage of the parties involved. These are based on ethnic, historical, and cultural identity reasons and on nationalism, but nonetheless many have great economic implications. Among the less developed countries, the most virulent disputes arose after the breakup of the Socialist Yugoslavia. The Serbian-Croatian and Bosnian wars served also to define the territorial extent of the newly independent nations as well as to gain as much territory and hence economic power as possible to the detriment of the others. Finally, the administrative boundaries of the former federation have survived, but the disputes have remained.

The most active one concerns the 90% ethnic-Albanian province of Kosovo, which is ardently disputed between Serbia and the local Albanian community. Albanian majority areas neighboring the Albanian border are looking for independence and possibly a later union with the fatherland. Greece and Bulgaria and Serbia are disputing over Macedonia. Greece also

fears possible future territorial claims from an independent Slavic Macedonia on the neighboring Greek province of lower or maritime Macedonia.

Morocco continues to dispute existing Spanish sovereignty over strategic harbors situated on the African (Moroccan) mainland—Ceuta and Melilla, occupied by Spain during the reconquista from the Muslims—and also a small uninhabited rock called Isla Perejil near the Gibraltar strait. Finland has a hidden claim on eastern Karelia, while the ethnic Swedish Alands islands look for more autonomy or even independence from Finland. Border and water management disputes arose between Slovakia and Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine on the Danube. Slovakia unilaterally diverted the Danube in the 1990s for hydroelectric power-generation purposes, and the Ukraine has challenged the Romanian monopoly over Danubian access routes to the Black Sea; in 2004, the Ukraine started to deepen the Chilia border branch of the river.

Turkey has many disputed areas along or inside its borders. It has an inactive claim over minority ethnic Turkish areas of Bulgaria near Istanbul as well as a longstanding dispute concerning the Aegean continental shelf and the pertaining territorial waters, disputes that have twice almost led to war with Greece. After 1923, the Turkish-Greek territorial dispute was focused on Cyprus, which sought union with Greece in a Pan-Hellenic upheaval of the 1970s. To protect its 28% Turkish community, Turkey had invaded Northern Cyprus in 1974, which led to the creation of two puppet states that have been unrecognized mutually. Due to Greek intrigue and Turkish reluctance, the reunification of Cyprus as a federal state was aborted; thus, only the bigger, internationally recognized Greek part joined the EU in 2004, leaving the Turkish part on the sidewalk of the European development.

In eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union, disputes flared up between and among the successor and former satellite states. The most recent one, between Romania and Ukraine, concerns the Black Sea border and the ownership of the Snake Island, adding to the existing conflict regarding Ukrainian border areas: Northern Bucovina and the small Hertza regions. These and the state of Moldavia are secretly claimed by Romania more or less on ethnic, nationalistic, and historical grounds. Although made artificially part of Moldavia, the secessionist region of Transnistria with its 60% Slavic majority is also claimed by Moldavia and subsequently by Romania. The self-proclaimed Republic of Transnistria is an ideal strategic area for Russia, and in case of annexation attempts coming from the West, the region will surely join Ukraine or choose independence. A bitter and longstanding but now inactive dispute exists over

Transylvania, or at least parts of it, between Hungary and Romania on historical, economic, and ethnic grounds. Hidden claims have also been made for the ethnic Hungarian majority regions along the newly Serbian, Ukrainian, and Slovakian, and former Hungarian territories until 1945. Similar inactive claims also concern former Polish territories in the Ukraine and Belarus.

Ukraine and Byelorussia is entirely and secretly claimed by Russia on historical, economic, and Slavic kinship or “brotherhood” grounds. Russia alternatively looks to form a confederation with these core elements of the former Soviet empire, including the 40% Russian-populated Kazakhstan, to form a “Russian” or “Eurasian” economic union. Thus, almost every valuable region of the former USSR would have been saved, including the nuclear testing facility of Semipalatinsk and the cosmic launch center of Baikonur, both on rent from Kazakhstan. Russia would eventually leave Ukraine to break off and subsequently seize the pro-Russian part of the country. Especially disputed seems to be the Russian-majority Donetsk coal-mining region and the Crimea, where an autonomous Russian republic exists. The countrywide 19% Russian minority forms in Crimea an 80% settler majority, which is a strategic peninsula for international trade and military control of the Black Sea. Sevastopol is the location of the Russian Black Sea Fleet’s naval base, now on rent from Ukraine, and this nearly 3 million person republic asserts openly its Russian legacy and allegiance, leaving almost hopeless the 10% Crimean Tatar community’s claim for resettlement and eventual establishment of an autonomous Tatar Crimea as successor of the historic Crimean Khaganate. The quest for independence in the early 1990s of the middle Volga region oil-rich Tatar Republic of nearly 6 million inhabitants around Kazan had a relatively happy ending, reaching greater autonomy under president Yeltsin but avoiding the bloody fate of Chechnya.

## The Caucasus

The Caucasus itself is a unique region of ethnic and cultural mix and a region full of resources, such as mainly oil, natural gas, fresh water, timber, and agricultural land. The borders were drawn according to Russian imperialist interests, and later, the Georgian Communists led by Stalin carved out a greater Georgia, creating “the small empire” in the big (Soviet) empire. Some of its provinces, however, questioned their status beginning with the dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Thus, Abkhazia, the tiny former autonomous republic of Georgia, consisting of only 3,320 square miles (8,600 square kilometers), declared its independence in 1992 as a move against the “Georgianisation” of the province. In spite of missing international recognition, it fought a successful war against Tbilisi, with the backing of other Caucasian nations’ solidarity troops and Russian weaponry. The ethically motivated dispute serves also Russian strategic interests at the “backyard borders” of the centuries-old great regional rival of Turkey.

South Ossethia, also *de facto* independent from 1992, is another flashpoint between Moscow and Tbilisi. This tiny republic, with only 1,506 square miles (3,900 square kilometers) and a mixed population, sought union with bordering North Ossethia under Russian rule.

The most long-standing dispute exists over Chechnya, between the Separatist population and the Russian federal government. After 1945, Joseph Stalin ordered the deportation of the whole Chechen population to Asia on charges of Nazi German collaborationism during World War II. Chechnya first declared its independence in the region, but the Russians did not allow for this tiny oil-rich republic of 7,452 square miles (19,300 square kilometers) and 1 million people to break away. More than 250,000 civilians, including 42,000 children, have died so far in this ongoing partisan-style war, leading to the total destruction of the country and setback the development of the whole region.

The enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh is another disputed territory between Armenia and Azerbaijan, with a 75% Armenian majority seeking union with neighboring Armenia. The Armenians had won the war occupying 20% of Azerbaijani territory. Thus, Armenian Nationalist forces tried to redraw the hastily sketched borders by the Soviet commissars in the 1920s and establish a greater national state. In such political circumstances, the overall development of the Caucasus region is vitiated, and a new international order should be set up in this far away “Balkans” of Eurasia.

## The Middle East and Asia

Much of southeastern Turkey or Turkish Kurdistan has been the center of disputes for decades by the secessionist organization *Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan* (PKK), or the Kurdistan’s worker party, which tries to create an independent Kurd state on ethnic, nationalistic, and economic grounds. That state would include the rest of Kurdistan, namely the northern

## TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

border zone of Syria, northern Iraq, and Iran, encompassing the whole 20 million people in the stateless Kurdish nation. None of these states wants to yield, even for Kurdish autonomy, for geopolitical and economic reasons: Kurdistan has plenty of natural resources like oil, timber, and fresh water. Turkey has water management disputes with Syria and Iraq over the Tigris and Euphrates, while Israel disputes the use of the Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee with Syria and Jordan.

The territorial disputes between the Palestine nation and Israel concern survival on a small patch of land where a 10% Jewish minority is gradually being squeezed out by the majority Arab population through immigration and state formation. Both of the parties want the whole of the territory (Palestine) on both historical as well as religious grounds. Israel spends annually 40% of its gross domestic product (GDP) on defense and could not survive without the serious military and financial backing of the United States, which provokes fierce Arab resistance all over the Middle East. Syria has open claims on the geostrategic Golan Heights occupied by Israel during in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and hidden claims on the Iskenderun coastal region of Turkey on the basis of a local Arab majority and its proper climate. The Iraqi-Iranian war of the 1980s was fought for the control of the other side's Kurdistan and for the annexation of a wider access area to the Persian Gulf for Iraq. Iraq claimed repeatedly the whole of Kuwait, based on former Ottoman boundaries, and unsuccessfully annexed it in 1961 and again in 1991. Iraq has maintained its claims over this oil-rich area, which holds one-third of the most easily exploitable oil resources on the Earth, by constant military pressure or by demanding long-term lease of the strategically located Bubiyan and Warbah islands.

In the Arabian Peninsula, before the coming of the oil era in the 1930s, official boundaries had little significance as was the case elsewhere in the uninhabited desert areas, and organized authority was confined to ports and oases. Arab pastoral tribes felt loyalty to their tribal leaders only and roamed across the sands according to their grazing needs. British-drawn international boundaries were not properly demarcated, so with the coming of the oil era, the exact definition of the ownership rights became inevitable. Thus, after the British colonial withdrawal in 1971, old and suppressed territorial claims became actual again: Iran has claimed Bahrain, on historical and religion grounds, dropping and reiterating it periodically. Iran also claimed and occupied in 1971 three smaller islands named Abu Musa, Greater Tumb, and Lesser Tumb in the Hormuz straits; Iran

reached an agreement with the United Arab Emirates (UAE) over one of them in 1992.

Formal tribal settlement areas and dynastic struggle are at the heart of the often militarized and internationalized disputes between Bahrain and Qatar. The Bahraini claim the Az Zubarah Island on the northwest coast of Qatar, while Qatar claims Bahraini-occupied Hawar situated about twenty-five miles (forty kilometers) off the coast but situated just at its shorelines. After 1955, Saudi Arabia recognized the claims of Abu Dhabi and Oman to the Al Burayami Oasis, and in return Saudi Arabia was granted a land corridor to the gulf and a share of a disputed oil field, ending the long dispute among local pastoral tribes. The border between Oman and Yemen remained only partially defined, leading to border skirmishes, but relations improved after Yemeni unification. Earlier, the southern borders of Oman caused friction with the UAE on the Musandam Peninsula.

In Asia proper, a hotspot is the location of the frontier line across the Aral Sea between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The line also crosses the disputed Vozrojenie Island, highly polluted as the dying sea itself. The once 26,255-square mile (68,000-square kilometer) Aral Lake (Sea) has been separated into two parts: the northern (mainly Kazakh) lake can be saved if proper dams are built in the seabed, but this would stop the overflow of the feeding river to the southern lake, which falls mostly inside Uzbek territory.

Further south there is a border dispute on the Caspian between Azerbaijan, Iran, Russia (Dagestan), and Turkmenistan over oil mining rights on the continental shelf and over caviar-producing sites. Independent Azerbaijan is too weak to claim openly two-thirds of the national territory outside international boundaries, mainly in Iran, home to 20 million Irani Azerbaijanis who hope that the creation of a Turkic state confederation would solve the dispute. A confederation has been long sought by Turkey to assert its leading role and somehow reestablish the Ottoman Empire, but this goal is now more or less based on ethnical kinship grounds. This Turkic world called "Kipchakia" would stretch from Hungary, the Carpathians, and across the great steppes to Uyghuria in the Altays. This Sinkiang region or Eastern Turkestan claims its independence from China on ethnic, geographic, and historical grounds.

In the southern mountainous ridge, in the Himalayas, a set of territorial disputes exists. The northern Turkmen, Tadjik tribes who have liberated Afghanistan from the Taliban rule, seek a greater role for themselves or a federal status and otherwise wish to join their territories with their motherland.

Afghanistan claims a corridor-like territory called Pakuristan, which reaches down to the Indus River.

In the north, the region of Dzhammu and Kashmir is disputed between India and Pakistan, having a *de facto* borderline traced after cease-fire agreements. The two states fought three wars over the territory in the late twentieth century and are even threatening each other with the use of nuclear weapons. Pakistan claims the area on the grounds of Muslim majority, and this claim is refused by India, stating that the ruler (*maharaja*) of this province decided to stay Indian in 1947. In fact, both countries want to acquire a mountainous wetland, with forest vegetation and fresh water reservoirs, which is so badly needed by these mostly dry tropical countries. In addition, India is involved in two main disputes with China. Aksai-Chin was seized by China after the annexation of Tibet in 1950, and the seizure was not recognized by India or by the Tibetan Government in Exile, led by the Dalai Lama. On the other hand, China claims the border zone of the Indian-Aruntschal-Pradesh province and massively colonized Tibet, leading to the local minority status of the oppressed Tibetans.

China and Taiwan (officially the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China) form a pair of claimants for exclusive control of the other's territory, each considering itself to be the sole and real leader of a unitary nation. A similar debate exists between communist North Korea and capitalist South Korea. These disputes are mainly ideological, but the strategic location of Taiwan could boost Chinese economic development in the South China Sea region. China's imperialist ambitions increased significantly after the reannexing Hong Kong and Macao, in parallel with its spectacular economic growth, and looks also farther south to the Paracel and Spratly Islands. In both cases, China is the main claimant alongside Vietnam with whom it had fought and lost a war in the 1980s; the Spratly Islands are also claimed by the Philippines. Vietnam also has ongoing disputes concerning Kokinchina, the Mekong Delta region, with Cambodia.

In addition, China has longstanding territorial disputes with the Soviet Union and some of its successor states, which at the union's height targeted an area totaling 386,102 square miles (1 million square kilometers). The most active concerns the Ussuri-Amur confluence area in the Habarovsk region of Russia. China contests the existence of (outer) independent Mongolia, considering it a Chinese province. China also looks for eventual Siberian independence, which could be its natural resource pool hinterland of its booming economy, a prospect much feared by Europe and especially Russia. In the case of Korea, not only is the legitimacy of the governments and regimes disputed, but the economic future of the peninsula is also in question. Divided actually by

tightest border in the world, North and South Korea have experienced a halted economic development, with prosperous South Korea having no area of extensive development and with the separated Communist North starving to death. Farther east, the Take Shima (Lioncort Rocks) are disputed between the Koreans and Japan because of their strategic significance.

The Indian peninsula is also full of such disputes. The wealthy but divided state of the Sikhs, Punjab, seeks independence from India and eventually a union with Pakistani Punjab. Although this objective seems difficult to achieve, two Indian prime ministers have already fallen as victims of their stance against it. In the east after Bhutan and East Pakistan/Bangladesh went independent, a fragile and volatile situation has developed as neighboring regions may want to follow suit. In the southern areas, there is a strong drive toward an independent and greater Tamil state and perhaps a Dravida confederation. In its quest for independence and union with mainland Tamilnadu, the local Tamil majority of the neighboring big island, named Ceylon, has fought a long guerilla war against the Singhaleze government of Sri Lanka.

In Indochina, besides territorial disputes between Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam following the collapse of the colonial rule, four minority and mostly tribal nations (the Katshin, the Shan, the Kaya, and the Kotuley) have tried to establish their own states in the border regions of Burma, while the Malaysian province of Sabah is claimed by the neighboring Philippines. Indonesia has annexed Western New Guinea, a former Dutch colony that became independent in 1961 and was renamed Irianjaya. Both the native Papuan population's government in exile and the Papuan Liberation Organization (PMO) claim sovereignty over this rich territory of 162,163 square miles (420,000 square kilometers). Indonesia has also annexed East Timor, which could hardly obtain independence at the turn of the twentieth century; other Indonesian provinces, like the Moluccas and tsunami-struck Aceh, are also on a secessionist footing.

In the north, much of Mongolia (inner Mongolia) with its 6 million inhabitants was annexed by China followed by the annexation of Manchuria in 1945; these annexations revealed hidden claims to the territories from Russian, Mongolian, Japanese, and Manchurian organizations. Japan hotly disputes the four largest (lower) Kurili islands, insignificant territories for Russia, occupied by the Soviet Union after the end of World War II. Japan looks not only at the renewed possession of some small islands but is trying to extend its territorial waters to boost its national pride left in ruins after the shock of losing World War II as well as its Pacific-rim empire.

## Africa

The continent as well the whole world entered into an era of territorial integrity after World War II, as claiming territories became the key principle in guaranteeing the status quo of the new division of the world between the great powers. Newly independent countries accepted this principle worldwide due to their weaknesses, fearing external attack or internal secessionist drives. Therefore, after decolonization, the continent of Africa experienced only few border disputes in spite of the fact that hastily drawn colonial borders had little if any concern for tribal, language, or ethnic unity. Independent sub-Saharan Africa's boundaries changed remarkably little; changes had occurred only following the independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia, that of Namibia from South Africa, and the separation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

A long-lasting territorial dispute between Morocco and the Polisario liberation organization of the native Berber tribes concerns the former Spanish Sahara of 100,386 square miles (260,000 square kilometers). Morocco annexed it after colonial withdrawal in 1976, but the Polisario resisted Moroccan troops; the Sahrawi nationality nomads wanted to establish the Sahrawi/Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. At present, the area is largely occupied and entirely claimed by Morocco, without broad universal recognition. Another long-lasting and bloody dispute involved France and Algeria between 1945 and 1962. France has only bitterly accepted defeat and loss of its main overseas territory, which has caused a refugee wave of 1.5 million "black-legs" to continental France.

Similar guerilla-type fights were carried out, with Cuban help however in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Sudan is home to the continent's longest lasting bloody civil war, in which the Muslim-Arab North fights against self-determination of the Animist and Christian black South. The civil war broke out in 1962, leading to the South's autonomy in 1972, but the discovery of oil resources in 1983 again fueled the secessionist drive. The rebels joined under the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and have achieved an internationally mediated peace deal addressing power and wealth sharing. In the meantime, the western, mainly black region of Darfur also rose against the government and suffered ethnic cleansing transformed into genocide in 2004 by the government-backed Arab *Janjaweed* militias.

Egypt disputes the Hala'ib triangle with Sudan, an area extending to the north and south of the 1899 Treaty boundary, along the Twenty-Second Parallel. In the nonmilitarized conflict, Egypt is effectively

administering the northern part of the triangle, north of the Treaty Line. Sudan has border disputes with Kenya, whose administration still extends into Sudan, in the Ilemi Triangle; Sudan also has disputes with the Central African Republic over water and grazing rights along the border and with Eritrea on border demarcation issues, accusing it with supporting Sudanese rebel groups. Left landlocked after the secession of 1991, Ethiopia claims its former coastal province Eritrea (and Tigre), which actually won its independence in a bloody war after being united with Ethiopia in 1961. Ethiopia has unresolved territorial disputes with its eastern neighbor of Somalia, which has openly claimed Ethiopia's border of the Ogaden plateau region. The standoff resulted in a bloody war in 1977 and 1978 and caused a huge refugee wave and a subsequent crisis, but the territorial status quo was preserved in the end.

Somalia on its own has suffered secessionist drives from its breakaway Somaliland region. Somaliland, the former British colony on the coast of the Gulf of Aden, was united in 1960 with the former Italian colony of Somalia, forming actual Somalia. The province declared its independence in 1991, following a bloody secessionist struggle after the overthrow of the Somali military dictatorship. Somaliland has a *de facto* but unrecognized independence, with a working political system and economy but is also involved in a border dispute with the neighboring autonomous Somali region of Puntland over the Sanaag and Sool areas.

In former Belgian Congo or Zaire, the religious and tribal leaders demanded federalism after the country declared its independence in 1960. The mineral-rich southeastern province of Katanga had seceded successfully for three years, and riots were still flashing in the 1980s, leaving Zaire's future uncertain. White-led South Africa emerged as the regional power and had annexed Namibia from 1979 until 1990, fighting against the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and later against the Communist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the Angolan civil war. The end of the Cold War led to regime changes that put an end to or stopped many African conflicts, to give birth later to new ones emerging from regional and tribal animosities (such as in Uganda, Rwanda, Malawi).

## Latin America

As did their African counterparts, Latin American states have been formed respecting the legal principle of *uti-possidendi juris*, meaning that states' right to keep what its predecessor colony had possessed.

Land boundary disputes remained mostly inactive for long periods of time due to poor cartography, remote locations, and inaccessibility of the jungle or high mountainous border areas. Population growth, subsequent development pressures, and the use of new technology facilitated penetration into unpopulated areas, triggering sovereignty claims.

The other source of territorial disputes lie in modern international law evolution that allowed for the extension of territorial waters to two hundred nautical miles and secured priority for the exploration of the real or imagined rich resources of the underlying seabed and its marine life. As a consequence, most of the sea boundaries between the Caribbean island states have not been established, provoking fresh disputes. Thus, countries ending their territorial disputes like Colombia and Venezuela in the 1940s ended up with disputes over maritime boundaries in the 1960s, as oil was discovered in the Gulf of Venezuela.

The third source of the disputes is the legacy of the British colonial advance after Spanish-American independence. These disputes since 1966 between Venezuela and Guyana concern more than half of British Guyana's territory; Guatemala and Belize have had disputes since 1981 over the latter's very independence. These disputes are the by-products of decolonization between the Spanish-speaking older and English-speaking newer states.

In spite of these tensions, South America is relatively free of major disputes thanks to the balance of power that developed in the late nineteenth century. South American countries also have a shared identity, and most Spanish-American elites have accepted the idea of being part of a larger cultural and possibly political entity. International hatred was mostly absent from the political ideology due also to common Spanish ancestry and language, which do not provide room for the general idea of "my country's neighbor is my enemy."

The existence of the regional effective conflict resolution system successfully deters territorial pretenders and defuses interstate conflicts. Interstate war remained rare also because both South and Central American countries were relatively insulated from the wider international system. The Cold War also contributed to this regional stability because the United States did not want to have any quarrel in its "backyard" and intervened militarily when necessary. In spite of the US management of such disputes, the Central American subsystem remained unstable because many underlying disputes were not addressed.

Paradoxically, the existence of this collective security system is also a cause for disputes. Aggressor states may refuse to compromise, certain that the inter-American system will not intervene before

the aggressed state would retaliate. Thus, they can achieve concessions from the victimized country without risking high costs and huge military efforts. Conflict generation is thus part of a strategy of coercive bargaining, during which the aggressor state may maintain otherwise normal nonmilitary relations. On the other hand, long-lasting militarized disputes are partly due to their existing domestic political support, fueled by political leaders who want to gather electoral capital and see such nationalistic rhetoric as a cost-effective means of communicating. Nonetheless, existing conflicts can have high opportunity or direct costs due to the uncertainty of long-lasting militarized disputes or threatening intervention by the stronger neighboring state (such as Venezuela), as the case of a high-tech military project's fate showed in 2000.

Colombia's central government has fought for more than half a century, a bloody civil war claiming more than two hundred thousand lives. The war is directed against left-wing guerilla organizations: The Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). The guerillas control a *de facto* independent territory of the size of Switzerland.

Peru also has had wars with most of its neighbors. The century-old dispute with Chile over the mining region of Tarapacas was solved finally in 1999, by securing Peru's access to the Pacific port of Africa. Peru's disputes over the Letitia and Zarumilla regions with Colombia and Ecuador, respectively, ended in war, however.

Peru's dispute with Ecuador clearly shows that if sovereignty and border issues are given higher priority than developmental objectives, then territorial disputes will linger and perhaps worsen. Ecuador lost much of its territory in its 1870s wars with Colombia and during wars in 1939 through 1941 with Peru. The last one has ended with a peace treaty in 1942 (the Rio Protocol) guaranteed by the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, which institutionalized the role of outsiders in the dispute. Despite these changes, the territorial dispute continues, with Ecuador claiming the Maynas region in the Amazon basin. In addition, a border dispute in the Cordillera del Cóndor ridge region flared up due to its insufficient demarcation. The repeated Ecuadorian challenges ended in a short but violent war in 1995. Finally, the dispute was solved through international mediation in 1998.

Bolivia still claims an access area to the Pacific Coast in the Atacama desert region of Chile, incurring high economic opportunity costs because of its landlocked status as a consequence of previously losing its Antofagasta coastal region to Chile in the War of the Pacific in the 1870s. The longest and bloodiest war of Latin America, claiming 350,000



lives, is the war caused by the Bolivian claims over the Gran Chaco region, lost in the 1930s to Paraguay.

El Salvador and Honduras went to a bloody war in 1969 over disputed boundaries and related cross-border migration issues, following a riot at a binational soccer game. The war caused the collapse of the Central American Common Market; after international mediation and jurisdiction, 80% of the disputed territory was awarded to Honduras in 1992. In spite of this, militarized disputes recurred later due to factual boundary demarcation disputes, and international jurisdiction resumed in 1999.

Nicaragua has militarized all its borders that are dispute, and this became part of the repertoire of international tactics in spite of political changes. Later, as the Nicaragua-Honduras dispute over small islands, cays, and reefs started, the country turned to international jurisdiction.

Chile and Argentina have had twenty-four territorial and boundary disputes; the longest lasting one concerned the Beagle Channel and the southern glaciers. Argentina tried to solve all of these disputes after Chile's democratization cycles, but a long-term history of past conflicts rallied domestic support for diplomatic and military confrontation. In 1971, the two political and ideological adversaries sought British arbitration for the Beagle Channel, but this brought the parties to the brink of war in 1978, which was avoided only by a later Papal mediation, leading to a treaty in 1984. The Laguna del Desierto dispute was settled by international jurisdiction in the 1990s, while the most controversial dispute concerning the delimitation of the boundary through the southern cone glaciers required ratification from the parliaments. Argentina was exacerbating nationalistic feelings amidst its severe economic recession years, claiming the Islas Malvinas/Falklands. Argentina occupied them in 1982, triggering a swift response from the United Kingdom that retook possession after a short war, but Argentina did not abandon its century-long claim.

Brazil used common economic and social development projects in its strategy of solving territorial disputes. Thus, during the last two centuries, Brazil has won almost all territorial disputes peacefully and expanded its territory greatly (the third most successful country in the world to do so) without relying on military force or triggering an encircling coalition of its neighbors. In 1979, Brazil defused existing tensions with Argentina by initiating the joint exploitation of the hydroelectric potential of the Paraná River system, but an inactive dispute with Uruguay remained. The cooperation process culminated in 1991 in the establishment of the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR).

It is widely believed that democratization is a panacea for solving territorial issues, but the Latin American experience shows almost no evidence for any positive correlation in between. Territorial disputes are permanent, and some vanish while others commence in the ever-changing world, shaping history and the destiny of the peoples and nations forever.

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**See also Azerbaijan; Balkan Wars of the 1990s; China, People's Republic of; Kashmir Dispute; Milošević, Slobodan; Russia; Taiwan**

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### TERRORISM

The word "terror" is derived from Latin and means "fear." Thus, terrorizing civilians creates fear. "State-sponsored terror" is government by intimidation, as in the French Revolution's Reign of Terror (1793–1794). States employ terror to undermine other states, and internal and international groups use terror to attack hated political, economic, and cultural symbols. Since 1945, the use of terror in the developing world has aimed to achieve political, social, economic, and cultural goals. Since the dawn of history, people have used terror to intimidate civilians through such means as genocide, torture, and incineration.

## Legal Definitions

After World War II, the developed world started developing an international law of terrorism. The United Nations' International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, 1999, defined "terrorist acts" as "intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or to any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict;" these are acts that are meant to "intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act." Britain's Terrorism Act 2000 defines "terrorism" as acts "to influence the government or to intimidate the public. . . for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause." In the United States Code Title 22, "'terrorism' means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." In addition, "'international terrorism' means terrorism involving the territory or the citizens of more than one country." The code adds that a "'terrorist group' means any group that practices, or has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism."

The developed world has defined terrorism for its own protection. In 1946, international tribunals judged war crimes committed by Germany and Japan but not crimes committed by the winners. After the Vietnam conflict, American atrocities did not bring US commanders to justice in the manner the United States had prosecuted Japan's World War II commanders. Under international protocols, developing nations may not possess chemical or biological weapons but developed nations can.

## Terrorism's Tools

The military, police, and courts have tools to defend citizens and institutions. Unpopular regimes employ force to subdue those who oppose their rule. Rogue states terrorize rebels by suppressing civil liberties by illegal searches, arrests, and detentions. Ian Smith's illegal minority Rhodesian regime (1965–1979) and South Africa's apartheid governments silenced the majority through terror. When those out of power cannot defeat such regimes through legal means, they often overthrow them by using crude weapons of terror. This may be done with support from sympathizers outside the country. When Western states did not support African uprisings in the 1950s through the

1990s, Rhodesia's Patriotic Front and South Africa's African National Congress sought aid in African states that had ousted colonial rulers. They received training and weapons from Marxist states in Asia and Eastern Europe that were engaged in a Cold War against what they termed Western "imperialism." They also received aid from the World Council of Churches and other humanitarian organizations. Africans finally gained access to international media that put them on an equal footing with colonial regimes that had termed them "terrorists." With access to media, Africans termed their own soldiers "freedom fighters" and named their enemies "terrorists." International opinion slowly accepted an African claim to one-person-one-vote, economic equity, and equal justice. The United Nations (UN) placed sanctions on the oppressive white regimes. Power to persuade through political and economic appeals, and the use of "terror," turned the tide.

Terrorism's goal is not rational discussion. Its power comes from inducing fear among civilians. Terrorists lack the means to defeat regular military forces. They define "the other" negatively so as to motivate their agents to risk all for a cause. Targets may be political structures, or economic and cultural symbols, that bear the stigma of the hated "other."

## Motives

Why do terrorists do what they do when they do it? The motives test goes beyond the law to political and moral values. When civilizations clash, historians compare and contrast them. In "just" or "holy" wars, religious/cultural terrorists strike at targets with symbolic value. Yahweh commanded Hebrews to invade Palestine in the thirteenth century BCE, often demanding *herem* annihilation of people and property as a *ban* (sacrifice). Medieval Christians limited war, prohibiting attacks on Christian lands and persons (Peace of God) and seasons (Truce of God). But they exempted non-Christians from these protections. Islam initiated *jihad*, holy war carried out under a mufti's decree, to target "evil" places and infidels for destruction.

In 1996, Osama bin Laden offered an Islamic rationale for *jihad* against America. A 1930s Sunni fundamentalist, Sayyid Qutb, had found a way around prohibitions against overthrowing Muslim rulers by declaring them "infidel." Osama bin Laden made the United States an infidel for defending a Jewish state in Palestine and placing military bases in Saudi Arabia, the site of Islam's major shrines. The United States's secular culture profaned God, and it refused to share its wealth with poor developing nations. His ideas

resonated with developing world Muslims who compared their poverty to the United States' riches. Osama bin Laden also condemned wealthy Muslims whose greed and secularism made them targets.

## International Terrorism

International terrorism is not new, but since 1945 a shift has occurred as African, Asian, and Latin American voices have joined the UN to redefine terror. The developing world's political, economic, cultural, and political interests finally had to be acknowledged. Some saw access to oil as a prime motivator for acts of terror, but religious and political motives also had to be discussed. Motives, tactics, and law will be the focus of the twenty-first century. Terrorism studies will no longer ignore the developing world.

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## THAILAND

Thailand, formerly Siam, is in the heart of mainland Southeast Asia, with its southern tip extending into the Malay Peninsula. The Chao Phraya River and its fertile rice plain runs north to south through the country, and there is just over three thousand kilometers of coastline on the Gulf of Thailand and the Andaman Sea. Thailand's climate is tropical, with a warm and wet monsoon from May through September and a cool and dry monsoon from November to March. The southern tip, stretching into the Malay Peninsula and including the Isthmus of Kra, is generally hot and dry.

Thailand's population is around 64 million and is ethnically homogeneous, with approximately 75% of the population ethnic Tais, followed by approximately

15% ethnic Chinese, with the remainder of the population being ethnic minorities, including Hmong, Akha, White Tai, and Black Tai. A significant Malay minority exists in the southern part of Thailand. Thailand is also religiously homogeneous, with approximately 95% of the population practicing some form of Buddhism (mostly Theravada Buddhism). The large ethnic Chinese minority in Thailand is well integrated, the royal bloodline is said to have Chinese blood, and conflicts between Chinese and the majority Tais are infrequent and minor compared to some of Thailand's neighbors (Indonesia and Malaysia, for example). The national language is Thai, based on the Bangkok Thai dialect, and literacy is approximately 92%.

Thailand is exceptional among its Southeast Asian neighbors in that it was never formally colonized by a European power, a continuing source of pride for Thais (although it was heavily influenced by both France, from Indochina to the east, and Great Britain, from Burma to the west and Malaya to the south). Thailand's avoidance of colonialism is generally attributed to its strategic location as a buffer between French and British colonies and to the shrewdness of its rulers, beginning with Rama IV of the Chakri Dynasty, King Mongkut (reign: 1851–1868), and his son, Rama V, King Chulalongkorn (reign: 1868–1910). Both kings are attributed with modernizing Siam, including introducing European education, abolishing debt bondage and slavery, forging links to European countries, rationalizing taxes, bureaucratizing the government, and mapping the country. These policies, along with the introduction of cash crops and the increase in rice production, allowed Siam to thrive, and subsequent rulers began to focus on the consolidation of the state through nationalism and centralization.

In 1932, the absolute monarchy came to an end through a relatively peaceful *coup d'état* led by Western-educated elites. The country was given the name Thailand in 1939 as a way to embrace a Thai version of modernity. The monarchy itself was not a target of the coup, and so it retained its prestige. King Rama IX, Bhumibol Adulyadej, was born in Massachusetts, educated in Switzerland, and assumed the throne in 1946. Still in power at the beginning of the twenty-first century, he became the longest ruling monarch in the world. King Rama IX has been generally loved and respected by the people of Thailand for his kingly virtues, his patronage of the Sangha (Buddhist monkhood), and his support of various royal development projects. Disrespecting the king in any way is a crime not tolerated. Despite his lack of formal powers, Bhumibol was the catalyst for the resolution of a *coup d'état* in 1991. By the following year, demonstrations against the *coup* plotter, General Suchinda

Kraprayoon, had become widespread, and the military reacted with violence, killing student protesters. The king convened a meeting between Suchinda and his opponent, Chamlong Srimuang, on national television and ordered them to resolve their conflict, a strategy that proved successful and paved the way for elections and the restoration of democracy.

Thailand's history since World War II has been fraught with several *coups d'état* and periods of military rule interrupted by periods of open democracy. Thailand is considered one of the most established democracies in Southeast Asia, and the king remains an import figure and patron of Buddhism; however, certain policies, such as the unofficial assassinations of suspected drug users and sellers, have called into question Thailand's commitment to democracy. Thailand is also one of the more economically prosperous countries of the region, despite the effects of the 1997–1998 East Asian economic crisis, which had its roots in the devaluation of the Thai currency, the baht. Its recovery from the crisis was led by its export-oriented economy and driven by external demand for its products. The United States is Thailand's largest export market and second largest supplier (Japan is the first).

The roots for Thailand's strong economic development were established in the late nineteenth century, as aforementioned. The military's strong hand in the economy was consolidated following World War II under the influence of Plaek Phibunsongkhram, a former field marshal, who was involved in various *coups* since 1932. The military's discipline and organization, coupled with its system of patronage, has allowed it to be a major player in the Thai economy, in both legal and illegal enterprises. Many of these "vice" oriented ventures, such as bars staying open late, host prostituting, and catering to tourists (often viewed as holdovers from the America-Vietnam conflict), have become targets for current Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra; it appears, however, as though little is being done about the corrupt business practices of the military in other sectors.

One of the most striking features of Thailand's postwar economy concerns the timber industry. Positioning itself as anti-communist country, Thailand welcomed foreign investment and participated wholeheartedly in trade with the West. Its forests were some of the victims of these policies; by the time the Thai government instituted a moratorium on logging in 1989, Thailand's forest cover had dropped from 50% to less than 30% of its total land mass (approximately 193,051 square miles or five hundred thousand square kilometers). Rampant corruption betrayed the overall effectiveness of the plan, as evinced in occasional well-publicized scandals. Following the ban,

Thai companies immediately began seeking concessions in neighboring countries such as Burma, Laos, and Cambodia, all of which have laws that are much more lax, weaker law enforcement, and widespread corruption that enables black market business on a large scale.

An increase in manufacturing centered around big cities has also greatly affected Thailand's development. Thailand's cities are swelling at an enormous rate, just as are those of its neighbors, and the swelling is followed by the attendant crime, poverty, and pollution that accompany this change. Traffic congestion, for example, in Bangkok has increased dramatically, leading to production losses estimated in the billions of baht. An increase in the middle class since the 1960s, however, has produced a large segment of society that supports a vast network of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with environmental, gender equity, economic, and developmental goals and that subscribes to democratic ideals (although there remain questions about the overall distribution of the benefits of Thailand's economic growth).

Thailand's relatively free press allows for the open debate of ideas, but Thailand's labor organizations and unions remain relatively small and weak. In 2000, the Thai government passed the State Enterprise Labor Relations Act, which allowed public sector employees the same rights as private sector employees, including the right to organize. The East Asian economic crisis has led to the abandonment or postponement of many of the projects that accompanied the early 1990s construction boom in Bangkok although the economy as a whole is well on the way to recovery. The year 2000 brought the opening of Bangkok's above ground rail system, the Sky Rail. The gross domestic product (GDP) of 2002 grew by 6.3%. Under Thaksin, foreign investment has resumed, and exports such as textiles, footwear, rice, fish and marine products, rubber, appliances, and computers continue to fuel the economy. Services, as well as goods, have become a strong point for the Thai economy, and were the highest contributor by sector to the GDP in 2003 (46.3%) although agriculture still employs by far the highest percentage of the population (49%). Tourism is a significant contributor to the Thai economy (about 4%), and mining continues to be another significant contributor.

These shifts in the economy, from manufacturing to high technology and services, present a problem for Thailand. As its traditionally strong manufacturing sector begins to shrink due to competition from its neighbors (most notably Vietnam and China), the demand for a highly skilled labor force increases, but at this time it appears as though the educational system in Thailand is lagging. The illegal production

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and transit of drugs, mostly opium, heroin, and marijuana mostly originating in Laos and Burma, have been decreasing due to stepped up enforcement. Amphetamine distribution and use, however, has become increasingly widespread and problematic and has become a major law enforcement target. HIV/AIDS is also a serious problem for Thailand, especially given the widespread nature of and tolerance for prostitution and given Thailand's role as a destination for sex tourism. The government has aggressively instituted HIV/AIDS education programs and counseling and has been relatively effective in preventing a huge rise in the number of infections (especially when compared to Thailand's neighbors, many of whom ignored or refused to address the problem in its initial stages).

Perhaps the most glaring security problem facing Thailand is the Separatists in the southernmost provinces of Songkhla, Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat; this group is predominantly ethnically and linguistically Malay and Muslim, and its history of inclusion within Thailand is debated. Exacerbating any claims to sovereignty based on ethnicity or religion is the fact that Buddhist Thais have been relocated to the region, most of the civil service and police are ethnically Thai, and the provinces are among the poorest and least developed in Thailand. As a rubber-producing region, the global downturn in rubber prices in the 1950s worsened the Malays' lot (although rubber prices are going up more recently), and the response to the plight of the Southerners by the Thai central government has generally been apathy or antagonism. Although there are several organized groups with varying goals, violence in the region has been on the increase, and Thailand has been moving to shore up the porous border shared with Malaysia. Although not marked by the violence of the South, various hill tribes echo to some degree their complaints of Thai/Buddhist chauvinism and inequitable development. Moreover, ethnic rebels from neighboring Burma/Myanmar have caused security and diplomatic concerns, some quite serious.

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## THIRD WORLD

### Definition of "Third World"

The "Third World" is a catch-all term referring to countries with diverse histories, peoples, and geographic locations—yet they share certain attributes in relation to the countries defined as part of the First World and the Second World. The countries of Third World share a non-Western heritage, have higher population growth rates and infant mortality rates, are generally economically poor, and therefore have a lower standard of living as compared to the countries of the First World and the Second World. Most of the Third World countries share a history of colonial domination at the hands of Western powers. As a rough conceptual category, the Third World consists of all the nations in Asia (except Japan), Africa (except South Africa), Latin America, the Caribbean, and some states of Oceania.

### The Origin of the Term and Its Alternates

The French economist Alfred Sauvy coined the concept Third World—"tiers monde" in French—in a newspaper article penned for the August 14, 1952, issue of *L'Observateur*. The initial usage of the word in French referred to the three-tiered social classification used in the pre-Revolutionary French society, where the third estate was composed of commoners as opposed to the nobility of the first estate and priests of the second estate. The Third World for Sauvy is made up two ideas. First, much as the commoners were exploited in pre-Revolutionary France, the Third World today is exploited. And second, much as the commoners adopted a different kind of political program demanding social justice, the Third

World needed a different political approach for achieving a just global order.

Alfred Sauvy's conception of the Third World came to stand for a group of exploited countries that were economically not in the same league as those in either the First World or the Second World. The First World in this conceptual scheme stood for mostly Western countries (except Japan) that had tried from 1492 to colonize the rest of the world. These countries were focused on a European-centered imperial project, which then passed on to a United States-centered system post-1945. The Second World was composed of countries that espoused state socialism and were oriented to the Soviet Union as their center. The Third World consisted of countries that had been colonized by Europeans to get natural resources for building a world economy that benefited the peoples of Europe.

The industrial revolution first happened in the First World around the 1750s. The industrial development in the Second World was also advanced by the time the countries in the Third World began getting their freedom from European domination. The idea of the Third World is then an idea of countries that were not economically developed and that on the political scale had been exploited by the First World via colonization. In economic sense, this meant that the Third World was made up of countries that lacked industrial infrastructure, had to depend on supplying raw material to the First World, and were therefore poor. On social terms, it meant that these countries because of their poverty had fast-growing populations that suffered from higher infant mortality rates, were less educated in general, and suffered from numerous social problems.

Deployed as a term in public discourse, the concept of the Third World carries negative connotations; indeed, in the common discourse in the First World, the Third World connotes poverty and backwardness. But in more intellectual discussions, since mostly those sympathetic to the Third World used the word, the term became preferred over a number of competing options. One of the competing notions is the notion of "underdeveloped countries." But the concept of underdeveloped countries implies that Third World countries lack development—and that development is measured in reference to the Western model of development. This idea is ethnocentric because it takes the Western model as the eventual goal for everyone on this planet. A number of scholars, such as Ivan Illich, who belong to antidevelopment school have criticized the very definition of development—as measured by an increase in the growth domestic product (GDP) growth—as in fact a form of social regression rather than development.

The countries of the Third World are also sometimes referred to as countries of the South. This derives from the division of world into North and South. The northern countries are mostly white, industrialized, and have higher standards of living, while the southern countries are mostly non-white, are not industrialized, and have lower standard of living. This strategy of dividing the world, however, is criticized because Japan, a non-white country, is in the Northern Hemisphere, while Australia and New Zealand, both industrialized, white countries, are in the Southern Hemisphere. Another alternate term that approximates the concept of Third World is "postcolonial." The concept of "postcolonial," which is another competing term for Third World, suggests that the countries of the Third World were formerly colonized and therefore share a certain uniform experience of history. But the idea of post-colonialism is not accurate because countries such as Canada and Australia, though they were colonized by Europeans and thus fit the definition, differ vastly in almost any social and economic indicator from Third World countries.

### **Cold War and the Rise of Development**

In the Cold War context, with competition between Capitalism and Communism, the Third World came to be playground on which the United States and Soviet Union played out their global conflict. While the Soviet Union supported the decolonization movement in many countries in the Third World, the United States—with its own relative lack of colonial history—took over from the British in establishing hegemony in the Third World. In the case of the United States, the idea of development and foreign aid was proposed for fighting off the increasing appeal of Communism in Third World countries. Supported by big foundations, the United States government undertook a program to economically targets areas in the Third World that were pure and were thought to be more prone to going Communist. For the Soviet Union, its own model of economic and social organization was the best for development, and therefore, it encouraged and pressured Third World countries to follow its model.

The countries of Third World themselves were interested in development as a mechanism for solving myriad social and economic problems. They adopted the language of development marked by a modernistic outlook. This adoption of a narrative of development meant that to develop the Third World, countries had to adopt the ways and means of the First or Second

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World. This essentially meant the choice between Capitalist or Communist modes of organizing economies. Out of this jostling between the first and second worlds came the idea of official development, with each one providing aid and technology transfers to countries in the Third World. This concern with alleviating poverty in the Third World gave rise to the academic field of development studies.

The first school examining the reasons for the Third World's lack of development proposed a cultural theory. The modernization theory school suggested that the Third World countries are poor because their cultures do not encourage modernistic thinking, and therefore, they are not able to give rise to wealth. But the dependency school criticized this school of thought. The dependency school theorists suggested that the reason for the poverty in Third World countries lies not in the cultural mores of populations but in external factors. According to the dependency theory, developed countries—the First World—dictated the condition for exchange in the international markets; hence, the Third World countries were not competitive because the colonial structuring of their economies during European domination left them as just suppliers of raw materials.

The world-system theory, which built upon the dependency theory, continued the dependency theory's stress on external factors, but it did not take the nation-state as a basic system of analysis. The world-system approach looks at the world as a whole unit containing three different levels of countries in it: core, semiperiphery, and periphery. Both the proponents of dependency and world-systems approaches predicted that, given the inability to sustain capitalism, with the passage of time, the contradictions of the present economic order will make it possible for the transition to socialism. Yet another theory to address the question of development of the Third World is that of globalization.

The globalization approach stresses that the Third World is not wealthy because it is not participating in the transnational movements of goods and services. The Third World countries keep their domestic economies protected, and therefore, they suffer from poor governance. The best way to encourage development in the Third World is to follow the model of open economies, an approach named as the Washington Consensus. The other way of conceptualizing this is captured in the idea of neoliberalism, which is the argument for the least intervention of governments in the actions of economic actors nationally. The globalization approach argues that the best way for Third World countries to develop involves the least intervention possible from national governments and the most empowered entrepreneurs.

The debate about the development of the Third World is about whether the international system provides possibilities for upward mobility to the Third World countries. The modernization theory has argued that if people in the Third World change their cultural mores to reflect the mores of northern European Protestant ethics, they will develop. The dependency and world-system approaches argue that there is not much space for the development of Third World countries under capitalism and that only an end of capitalism will ensure development of the Third World. While this debate is to a certain extent still ongoing, the rise of foreign aid agencies and of government agencies concerned with overseas development has made the Third World their target. Most of these programs, however, are dependent on the idea of security for First World countries. The First World countries take part in foreign aid because any instability in the Third World will likely be felt in other parts of the world.

### Politics of the Third World

The establishment of the United Nations (UN) in the aftermath of World War II gave a station to the countries in the Third World to demand independence and decolonization. As the increasing number of countries gained independence in the 1940s and 1950s, the Third World issue became prominent. The French desire for continuing colonial control in Vietnam and Algeria gave rise to wars in both countries, and the United States got involved in Vietnam and other conflicts in the Third World to counteract the rising tide of socialism. The passing of the hegemonic torch in the international system from the waning European colonial powers to the rising power of the United States led to the involvement of United States in the Third World—and because of its rising interventionism, the United States became the new hegemony in Third World countries. The military defeats of France in Algeria in 1962 and of the United States in the Vietnam War were prominent events in Third World history.

The movements and leaders in the Third World against neocolonial and imperial policies of the First World also became prominent during these times. The Cuban Revolution in 1959 brought forth Fidel Castro and Ernesto “Che” Guevara, who as a figure of youthful rebellion is still admired and emulated in the youth culture the world over. The anticolonial war in Algeria led to independence in 1962, with Ahmed Ben Bella as the leader. Franz Fanon, originally from Martinique but active in the Algerian anticolonial

movement, wrote the most definitive Third World manifesto in his *Wretched of the Earth*, arguing that for the colonized to overcome the colonizer, an absolute revolution was needed, even if it required violence. In Africa, the newly independent countries of Ghana and Congo were led by Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba, respectively, both who defended their peoples' freedom while risking great harm to their own selves. A number of African and Caribbean intellectuals—Leopold Senghor and Aime Cesaire, among others—began the Negritude Movement to restore the dignity of Africa after centuries of subjugation. The victory of Ho Chi Minh's Vietcong in Vietnam over the United States, the most advanced First World country, inspired peoples in the Third World.

Politically, the idea of the "third world" was adopted by a number of countries that had been formerly colonized, and it was used as an emblem of a distinctive political orientation in the international arena: nonalignment with either of the two poles, the Communists and the Capitalists. This movement came to be known as Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). While the term "nonalignment" was used first by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru during a speech in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1955, it was in Bandung, Indonesia, where the leaders of newly independent leaders from Asian and African countries met, that the foundation for the NAM was laid. Organized by India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Burma (Myanmar), the conference was attended by twenty-nine Afro-Asian countries that announced cultural and economic cooperation in order to oppose colonialism and neocolonialism by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Bandung conference set in motion the process that resulted in the formation of NAM at a conference organized by Yugoslavian President Josip Broz Tito in Belgrade in 1961. The NAM—which has 116 members—has never found much of a cohesive identity, but a summit is held every three years to discuss issues relevant to member nations. The initial unity among Third World countries was also exhibited via the formation of the Group of 77 by the UN. The Group of 77 is a loose coalition of Third World nations that intends to defend members' interests and to create an enhanced negotiating capacity. Founded on June 15, 1964, by seventy-seven charter members, the group has expanded at present to include 133 countries.

### The End of Third World?

As a concept and idea of unity, Third World has always existed with tension. While the intellectual

vision of writers and activists in the Third World was one of unity, the political and economic tensions contradicted this vision. India and China, two of the biggest members of Third World, signed an agreement on April 29, 1954, in Beijing that enunciated the Panchsheel Principles, the five principles that stressed noninterference and mutual respect in reciprocal relations and opposition to colonialism and neocolonialism. These principles were incorporated into ten principles of Bandung and were signed by India, China, and Pakistan, among others. But the efforts at formation of a unified policy against Cold War polarities were a failure as a number of countries were incorporated into either the United States-lead North American Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance or the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. Thus, Pakistan came under the US umbrella, and India sided informally with the Soviet Union. In their mutual affairs, tensions began to corrode the outward unity expressed at the Bandung Conference.

The rising number of conflicts and wars among members of the Third World led to the decline of initial enthusiasm and solidarity that existed among peoples in Asia and Africa. India and China fought a war in 1962, and India and Pakistan fought two wars in 1965 and 1971. In Africa, Cold War conflicts broke out in Angola, Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Sudan, and Nigeria as well as among others. The decades following highlighted the tensions among members of the Third World with wars and festering conflicts between Ethiopia-Eritrea, India-Pakistan, Egypt-Yemen, Algeria-Morocco, Rwanda-Burundi, China-Vietnam, Iran-Iraq, and others. And even oil-rich countries—especially those in the Persian Gulf—that had been counted as Third World members became rich overnight after the oil shock of 1973, and they laid claim to a different kind of status. With the rise of per capita in these countries, outstripping those of even European countries, the Third World appellation did not mean anything in economic terms. But in political terms, these nations remained under the imperial ambit of the Western world, anchored in the US hegemony.

The other problem came with the descent of ruling parties into corruption and authoritarianism. In Algeria, a one-party system and the associated authoritarianism of the National Liberation Front (FLN) led to rising discontent, which took the form of Islamic protest. It resulted in the open rebellion in the beginning of 1990s and led to a decade of bloodshed in the country. In the Islamic world as well in India, the opposition to the order of the day shifted from a secular politics—which, after all, formed the basis of a Third World movement for modern development—to a politics of religion. In the Islamic



world, countries as diverse as Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Lebanon, and Sudan became increasingly assertive in Islamic politics. The prominence of religious politics—at the expense of secular politics—also appeared in India, Sri Lanka, and Turkey.

The rise of Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs), also known as the “Asian Tigers” in East Asia—Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore—led to demise of dependency principle. These countries showed that although capitalism remained an unequal system, there were economic opportunities for countries that put their efforts in developing certain niche strengths. An example of this improvement is found in the economic fortunes of China, which has become the factory of the world because of its manufacturing capacity; this example has further solidified the case against dependency. To a certain extent, the improvements in India’s economic fortune had made it possible to conceive the world economic system as allowing for the mobility of countries in the Third World.

A number of theorists—Andre Gunder Frank, for example—have argued that the center of world power is slowly returning again to Asia. With the deepening of globalization, it is argued that perhaps the best way to conceive international inequality is not by using a geographic-based approach—of which the Third World versus the First World is a prime example—but a social approach. The presence of Third World within the First World and vice versa has led to arguments that the best way of understanding inequality in the world is by following the transnational chain of those connected to international economy and those who are excluded by this economy. But such areas as sub-Saharan Africa—that in the past had been conceptualized as the Fourth World by some—have remained marginalized even under globalization.

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**See also Asian Tigers; Bandung Conference (1955); Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies; Eurocentrism; Fanon, Frantz; Globalization: Impact on Development; Group of 77; Modernization; Neocolonialism; Newly Industrialized Economies (NIEs); Nonaligned Movement; Underdevelopment**

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### THREE GORGES DAM

The Three Gorges Dam, the largest hydroelectric project in the world, is one of the most controversial projects currently under construction in China. The Three Gorges are located in the upper regions of the Yangtze River and are among China’s most fantastic tourist attractions. The idea of building the dam was debated and planned for nearly seven decades. The government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) conducted extensive feasibility research and site selections in the 1950s and 1960s. However, due to budget constraints, the project stayed in the planning stage until the 1980s.

When the project was revived in 1992, widespread opposition forced the government to delay the project once more. After a period of heated debate, the project was finally approved by the People’s Congress, China’s highest decision-making body. The project officially broke ground in 1994. Two phases of construction have already been completed, and the power plant has partially been put into production. The remaining works are scheduled to be completed by 2009.

The project is mammoth in magnitude. Once completed, the dam will create a huge reservoir stretching 350 miles upstream in the Yangtze River. An estimated 1.13 million local residents must be relocated to make way for it. Many urban centers and villages will be partially or completely submerged. The resettlement alone consumes about one-third of the total cost of the project. More than 125 million cubic meters of earth and rocks have to be removed, and 26 million cubic meters of concrete are required for the six hundred-foot-tall dam. A five-level ship lock, the largest in the world, has been built to allow ships to pass through. The total projected cost is over \$24 billion (USD).

The dam will power the largest power plant on earth. The initial scope of the project called for twenty-six seven-hundred-thousand-kilowatt turbogenerators. In 2003, an expansion plan was approved to add six

additional generators. The new plant will be located in an underground tunnel inside a mountain adjacent to the dam. If completed, the total power-generating capacity of the dam will reach 22.40 megawatts at peak time.

The benefits of this project to China's development are evident: the electricity produced will feed industrial development in China's coastal and central regions. The clean energy will replace more than 50 million tons of coal burned at plants, currently the chief source of electricity. The reduction in carbon monoxide emission will help reduce acid rain and minimize the greenhouse effect. It is also hoped that the dam will play a major role in controlling floods, enhancing irrigation, and improving navigation. According to the project planners, the dam will greatly diminish the threat of annual flooding and keep the reoccurring flood damage in the downstream areas to the minimum.

Critics believe that the project's environmental and social costs are too great to justify the benefits. Some observers believe that relocating more than 1 million residents will be difficult or even impossible. Other critics fear that 1,300 known historical and cultural sites may be wiped out; that the sediment problem may eventually render the dam useless; that the costs of the project may outweigh the energy production; that the potential damages to the region's ecological systems have been underestimated; that the quality of the construction may compromise the dam's safety; and that the dam is vulnerable to military attack.

The government maintains that the resettlement project will be part of a poverty relief program helping the displaced persons improve their standard of living. The government plans to invest in new cities and infrastructures to support six hundred thousand urban migrants. However, the government acknowledges that the challenge is indeed tremendous. While there was not great resistance to the mandatory relocation, many individuals and families complained of inadequate compensation. Official corruption may complicate the issue even further. Nevertheless, over seven hundred thousand people have already been relocated as of early 2004. Among them, 160,000, mostly from rural areas, have been relocated to eleven provinces and some metro areas such as Shanghai.

To save the historical and cultural relics in the region, the government organized 60% of the country's archeological workforces to save, excavate, and relocate cultural sites. Since 1997, more than 720,000 square meters of cultural sites have been uncovered, and 7 million square meters of cultural sites have been surveyed. More than 1,074 sites will be protected at a cost of 1 billion Chinese Yuan. A new Three Gorges Museum and several Three Gorges Cultural Protection Centers will be built to house all the

cultural relics discovered in the area. In order to save the historical city of Dachang, for instance, the entire city was removed and rebuilt in its original state. Nonetheless, the number of cultural sites discovered far exceeded the official estimates. In Badong County alone, the number of sites in need of protection has quickly risen from forty-four to two thousand. Because many of the archeological projects were completed hastily, record keeping and classification may not have been precise, and thus many unknown cultural sites will be submerged by water.

Another criticism is the potential damage to the ecological system of the Yangtze River. Some accused the project planners of failing to conduct adequate scientific studies on environmental hydrology; cumulative impacts; biological, physical, and chemical responses; and potential human use patterns of the Three Gorges Reservoir. Some worry that the water quality will deteriorate; others believe that certain fish species might go extinct because the dam will make seasonal upstream migration impossible. Long-term decline in reservoir fisheries is believed to be inevitable since this result is well documented for many similar river dam projects around the world.

Clearly, the Three Gorges Dam is one of the most comprehensive projects ever undertaken by the Chinese. It comprises numerous and varied smaller projects that involve a great deal of planning. Extensive efforts and studies have been made to address these concerns. To ensure water quality, for instance, the government has initiated several large-scale projects, including a long-term reforestation and soil erosion reduction program in the upper Yangtze River. Wastewater processing plants and garbage-processing facilities are being built along the river bank to stop water pollution. The project is also considered an important part of the Great Western Development Strategy initiated in 1990s to narrow the economic gap between the coastal and inland areas.

BAOGANG GUO

**See also China, People's Republic of; Environment: Government Policies; Energy: Impact on Development**

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## THREE GORGES DAM

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## TIBET

Any discussion of Tibet is inextricably bound to debates about the governance of Tibetans. The occupation of Tibet by China that began in 1949, followed by the invasion of 1951 and culminating in the Tibetan uprising against the occupying forces in 1959, is the shared experience that links Tibetans in Tibet, the refugee Diaspora communities, and over 1,500 Tibet support groups in Asia, Europe, and North America. Tibet is an occupied country without representation at the United Nations (UN). At the time of China's invasion the Dalai Lama, who ruled Tibet, had asked the UN to intervene, and a dispute was registered between Tibet and China. China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and uses its veto to prevent discussion of that dispute.

The Tibetan Government in Exile, a constitutional democracy, governed by the *Kashag* (or Cabinet) and led by the *Kalon Tripa* (Head of Cabinet), is based in Dharamsala, India. The vast majority of Tibetans acknowledge the Dalai Lama's leadership, both spiritual and political; but he insisted that his status as the fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet should become that of a spiritual—but not political—leader through the development of a new constitution. The first *Kalon Tripa* (or Prime Minister) under that constitution was Samdhong Rinpoche, a Tibetan Lama.

Tibet comprises 2.5 million square kilometers, with an average altitude of thirteen thousand feet (3,962 meters) above sea level. The economy is based largely on intensive agriculture and pastoralism (animal herding). Tibet is the watershed for much of Asia, with the Yarlung Tsangpo River (called the Brahmaputra in India), the Driчу River (called the Yangtze in China), Senge Khabab River (called the Indus in India), Phungchu River (called the Arun in India), Gyalmo Ngulchu River (called the Salween in Burma), and the Zachu River (called the Mekong in Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). The country's wildlife includes the wild yak, Tibetan gazelle, black-necked crane, giant panda, red panda, golden monkey, wild ass, and Tibetan Argali. Domestic animals include four distinct breeds of Tibetan dog, including the well-known Lhasa Apso.

Prior to occupation, Tibet was divided into three provinces: U-Tsang, Amdo, and Kham. The Tibetan population was about 6 million in 1949. It dropped by about 1.2 million when many perished as the result of Chinese occupation; while reliable information is not available, the population appears to have rebounded to about 6 million. During the 1980s, population transfers, illegal under international law, moved 7.5 million Chinese (mainly Han) into Tibet. While the Chinese still regard moving to Tibet with much the same reserve that citizens of central Russia have about moving to Siberia, many are tempted by the special privileges afforded to Chinese in Tibet. Under Chinese occupation, Tibet's three provinces of U-Tsang, Amdo, and Kham have been divided into new regions: the Tibetan Autonomous Region (consisting in the Tibetan province of U-Tsang and part of Kham; about 1.2 million square kilometers) in Qinghai Province; Tianzu Tibetan Autonomous County and Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu Province; Aba Tibetan-Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and Mili Tibetan Autonomous County in Sichuan Province; and Dechen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province. When Tibetans in the Tibetan Diaspora refer to Tibet, they invariably mean the three provinces of Kham, U-Tsang, and Amdo because Tibetan refugees come from all parts of all three provinces. When the government of China refers to Tibet, it tends to refer only to the Tibetan Autonomous Region, with a population of about 2 million Tibetans. Most of Tibet, therefore, lies outside of what the Chinese government calls “Tibet.”

Almost all Tibetans are Mahayana Buddhists. Tibetan Buddhism, also called Lamaism, is distinct in its emphasis upon finding the Tulkus, or reincarnations of highly realised or enlightened Lamas. The most important reincarnated Lama is the Dalai Lama, who is believed to be a manifestation of *Chenrasigs* (also called *Avalokitesvara*), the Bodhi-sattva of Compassion. It is difficult to overestimate the symbolic importance of the Dalai Lama himself and the system of Tibetan Buddhism that he represents. The Dalai Lama's personal example and Tibetan Buddhism, with its profound emphasis upon the development of compassion and personal responsibility, compose a central cultural theme for the Tibetan Diaspora community.

Over one hundred thousand Tibetans followed the Dalai Lama, as refugees, to India and neighboring countries after the March 10, 1959 uprising. The Dalai Lama established a government-in-exile in Dharamsala, in northern India, to coordinate efforts to provide for the refugees' needs of and to develop institutions to preserve Tibetan learning and culture

while Tibetans were separated from their country. The occupation of Tibet by China resulted in the destruction of more than six thousand monastic communities, which were the religious, educational, and administrative centers of Tibetan society. China's policies of forced assimilation, exacerbated by massive population transfers from China to Tibet and coupled with human rights violations and the destruction of Tibetan ecology, have caused widespread international concern and do not bode well for Tibet's future development.

The influx of Tibetans to India and other countries continued after the initial exodus, straining resources in India; in 1967, the Dalai Lama appealed to the international community to accept Tibetan refugees. Switzerland was the first nation to offer resettlement, and Canada was the second.

Tibetans inside and outside of Tibet have gained support internationally because of their nonviolent resistance to China's occupation of their country. For his continued commitment to these peaceful means, the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

Exiled Tibetans have also developed a parliament-in-exile that includes elected Members of Parliament (MPs) from each region with a population of Tibetan refugees. In 1992, the Canada Tibet Committee established the Canada Tibet Network on the Internet to link the Tibetan-Canadian communities. Subsequently renamed World Tibet Network, the service now serves Tibetans and Tibetan support groups globally.

The human rights situation in Tibet continues to be a serious embarrassment to the government of China; but with the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in Exile asking for negotiations that would lead to Tibetan internal autonomy rather than complete independence, China is being offered a way forward.

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**See also Buddhism; China, People's Republic of; East Asia: History and Economic Development; East Asia: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Asia**

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### TIANANMEN SQUARE MASSACRE

China has been ruled by the dictatorial Communist Party since 1949, when Mao Zedong led the party to victory over the Nationalists (who fled to the island of Taiwan). In the tradition of Lenin and Stalin, the party allowed no democracy or popular dissent. Resistance was crushed at the cost of millions of lives, the repression reaching a peak during the period known as the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).

With the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, China began to moderate its commitment to communism. A power struggle between Mao's successors resulted in the victory of Deng Xiaoping, a relative moderate. Deng believed that China's loyalty to traditional socialism was holding it back from maintaining its status as a world power. He advocated economic modernization and encouraged investment by foreign corporations. By the late 1980s, capitalism was taking root in China, and Deng's policies were resulting in record growth in China's gross national product (GNP).

Deng's support for economic reform, however, did not extend to political reform. He maintained the Communist Party's firm control over all of China's political institutions and opposed introducing Western ideas, such as free speech and democracy. Subordinates, such as Hu Yaobang, who advocated a more liberal society, were dismissed. Despite Deng's opposition to certain reforms, the growing economic freedom in China led many, particularly among younger Chinese intellectuals, to desire political and social freedoms to go along with China's growing economic freedom.

Events in China were also influenced by those in the neighboring Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Since its birth in 1917, the Soviet Union had been the driving force behind world communist movements. But in 1985, reformist leader Mikhail Gorbachev had come to power, advocating economic and political reforms. By 1989, the beginnings of democratic institutions that would bring down the Soviet Union had formed. In Eastern Europe, starting with Hungary, communist governments were moving (some voluntary, some forced by events) away from communist one-party rule and toward democracy.

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Chinese intellectuals were watching these events closely, particularly so because in 1989 Premier Gorbachev was due to visit China.

The trigger for the Tiananmen Square demonstrations came with the death of the pro-reform leader Hu Yaobang on April 15, 1989. Although no longer in power, Hu had become a symbol for those desiring greater freedom. A few thousand students marched to Tiananmen Square to demonstrate; ostensibly, they were demanding posthumous recognition for Hu; actually, as would quickly become clear, they were demanding a vast change in government policy in favor of greater freedom. The demonstrations escalated during April, with students, often supported by citizens of Beijing, gathering in tens of thousands in the square despite government prohibitions.

These demonstrations were troubling to Deng Xiaoping and his government, not simply because of their size but also because they were taking place in the heart of China. Tiananmen Square is the largest public square in the world (forty-four hectares, or over one hundred acres) and lies in the center of Beijing. With the Great Hall of the People (which houses the People's Congress) on one side and Mao's tomb on another, any demonstrations in Tiananmen could not help but have historic and international repercussions.

By the middle of May 1989, there was a permanent encampment of thousands of student protestors camped in the square. Other protestors began to arrive from elsewhere in China. International journalists flocked to the square and listened to earnest young students talk about freedom and democracy for China. Some of the protestors staged hunger strikes, demanding democracy and press freedoms. With Gorbachev in Beijing and extensive international press coverage, the government was restrained in its dealings with the demonstrators.

However, after Gorbachev's departure, and with the failure to successfully negotiate with the more moderate student leaders, the government's position hardened. On May 20, the government declared martial law, and on May 21 attempted to move troops into the square. The attempts, however, were blocked by students and Beijing residents, who physically placed themselves in front of military vehicles. The demonstrators, taking heart at this success, became bolder in their demands. On May 30, the demonstrators built a "Goddess of Democracy" statue out of plaster; the statue symbolized their demand for greater freedom and was reminiscent of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor.

On June 3, government troops again moved against Tiananmen Square, but this time in much greater force. Reports of what happened are conflicting, and Chinese government censorship makes an accurate

account impossible to achieve. Reports do consistently describe Chinese soldiers firing on civilians. They may not have fired indiscriminately into crowds, as has been reported, but clearly unarmed civilians in and around Tiananmen square were killed. During two days of struggle, there was extensive violence. Some of the violence was caused by crowds of Beijing residents who supported the demonstrators and tried to block the army vehicles moving through Beijing's streets. Many military trucks were destroyed in the fighting, and there were some military casualties. There were also some reports of troops acting sympathetically to the demonstrators being fired on by more hard-line forces. Most casualties, however, were civilian. Estimates range from hundreds (the government's figure) to thousands of casualties. The actual figure cannot be known with any accuracy, but probably more than two thousand people were killed during June 3, 4, and 5, 1989.

International leaders, including President George Bush of the United States, condemned the brutal repression of the Tiananmen Square protests but did little else (the United States, for example, maintained full trade relations with China). Human rights organizations were scathing in their criticism. Some protestors escaped to Western countries like the United States to continue their fight for greater democracy, and many more were arrested by the Chinese government. Fairly quickly the disturbances in Beijing and elsewhere in China died down, and the government was able to continue Deng's policies of economic liberalization without granting any political freedom.

It remains difficult to assess the Tiananmen Square uprising's effects. While there are still prodemocracy activists in China, they seem few and are heavily persecuted by government security services. Most Chinese citizens seem to have accepted the government's Faustian bargain of a growing economy and material prosperity without any political liberalization. Many prosperous Chinese regard the Tiananmen demonstrations as an impractical effort by naive students.

However, Chinese prosperity is not uniform. In the countryside, where poor peasants envy the disproportionate benefits enjoyed by the cities, there may be more sympathy for the memory of Tiananmen and more chance for a revival of a similar movement. For people around the world, the image of individual Chinese citizens putting their bodies in front of tanks in the name of democracy remains as an inspirational symbol for those advocating greater freedom in their own countries.

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**See also** *China, People's Republic of; Chinese Communist Party; Deng Xiaoping*

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### TITO, JOSIP BROZ (MARSHALL TITO)

A revolutionary, president for life, and internationally respected leader, Josip Broz Tito (Tito was a Communist Party name Broz accepted in 1934) ruled former Yugoslavia for more than three decades, from 1945 to the time of his death in 1980. He is remembered as the most important political figure of the former Yugoslavia, a leader who skillfully kept the country's numerous ethnic animosities contained under the policy of brotherhood and unity while building his own and Yugoslavia's international reputation and prestige.

Son of a Croat father and a Slovene mother, Tito (1892–1980) was born in the small Croatian town of Kumrovec (at that time part of the Habsburg Monarchy) into a working class family. He attended primary and secondary schools and was trained as a locksmith. Soon after finishing his education and assuming his first employment in Zagreb, Tito became involved in local politics by joining the Croatian Social-Democrats. His first experience with communism was in Russia during World War I, where he spent several years as a prisoner of war after being drafted and sent to fight the Russian army in Romania. In 1920, Broz formally became a member of the Russian Communist Party, and soon after returned to his homeland and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which, at that time, was rather marginal and not a very influential political party. In the period between the two World Wars, his status climbed rapidly from that of an ordinary party member to eventually becoming its leader in 1938. Despite Tito's personal skills, the communists lacked large public support, mainly because of their revolutionary ideas

and political organizational methods based on Soviet models. Such ideas, although directed against a widely disliked regime, attracted little support in a democracy. On the other hand, when World War II broke out, the Communists were among the first to organize a resistance against German forces and local puppet regimes. This time, revolutionary methods proved to be useful in helping Tito become established as a leader of communist partisans and antifascist fighters. Because of this status, Tito emerged from World War II not only as an undisputed communist leader but also as the leader of a revolution that abolished a kingdom. At the end of the war, Yugoslavia's communists solidified their position as the strongest party, gained legal recognition, and established the regime that lasted for the next forty-five years.

Tito's political role and accomplishments as a leader are still a matter of debate amongst scholars. On one hand, he is portrayed as having been a dictatorial opportunist who used the system for personal promotion and the development of a personality cult, building an international image while ignoring internal problems. Proponents of this theory justify their view with Tito's "President for Life" title, which was given to him in 1974. On the other hand, Tito is considered a great uniter of Southern Slavs who put Yugoslavia on the world map, bravely resisted the Soviet Union in 1948, and stabilized the region previously (and still in the early twenty-first century) considered an ethnic powder keg. Regardless of perspectives, the general consensus is that Tito possessed the characteristics of a skillful politician and charismatic leader. Under his leadership, a predominantly agricultural country, awash in the economic backwaters of Europe, experienced rapid transformation. The Communists' priorities were industrialization, urbanization, and education improvements, which were generally accomplished, although not without negative consequences. One developmental problem was the Communists' inability to comprehend the negativity associated with running the country through strict ideological limits which created many obstacles to economic development.

During the early post-World War II years, Tito consolidated his power by acting as prime-, foreign-, and defense-minister. Finally, in 1953, he was selected as the President of Yugoslavia. He held this position, with some modifications, until his death. Perhaps the most significant contribution of Tito's personality to the Yugoslav people was his rejection of Stalin's attempts to control the country's Communists. Not willing to follow anyone's orders in terms of implementation of communistic ideology, Tito pursued an independent path, which brought Yugoslavia to the brink of war with the Soviet Union in 1948 and expulsion from Cominform (a Moscow-dominated

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organization of Communist parties), but Yugoslavia never became its satellite state. Because of his very strong stand against Stalin and the Soviet Union, Tito quickly rose in the eyes of Western leaders, many of whom began providing him with economic support. After Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev normalized relations with Tito, and after that Tito used his sensitive position between superpowers to obtain favors from both sides.

On the international scene, Tito's biggest contribution was the 1961 formation of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) with cofounders Gamal Abdel Naser of Egypt and India's Jawaharlal Nehru. This was an international organization of countries unwilling to align themselves with either side in the Cold War. In this role, Tito was the leading ambassador. Through his friendships with many leaders in this organization, Yugoslavia benefited economically as many of its companies received lucrative contracts from throughout Asia and Africa.

Domestically, after initial success in modernizing the economy and implementing so-called "market socialism," the country struggled to overcome ideological barriers that were blocking economic reforms and the eventual establishment of a free market economy. Through a series of reforms in the 1950s, state ownership of production was replaced with the workers' management of factories. This arrangement helped reduce the government's ultimate power in the decision-making process and accelerated economic growth. Yet in the 1960s, in order to prevent inflation and rising foreign debt resulting from market socialism, Tito's government began implementing reforms, which, although on a path to success, were soon abandoned for being ideologically unacceptable. Thereafter, under greater government control, the Yugoslav economy continued to weaken.

From the beginning of his rule, Tito always held a tight grip on nationalistic and separatist tendencies that arose among the various ethnic groups residing in Yugoslavia. Although he encouraged coexistence, Tito's methods were vigorously repressive when dealing with unsatisfied sides in the Yugoslav federation. In 1971, for example, Tito arrested hundreds of Croatian protesters who had mounted a spirited challenge to the existing system. Tito died in 1980 in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe; Yugoslavia**

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## TOGO

Togo (the official name of the Togolese Republic) was a part of the French occupations in Africa, a then French-administered United Nation (UN) trusteeship. It was called French Togoland, and its name was changed after independence in 1960.

The main ethnic groups in Togo are Ewe, Kabiye, Gurma, and Dagomba. In Togo's population, religious affiliations include Indigenous beliefs of 50%, Christian beliefs of 35%, and Muslim beliefs of 15%. In July 2004, the population of Togo was estimated at 5,556,812, with an approximate growth rate of 2.27%.

French is the official language and the language of commerce, while some African languages are widespread, mainly Ewe and Mina (in the south), Kabye or Kabiye, and Dagomba (in the north). Lomé is the capital and the main city.

The currency of Togo is the franc of the *Communauté Financière d'Afrique*, or the franc of the African Financial Community, called the CFA franc, and it consists of one hundred centimes (490 francs equal one US dollar or USD as of March 2005). The first political party in Togo was formed in 1941: the Committee of Togo Union. From 1969 until 1991, the Togolese People's Assembly was the sole political party. Togo now has a multiparty system, adopted in 1992 via a constitution approved by the High Council of the Republic and by a public referendum, and many political parties are now active.

The legislative body in Togo is unicameral National Assembly (eighty-one seats; members are elected by popular vote to serve five-year terms). General Gnassingbe Eyadema, installed as a military ruler in 1967, is Togo's president and Africa's longest-serving head of state. Officially, presidential elections based on a popular vote are held every five years. Despite the constitution mentioned above, however, Eyadema and his Rally of the Togolese People (RPT) party continue to wield virtually all political power in the country.

Togo's high population growth rate has placed increasing pressure on the country's natural resources. Environmental problems are widespread, and include deforestation, desertification, water pollution, and air pollution. Many wildlife species are endangered. Togo's government has signed a number

of conservation agreements, but basic services such as access to safe drinking water and sanitation services, especially in rural areas, are still lacking.

As a dependent economy, Togo faces many problems, including corruption and widespread poverty. The economy depends on commercial and subsistence agriculture. Though 65% of the population is employed in the agricultural sector, Togo must nevertheless import some of its staple foods. It exports cocoa, coffee, cotton, and phosphate; however, power shortages and mining costs caused phosphate production to drop by about one-fifth in 2002. The Togolese government has made attempts at economic reform, per the International Monetary Fund and World Bank guidelines; but these efforts, as well as attempts to bring in foreign investments, have moved slowly. In addition, most of Togo's international aid has been suspended due to allegations of human rights abuses.

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## TONGA

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of 171 islands, thirty-six of them inhabited, near the Tropic of Capricorn and just west of the International Dateline in the Pacific Ocean. According to the 1996 census, the population (made up almost entirely of Polynesians) numbered 97,446, with the bulk of them living on the main islands of Tongatapu (68% of the population), Vava'u, Hu'apai, and Niua. The capital, Nukuloafa, is on the island of Tongatapu and is home to approximately one-fifth of the total population. The climate is tropical with an average annual temperature of 70°F (21°C) and rainfall between fifty-nine to seventy-one inches (1500 and 1800 millimeters). The warmer months, when the temperature gets into the thirties, are October to April, and trade winds occur all year round at a constant fourteen to

eighteen knots. The islands are a mix of coral and volcanic areas with most being flat. Many look like iconic Pacific islands with coconut palms, white beaches, and lagoons bordered by reefs.

Tonga is unusual in the Pacific in that it has maintained its independence and has never been colonised. Despite being a protectorate of the United Kingdom from 1900 to 1970, Tonga has been continuously ruled by a relatively small group of nobles and the Royal Family without major disruption. The major changes have been the adoption of Christianity and the introduction of limited forms of democratic government and processes. A constitution was granted by King George Tupou I in 1875, a form of British monarchy (hence the adoption of the name George), and a Constitutional Monarchy was established. Since independence in 1970, the government has been made up of a Cabinet that is appointed by the King, nine nobles elected by thirty-three hereditary nobles, and nine representatives elected by popular vote. The first political party was formed in 1994. The Royal Family and King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV continue to exercise absolute economic and political control over the country, although there have been challenges to this control. In addition to being a Constitutional Monarchy, Tonga is also a very religious country with the main church being the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Christian religious beliefs have been merged with traditional Tongan cultural traditions, and the church is an important focus for community and cultural life. Tongans enjoy a good life expectancy (seventy-one years), high levels of education, and a literacy rate of 90%.

Tonga's economic development has been hampered by a reliance on a small range of exported products and varying demand for these products; regular cyclones (typically a major cyclone occurs every three years); the poor management of the economy, including the resources devoted to a large public service; and a dependence on remittances and foreign aid. Agriculture provides 95% of total exports, and the manufacturing base is small. Exports have been dominated by squash (pumpkin) and fish, with bananas and coconut products becoming less important crops throughout the 1990s. In 2003, exports were valued at \$31 million US, with \$26 million US going to Japan and the United States. At the same time, imports amounted to \$100 million, with \$43 million coming from New Zealand, primarily in the form of meat, timber, boats, and dairy products. External indebtedness has continued to rise from \$24 million in 1985 to \$64 million in 1995 and \$73 million in 2003. Tourism and fishing play an important role in contributing to income although what sustains the Tongan economy to a significant extent are aid and



remittances. Aid has declined in recent years (\$39 million in 1995 to \$19 million in 2000), which has added to an unfavourable balance of trade and reduced local economic development options. Remittances, or the money sent to Tonga citizens from Tongan residents who live overseas, is significant and has been estimated to represent 45% of the gross domestic product (GDP). There is a large diaspora of the Tongan population, especially in New Zealand and the United States, with a level of ongoing emigration that limits population growth in Tonga itself (typically to 0.5% growth per annum). The overall effect of these various factors is indifferent economic performance (real GDP growth in 2002 was -1.1), a substantial trade imbalance, budget deficit, and employment growth considerably less than the rate of increase in the labour force.

International agencies, such as the Asia Development Bank and the World Bank, along with governments who supply aid, notably New Zealand and Australia, have been pressing for economic reform. One issue has been the numbers employed in public service (the government payroll accounted for 57% of expenditure in this line of work for 2001). Prince Lavaka, who was elected Prime Minister in 2000, has made a concerted effort to restrict government activity and employment to the core public services. The Public Finance Act, passed in 2003, has set the agenda for tax reform and the rationalisation of the public service. There is also political pressure for change. The Human Rights and Democracy Movement (formerly the People's Party), led by Member of Parliament (MP) Akilisi Pohiva, have been pushing for more public accountability and democratic participation in the running of Tonga. Part of the government's response has been to restrict debate and to punish opposition, including banning a prodemocracy newspaper, *Taimi o Tonga*, and imprisoning opposition MPs and activists. Social problems add to the issues facing Tonga. The Asia Development Bank Programme for 2005–2006 will focus on improving urban infrastructure, in part because of growing social problems, including youth unemployment, increasing crime rates, prostitution, substance abuse, and teenage pregnancies.

Tonga remains one of the most hierarchical countries in the Pacific with significant political, economic, and social challenges. Power is concentrated in the hands of the nobles and the Royal Family, and while there is considerable respect for these traditional rulers, there are also growing levels of concern and outright opposition. Structural reforms have begun to address the concentration of resources and employment in the public service, but the reliance on a few exports to a small number of countries as well as the imbalance between imports and exports and the role

of aid and remittances in supplementing locally generated income will all contribute to a difficult economic future.

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**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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### TORRIJOS HERRERA, OMAR

In 1968, Lieutenant Colonel Omar Torrijos Herrera (1929–1981) led a successful *coup d'état* against democratically elected President Arnulfo Arias. Although this was the third time that Arias had been forcibly removed from office, the 1968 *coup d'état* was fundamentally different from previous military revolts in Panamanian history. Torrijos, who ruled Panama until his death in a suspicious plane crash in 1981, epitomized the populist-reformist trend of some military governments in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s. He immediately consolidated his power by dissolving all political parties in Panama. At the head of the Panamanian National Guard of eight thousand well-armed men, Torrijos excluded the traditional elites—known in Panama as the *rabi-blancos* (white tails)—from political power, but he allowed them to keep their economic power. Torrijos, who catered to the nationalistic sentiments of the masses to gain support, implemented an authoritarian Socialist dictatorship. Torrijos balanced his populist, leftist rhetoric with strong support of the business sector and maintained a friendly relationship with the United States.

Born in Santiago on February 13, 1929, in the province of Veraguas, Torrijos was the sixth of twelve children. The son of a rural schoolteacher, Torrijos won a scholarship to a military academy in El Salvador. He graduated with a commission as a second lieutenant and joined the Panamanian National Guard in 1952. He was promoted to the rank of captain in 1956 and

continued his military studies at the US Southern Command's School of the Americas in the Canal Zone. By 1966, he had reached the rank of lieutenant colonel. He promoted himself to the rank of brigadier general in 1969. Torrijos unveiled a new constitution in 1972 that granted the executive branch of government exceptional powers. He implemented a series of social and economic reforms collectively referred to as "military socialism."

Torrijos used carrot and stick policies to co-opt the various corporatist sectors of Panamanian society. Although Panama's most fertile land remained in the hands of the oligarchy, Torrijos distributed 5% of the nation's agricultural land to the peasants. Major public housing projects and social welfare programs were especially appealing to the urban poor.

Torrijos also implemented a new labor code in 1972 that significantly improved the bargaining position of the workers. He implemented liberal banking and tax legislation that lured more than one hundred international banks to Panama. The bank secrecy laws, however, made Panama a repository for money laundered from the narcotics trade. The most popular of his populist policies was the 1977–1978 Panama Canal Treaty that provided for Panamanian control of the Canal Zone by 2000.

Although Torrijos stepped down as the head of state in 1978, he continued to be the commander of the Panamanian National Guard until his death. Meanwhile, Torrijos created his own political party, the *Partido Revolucionario Democrático* (PRD). After Torrijos's death, however, Manuel Noriega, who had been Torrijos's chief of intelligence, discarded Torrijos's military socialism and nationalistic economic development programs and implemented a corrupt, brutal regime. Regardless, Torrijos's brand of authoritarian populism is still appealing to many of Panama's people.

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**See also Panama; Panama Canal Treaties, 1977**

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## TOTALITARIANISM

Totalitarianism is a completely modern phenomenon, something only foreshadowed before the twentieth century. In an age of mass democracy, the "totalitarian concept" has been a useful term to typify a particular genre of contemporary regime in which the population can be controlled by a variety of means, especially terror. Dictatorships, despotisms, and autocratic regimes are akin to totalitarian ones in their elitist rule, arbitrary use of political power, minimization of private individual rights, and their ordered and hierarchical institutions. Police states have similarities in the strong intervention of state power and the arbitrary exercise of police power, often including a secret police.

Totalitarianism depends on manipulating and controlling the masses that make up the object as well as the rationale for the totalitarian dictatorships. In *The Origin of Totalitarianism*, Hanna Arendt points out, "Practically speaking, it will make little difference whether totalitarian movements adopt the pattern of Nazism or Bolshevism, organize the masses in the name of race or class, pretend to follow the laws of life and nature or dialectics and economics" (Arendt 1951). For Arendt, the rise of totalitarianism was preeminently the story of breakdown: of the nation-state, the class system, and the political parties. The root of this breakdown was in the nineteenth century. It was largely accomplished in the twentieth century, and its most terrifying fruits were the totalitarian regimes of Germany and the Soviet Union. The unrestrained working of the Capitalist system before World War I led to what Arendt regarded as the breakdown of the nation-state, with its commitment to a real politics and to the rule of law, in favor of a world of total economic competition. However, how such a development, if it really took place, led to totalitarianism is not at all clear.

Sociologist Philo C. Washburn, after examining Fascist Germany and Stalin's Russia, identified some of the interrelated social conditions that were favorable to the development of totalitarian systems. These include a long tradition of autocratic rule; a pathological distrust of foreigners; hypernationalism and racism; absence of democratic characteristics; mass mobilization; central leadership committed to rapid industrialization; and a single state determined ideology (Washburn 1982).

Many of today's Third World countries, such as North Korea, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, exhibit a number of social conditions mentioned by Washburn. North Korea, Saudi Arabia (under the Saud family), and Iran, especially during the period under Ayatollah Khomeini (1979–1989), do not have totalitarian regimes but do assert substantial control over culture,

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religious practices, and social life. Therefore, the tendency toward totalitarian rule has been apparent in these countries in recent decades. At present, only a few countries have totalitarian regimes, but there is no guarantee that totalitarianism will not rear its ugly head again.

In *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski developed the most widely cited analysis of totalitarian regimes. They insisted on the modernity of totalitarianism, giving it a “preliminary characterization as . . . an autocracy based on modern technology and mass legitimation.” “In this sense,” they argued, “totalitarian dictatorship is the adaptation of autocracy to twentieth-century industrial society.” According to these authors, a totalitarian political system is composed of a cluster of six traits. A totalitarian dictatorship exists only when all six characteristics are present. Each can exist separately in some constitutional democracies. The six points are summarized by Friedrich and Brzezinski (1956) as follows:

1. An official ideology covering all aspects of human existence to which every member of the society must adhere, not only by outer forms but also by inner convictions;
2. A single mass party led by one man, the “dictator,” and consisting of a relatively small percentage of population;
3. A system of terroristic police controls making full use of modern science and, more especially, modern psychology;
4. Centralized state control of the mass media;
5. Complete control over all means of effective armed combat; and
6. A central control and direction of the entire economy through bureaucratic coordination of all productive enterprises.

Friedrich and Brzezinski note that there may be additional characteristics that often accompany these six. Among the most important of these are administrative control of justice and the courts as well as political expansionism. However, they argue that these are not to be regarded as defining characteristics of totalitarian rule.

The essence of Friedrich and Brzezinski’s book was a careful analysis of Nazi and Soviet politics in terms of their six points. They recognize that there may be variations between totalitarian dictatorships. The dictatorships all might not exhibit the key characteristics to the same degree. For example, the ideology of Russia under Stalin was more specifically committed to certain principles than was the ideology of German Fascism—where ideology was formulated by the leader of the party. In Italy, some of these traits were

hardly present at all. They took different periods of time to reach the stage of monopolistic political control in which all opposition, actual or potential, had been eliminated and terror became the dominant element in the system. However, all totalitarian systems share, to some extent, the same six traits. Examples offered by Friedrich and Brzezinski are those of the USSR, pre–World War II Germany under Hitler, Italy under Mussolini, and the post–World War II Communist countries in Europe, China, Cuba, and Ghana.

Totalitarian systems embody not only strong and arbitrary power but also the insistence on conformity of the whole society, mass mobilization, the subjugation of all classes to a dominant political group, and attacks on the enemies of the system and on their ideology. Resting on mass support and mass movements, totalitarian regimes are tutelary in nature, purporting to incarnate the true and necessary values to give meaning to the lives of its citizens. Totalitarianism has meant that no interest falls outside the embrace of the state or the wielders of power; that the purposes of individuals, groups, and society are subordinate to those of state; that the state or ruling group monopolizes decision-making processes; that all opposition is prohibited; that there are no independent expressions of public opinion; that there is no constitutional form of self-government; and that there are few or no limits on the rulers.

### Totalitarianism and Modern Science

Many of the basic characteristics of totalitarians listed previously by Friedrich and Brzezinski are possible only in modern society. They point out that although historical dictatorships had characteristics of totalitarian systems, modern technology is required for the ruling dictatorship to control every phase of society, every means of production, and every aspect of human life. The monopoly of communication would be impossible without modern technology. Friedrich and Brzezinski also point out that the centrally directed economy presupposes the reporting, cataloging, and calculating devices provided by modern technology. Technology does not cause totalitarianism, but without its usefulness in providing and categorizing data, “propaganda, the terror, and central planning would be quite impossible” (Friedrich and Brzezinski).

### Totalitarianism and the Use of Terror

If there is any single characteristic that differentiates totalitarian systems from others, it is the extreme use

of terror although regimes differ widely in the amount, type, and ways of using terror. As Solzhenitsyn (1973) points out, totalitarian systems, at least in some of their phases, have been characterized by massive coercion—police acting unrestrained by any outside controls, concentration camps and torture, imprisonment and executions without proof of guilt, repressive measures against whole categories of people, the absence of public trial and even an opportunity for defense, and the imposition of penalties completely out of proportion to the actions of the accused, all on a scale without precedence in recent history. Hannah Arendt similarly argues that totalitarianism is a form of government “whose essence is terror and whose principle of action is the logicity of ideological thinking” (Arendt 1951). The terror can be physical or psychological and is used by governments in the deliberate effort to intimidate. Stalin’s Russia was the setting for political assassinations, expropriation of personal property, forced labor, the widespread use of terror as a means of political control, and mass executions. Governmental terror seeks to frighten those under its sway into conformity and obedience. It therefore may create a measure of consensus and willing cooperation. The effect of the terror is to generate a pervasive atmosphere of anxiety and a general sense of insecurity.

Although totalitarian regimes were usually developed out of civil wars and one-party dictatorships, Arendt cautions against confusing totalitarian terror with terror associated with civil wars and revolutions. According to him, a one-party dictatorship develops into a full-blown totalitarian state when political liberties and other human rights become nonexistent, dissidents and nonconformity are not tolerated, and almost all of those citizens who do not submit often vanish or are dispatched to the firing squad. Genuinely totalitarian terror sets in when the regime resorts to political assassinations and mass executions as means of total political control (Arendt 1994).

Terror keeps totalitarian society in constant motion. It is a principle radically opposed to the principle of law, which is designed to function as a stabilizing factor for the ever-changing movements of man. By subjugating its population to constant and arbitrary persecution, totalitarian rule destroys the world as a relatively stable order that can be counted on.

Just as significant, if not more, as the scale of the terror in some totalitarian systems has been its use against whole categories of people irrespective of any evidence of guilt or even intention of threatening the political system. The deprivation of human rights, wholesale arrests, and extermination of people who belong to a certain ethnic group (such as Jews and gypsies by the Nazis) or a certain class (such as

landlords and clergy in Communist countries) have been unique in modern times. Between 1941 and 1945, the German Fascists systematically killed millions of men, women, and children because they were Jews, Gypsies, or Slavs and were defined by the dominant ideology as threatening to Germany. In those cases, the victims did not need to be personally guilty of any acts against the state or the social order, and their prosecutors did not have to attempt to make a case against them based on any charges, real or imagined.

Another unique feature is the extension of the terror to members of the elite. In fact, the harsher punishment particularly under Stalin of those who had taken part in the revolution with him and those who had positions of responsibility, and whose loss of favor or trust in other systems would lead to their demotion, returned to private life and often to powerlessness. Many of the intellectuals who had played key roles in the Russian Revolution of 1917 were killed off in the Great Purge. Later, Marxist critics of the regime met the same fate.

### **Mobilization of the Masses**

The mobilization of the masses is essential to the modern totalitarian dictatorship. This mobilization is done through a combination of ideology with its promise of security and future utopia, mass propaganda, and mass education. The infusion of ideology becomes an important catalyst to the proper mobilization of society. Manipulating symbols and mobilizing society are important ingredients of totalitarianism. Under Fascist rule, members of the mass public were to devote themselves to the German race and the Fatherland—a combination of undiluted racism and extreme chauvinism. People were to dedicate themselves without question to their nation, for the community was all-important and the individual totally insignificant apart from the nation. They were to give their unquestioning loyalty and obedience to their leader, Adolf Hitler, who was to be considered the infallible representative of the true will of the German people. They were to attend marches, to attend huge mass rallies, and to sing songs that reinforced these prescribed loves and hates. They were to deal with the enemies identified by the regime in a ruthless and often violent manner.

Totalitarian regimes are always dependent on mass support for their survival. According to Hannah Arendt:

Hitler’s rise to power was legal in terms of majority rule and neither he nor Stalin could have maintained the

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leadership of large populations, survived many interior and exterior crises, and braved the numerous dangers of the relentless intraparty struggles if they had not had the confidence of the masses. (Arendt 1951)

### Ideology and Totalitarianism

There can be no doubt that totalitarian leaders, individuals, or groups, in contrast to other nondemocratic rulers, derive much of their sense of mission, their legitimation, and often very specific policies from their commitment to some holistic conception of man and society. The initial commitment of a ruler or ruling group to an ideology imposes constraints, excluding a greater or smaller number of alternative values, goals, and styles of thinking and sets a framework that limits the range of alternative policies.

Ideologies in totalitarian systems are a source of legitimacy and a source of a leader's or a ruling group's mission. While the ideology imposes some constraints, more or less narrow, on the rulers and their actions, the relationship is not one-sided, and much of the effort in such systems goes into the manipulation, adaptation, and selective interpretation of ideological heritage, particularly in the second generation of rulers. Supposedly based on Marxism-Leninism, the Stalinist era has been explained or defended by the need to create those conditions necessary for the building of a Socialist society. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether the Stalinist practice was in any way related to that need or based on ideological conviction.

The reason why ideology is perceived as so fundamentally important to totalitarian dictatorship stems from the role given to propaganda directed ultimately at the maintenance in power of the party controlling it. Propaganda and educational training are viewed as the means for achieving the total ideological integration of the people.

Totalitarianism has been a valuable term for designating the uniqueness of a limited number of systems at a specific moment in modern history. Their style, organizational devices, and political structures differentiate them from other nondemocratic systems. The relationship between the rulers and the ruled separates them from despotic dictatorships or outright tyrannies, such as those of the Third World countries.

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**See also Authoritarianism; Bureaucratic Authoritarianism; Dictatorships; Single-Party States**

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### TOURÉ, SÉKOU

Sékou Touré was the first president of the Republic of Guinea, West Africa, and a well-known anticolonial figure throughout Africa and the Third World.

Touré (1922–1984) was born in a poor Muslim *Mandinka* farming village in the colony of French Guinea. He claimed descent from the late-nineteenth-century anticolonial resistance hero, Samori Touré. Sékou Touré was sent to study in Conakry and then held numerous jobs in the capital city, including the post of secretary general of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Union in the late 1940s, and organized several labor strikes. In 1958, he joined with some other West African Nationalist leaders, such as Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), to establish the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*, which was in the forefront of West African opposition to French colonialism.

Touré was twice elected to the French National Assembly, and in 1956, he was elected mayor of Conakry. He belonged to several political and union organizations that sought autonomy for Guinea. With his eloquent, passionate, and direct calls for immediate independence, Touré reached not only the educated elite but also urban workers and rural peasants. In 1958, when President Charles De Gaulle of France offered a choice between membership in a French community or immediate independence, Touré led the fight for severing all ties with the colonial power. Guinea was the only territory to vote for autonomy. France quickly stopped all assistance, repatriated its citizens, who made up the majority of the skilled workers, and dismantled and carted off as much of the infrastructure as possible. Touré, elected shortly after the independence vote, desperately sought help from both the Eastern and Western blocs. The Soviet Union eventually responded, and Touré established warm relations with the Eastern bloc and further antagonized the French and the West. He rapidly transformed Guinea into a Socialist state with agricultural collectivization schemes, state-run industries, and a highly centralized economy and bureaucracy. Despite his draconian efforts, Guinea, which was popularly known as “Guinea Sékou Touré,” was one of the poorest and most isolated countries in the world. Touré blamed foreign saboteurs and indigenous resisters to socialism for deteriorating economic conditions. He established a virtual police state, detaining, exiling, or killing anyone, including peasants, he felt resisted his rule and the Socialist state. Thousands died, and more than 1 million fled, particularly into neighboring Senegal and Cote d’Ivoire, both of which had cut all ties to his regime. Only President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana maintained cordial relations with Sékou Touré.

Touré was an outspoken proponent of pan-Africanism and African liberation. Touré became a hero and sponsor of several militant groups in Africa and overseas. Some African-American dissidents, such as Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Touré), took refuge in Guinea. Numerous assassination and *coup* attempts against Touré, some French sponsored and others internally motivated, intensified his authoritarian rule and intolerance for any dissent. Touré visited the United States several times, usually to address the United Nations. He died unexpectedly of heart failure in a Cleveland hospital on March 26, 1984, without appointing a successor.

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**See also** Guinea; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations

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## TRADE POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENT

Trade is a highly unusual topic in development in that the strongly polarized dialogue surrounding it seems to have moderated considerably in the twenty-first century. While there are growing protests about international trade, the main thrust of these seems to be more about modifying the ways in which trade is carried out, and, more particularly, how international trade agreements are reached, rather than whether trade is beneficial or harmful for development. These developments can be traced by first examining trade theory from its economic origins, then looking to the historical development of political economy schools of thought on trade and development, and finally taking a brief overview of the most prominent contemporary issues.

Trade is the exchange of goods, and thus trade, like markets, exists in any society. Trade can be considered a natural part of human relations. As the development of a modern nation-state took hold in Europe in the sixteenth century, a doctrine called “mercantilism” laid out some initial thoughts on trade. The basic idea behind mercantilism is that the nation-state should seek to gain benefits, generally unilateral, from trade. Thus, mercantilists saw trade as a zero-sum game in which they could gain by protecting their domestic market while making money from exporting to other countries. Important variants of this thinking have filtered into contemporary trade theories and are discussed in the upcoming paragraphs.

Modern trade theory, however, largely rests upon the classical economic works of the eighteenth century, primarily the work of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Adam Smith’s classic work *The Wealth of Nations* lays out the benefits of trade among nations in what he called “absolute advantage.” Smith laid out the most important principle that specialization in production can lead to gains. Thus, if a country, such as England, is better at making a product such as cloth, and Portugal at making wine, then both

would be better off in *concentrating on the goods they produce best* and trading with each other. David Ricardo is the other seminal theorist on trade, and he lays out the principle of “comparative advantage.” Ricardo pointed out that even where one country, such as Portugal, could produce goods cheaper than a potential trading partner, such as England, trade would still benefit both. The reason again is *specialization*. If England specialized in the product it produced most cheaply, the overall production of both nations could be increased. The very powerful principle of specialization as a basis for trade is, then, made even more important by the more contemporary concept of “economies of scale.” Economies of scale means that the per-unit cost of producing a good, like automobiles, decreases as large production runs are reached. Thus, if a country wants to produce goods with high economies of scale efficiently, which is the case with many manufactured goods, it needs to produce large amounts of them at a time. With the investment of time, resources, and people skilled to work in such factories, it makes even more sense in the present day to trade so that nations can specialize in certain manufactures.

One of the real questions, if the above principles are accepted, is how to determine which nations produce which goods. The principle economic theories behind this include the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem, the Stolper-Samuelson factor price equalization theorem, and a number of other theories, including the new endogenous growth theory that attempts to take technology and “human capital” into account.

The basic idea behind the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem is that countries will have a comparative advantage in the goods for which they have the most abundant resources. Thus, a country that is relatively rich in agricultural land (compared to other nations), such as Argentina, will have a natural comparative advantage in agriculture. Stolper and Samuelson point out that under certain conditions, trade will have important effects on factor prices. Thus, as Argentina begins to produce more agricultural goods for trade, the domestic price of land will go up. The price of land in its trading partners’ countries (that produce other goods) should decline as they reduce their agricultural production because they can now import food more cheaply.

The basic idea behind the Stolper-Samuelson theorem contains profound implications for the *distributional* effects of trade. This theorem has led to a whole literature on political coalitions for and against trade policies. Another important component of modern trade theory is a series of writings that concern the role of technology. The Harrod-Domar model of the 1950s pointed out the important role of technology in

the costs of production. Theodore Schultz pointed out that the level of workers’ skills also had important effects on the costs of production. These two insights, in particular, have led to a contemporary debate about whether comparative advantage can be changed and developed, known as “strategic trade theory,” which is discussed below.

Moving beyond the purely economic issues of trade, one can encounter a much more contentious debate about it. This debate can be characterized as a discussion between three basic schools of thought. The first is the “liberal” perspective, which reflects the Ricardian basis of mainstream international economics. The second is the Marxist school of thought and its more trade-oriented application of dependency. The third is the structuralist school of thought, which seems to reach some middle ground between the first two perspectives. A key variable for understanding these three schools of thought is the role of the state (government) in economic affairs.

The liberal school of thought emphasizes the *absolute* benefits of trade to all parties who engage in it. Because liberals believe in natural factors of comparative advantage, they do not see any need for major state intervention in the economy. More modern liberals are called “neoliberals” because they see the government as playing an important but limited role in making sure markets function smoothly. Thus, a government may be needed to reach free trade agreements and to ensure that “externalities” to markets, such as pollution, are limited. Neoliberals believe that if a government distorts natural comparative advantage, it is simply working against its own citizens’ interests. Because competition through trade should lead to lower prices, all consumers benefit the most if governments reduce interventions to a minimum.

The Marxist approach looks at trade in terms of economic classes. Economic classes can be generally understood as natural groups in a society of people who work in similar kinds of professions and of similar levels of income and wealth. In the most basic terms, the upper, middle, and lower classes can be referred to. Marxists would make much finer distinctions and clarify that economic classes depend in good part on how production is organized in a society. Thus, a primarily agriculture-producing country would have a different “mode” of production and thus have different economic classes rather than an industrial manufacture-producing one. The most potent contemporary Marxist application to trade theory is the dependency school, whose adherents are known as *dependistas*, focusing on the relations between developing and developed countries. While some Marxists, such as Lenin, believed that capitalist relations (that is the dominance of the capitalist class

and mode of production) would eventually spread across the world, *dependistas* see both domestic and international economic relations between the developed and developing worlds as inherently exploitative. They point out that these exploitative relationships started out with the way that colonies were set up under mercantilism, as providers of raw materials to the mother countries. Colonizers often took steps to squelch out industries in the developing world, as was the case with England crushing the Indian textile industry.

The modern *dependistas* point out that a form of “neocolonial” relations continues to exist between the developing and developed worlds. Thus, the developing world *depends* on the developed world for export markets for its products, technology, investment, and a host of other factors that allow its economies to function. However, this dependency is one-way because developed nations have no such reliance on developing nations. Thus, trade is seen as another vehicle of exploitation carried out by local *comprador* classes, with more ties to developed countries than the majority of their own. The primary weakness of the dependency theory is the failure to propose a clear solution to these problems. However, Marxist theory in general sees the need for a socioeconomic revolution, in which the state, as an embodiment of the revolting classes, could reorganize economic relations. Moreover, from this point of view, a revolutionary state should cut the exploitative ties to the First World that choke the local economy.

One of the keys to the dependency argument and one that is shared with the structuralist school of thought is the “terms of trade” debate. An important tenet of both schools is that there is a different price trajectory for manufactures versus raw materials and basic goods in the international market. Thus, there is a tendency for the relative price of manufactured goods to increase over time relative to raw materials and agricultural goods. Since the developing world still primarily exports the latter, it faces declining or deteriorating terms of trade over time. That is, even while its economies try to grow, the countries are paying more for imports and receiving less for their exports in international trade over time.

The structuralist school of thought recognizes this problem but rejects the implied solution of dependency to cut exploitative ties and push for self-sufficiency. Structuralist thought has its origins in mercantilism in the sense that it also sees the need for strong state intervention to maximize the *relative* gains of trade. Thus structuralists would fully buy the terms of the trade argument, but the central focus of their thought is that such disadvantages *can be overcome through state action*. Structuralists believe that a comparative

advantage can be molded, modified, and created to some extent. Thus, the developing state could take actions to move from the production of raw materials toward industrialized goods and services. The state’s actions might take any number of paths, including tariff protection for domestic “infant” industries to funding basic research that would create new technologies. The contemporary variant of structuralism is called “strategic trade theory.” In good part, this wave of the political economy literature came out in response to the highly successful trade policies of East Asia, discussed further below, which seem to embody the relative gains view of trade and which have led to changes in comparative advantage over time.

In terms of development, modern trade theory really comes into play after World War II. Part of the postwar recovery plan set up by the United States and its European allies included the Bretton Woods regime, which set up the basic rules and institutions for international exchange and trade. The Bretton Woods regime really embodies the liberal paradigm of mutual gains in international trade. In terms of trade, the most important treaties are the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, signed in 1947, which sought to reduce tariff barriers to trade, and its complement named the General Agreement on Trade in Services, signed in 1994, which includes services. It is fair to say that the rules and institutions of international trade have been dominated by the First World.

The principal international institutions for international trade include the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the various meetings of the largest developed economies, including the G-7 (G meaning group of), G-5, and the Triad. In addition, there exist various regional institutions, such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank, that promote and study regional trade and development. All of these institutions, as well as the United Nations (UN), rely heavily upon developed countries, particularly the United States, for their funding. Thus, developed countries have a proportionately much higher say in their policies and decisions. Nonetheless, their ability to control developing countries’ economic policies should not be overemphasized. Like all international law and agreements, there is no direct enforcement mechanism. Thus, for example, the GATS agreements are riddled with voluntary “exceptions” that countries take to reducing domestic intervention. In terms of development, there is some degree of overlap among the principal institutions, but in practice they seem to generally occupy certain niches of activity. The IMF tends to concentrate on balance-of-payments and



related exchange rates problems. The World Bank's and the UN's various arms focus more on longer term issues of development, but the World Bank is generally more project- and sector-oriented. The regional banks also focus on projects but also have a larger proportion geared toward certain regional objectives, such as basic human needs, which change over time.

It is interesting to note that the role of the international institutions, despite the fact that their true independence of action is quite limited, has become increasingly controversial. After World War II, there was a great expansion of international trade, which gave new prospects to developing countries in the 1960s for growth. At that time, most developing nations were following a structuralist-inspired or Socialist-inspired trade strategy. In Africa, the state became heavily involved in setting up both agricultural and industrial enterprises, sometimes calling for a Socialist transformation. The rapid historical industrialization of Russia seemed to point to the need for heavy state intervention for economic development. Thus, the first generation of independent leaders in Africa, including Nkrumah in Ghana and Nyerere in Tanzania, believed that their new states could achieve rapid growth and egalitarian results through a "big push" from the state.

Developing countries in general adopted policies by which the state was heavily involved in setting up domestic industries, often times owning them, and placing barriers on foreign investment and trade. However, there were important variants of trade policy both within and across regions. Latin American countries generally had proportionately less state dominance of their economies than their African counterparts, with the important exception of Socialist Cuba. Latin American economies were guided by the work of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America to follow a policy called "import substituting industrialization" (ISI). The basic idea behind ISI was that the government would set up or create incentives for new industries to arise to serve the domestic market. The previously imported manufactures would now be made at home. At some point later, when domestic industries had "grown up," they could compete with foreign manufacturers. In practice, ISI ran into a number of practical policy problems. First, there was a problem in terms of the difficulties of setting up whole new industries, which require a substantial amount of technical and managerial expertise as well as skilled labor and financing capital. Second, to solve this problem, Latin American governments taxed their natural resources and agricultural sectors. This naturally led over time to a decline in the productivity and volume of their principal exports of agriculture. Along with the decline in

exports came a need to import equipment and expertise from abroad to set up the factories. The combination of these two major factors led to increasing inflationary and exchange rate crises by the end of the 1960s. Third, though growth rates were relatively high and the industrial base was built, there was an increasing inequality and unevenness of the growth so that the main benefits of ISI tended to accumulate among the "enclaves" of the industrial factories, their managers, and their workers. The increasing inequality fed directly into the blossoming of dependency analysis in Latin America. Fourth, the state-run enterprises and incentives, both in Latin America and Africa, tended to become politicized so that state companies could no longer make budgetary, pricing, and hiring decisions on the basis of economic or financial logic. Many parastatals and state-owned enterprises became patronage machines, with policies and personnel changing on the basis of political whims.

Despite the lack of well-developed proposals, the dependency theory has had practical impacts on trade policies. A number of countries in the developing world expropriated foreign assets, though often with some level of compensation. A number of countries also imposed strong restrictions on multinational companies, such as limiting levels of profit repatriation or requiring a certain level of local hiring and training. Several developing (and developed) countries, including India and Egypt, promoted "cultural" industries, such as filmmaking, to combat dependency on US communications and media. A number of ambitious South-South developing country forums were established to create a list of demands on the developed world for better international economic rules. These demands reached a peak in the mid-1970s with the creation of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) manifesto, including a demand for international buffer stocks to stabilize commodity prices. These proposals, as well as ones in the future for debt relief and South-South integration, have largely come to naught in terms of actual changes in the international economy.

East Asian states, in part because of their *lack* of easy natural resources and in part because of the historical context of Japanese and then United States occupation, followed a different strategy toward industrialization. Their policy can be described as export-oriented industrialization (EOI). EOI has the same analytical base in structuralist thought but with a huge difference. East Asian states industrialized with the idea of producing goods for the US and European markets, not their own domestic markets. Thus, EOI was able to reduce two of the major pitfalls of the ISI: exchange rate crises and increasingly uncompetitive and inefficient enterprises. Because East Asian states

forced their new industries to export, they had to reach international levels of quality. The fact that the companies were exporting meant that the export revenue could be used as a new source of funds to fuel further investments in (new) industries. More importantly, East Asian countries tended to create more competition among their own industries for subsidies and protection. Following the Japanese model, East Asian countries, namely South Korea and Taiwan, created incentives and goals, such as export targets, that domestic and foreign investors had to reach to qualify for favorable treatment. Another interesting contrast between East Asia and other developing regions is that they undertook a major agrarian reform and invested heavily in education and health care, so there was much less tension over distributional issues of growth.

The Socialist and ISI experiments of the 1960s might have come crashing down in the early 1970s were it not for the new development of an international financial market. The breakdown of the original Bretton Woods system, the development of Eurobanks, and the new appearance of “petrodollars” from the newly rich oil-producing countries combined to create a large pool of capital in the 1970s. This international financial capital was used by countries to pay for the imports of both oil and the inputs needed for industrialization. When the United States heavily raised interest rates in 1982 and oil prices began to drop, international liquidity dried up. The result was the debt crisis, which, for the reasons mentioned earlier, hit Africa and Latin America especially hard. “The lost decade” of the 1980s was one in which countries struggled to make their debt payments amidst dealing with the higher interest rates. Because of this continuing financial straight-jacket, both Latin American and African countries were forced to make major adjustments to their trade policies, generally in the mid-1980s.

The new set of policies is called “neoliberal” because it reflects the liberal view of trade. Neoliberal trade policies call for reducing state favoritism in the economy, which is seen as distortional and generally ineffective. The idea is that foreign competition should be allowed on an even playing field and that those national competitors who are viable will be able to enter the market regardless. If the state tries to favor national competitors, it will create inefficient enterprises that need continual subsidies. Those subsidies will have to be raised by taxing more productive sectors. Thus, it makes more sense for market forces to make allocative decisions. Moreover, in neoliberal thinking, the ultimate beneficiaries are the developing country consumer and the entrepreneur. Consumers can now choose goods from anywhere according to

their liking and at a natural market price. If domestic producers have an advantage in producing certain goods, this fact should be reflected in the price, and local demand will therefore spur local production in a way that makes sense. Similarly, local entrepreneurs should see the opportunities in both local and international markets for new types of production. They will be more nimble, incentivized, and efficient in this pursuit than governments ever could be because they are using their own resources and not the resources of taxpayers or external lending agencies. The neoliberal record of policy results on trade is still too new for an adequate assessment, but the volume of trade has increased dramatically, along with a growing inequality in the benefits. A second generation of neoliberal policies has moved beyond basic monetary and fiscal tightening toward privatization and deregulation, thus further dismantling the ISI structure.

Part of this “second round” of neoliberal adjustments to trade involves the growth of international and regional free trade agreements. Following the inconsistent but steady progress of free trade in the European Union (EU), the early 1990s saw the development of a number of major new trade pacts and organizations. Among the Southeast Asian countries, the development of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) trade agreement created a forum for local coordination of economic policies. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) organization is working toward free trade between the Pacific states of the Western Hemisphere and those in Asia. The most important agreement outside the EU was the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

The NAFTA agreement between Canada, the United States, and Mexico, created in 1994 has been and continues to be highly controversial. Critics of NAFTA believe that the agreement overlooks labor exploitation, environmental degradation, and generally lax government regulation of Mexican industries. On the other side, US and Canadian companies see Mexico as a necessary part of their strategy to compete in international markets. Since East Asian countries and Japan have been so successful in wracking up consistent trade surpluses and in entering new product lines, North American companies have begun to look for new ways to compete. NAFTA gives them a cheaper source of labor, by which they can lower their production costs and thus lower the price of their goods. NAFTA has been strongly attractive to other Latin American economies, so there are serious explorations of a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) that would include all countries of the Western Hemisphere. However, because of the contentious nature of the NAFTA debate and the

lack of “fast track” authority for the president to negotiate the terms of a new treaty, the FTAA has hardly gotten off the discussion table.

After NAFTA and the EU really consolidated by the late 1990s, there was much concern about the creation of “regional blocs” of international trade for the Western Hemisphere, East Asia, and Europe. Concern rose about a dampening effect on trade among the various blocs from extraregional protectionist measures. Much of this discussion has died down in the twenty-first century for a number of reasons. First, the regional bloc scenario does not make much sense if one recognizes that almost all trade and investment is among the triad of the United States, Japan, and the EU, not between the North and the South. Second, for the reasons mentioned earlier, East Asia could never be considered a viable bloc when most of its trade is oriented outwardly toward EU and US markets. Third, there has been a big push to keep multilateral organizations and negotiations on a parallel track, hence the creation of the APEC and the continued activity in the WTO.

Nonetheless, patterns of North-South trade along regional lines do exist. For example, most Latin American countries almost exclusively trade with the United States. For most African countries, Europe is the main trading partner. Thus, the possibilities for trading between nontraditional partners seem more limited because the preferential treatment given by First World Nations tends to favor countries within the same region. However, even within the same region, there are important differences in terms of access to markets. NAFTA gives Mexico strong advantages over Latin American counterparts. The countries included in the US Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) enjoy better terms for some products than others. Similarly, Europe has separate agreements and differential access to its markets, so poorer European states, such as Greece, enjoy multiple advantages over any African competitors.

One particularly interesting experiment is the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR), which is a free trade agreement between Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, with Chile and Bolivia as associate and conditional members. MERCOSUR is the only real case of successful South-South integration thus far. In many ways, it does not make much sense for developing nations to integrate with each other. They tend to compete with each other for the same international markets, and their economies are geared toward export and import ties with the First World. Thus, the level of trade among developing countries, even those who are neighbors, is usually far below than the level of trade between these countries and a developed country.

MERCOSUR was created in 1994 in good part in response to NAFTA, which left other Latin American countries out. Part of the thinking behind MERCOSUR is to create a bloc that can negotiate better terms for an eventual FTAA, but there is also genuine hope that developing countries can find a new source of economic growth through trade with each other. Indeed, MERCOSUR has led to dramatic increases in intraregional trade. The hope is that as local companies learn to compete within MERCOSUR, they will eventually be ready for international-level competition in an FTAA. Despite the gains in trade, the MERCOSUR is still far more limited than either the NAFTA or the EU. There are important exclusions from MERCOSUR for sensitive industries, such as exclusions regarding automobiles and footwear. There is no real regional organization and no clear dispute resolution. In short, MERCOSUR remains very much a limited agreement and one whose progress depends on continual diplomatic negotiations.

The growing levels of relative inequality, the continuing extremely high levels of debt, and the feeling that international trade rules are unfairly biased in favor of First World corporations are the main complaints about the current international trading system in regard to development. Although the neoliberal period has brought growth in trade volumes, the gap between developed and developing nations has continued to increase. The gap between the rich and the poor *within* most nations has also tended to increase. In fairness, the structuralist period of economic policies experienced the same phenomenon. However, as the process of the globalization of production progresses, whereby different parts of the production process are done in different parts of the world, there is a fear that the developing world will be left with only the most labor-intensive, unskilled parts of that process. Unlike Raymond Vernon’s seminal work on the product cycle, which expected that products, over time, would be shifted to the Third World, the greatest areas of economic growth have come from high technology and high innovation products. The information technology revolution and the spread of computers are marked by a continual innovation. The developing world has been able to capture only a small part of these new industries.

There is a general sentiment that many developing countries liberalized their trade too easily in the most recent trade rounds (such as those in Uruguay in 1995) without wresting away enough concessions from the First World. In fact, despite its high-flown rhetoric, the First World remains a highly protectionist and interventionist region for developing countries. The high levels of subsidies and protection for agriculture are a particularly sore point as the basic theory of

comparative advantage would seem to point to the gross inefficiency of such measures. On the other side, First World countries would like to gain greater protection for intellectual and artistic property rights and greater access to newly emerging service markets. Thus, one particular bone of contention revolves around First World pharmaceutical companies' ability to control the sale of the medicines that they develop through large research and approval procedures. In a number of developing countries, both artistic material and intellectual property are copied ("pirated") and sold at a much lower cost, with no royalty to the creator. These are the issues at the forefront of the post-Uruguay round of ministerial meetings; they surround the issue of China's accession to the World Trade Organization.

Other issues are also prominent, but these do not seem to have gained the formal attention of the international and national trade negotiators and institutions. The well-publicized protests at the 2000 WTO Ministerial meeting in Seattle included a long list of complaints, such as the need for forgiveness of developing countries' debts; for international environmental and labor protections; and for greater insulation for national priorities, such as a national health care system. Perhaps the most pressing issue is the general lack of public participation in trade fora. This has been a major polemic surrounding the EU free trade agreement and is a galvanizing catalyst for the anti-WTO protesters. They correctly point out that there so far has been only limited consultation and input from the public in trade negotiations, despite the fact that the effects on everyday life are profound. It is interesting to note that there are a number of other issues affecting trade that are not really explored by either the protest movements or the international trading institutions. One of the most prominent of these is the massive movements of illegal immigrants from the developing world to the developed world. Another is the development of increasingly sophisticated narco-trafficking networks. For the most part, even the more mainstream issues of trade and development suffer from a lack of well-developed analysis. The lack of clear evidence makes it extremely difficult to sift through the different views on basic trade issues, such as the positive and/or negative effects of the NAFTA agreement on different groups within Mexican, US, Canadian, and other countries.

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**See also Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); Development History and Theory; Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); Globalization: Impact on**

**Development; Import Substitution Industrialization; International Monetary Fund (IMF); Neoliberalism; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR)**

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## TRADING PATTERNS, GLOBAL

### Growth in Trade

"Trade" is commonly defined as the exchange of goods and/or services between countries. Aggregate trade among countries has increased significantly since the mid-twentieth century, generating over \$5 trillion USD per annum at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Since 1950, the increasing integration of the global economy became apparent due, in part, to the fact that merchandise trade grew faster than merchandise production. Developing world economies have benefited from the increasing volume of global trade, as trade is a key mechanism for technology transfer from developed world economies. Exports from developing world economies prior to 1945 were typically primary products, such as food and raw materials sold to colonial powers, but by 1970 the composition of developing world exports had changed along with the recipient nations, as the value of manufactured product exports exceeded that of primary products. Data on world trade in services only became available from 1980 onward, and the current contribution of such trade is

estimated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) to be at least 20% of total world trade. Global trade in services occurs mostly in the developed world and plays a smaller role for developing market economies.

## Spatial Patterns

The geography of trade is very complex due to varying levels of specialization in agricultural, fossil fuel, and industrial production throughout the world. As Knox *et al.* (2003) assert, “advanced industrial economies have long dominated international trade, and in general, the trend has been towards intensification of the long-standing domination of trade within and between developed countries at the expense of trade between developed countries and less-developed countries—with the major exception of trade in oil” (pp. 48–49). Bearing this statement in mind, with the realization that developing economies are no longer just exporters of primary products but are turning increasingly to exports of manufactures and services, it is possible to identify several distinct patterns of trade for developing economies.

In general, disparities among developing world nations’ participation and success in global trade have increased. Oil is the most important single commodity in world trade, and oil-exporting countries have seen steady growth in exports, both for the large-volume Middle Eastern oil states and smaller nations such as Nigeria and Cameroon in Africa as well as Venezuela and Ecuador in Latin America. Other non-oil raw material exporting countries, though, have had little participation in international trade. For example, Asia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Afghanistan have remained isolated from the global economy through the implementation of protectionist policies, such as high tariffs (cross-border taxes or duties) or non-tariff barriers, including quotas, subsidies, or licenses. Most countries in sub-Saharan Africa have had declining export volumes in the latter part of the twentieth century due to the reliance on non-oil primary products, the inability to replace export of primary products with manufactures, and worsening terms of trade. “Terms of trade” refers to the ratio of the prices at which exports and imports are exchanged. In the case of these primary product-exporting countries, the price of their exports has fallen relative to the price of imports (manufactures and services) from the developed economies or newly industrialized countries (NICs).

Imports of primary products to the developing world from the developed world include food exports from Australia, Canada, and the United States.

Imports of manufactures to the developing world from the developed world tend to be such things as heavy machinery and transport goods from such countries as the United States, Japan, and Germany.

Approximately three-fourths of the developing world’s manufactured exports come from eleven countries: Asian countries include China, Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand; Latin America countries are Brazil, Mexico, and Chile. The first developing world exporters were South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong, often labeled the original East Asian Tigers, NICs, or newly industrialized economies (NIEs), and export mostly to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) economies. These developing world exporters are relatively large recipients of foreign direct investment (FDI) and are seen as the most successful developing nations in the global economy. Exports from these NICs are characterized by growing domestic market penetration of developed economies such as those of the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and Japan. Generally, the East Asian economies are more important as exporters of manufactured goods than they are as producers. Newer NICs, such as Malaysia and Thailand in Southeast Asia as well as Brazil and Mexico in Latin America, are also increasing the volume of exports of manufactured goods. Other emerging markets, such as Argentina, China, Indonesia, and India—usually the largest nations in their respective continents—have also seen increases in export volume of manufactured goods to developed economies.

More than two-thirds of all developing world non-services exports go to developed world nations, and one of the most controversial nontariff barriers imposed by the developed world is the Multifibre Agreement (MFA) that involves quotas on textile and clothing imports from the developing world. The MFA was taken effect in 1970 and has lasted through 2005; the end of this barrier will have significant implications for the geography of trade within the textile and garments industry, probably resulting in an increase in the volume of exports from China, India, and other South Asian nations.

The transitional economies of the former Soviet Union are worthy of consideration because of the dynamic nature of economic restructuring and the potential for trade participation of some of the larger economies, especially the Russian Federation, Poland, Czech Republic, and Hungary. These nations have seen a small but steady increase in the rate of manufactures exports, and the inclusion of all but the Russian Federation in the European Union (EU) in 2004 will likely alter both the economic development and spatial trading patterns in Eastern Europe.

Although global trade in services did not become fully established until the end of the twentieth century, some developing world economies, particularly Hong Kong, China, South Korea, and Singapore, are now top services exporters. Tradable services, such as telecommunications, financial services, management, advertising, as well as professional and technical services (including software), play an increasing role in these countries' gross national products (GNPs).

### **Impact of Transnational Corporations**

Much of the impetus driving the changing patterns of global trade since 1950 can be attributed to the role played by transnational corporations (TNCs), which are sometimes also called multinational corporations (MNCs). According to Dicken (2003), "a TNC is a firm that has the power to coordinate and control operations in more than one country, even if it does not own them" (p. 198). TNCs account for about two-thirds of world exports of goods and services, and much of that is intrafirm trade, which is much more difficult to measure than trade between countries. TNCs have the ability to coordinate and control processes and transactions within and between different countries. They have the ability to take advantages of geographical differences in the distribution of factors of production (labor, resources, and capital) and in trade-related state policies. TNCs also have great geographical flexibility with the ability to switch resources and operations between global locations through the use of subcontracting and subsidiaries. A New International Division of Labor (NIDL), which is defined as a reorganization of spatial divisions of labor and was formerly organized at the national scale and then to a global scale based on international production and marketing systems, is driven primarily by TNCs.

#### ***TNCs and Foreign Direct Investment***

Most trade in exports from the developing world—albeit in a very uneven geographic pattern—goes to the developed world. Consideration of imports to the developing world has to address the role of foreign direct investment (FDI) done primarily by TNCs. FDI is direct investment in a foreign country by a (usually large) company through firm takeover or creation of new subsidiaries; the goal is to achieve managerial and production control. According to Dicken (2003), for the global economy "the primary mechanism of integration has shifted from trade to FDI. Trends in the growth of FDI, trade and

production are not independent of each other. The common element is the TNC" (p. 52). Historically, FDI was concentrated in the primary (natural resources) sector' until the 1980s, most FDI was directed to the manufacturing sector. By 2000, the services sector saw the greatest relative increase.

Advanced industrial economies still absorb most flows of FDI, but the amount of foreign investment in the developing world is increasing. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, approximately three-quarters of all FDI inflows to the developing world went to just seven NICs: in Asia, the inflows went to Singapore, South Korea, Malaysia, and China (including Hong Kong); in Latin America, they went to Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. A new trend in FDI is seen with the emergence of TNCs from developing countries. The greatest amount of outward FDI from developing countries comes from China (including Hong Kong), Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Malaysia, and Brazil and goes to other developing nations as well as developed market economies.

### **Globalization, Regionalization, and Trade Regulation**

It is important to note that another feature of the geography of trade is that the bulk of international trade is based on a few trading blocs with most trade taking place *within* these blocs. A "trading bloc" is defined as a group of countries with formalized systems of trading agreements. "Membership of these trading blocs is principally the result of the effects of (1) distance, (2) the legacy of colonial relationships, (3) geopolitical alliances" and recognizes "the persistent dependence of less developed countries (LDCs) on trade with developed countries that are geographically or geopolitically close (Knox *et al.* 2003: 48, 51). Trade statistics show, for example, that the United States is the chief trading partner of Latin American countries, and Japan is the main trading partner for Asian LDCs.

The first international regulatory mechanism for trade was established after World War II. The General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) had, at its inception, a membership of twenty-three countries. In 1995, GATT evolved into the World Trade Organization (WTO) that has more than 130 member nations. During the lifetime of GATT, average tariffs were reduced from 40% in 1940 to 5% in 1994. The basis of GATT (and now WTO) is establishment of nondiscrimination, using the most-favored nation principle (MFN) and the national treatment rule. MFN states that a trade concession negotiated

between two countries must apply to all countries, and the national treatment rule states that imported foreign goods are treated in the same way as domestic goods.

An important caveat to the MFN principle is that an exception to equality can occur if a subset of WTO members forms a regional trading organization, such as a customs union or a free trade area. The least restrictive regional trading institution is a “free trade area” where trade restrictions between member nations are removed, but individual members retain their individual trade policies with nonmembers. A “customs union” is an institution where members belong to a free trade area but also have a common external trade policy toward nonmembers. Further economic integration occurs within a “common market” where trade barriers are removed and where a common external trade policy is adopted, but in addition, free movement of capital and labor between members is permitted. The most integrated regional economic alliance is an “economic union,” which adds harmonization of economic policy and limited supranational political and legislative capabilities to the common market characteristics.

The WTO nondiscrimination and equality principles are challenged, therefore, when the sheer number of such regional economic alliances is counted. In the Western Hemisphere for example, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) links the economies of the United States, Canada, and Mexico in a free trade area; the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR) binds Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay in a common market; and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) involves fourteen island nations in a common market. In the Asian realm, AFTA—the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Free Trade Agreement—links ten Southeast Asian economies in a free trade area, and in the European realm, the EU ties twenty-five European nations together in an economic union. In Africa, a new institution—the African Union (AU), formerly the Organization of African Unity or OAU—was created in 1994 and comprises fifty-three member nations that have the goal of establishing a continent-wide African Economic Community (AEC).

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**See also Asian Tigers; Multinational Corporations and Development; Trade Policies and Development; World Trade Organization (WTO)**

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## TRANSPARENCY

“Transparency” is a term loosely used to signify that political and business decisions and documents are open to public scrutiny. Transparency is a safeguard against corruption and abuse of power. Equated with accountability and democratic values, transparency presupposes a public sphere of robust debate that sustains reasoned consensus. The ensemble of communication channels that is part of the mass media constitutes the public sphere. Thus, a press free of undue governmental coercion and excessive manipulation by private interests would form the bulwark of an ideal transparent society. The utopian goal of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment was that the free reign of reason would render society transparent to itself. “Transparency” is the late twentieth-century truncated expression of that goal.

The idea of transparency has tremendous significance for developing nations seeking aid, investment, and integration into Western economic, political, and security alliances. Industrialized nations use freedom of the press and openness in governmental and business sectors as criteria to gauge the level of corruption and degree of risk factors that condition aid and investment. As World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn once stated that “corruption undermines development” and dries up grassroots Western support for aid to developing countries.

However, with respect to Western aid, investment and trade transparency is a reciprocal concern. Salient issues include how funds intended for public projects are administered and allocated and who is

held accountable for policies and decisions. In addition, the visibility in corporate hiring practices, licensing agreements, joint ventures, and profit margins are all salient issues as well.

Transparency is thought to promote trust and better service. Visibility and accountability are antidotes to mismanagement, inefficiency, waste, and poor service. Uncertainty and suspicion dissipate when constituents and clients are allowed to see the actions taken on their behalf. In the event of a process going awry, public visibility permits intervention and possible salvation before the process reaches closure. Thus, transparency promotes greater efficiency and responsiveness.

### Historical Development of the Concept Transparency

In *Discourse on Method* (1637), René Descartes formulated a method for ascertaining the truth using *reason* and provided an embryonic definition of transparency: *clarity* and *distinctness*.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings wielded tremendous influence on modern political theory and the creation of democratic institutions. Rousseau spread the "cultural ideal of transparent and unmediated intellectual exchange among citizens themselves" (Hesse 1994).

Adhering to Descartes' great faith in the power of reason and influenced by Rousseau, Immanuel Kant added the crucial idea of using unfettered reason in the *public sphere*. "The public use of one's reason must always be free, and it alone can bring about enlightenment among men," Kant asserted in the essay *What Is Enlightenment?* (1784).

### Transparency in the Information Age

In the eighteenth century of Rousseau and Kant, the channels for *unmediated* or undistorted communication included coffee houses, books, pamphlets, speeches, journals, and newspapers. However, the complexity and size of modern societies requires that public opinion be *mediated*. The global span of communication technologies and the mass media's ubiquity seem to have provided the means of propagating knowledge and realizing the Enlightenment goal of self-determination based on transparency.

However, the philosopher Gianni Vattimo argues that information saturation has not made societies more transparent or enlightened, but rather more

complex and chaotic. In a deluge of information, fatigue from overload and separating the important from the trivial, among competing interpretations, become problematic. Jurgen Habermas argues that commercial interests have transformed the public sphere "into a medium of advertising" and public relations. Thus, vested interests have muddied the clear channels of the public sphere, producing distorted information. Indeed, the very term "transparency" has become the mantra of public relations campaigns and election promises.

The volume of entreaties on transparency issuing from corporations, governments, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the European Union (EU), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have brought the term to the brink of oversaturation and insipidity. Transparency is not always desirable. Bringing to light a bank's temporary instability may erode public confidence and prevent recovery. Internal bank forecasts about interest rates and inflation expectations may affect public perceptions and cause panic. Opaqueness in patent information and trade secrets is warranted as preventing industrial espionage.

As digital communication penetrates developing countries, so too will the technology enabling breaches in the veil of privacy. The availability of consumer information garnered from credit card purchases, banks, Web site visits, voting records, and scores of governmental data banks may bring unwanted transparency. Such information is sifted, mixed, matched, and recombined to form myriad lists that are sold to direct marketers, special interest groups, and political parties—typically without citizen knowledge or consent. Increasingly, citizens are classified based on income, buying patterns, and voting behavior. The result is information segregation predicated on potential "value": different messages for different segments.

### Transparency and Compliance

The degree of compliance with standards and laws is ultimately an impressionistic judgment. For example, an international NGO annually releases a *Corruption Perceptions Index* based on surveys that document the *perceptions* of analysts, academics, and business people. The 2001 profile of ninety-one countries ranks Finland first (9.9)—10 is a perfect "clean" score—and Bangladesh last (0.4).

There are many ways to circumvent the disclosure of information. In spite of legal obligations, compliance is essentially a measure of good faith. Compliance



does not ensure that proffered information is useful. In instances of closed-door policy deliberations, for example, “transparency” simply means that meeting minutes, however vague or incomplete, are posted. Essentially toothless, disclosure policies are no guarantee that information will reach the public. Both the IMF and the World Bank release certain information only to their member governments, never directly to citizens. An agency may choose to disclose pedestrian data or to obfuscate information in lengthy documents couched in tortured language. And there are always exemptions. Both the US Freedom of Information Act (1966) and the NAFTA transparency decision against Canada (2000) permit governments to withhold information *those governments* deem vital to national security.

An idea spawned from a rich philosophical lineage, transparency states a goal, the freedom—actualized by self-governance—and the means for achieving it, open communication in the public sphere. Utopian transparency, which is impossible to fully measure and achieve, is the pithiest expression of the quest for self-determination and self-legislation. Ultimately, the dissemination of useful information will depend more on providing motives and incentives than the threat of sanctions and uncertain enforcement.

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### TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Trinidad and Tobago are the southernmost islands in the archipelago of the Caribbean, lying about eleven

degrees north of the Equator. While Tobago lies entirely within the Atlantic Ocean, Trinidad itself faces the Atlantic on the east and southeast, the Caribbean in the west and northwest. The larger of the two islands, Trinidad, lies within sight of the coast of Venezuela; the silt and debris from the delta of the Orinoco River reach the southern coast of the island. The silt and debris also travel as far as Tobago, which is twenty-two miles to the northeast of Point Toco on Trinidad. Geologically speaking, Trinidad is part of the South American continent.

The climate is tropical, with a rainy season in the summer and fall. Precipitation, however, is higher to the north, where a tropical rainforest covers the northern slopes and reaches almost one thousand meters above sea level, which is impressive because of the sudden rise of the landmass from the sea. The climate is rather dry toward the southwest. The hurricanes do not reach Trinidad although they occasionally devastate portions of Tobago. Cane fields spread across the southern two-thirds of the island, which is mostly hilly.

The population of Trinidad, estimated at 1,104,000 (in 2003), is quite diverse. Before the “Columbian Exchange,” the mix of culture and race that occurred after Christopher Columbus reached the Western Hemisphere, got underway, the island was settled by Carib Native Americans who inhabited much of the coastal areas of northern South America. The Caribs displaced the Arawak, who may have been the first to settle the islands, or miscegenated with them. Some Native Americans survived on the islands as late as the eighteenth century; in fact, there is still a Carib community in Arima, Trinidad.

Although the statistics may be misleading, it is generally accepted that Blacks and East Indians are evenly matched in numbers. The so-called mixed population, recorded at 18.4%, could belong to either ethnic group. There is also a prominent white minority, albeit less than 1%, as well as a Chinese minority involved in commerce. The history of the island of Trinidad explains the presence of both French and Spanish surnames and place-names, beginning with the name Trinidad itself. Port-of-Spain is the capital city, one of the few towns with an Anglicized name, while Tobago has mostly English place-names and a population with English surnames. Nevertheless, English is the language spoken by most citizens although Hindi is spoken also, and there is a smattering of other languages. With regard to religion, there is a Catholic plurality, with a sizable Hindu minority. Fundamentalist Christian denominations and Muslims, especially Black Muslims, are probably the fastest growing religious groups.

Although Trinidad was christened by Columbus during his third transatlantic voyage in 1498 and

colonized on behalf of the rulers of Spain, it remained sparsely populated until the late eighteenth century. Tobago suffered the fate of most islands of the Caribbean, changing colonial masters as a function of European wars. Trinidad, however, was under continuous Spanish jurisdiction until 1797, when it was captured by the British and held briefly by the French. In 1814, the British also took Tobago from the French.

The society and economy of Tobago and Trinidad are rather different. Tobago had a plantation economy with a majority slave population going far back in time, whereas Trinidad had relatively few slaves. Although the latter produced tobacco and cocoa, it was not until near the end of the eighteenth century that sugar became an important commodity; along with sugar, the population, particularly the slaves transported from West Africa, increased rather suddenly. Cocoa remained an important commodity to the end of the nineteenth century. Sugar production remained considerable in Trinidad, roughly on a par with (the much smaller) Barbados and second only to Guyana.

By 1807, when the British parliament abolished the slave trade, the majority of the islanders on both islands were of African, particularly Igbo, descent. While in Tobago there were many generations of slaves, in Trinidad slavery lasted little more than a single generation. West Africans, including Yoruba from what is present-day Nigeria, continued to arrive after emancipation in 1833, leaving an imprint on the syncretic culture of Trinidad in particular. Consequently, race relations, attitudes, and politics in Tobago, with its more homogenous population, also differ from those of Trinidad.

Oil, exploited since 1909, and gas, the production of which has risen considerably in the last few years, are the mainstay of the economy. In fact, Trinidad and Tobago are the most prosperous of the island-nations in the Caribbean, and the gross domestic product (GDP) is once again on the rise, particularly in the twenty-first century.

Although oil prices have their ups and downs on the world market, Trinidad and Tobago have both achieved and maintained the highest per capita income in the region, except for Puerto Rico. The GDP per capita in 1999 was about the same as in 1971, before the boom. Between 1973 and 1980, however, the value of manufacturing increased by about 15%, thanks to the public sector and, more specifically, to the diversification project at Point Lisas, on the Gulf of Pariah, masterminded by Eric Williams. Trinidad and Tobago produce canned goods, beverages, and a large range of other manufactured products, some of which are exported to other Caribbean islands.

While industrial production experienced modest gains since 1970, agriculture has declined steadily,

resulting in greater need for imports. Thus, it is possible to describe the country as a “monoculture” because of the reliance on oil for export earnings (mostly to the United States). Thanks to the efforts of the People’s National Movement led by Williams, in August 1962 the island-country achieved independence from the United Kingdom. Eventually, in 1976, it achieved republican status.

Civil society is well established. While elections are heavily contested, the transfer of power between the major parties, the People’s National Movement (PNM) and the United National Congress (UNC), has been relatively peaceful. The country has experienced two major attempts at a *coup d’état*, one by the “Black Power” movement in 1970—Stokely Carmichael aka Kwame Toure, the founder of the Black Power movement in the United States and elsewhere, was born in Trinidad—and the other by a group of Black Muslims in 1990, who managed to hold Prime Minister Robinson hostage, temporarily.

The legislative is bicameral, with a Senate of thirty-one seats, appointed by the president, and a House of Representatives, with only thirty-six seats. Tobago has a separate legislature, with a House of Assembly of fifteen members. Since 2002, the prime minister is Patrick Manning, who replaced Basdeo Panday.

During the twentieth century, Trinidad and Tobago, along with the rest of the Caribbean, was increasingly drawn into the sphere of influence of the United States. One manifestation of the US influence was the transfer of the naval base at Chaguaramas, immediately west of the Port of Spain capital, from the United Kingdom to the United States at the very beginning of World War II (eventually returned to the jurisdiction of the island-nation). American influence is reinforced by the fact that the West Indian diaspora—the dispersion of West Indians to other lands—gravitates toward the United States, particularly New York, rather than London. Closer cultural and family ties with the United States inevitably result in the loosening of ties with the United Kingdom.

The tourist trade on Tobago accounts to a large extent for the increasing prosperity of that island, but has also occasioned friction and conflicts. Indeed, prior legislation against foreign ownership of land, particularly on Tobago, has now been rendered ineffective; and the growing tourist trade has elicited a backlash, but also has fueled movements for greater autonomy, if not independence.

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## TRUJILLO, RAFAEL LEONIDAS

Born in 1891 in San Cristóbal, Dominican Republic, Raphael Leonidas Trujillo Molina worked as telegraph operator and sugar mill security guard before joining the national constabulary force in 1916. He was promoted through the ranks of the national police force before being named general and chief of staff of the Dominican National Army in 1928. Two years later, he joined the revolt against President Horacio Vásquez Lajara and later in 1930 ran unopposed in the presidential elections of 1930. His inauguration marked the beginning of the "Era of Trujillo." For thirty-one years, the "Benefactor of the Fatherland" ruled the Dominican Republic as if it were his fiefdom and as though he had complete control over all aspects of Dominican life.

Trujillo took over a country that was morally, politically, and economically bankrupt, and he transformed it into a debt-free, self-sufficient (in terms of food), and politically stable nation. The Dominicans, however, paid a high price, for the Era of Trujillo was one of the darkest periods in Caribbean history.

Trujillo's philosophy on development was a simple one: political and economic stability through his guidance was foremost, and political freedom and dissent were not to be tolerated. To achieve his objectives, Trujillo depended on two key ingredients: the military and the United States. Trujillo's tight control over the armed forces gave him a most effective vehicle to achieve political stability, while his close ties with the United States provided him with much-needed economic modernization.

Following his staunch support for the Allies during World War II, "El Jefe," as he was known throughout the Dominican Republic, took advantage of the Cold War by becoming the sentinel of anticommunism in the Americas. Lauded by US politicians and business figures, the Trujillo regime was a principal recipient of United States economic and military aid.

The 1950s were Trujillo's glory years. Buildings were constructed in the capital. Electricity was brought to the countryside. The tourism industry saw its rise, and capital investments multiplied. In addition, the

Dominicans, for the first time in their history, felt safe from their Haitian neighbors.

The Benefactor of the Fatherland, however, was the main beneficiary of this unprecedented economic growth. It is estimated that at the time of his death in 1961, Trujillo controlled 65% of the Dominican economy, and the Trujillo family private fortune was calculated to be between \$800 million and \$1 billion.

In 1959, though, cracks began to develop in Trujillo's governmental apparatus. Demand for Dominican commodities dropped in the world market, and the Dominican masses were confronted with unemployment and price increases. Furthermore, the Trujillo family's voracious appetite for corruption and lavish spending fueled public discontent. Moreover, middle-class students, dissatisfied with the stifling political and intellectual climate, longed for individual rights.

In June 1959, Dominican exiles, supported by Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt, landed in the Dominican Republic and were crushed mercilessly. Alarmed by Trujillo's repressive tactics, Catholic bishops issued a warning to "El Jefe." On June 24, 1960, Trujillo retaliated against his Venezuelan nemesis when his hired men attempted to assassinate Betancourt. On August 20, 1960, in response to the assassination attempt, the Organization of American States virtually declared the Trujillo government an outcast and imposed strict sanctions.

In 1961, the new administration of John F. Kennedy, tired of Trujillo's antics, began to contact disgruntled officers in Trujillo's vaunted military. On May 30, 1961, as Trujillo was driven to his hometown of San Cristóbal, "El Jefe" was assassinated.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Caribbean: International Relations; Dominican Republic; Organization of American States (OAS)**

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## TUDJMAN, FRANJO

As the most prominent figure of the Balkans in the late twentieth century, besides Slobodan Milošević, Franjo Tudjman (1922–1999) is credited with the creation of an independent Croatia.

Called the “Father of the Croatian Nation,” Tudjman was a brilliant strategist and excellent diplomat. He normalized relations with Serbia in 1998 though he permitted the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to use Croatia’s airspace against Serbia during the Kosovo campaign. After Croatian independence, he focused his work on the country’s admission to the European Union (EU) and NATO. However, Tudjman has been criticized for his nationalism and his authoritarian paternalistic rule, during which civil liberties were curtailed and power was concentrated in the hands of a small group, mostly made up of members with close ties to Tudjman.

Born in northern Croatia/Velko Tragoviste, Tudjman was educated in the Croatian nationalistic spirit. He envisioned Panslavism under Croatian leadership in Yugoslavia but became frustrated because of Serbian hegemony. Persecuted for his views in 1940, Tudjman joined Josip Broz Tito’s partisan forces, becoming a carrier soldier after 1945. Despite his appointment as a general in 1960, he left active military service, dedicating himself to the study of geopolitics and earning a doctorate in political science in 1965. Distanced from mainstream politics, he was the leader of the 1971 “Croatian Spring,” which was crushed by Tito who perceived it as a threat to Yugoslavia’s unity. Tito imprisoned Tudjman, who was released only a year later. Due to his dissident stance and his interviews given to Western media, in which he denounced the failure of the Yugoslavism and the oppression of the Croats, he was imprisoned again in 1982. Tudjman was publicly skeptical of the Serbian nationalistic myth, which was based on the disputed number of victims at the Jasenovac concentration camp, the largest World War II concentration camp in Croatia and possibly the third largest in the world at the time. Serbian Nationalists used these numbers as a moral justification for revenge and creation of a united Serbian Yugoslavia, in fact a Greater Serbia.

In 1990, after the split of the Yugoslav Communist League and founding of his HDZ or Croat Democratic Union party in 1989, Tudjman won Yugoslavia’s first presidential elections. In 1991, he declared Croat independence, relying heavily on the sympathy and support of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and the Catholic Church. Serbian forces waged war on the new Croatian state, attacking the major cities and practicing what became known as ethnic cleansing, as many civilians were killed or forced to flee.

In 1993, Tudjman reached a deal with Milošević upon the partition of Bosnia. In 1995, he captured the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic of Krajina, causing a mass exodus of two hundred thousand Serbs. Later that year, however, Tudjman signed the Dayton agreement in 1995 on behalf of the Bosnian Croats, and the war ended. Once the Greater Serbia ideal had been defeated, he agreed to the cautious return of Serbian refugees, cooperated with the UN War Crimes Tribunal, and resolved the conflicts with Bosnian Croat Separatists intent on leaving the confederation and forming their own republic. Although his vision of Great Croatia, which would have included Bosnia, was not realized, Tudjman was successful in keeping all the territories of the Socialist Croat Republic.

Tudjman was elected to three consecutive terms as Croatia’s president. In 1999, however, his health declined, and he died on December 10, 1999.

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**See also Balkan Wars of the 1990s; Croatia; Ethnic Conflicts: Central and Eastern Europe; Milošević, Slobodan; Serbia; Yugoslavia**

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## TUNISIA

The Tunisian Republic (*al Jumhuriyah at Tunisiyah* as translated in Arabic) is a small state located in North Africa, also called the *Maghreb*. It borders Algeria to the west and Libya to the southeast, with shores along the Mediterranean Sea to the north and east. The climate is semiarid, with desert covering the southern and central regions. Northern Tunisia is cooler and incorporates the eastern edge of the Atlas mountain system and the Medjerda Valley, whose river system empties into the Gulf of Tunis. Almost all of Tunisia’s fertile soil is located in this region. Tunisia covers a total of 163,610 square kilometers. Its population is estimated at 9,974,722, with a growth rate of approximately 1.01%. Life expectancy is 74.7 years, and the literacy rate is 74%. The gross domestic product (GDP) grew by 5.1% in 2004 to \$68.2 billion. Per

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capita income is \$6,900. Resources include agricultural products, iron, phosphate, natural gas, and petroleum. The population is largely Arab Berber and Sunni Muslim, with small Jewish and Christian minorities. The official language is Arabic, with French widely used in commerce. The capital city is Tunis, located in the northeast on the Lake of Tunis, with a population estimated at 674,100.

After Rome destroyed Carthage in 146 BC, the Medjerda Valley became the Empire's breadbasket. The Vandals and Byzantines ruled Tunisia until the Arab conquest in the seventh century. Tunisia became a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1574. In 1705, Hussein bin Ali founded the Husainid dynasty, which ruled until the monarchy's abolition in 1957. Ahmed Bey's rule from 1837 to 1855 saw the establishment of light weaponry and food processing industries as well as a short-lived ban on slavery. In 1869, European creditors of a bankrupt Tunisian state imposed the International Finance Commission to control the budget, undermining Tunisia's economic sovereignty. France invaded the country in 1881, making it a protectorate in 1883. The authorities promoted migration by transferring land from religious trusts to European settlers, while agricultural production expanded and while phosphate mines opened in the south. Increasing nationalistic sentiment and World Wars I and II led to Tunisian independence in 1956. A year later, the Neo-Destour party leader Habib Bourguiba became president.

At the time of independence, Tunisian industry was largely controlled by foreigners. The technical and managerial positions in 257 of the 290 industries with over fifty employees were almost entirely held by non-Tunisians. The economy was closely linked to France's, with the latter buying 55% of Tunisia's exports and providing 69% of its imports. Economic policy in the early years of statehood was a mix of liberalism and statism. Bourguiba believed that Tunisia's future lay with Europe and the West, while the General Union of Tunisian Workers (UGTT) sought more interventionist policies. The government nationalized infrastructure, including the railways, ports, electricity, and gas utilities. It also expropriated land owned by religious trusts for sale to rural elites in exchange for their support. Between 1956 and 1960, the number of state employees rose from twelve thousand to eighty thousand. There was also extensive social change as polygamy was outlawed, the judiciary was secularized, and a minimum age was set for marriage of women. In 1958, a central bank was created, and in 1959, the Tunisian dinar was adopted as the currency.

The 1961 installation of former UGTT leader Ahmed Ben Salah as Minister of Social Affairs and

Economy signaled a shift toward socialism. In 1962, the government adopted central planning and banned the Communist Party, officially installing one-party rule. The state emphasized public sector-driven industrialization and invested heavily in Tunisia's periphery by financing steel mills, fertilizer plants, and other manufacturing activities. The government equated this move from primary to secondary production with decolonization. By the end of the decade, agriculture accounted for 18% of GDP, down from 24% in 1960. By 2004, services made up 54% of GDP, the highest of any North African state. In 1964, a wage increase triggered a fiscal crisis that caused the first-ever devaluation of the dinar, while the Neo-Destour became the Socialist Destour Party. The era of central planning ended in 1969 when Bourguiba dismissed Ben Salah and launched a policy of economic opening, or *infatih*.

Law 72-38, adopted in April 1972, underpinned the new approach. It granted export-oriented industries tax-exempt status, free reign to import their inputs, and guaranteed the right to repatriate profits. The following year, Law 73-19 created the Industrial Promotion Agency (API), whose mandate was to streamline investment rules and attract foreign investors. Exports rose from 12% of GDP in 1969 to 42% in 1981. Manufacturing went from one-fifth in 1970 of exports, to one-third in 1977, to two-thirds in 1988. Textiles also became an important good, rising from 2% of exports in 1971 to 30% in 1986. The Tunisian economy became increasingly tied to Europe's: exports to the European community rose from 50% of the total at the start of the *infatih* to over 80% by the 1990s. The policy's success was mixed: annual growth during the 1970s averaged 7.3%, but an expanding current accounts balance deficit reached over \$800 million by 1984. Increasing labor unrest culminated in a general strike on January 28, 1978. Two hundred died in clashes between workers and the military.

Rising inflation, falling oil prices, and declining terms of trade forced the adoption of a stabilization plan, triggering bread riots in 1984 that left up to 120 dead. With foreign reserves virtually exhausted, the government turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1986. In 1987, Prime Minister Ben Ali took advantage of the chaotic situation to declare Bourguiba incompetent and take power. Austerity measures included a currency devaluation and the removal of trade barriers. Public debt in 2004 was \$14 billion, or 60% of GDP. In 1990, Tunisia joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. In 1995, it became the first South Mediterranean country to sign an association agreement with the European Union (EU), committing itself to forming a free trade area with the EU by 2008. In 1996, an EU-funded program of technological modernization was

launched. As of April 2003, it had approved 2.4 billion dinars for 1,448 firms.

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## TUPAMAROS

The Tupamaros, also known as the *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional* (MLN) or the National Liberation Movement, were an urban guerrilla organization in Uruguay founded in 1965. They caused a fierce but relatively short period of antiestablishment terror in Uruguay in the late 1960s. They named themselves after the Inca Chief Tupac Amaru, who fought the Spanish and was quadrisected by the Spaniards on May 18, 1781, in Cuzco (Peru). This name was reused also by the revolutionary group *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* (MRTA), or the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, in Peru, notorious for their 126-day siege of the Japanese embassy in Lima in 1996.

Initially located in the countryside, the Tupamaros accepted a Robin Hood style of distributing stolen food and money among the poor in the suburbs. In 1963, a group of young men raided the Swiss Gun Club, an event that marked the birth of Latin America's most famous urban guerrilla group. They engaged in urban terrorism, political kidnappings, and murder, temporarily paralyzing Uruguay's political and economic life. News of their success inspired extremists worldwide, and they served as a role model for European urban guerrillas.

Following the assassination in August 1970 of Dan A. Mitrione, a US security official, and the kidnapping of British Ambassador Geoffrey Jackson in January 1971, both by the Tupamaros, parliament imposed twice suspension of all civil liberties. On September 9, 1971, after the escape from prison of more than one hundred Tupamaros, President Pacheco put the army in charge of all counter guerrilla activity.

In April 1972, after a bloody shooting with the Tupamaros, President Juan María Bordaberry declared a state of "internal war," suspending all civil liberties and adopting a draconian State Security Law. By the year's end, the army had decisively defeated the Tupamaros, whose surviving members were either

imprisoned or had fled into exile. Despite this accomplishment, the civilian government relinquished running the country to a military *junta*—the Generals' Council (June 27, 1973)—that led to further repression against the population. Until that date, Uruguay had been the sole country in Latin America with the continuing tradition of a civilian democratic government.

Democracy was restored in 1985, and the Tupamaros became one of the few Latin American examples of successful transition to a legal political force. As a former urban guerrilla organization, with several hundred members, it was politically insignificant. In order to run candidates in the November 1989 elections, the former Tupamaros together with other ultra-leftist forces created the People's Participation Movement (*Movimiento de Participación Popular*, MPP). Since the Spring of 1995, it has been represented in the Parliament by the sixty-two-year-old Pepe Mujica, a founding member of the movement, who was held for thirteen years by the military government in absolute isolation. Later, this faction joined a larger Left reunion, Frente Amplio, further renouncing armed struggle and accepting democratic procedure.

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**See also Guerrilla Warfare; Terrorism; Uruguay**

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## TURKEY

The Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye*, in Turkish) is a Eurasian country that occupies the Anatolian peninsula and a small portion of the Balkans. Turkey borders Greece, Bulgaria, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. In addition, Turkey lies along the Mediterranean Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Black Sea. Turkey's total land area is approximately 779,452 square kilometers. The country contains sharp contrasts in topography, ranging from the Pontus and Taurus Mountains in the east, the high central plateau, and narrow coastal plains in the west. Turkey often suffers from earthquakes due to tectonic

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pressures from the African landmass moving against Eurasia. The climate of Turkey can best be described as Mediterranean with extreme variations; for instance, moderate coastal plains are contrasted by harsh conditions in the interior and east. Rainfall corresponds to this variability as the coastal regions experience a wet rainy season with an average rainfall of 2,500 millimeters. The more prominent lakes and rivers of Turkey are found in the east and include Lake Van and the Tigris, Euphrates, and Araks rivers. Most of Turkey's growing population of 72.3 million (a United Nations estimate) lives in an area ranging from the central plains to the western coast. The capital is Ankara and has a population of more than 3.5 million. Turkey's largest metropolis is its former capital, Istanbul, with a population of more than 15 million. Urbanization has transformed Turkey from an agricultural society to an increasingly urbanized one, with roughly two-thirds of the population residing in cities.

Although the term "Turk" is applied to denote all of its citizens, Turkey has a multiethnic society whose genetic origins link it to the Balkans and the Caucasus as well as the Levant and Central Asia. Modern Turks speak an Altaic language that is part of the larger Ural-Altaic linguistic family (including such disparate members as Mongolian, Finnish, Uzbek, and Hungarian). Turks comprise 78% of the population and include various distinctions, such as Anatolians and Rumelians. There are also a considerable number of Muslims from the Caucasus, including Circassians, Georgians, and the Laz. Turkey's largest ethnic minority are the Kurds, whose numbers range from 10% to as high as 20%. They can, in turn, be broken down into disparate groups who sometimes cannot comprehend each other's dialect. *Kurmanji* is the majority's dialect of the Indo-European Kurdish language in Turkey, while a minority speak the southern *Kurdi* dialect, which is more prominent in neighboring Iraq. *Dimli* is a related Iranian tongue that is often confused for a Kurdish dialect, but it is actually a separate language spoken by close to 1 million people. In addition, a significant number of self-identifying Kurds have abandoned the use of Kurdish and either speak it as a second language or simply speak Turkish. Arabic speakers are concentrated in southern Turkey along the Syrian border and number more than 1 million. Other prominent minorities in Turkey include refugees from Bulgaria, Iran, and Bosnia as well as small numbers of Greeks and Armenians.

Religion in Turkey is tempered by the secular state, but the vast majority of Turks are nominally Muslim. However, the secularism of Turkey is not of the same vein as that found in the European Union (EU). Turkey's government directly regulates religion and

even trains religious scholars and *mullahs*, and thus practices a form of governmental regulation of religion rather than a strict separation of church and state as is prominent in the West. Sunni Islam dominates Turkey with 75% to 80% of the population adhering to this sect, while the Alevi, a variant branch of Shia Islam, make up at least 19% of the remainder. Most of the Dimili (or Zaza), for example, distinguish themselves further through their adherence to Shia Islam, as do Azerbaijanis and Turkmen. Sufism is the more philosophical and meditative branch of Islam that is historically responsible for converting large numbers of Greeks and Armenians to Islam. Most of the Christian minority in the country includes Greeks, Armenians, and Assyrians. In addition, a small Jewish community of Ladinos and Ashkenazi is found mainly in Istanbul.

Turkey's diversity is derived from its central location near the world's earliest civilizations as well as a history replete with population movements and invasions. The Hattite culture was prominent during the Bronze Age prior to 2000 BCE, but was replaced by the Indo-European Hittites who conquered Anatolia by the second millennium. Meanwhile, Turkish Thrace came to be dominated by another Indo-European group, the Thracians for whom the region is named. The Hittites and Thracians were swept aside by Greeks who came to dominate the history of western and central Anatolia, while the Armenians and possibly early proto-Kurdish groups may have entered eastern Anatolia by the first millennium BCE. Persians and mainland Greeks contested the region, which culminated in Greek conquest and colonization of the Persian Empire itself by 323 BCE. Subsequently, *hellenization* of the elites transformed Anatolia into a largely Greek-speaking region.

Roman conquest in Anatolia was complete by forty-three CE and morphed into the Byzantine Empire. Christianity became the dominant faith of Anatolia and would remain so until the arrival of Islam. Small bands of Muslim Turks began moving into Anatolia by the early part of the second millennium CE. The pivotal point that began the transformation of Anatolia into a Turkish-speaking Islamic domain was the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, where the Byzantine army was defeated by Seljuk Turkish invaders. The Byzantine Empire would last until 1453 when the Ottoman Turks finally took the city of Constantinople. Like the Byzantine Empire before it, however, the Ottoman Empire began a slow decline even as it reached its apogee, losing the Crimea, Egypt, and most of its Balkan territories during the nineteenth century. World War I witnessed the Ottoman Empire's last gasp as its alliance with Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1914 proved to be a fatal gamble.

Even as the Ottoman Empire disintegrated, the Young Turk Movement and its founder, Mustafa Kemal (later dubbed “Ataturk”), spearheaded a Turkish Nationalist revival based on a Turkish ethnic identity rather than a multiethnic empire. Following the disastrous war, the Turks were given harsh terms by the Allies: not only were the lands not populated by Turks divided among imperial powers, but the Turkish majority areas also were to be partitioned by the Allies. Ataturk, who had emerged as a national hero, rallied the Turkish resistance and pressured the Ottoman government to relinquish its authority in 1921. The Nationalists led by Ataturk laid out their own terms that included renouncing claims that lay outside Turkish Muslim territories. France and Italy found the new Turkish military too formidable to challenge in its own homeland and withdrew, leaving only the Greeks to confront the resurgent Turkish forces. The Bolsheviks of the newly formed USSR had no desire to confront Turkey and signed a peace treaty in 1921 following cooperation between the two states in subjugating the newly independent state of Armenia.

The war against the Greek army was equally successful: Turkish Nationalist forces drove out the last of the Greeks by August 1922. Following these developments, the Allies renegotiated, and the Treaty of Lausanne, signed in Switzerland in November 1922, recognized Turkey as a state. The Allies gave in to Turkish demands, including recognition of the new Nationalist government and borders that corresponded to Muslim-Turkish majority areas (and northern Kurdish areas claimed by Turkey) as formed by Turkey’s War of Independence. Thus was born the modern secular Republic of Turkey. Ataturk transformed Turkey into a Western and more “Turkish” state by separating religion and state; replacing the Arabic alphabet with a Latin script; ordering name changes from Arabic to ethnic Turkish; and adopting Western clothing, traditions, and laws into both government and society. Turkey aligned itself with the West following World War II, and during the Cold War it was a frontline state confronting the USSR. Despite sporadic conflicts with Greece over the Aegean region and Cyprus, Turkey has been a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member and a consistent ally of the West. It is poised to become the first Muslim majority state to join the EU sometime in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Turkey’s political landscape has evolved since its inception. The Republican People’s Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* [CHP] in Turkish) dominated the early years of the republic. Following elections after World War II, the CHP lost power to the Democrat Party (DP) in 1950, which stayed in power for a

decade. The DP began to cement its control, which led to civil unrest and prompted one of the many military *coups d’état* that would take place in modern Turkish history. The DP government was dismantled and replaced by a military council, which held elections in 1961. Thus began an oft-repeated cycle in Turkish politics, with a civilian government devolving into chaos, a military *coup* staged to restore order, and then another round of elections and purges. The Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi* [AP] in Turkish) emerged as the new rival to the CHP. Military intervention again took place in 1971 as the various political parties in Turkey could not form a government, and civilian control was again restored in 1973 following a regime appointed by neutral nonparty intellectuals. During this period, in 1974, conflict with Greece over the Cyprus issue embroiled Turkey in a conflict that persists in the twenty-first century. In addition, Kurdish nationalism came to the forefront during the 1970s and would also persist into the twenty-first century. Fearing Islamic influence in the government of the late 1970s, the military again intervened in 1980 and then restored civilian control in 1982 with the ascension of Turgut Ozal and the Motherland Party, whose administration would remain closely overseen by the military. The True Path Party came to power in a peaceful transition in 1991, and Turkey has maintained peaceful democratic elections since. The Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* [AKP] in Turkish) is the party in power since elections in 2002, which again relegated the CHP to secondary status. Some secularists fear the AKP’s moderate Islamic leanings, but it seems unlikely that the legacy of Ataturk’s secularism will be altered anytime in the near future, if at all.

Turkey’s economy has had a similar tumultuous history, but it has been steadily improving for decades. The transition to a free market economy has helped to improve some aspects of the Turkish economy since the 1980s. Substantial deficits and a large debt (more than \$104 billion) have led to high inflation rates and an anemic banking industry. However, under the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF’s) assistance, which has included substantial loans aimed at helping Turkey’s transition toward market-oriented reforms, Turkey has shown significant changes in government policy including restrained fiscal policies and liberalization of previously state-controlled industries, banks, and energy concerns. Turkey has suffered economically as well as politically from the tumultuous crisis in Iraq, and the chaos has heightened Turkish worries about an independent Kurdish state with substantial oil reserves on its doorstep.

In addition, trade with Iran has declined substantially as many EU states now trade with Iran via the



## TURKEY

Persian Gulf rather than through Turkey. Turkey has made great strides in manufacturing, which makes up 30% of its economic activity, while agriculture has improved in efficiency. Turkey continues to import far more than it exports, and underemployment has led to a substantial diaspora of Turkish guest workers moving to EU countries, especially to Germany (with more than 1 million living there indefinitely). Unemployment is not substantially higher than most EU countries, but a substantial number of Turks live at or below the poverty line (roughly one-fifth of the population). Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was high in the 1990s, but it has slowed following fears of slow reforms, continued state control in many sectors of the economy, Turkey's massive debt, and perceived political worries over the possible rise of Islamic parties (which view themselves as more akin to the Christian Democrats in Germany as opposed to the ruling clerics of Iran). Turkey's prospects have greatly improved as a positive timetable has been set for its entry into the EU in the not too distant future but with strict conditions, including recognition of Cyprus. In addition, debate rages over fears of an onslaught of Turkish workers flowing out of Turkey and into more prosperous parts of Europe.

Many Europeans have shown concern over Turkey's large and growing population, Islamic character, and spotty human rights record, including its treatment of the Kurds. However, Turkey's economic improvements and diligent attempts to comply with EU standards have made its entry almost inevitable. Turkey has conducted reforms that allow for the free flow of international capital and protection of intellectual property rights, and this appears to have led to increased interest from foreign investors. With an increasingly educated populace and a per capita income that has reached Eastern European levels (\$6,700 in 2003), Turkey's economic prospects continue to improve, barring the destabilizing political issues it faces with Kurdish nationalism, an Iraqi civil conflict, and continued problems with Greece over the Cyprus issue.

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**See also** Cyprus

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## TURKMENISTAN

The Republic of Turkmenistan is located in Central Asia, bordering with Iran in the south, with Afghanistan in the southeast, with Uzbekistan in the northeast, and Kazakhstan in the north. The Caspian Sea forms a natural border in the west. The country has a land area of 488,100 square kilometers (188,455 square miles) and is the second largest in the Central Asian region.

The population of Turkmenistan is estimated at 4.86 million, with 55% living in rural areas. The country's capital city, Ashgabad, is home to 580,000 people, or 8% of the population. Turkmenistan has a population growth rate of 1.85%, and it is estimated that its population will double by 2040. Turkmen is spoken by approximately 72% of the population, Russian by 12%, and Uzbek by 9%; other languages make up 7% of the population. The predominant religion is Islam, practiced by 89% of the population, and 9% of the population are Eastern Orthodox Christians.

Until the twentieth century, animal husbandry (horses, sheep, camels, and cattle) was the main source of income, supplemented by trade on the Silk Road. The desert terrain, which occupies almost four-fifths of the country, can support millions of sheep and camels, but there are few arable oases. The economic development of Turkmen land was often interrupted by war, and many cities and oases never recovered after the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century and decades of internal conflicts in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The Russian Empire established political control after overcoming resistance of the Turkmen tribes in 1881.

Capitalism was brought to the Turkmen society with the arrival of the Russians in the end of the nineteenth century and the building of a major railroad, but this only aggravated social disparity. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, with the help of British forces, Turkmen Nationalists declared independence from the Bolshevik state but eventually were brought back, becoming a part of the Turkistan Soviet Autonomous Republic. On October 27, 1924, Turkmenistan was established within its present borders,

becoming a Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent part of the USSR. The Communist Party of Turkmenistan (CPT) came to power and remained the republic's single ruling party for the next seventy years.

The Soviet concept of development deeply affected Turkmenistan development from the 1930s until the 1980s, as the state initiated radical political and economic changes, state control of all types of economic activities, and central state planning. Between the 1930s and 1980s, the government forced all farmers to join large-scale farming centered around *kolkhozy*, state-controlled collective farms, and invested huge resources into building the Karakum Canal irrigation system, the largest in the USSR. After World War II, the Soviet government also initiated an industrialization program that brought into the republic the heavy industry, light industries (textile, garment, and carpets), petrochemical industry, and natural resources extraction (gas, oil, iodine, and other such resources). The government also heavily invested into the social sector, improving literacy, developing extended free education, and offering medical and social welfare services to all sectors of the population. At the same time, basic political and religious freedoms, free entrepreneurship, and cultural relations with countries outside the "iron curtain" were suppressed. According to official statistics, the Turkmenistan industrial production grew twelve-fold between 1940 and 1984, at an average annual rate of 8%–10%. By the end of the 1980s, Turkmenistan became the second largest gas producer in the USSR. The extensive economic development, however, led to ecological problems such as salinisation.

In the mid-1980s, the central government led by Mikhail Gorbachev introduced major changes, relinquishing centrally planned economy and introducing limited democratization. These changes were largely peaceful although the Turkmenistani elite silently resisted *perestroika*. The government banned emerging opposition parties, and the CPT easily won majority of 175 seats in the new Parliament and formed the government in January 1990. Its representative, Saparmurad Niyazov, ran unopposed in the October 1990 presidential election.

## Further Developments

On October 27, 1991, Turkmenistan declared its independence from the USSR. President Niyazov moved swiftly to introduce a new constitution (May 1992) and some political and economic changes. Gradually, these reforms brought into life one of the most extravagant political regimes in the former USSR, combining

extreme forms of statism, egalitarianism, and authoritarianism combined with nationalism and emphasis on traditional values. In December 1999, Mr. Niyazov-Turkmenbashi was elected as the president-for-life.

After independence, the Turkmenistan government rejected radical economic changes. The government believed that the sale of its gas reserves would allow it to achieve prosperity within ten years. It approved small-scale privatisation, limited price liberalization and currency reforms, allowed private entrepreneurship, and liberalized its trade. But at the same time, it retained some form of the centrally planned economy. The national currency—the *manat*—was introduced in November 1993, but it remained unconvertible. In 1992 through 1998, the annual inflation rate was between 600% to 3000% but declined to 9.5% in 2003 (CIA estimate).

However, the economic miracle did not materialise, largely due to nonpayments for the gas by the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) partners, absence of pipeline capacities to the non-CIS market, and flaws in the economic development model chosen by Turkmenistan's leaders. According to the World Bank, Turkmenistan's economy declined at an average annual rate of 4.8% between 1990 and 2000 but rebounded in 2001 through 2004. The country increasingly relies on the export of raw materials to the international market, mainly its gas, cotton, and agricultural products. Turkmenistan needs considerable foreign direct investments to modernize existing gas and oil extracting capacities and to build major pipelines.

Agriculture, industries, and services are the three main pillars of post-Soviet Turkmenistan's economy, contributing 27.3%, 50.0%, and 22.6%, respectively, to the gross domestic product (GDP) (World Bank estimate, 2001). The exports are narrowly based on sales of raw materials in international markets. The country's main exports are gas (exported 38.6 billion cubic meters of gas (CIA estimate 2001), textiles, cotton (Turkmenistan is the world's tenth largest producer of cotton), silk, and other agricultural products.

The post-Soviet economic changes led to a steady decline in living standards among all groups of the population, despite the state's supplying water, electricity, and gas for free to all citizens of the country and despite the recent macroeconomic stabilisation. The country remains one of the poorest countries of the former Soviet Union, with 58% of population living below the poverty line (2001 est.) and an average life expectancy of sixty-one years. In 2004, the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP's) Human Development Index (HDI) put Turkmenistan in 86th place out of 177.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations**

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## TUTU, BISHOP DESMOND

Bishop Desmond Tutu, a black South African Archbishop and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, is best known for his defiant opposition to apartheid. Born in Klerksdorp, South Africa, in 1931, Tutu rose from an impoverished childhood to become the archbishop of Cape Town, the highest position in the South African Anglican Church. When Tutu was twelve, his family moved to Johannesburg, where his father had found a better teaching position and his mother was also fortunate enough to find work as a cook in an Anglican missionary school. Tutu attended the Johannesburg Bantu High School (Madibane) in Western Native Township and went on to earn a teacher's diploma from the Bantu Normal College in Pretoria in 1953 and a BA degree in teaching from the University of South Africa a year later. He received his initial formal training in religion from St. Peter's Theological College in Johannesburg, from 1958 to 1960, and followed it up with a BA (honors) in London and then a master's degree in Theology from King's College in London in 1966.

It was during his childhood in Johannesburg that Tutu met Father Trevor Huddleston, a fearless critic of apartheid, who became Tutu's mentor until his (Huddleston's) death in 1998. Under the guidance of his parents and the spiritual mentorship of Huddleston, Tutu became aware of the damaging impacts of apartheid on Blacks and the need to oppose it, not with violence, but with love, reconciliation, and

respect for others; these themes were later woven into Tutu's theology of *ubuntu*. Tutu had an illustrious teaching career—from his appointments as a high school teacher at Madibane (1954–1955) and Munsieville High School in Krugersdor (1955–1958) to his lectureships at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice, Cape Province (1967–1969), and the University of Lesotho (1970–1971)—before his major leadership roles in the church in South Africa, which included his positions as the Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg in 1975, Bishop of Lesotho in 1976, General-Secretary of the South African Council of Churches in 1978, and Bishop of Johannesburg in 1985, all of which culminated in his position as the Archbishop of Cape Town, from 1986 to 1996.

## Tutu's *Ubuntu* Theology

In a number of sermons, speeches, and books, Tutu advanced an eclectic theology, which combines elements of African spirituality, liberation theology, and Christian teachings, with a dose of South African politics, under the rubric *ubuntu*. The concept of *ubuntu*, often translated as “community” and sometimes as “humanity” or “respect for others,” is seen by Tutu as the mysterious quality that makes a person a person. According to Tutu, one is a Christian only to the extent that he or she cares for others and that people are human through their relationships with others—hence, his favorite saying is “*U muntu ngu muntu ngabantu*,” which means “a person is a person through other people.” Tutu sees this focus on community and relationships with others as a corrective worldview to the Western salvation theology, which is centered on the individual. *Ubuntu* is also premised on the Christian doctrine that human beings are created by God in his image (*imago Dei*). Implicitly, a race-based discriminatory system like apartheid makes no theological sense from the standpoint of Tutu's *ubuntu*, as it undermines this notion of *imago Dei*. Unlike apartheid, which gives the primacy of human identity to race, Tutu's *ubuntu* gives it to the human spirit or the image of God. *Ubuntu* certainly underpins Tutu's advocacy for nonviolence and reconciliation, even in the face of intense provocation. No documentation of Tutu's theology can be complete without some mention of his delicious humour. Tutu notes in his foreword to Mary Benson's *Nelson Mandela* (1986) that “we laugh only because if we did not, we would cry and cry.” According to Tutu, humour is liberating because it helps a person not to take the isolated self as seriously as the self in relation to others.

## Tutu's Role in the Political Transformation of South Africa

With the conviction that religion and politics are inseparable, it is hardly surprising that Tutu was constantly embroiled in the South African apartheid politics. To him, Christianity is not a personal matter, as it invariably has public consequences, especially in South Africa where religion was used as a medium of oppression. As he once put it in an interview with *The Australian*, Tutu says that “in a situation of injustice and oppression as we have in South Africa, not to choose to oppose it is in fact to have chosen to side with the . . . oppressor.” Not surprisingly, Tutu has been vilified by whites, who brand him as anything from a “theological imposter,” “political agitator,” to a “communist operative,” and by blacks, especially the youth, who criticize him for holding back their liberation struggle with his antiviolence stance. Tutu once admitted in his characteristic straightforwardness that “if I were a young black, I wouldn't listen to Tutu any more.”

Tutu, a consummate peace-lover, rejects all forms of violence, either from the erstwhile apartheid system or from those who sought to overthrow it. At the same time, he was realistic enough to warn, as he did in an open letter to Prime Minister John Vorster in May 1976, that “a people made desperate by despair, injustice and oppression will use desperate means.” Tragically, just the following month, Tutu's warning came to pass, with the Soweto uprising in which some six hundred black children were killed. Tutu's abhorrence for violence compelled him to favour economic sanctions against South Africa. Working with the international prosanctions lobby, made up of such notables as Rajiv Gandhi, the British Labour Party, and the exiled African National Congress—against equally formidable opposition from the likes of President Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl—Tutu's defiant advocacy facilitated the dismantling of apartheid and the ultimate transformation of the South African society; indeed, the only thing that kept Tutu from prison, then, was his international fame.

Tutu's anti-apartheid views have long put him in a collision course with the government. In 1981, the government accused Tutu and the South African Council of Churches, of which he was the General Secretary, of financial mismanagement and subversion and appointed the Eloff Commission to investigate. Tutu was defiant as ever, asserting in his submission to the Commission that “they may remove a Tutu . . . but God's intension to establish His Kingdom of justice, of love, of compassion will not be thwarted.” At the end of its long inquiry, the Commission uncovered nothing that could justify any kind

of censure for lawbreaking. In 1990, as sanctions intensified and political violence increased, President de Klerk heeded the relentless warning by Tutu and other anti-apartheid advocates and released Nelson Mandela, paving the way for free and democratic South Africa. Mandela spent his first night of freedom in Tutu's house, in appreciation for the latter's outstanding contribution to his release. Tutu was named the Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up by the Mandela government to investigate the abuses of the apartheid government.

Tutu's selfless opposition to apartheid has earned him numerous reputable citations and awards, including the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. Other notable ones are honorary degrees from Oxford, Harvard, Columbia, Emory, Yale, Kent, Sydney, Cape Town, and Ruhr universities. He also holds the Order for Meritorious Services Award (gold) from President Mandela; the Archbishop of Canterbury's Award for Outstanding Services to the Anglican Communion; the Prix d'Athene (Onassis Foundation); the Mexican Order of the Aztec Medal (Insignia Grade); the Martin Luther King Jr. Humanitarian Award of Annual Black American Heroes and Heroines Day; and the Martin Luther King Jr. Peace Award and many more.

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**See also Apartheid; Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations; Mandela, Nelson; South Africa**

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## TUVALU

Tuvalu is an independent Pacific microstate. A parliamentary democracy with the British monarch as

nominal head of state, Tuvalu has ties to a number of international organizations, including the British Commonwealth, the Pacific Islands Forum, and the United Nations. It comprises a chain of nine small atolls and coral islands stretching from northwest to southeast in a four-hundred-mile long arc south of the Equator and just west of the International Dateline. Its nearest neighbors are the Republics of Kiribati to the north and Fiji to the south. Tuvalu, as the former Ellice Islands, and Kiribati, as the former Gilbert Islands, constituted a protectorate and then colony under British control from 1892 to 1975, but Fiji is now Tuvalu's most important link to the outside world.

From north to south, the Tuvalu islands are Nanumea, Niutao, Nanumaga, Nui, Vaitupu, Nukufetau, Funafuti, Nukulaelae, and Niulakita (a relatively recent addition purchased by colonial authorities after World War II as a population safety valve for the most crowded island, Niutao). The total land area of the archipelago is only about ten square miles. Loyalty to individual islands is strong and has been recognized with a degree of constitutional decentralization.

The climate is tropical maritime (the average daily maximum temperature is 75°F–86°F or 24°C–30°C) with a stormy season from November through March. A rainfall of 105 to 140 inches per year generally precludes prolonged drought, but storage constraints and saltwater contamination have encouraged systems of communal rationing when required. Soils pose a challenge for agriculture, being 98% calcium or magnesium carbonate and therefore highly alkaline. The most adaptive form of cultivation (primarily of swamp taro, *Cyrtosperma chamissonis*) uses large compost-filled pits dug down into the top layers of freshwater lenses. Other cultigens include varieties of coconut palms, pandanus, bananas, and breadfruit, all suited to atoll conditions, as well as “real” taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), which requires special treatment and soil production. Copra used to be produced for export, but low market prices and transport difficulties mean the industry is now virtually defunct. Inshore and lagoon fishing are still practiced intensively, and some of the catch is now sold locally.

The 2002 census recorded a population of about 9,500, meaning growth had slowed overall, but its uneven spread had intensified. Funafuti, the capital and “urban” center, had almost 4,500 inhabitants; Vaitupu, the location of the main high school, had about 1,500; and the rest had between four hundred and seven hundred, except for Niulakita (thirty-five). Many people on Funafuti are “outer islanders” in search of economic opportunities, education, and medical treatment, or they are visiting relations. About three thousand Tuvaluans have moved to New Zealand, the country mentioned most often as

an environmental refuge in the event of global warming (despite the government there downplaying such commitments). Scientists disagree as to whether Tuvalu is genuinely threatened by rising sea levels, but climate change in the form of more frequent and/or more serious storms may be just as great a threat.

Protestant evangelization began in the 1860s and 1870s, and the Tuvalu Christian Church is still overwhelmingly the main denomination. A significant proportion of household income is diverted into the upkeep of church administration and local pastors. In return, the church has provided primary education and some elite employment opportunities. Since independence in 1978, however, most of the educational system has been run by the government. Primary education is mostly free and universal; secondary and tertiary education levels are restricted to fees-paying or scholarship students. Tuvalu has a relatively high literacy rate, usually cited as well over 90%, though this may mask declining achievement. Young men compete to enter the local maritime institute at Amatuku to train as merchant seamen for international shipping lines. Seamen's wages are an important source of remittances.

Infrastructural development and the development of a cash economy proceeded slowly under the British colonial administration but received a boost from Tuvalu's position as a northerly forward Allied base in World War II. US forces built airfields, including what remains the only international airport on Funafuti, and some locals found employment in construction. Straddling this wartime “boom” was an influx of money from overseas laborers, mainly in the phosphate mining operations of Banaba and Nauru, now closed or near the end of their economic life.

These developments all reinforce the depiction of Tuvalu as a classic MIRAB economy, that is, based on **M**igration, **R**emittances, **A**id, and **B**ureaucracy. Being small and poor in land-based natural resources, the country has had to survive by managing its political relations with metropolitan aid donors and has done so quite successfully, even though Tuvalu has no natural migration outlet (with no rights of access to Britain, the former colonial power) and despite the prospect of remittance “decay” from those living overseas. Tuvaluan leaders have turned Tuvalu into an internationally recognized symbol of impending environmental disaster from global warming and have garnered rewards through the cultivation of good diplomatic relations with countries like Taiwan, which seeks friends in the Pacific. Another source of income is the Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency, which negotiates licensing agreements with Distant Water Fishing Nations seeking to exploit the valuable Central Pacific tuna fishery. With an Economic

Exclusive Zone of about 600,000 square miles, Tuvalu gains substantial income from this source (\$6.5 million Australian in 2002).

The Tuvalu Trust Fund was established by Australia, Britain, and New Zealand with a grant of \$27 million Australian in 1987. Its market valuation had more than doubled by 2000, providing substantial income for the running of government services (perhaps as much as 40% by 1998). Government remains the most important area of employment, especially on Funafuti, though the private sector is growing. Other revenue accrues from licensed use of Tuvalu's Internet domain suffix (.tv). Managed by a Canadian company, returns were expected to reach almost \$20 million Australian in 2002 and to continue growing. Rental of spare telecommunications capacity also briefly provided some major windfall revenue in the 1990s, but this declined abruptly with the revelation that much of it came from international phone sex lines, prompting opposition from the church hierarchy. Tourism is constantly touted as another avenue of economic development but, given Tuvalu's relative inaccessibility and infrastructural problems, has only a small role to play for the foreseeable future.

In short, Tuvalu is a tiny democratic microstate, lacking natural resources and infrastructure and handicapped by geographical remoteness and fragmentation. Its people survive by generating revenue from a number of fortuitous engagements in the global economy, which supplement the localized pursuit of agriculture and fishing.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Oceania; Fiji; Kiribati; Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations; Samoa**

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### 26TH OF JULY MOVEMENT

The 26th of July Movement was the guerrilla opposition in Cuba led by Fidel Castro and his instrument to gain support of the Cuban people for the overthrow of Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar. July 26 commemorates the day in 1953 on which Castro and his comrades attacked the Moncada army barracks at Santiago de Cuba. The date of the attack, July 26, 1953, was deliberately chosen because it was the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Cuban writer and patriot Jose Martí who fought against the Spanish rule over Cuba. This futile but defiant 1953 attack and his long speech of self-defense at his trial made Castro a hero among the Cubans. Six and one-half years later, Castro was able to seize power, and despite all odds and misfortunes, he is still in command.

The attack on Moncada barracks was doomed as an act of despair and poorly designed by a group of visionary and radicalized youngsters. It was a reaction to the March 10, 1952, coup d'état that made the comeback of Fulgencio Batista in the power. Nearly 1,500 people, almost everyone under thirty years of age, were involved in the preparations for the attack, and none of them betrayed. They intended, benefiting of surprise, to seize the barracks, catch the arms they needed, inducing soldiers to join them, and on the radio station nearby to call on the people to rise up against Batista.

On July 26, 1953, with the town busy celebrating a carnival, 125 young men and women gathered to ignite the spark that they were convinced would loose a revolutionary tempest over the entire country. At 5:15 a.m., they rallied by singing the national anthem and reciting the poem "Ya Estamos en Combate" (We Are in the Battle) by soldier-poet Raul Gomez Garcia, and verses by Jose Marti declaimed by Fidel Castro himself. The attack itself went badly

wrong for the young revolutionaries. Half the forces, the better armed, lost their way in the unfamiliar city streets and never made it to the battle. The others who made it there were unable to take the garrison, and the order to withdraw was given. Few lives were lost in the battle itself; 95% of the casualties came from the army's brutality against revolutionaries who were captured alive. Fidel, his brother Raul, and about eighteen others managed to escape. A week later, they decided to come out of hiding in order to save innocent people in Santiago from the terror and reprisals. At the open trial, Castro, a professed lawyer and gifted orator, delivered his famous speech, "History Will Absolve Myself". He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison on the Isle of Pines but received amnesty on May 15, 1955, after serving only eleven months. With few followers, he fled to Mexico, the site of military training for guerrilla warfare. In July 1955, in exile, they founded the Movimiento Revolucionario 26 de Julio (MR-26-7, 26 July Revolutionary Movement), named after their first revolutionary act in 1953. Here, their team was joined by the physician from Argentina Ernesto Guevara, alias "Che."

On November 30, 1956, three hundred men (led by Frank País) wearing red and black armbands with the July 26 emblem attacked police headquarters, the Customs House, and the harbor headquarters in Santiago. This was planned to coincide with the arrival of Granma boat with eighty-two rebels from Mexico, but stormy weather delayed the trip and sent forlorn sailors to a remote place. All but twelve were slain in the first combat with the regular army, but most of the important leaders—Fidel, Raul, Che, Camilo Cienfuegos, and Juan Almeida—made their way into the Sierra Maestra mountains.

Rebel forces relied on the peasants for support. Their first guerrilla unit of the 26 July Movement was combat-ready on December 18, 1956. Batista's ruthless attacks against pro-Castro helpers only stirred up more support for the rebel leader. Batista's troops were unprepared for the fighting conditions in the mountains and the guerilla style of warfare; desertion and surrender were commonplace among the dictator's forces.

On May 24, 1958, Batista launched Operacion Verano. With seventeen battalions, tanks, planes, and gunboat fire from the sea, they intended to easily defeat Castro's rebels. Though greatly outnumbered, rebels repeatedly inflicted heavy casualties on the army and drove them back. Eventually, Batista decided that the situation was hopeless, decided to give up the fight, and on New Year's Eve, he fled to Spain.

Santa Clara was taken by Guevara's army, who then turned toward Havana. Santiago surrendered without a fight. The forts in Havana also relinquished, and Castro's forces triumphantly entered the capital. It was just five years, five months, and five days after the attack on the Moncada barracks.

After the revolution's success, the 26th of July Movement was joined with other groups to form the United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution. Castro began to refer to the revolution as "socialist" and Marxist-Leninist—though still in his "History Will Absolve Me" speech, he stated clearly that "the revolutionary government would have assumed all the faculties inherent to it: it would have assumed the legislative, executive, and judicial powers"—only during 1961. On October 3, 1965, the new Communist Party was founded, replacing the party originally established in 1925. The First Congress of the Communist Party met in 1975 and drafted a new constitution.

July 26 remains the most important date in the Cuban revolutionary calendar. The former Batista Presidential Palace is now the Museum of the Revolution and contains "Granma," and countless artifacts and insignia and flags of the 26th of July Movement. This day is the best chance to see *el Comandante* Fidel Castro in one of his most prominent roles of a captivating public speaker—albeit with his progressing age, he lost most of the charisma of his younger days. Commonly, these speeches were delivered in front of a massive gathering of thousands of people and involve a vivid dialogue between the leader and the crowd.

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**See also Batista, Fulgencio; Castro, Fidel; Cuba; Cuban Revolution; Guerrilla Warfare; Guevara, Ernesto "Che"; Marxism; Social Revolutions**

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## UGANDA

Uganda is located in East Africa. It has the largest freshwater lake in the world—Nalubale, or Lake Victoria. Uganda is bordered to the north by Sudan; to the south by Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi; to the east by Kenya; and to the west by the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The climate is tropical but mild, with average daytime temperatures of 75°F–82°F (24°C–28°C). The dry season is from November to March, with July as the coolest month of the year. Near Lake Victoria and in the mountains, average annual rainfall is 60 inches; in the northeast of the country, it is less than 40 inches. The population is estimated at 26,404,543, with an estimated growth rate of 2.97% annually (CIA estimate July 2004). The capital, Kampala, is located in the southeast region of the country on Lake Victoria and has a population of about 1.2 million.

The delimitation of Ugandan territory by European colonial powers brought together an African population composed of about fifteen different ethnic groups, which can be categorized into four main language clusters: Bantu, Nilo-Sudanic, Lwo, and Ateso. Although during the period of its rule over Uganda the British government was committed to developing the country as a single political unit, in practice the colonial government's economic and political policies fostered uneven development between regions. In addition, the sociopolitical policy of ethnic compartmentalization pursued in the colonial period, combined with economic policies, militated against territory-wide social cohesion. Preferential treatment

of Buganda and Busoga by the British colonial administration allowed for the first formal political organizations on the national scene to emerge in that region of the country. After World War II, Africans began political agitation, first to demand their rights in the political process and then to challenge the pyramidal racial power structure in the country. In Buganda, the Bataka Party was formed in 1946, and the Uganda African Farmers Union was inaugurated the following year. After the insurrection by Africans in 1949, the British colonial government granted Africans in Buganda the right to elect their representatives to the Colonial National Legislative Council, on which hitherto only Europeans and Asians had sat. The action heralded populist politics against the colonial authorities in Buganda; in the 1950s, it spread to other parts of the country.

The first mass political party, the Uganda National Congress (UNC), was founded in March 1952 and was a lineal descendant of the Bataka Party and the Uganda African Farmers Union. Although the UNC was initially a Buganda-based political party, its leadership identified itself with Africans across the country. As it expanded, its leadership became dominated by Protestants. This caused apprehension among Roman Catholics, and in 1956 they recast nationwide the Democratic Party (DP), which had been launched in Buganda in 1954 by Catholic action to represent their interests.

Although the UNC was arguably the most broad-based Nationalist party in the country, it was, after the formation of the DP, torn by internal division and



personal bickering. A number of splinter parties emerged, one of which was the Uganda Peoples Union (UPU). In March 1960, the UPU and A. Milton Obote's faction of the UNC amalgamated to form the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC), which adopted a Pan-Africanist posture at the same time that it exhibited antipathy toward Buganda; in fact, two groups were bound together by common fear of domination of the rest of the country in Buganda in a postcolonial Uganda. In October 1958, the first general elections on the basis of qualified franchise were held to elect African representatives to the Legislative Council. However, only eighteen constituencies in Uganda participated; the Buganda Lukiiko (traditional parliament), fearing the erosion of its privileged status and committed to Kiganda nationalism, together with the districts of Ankole and Bugisu, dissociated themselves from the elections.

In March 1961, a second general election, conducted by the British colonial authorities on common rolls and with a broadened qualified franchise-based on income, was held. Although the general election brought a substantial majority of elected African representatives to the Legislative Council and even though about 80% voted throughout Uganda, only 3% turned out in Buganda. The results of the election, favoring the DP over the UPC, pointed to the emergence of an ideological alliance in the country along ethnoregional and religious lines. The results also demonstrated that there were now only two dominant political parties in the country. But because only a minuscule proportion of the population in Buganda participated in the elections, there was the distinct possibility that the Buganda Lukiiko could constitute a third force in Ugandan politics. That possibility became a reality when late in 1961 a political party representing the interests of the Buganda Lukiiko and opposed to the Catholic-based DP, the Kabaka Yekka (KY, known also as "the King Alone"), was formed for the principal purpose of allying itself with the non-Kiganda but predominantly Protestant party, the UPC.

In April 1962, another general election was held to presage the granting of juridical independence to Uganda. The UPC gained forty-three seats and the DP twenty-four in a parliamentary National Assembly of ninety-one seats. The remaining twenty-four seats were claimed, in accordance with a provision in the constitution, by the Buganda Lukiiko for its political party, the KY, which then entered into an alliance with the UPC. Thus, when Britain granted political independence to Uganda on October 9, 1962, it was the UPC–KY alliance that formed the first postcolonial government of the country. By the terms of the UPC–KY

coalition, the leader of the UPC, A. Milton Obote, became prime minister and thus executive head of state, but his position was offset by the appointment of the *Kabaka* as president—the titular head of state. The UPC and the KY were opposed on virtually every policy issue, but they were held together by their common resentment of the Catholic-dominated DP.

Within a year of the formation of the coalition, strains in the UPC–KY relationship quickly developed when the UPC began to establish political branches in Buganda. One year later, in 1964, the alliance broke down irretrievably when the UPC, in accordance with a constitutional provision, resolved to settle a territorial issue while the *Kabaka* attempted to secure Baganda's retention of two counties at issue by settling Buganda's ex-servicemen there. The termination of the UPC–KY alliance led to a bloody military confrontation between the *Kabaka's* forces and those of Obote in 1966 and the resultant demise of the Kiganda monarchy.

The use of the military by Obote to settle political differences between the UPC and the KY emboldened the army to intervene directly in politics. This was, among other things, a precondition of the *coup d'état* of January 25, 1971, led by Gerald Idi Amin Dada. Since then, the equation of power has rested on the determination of the military, which in July 1985 overthrew the second government of the UPC and was in turn ousted on January 25, 1986, by another military organization, the National Resistance Army (NRA), led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

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**See also East Africa: History and Economic Development; East Africa: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: East Africa**

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## UKRAINE

Ukraine is the second largest country in Europe. The area of the country is 233,090 square miles (603,700 square kilometers), and its population reached 47,732,079 in 2004. Ukraine borders Russia, Belarus, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Moldova, and the Black Sea. The Ukrainian flag consists of two horizontal stripes: blue on top and yellow at the bottom, representing the golden grain fields under blue skies. Trident, another common national symbol of Ukraine, dates to the medieval times of Kievan Rus (a preheraldic symbol visible, for instance, on coins of Vladimir the Great and his successors). The capital of Ukraine is Kiev, one of the oldest cities in Ukraine that dates to the times of the Kievan Rus. It is also the largest Ukrainian city with the population presently exceeding 2.6 million. Although Ukraine was represented in the United Nations (UN) as an autonomous country, it was one of the Soviet Union republics until 1991. Ukrainians celebrate their Independence Day on August 24, a day that commemorates an anniversary of breaking up with the Soviet Union in 1991.

Ukrainian diverse ecosystems consist of lowlands along the Black Sea coast, open areas—steppes in central and southern Ukraine—wetlands, forested uplands in the central and northern parts of the country, and the Carpathian and Crimean Mountains in the south and southwest. The highest point is Hora Hoverla at 6,762 feet (2,061 meters) in the Carpathians, and the second highest mountain is Roman-Kosh in the Crimea, reaching 1,543 meters above sea level. Ample annual rainfalls and snowfalls contribute to numerous rivers and lakes. Several big rivers cut through the country, flowing generally from north to south and southeast. All rivers except for those in the extreme western part of the country contribute to the Black Sea watershed. The biggest among them are Dnepr, Dniestr, Boh, and Donets. Southern Ukraine borders the Black Sea with Crimean Peninsula.

The climate in Ukraine ranges from Mediterranean-like, warm, and humid in southern part of the country, to continental and dry in central and northern Ukraine. Generally, summers are warm or even hot in the central and the southern regions, and winters are mild in the south but cold and snowy in the central, northern, and western parts of the country. Ukraine still suffers from one of the most dramatic environmental disasters of the twentieth century: the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant accident of 1986 caused radiation contamination especially in the northeastern Ukraine and also around the world, but especially in Eastern and northeastern Europe.

Ukraine has always been a multicultural country with several significant ethnic groups and many other

ethnic minorities. Modern ethnic relations include Ukrainians at 75% and Russians at about 20%; other minority groups are Romanians, Belarussians, Moldovans, Tatars, Bulgarians, Poles, Hungarians, and Jews. Other, less numerous ethnic groups include Slovaks, Germans, Swedes, Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, Karaims, Armenians, and Romas. Several ethnographic cultures are recognizable within Ukrainian territory. Among them, the best known are the Tartars of the Crimea and the Hutsul Highlanders in the Carpathians. Ethnic diversity caused several significant conflicts in the past, namely between Ukrainians and Jews as well as Ukrainians and Poles. Modern Ukraine adopted a policy to solve ethnic conflicts peacefully, and Crimean Tartars, who were displaced under the Soviet ruling from their homeland in the Crimea, were allowed to return to southern Ukraine. The newly elected Ukrainian president Victor Yushchenko promised the Polish minority in Western Ukraine more cultural rights. Languages spoken in Ukraine include Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish, especially in western Ukraine, and Hungarian and Romanian are spoken in the southwestern part of the country. The Ukrainian language belongs to the Indo-European family of languages and is classified as one of the Slavic languages of Eastern Europe. It uses the Cyrillic alphabet. There are several local dialects of the official language that developed in the eighteenth century, like the Boyko or Hutsul dialects in the west or the Volynian dialect in northern part of the country. Most Ukrainians speak the Ukrainian language although some, especially those who live in the eastern, more industrialized part of the country, claim Russian as their native language. After 1991, the use of the Ukrainian language increased. Cultural diversity can also be seen in a variety of religions followed by modern Ukrainians. The dominant religion is Orthodox Christianity, which includes Ukrainian Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate), and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox. Other religions are also present, namely Roman Catholicism, Judaism, Protestantism, and Islam.

In the past, some areas of Ukraine were included into one of the first Eastern Slavic pristine states, the Kievan Rus, which originated in the tenth century. It is not clear who established the state. Historians link its origins with a group of people who probably migrated from the Scandinavian region and settled on the Dneper River, where Kiev is located. Archaeological records confirm the existence of Scandinavian artifacts in the early levels of medieval Kiev. The first ruling dynasty was named the Ruriks; they ruled a wide region occupied by people of Slavic origin. The Kievan kingdom is sometimes called the *Red Rus* in the historical sources. The state persisted for about two hundred

years and declined at the time of Mongolian rides in the beginning of the thirteenth century and during the fourteenth century. By the end of the fourteenth century, Ukraine became a part of the Lithuanian kingdom, and after Polish and Lithuanian unification in 1386, Ukrainian lands became the domain of the Polish kingdom. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ukraine was part of one of the most politically and economically significant European state, the Commonwealth composed of Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Poland. At the same time, in the southern part of Ukraine in Zaporozhian Sich, Cossacks formed a military-like political entity, a sort of a chieftom run by military chieftains (hetmans).

The Cossacks initiated several uprisings mostly against the Commonwealth dominated by the Polish noblemen. The most memorable was the rebellion led by hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, whom historians see as the one who formulated the first concept of the Ukraine as a sovereign state. After 1654, the Cossack military chieftom was limited in its political activities as an aftermath of the Pereiaslav Agreement, when most of Ukraine was incorporated into the Russian domain, but the final blow to its existence was the Empress Catherine II's Decree of 1775 that extended the Russian ruling over the traditionally free Cossacks lands. Even until the twenty-first century, the Cossacks are seen as the first attempt toward free Ukraine and bearers of Ukrainian national culture and identity. At the time of partition of the Polish kingdom at the end of the eighteenth century by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the western part of Ukraine was occupied by Austria and the eastern part with Kiev by Russia. Regions under the Russian rules suffered the most as the Russian authorities officially banned the Ukrainian language. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Eastern and Western Ukraine gained independence, and two separate Ukrainian states briefly existed before unification in 1919.

In 1922, a part of western Ukraine was incorporated to Poland, while the rest of the country became one of the republics of the Soviet Union. The Soviet rules over Ukraine were harsh. Despite a brief revival of Ukrainian culture in the 1920s, the destructive process of eliminating the Ukrainian symbols from culture continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The Soviets were also accused of causing a genocidal famine of 1933 when more than 7 million Ukrainians, mostly peasants who preserved the traditional Ukrainian culture, perished. In September 1939, the Polish part of Western Ukraine was taken over by the Soviet Union, when the Nazi Germany invaded Poland from the west and the Soviet Red Army from the east, initiating World War II. During 1941 through 1944, Ukraine was occupied by the Nazi Germany.

Some Ukrainian forces joined the Nazis, while others fought alongside the Red Army to liberate Europe. During the war, old ethnic conflicts erupted, especially in western Ukraine that witnessed ethnic cleansing of Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. Polish, Ukrainian, and Soviet resistance forces also clashed. Many Ukrainians suffered the hardship of war, and many migrated to other countries, mostly Canada, the United States, and Western Europe. It has been estimated that the Ukrainian population decreased by about seven million, including more than half a million Jews. After the war, Ukraine remained a part of the Soviet Union, and it gained independence again in 1991.

Ukraine is one of the most industrialized regions in Eastern Europe. The country was traditionally an agricultural state, but, beginning in the mid-1990s, it has turned into a more industrialized economy. The most common natural resources include iron ore, coal, manganese, natural gas, oil, salt, sulfur, graphite, titanium, magnesium, kaolin, nickel, mercury, timber, and arable land. Due to the lack of other significant resources, Ukraine depends on Russia for several critical resources like natural gas. Diversified heavy industry, including steel mills and coal mines, is concentrated in the eastern part of the country, whereas the western part is mostly agricultural. Key industries include those of coal, electric power, ferrous and nonferrous metals, machinery and transport equipment, chemicals, and food processing (especially sugar). Most significant agricultural products are grain, sugar beets, sunflower seeds, and vegetables; beef and milk are also products. Export commodities include ferrous and nonferrous metals, fuel and petroleum products, chemicals, machinery and transport equipment, and food products. Among export partners, the most significant are Russia 17.8%, Germany 5.9%, Italy 5.3%, and China 4.1%. The Ukrainian labor force is presently diversified. Most people work in services (44%), industry (32%), and agriculture (24%). Ukraine imports mostly energy, machinery and equipment, and chemicals. Among the key import partners are Russia 35.9%, Germany 9.4%, and Turkmenistan 7.2%. The Ukrainian currency is known as the hryvnia.

In general, Ukraine is characterized as a parliamentary republic with a president who nominates the prime minister who forms the government. Administrative structure of Ukraine includes twenty-four provinces, one autonomous republic (Crimea), and two municipalities (Sevastopol and Kiev). The new Ukrainian Constitution was adopted June 28, 1996. The Ukrainian political system includes the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of the political structure. The legislative branch is composed of a unicameral 450-seat Supreme Council elected for a four-year term. The judicial branch consists

of the Supreme Constitutional Court, and the executive branch of the government consists of the president elected by the popular vote for a five-year term. The head of the government is the prime minister appointed by the president and confirmed by the Supreme Council. The government is appointed by the president and approved by the Supreme Council. The president is a chief of state. In stormy presidential elections of November–December 2004, Victor Yushchenko defeated Viktor Yanukovich and replaced Leonid Kuchma as the president of Ukraine. The event was labeled by journalists as the “Orange Revolution” after the most popular color used by Yushchenko’s followers in Ukraine and elsewhere. Hundreds of thousand of Ukrainians, mostly in Kiev and other big cities of western Ukraine, demonstrated against the outcome of the first round of presidential elections when Yanukovich was proclaimed the winner. They accused the authorities of falsifying the results of the election, and international observers confirmed that claim. Yushchenko’s followers gathered in the Freedom Square in Kiev, and some of them stayed there for several weeks until the results of the repeated voting were made official, and Yushchenko was announced to be the next Ukrainian president. It is significant to notice that the conflict was solved peacefully although information about a planned *coup d’état* reached the public. Due to involvement of several European politicians in solving the Ukrainian internal conflict, the danger of bloodshed was diffused, and Yushchenko was sworn in as the president of Ukraine on January 26, 2005. He briefly outlined the key points of his politics, emphasizing that he would initiate talks with the European Union about Ukraine becoming its member in the future.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations; Ethnic Conflicts: Commonwealth of Independent States**

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### ULMANIS, GUNTIS

Guntis Ulmanis, born September 13, 1939, in Riga, Latvia, spent his early years in extradition by the Soviet authorities with his family in Siberia. He graduated from the Department of Economy of the Riga Latvian University in 1965, and, after completing his service in the Soviet Army, he mingled teaching at the Riga Polytechnics and Riga University with administrative jobs. Later he became an employee of the Riga public utilities’ company and rose through positions in the management to become its director. Being a *nomenklatura* position, he was invited to join the Communist Party. He remained member until 1989, when, with the height of the nationalistic movement, he became affiliated with the newly founded Latvian Popular Front.

In 1992, Ulmanis became member of the Board of the Central Bank of Latvia. He was named and soon elected honorary president of the traditional center-right party, the Latvian Farmers Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība*, LZS), founded in 1917 with his great-uncle Karlis Ulmanis as its leader. LZS scored fourth in the elections to the Saeima (Parliament) in June 1993, and G. Ulmanis became the Minister of Parliament (MP). On July 7, 1993, he was elected by the Saeima to the newly established position with limited jurisdiction, the president of the republic.

President Ulmanis was able to usher his country to an independent position and to secure essential preliminary requirements for a sustainable development. He urged for amending the controversial citizenship law, thus obtaining international approval for Latvia’s citizenship policy, and opened doors for Latvian membership in the Council of Europe and European Union (EU). He imposed a cessation for the execution of death penalty beginning in 1996. Another important achievement was the agreement for the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Latvia, which was completed on August 31, 1994.

Thus, a man who would remain an ordinary citizen in other circumstances emerged as the needed national leader in a time of a great transformation for his nation. He was able to bring political foes together to form a government in late 1995 when it looked like the contention and libel would go on forever. Thanks to his intervention, a government coalition far surpassing expectations was finally tailored; he has been instrumental in the formation of other governments since then. On June 18, 1996, Ulmanis was reelected for a second term. Three years later, legally prohibited to seek a third term, Ulmanis was replaced on June 17, 1999, by the independent candidate Vaira Vike-Freiberga. Initially, Ulmanis returned to position of the LZS honorary president; however, on September 6,

2001, Ulmanis retired from the LZS, and later he supported the project of Einars Repse, president of the central bank, to found a new center-right party.

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**See also Glasnost and Perestroika; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Latvia; Soviet Bloc**

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## UM NYOBE, REUBEN

Reuben Um Nyobe (1913–1958) was the first secretary general of Cameroon's *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). A member of the Bassa tribe, Um Nyobe was born in 1913 in the village of Boumnyebel. He attended the Teachers Training College in Sangmelima. On April 10, 1948, a group of Nationalists, led by Leonard Bouli, met in Douala to form a national liberation movement, which resulted in the founding of the UPC on April 14, 1948. Although Um Nyobe could not attend the meeting because he was hospitalized in Sackbayeme, within six months he had not only joined the movement but had also taken over leadership of the movement.

As the leader of the UPC, Um Nyobe's main goals were the liberation of Cameroon from European colonialism and the unification of the British and French Cameroon. After World War I, the League of Nations gave 80% of German Cameroon to France and 20% of German Cameroon to the United Kingdom. The British sector was subsequently divided into Northern and Southern Cameroon. Given the differences in colonial administration and language, the possibility of unifying the British and French sectors of Cameroon was a daunting proposal. Nevertheless, Um Nyobe argued that unification was essential to Cameroon's political and economic future. After independence, Um Nyobe envisioned a socialist economy and a complete break in political and economic ties with France.

In 1955, the UPC launched a war of national liberation in French Cameroon. Claiming that the UPC had engaged in terrorist activities and was dominated

by Communists, the French authorities declared the UPC illegal. Um Nyobe and his supporters fled to the southern section of British Cameroon. Between 1955 and 1958, Um Nyobe frequently met with officials of the United Nations (UN) to discuss the impending independence of Cameroon. Um Nyobe, however, was killed by French forces on September 13, 1958, at Boumnyebel. He was succeeded as general-secretary of the UPC by Felix-Roland Moumie, who was killed by French security agents in Geneva, Switzerland, on October 15, 1960.

On January 1, 1960, French Cameroon became an independent republic. Since independence, contrary to the wishes of Um Nyobe, Cameroon has maintained close ties with France and pursued a Capitalist form of economic development. In 1961, the southern portion of the British colony joined the Federal Republic of Cameroon, while the northern portion of the British colony joined Nigeria. Significant portions of the population in the former southern sector of British Cameroon continue to argue that Um Nyobe's ideas of unification were misguided and that the southern sector of the former British colony should be an independent nation known as Ambazonia.

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**See also Cameroon; Nigeria**

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## UNDERDEVELOPMENT

### Origin and Evolution of the Concept of Underdevelopment

On January 20, 1949, Harry S. Truman, in his inaugural address as president of the United States, spoke of embarking on "a bold new program for the growth of 'underdeveloped areas.'" Two years later, the terms "underdevelopment" and "underdeveloped" were used for the first time in a United Nations (UN) report entitled *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries*, with reference

to nonindustrial societies. Later, to avoid the charge of using a value-laden label, the term “underdeveloped” was replaced by “developing.” But this change did not necessarily make the task of spelling out the meaning of the concept any less onerous.

Early in the 1950s, socioeconomic progress in non-industrial societies was analyzed in terms of economic growth. The so-called underdeveloped countries were characterized, in the main, by a relatively low standard of living. The way out of this predicament was said to consist in a significant increase of the productivity of their economies. Growth was generally regarded as a quantitative process involving expansion of the existing system of production. It was believed that absence of economic growth could be assessed by, among other criteria, stagnation in the amount of goods and services produced and of trade as well as a stationary per capita national income.

Somewhat later, the concept of growth yielded place to “development.” If growth was basically a quantitative concept, development was conceived in both quantitative and qualitative terms that included the generation of new structures and institutions. Although some die-hard economists continued to look at these largely in economic terms, it soon became clear that the process of development was also attended by certain noneconomic characteristics, and that, because development implied a total process, it was futile to attempt a separation between the economic and the noneconomic aspects of the phenomenon.

An early thinker to emphasize the inadequacy of the prevailing assumptions of classical economics was the Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal. Myrdal argued that one of the central concepts of classical liberal economics, “equilibrium,” that is supposed to operate through the self-regulating mechanism of market forces actually presents a distorted picture of the underdeveloped countries. He also stressed the need to conceptualize development as a total process in which economic and noneconomic factors were closely intertwined. Myrdal’s lead was followed by several others, among them Dudley Seers (1972) and those that were later instrumental in preparing the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP’s) Human Development Index (HDI).

### **Causes of Underdevelopment**

Causes of underdevelopment have been analyzed from a variety of perspectives, frequently related to contrasting theoretical orientations and ideologies. Preoccupied with the notion of evolution, some nineteenth-century thinkers explained uneven development

of various societies with reference to their progression from one stage to another. Such attempts often resulted in the construction of unilinear “grand theories,” embracing the entire spectrum of human history and covering different societies of the world (theories of Auguste Comte, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels). Other scholars, less ambitious, focused on a central notion that is supposed to highlight the transition from one stage to another. For Henry Maine, this meant the substitution of “status,” stressing the social bond, and by “contract,” symbolizing the growing importance of individuality in a modern society. The German social scientist Ferdinand Tönnies expressed the process as a passage from *gemeinschaft* (“community”) to *gesellschaft* (“association”), while the French sociologist Emile Durkheim offered a comparable idea by referring to “mechanical solidarity” in the traditional society yielding place to “organic solidarity” in the modern industrial world. Max Weber of Germany saw in the march of “rationality” the quintessence of the unfolding of civilization, traditional societies with sluggish development characterized by limited rationality.

Recent attempts to account for underdevelopment, stunted development, and distorted development have been more context specific and grounded in empirical data. In the 1950s and the early 1960s, some leading social scientists, such as S. N. Eisenstadt and Talcott Parsons, offered both a diagnosis of underdevelopment and a prescription for a course of action that would, they claimed, lead to development in general and industrialization in particular. This approach, labeled as the modernization model, suggests that prevailing social institutions accompanied by appropriate values and beliefs account for the backwardness of underdeveloped societies. It argues that the history of socioeconomic development of the West is not to be considered as something unique, but rather as the model to be emulated by non-Western societies (designated as “traditional”) whose development is retarded or sluggish. The traditional-modern dichotomy did not find universal acceptance, even among Western social scientists. Some spoke of a “transitional” phase before full modernity is achieved, and others claimed that there are several stages of growth. W.W. Rostow identified five distinctive stages to “economic maturity,” the final phase promising to be the age of mass consumption. The take-off stage, the third step in the sequence, is the “great watershed” when growth becomes a “normal” circumstance. More than implicit in this model is the supposition that entrepreneurship and capital accumulation constitute the single most important factor in the development process. This is what emerges

as crucial from Western experience, and this is what needs to be replicated in the rest of the world for a successful passage from underdevelopment to development.

A contrasting approach takes note of the historical circumstances surrounding imperial expansion of the West, including the establishment of colonies. A leading example of this kind is the Marxist analysis of underdevelopment focusing on the international framework of power sustained by the world capitalist system. A corollary of this is the asymmetrical relationship between the industrial world of the West and developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The seminal work expounding this perspective was produced by V. I. Lenin (1916), in which he defined imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism. Lenin argued that the export of capital from capitalist countries resulted in the annexation of colonies and the subjugation of their inhabitants. This state of affairs does not only cause underdevelopment in the dependencies, but it also leads to imperialist wars because of renewed demands for a redivision of the world in keeping with the uneven development of individual capitalist countries.

At the end of World War II, the international situation changed dramatically. Starting in the late 1940s, many dependencies in Asia and Africa gained formal independence. However, this did not necessarily alter the division of power worldwide, and it did not end the state of underdevelopment former colonies suffered from. Indeed, some observers, such as the first President of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah (1965), argued that in the changed circumstances, despite formal decolonization, many former dependencies have been subjected to a kind of socioeconomic domination from the outside that is not based on direct political control. Since such a state of affairs contributes to their persistent socioeconomic stagnation and dependence on the outside, neocolonialism, it was argued, has to be considered a prime cause of underdevelopment in the modern period.

The international framework involving the unequal relationship between capitalist countries of the West and the Third World was emphasized additionally by certain Marxist economists such as Paul Baran (1957). Baran conceived of underdevelopment as the undermining of the potential for development and argued that this was caused by the appropriation by capitalist countries of the economic surplus of the Third World. Similar in approach is the “dependency” model of capitalist underdevelopment that enjoyed a certain amount of currency in Latin America (such as those models of André Gunder Frank, F. H. Cardoso, and J. Petras) in the 1960s and the 1970s. According to this perspective, the draining of their

resources and surplus to the “metropolitan centers” has caused the industrial backwardness of Third World countries that have, consequently, remained “satellites” on the “periphery of the metropolitan centers.” The way out of this predicament is for the satellite countries to dislodge from their position of power the agents of the metropolitan bourgeoisie in their respective countries. According to the dependency theory, this can be achieved through joint action of the peasantry and industrial working class in a satellite as well as the establishment of a self-reliant socialist economy.

Like the dependency theory, the world systems theory, as expounded by Immanuel Wallerstein, also rejects the attempt to study underdeveloped countries in isolation from the international framework. According to this model, the lack of development of the Third World is to be seen as a by-product of capitalist development in the world at large. It holds further that there is a single-world capitalist mode of production with different manifestations of colonial and neocolonial dominance. An international division of labour buttresses this, without being necessarily sustained by a unified structure of power. Critics of the world systems theory point, however, to its implicit tendency to assign a passive role to the Third World—the periphery—and by implications to accept the dominant role of the center in the development process.

Disillusionment with the prevailing orthodoxies regarding the concept of underdevelopment and suggested paths to generate “real” development has given rise to what is sometimes called “alternative development.” This phrase stands for a range of ideas that are not necessarily related but that generally agree on the need to reject the simplistic equation between development and the growth of capitalism driven by the thrust for mass production and urban growth.

A populist, and some would say utopian, movement of this nature, aimed at bringing “the capitalist demon” to heel, was spearheaded in the early nineteenth century by Robert Owen in Britain via the establishment of cooperative settlements. Critics argue that this attempt was bound to fail because it was unaccompanied by any effort to squeeze the life out of the demon—capitalism—with the Capitalist production relations remaining virtually the same in the society at large.

On the other hand, an ecological movement challenges the argument that absence or limited use of modern technology causes underdevelopment. It further rejects the conventional idea of development that lays emphasis on the cumulative process of mechanization, industrialization, and urbanization. Starting on a low key, the ecological protest against wanton

destruction of nature has now grown into a powerful movement, with substantial social and even political mobilization, leading to its participation in decision making at different levels in several countries. Side by side, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Resources Institute, supported by several other organizations, have been articulating this position internationally with some success.

A third stream in alternative development counters the idea that underdevelopment is causally related to the application of simple production techniques using local materials and producing for local consumption. This approach, summed up in the notion of “alternative technology,” sets considerable store by social egalitarianism. It rejects in no uncertain terms imported high technology that only wealthy elites can afford and that tends in the long run to widen the gap between the rich and poor, thus contributing to the persistence of underdevelopment.

### Measuring Underdevelopment

The active engagement of international agencies, such as the World Bank (since the late 1970s) and the UNDP (since 1990), in the lively debate surrounding development issues has added a comparative and global dimension to the field and contributed at the same time to the systematization of the methodology to study the phenomenon of underdevelopment. A spin-off of this dialogue is seen in the many experiments that have been carried out for designing various indicators to capture, singly or collectively, diverse dimensions of underdevelopment. In addition to the HDI, the UNDP itself has applied several other indexes such as the Gender Empowerment Measure, the Gender-Related Development Index, and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) to gauge aspects of social life that impinge on the development process as some of its causes as well as consequences. Additional indexes that have been suggested during the last two or three decades are the Corruption Perception Index (constructed by the Transparency International operating from Berlin), the Economic Freedom Index (constructed by the Fraser Institute of Vancouver), and the World Competitive Index (constructed by the Institute for Management Development of Switzerland).

A major problem with using a variety of indicators to subsume diverse factors that challenge the problem of underdevelopment relates to the task of combining them into a single composite index capturing the quintessence of development and the quality of life. Research by Adelman and Morris (1973) and Dudley

Seers (1972) and a collaborative study carried out by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in Geneva (1969) were some of the early attempts in this field. The UNDP took a significant step in this direction with the construction of the HDI, composed of three indicators: life expectancy at birth, educational attainment, and the standard of living as measured by the gross national product (GNP) per capita. The HDI constitutes the main focus of a succession of annual human development reports being published by the UNDP starting in 1990.

### Twenty-First Century State of Underdevelopment

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, all indications point to the markedly skewed nature of world development. The World Bank's *World Development Report 2002* estimated that in 2000 CE, 903 million people of world's population enjoyed a gross average income per capita of \$27,450 US dollars (USD) measured in terms of purchasing power parity. These were concentrated overwhelmingly in eighteen countries of Western Europe, together with Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States. This data can be contrasted with 5,152 million people, drawn almost entirely from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean islands, and Latin America, who belonged to the low and middle income categories, with an average gross per capita income of \$3,890 USD, calculated according to purchasing power parity. The global inequality is also seen in measures that are broader in scope. According to the HDI figures of 1999 (UNDP *Human Development Report 2001*), forty-eight countries and areas enjoyed high human development in that year (HDI 0.800 and above). Only ten of them were in Asia and none in Africa. In the same year, thirty-six countries and areas had low human development (HDI below 0.500), of which twenty-nine were in Africa and six in Asia. Haiti was the only other country to be included in this group.

This situation may lead some people to a facile conclusion that underdevelopment is causally associated with race and culture. In the second half of the nineteenth century, such popular misconception was given an “academic” veneer by A. de Gobineau. Gobineau argued that the essential factor contributing to a society's development is the racial composition of its people. This view was introduced into Germany by H.S. Chamberlain toward the end of the nineteenth century. The doctrine was later incorporated in the ideological repertoire of the national socialism of



Germany. In the 1960s, the American psychologist Arthur Jensen, supported by some other academics, aimed to demonstrate a linkage between race and intelligence (leading, on its part, to achievement and development)—an attempt that generated an animated debate. However, no conclusive evidence has been found to prove that certain races are inferior to others in intelligence or cultural and developmental potential due to biological reasons.

Notwithstanding several decades of intensive and coordinated efforts to ensure greater equality worldwide and within countries, a certain degree of stubbornness seems to have characterized the uneven state of development that has been taking place. According to an early world development report of the World Bank of 1984, leaving out the five high-income oil-exporting countries (Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates), nineteen industrial market economies represented by fourteen countries of Western Europe plus Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States constituted the richest category in 1982 with an average annual GNP per capita of \$11,070 USD. In the same year, there were thirty-four low-income economies in the world including China and India with an average annual GNP per capita of only \$280 USD. About two decades later in 2001, all the nineteen high-income countries of 1982 were still in the top bracket, while thirty-two of the developing countries of 1982 remained, as before, in the low-income category, although with some changes in their income levels.

Yet things have not proved to be entirely static. According to the *World Development Report 2000/2001*, compared to 1984, the ranks of the high-income group increased, in 1999, to fifty. Granted, some of these economies belong to small territories and dependencies of various sorts for which separate statistical reports are available. It is furthermore true that several new states emerged in the intervening period (such as Slovakia and Slovenia), and because of their high income they are included in the top category. But all this cannot obscure the fact that several countries, which were not very prosperous before, rose to the top income bracket between 1984 and 2001. These include the Bahamas, Barbados, Brunei, Cyprus, Greece, Hong Kong, Israel, Portugal, Singapore, Taiwan, and the United Arab Emirates. Some other countries like the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and People's Republic of China, although not forming part of the high-income group, have made significant strides toward fuller development, both in terms of GNP per capita and the HDI.

A consideration of the points delineated in the previous paragraphs suggests that development is better regarded as a process rather than a specific goal to be

targeted. This view is further upheld when taking note of the fact that in a *very general sense*, all countries are underdeveloped because no country can claim to be fully developed at any time. The flexibility of the concept, reflected in its sidedness, appropriately underscores the need to capture its essence through different indicators—to which references have been made previously. There are attempts to take the debate to a deeper level and focus on *human* development: its progress, stagnation, or decline. The *2001 Human Development Report*, thus, sums it up:

Human development is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential . . . . Development is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value.

In like manner, it can be said that underdevelopment exists when people's choices are constricted.

ANSU DATTA

**See also Basic Human Needs; Development History and Theory; Development, Measures of; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); Modernization; Neocolonialism; Nkrumah, Kwame; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); United Nations Development Program (UNDP); United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)**

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## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES (UAE)

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a small oil-rich country located on the Arabian Peninsula. Within a generation of its formation in 1971, the UAE has transformed from a nomadic tribal structure to one of the most economically developed and technologically advanced societies in the world. Inevitably, this development has been uneven in some areas, and issues in governance, gender equity, and labour rights are among those areas requiring further consideration.

### Political Background

The UAE is composed of seven emirates that act together as a single state. The emirates are Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Fujeirah, Ras al-Kheimah, Ajman, and Umm al-Qawein. The capital city is Abu Dhabi although the largest city is Dubai, which also houses most of the commercial and technological centres of the country. Sharjah hosts the bulk of the small manufacturing and processing industries, while the remaining four northern emirates are considered comparatively poor and underdeveloped. Abu Dhabi was selected as the capital at the formation of the country in 1971, when Sheikh Zayed, the emir of Abu Dhabi, was elected as the ruler and remained the ruler until his death at the end of 2004.

The UAE has achieved considerable levels of wealth owing to the presence of oil and hydrocarbons in its territory. Some 60% of total revenue in Abu Dhabi derives from this source, and another significant portion is accounted for by investment mostly related to the industry. Both sources of revenue are volatile and depend on the international political situation and on the perception of locating future reserves. Most of this resource is located in Abu Dhabi and is managed by the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC). Abu Dhabi provides large subsidies to the others. Approximately 40% of all revenues are recycled through the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (ADIA), which has made investment decisions internationally on a massive scale. It is believed that the ADIA works on the basis that all known oil and gas reserves will be exhausted within approximately 120 years and that returns on investments made will have enabled long before then a continued level of income to all UAE nationals. In other words, as long as the world economy continues within predictable limits, there will be no economic need for any UAE citizen to have to work.

Nevertheless, some within the UAE, especially from Dubai, are seeking to position themselves as

leaders of the Arab world economically and culturally. This has manifested in the creation of the Internet and media city office complexes as well as the creation of new airlines and television networks to provide sophisticated and high-technology media content.

The political system is autocratic and lacks transparency. There are neither political parties nor trade union organisations, and political dissidence is not encouraged. The country is strongly linked with the Islamic faith, and although Shariah law is not officially in force, religious beliefs inform many legal practices and decisions, including the nature of marriage and divorce, children's rights, and free speech rights. UAE citizens receive significant personal subsidies in terms of low cost or free telephone services and electricity as well as freedom from other regulations. This has led to abuses in the case of some businesses. No personal income tax is collected on any earnings inside the country. The large personal incomes of many private individuals and religious injunctions to give to charity mean that institutions exist to care for underprivileged individuals in some categories. Charitable giving as also been linked to money laundering in some cases and some high profile—though not openly discussed—incidences of fraud have cast some doubt about the suitability of the business environment for investment.

### History

The emirates have historically been small, open trading ports occupying a position of trade routes frequented by Arabs, Persians, and Indians, among others. In a territory with very few natural resources or comparative advantages, most people continued to live nomadic lives, trading with coastal towns and developing complex intertribal relationships. Islamization occurred very early (by 1000 AD), and the area remained something of a backwater under Arab and subsequently Ottoman rulers. During the period of European expansion, trading posts were created along the coast, and British ships presented a tempting target for the dominant Al Qawasim tribe, but this attracted a fierce response from the British, who enforced treaties that brought the UAE under its effective control, established as the Trucial States. Leadership of the tribes passed to the Bani Yas tribe that was based inland at Al Ain and remained there under the rule of Sheikh Zayed.

Independence was finally achieved in 1971 following the withdrawal of British presence from the region. In negotiations, Qatar and Kuwait decided on independence, as did Ras Al Kheimah although it joined

the confederation a few months later. Subsequently, the UAE has remained a strong ally of the West, recognizing the importance of providing a stable oil supply to ensure the development of its own people and acting as a moderate voice in Arab councils concerning Israeli-Palestine relations and other areas of potential conflict. At the time of independence, citizenship was awarded to all people who lived within the borders of the new country, and, henceforth, all discussions of previous ethnicity were strongly discouraged. Many women have been imported to the UAE as wives (as the men are allowed to take four wives according to Islamic tradition) from a range of other Islamic countries, including Egypt and northern Africa. However, statistics relating to these issues are not available, and development is hampered to some extent by the lack of accurate census data. The presence of hydrocarbons has led to rapid economic development, and the main cities of the country are now advanced in technology and services and offer excellent infrastructure. However, smaller villages and traditional tribal areas continue to provide a challenge for the provision of services owing to the difficulties and expense of building in the climate and the terrain. Questions have also been raised about the sustainability of development and the efficiency of resource allocation.

### Geography and Climate

The emirates are located along the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, in the eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Saudi Arabia is to the west of the UAE, with Kuwait and Qatar along the coast to the north and Oman to the south. The climate is uniformly hot and dry (although humid) throughout the year. Rainfall is limited to a few days per year. Daily temperatures average 104°F (40°C), making agriculture challenging; dates represent the only agricultural product in any form of abundance. Most forms of meat, vegetables, and fruit are imported from India, Iran, or further afield. However, the sea provides fish and seafood for supplementary protein.

Inland, the traditional centre of Al Ain is based on an oasis, and some agricultural production is possible there. Former UAE president Sheikh Zayed articulated his vision of “greening the desert,” and resources are being devoted on a large scale to developing the physical infrastructure. The brightly lit Abu Dhabi-Dubai and Abu Dhabi-Al Ain highways are among the few human-made artifacts now visible from space.

### International Relations

The UAE has sought a multilateral course that satisfies the religious sensibilities of its people together with the need for security that its alliances with Western countries represent. Sheikh Zayed himself took the lead in promoting the idea of Islamic and Arabic unity through careful negotiation and the judicious use of financial inducement. Egypt was returned to the fold of Arab states in 1982, while solidarity in the Gulf States through the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) helped to prevent further turmoil in the wake of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent US-led war to overthrow Saddam Hussein. The long-term occupation by Iran of three disputed islands, Greater and Lesser Tumb and Abu Musa, has been contained by similar tactics although the issue has not been resolved.

The UAE has been a willing partner in the fight against money laundering and the spread of terrorism. However, a general lack of transparency in both the government and the private sector has tended to militate against complete success in these areas. Abu Dhabi joined Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1967 and has played an important although unspectacular part in the cartel subsequently by being the only major player to retain significant excess capacity.

### Industry and Economy

The economy of the UAE remains dominated by the extraction of oil and liquid natural gas. Much of the extraction is managed by foreign firms in partnership with the UAE government, and the product is sold in large-scale, long-term contracts to promote economic stability. Foreign firms benefiting from the industry are generally required to offset profits by investing in other sectors of the UAE economy with a view of diversification. In addition, certain strategic business sectors have been identified as being important because of diversification and possible creation of comparative advantage. Taking advantage of free trade zones and subsidized production as well as some manufacturing and assembly work takes place in textiles and consumer goods; however, these industries are fundamentally unsustainable because of a lack of international competitiveness. Capital intensive industries such as banking and financial services offer more sustainable economic development possibilities.

## Health Care

Health care facilities rapidly improved during the last decades of the twentieth century, and capital-intensive importing of medical staff and technology has significantly improved life expectancy. This has helped to boost the population of permanent residents as the number of young people continues to increase.

In the population as a whole, the prevalence of men of working age in the country has had an impact on health priorities, while workplace accidents continue to be significant risks. Smoking is a widespread practice, while cultural factors have raised concerns about reproductive health issues, especially among women.

## Labour Market and Population

The majority of the population in the UAE is composed of temporary migrant workers. Approximately 60% to 70% of the population comes from South Asia, the Middle East, and Europe, with representatives from most countries of the world. Since most migrants are male, there is a significant gender imbalance in the country. Owing to the strongly conservative Islamic culture of most UAE citizens, women remain at home or otherwise away from public scrutiny, and so public spaces in the country are dominated by men. Many of the expatriate workers are overqualified for the work they do and suffer from low job security and inability to express entrepreneurial skills.

Women's fertility remains high with an average of more than six births per woman. This is possible with the generous support provided to mothers. Nevertheless, UAE women face a number of social issues in entering the labour market and rarely stray from the public sector, where salaries and benefits are very generous for UAE women, and provisions for maternity leave and for sequestered working space are deemed appropriate by most families.

The education system has increased in scope and capacity through the opening of several new universities, including the female-only Zayed University, which has significantly improved the education of women. Large numbers of young men continue to be sent overseas for their higher education. Even so, the Colleges of Higher Education network has helped to inculcate vocational and practical skills in young people of both genders. Literacy levels, however, remain at a comparatively low rate, and few women are able to exercise their education and skills outside of the home. Men, meanwhile, also face significant

disincentives to work and study, and many corporations registered as being under local control are in fact managed by expatriate workers.

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**See also Islam; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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## UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (UAR)

The United Arab Republic (UAR) was a union of Egypt and Syria that lasted from 1958 to 1961. Proclaimed in the aftermath of the 1956 Suez war, it underlined the soaring popularity of Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser in the Arab world; its dissolution marked the collapse of the Nationalist dream of the Arab union.

Syria was under enormous external and internal pressures by 1958. The competition between Nasser, the charismatic Arab Nationalist leader, and the Western powers and their conservative Arab allies was roiling the Middle East. Syria's 1955 arms purchase from Czechoslovakia and subsequent dealings with the Soviet bloc led the United States to fear it was going Communist, while Syria feared the United States was plotting to overthrow its government. Western efforts to form an anti-Soviet defensive pact in the region set in motion the events leading to the 1956 British, French, and Israeli effort to seize the Suez Canal from Egypt; the reversal of this aggression established Nasser as the undisputed champion of Arab Nationalist interests. Nasser's popularity in Syria skyrocketed when Egypt landed troops there in October 1957 to protect it against possible Western aggression. Internally, intense competition between the Ba'ath and Communist parties, which were outbidding one another with ever more fervent calls for Arab union, coupled with a fractious military threatened the foundations of political order.

On January 12, 1958, senior Syrian army officers abruptly flew to Cairo to beg Nasser to save Syria from collapse, and they were closely followed by the Syrian cabinet carrying the same message. Nasser had pushed the idea of Arab unity as opposed to a union, and he was reluctant to agree to an immediate merger. But given Syria's precarious situation and Nasser's desire to maintain his position in the Arab world, Nasser believed he had little choice. Nasser imposed major conditions on the union: he demanded a free hand, a highly centralized state, the dissolution of political parties, and the withdrawal of the army from politics. With virtually no planning or preparation, the United Arab Republic was proclaimed on February 1, 1958.

Frightened by the merger of the two leading Arab Nationalist states, the Hashemite monarchies in Jordan and Iraq quickly proclaimed their own union. But a military *coup d'état* led by Arab Nationalist officer Abdel Karim Qasim overthrew the Iraqi monarchy in July 1958. This precipitated US and British military interventions in Lebanon and Jordan, respectively, to shore up those countries' pro-Western governments. Qasim, though, was not a Nasserite, and with the cooperation of the Communists, he suppressed a bloody revolt by UAR-backed Arab Nationalist and Ba'athist army officers in March 1959. Nasser's rivalry with Qasim pushed Egypt closer to its former foes in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. When Qasim laid claim to Kuwait in June 1960, Nasser endorsed the British military intervention to uphold Kuwaiti sovereignty. Nasser's moves to reconcile with the conservative monarchies and the Western powers at the expense of an Arab Nationalist regime in Baghdad caused many in Syria to rethink the union with Egypt.

Domestic factors also undercut Syrian support for the UAR. First, most of the Syrian players had miscalculated and came to repent their precipitous decision for union. The Communists had not been serious about the union, but they had advocated this position to undercut the Ba'ath. Unable to win control of the state through the ballot box, the Ba'ath saw the union as a way to gain power and eliminate its rivals. Despite the ban on political parties, the Ba'ath believed it would play a major role in the UAR as Nasser's ideological guiding force. Both parties thought the union would free them of military interference in politics, while the military thought the union would allow it to rule without the meddling of politicians. Nasser sidelined them all.

The Ba'ath in particular felt betrayed. The party dissolved itself to secure its goal of Arab union, yet the UAR did not fulfill its expectations or expand its ideological influence. Nasser did not turn to the party

for guidance, and it did poorly in the July 1959 Syrian elections. The possibility of further gains for the Arab union seemed out of reach given Nasser's opposition to the regime in Iraq; worse still, Nasser was siding with reactionary forces against Baghdad. In protest against Nasser's removal of a Ba'athist minister in September, the other Ba'athists resigned from the cabinet in December 1959. This earned the Ba'ath Nasser's enmity.

Ordinary Syrians chafed under the UAR as their country became "Egyptianized." Egyptian officials were sent to rule Syria, bringing with them the opaque, red tape complexities of Egyptian bureaucracy. Egyptians dominated the Syrian Cabinet, and decisions were made in Cairo without input from Damascus. The Egyptian-controlled intelligence and security services were ruthless. Syria had had an active, almost hyperkinetic, political society prior to union, but it now found itself cut off from effective participation and unable to voice its discontents. Bitter at its subordination to the Egyptians, the army began to plot against the UAR.

On September 28, 1961, the Syrian army proclaimed a national uprising, packed Nasser's men on a plane to Cairo, and seceded from the UAR. Nasser angrily responded that he had not wanted the union to begin but had been forced into it by Syrian popular will. He refused to recognize the new Syrian regime and began to wage a fierce propaganda battle against it. The heated exchanges between Cairo and Damascus nearly brought about the collapse of the Arab League.

In early 1963, the Ba'athists seized control in both Syria and Iraq and clamored for union with Egypt. Nasser was not about to be dragged into another ill-conceived union project, and he used the Cairo talks that spring to humiliate and punish the Ba'athists, especially the Syrians. When the Syrian Ba'athists brutally suppressed a pro-Nasserite *coup* attempt in July, the war of words was renewed between Damascus and Cairo. Pro-Nasserite elements did succeed in ending the Iraqi Ba'ath's bloody rule in November, sparking an all-out propaganda battle between Ba'athist Syria and Iraq's new Arab Nationalist leaders. Far from uniting the Arab world, the United Arab Republic and its aftermath bitterly divided it.

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**See also Arab Nationalism; Ba'ath Party; Baghdad Pact; Central Treaty Organization (CENTO); Nasser, Gamal Abdel**

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## UNITED MALAYS NATIONAL ORGANIZATION (UMNO)

Sixty years after the formation of The United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the organization's main objective of protecting the Malays' interests has not changed. The UMNO, founded in May 1946, has adopted a number of economic policies, including the creation of a Malayan business class. Malayan businesspeople, virtually all of whom had UMNO connections, were given preference in obtaining licenses, credit, and government contracts.

UMNO has been the strongest Malayan political party since its foundation. Its leaders place it preeminently in the history of Malayan nationalism and independence. Historically, the leaders of UMNO were more concerned with safeguarding the rights of Malays (the ethnic group that makes up the majority of the Malaysian society) vis-à-vis the other races of Malaya. UMNO was more likely to collaborate with the British authorities in opposition to radicalism within their own community. Thus, the formation of UMNO was a remarkable event, as it was the first time a Malayan movement emerged to attack British policy. The Malayan union is usually regarded as the colonial challenge that provoked the emergence of a united Malayan Nationalist movement.

UMNO was founded as a communal party concerned exclusively with the protection of Malays' interests. It was by no means a radical Nationalist party. Many of its leaders were employed as civil servants. Only in the 1950s did UMNO begin to campaign for independence from British rule.

UMNO's policies reflected the interests of its leaders, who were largely drawn from the Malayan upper and middle classes. Most of its early leaders were civil servants, often from aristocratic or semiaristocratic family backgrounds. In later years, aristocratic leaders were less prominent than a new class of educated Malays, often from fairly humble backgrounds, who were produced by postindependence education policies. Grassroots leaders were often local officials, teachers in Malayan schools, and rural landowners.

In the late 1970s, as a result of the New Economic Policy (NEP), Malayan businesspeople became more prominent as business opportunities were channeled

to party supporters. UMNO came to represent mainly conservative groups that had little interest in social reform for the peasants, small landholders, and fishermen, who made up a large part of the Malayan population.

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**See also Malaysia**

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## UNITED NATIONS CENTER FOR HUMAN SETTLEMENTS (UNCHS)

The United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS) is the United Nations (UN) agency responsible for sustainable urban development. UNCHS is more commonly known as UN-HABITAT and was created in 1978 after a UN-sponsored meeting, known as Habitat I, held in Vancouver, Canada. Its ultimate goal is to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities that provide adequate shelter for all people, especially in the developing world. UN-HABITAT is headquartered in Nairobi, Kenya, with regional offices in Fukuoka, Japan and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The agency has a full-time staff of two hundred people and an annual budget of \$300 million. UN-HABITAT works with governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and civic action groups in an attempt to reduce urban poverty and promote sustainable development.

When the agency was founded, less than one-third of the world's people lived in urban settlements. During the last quarter of the twentieth century, however, there was a rapid urbanization process throughout the globe, especially in the developing world. During that period, UN-HABITAT was in the forefront of the global movement to prevent and alleviate the problems caused by rapid urbanization, especially in Third World cities. By the end of the twentieth century, half of the world's people lived in urban areas. In 1996, the UN sponsored a second conference, known as Habitat II, in Istanbul, Turkey, to evaluate the

progress of UN-HABITAT and formulate the agency's agenda for the twenty-first century. The result of the conference, known as the Habitat Agenda, was an extensive list of one hundred commitments and six hundred recommendations signed by representatives from 171 nations.

Given the desperate situation of the world's urban poor, especially in the developing world, UN-HABITAT is committed to improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. Although UN-HABITAT's efforts are to be commended, 100 million slum dwellers only represent 10% of the current global slum population, which is increasing by 25 million people each year. Demographers predict that more than two-thirds of the world's population will live in urban areas by 2050. Thus, as cities and towns grow at alarming rates, sustainable urbanization planning by agencies such as UN-HABITAT is essential to ameliorate disease, crime, pollution, and poverty. Slum dwellers have little or no access to shelter, water, and sanitation. To prevent growing social unrest, UN-HABITAT initiates projects that seek to provide slum dwellers with access to safe water and sanitation, safe shelter, and social inclusion, while simultaneously protecting the environment.

UN-HABITAT supports two major global campaigns: the Global Campaign on Urban Governance and the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure. For example, UN-HABITAT participates in a joint UN-HABITAT/World Bank slum upgrading program, known as the Cities Alliance, which promotes effective housing development policies; helps campaign for housing rights; promotes sustainable cities and urban environmental planning and management; and addresses postconflict land management and reconstruction in nations devastated by war or natural disasters. The Safer Cities Program helps fight urban crime, while other programs address solid waste management, urban planning training for local leaders, and urban investment. As of 2005, UN-HABITAT was operating over 150 technical programs in 61 nations, most of which are among the least developed nations of the world. UN-HABITAT currently has projects in postwar societies such as Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (the nation formerly known as Zaire). Essential to revitalizing urban areas in these war-torn countries is providing shelter for all, improving urban governance, and reducing urban poverty within the framework of self-reliant and self-sustainable management.

One of UN-HABITAT's most significant programs is the Sustainable Cities Program. A sustainable city, according to UN-HABITAT guidelines, is a city where achievements in economic, physical, and

social development are made to last. Sustainable cities have access to natural resources and use them wisely. In addition, sustainable city planners develop strategies to minimize the effect of potentially devastating environmental hazards. For example, development on land prone to flooding should be avoided. Since cities are centers of economic productivity, the success of the Sustainable Cities Program is essential to economic and social development at the national level. Following the economic development strategies first devised by Albert Hirschman, the Sustainable Cities Program devises urban development strategies based on a case-by-case approach. Since all cities, especially in the Third World, have vastly different environmental settings and administration development, a single holistic policy of urban development is not applicable to the Sustainable Cities Program.

The Sustainable Cities Program currently has projects in Accra, Ghana; Amman, Jordan; Asuncion, Paraguay; Concepción, Chile; Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Dakar, Senegal; Freetown, Sierra Leone; Gaza, Palestine; Guayaquil, Ecuador; Ibadan, Nigeria; Ismailia, Egypt; Katowice, Poland; Lusaka, Zambia; Madras, India; Maputo, Mozambique; Nampula, Mozambique; Shenyang, People's Republic of China; St. Petersburg, Russia; Tunis, Tunisia; and Wuhan, People's Republic of China. Other cities, such as Belo Horizonte, Brazil; Blantyre, Malawi; Colombo, Sri Lanka; Harare, Zimbabwe; Jinja, Uganda; and Kampala, Uganda, have petitioned for participation in the Sustainable Cities Program. Given the success of the Sustainable Cities Program in Concepción, Ismailia, Ibadan, and Dar es Salaam, secondary cities in Chile, Egypt, Nigeria, and Tanzania, have begun the process of applying to the program.

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**See also Poverty: Impact on Development; Urbanization: Impact on Development; Urbanization: Impact on Environment**

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## UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is one of the oldest humanitarian assistance agencies formed under the aegis of the United Nations (UN). The UN General Assembly Resolution that gave life to UNICEF was approved on December 11, 1946, in the very first session of the world body. The initially temporary nature of UNICEF was in keeping with the belief that the crisis prevailing at the close of World War II in the numbers of displaced persons, refugees, and war-ravaged populations that disproportionately affected children would eventually abate. Although UNICEF has continued throughout its history to provide emergency assistance for children, eventually it took on activities to promote long-term development assistance for children, and in the decades since its inception, UNICEF has evolved into one of the major international development agencies.

### Genesis and Early Years

UNICEF was established in a climate of crisis and concern about the highly vulnerable status of children among the thirty million persons displaced by World War II. The international community had become increasingly aware of the needs of children even as early as the League of Nations, which promoted efforts to eradicate the trafficking of women and children. In 1924, the league adopted the Geneva Declaration that asserted the rights of children. While the League of Nations, and the UN as its successor, believed as most people do now that the protection and nurturing of children properly and primarily rests with the family, circumstances arise, as they did during World War II and its immediate aftermath, that place overwhelming stress on both families and governments to meet the basic needs of children. Increasingly, the international community has acknowledged its duty to offer assistance for the primary institutions of the family so that children are not subjected to unnecessary hardship. Given the large numbers of war-affected refugees after World War II, the displacement of families and the tens of thousands of children who were orphaned, steps by the international community to alleviate the situation were essential. During World War II, the UN Relief and Rehabilitation

Administration (UNRAA) addressed the emergency needs of displaced persons in Europe. However, this body ceased to exist in 1946 in Europe and in 1947 in Africa as well as in the Far East, so its assets were inherited by several other UN bodies, including UNICEF.

Given the overwhelming emergency needs of children in the postwar setting, UNICEF provided blankets, food aid, and medicine for children. However, as the emergency situation abated, UNICEF, although still providing material aid, initiated programs designed to provide technical assistance to governments in promotion of child welfare, including the fields of health and nutrition. Thus, although UNICEF, like so many other emergency assistance bodies established after the war by the UN, was initially seen as a temporary and *ad hoc* response to emergency needs, it began to carve out for itself a more permanent position in the constellation of UN development bodies. It assumed the lead role in advocacy for the social welfare needs of children, and in 1953, the name of the organization was changed from the UN International Children's Emergency Fund to the UN Children's Fund although the acronym UNICEF continued to be used. As the UN grew in size with the addition of new member states, mostly from the developing world, UNICEF and other specialized agencies of the UN found themselves shifting attention to the daunting needs of poorer nations.

### Structure and Authority

UNICEF is a specialized agency of the UN and reports to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). ECOSOC chooses the thirty-six members of the Executive Board of UNICEF. Board members serve three-year terms. The board oversees the operations of UNICEF and monitors its budgets and programs. In turn, UNICEF is administered by the director of the UNICEF Secretariat. The director administers the budget and operational programs from UNICEF headquarters in New York. UNICEF maintains a Supply Division in Copenhagen, Denmark, where critical supplies, such as measles vaccines, are stored. It also runs a Research Center in Florence, Italy, and maintains regional offices in Geneva, Brussels, Panama City, Bangkok, Nairobi, Amman, Katmandu, and Dakar.

UNICEF is funded entirely by voluntary contributions, two-thirds of which come from governments. The other one-third of the budget is raised from millions of private individuals. Much of this private fund-raising is promoted by thirty-eight National



Committees for UNICEF, which are private nongovernmental bodies established in various countries to support the work of UNICEF. Popular and well-known fundraising efforts include the UNICEF “trick-or-treat” program in which children themselves become diplomats and fundraisers for UNICEF at Halloween time. A portion of UNICEF expenses is met by the sale of holiday cards, which from its earliest years served as a means of both publicizing its work internationally and earning some independent revenue. Measured in terms of its annual budget and expenditures, UNICEF is one of the largest UN assistance agencies. Its work is undertaken in 126 country offices, with programs that reach 157 nations.

### Development Activities

Starting in the 1960s, when many former colonies gained their independence and began to join the UN, UNICEF's move into development assistance activities accelerated. Many of these new UN members required not only multilateral aid to meet various needs associated with children but also the technical support to develop national infrastructures and programs. UNICEF, in efforts to prevent childhood diseases and high mortality rates, supplemented its emergency aid and oral rehydration programs with support for the development of potable water supplies and sanitation in areas where waterborne diseases, including diarrhea, were major causes of death for children. UNICEF also sponsored programs for primary health care, especially for pregnant and lactating mothers, childhood immunization programs, and various initiatives to promote basic education and literacy among children. In the 1980s, the appearance of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) among children prompted UNICEF to participate in international efforts to curb the spread of the epidemic. In pursuing its work in areas with high percentages of childhood human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection, UNICEF collaborates extensively with other UN development bodies, including the UN Development Program (UNDP) and the World Health Organization (WHO).

Although an increasingly large portion of UNICEF's budget is set aside for development-related programs, UNICEF still responds to disasters and emergencies throughout the developing world, and it collaborates extensively with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Program. UNICEF is a member of the UN's Inter-Agency Standing Committee, which helps to coordinate international responses to complex emergencies through

the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Much of this emergency aid focuses on provision of clean water, on children's health, and on nutrition.

In more recent decades, UNICEF, as part of its work to implement the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, has been active in promoting international attention issues affecting children. In 1990, UNICEF was instrumental in the UN World Summit for Children, at which 159 countries produced a World Declaration and Program of Action on the Survival, Protection, and Development of Children. Governments established goals and objectives to reduce rates of infant mortality, maternal mortality, and malnutrition as well as to expand access to safe drinking water, to improve sanitation, and to provide universal basic education. More recently, UNICEF was a major actor in the Special Session on Children of the UN General Assembly, held in May 2002. The program of action emerging from the special session emphasized the theme of creating a “World Fit for Children.” The terrible conditions in which many families and children find themselves, especially in war-torn regions, continue to challenge UNICEF and the entire international community. The general development and economic prosperity of families represent the key to the health and vitality of children, and so even in the most difficult emergency situations where the primary task is immediately to save lives, UNICEF and like-minded international agencies and governmental bodies work to maintain a long-term vision that builds to a peaceful society and sustainable economy.

UNICEF's work in highlighting the rights of children, including the most basic rights of good nutrition, health, and education, necessarily has a development focus. Many international agencies, including UNICEF, have undertaken initiatives to promote civil society, especially in those countries most seriously affected by civil strife. For this goal, UNICEF and international agencies must work with and respect the rights of primary institutions, including families and local governments, which are the institutions most directly engaged in and responsible for the promotion of stability and the welfare of children. To promote education and broader awareness of the needs of families and children, UNICEF undertakes an ambitious publications program, which includes the annual *State of the World's Children Report* that provides comprehensive analyses of the conditions facing children in every country throughout the world. UNICEF promotes the full implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which won swift and nearly universal adoption by the nations of the world in the early 1990s.

## Conclusion

A sample of UNICEF's recent activities finds its representatives working to involve the international community in the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, Sudan, where ethnic cleansing of local populations has produced hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons. In India, UNICEF programs help locally affected families in Assam to cope with floods that compromised water and sanitation systems and increased the incidence of waterborne diseases. While oral rehydration salts distributed by UNICEF save lives, the agency also restores safe water supplies and sanitation. In Madagascar, UNICEF launched a program for vaccination of ten million children to forestall a potential epidemic in August, 2004. In Iraq, UNICEF worked to provide safe water supplies, while encouraging the massive countrywide return of children to schools, many of which had long served as ammunition warehouses. Carol Bellamy, UNICEF's executive director, in the same month traveled to Liberia, where civil war caused about fifteen thousand children to be conscripted into rebel armies or otherwise separated from their families. UNICEF promoted the reintegration of such child soldiers with their families.

UNICEF sponsors a similar program in Afghanistan, where child soldiers were also common. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has been torn by civil conflict since 1995, UNICEF sponsors a program for children subjected to rape and physical and mental abuse. Elsewhere, UNICEF sponsors programs on AIDS awareness. Much of UNICEF's work still focuses on emergency needs, but other programs, such as those focusing on the availability of water, sanitation, child nutrition, and education, are essential building blocks for the establishment of the foundation of economic and social development.

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**See also United Nations Development Program (UNDP); United Nations Economic and Social Council; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); World Food Program; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE (CCPCJ)

The United Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) is the major body of the United Nations (UN) providing policy guidance in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice. It was established in 1992 by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), but international efforts to harmonize criminal justice policy date back to the nineteenth century, when representatives of various European nations met periodically to exchange information and to consider common standards in the treatment of offenders. The CCPCJ consists of forty members elected by ECOSOC on the basis of the principle of equitable geographical distribution, which is described as follows: African States (12), Asian States (9), Latin American and Caribbean States (8), Western European and other States (7), Eastern European States (4).

The CCPCJ's priority themes include organized crime; economic crime, including money laundering; the role of criminal law in the protection of the environment; crime prevention in urban areas, including juvenile and violent criminality; and improving the efficiency and fairness of criminal justice administration systems. Aspects of those themes are selected for consideration at each session of the commission, which meets yearly at its headquarters in Vienna, Austria.

In the broadest sense, the mandate of the CCPCJ covers the management and development of international cooperation in crime prevention and standards of criminal justice. More specifically, it assists the UN in setting policy, monitors progress at the international level, and develops international instruments (agreements) in the area of crime prevention and criminal justice while overseeing the implementation of those already in existence. It also works to improve the management of national justice systems in the interest of efficacy and the humane treatment of offenders, and it coordinates UN technical assistance

to member states, including assistance in formulating or revising laws to bring domestic legislation in line with international standards. Because of overlapping interests, the CCPCJ coordinates its activities with those of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the Centre for International Crime Prevention of the Office of Drug Control and Crime Prevention of the UN Secretariat.

The CCPCJ provides policy guidance to member states in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice. It develops, monitors, and reviews the implementation of the UN Crime Prevention Programme. The commission facilitates and helps to coordinate the activities of the interregional and regional institutes on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders as well as mobilize the support of member states.

The Centre for International Crime Prevention (CICP) has the role of implementing the decisions of the UN CCPCJ. The UN, through its crime prevention and criminal justice programme, is endeavouring to promote cooperation between its member states in combatting an accelerating crime problems and to bring about common standards of criminal justice in the interests of facilitating adherence and follow-up to international agreements; the UN also ensures the respect for human rights that is necessary for sustainable human development.

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## UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT (UNCTAD)

The impact of trade on development is one of the issues that has occupied the attention of countries and multilateral bodies ever since the Great Depression and increasingly so in the aftermath of World War II. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was formed in 1964 as a UN-specialized agency through which the trade and development interests of countries in the developing world could be voiced more effectively.

A consensus existed after World War II that the individual economies of nations and the international economy generally would benefit from a policy of free trade; in addition, the rapid and reciprocal reduction in tariffs and other barriers to trade would be a great economic boon in terms of eliminating artificial barriers to trade, increasing competition, lowering prices on goods, increasing production, and stimulating economic growth. To this end, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was instituted in 1947 as a means by which countries could negotiate free trade agreements. However, as many new and poorly developed countries gained their independence, and as the implications of the GATT system of reciprocal reductions in trade barriers on developing country economies became clearer, developing countries began to call for special consideration to be given to the structural difficulties their economies faced in the GATT system. UNCTAD became the forum in which the countries' calls for reform of the GATT system were articulated.

### Developing Countries: Terms of Trade Dilemmas

While the GATT system of reciprocal trade reductions promoted an expansion of global trade, the impact of the system on newly independent countries of the developing world was not always positive in light of the terms of trade problem. Industrialized countries benefited from the system owing to the fact that manufactured goods generally held or increased their value on world markets, but developing countries that depended largely on commodity exports often saw commodity prices decline over the long term, relative to manufacturing goods. This led to a net transfer of income in trade from the developing world to the developed world. Moreover, developing countries were in no position to develop nascent industrial sectors because these could not possibly compete with the better established enterprises in the industrialized nations. As long as a reciprocal tariff reduction system along GATT lines persisted, developing countries seemed consigned to a status of permanent dependence with agriculturally or commodity based economies.

The UN was aware of this problem as early as 1954, when the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established a Commission on International Commodity Trade to study the problem of commodity fluctuations. In 1962, this commission reported that a long-term trend of commodity price declines was

well established. In response, ECOSOC called for the convening of a conference on trade and development. After the UN General Assembly's approval and preparatory meetings, UNCTAD met from March to June 1964 in Geneva, Switzerland. One of the chief and controversial recommendations of the UNCTAD meetings concerned the granting of preferential trade rights to developing countries. Under a preferential trade rights system, a country relying on commodities as exports could enjoy low tariff access to developed country economies while imposing tariffs on manufactured goods imported from those countries. This would permit them to protect infant industries from foreign competition and would also give them a fighting chance to establish a manufacturing sector for their domestic economies. The UN General Assembly approved the establishment of UNCTAD as a specialized agency, and like GATT, it continued to meet every four years to discuss the important nexus of trade to development, under the influence of the large majority of developing countries. This majority is known as the Geneva 77, named after the seventy-seven developing countries that attended the original UNCTAD meeting. Although the members' number grew substantially in subsequent years, the term "Geneva 77" continues to be used to describe this influential bloc of developing countries.

### Trade Reforms and Controversies

Owing in part to the persistent demands of UNCTAD and the growing number of developing countries that enjoyed majorities in UNCTAD and the UN generally, wealthier countries began revising GATT regulations concerning reciprocal tariff reductions, and eventually a preferential trade rights system was adopted to redress the adverse terms of the trade situation facing developing countries. Known as the General System of Preferences, this system was eventually adopted by the European Economic Community and by the United States in their trade agreements with developing nations.

The Geneva 77 continued to press, both in the UNCTAD forum and in the UN system at large, for other major reforms. UNCTAD became the vehicle through which developing countries pushed for a new international economic order, not only in trade but in regard to such issues as setting minimum transfers of foreign assistance, transferring technology, restructuring the international monetary system, and promoting debt reduction and cancellation. These debates were often quite shrill and controversial and produced little agreement or progress, as important

developed countries refused to accommodate to the wide range of proposed reforms.

### Further Developments

With the failure to gain much ground from confrontation, many developing countries began to explore domestic economic reforms rather than attempting to leverage resources through international negotiation. The collapse of the Communist systems in the early 1990s added pressure to the international assistance networks even as the collapse removed some of the ideological heat from international development dialogue. The rapid globalization of international trade was given further impetus in 1995 with the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which replaced GATT. In the following year, the UN called upon UNCTAD to undertake a thorough review of its role in light of the new global trade system. It has focused much of its work on identifying problems facing the most heavily indebted poor countries.

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**See also General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); United Nations Economic and Social Council; World Trade Organization (WTO)**

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## UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (UNDP)

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) was established by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1965 in the wake of intensified international discussions about how best to address the poverty faced by many newly independent countries that had recently gained membership in the UN. In the constellation of UN agencies, UNDP's role is to offer technical assistance to governments and to coordinate—especially at the country level—the variety of national, bilateral, and multilateral initiatives and programs addressing development. Its function, then, is less operational than consultative and coordinative in nature.

## The Genesis of UNDP

Under the League of Nations, a number of technical organizations were established to deal with economic, financial, health, communication, and transportation issues. The league also cooperated with other international organizations, such as the International Institute of Commerce and the International Labor Organization, concerned with national and international development activities. The increasing need for economic and technical cooperation among nations became apparent even before World War II. After the war ended and reconstruction efforts began, governments realized a more pressing need to address international development questions more explicitly at the international level. Thus, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank, IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were created to assist in postwar recovery, and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) was initiated to enhance international cooperation in the development of agriculture. The United Nations found itself addressing development-related questions in its own right, even as other specialized agencies, such as the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were established to address various components of the international trade and development process. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the UN itself was directly involved in the creation of various assistance agencies, such as UNICEF, the International Refugee Organization (IRO), the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, which replaced the IRO.

In 1950, at the initiative of the United States, the UN General Assembly established the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) to supplement and expand the work of the growing number of agencies focused on development. The EPTA funds were accumulated on a strictly voluntary basis, with the United States underwriting as much as 60% of the revenue in the early years. Initially, the EPTA resources stood at about \$20 million, but as other countries joined the efforts, the pool of resources reached about \$50 million in the early 1960s, and the US government portion of contributions dropped to about 40%. With new revenues to administer, a Technical Assistance Administration was established within the UN Secretariat, and a Technical Assistance Board of member states was established to oversee the process. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, additional international development organizations

were established, including the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the International Development Association (IDA), and the World Food Program (WFP). During this period, a sense of greater urgency arose regarding development issues. In 1957, after spirited debate among the developed and developing member states, the Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) was established. Its pool of resources was less substantial than poorer countries had hoped for, but it soon attracted considerable voluntary support, substantially more than the EPTA, which continued to operate as a separate, though related, source of development programming technical assistance.

UN membership grew by thirty nations in the first half of the 1960s, and all of them were developing countries that voiced the need for more extensive UN assistance to further their economic development. The need for a single UN agency to coordinate technical assistance became apparent, and the first proposal to establish the UNDP was brought forward in 1962. After three years of study, the UN General Assembly established UNDP and its governing body, composed of roughly equal numbers of developed and developing states. The EPTA and SUNFED programs continued to operate but under UNDP oversight. The initial UNDP budget was \$145 million. In subsequent decades, the UNDP budget rose substantially, hitting the \$1 billion mark in 1989 and rising even higher in subsequent years. What had begun as a modest experiment in the coordination of technical assistance and development programming blossomed into a substantial and integrated approach in development planning and coordination.

## Structure and Authority

The UNDP is governed by a thirty-six member executive board of member states. This body meets three times a year to oversee the budget, programs, and operations of the UNDP Secretariat. The secretariat is led by the administrator, who manages the organization's technical assistance activities in 166 countries. The majority of executive board members represent African, Asian, Pacific Rim, Latin American, and Caribbean nations, with sixteen seats occupied by Eastern European, Western European, and other economically developed countries. The UNDP administrator is the third highest ranking official in the UN system. The administrator is appointed by the UN secretary-general and approved by the UN General Assembly and serves a four-year term. The administrator in turn reports to the executive board.

UNDP works with developing countries to provide technical expertise to assist in their economic development. This process is furthered through the national offices of UNDP resident representatives, who serve as the coordinating authority for all UN assistance in particular countries and as the UN contact point for the host government's development-related ministries. UNDP coordinates the in-country development planning process. This puts UNDP squarely at the center of development planning within the UN system and as the principal actor in consultation with governments. The governments themselves determine program needs and priorities, and UNDP assists in facilitating them and promoting coordination of international and local assistance initiatives and activities.

### **UNDP Programming Efforts**

Given the wide range of activities that fall under the rubric of economic development, UNDP serves as a centralized reservoir of consultative resources to assist governments in promotion of agricultural development, environmental quality, conservation and reforestation, crisis management, disaster prevention, emergency aid, poverty reduction, development of transportation and communication infrastructure, energy supply, health policy, job creation and diversification, financial stability, extension services, protection of human rights, promotion of the role of women in development, promotion of democratic governance, modernization of information systems, and promotion of business enterprise. Various UN agencies that specialize in these areas of international cooperation in turn work with UNDP to coordinate funding and other development-related efforts. In recent years, UNDP has reached out to the wide variety of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and multinational corporations that supply an additional reservoir of expertise and resources to direct these resources in support of a country's own development priorities and planning.

The UNDP began approaching development programming as a long-term and regional process in the early 1970s with the emergence of zonal development strategies. Problems and needs were identified and strategies for addressing them mapped out over periods of five and ten years. Even where emergency problems, droughts, or refugee flows interrupted plans, these were to be addressed through attention of the impact of emergency assistance on longer-term development. UNDP involvement in the African drought and refugee crises of the 1980s was critical in the formulation of refugee-related development assistance

programs. At this time, UNDP also began to explore more aggressively the need to interact with NGOs and businesses as partners with national governments in the development programming enterprise.

With the holding of the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, the UNDP has been actively involved in the follow-up program in pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals, which include promoting democratic governance, reducing poverty rates by half by the year 2015, coping more successfully with natural disasters and civil conflicts via early warning systems and conflict resolution mechanisms, enhancing energy resources without degradation of the environment, and managing the impact of HIV/AIDS in developing countries. The UNDP supports national efforts in all of these areas in its current programming.

Promoting democratic governance, for instance, is an important aspect of political development and of stable civic institutions. Cambodia, a country that recently suffered from bloody civil wars, is now embarking on an unprecedented effort at judicial reform by training Cambodian lawyers and judges in democratic principles of justice and in international humanitarian law. The UNDP supports these seminars and programs as a part of its larger effort to promote political stability as a precursor to economic development. To help countries in their efforts to reduce poverty, UNDP works with governments to incorporate Millennium 2000 goals into their national development strategies. UNDP also works to promote the education and empowerment of women as productive agents of development through gender equality programs in a number of countries; for example, in Kyrgyzstan, the UNDP cosponsors gender-related seminars at the university level. In support of the Millennium Development Goal of promoting crisis prevention and recovery, UNDP has supported land mine removal programs in various countries such as Angola, where agricultural activities are inhibited by the danger of mine-littered farms and fields. UNDP is engaged in a study with the International Peace Research Institute to study the impact of mines on development and how best to integrate de-mining programs into national development planning processes. Similarly, UNDP has supported efforts to reintegrate ex-combatants in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has been plagued by deadly civil war. Reintegration kits give ex-soldiers an incentive to reintegrate into productive civil life, thus enhancing national recovery efforts. UNDP engages in similar programs in the Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire) and in Liberia, where it is also engaged with the World Bank and the IMF in promoting economic reconstruction.

In promoting Millennium Development Goals in the areas of energy and the environment, the UNDP

emphasizes programs for water usage and conservation measures (especially in the area of combating desertification) to encourage incorporation of environmental awareness into national energy and development planning and conservation of biodiversity. An example of UNDP efforts in a variety of these areas is its Drylands Development Center, which combines research and action programs in nearly twenty countries in Africa, the Arab States, and West Asia. Similarly, UNDP is a cosponsor of the UNAIDS program, which seeks to prevent the spread of AIDS in developing countries through galvanizing governmental agencies at all levels in promoting AIDS awareness and prevention.

## Conclusion

UNDP is one of the major actors in the UN system for promotion of economic development, one of the chief goals of the UN Charter. Because of its mandate to coordinate UN specialized agency activities with member governments, it is the most central actor among all the agencies. While the work of the UNDP does not involve the huge outlays of resources characteristic of World Bank activities or bilateral assistance programs of governments, it is nonetheless essential in terms of providing key consultative support and in coordinating the overall development strategy of countries as they seek greater economic stability and prosperity.

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**See also United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO); General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); International Development Association (IDA); International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Food Program; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC (ESCAP)

Following World War II, the United Nations (UN) initiated a program to address the specific needs of postwar reconstruction in Europe and Asia. Two regional commissions were established, namely, the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE, established in 1947) and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE, established in 1947). ECAFE became the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) in 1974 and, along with the ECE, was joined by the Economic Commission for Africa (1958), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (1948), and the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (1974).

## Overview of the Commissions

The commissions are regarded as an integral part of the decentralisation of the UN's economic and social development activity, which is a major portion of the UN's work. Each commission has determined its own pattern of organization, with separate committees for areas of particular concern in their region, but they all operate under the auspices of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to which they report annually. The commissions work with other UN agencies, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and the UN Development Program (UNDP), and with other regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of American States (OAS).

The commissions have had differing degrees of success. According to Bennet (1988), ECLAC has contributed to the establishment of the Latin American Free Trade Association, the Central American Common Market, and the Inter-American Bank. On the other hand, ECA, while involved in the establishment of the African Development Bank, has not been as effective in the region because it has been hampered by internal dissent among member states.

An evaluation of ESCAP reveals both progress and the challenges facing multilateral agencies. It has been involved in major regional projects, such as the Mekong River Development, and in the establishment of institutions, such as the Asian Development Bank. But it has also been criticised as being ineffectual, bureaucratic, and overly centralised and criticised for covering the work of already existing agencies.

## History and Functions of ESCAP

ESCAP has fifty-three members (2004), primarily UN member states within the Asia Pacific but including European countries, such as the United Kingdom and France, with interests in the region. There are also nine associate members, such as the island states of Guam, New Caledonia, and Hong Kong (SAR), that are states within the region but are nonmembers of the UN. ESCAP's region of activity stretches from West and Central Asia through South Asia, Southeast Asia, and North and East Asia and also includes economic giants such as Japan and China as well as the small island states of the Pacific such as Fiji. This diversity in itself has presented challenges to the viable functioning of ESCAP because these countries represent vastly different needs and agendas for development.

Based in Bangkok, ESCAP's purpose is to serve as the UN's main economic and social development forum within the Asia Pacific by formulating and coordinating relevant projects, initiating and facilitating technical cooperation, and strengthening economic relations and cooperation within and between the region and countries outside it. In practical terms, these aims are primarily carried out in the conferences and specialist seminars organized by the ESCAP secretariat and in data collection and publications, such as economic and social surveys of the Asia Pacific that fall within its terms of reference. ESCAP can also provide advisory services to governments if requested.

ESCAP is designed to formulate and promote activities and projects in line with the needs and priorities of the region. These needs are determined by the commission, the main legislative body of ESCAP that meets every year at ministerial level to set policy within UN guidelines and resources. Ministerial meetings can also be held on an *ad hoc* basis to address specific issues under the auspices of ESCAP's program committees. The commission is intended as a forum for member states to discuss economic and social issues in the region and to enhance opportunities for cooperation. Liaising between the commission and the secretariat is the Advisory Committee of

Permanent Representatives (ACPR) and other representatives designated by members of the commission; they meet every month with the executive secretary to provide advice and input into the commission's work. The ACPR is composed of ESCAP members and associates.

The ESCAP Secretariat, a branch of the UN Secretariat, includes the Office of the Executive Secretary and a series of divisional subcommittees. It coordinates all the activities of ESCAP, prepares for the commission and other meetings, conducts research, and implements and provides coordination for programs in the region. The secretariat and its subcommittees organize and document ESCAP conferences and workshops held throughout the Asia Pacific each year. The secretariat is also responsible for coordinating ESCAP activities with other intergovernmental organizations and UN agencies and departments.

A series of committees and subcommittees guide the commission's work and make recommendations in accordance with program areas. Three thematic committees focus on poverty reduction, globalisation management, and emerging social issues. Each committee has its own objectives and terms of reference and is designed to act as a regional forum for members and associates to promote cooperation, review research and trends, examine best practice development models, evaluate program implementation and effectiveness, and disseminate information on these more specific issues. The focus on poverty reduction ties in with wider UN goals documented in the Millennium Declaration (2000). There are eight subcommittees under the ambit of their relevant thematic committees, with areas of interest corresponding to the subprograms of ESCAP. These subprograms indicate the current priority areas of the commission and include social development (including emerging social issues); environment and sustainable development; information, communication, and space technology; poverty and development; statistics; trade and investment; and transport and tourism. Administrative services and program management committees provide logistical and administrative support. There are also two Special Bodies that focus on the particular issues facing least developed and landlocked countries, such as Laos, and Pacific island developing countries.

One of ESCAP's principle activities is the organization of conferences, forums, and training workshops and the provision of opportunities for technical cooperation. In 2004, more than two hundred various regional meetings, training workshops, and conferences were held. For example, ESCAP convened a meeting of e-commerce law experts from the region to discuss assistance to the governments of less developed



countries in planning their legal and regulatory systems for e-commerce. ESCAP also assists intergovernmental liaison and interdevelopmental consultations prior to international conferences. The commission encourages governments to contribute to the provision of these services.

Some of the challenges ESCAP faces can be discerned from the overview of its functions and structure just described. An early critique was that the organization was overly centralised in Bangkok and neglected the Pacific region. This was addressed by establishing a Pacific Operations Centre in Vanuatu in 1984. There are also an additional four regional institutions: the Asian and Pacific Centre for Transfer of Technology (in India); the Regional Coordination Centre for Research and Development of Coarse Grains, Pulses, Roots, and Tuber Crops in the Humid Tropics (in Indonesia); the Statistical Institute for Asia and the Pacific (in Japan); and the Centre for Agricultural Engineering and Machinery in China.

The multilateral nature of the organization presents challenges to its effectiveness that are familiar to similar bodies; most notably, one of the challenges involves the dependence on cooperation and support of member states that may at times have conflicting agendas. Differences over goals and resources have led to tentative relationships with governments in the region. According to Alley (1998), ESCAP has had to limit its involvement in intergovernmental cooperation, avoiding more contentious matters such as public/private sector links, the harmonisation of trade and nontariff barriers, resource issues (such as water and waste management), and the removal of nontariff barriers. A common issue has been the disagreement over the wording of documents. Attempts to establish regional sustainability plans have met with reluctance on the part of members to fund activity.

Other critics have claimed ESCAP has failed to present empirical indicators to support development goals in the region. This, it could be argued, is an unfair assertion given ESCAP's major focus on research and analysis. It is perhaps the most convenient, least controversial space of operations given the constraints of dealing with diverse member states. Maintaining this level of cooperation with member states can, however, also encourage the development of an aversion to risk taking. The major tool that ESCAP has is persuasion, but as Bennet (1988) has suggested, persuasion is a relatively weak technique for driving cooperation and coordinating states concerned with protecting their sovereignty and the autonomy of their own programs and projects.

ESCAP's lack of authority and diverse channels of operation makes coordination difficult, but this was compounded by a burgeoning of other UN agencies

in the region. The commission itself has been critical of this sectoral rather than coordinated approach to regional development, particularly when UN agencies have established their own regional networks and multiplied their offices (Taylor 2000). Avoiding a bureaucratic culture and the duplication of work have become complex issues. Policies such as joint meetings, joint divisions of UN agencies and the commission, and posting of agency staff in commission offices have been implemented. These have been useful steps but not always fully effective according to Taylor (2000), and it can be a costly policy in terms of staff and budgets.

With limited resources and influence, dependent on the cooperation of governments and other agencies, it could be argued that ESCAP has not played a central role in economic and social development in the Asia Pacific. It does not develop economic policy as such, leaving this to bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Asian Development Bank. There has been a lack of implementation of its own plans, such as the Manila Declaration of 1994 that declared the eradication of poverty by 2010 from the ESCAP region, targeting in particular health care, elderly and education sectors, employment expansion, social integration, and the decline of gender, ethnic, and cultural discrimination.

However, while resisting some measures, ESCAP members have, according to Alley (1998), managed to coordinate joint positions to meet moderate reform objectives, particularly relating to social goals. The secretariat has produced major reports and surveys on the social and economic states of the region, organized wide-ranging conferences and workshops to disseminate information and skills, and in some areas has established working relations with other agencies, such as with the UNEP with regard to environment programs.

An evaluation of ESCAP and its programs began in the 1990s, culminating in an organizational review in 2000 that identified major issues that needed to be addressed in the organization's future role; the review also addressed comparative advantage, budgetary concerns, external image, governance, management culture, human resources and program management, and administrative blockages (*ESCAP Towards 2020* 2004). Several strategies and recommendations were made, including the grouping of programs under the three themes already noted; a shift in focus from microinitiatives to larger, interdisciplinary projects; the continued support for decentralisation with plans for further regional institutions; and a new structure for conferences aligned with the program themes. There were also initiatives to restructure the secretariat in 2003, reorientating the organization toward

“performance” and “results-based” management. Changes in priorities, policies, and structure have been designed to translate into the future effectiveness of ESCAP’s programs and activities.

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**See also Asian Development Bank; United Nations Development Program (UNDP); United Nations Economic and Social Council; United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)**

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## UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC)

One of the six major organs of the United Nations (UN), the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was established with the negotiation of the UN Charter in San Francisco in 1945. The League of Nations prepared the way for the emergence of ECOSOC through the wide range of technical committees that dealt with economic, social, and health concerns. Even before ECOSOC’s demise, an evaluation of league activities identified the need for a more effective coordination of these areas of functional cooperation between governments. Thus, under pressure from smaller powers, governments at San Francisco decided to elevate ECOSOC to the status of a UN organ, so that it might serve as the central coordinating body of the economic and social work of the UN and of the UN’s work with other international and nongovernmental bodies.

One of the four main purposes of the UN, as stipulated in Article 1 (3), is to “achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.” Coupled with the UN Security Council, which was established

to prevent and control conflict, ECOSOC was seen as being responsible for addressing a wide range of underlying causes of conflict, which if properly addressed would reduce the frequency of conflict among nations while fostering cooperation in mutual problem solving. To this end, Chapters IX and X of the UN Charter vest in ECOSOC a variety of specific issues for discussion and action, including “a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.” The UN Charter explicitly names ECOSOC as the body responsible for bringing all international bodies working toward these ends into coordination with the UN. It also has the authority to make recommendations regarding these policy areas and to coordinate the work of the various agencies. It may establish commissions, initiate studies, issue reports, call international conferences, recommend the creation of new agencies, and propose treaties dealing with all matters within its competence. It is the focal point of UN consultation with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). All UN specialized agencies report to ECOSOC, which in turn reports to the UN General Assembly. In short, ECOSOC is a very important coordinating and policy body dealing with international economic- and development-related issues.

### Early Initiatives

ECOSOC was active from the very outset of the UN in organizing its work and in establishing ties with other international agencies, such as with UNICEF in 1946, the World Bank in 1947, and the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1948. ECOSOC was swiftly involved in the process of reorganizing international responses to the refugee situation in Europe with the creation of the International Refugee Organization in 1946 and the UN Relief for Palestine Refugees in 1948. In 1946, ECOSOC established the Human Rights Commission, tasking it with the drafting of human rights agreements, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention, which were eventually adopted by the UN in 1948. Its humanitarian activities continued with the establishment of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine in 1950 and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in 1951. In 1946, ECOSOC established a Commission for Narcotic Drugs; in 1947, the organization established a Population Commission. In the

meantime, war in Korea necessitated an international response to the economic and humanitarian situation there, precipitating the establishment of the UN Korean Relief and Reconstruction Agency. To focus and rationalize its attention on economic development issues, ECOSOC established two regional economic commissions in 1947, the UN Economic Commission for Europe and the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. This was followed in 1948 by the establishment of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. Two additional commissions were established for Africa in 1958 and Western Asia in 1973. All of these bodies report directly to ECOSOC.

During its second decade, the UN increasingly began to focus on issues of concern to the growing number of developing countries that had gained membership upon attainment of independence. In 1965, ECOSOC was expanded from eighteen to twenty-seven seats and in 1973 from twenty-seven to fifty-four seats; most of the new seats were occupied by states from the developing world. The voice of developing countries increasingly elevated attention to matters of concern to them, including the problems of underdevelopment, poverty, foreign assistance, transfer of technology, international trade and investment reforms, debt relief, racial discrimination, and resource development. In 1961, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the UN initiated the World Food Program (WFP) to cope with emergency food needs. International development planning and cooperation, which had previously been promoted by the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) since 1950, was further emphasized in 1957 with the establishment of the Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). These programs were later combined under the UN Development Program (UNDP) in 1965. The World Bank added a special International Development Fund (IDA) in 1960. The UNDP itself was a product of three years of debate that began in ECOSOC in 1962.

At the same time, developing countries met in Geneva in 1964, establishing the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), as an alternative mechanism to voice developing country concerns about the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) system that tended to ignore the adverse terms of the trade situation for many developing countries. In 1967, yet another UN development bureaucracy, the UN Industrial Development Organization, was established. Thus, as ECOSOC and the UN entered their third decade together, much of the work of these bodies was marked by increasing controversy over how best to promote economic development in the Third World. Developing countries lobbied for

extensive assistance programs and expanded multilateral activity by UN bodies, while many developed countries resisted these demands and began to call for more careful rationalization of programs and budgets. ECOSOC was in the thick of international debates concerning the establishment of what was called the New International Economic Order (NIEO), which called for substantial restructuring of international aid, trade, and investment policies.

## **ECOSOC and Conference Diplomacy**

ECOSOC has routinely called for international conferences to deal with the growing controversies among developed and developing nations. Such conferences ranged from those dealing with the environment (1972), population (1964, 1974, 1984, 1994), food (1974), women (1975), and human settlements (1976), among many others. These conferences often recommended the establishment of new agencies placed under the coordination of ECOSOC. These included, for instance, the UN Environment Program, the UN Fund for Population Activities, the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, and the UN Human Settlements Program. The formation of UNCTAD in 1964 drew ECOSOC into the very heart of the controversial debates regarding the NIEO, which were often at the center of disputes at various international conferences as well. The array of UN economic development bodies established by governments reflected a piecemeal approach to problems based on voting majorities in the UN who wished to emphasize development concerns rather than a coherent strategic plan of organization. The result was a large number of often overlapping and competing agencies, together with the inefficiencies that necessarily resulted from this incoherent approach. Countries in the developing world objected to this growing bureaucracy and to what they saw as the increasingly irresponsible budgetary implications of it. Since the wealthier developed countries pay for most of the costs of UN development activity, they began to insist during the 1980s and 1990s that UN specialized agencies show greater budgetary restraint. During the same period of time, the UN undertook substantial reforms, both in its administrative organization and in its spending.

The role of ECOSOC as an initiator of international conferences and debate and as a coordinating body is seen in the progress of these many and wide-ranging disputes. ECOSOC is not, itself, a programmatic body. Rather, it serves as the mechanism through which a wide variety of UN agencies cooperate and

coordinate their activities. The organization is driven by the voices of its member states, along with those of the UN General Assembly, to which the ECOSOC reports. ECOSOC serves as a mechanism for the gathering of information and the articulation of interests by thousands of NGOs that have gained consultative status with it. Thus, ECOSOC, which now sits at the apex of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs after the restructuring of the UN's administrative operations, is not a development agency proper but, rather, a political body that serves to coordinate the work of operational agencies. Thus, as the nature of international economic and development debates evolve, ECOSOC is the body in which changing problems are dealt with by changing policy approaches.

For example, the 1970s and early 1980s were dominated by shrill and often unproductive disputes between developed countries and developing ones, the latter demanding and the former resisting international economic reforms of various kinds. Sometimes agreements were reached, as with the establishment of general systems of preference in trade that helped developing countries compete more effectively on international markets; however, as often as not, reform efforts failed, as with the idea of mandatory levels of foreign aid, mandatory transfer of technology, codes of conduct on international investment, mandatory commodity indexation schemes, and the like. Much of the controversy generated in these debates centered on Capitalist, Socialist, and Communist ideological differences. However, with the collapse of communism throughout much of the world in the late 1980s, the tone of international debates on development also changed. ECOSOC and other UN bodies began exploring ways to enhance global trade and investment, promote commerce, reduce barriers to business, encourage the growth of private enterprise, encourage democracy, and promote reductions in inefficient state-owned and state-operated enterprises. A greater degree of realism and a sense of cooperation have thus been reflected in various international initiatives related to trade, giving rise to the World Trade Organization in 1995. Similar realism and serious discussion has evolved in regard to global monetary issues, such as debt rescheduling and cancellation, and in rationalization of international humanitarian responses to complex emergencies.

### Future Outlook

The world has moved rapidly since the 1990s toward the globalization of international trade, communication,

and investment. These developments have placed a great deal more power into the hands of individuals, private businesses, and enterprises. This represents a considerable shift from the idea of world organization that prevailed during the 1970s and 1980s. Governments still sit at the center of the discussion about how to structure and manage economic development today, and they will continue to use multilateral bodies such as the UN, ECOSOC, and other multilateral bodies as avenues for discussion and action. In this process, ECOSOC will continue to function as a forum for debate, a mechanism for multilateral cooperation, and a means for coordination of economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian affairs.

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**See also United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**

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### UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (ECLAC)

The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, commonly known as the *Comisión Económica para América Latina* (CEPAL), was one of the most influential sources of development ideas in the post-World War II period. CEPAL was founded in

Santiago, Chile, in 1948. CEPAL was a product of the representatives of Latin America, who insisted on some kind of recovery plan similar to the Marshall Plan for the region. While CEPAL originally covered just Latin America, it later expanded to include the developing nations of the Caribbean. In its English translation, the organization became entitled the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). It is interesting to note that although ECLAC has always been a part of the United Nations (UN), it has always had a high degree of independence from the rest of the organization. ECLAC was one of five regional commissions set up for postwar recovery, but it has had little collaboration over the years with its counterparts.

The organization's mission centers on the economic development of Latin America, including its ties to the rest of the world economy. As Santiago is fairly remote, ECLAC has over the years opened subregional headquarters in Mexico City and Trinidad and Tobago. ECLAC also has country offices in Brasilia, Brazil; Buenos Aires, Argentina; Montevideo, Uruguay; and Bogotá, Colombia. In addition, ECLAC has a liaison office in Washington, D.C.

ECLAC is headed by the Office of the Executive Secretariat. The secretariat's office generally sets the policy direction for the organization; sets up meetings of the member states; and otherwise supervises activities. It is important to note that ECLAC is a client of and serves its member states, to which the secretariat must respond. The states have a continual conversation with the organization, but the biannual meetings organized by the secretariat are the main vehicle for assessing and changing the direction of the organization. The member states include the United States and several European countries, including the United Kingdom and France. The main divisions of ECLAC include the field offices already noted; the Office of the Deputy Executive Secretary; the Programme Planning and Operations Division; the Office of the Secretary of the Commission; the Division of Administration; the Latin American and Caribbean Institute for Economic and Social Planning or ILPES, the Spanish acronym; and the various research divisions.

ECLAC's current programs for Latin America include most prominently work on macroeconomic stability; on improving competitiveness in the international economy; on improving sectoral performance, including the development of infrastructure; on economic integration; on social equity, including a special office on women; on population growth; and on the environment. Historically speaking, ECLAC's prominence, scope, and types of activity have changed dramatically over time.

After ECLAC was founded, it became for the next two decades the most prominent economic development organization around the world and a dominant influence on economic policy decisions in Latin America. It is interesting to note that although the United States has been a long-time principal funding source, ECLAC has always been able to maintain a fairly independent line of analysis on Latin American development. Part of the reason for ECLAC's great influence initially was the absence of any well-developed corps of economists in Latin America at the time as well as a basic lack of economic data. ECLAC continues today to serve as a leading source for regional statistics. ILPES for a time served as the premier training location for economists from around Latin America. In other words, ECLAC was at the center of most conversations concerning Latin American development. Most important, economists from Latin America participated in some way with ECLAC, whether through meetings, training sessions, or policy discussions.

The other important reasons for ECLAC's influence concerned its charismatic leader, Raul Prebisch, and the development of a distinct view of economic development called "structuralism." Prebisch, an Argentine by birth, was a Latin American "caudillo" in the classic sense. He was a natural born leader, with a keen intellect and the ability to command audiences' attention and loyalty. His early work in the Central Bank of Argentina, which experienced frequent problems in paying off external national debts, helped him to begin constructing the basic tenets of structuralist thought, which would spread his and ECLAC's name around the world.

The main tenets of structuralist thought are found in Prebisch's 1948 report to ECLAC called *The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems*. In the report, Prebisch lays out a number of problems endemic to Latin America and proposes some basic remedies. The first tenet of structuralism is called the Prebisch-Singer hypothesis. The basic idea is that the prices of primary product goods, such as raw materials and basic foodstuffs, that the developing world has traditionally produced, have a *relatively* lower price than the manufactures that the First World produces. Thus, the developing world is stuck making products that are worth less and less as time goes on. The second basic tenet considers inflation. Prebisch considered that there were basic "bottlenecks" in developing economies that prevented or delayed production from increasing in response to increasing demand. Thus, even as consumers in developing economies began to demand more products, such as televisions and automobiles, the local economies were unable to respond with increases in

production. The bottlenecks that slowed down the development of local production could be any number of things, from the inability to obtain credit to a basic lack of infrastructure, such as reliable and cheap energy. The third basic tenet of structuralism was that only the government or “the state” could solve these problems. The state could do so through two basic strategies. The first was to move toward the production of industrialized goods that would not suffer from the deteriorating terms of the trade price problem noted previously. The second was that the state could proactively begin to cut or loosen the bottlenecks also already noted. These ideas were eventually embraced around the developing world. It is important to note that structuralism did not start state intervention into developing economies, but rather it created a logical framework and plan of action around which it could develop.

Like other theoretical perspectives, structuralism was a dynamic analytical framework that was added to and modified as events played out. As several Latin American governments (and many outside of the region), notably Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, began to adopt structuralist policies, several problems started to become apparent. The first related to the policy of “import substituting industrialization.” By this policy, Latin American governments taxed agriculture and other primary product exports and protected finished industrial goods to promote their domestic production. In many cases, governments actually created state-owned enterprises to produce these goods. By the mid-1960s, Latin American governments began to experience severe inflationary and balance-of-payments problems. A key source of these problems was that these countries were still importing the equipment, expertise, and capital to produce the final industrial products at the same time as they were taxing their exports. Another problem, which still continues in the twenty-first century, was a basic inability to balance government budgets. The result was a major economic imbalance. At that time, ECLAC began to emphasize the importance of paying attention to agricultural productivity and to suggest that land reform was an important key. The general situation led economist Albert O. Hirschman to come up with the idea of economic “linkages.” Hirschman pointed out that developing economies needed to consider production as a whole process, not just as producing the final versions of goods. Thus, part of the problem was importing car parts to assemble cars instead of producing the parts as well.

Another problem was the limited size of the domestic markets of Latin American countries. Industrial products need to be produced in large numbers to reach the lowest per unit cost, or “economies of

scale.” There were simply not enough consumers to lead to adequate production runs in Latin America, so ECLAC began to promote the importance of exports, and became, and has continued to be, a major promoter of intra-Latin American economic integration. ECLAC also began to propose some cautious steps toward income redistribution, which it felt would further increase the size of the domestic markets. Unfortunately, these reforms were never really embraced. Exports were never seriously promoted. Agricultural reform was tepid at best in most places. The ostentatious signing of integration agreements had nothing to do with the reality that there was a very limited and retreating will to move toward the integration of economies.

By the end of the 1960s, as in the rest of the world, Latin America was wracked by a polarization of leftist groups agitating for major social change, usually in the form of socialism, and rightists who wanted a more moderate, if any, pace of reform. ECLAC itself was internally divided along these lines, and the momentum of structuralist thought and policies was lost. In addition, Prebisch moved on to leadership in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva, and his leadership was missed. One camp of ECLAC moved closer to the newly emerging dependency paradigm, which is much more pessimistic about the prospects for development. Two members of ECLAC, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, wrote the most important book of the dependency school: *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. The book was very much a product of the times, when leftist guerrillas were active throughout the region and socialism seemed like a viable alternative. ECLAC itself was torn apart when Salvador Allende’s government was overthrown by General Augusto Pinochet’s military government. Many core members of ECLAC who had sympathized with Allende fled Chile during the Pinochet regime, and the organization itself went into a lull of inactivity. By the end of the 1970s, the structuralist policies concerning import substituting industrialization had largely fallen into disrepute, much as socialism and dependency did ten years later.

In retrospect, it really is quite unfair to consider structuralist policies a clear “failure.” As Rosemary Thorp points out in *An Economic History of Latin America in the 20th Century*, the period of import substituting industrialization succeeded for the most part in creating a strong industrial base for domestic production, albeit one that was wracked by efficiency, technical, and managerial problems. Moreover, economic growth rates in several Latin American economies, particularly Mexico and Brazil, were quite high during the 1960s. So even though income distribution

worsened, there was substantial progress in improving the absolute living standards of Latin Americans. However, structuralism was never reformed along the lines already noted. The revolutionary leftist groups failed in securing power as the military took over in most of the region. Instead of carrying through the already described needed reforms, Latin American governments began borrowing massive amounts of capital to smooth out balance of payments problems and continuing increasing government spending. This borrowing set the region directly up for the external debt crisis when international interest rates rose dramatically upon the direction of the United States in 1982. The ensuing decade is known as “the lost decade” as Latin America began to sink into ten years of economic contraction. Whether the reforms to structuralism could have “saved” the set of economic policies is one of those historical imponderables that does not seem to receive adequate discussion.

ECLAC itself reorganized in the 1980s around a new set of policies that it called “nestructuralism.” Nestructuralist thought was best articulated by Ricardo Ffrench-Davis in the 1980s but has nowhere near the impact of its predecessor. Basically, nestructuralism seeks to implement a softer version of the neoliberal model, one in which a minimal social safety net, environmental preservation, and other concerns are taken into account. While still honoring the memory of Prebisch, ECLAC has also changed in other ways.

ECLAC now has a large contingency of American-trained economists, who have a more mainstream orientation than the Prebisch generation. ECLAC also has lost much of its leadership position in Latin America. There are a number of reasons for this loss, but two primary reasons are that most countries now produce their own economic experts and that they have their own research and statistical databases. It remains to be seen whether ECLAC can regain its importance among Latin American states. The organization continues to serve as an important information portal for Latin American economic statistics and research and as an important place for regional economic studies.

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See also **Neoliberalism**

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## UNITED NATIONS FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) was established on October 16, 1945, in Quebec, Canada, with the ultimate goal of defeating world hunger. The FAO attempts to raise levels of nutrition and standards of living, increase agricultural productivity, and improve the condition of rural populations. The FAO seeks to meet the needs of present and future generations by promoting development that does not endanger the environment and is technologically appropriate, economically viable, and socially acceptable. FAO officials contend that making sure people have regular access to sufficient quantities of high-quality food will enable people to lead active, healthy lives and contribute to the growth of the world economy. To bring global awareness to the plight of the world’s peoples suffering from hunger, in 1981 the FAO declared that October 16 would henceforth be celebrated as World Food Day. The theme for World Food Day in 2004 was biodiversity for food security, which highlighted biodiversity’s role in ensuring that people have sustainable access to enough high-quality food to lead active and healthy lives.

The FAO employs approximately 3,500 staff members. In addition to its headquarters in Rome, the FAO maintains regional offices in Egypt, Thailand, Ghana, and Chile. The FAO also supports over seventy-five country offices, primarily in the developing world. The FAO is composed of eight departments that focus on administration and finance, agriculture, economic and social issues, fisheries, forestry, general affairs and information, sustainable development, and technical cooperation.

The FAO is involved in four major areas of activity: putting information within the reach of people, sharing policy expertise, providing a meeting place

for concerned nations, and bringing knowledge into the field. In an attempt to foster development, the FAO staff (made up of agronomists, foresters, fisheries and livestock specialists, nutritionists, social scientists, economists, statisticians, and other professionals) collects, analyzes, and distributes information to millions of people. In addition to publishing a plethora of reports, books, documents, newsletters, and magazines, the FAO maintains an extensive site on the World Wide Web. As such, the FAO serves as a virtual clearinghouse of information, providing farmers, scientists, traders, and government officials with the knowledge they need to make rational decisions.

In an attempt to achieve rural development and alleviate hunger, the FAO works on a national level to help individual countries devise agricultural policy, draft effective legislation, and create national development strategies. The FAO is a neutral forum where representatives from the developed and developing nations can meet to discuss the major food and agricultural concerns facing the world. The FAO monitors international standards and helps organize international conventions and agreements as well as regularly hosts conferences, technical meetings, and consultations of experts. Since its inception in 1945, the FAO has supported thousands of field projects throughout the world, especially in the developing nations. The FAO is committed to reducing global hunger in half by 2015.

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**See also Agriculture: Impact of Globalization; Agriculture: Impact of Privatization; Food and Nutrition**

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## UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR)

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is one of the largest United Nations (UN)

assistance agencies. The vast majority of the refugees and other people under its care and protection reside in asylum countries of the developing world. Although the UNHCR is charged first and foremost with the protection of refugees, its assistance activities have a direct bearing on the development situation in countries that host refugees and in countries of origin that receive returnees home from exile.

### Origins and Development of UNHCR

The UNHCR was established on January 1, 1951, as the successor to the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which in turn had been established as a temporary body to resolve the circumstances of millions of refugees and others displaced by the events of World War II. With several hundred thousand refugees in displaced persons camps remaining as the IRO drew near the end of its five-year term of existence, governments decided to create the UNHCR as a temporary agency to finish the work of the IRO by repatriating, permanently settling, or resettling refugees. The role of the UNHCR was limited at the time to offering legal protection services to refugees. Other bodies were to provide actual operational assistance. But in time, the UN General Assembly allowed the UNHCR to seek voluntary assistance from its member states for the benefit of refugee populations. The UNHCR's mandate was gradually extended from three to five years and has been routinely reauthorized at five-year intervals ever since its inception; this extension is a result of the growing need for the UNHCR's protection and assistance services, as refugee situations began to arise outside of Europe, such as in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. As both the number of refugee situations and the numbers of refugees began to increase, especially in developing countries unable to cope with the economic and social consequences of large refugee flows, the UNHCR found itself confronted with the need to offer both emergency and long-term care and maintenance assistance as necessary components of the organization's protection activities on behalf of refugees.

### Zonal Development Programs

In the early 1960s, UNHCR programs on behalf of Burundian and Rwandan refugees in Central Africa acknowledged that assistance to refugees must take into account the effects of the refugee flows on the local economies of the host countries. One of the



observations made by UNHCR was that the targeting of large amounts of emergency assistance, food aid, medical assistance, housing, and social services on refugees alone could quickly place a refugee population in a privileged position relative to the often poor and underprivileged host population, leading to resentments among the latter toward refugees and to protection problems for refugees. On the other hand, to the extent that aid was aimed at the entire population of a refugee-affected area, both the refugees and the local population benefited, leading to a more harmonious relationship in which protection of refugees was more easily guaranteed. However, the UNHCR labored with the self-understanding that it was a nonoperational agency. It could intercede on behalf of refugees to convince governments that they should offer asylum and protection, and it could issue appeals for assistance on behalf of refugees; however, it was the responsibility of the governments and of other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations to actually implement assistance programs on behalf of the refugees. Thus, although the zonal development idea was a promising one, the UNHCR was not equipped to promote it, and other UN bodies with explicit development-related responsibilities did not at the time adopt the idea as one worthy of consistent and wide application; this was especially true since development agencies viewed refugee aid as a temporary and emergency-related activity lasting only a few months or a few years, whereas development horizons encompassed much longer spans of time. There was no sense of urgency in the 1960s to integrate or coordinate short-term humanitarian aid with long-term development assistance (Betts 1984).

### **The Process of the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees**

The zonal development notion waned to the point of extinction during the 1970s, but as refugee situations, especially in Africa, began to proliferate during the late 1970s and into the early 1980s, the notion experienced a renaissance; by the time of the second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees (ICARA II), held in 1984 at Geneva, the idea of refugee-related development assistance gained new currency. At ICARA II, largely at the urging of the UNHCR, governments hosting large numbers of refugees or returnees were encouraged to identify development-related projects related to the economic and social infrastructure of refugee- and returnee-affected areas of their countries. More than 100 projects were submitted for funding in the hope that donor countries

might fund road building, reforestation, education, health care, agricultural programs, food storage, and other development-related programs in refugee-affected regions. Although many of the projects failed to attract funding, the notion that refugee aid and regional development planning were linked had become firmly planted in the outlook of both the UNHCR and gradually among other UN development agencies, such as the UN Development Program (UNDP), which was a cosponsor of ICARA II. In the late 1980s, the Central American Refugee Conference (CIREFCA) also attempted to link the aid for refugees, returnees, and displaced persons to the larger development needs of Central American states seeking to rehabilitate badly degraded infrastructures after a decade of civil discord. International responses the CIREFCA proved more generous than toward ICARA II projects.

### **UNHCR as the Catalyst for Refugee Aid and Development Linkages**

The linkage of refugee aid to the development strategy of a refugee hosting country was to a very large extent advanced by the UNHCR, which over the years developed substantial experience in responding to refugee situations in developing nations. The UNHCR, unlike its sister development agencies in the UN system, had extensive contacts in developing countries directly and through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with which it contracted to implement emergency care and maintenance assistance to refugees. This routine presence in the field attuned UNHCR personnel to the effects of its assistance on refugees and on the host populations alike. Often called upon to assist and protect not only refugees but other displaced populations in refugee-like circumstances,

UNHCR became more acutely aware of the ways in which its assistance activities either helped or hurt the livelihood of local populations. Large amounts of refugee food aid imported from foreign sources, for instance, typically had the affect of driving local food prices lower, thereby providing disincentives for local food producers. On the other hand, if cereal grains could be purchased from local stocks, local producers had incentives to produce more. If refugees were given food for work opportunities, resentment among locals tended to increase. Likewise, if refugees were given access to health care clinics, local animosity was likely to grow. When such opportunities and services were extended to local people and the refugees alike, the former tended to look upon the presence of refugees as an asset to the local economy. To the extent that

refugee labor could be directed toward projects aimed at strengthening local infrastructure, the UNHCR could encourage not only a safer environment for refugees but also contribute in modest ways to the eventual development of refugee-affected regions. Thus, the UNHCR for many years had discovered ways in which it could offer refugee aid in a way that was compatible to the development of host countries.

The more difficult step was convincing UN development agencies and the development arms of local and donor governments to take into account in their long-range indicative planning processes the refugees' impact on regional development within receiving countries. By engaging the UNDP at ICARA II and CIREFCA, the UNHCR took a big step in increasing the awareness among UN agencies and governments to the linkages between its humanitarian work on behalf of refugees with the development work of such sister agencies. Large refugee or returnee populations represent a burden on local infrastructures. Refugees foraging for firewood can quickly denude wide areas surrounding refugee settlements, creating potentially long-term and adverse environmental effects. Overland shipments of food aid can degrade local roadways. In arid regions, large refugee populations overtax local water supplies, both by reducing supplies and, where sanitation is poor, by polluting them. Disease in densely crowded refugee settings can easily spread to the local population and overwhelm the capacity of the local health infrastructure. Even when refugees have managed to settle spontaneously, outside of formally established refugee camps and settlements, pressures on local schools, hospitals, clinics, and other social services placed on such infrastructure and services can be severe.

While development agencies of host governments might consider such pressures to be temporary, there are many cases in which refugee populations spend more than a decade in their countries of asylum before opportunities to repatriate to their homeland materialize. It behooves governments, UN agencies, and NGOs alike, then, to anticipate the effects of large-scale refugee populations on the development of the host country. The UNHCR, by persistently and patiently reminding the international community of these realities in a variety of fora during the 1980s, placed these concerns in the mainstream of international policy making.

## UN Policy Responses

In 1992 and again in 1997, the UN became increasingly aware that coordination of humanitarian and

development assistance in situations involving civil war and complex emergencies would require greater interagency cooperation. During the 1980s, refugee-related development questions gained greater visibility in the development planning processes of various countries. In the preparation of country development strategy plans of refugee-receiving states, in cooperation with in-country roundtable discussions with donors and in the consultative group process of the World Bank, refugee-related issues rose to the fore as matters worthy of discussion in development planning circles. During the early 1990s, the establishment of a Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) to serve as a coordinating body for humanitarian aid in developing country contexts provided a first step toward greater interagency sharing of information and coordination of assistance packages to regions of the world experiencing humanitarian emergencies. The establishment of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs further consolidated this effort. The UNHCR is a major player in these interagency contexts.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of refugees throughout the world flee from developing countries into neighboring developing countries means that UN aid-giving bodies, including the UNHCR and a host of UN development agencies, will need to continue coordinating with one another as they pursue their respective mandates. The days when development assistance was provided without regard to refugees and refugee assistance without regard to the wider development situation are long gone. But effective distribution of such assistance continues to put a premium on the effective coordination of UN agencies, governments, and NGOs, as both refugee problems and development needs persist throughout the developing world.

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**See also Migration; Refugees**

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## UNITED NATIONS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (UNIDO)

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization, referred to as its acronym UNIDO, was set up in 1966, but it became a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) in 1985. UNIDO has responsibility for promoting industrialization throughout the developing world, in cooperation with its 171 member states. Its headquarters are in Vienna, Austria, and it is represented in thirty-five developing countries.

The main purpose of the UNIDO is to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich, in other words between the developing and developed states. The importance of the UNIDO's role is increasing in light of the following facts: sub-Saharan Africa's share of the world's manufacturing value-added has fallen from 0.8% in 1975 to 0.3% in 1995; industry accounts for one-third of the world's greenhouse emissions and a large percentage of hazardous materials; for every ton of food produced, developed countries spend \$180 on processing it, while developing nations spend \$40; between 60% and 70% of the female population is employed in the agriculture sector, while the majority of women employed in industry work as an unskilled labor force; and, finally, one-fourth of the gold sold on the world market comes from artisanal miners who use mercury for extracting gold ore. This method pollutes hundreds of kilometers of rivers. More than two million small-scale gold miners work in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and seven million people depend on related activities. In this respect, many projects have been implemented by UNIDO to end problems related to pollution resulting from industrial activities.

UNIDO assists the Philippines in substituting for the use of mercury by small-scale miners. A similar programme was successfully completed in Venezuela,

where gold miners agreed to change their work methods. They improved their living and working conditions, the source of pollution was eliminated, and their activities were legalized. More than ten countries have solicited the implementation of this UNIDO programme. Another project was implemented in Cospa Mica, the Romanian town and the most polluted place in Europe in 1991. People, animals, grass, facades, and virtually everything was black from the soot emitted by the Cabosin chemical plant, while the Sometra smelter factory discharged lead. A UNIDO project was implemented, and it took seven years to clean up Copsa Mica. UNIDO advised the closure of Cabosin, while Sometra improved its production methods and managed to transform the town. UNIDO's concern for environmental protection is translated into numerous programmes. Cleaner production centers—ten in existence worldwide—provide training in the efficient use of raw materials and energy, elimination of toxic raw materials, and reduction of emissions and wastes. UNIDO is one of the four implementing agencies of the Montreal Protocol, which was ratified in 1987, and calls for eliminating the production of ozone-depleting substances. In addition, many women in Africa support their families by selling agricultural products and garments, and the value added to their work increases profits. UNIDO's programme in Tanzania focused on the use of improved technology and development of entrepreneurial skills. Numerous projects in Africa, Asia, and Latin America train small and medium-sized business entrepreneurs in ways to add value to their work, improve production, expand business operations, and generate profits.

The main objectives of UNIDO are (i) to promote sustainable industrial development in countries with developing and transition economies, (ii) to harness the joint forces of government and the private sector to foster competitive industrial production, (iii) develop international industrial partnerships and promote socially equitable and environmentally friendly industrial development, and (iv) to create a better life for people by laying the industrial foundation for long-term prosperity and economic strength.

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) helps developing countries and countries with economies in transition in implementing their development plans that are facing the challenges of the globalization age. The organization mobilizes knowledge, skills, information, and technology to promote productive employment, a competitive economy, and a sound environment. In its work, UNIDO has eight service modules that are Industrial Governance and Statistics, Investment and Technology Promotion, Industrial Competitiveness and Trade,

Private Sector Development, Agro-industry, Sustainable Energy and Climate Change, the Montreal Protocol (regarding substances that deplete the ozone layer), and Environmental Management.

Recently, UNIDO has launched two initiatives. One is the Market Access Initiative, launched at the International Conference of Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico, in March 2002. The second is the Rural Energy for Productive Use Initiative, launched at the World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa, in September 2002.

UNIDO works not only with governments but also with business associations, high-level experts, and individual companies to solve industrial problems. During the 1990s, UNIDO experienced pressure to reform its operations, which were mainly in the administration rather than in its programmes. Despite UNIDO's reform efforts, the United States withdrew from the organization at the end of 1996, citing as the reasons federal cutbacks in foreign aid expenditures and a lack of commitment to the agency from some members of the US Congress. Moreover, in 1996, Britain and Australia also announced plans to withdraw from UNIDO. Critics in the United States and Britain concede that UNIDO has made substantial progress in meeting the reform goals of member nations. The decision of both countries to withdraw from the organization instead reflects domestic political considerations and the desire to send a message to the UN about disagreements concerning the organization's policies. Critics also argue that at least two other UN organizations—the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)—focus on development in impoverished nations. Because the United States and Britain contributed one-third of the organization's budget, their withdrawals have affected the survival of UNIDO.

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**See also Industrialization; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**

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## UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ)

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is based in The Hague (Netherlands). It is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The ICJ was created in 1945. Its jurisdiction and powers are established by the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The ICJ is at times colloquially referred to as the “World Court” although this is not its official title.

### Functions

The ICJ has two principal functions. First, the court must settle legal disputes submitted to it by those states that have accepted its jurisdiction. Second, the court must render advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized international organizations and agencies. In either case, the ICJ decides the questions before it in accordance with international treaties and conventions, international custom, and the general principles of law, supplementing its analysis with reference to decisions of other courts as well as the writings of well-known publicists [Statute of the International Court of Justice, art. 38(1)]. The ICJ does not have jurisdiction over individuals or entities that are not states [Statute of the International Court of Justice, art. 34(1)]. This differentiates the ICJ from the International Criminal Court which, when it comes into effect, will be able to prosecute individuals who commit genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

### Contentious Disputes Among States

Contentious disputes between consenting states occupy most of the ICJ's attention. States can consent to jurisdiction in a particular dispute in one of three ways. First, the states can make between them a special agreement to submit the dispute to the ICJ. Second, the states can consent by virtue of what international lawyers call a “jurisdictional clause,” which is a clause in a treaty that requires disputes arising under that treaty to be brought before the ICJ. When a treaty contains a jurisdictional clause, the ICJ will assume jurisdiction over a dispute among states that are parties to that treaty when the dispute involves the meaning, effect, or application of that treaty [Statute of the International Court of Justice, art. 36(1)]. Many treaties or conventions contain a jurisdictional clause. Third, the states can consent through declarations made by a state under the ICJ

Statute that it accepts ICJ jurisdiction as compulsory in the event the state enters into a dispute with another state that has made the same declaration (Statute of the International Court of Justice, art. 36[2]). That the jurisdiction of the ICJ over a state is based on that state's consent reflects the importance of state sovereignty in the international legal order.

Proceedings begin with a written phase during which disputants file and exchange pleadings. This is followed by an oral phase consisting of public hearings before the judges. Following the oral phase, judges deliberate and thereafter deliver the judgment publicly. Judgments are final and without appeal (Statute of the International Court of Justice, arts. 59–60). Should a state fail to comply with an ICJ judgment, this may constitute a violation of the UN Charter of the United Nations, and the other party may have recourse to the UN Security Council. The two official languages of the ICJ are English and French.

## Personnel

The ICJ consists of fifteen judges elected to nine-year terms by the UN General Assembly and Security Council. No two judges can be of the same nationality. Elections are held every three years for one-third of the judge positions. Retiring judges may be reelected. ICJ judges do not represent their governments. The composition of the ICJ reflects the principal legal systems of the world.

## Jurisprudential Activity

As of 2001, the ICJ has delivered a total of seventy-two judgments on disputes and twenty-four advisory opinions. The ICJ has been involved in boundary disputes (land and maritime), civil claims, legality of the use of force, noninterference in the internal affairs of states, and diplomatic relations. The ICJ also has addressed violations of humanitarian law. Advisory opinions have concerned a number of issues, including admission to UN membership, reparation for injuries suffered in the service of the UN, and the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons.

Of the nearly twenty-five cases pending before the ICJ, half concern disputes between two developing countries or one country from the South and one from the North. This is an important change, given that as recently as the 1970s the ICJ mostly was called upon to settle disputes among developed nations.

## The ICJ and Development Issues

Although the ICJ's competence is limited by its statute largely to concern itself with disputes concerning the interpretation of treaties, questions of international law, and breaches of international obligation, in a number of opinions it has discussed development issues. Specifically, the ICJ has considered sustainable development, the alleged right of development, and intergenerational equity. Although discussion of some of these concepts only has been undertaken in separate opinions, the ICJ has been helpful in propounding principles of international law that harmonize economic development with environmental concerns and social justice.

Sustainable development—the notion that economic development is to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs—was discussed by the ICJ in its 1997 decision in the *Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project* (Hungary vs. Slovakia). This dispute arose because Hungary reneged on a treaty commitment it had made that it and Slovakia would construct and operate locks on the Danube River. Hungary suspended work and withdrew from the treaty owing to evidence that the project would damage the environment. Slovakia continued with the project by implementing a modified system that drastically reduced the downstream flow of the Danube into Hungary. The ICJ directed both parties to restructure and revitalize the project and, in so doing, to consider the principle of sustainable development (*Case Concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project* 1997). In a separate opinion, ICJ Vice President Christopher Gregory Weeramantry wrote that sustainable development was a principle with normative value that forms an integral part of modern international law (*Case Concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project* 1997, separate opinion). Interestingly, Weeramantry noted that sustainable development emerged from a need to reconcile the right to development (a right that developing nations strenuously have argued for) with the right to environmental protection. By affirming that the right to development constitutes a juristic base for sustainable development, Weeramantry may have increased the currency of developmental rights. However, for the most part, developed countries have not been supportive of developmental rights.

Intergenerational equity also has caught the eye of Vice President Weeramantry. Intergenerational equity posits that justice and fairness concerns are not only to operate within the present dimension. Instead, economic development and other motivations of present generations should be informed by the needs of

future unborn generations. The majority of the ICJ has not dealt with the concept of intergenerational equity. However, Weeramantry's dissenting opinion in 1995 in the Nuclear Tests Case (New Zealand vs. France), in which he identified the principle of intergenerational equity as an important and rapidly developing principle of contemporary environmental law, may constitute an important bellwether for future cases that specifically may involve the law of development.

MARK A. DRUMBL

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## UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL DRUG CONTROL PROGRAM (UNDCP)

The United Nations Drug Control Program (UNDCP) was established in 1991. It was renamed the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in 2002 and received a broader mandate. It was established in response to an increasing threat to the global security and stability from the growing production and distribution of illicit drugs, which burgeoned to a black-market business of \$500 billion US (UNODC est. 2004). In the 1990s and early 2000s, the illicit drugs production and distribution became a particularly serious issue, as the so-called drug dollars were increasingly channeled to finance international terrorism and local and regional conflicts in various parts of the world. The agency was established to govern the international system of treaties on drug control and to coordinate activities of the individual states and international agencies fighting illicit drugs' production and distribution.

The UNODC has the following objectives: to conduct research and analytical work on harmful effects of illicit drugs and drug-related crimes and disseminate the information about development in these areas; to provide all forms of assistance to individual states in developing domestic legislation on drugs, crimes, and terrorism and in implementing international

treaties on drug-related issues; and to implement technical cooperation projects to combat illicit drugs trade, trafficking, and terrorism.

The UNODC basis its work on three major international drug control treaties: the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs (1961), the Convention on Psychotropic Substances (1971), and the Convention against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic and Psychotropic Substances (1988).

The UNODC sponsors or supports several major actions around the world, including projects in Central Asia aimed at combating narcotics trafficking; projects in Southern and Eastern Africa aimed at improving judiciary system and training law enforcement officials; and projects in Bolivia, Columbia, and Peru aimed at counter narcotics cooperation and judiciary reforms. The agency also provides support to drug-abuse treatment and rehabilitation centers around the world. In 2003, the UNODC was accused of corruption; in response, the United Nations Office of International Oversight Services (OIOS) conducted an independent assessment and found no evidence of corruption or mismanagement.

The UNODC has its headquarters in Vienna (Austria), a liaison office in New York, and twenty-one field offices in various countries of Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe. The agency has about five hundred staff members, and its director is appointed by the UN secretary-general. The agency's budget is formed partly by contributions from the United Nations and partly by voluntary contributions from the member states. As of 2004, the United States was the largest single contributor to the agency's budget as it committed about \$140 million USD to various projects, mainly through the Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs.

RAFIS ABAZOV

**See also Black Market/Shadow Economy; Drug Trade; Drug Use**

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## UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (IFAD)

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN), was established as an international financial institution in 1977. The IFAD was a direct outcome of the resolutions proclaimed at the 1974 World Food Conference, which was held in response to the food crises of the early 1970s that affected the Sahel region of Africa. The participants at the UN-sponsored conference insisted that an international fund for agricultural development be established to finance agricultural development projects for food production in the developing countries. The delegates to the congress contended that the causes of food insecurity and famine in the Third World were not so much failures in food production in as much as they were structural problems relating to poverty and that a significant number of the Third World's people lived in the rural areas. The IFAD is committed to achieving the UN's Millennium Development Goals, especially the proposal to reduce the proportion of hungry and extremely poor people by 50% before 2015.

Through low-interest loans and grants, the IFAD works with Third World governments to develop and finance projects that enable the rural poor to overcome poverty themselves. Currently, there are about two hundred IFAD-supported rural poverty eradication programs and projects, valued at more than \$6 billion, half of which have been funded by the IFAD. The rest of the financing is contributed by partners, such as governments, bilateral donors, and multilateral donors. The IFAD's current projects are expected to benefit 100 million families in the rural regions of the developing world. Since its inception in 1978, the IFAD has invested almost \$9 billion in funding for more than 650 programs and projects in the Third World. These programs and projects have benefited more than 250 million families in the developing world. Funding from external donors to IFAD programs and projects has exceeded \$16 million.

The IFAD was created to mobilize resources for programs that alleviate rural poverty and improve nutrition. Unlike other international financial institutions that have a broad range of objectives and goals, the IFAD has the specific mandate to combat hunger and rural poverty in developing countries. The IFAD attempts to enable the rural poor in the developing countries to overcome their poverty by fostering social development, gender equity, income generation, improved nutrition, a sustainable environment, and good governance. In addition, IFAD projects and programs focus on country-specific solutions to increase

the rural poor peoples' access to financial services, markets, technology, and land.

IFAD projects and programs seek to develop and strengthen the ability of the poor to confront the issues they define as critical, increase access to knowledge so that poor people can overcome obstacles, enhance the bargaining power of the poor in the marketplace, and expand the influence that the poor people exert over public policy. IFAD programs and projects strive to empower the rural poor to take the initiative in their own development. The IFAD insists that the rural poor must be able to develop and strengthen their own organizations so they can advance their own interests and dismantle the obstacles that prevent them from creating better lives for themselves.

MICHAEL R. HALL

**See also Agriculture: Impact of Globalization; Poverty: Impact on Development; World Food Program**

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## UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE ON AGING (UNIIA)

The United Nations International Institute on Aging (UNIIA) was established in 1987 as an autonomous body under auspices of the United Nations (UN). It was officially inaugurated in 1988 and established its headquarters in Malta.

The institute was established due to the growing concern over the population aging in many developing and developed countries. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the number of people over the age of sixty will surpass those under the age of fifteen. It might become a particular problem for developing countries, as it is expected that the number of people over the age of sixty will rise from 8% in 1999 to 19% in 2050 and to 30% in 2150. Some of the issues arising from the aging populations are those concerned with social security and

health care for the elderly as well as opportunities for them to stay active.

A long-term action-oriented program was needed to provide direction for the international community to overcome social and economic problems expected in the aging societies. In 1979, the General Assembly of the United Nations called for a World Assembly on Aging to be held in 1982. The World Assembly on Aging adopted the Vienna International Plan of Action on Aging. This document became the key international document for the worldwide actions on aging. Following this recommendation, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) created resolution 1987/41, and the official agreement was signed between the United Nations and the Government of Malta in October 1987. The agreement was officially inaugurated by the UN secretary-general on April 15, 1988.

The UNIIA has the following mandate: to empower the less developed countries to deal with the issue of the aging population and to build their capacity to train their own personnel to formulate and implement their own policies; to help establish regional training centers; to provide continuing support to the network of the training institutions; and to promote interactive partnerships between developing countries and facilitate information transfer on the issue of mass longevity from developed to developing countries.

The main objective of the institute is to provide training to the developing countries and to facilitate implementation of the International Plan of Action on Aging. The UNIIA provides training through regular training programs in Malta and *in-situ* training programs in various developing countries, such as Brazil, China, India, Kuwait, Russia, Singapore, Tunisia, and some other countries. By 2005, the institute had trained more than 1,600 people from 128 countries (INIA est. 2004), and more than 1,100 people were trained through its *in-situ* programs.

In addition to the training activities, the UNIIA collects data, produces publications, promotes research and technical cooperation between various institutions and research groups, and maintains its website. The institute carries its own research projects, hosts meetings for the expert groups, and provides consultancy services. It also cooperates with the University of Malta in running a postgraduate diploma course in gerontology and geriatrics. The UNIIA publishes a quarterly international gerontological journal entitled **BOLD**.

Most activities of the institute are funded by the UN agencies, regional and international organizations, and individual governments through cosharing arrangements. The training programs are financially supported by the UN Population Fund (UNFPA).

The work of the institute is carried out under the supervision of the International Board that consists of nine members. The board's term of office is three years. The secretary-general of the United Nations appoints its Chairman and six members, while the government of Malta appoints the remaining two members.

RAFIS ABAZOV

**See also United Nations Development Program (UNDP); United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)**

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## UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN (INSTRAW)

The United Nations (UN) International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) was established by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1976. This action was based on a recommendation of the World Conference of the International Women's Year held in Mexico City in 1975 to found a research and training institute devoted to the advancement of women. It is one of the three institutes within the UN system that is dedicated to the advancement of women worldwide and that plays the role of a special adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) and the Inter-Agency Network of Gender Focal Points (IANWGE). Other bodies and programs within the UN system cope with gender issues only within their programs of work.

INSTRAW is autonomous. It is the only UN body commissioned to advance gender equality, particularly in developing countries, through research, training, and the collection and dissemination of information. The institute serves as a vehicle to integrate women as participants and as beneficiaries in the developmental



process, to raise awareness of women's issues worldwide, and to assist women to meet new challenges and directions. To realize these mandates, INSTRAW also plays a catalytic role assisting the efforts of inter-governmental, governmental, and nongovernmental organizations.

In 1979, ECOSOC recommended that INSTRAW locate in the Dominican Republic, a developing country. As a result, the headquarters of INSTRAW were established in the Dominican Republic on premises donated by the host country. In late 2003, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico Carmen Moreno was appointed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan as director of INSTRAW.

INSTRAW's activities promote, establish, and undertake research and training projects and programs on gender and women's issues. Thus far, these projects and programs include diversified issues related to women's economic and political empowerment in developing countries. The following topics are addressed by INSTRAW: gender statistics and indicators; measuring and imputing value to the unpaid work of women; women in the informal sector; women and economic development; women and credit; women and rural development; women's studies and curricula development; women and water supply and sanitation; women and new and renewable sources of energy; women and environmental and sustainable development; women and media and communications; women and ageing; women and migration; and women and development planning.

One of the main activities of INSTRAW is establishing and undertaking training projects to raise awareness about gender inequality and its manifestations. INSTRAW holds a number of gender workshops, lectures, discussions, and seminars with collaboration with other institutes worldwide to mainstream gender and women's issues in development and ultimately to bring about a change in consciousness, behavior, and attitudes of policy makers.

In 1995, INSTRAW Acting Director Martha Dueñas-Loza gave an overview of INSTRAW's future role. Basing her comments on recommendations of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, she identified major issues devoted to the advancement of women. A major issue concerned elderly women in development. Rapid population growth and migration will have an increasing impact on economic and social infrastructure of all countries. INSTRAW published "Ageing in a Gendered World: Women's Issues and Identities" in 1999, which explains that the majority of elderly people are women who live in poverty and maintains that the issues of the elderly women must be addressed as individual components within development plans and programs.

Among other research projects based on the Beijing Conference is the project of Women, Peace, and Security. INSTRAW highlighted gender-based violence as the greatest threat to women's security in times of both conflict and conflict resolution. In collaboration with the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNFEM), research on this issue has continued.

INSTRAW also perceives significance of the economic and social contributions of women migrants to developing countries and their development strategies although the majority of studies and programs have ignored the issue of remittances by women migrants in spite of the fact that a number of women independently migrate as main economic providers. The institute understands that remittances by women migrants include the movement of money from an immigrant woman to family members in her country of origin as well as a transformation of social and political values in both countries that has been stimulated by women's international transfer of funds. Through the research project, INSTRAW urges the inclusion of a gender perspective in research, programs, and policies of remittances to eliminate gender discrimination on banking and financial policies and to clarify the new economic, social, and political roles of women migrants.

In 1999, INSTRAW obtained a new and additional mandate to perform its activities through the utilization of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Responding to the new mandate, the institute developed a new operational methodology of the production, management, and dissemination of gender-related knowledge and information: the Gender Awareness Information and Networking System (GAINS). GAINS is a pioneering electronic system that serves as a "virtual workshop" for collaborative research, training, and networking and promotes interactive dialogues between civil society and governments through the virtual places. Using the GAINS methodology, INSTRAW has facilitated two collaborative research programs that aspire to the promotion of a more holistic and cooperative response: Men's Roles and Responsibilities in Ending Gender-Based Violence and Women's Access to Information and Communication Technologies.

INSTRAW carried out two main research projects concerning women in development in the early 2000s. These were Financing for Development and Remittances and Gender. In the former, INSTRAW noted the lack of gender perspectives in three major agreements on financing for development that the international community reached during 2000 to 2002: (i) the Millennium Development Goals in 2000, (ii) the IV Ministerial Conference of the World

Trade Organization, and (iii) the Final Declaration of the International Conference on Financing for Development, known as the Monterrey Consensus (2002). In “Gender Issues and Concerns in Financing for Development” (2004), INSTRAW insists that all stakeholders (such as governments, UN agencies, international financial institutions, and NGOs) consider the harmful influence of development on women’s living and consider mainstreaming a gender perspective in financing for development.

Thus, INSTRAW has made efforts to promote gender equality and empower women, particularly in developing countries, through creating as well as sharing knowledge to mainstream the gender perspective in development policy and practice.

YOSHIE KOBAYASHI

### See also Women and Development

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## UNITED NATIONS PERMANENT FORUM ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, created in 2000, is the highest-level international body ever empowered to deal with the rights and needs of indigenous populations. It is the first time indigenous voices nominated by indigenous peoples are speaking for indigenous peoples as members of an official United Nations (UN) body. Established by means of a resolution of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the forum consists of sixteen members, eight to be nominated by governments and elected by ECOSOC and eight to be appointed by the president of the council following formal consultation. The forum’s mandates are (i) to provide advice and recommendations on indigenous issues to ECOSOC as

well as to programs, funds, and agencies of the UN through the council; (ii) raise awareness and promote integration and coordination of activities relating to indigenous issues within the UN system; and (iii) prepare and disseminate information on indigenous issues.

Indigenous peoples, representing five thousand languages and cultures, inhabit more than seventy countries in the world. Historically displaced by powerful expanding states, many indigenous peoples have become minorities within sovereign nations. Although some nation-states have instituted laws guaranteeing original rights to the communal lands held over millennia by aboriginal peoples, many indigenous communities have been expelled from their lands, prohibited from using their languages and practicing their lifestyles. Indigenous peoples are among the most vulnerable and poorest populations in the world (OIT/ILO 2003; AIUSA 2003). In the early twenty-first century, indigenous peoples have become increasingly involved in the shaping of international procedures involving their human and cultural rights.

The establishment of the permanent forum represents an achievement for indigenous peoples that has taken decades of persistent effort from within the UN and outside it. It is the outcome of many accumulated events, principally of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations that was established in 1982. According to an Economic and Social Council Resolution and part of the UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations was established to promote and protect indigenous peoples’ human rights and fundamental freedoms by developing international standards, measures, and review mechanisms related to indigenous rights. The working group has played an important role in increasing the participation of indigenous people in the formation of international policies. Meeting annually in Geneva since 1982, it has become one of the largest UN forums on human rights, with hundreds of indigenous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in attendance. The group contributed to many advancements in indigenous rights and a growing awareness of indigenous issues at the international, governmental, and local levels.

The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples met for the first time in May 2002 at the UN in New York City. Subsequent meetings took place in May 2003 and 2004 and are expected to be held annually. Meetings occur over ten days, allowing discussion of cultural and human rights as well as of environmental, educational, and health concerns. Although only persons who represent the indigenous peoples of the UN’s member countries are authorized participants, the

sessions may be attended by any person representing indigenous organizations, indigenous advocacy NGOs, or other interested parties and observers.

JANET M. CHERNELA

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## UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND (UNFPA)

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is the world's largest source of funding for population and reproductive health programs. It directly controls 25% of the world's population assistance to developing countries. Sub-Saharan Africa receives the largest percentage of UNFPA assistance. Since it began operations in 1969, the UNFPA has provided \$6 billion in assistance to developing countries. UNFPA, which currently has about one thousand employees, has worked with governments and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in more than 140 countries. Initially established as the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, in 1987 the organization was renamed the United Nations Population Fund, but the acronym of UNFPA remained the same. UNFPA was originally administered by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). In recognition of the scope of its operations, UNFPA was placed under the UN General Assembly's direct authority in 1972, raising it to the same status as the UNDP.

One of the fundamental goals of UNFPA is to improve reproductive health. The UN has consistently argued that reproductive health is a means to sustainable development and a basic human right. Investments in reproductive health save and improve lives, slow the spread of HIV/AIDS, and encourage gender equality. This, in turn, helps to stabilize population growth and reduce poverty. UNFPA promotes a holistic approach to reproductive health care that includes access to safe and affordable contraceptive methods, counseling, prenatal care, assistance with deliveries, emergency obstetric care, postnatal care, and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, including, but not limited to, HIV/AIDS. Since UNFPA began operations in 1969, access to voluntary family planning programs in the developing world has increased, and fertility rates in the Third World have diminished by 50%.

Although all UNFPA programs promote women's equality, many UNFPA programs specifically target

gender-based discrimination and violence. UNFPA has specifically sought to develop projects that empower women economically and promote legal reforms. UNFPA also advocates reproductive health and rights, including the right to choose the number and spacing of one's children.

UNFPA works to ensure that adolescents and young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four have accurate information, nonjudgmental counseling, and comprehensive and affordable services to prevent unwanted pregnancy and sexually-transmitted infections such as HIV. UNFPA efforts in sub-Saharan Africa, the area of greatest HIV infection, have dramatically increased to confront the spread of HIV, which has a devastating impact on health as well as on the social and economic stability of developing nations. HIV prevention, which is being integrated into reproductive health programs throughout the world, is the main focus of UNFPA's campaign against the disease. Prevention methods include promoting safer sexual relations among young people and making condoms readily available. In many developing nations, condoms are urgently needed to prevent the further spread of the deadly HIV virus.

UNFPA also supports projects that help people who are displaced by human-made and natural disasters. In conflicts, the risk of sexual violence and the spread of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, increases dramatically. Complications of pregnancy and childbirth are the leading causes of death for displaced women of childbearing age. UNFPA provides supplies and services to protect the reproductive health of displaced peoples, especially those in refugee camps. UNFPA also assists developing nations to collect and analyze population data and integrate population and development strategies into national and regional planning.

The UNFPA contends that people's needs for education and health are a prerequisite of sustainable development. After the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994, UNFPA was charged with implementing the conference's program of action. By 2015, UNFPA hopes to facilitate universal access to reproductive health care services, foster universal primary education, close the gender gap in education, reduce maternal mortality by 75%, reduce infant mortality, and increase life expectancy. Regarding one of the most serious threats to humankind in recent years, UNFPA hopes to reduce HIV infection rates in people fifteen to twenty-four years of age by 25% by 2010.

MICHAEL R. HALL

**See also Children and Development; HIV/AIDS; Population Growth: Impact on Development**

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## UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE (UNRWA)

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA) was established as a temporary agency by the international community in response to the flight of Palestinians from their homes during the first Arab-Israeli war following the creation of Israel by the United Nations in 1948. Initially, the UN turned to the International Refugee Organization (IRO) to offer assistance to Palestinian refugees, but the IRO's mandate was limited to Europe, and so it declined to expand operations to Palestine.

The UN then established the UN Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR) program to address the needs of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians displaced by the war. UNRWA succeeded UNRPR in December 1949. It commenced operations in May 1950, and it remained in charge of Palestinian refugee programs even after the establishment of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1951. The initial focus of UNRWA contained both a relief and development component, with the initial emphasis being on relief. Over time, however, UNRWA got involved in the establishment of education programs and other activities of a more clearly developmental nature, such as health and social services. UNRWA made its headquarters principally in Vienna, Austria, until 1996 when its headquarters were transferred to the Gaza and Amman, Jordan, at a time when progress was being made in resolution of Israeli-Palestinian relations. Though a "temporary" body, its mandate has been repeatedly renewed by the UN General Assembly as the Palestinian refugee situation has persisted. UNRWA's budget primarily focuses on assistance to about 1.3 million

Palestinian refugees who continue after generations to reside in refugee camps in Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip as well as in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

**Background**

The Arab-Israeli dispute exploded after the creation of the UN partition of the Palestinian Mandate previously administered by the United Kingdom. The partition plan called for the creation of both a Jewish and a Palestinian state. Arab countries, however, refused to acknowledge the existence of Israel and invaded Palestine for the purpose of destroying Israel before it had a chance to establish itself. Confident of victory, Arab countries urged Arab Palestinians to flee, await victory and the destruction of Israel, and return home to a Palestinian state. Events proved otherwise. Israel not only resisted extermination but actually expanded its size to include areas originally slated to be part of the Palestinian state. Neighboring Arab countries seized other parts of what might have become a Palestinian state, and thus Palestinians found themselves under the rule of either Israel or neighboring Arab States, with as many as seven hundred thousand of them qualifying as stateless refugees. Thus was born the Palestinian refugee problem. To address the situation, the UN eventually established UNRWA to offer relief- and development-related assistance to refugees until they were able to return home. Repatriation of Palestinian refugees has been a controversial matter between Israel and Arab countries and remains almost sixty years later an unrealized dream. Thus, although UNRWA was established as a temporary agency, it has actually become a permanent feature of the humanitarian assistance and political landscape of the Middle East.

The fortunes of the Palestinians have been closely tied ever since to the ups and downs of the Arab-Israeli dispute, and the UNRWA, though attempting to navigate an impartial course through the disputes, has had to cope with the reality of the highly politically charged atmosphere in which the staff works. For political reasons, refugee situations and often deprived camp settings that might have been resolved years ago remain festering problems that continue to contribute to the hatred and violence so characteristic of the Arab-Israeli dispute, including the legacy of terrorism, suicide bombings, periodic open rebellion, and Israeli government retaliation against such activities. In wider humanitarian assistance circles, the Palestinian case is regarded as a textbook example of how not to deal with a refugee situation, and long-term refugee

situations are often described as having suffered from a “Palestinization process,” that is, a politically prolonged situation.

### **From Relief Activities to Development**

In its first decade, the UNRWA applied the majority of its funds to the immediate needs of Palestinian refugees, including emergency food, medical attention, and eventually housing. A major problem in the early years was the high infant mortality rate owing to malnutrition and dehydration. UNRWA focused on provision of clean water, proper sanitation in camp settings, immunization against common diseases, and oral rehydration programs for infants. Within the first few years, the emergency situation abated, and as with most refugee situations, especially when emergency situations ease, the attention began to focus on education, long-term health, and other development-related activities, including promotion of businesses and development of enterprises. Typically, UNRWA dedicates 60% of its budget to educational activities, including building schools, training teachers, training in the technical and vocational arenas, offering university scholarship programs, providing textbooks, and guaranteeing free primary and preparatory education to Palestinian refugees. UNRWA now operates nearly 650 schools with a staff of almost 17,000 who reach about 490,000 students. By law, UNRWA must use the curriculum of the country in which it operates schools, and these are sadly often highly prejudicial, propagandistic, and ideologically motivated. To counter this, UNRWA attempts to offer programs with supplemental texts and a program emphasizing non-violent conflict resolution and respect for human rights. It is difficult to assess how well these programs function in light of the periodic and pervasive situation of violence that has marked the politics of the region.

In sixty years, refugee camps might well have been eliminated given the levels of aid provided, but many complicated factors unite to make the camps a persistent feature of the region. Palestinian leaders have seen the camps as convenient symbols of ongoing Israeli oppression. While emergency relief assistance has declined to a mere 11% of the UNRWA budget, every time violence is renewed, the need recurs for emergency assistance, including food, employment aid, and funds for reconstruction of destroyed housing. Thus, UNRWA has repeatedly found itself seeking special emergency assistance from the international community, especially during periods of

*intifadah* or uprising, when access to both employment and education becomes problematical for refugees living in the occupied territories. Thus, while the lion’s share of the UNRWA budget is dedicated to education and health activities, the agency has been in the long-term business of emergency aid depending on where the violence and conflict are most keenly felt. Its emergency work has generally increased after conflicts, such as after the 1967 and 1973 wars.

During the early 1980s, Lebanon was the center of dispute and conflict, when the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) took up residence in that country and used southern Lebanon as a launching pad for terrorist activities inside Israel. Israel predictably retaliated against such actions, often targeting refugee camps from which suspected terrorists mounted their assaults. In 1982, Israel intervened in southern Lebanon and forced the PLO to leave Lebanon altogether. This period marked a very delicate time for the UNRWA, especially in attempting to provide humanitarian aid to the innocent Palestinian refugee population. Uprisings in the West Bank and Gaza occurred in 1987 and most recently from the year 2000 to 2005. These situations of generalized violence generally have set back efforts at peace, have promoted higher levels of unemployment among Palestinians, and have disrupted educational activities as well, forcing UNRWA to seek additional international assistance to cope with rising needs. At other times, a glimmer of hope has explicitly focused energies on development activity, such as in the aftermath of the Oslo Peace Accords in the mid-1990s.

### **Other Development-Related Activities**

Coupled with its large educational programs, UNRWA has sponsored small-scale enterprise programs with subsidized loans ranging from \$1,000 to \$75,000. More than a thousand small businesses have benefited from such loans, which have stimulated small industries; agricultural and manufacturing enterprises; and medical, publishing, and domestic services. A microenterprise credit program funding similar activities has reached forty-three thousand beneficiaries. UNRWA has developed women’s solidarity group loan programs that encourage Palestinian women to engage in the local economy. More than twenty thousand such loans, which amount to a few hundred dollars, have been awarded. UNRWA operates more than 120 primary health care facilities in refugee camps and among local populations affected by the presence of refugees, employing several thousand local staff to provide these services.

UNRWA has funded shelter rehabilitation programs since 1993 as part of its Peace Implementation Program that followed the Oslo Peace Accords breakthrough. Subsequent violence in the region and the destruction of additional housing continues to give this program much work. UNRWA has also funded the establishment of women's centers and community rehabilitation centers, where the special needs of the disabled can be addressed training and employment.

### Future Prospects

The death of Yasser Arafat in November 2004 holds out the promise under new Palestinian leadership that peace negotiations can be restored and a greater emphasis placed on the long-term development agenda of UNRWA, which now employs Palestinians as the principal managers of its work. Israel in the meantime has embarked on a unilateral program of withdrawal from the vast majority of the occupied territories. At the same time, it has begun construction of a security wall to prevent terrorist attacks in Israel. The wall seems to have succeeded in reducing such attacks, but it has also caused much hardship among Palestinians whose homes lie on one side and whose jobs lie on the other side of the security barrier. The Israeli government has shown some willingness to compromise on resituating the barrier to reduce such hardships but has insisted, in principle, on the necessity of the project for its national safety and security. The general course of the wall follows lines fairly similar to those indicated by the Wye Peace Agreement, which was ultimately rejected by Yasser Arafat but that might find new life in the wake of his death. All of this leaves open the possibility that a new Palestinian leadership might be in a position finally to consolidate authority and begin a more determined road to peaceful statehood. In that event, UNRWA's involvement could be largely devolved to the capable Palestinian management, which to a large extent already performs the bulk of UNRWA program activity. International funding of these activities might well need to be continued; however, UNRWA, which was always conceived as a temporary agency, may at long last complete its work and bequeath its efforts to a full Palestinian administration.

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**See also Palestine; Palestinian Diaspora; Refugees; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)**

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## UNITED NATIONS TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

With the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919, the principle of self-determination of nations was articulated, along with the idea that non-self-governing territories should be prepared for eventual self-government. This principle was applied in the Mandate System set up to prepare former colonies of the Axis powers for their eventual dependence under the guidance of various victorious powers, which served as the new governing authorities in these territories. Three classes of mandates were established depending on their initial readiness for political and economic dependence. The United Nations (UN) reiterated many of these principles in the UN Charter, especially in its Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories and in its establishment of the International Trusteeship System. In 1945, the various League of Nations mandates were placed under the stewardship of the Trusteeship Council, along with various territories detached from Japan and some other territories placed voluntarily under a trust territory system. Economic development was one of the main areas of concern to the Trusteeship Council as it received reports from the trustee nations that exercised administrative responsibility for the territories. The Trusteeship Council successfully completed its work in 1994 when the last of the trust territories achieved independence; as of 2005, the members of the council

consist of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, and no further work for the body has yet been agreed upon.

### **The Purposes of the Trusteeship System**

The UN Charter conceived of the Trusteeship System as a means of maintaining international peace and security by placing non-self-governing territories under a system of stewardship that would prepare them for eventual independence. To this end, the governments charged with administrative oversight were obliged under Article 76 of the UN Charter “to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence.” This also called for a respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of the inhabitants. Members of the Trusteeship Council included all countries serving as administrators of trust territories, the permanent members of the UN Security Council, and other countries selected by the UN General Assembly to ensure an equal number of administering and nonadministering governments. The Trusteeship Council entered into agreements with the trust authorities, received and considered annual reports from them, received petitions from indigenous populations, and made occasional visits to the territories. The reports made to the Trusteeship Council were based on its authority to seek and receive information from the administrative government concerning the “political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants.”

The Trusteeship Council was not conceived primarily as a UN agency for economic development. Indeed, the UN Charter (Article 91) called upon it to “avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies” in regard to economic matters falling outside its own competence. However, inherent in the notion that a trust territory must be prepared for self-government was the necessary principle that the inhabitants should achieve the capacity for political and economic development, and all the trust territories qualified as developing areas.

### **Outcome of the Trusteeship System**

All eleven territories placed under the UN Trusteeship system are now independent states. In Africa, British Togoland became independent as Ghana in 1957, while French Togoland achieved independence in 1960 as Togo. Somaliland gained independence from

Italy and joined with the British protectorate of Somaliland to form Somalia in 1960. The French Cameroons attained independence in 1960 as Cameroon, while in 1961 the British Cameroons divided at independence, the northern territory joining Nigeria and the southern Cameroon. Tanganyika (later Tanzania) gained its independence from the British in 1961. Ruanda-Urundi divided at independence from Belgium in 1962 to form the new states of Rwanda and Burundi. In the Pacific, Western Samoa achieved independence as Samoa from New Zealand in 1962, Nauru from Australia in 1968, and New Guinea from Australia in 1975, as Papua New Guinea. The Trust Territory of the Pacific gained independence from the United States as four new countries: Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and the Northern Mariana Islands, all in 1990, and then Palau in 1994.

All of the trust territories continue to fall under the rubric of developing nations, each with specific challenges and struggling economies. The most severely underdeveloped of the countries, namely Somalia, Rwanda, and Burundi, have also experienced the most intense and prolonged civil unrest, war, and large-scale loss of life. Tanzania is a country lacking substantial natural resources, but it has enjoyed political stability. With the adoption of economic reforms, it has posted strong economic growth in recent years. Ghana, known in colonial times as the “Gold Coast,” has achieved significant gains in development in recent years with the restoration of a stable government and new gold discoveries, but it remains heavily indebted. The Cameroon is one of the better resource endowed countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with rich farmland and oil resources, but these resources have not been consistently well managed. The Island States of the Pacific, with the exception of New Guinea, are lightly populated. Nauru, with only thirteen thousand citizens, faces substantial economic challenges with the depletion of its once significant phosphates resources. Papua New Guinea on the other hand has more than five million people and substantial resources although most of its people engage in subsistence activities. Samoa enjoys the greatest per capita wealth of all the former trust territories, but a major share of this wealth takes the form of remittances from its citizens employed overseas. Tourism is another area in which the island nations have made economic gains, notably the Northern Mariana Islands, but many of the former Pacific Island trust territories continue to rely heavily on assistance from the United States. Although the trust territories have experienced variable levels of economic development since independence, each continues to face significant challenges while struggling to achieve greater prosperity.

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See also **Burundi; Cameroon; Marshall Islands, Republic of; Micronesia, Federated States of; Papua New Guinea; Samoa; Somalia; Tanzania; Togo**

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### UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY (UNU)

In 1969, the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General U. Thant suggested that consideration be given to establishing an international university devoted to world progress and peace. In response, the UN General Assembly voted to establish the United Nations University (UNU) in 1973. The government of Japan pledged \$100 million to UNU's endowment fund and offered a headquarters for the university in Tokyo. UNU began activities in 1975 at its Tokyo headquarters, focusing mainly on peace and conflict resolution, development in a changing world, and science and technology in relation to human welfare.

UNU operates under the joint sponsorship of the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Its mission is to find original, forward-looking solutions to the most pressing problems that concern the United Nations and the peoples of its member states. The UNU undertakes research and training on a broad range of issues, including food and nutrition, information technology, land use and climate change, the freshwater crisis, urbanization, and the causes of complex humanitarian emergencies. Experts in the UNU engage in the direct exchange of ideas and research findings with policy makers and practitioners around the world.

The UNU's Peace and Governance Program organizes and supports research that produces policy-oriented recommendations for solving contemporary problems and identifying longer term trends that have implications for peace, security, and governance. Its challenging agenda includes finding solutions to civil and ethnic conflict, interstate war, terrorism, poverty,

the threat of weapons of mass destruction, the scourge of small arms, the negative impacts of economic globalization, human rights abuses, and the problems experienced by transitional and democratizing societies.

Administratively, the UNU consists of a council of twenty-four members who serve as the governing board of the university; a rector is responsible for the administration, programming, and coordination of the university, and the University Center assists the rector. The council is appointed jointly by the UN secretary-general and UNESCO's director-general. The rector is appointed by the UN secretary-general and normally serves for five years, with the possibility of reappointment. The center, which is located in Tokyo, promotes exchanges of scholars as well as scientific and technical ideas and information within the world academic community, particularly in developing countries through conferences, workshops, and publications. The UNU operates as an autonomous academic institution under the joint sponsorship of the UN and UNESCO. Its chief source of funding is an endowment fund established by Japan and augmented by the voluntary contributions of other countries and private foundations.

Scholars and institutions from around the world collaborate in the work of the UNU. They represent a wide spectrum of disciplines, ideologies, and cultural backgrounds. The UNU does not have a student body. Instead, it offers postgraduate training to people from developing countries to study at a worldwide network of research and postgraduate training centers. Three of these centers are the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (located in Guatemala City), Chiang Mai University in Thailand (for the study of agroforestry systems), and the Tropical Agricultural Research and Training Center in Costa Rica.

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## **UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID)**

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is an independent federal agency that receives its direction from the US Secretary of State. Independent federal agencies are created by the US Congress to deal with complex policy matters that Congress cannot address because it does not have the resources nor the desire to manage these matters. Congress entrusts independent agencies with decision-making powers beyond those granted to other federal agencies. USAID is headed by the administrator, who is appointed by the president and must be confirmed in office by the US Senate. In 2004, the agency's administrator was Andrew S. Natsios; he has held this position since April 2001. USAID is the US government agency responsible for nearly all of the United States' bilateral foreign aid programs. The agency plans and administers the world's largest bilateral aid program. In 2004, USAID administered some \$12.65 billion in foreign aid, of which \$2.44 billion of this was USAID assistance to Iraq.

As a US government agency, USAID has always shaped its policy and aid programs by the perceived national security and domestic political needs of each US presidential administration and of the US Congress. Hence, during the Cold War, USAID's underlying priorities included a strong dose of anticommunism and, following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States under the George W. Bush administration, antiterrorism. A second concern that conditions how USAID is able to operate is that although the United States contributes more than any other nation to international development, its contributions have remained stagnant and have even declined slightly over time; they are among the smallest on a percentage basis of any of the major developed nations. Only about 0.5% of the US budget is spent on nonmilitary foreign assistance (Tarnoff and Nowles 2004). Although USAID's assistance programs concentrate on aid to the developing world, it is important to realize that USAID's primary goal is to further the foreign policy goals of the United States.

Assistance provided by USAID largely falls into three categories: Economic Support Funds, Development Assistance, and Food for Peace. Economic Support Funds (ESF) provide about half of all US economic aid. ESF include direct cash transfers, commodity import programs, and individual development programs. ESF, more than any other US aid program, are targeted at assisting politically important countries to advance US political and security objectives (Hoy 1998). Although the legislation

authorizing ESF states that ESF should be used to the maximum extent possible for development, two-thirds to three-fourths of ESF are spent on security (Hoy 1998; Burnell 1997). Moreover, historically the majority of the funds, although this proportion is generally decreasing, assist Israel and Egypt.

Development Assistance (DA) is the second category of US foreign assistance. DA consists of grants to support economic development programs (Hoy 1998). Congress specifies specific sectors, such as health, population, agriculture, and rural development. DA funding has been on the decline and during the 1980s and 1990s was the frequent target of cuts. The third category of USAID assistance is Food for Peace. While food aid is welcome during emergencies, the Institute for Food Policy, for example, charges that the United States often uses food aid to dispose of domestic surpluses, to open new markets for commercial sales of US farm products, and to extend the reach of US agribusiness (Hoy 1998). Indeed, US food aid to Somalia was blamed for discouraging local production, making the food crisis even worse.

### **A Short History of USAID**

USAID was created by an executive order from President John F. Kennedy on November 3, 1961. The creation of USAID followed the reorganization of US foreign assistance by the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) passed by Congress on September 4, 1961. The new law required the creation of a separate agency to administer foreign economic aid programs. Hence, USAID was created as the first US foreign assistance agency to take a long-term approach to economic development separately from military aid. Indeed, prior to the creation of USAID, almost 80% of all US foreign aid was military aid. Following the birth of USAID, more than half of US foreign aid would become economic aid intended to foster long-term economic development in developing countries.

USAID fused into a single agency the functions of several preexisting US agencies. USAID combined the economic and technical assistance operations of the International Cooperation Agency, the foreign loan functions of the Development Loan Fund, the bequests of the Development Grant Fund, the local currency support of the Export-Import Bank, and the Food for Peace program of the Department of Agriculture. Moreover, the 1961 FAA and USAID highlighted the new Kennedy administration's commitment to maintaining and increasing foreign assistance to developing countries. Kennedy championed the creation of USAID and the administration's new

emphasis on foreign assistance on several premises: (i) the fragmented, awkward, inconsistent, and slow foreign aid programs of the time proved largely unsatisfactory and ill suited for the needs of both the United States and developing countries; (ii) the economic collapse of developing countries that “would be disastrous to our national security, . . . and offensive to our conscience;” and (iii) the perception that 1960s presented a historic opportunity for industrialized nations to move less-developed nations into self-sustained economic growth. Kennedy saw US direct foreign aid to developing countries as a moral obligation and “counter to totalitarianism” (About USAID 2004). Furthermore, Kennedy asserted that for the United States to fail in meeting its moral obligations would be a long-term disaster for the nation and the world, threatening the security of the United States.

USAID’s most important goal was toward long-term economic and technical assistance on a country-by-country basis with the commitment of aid on a multiyear and programmatic basis. This would mean bilateral as opposed to multilateral aid. The United States would continue to contribute to multilateral aid agencies and organizations, but USAID would concentrate on bilateral aid. In addition, the foci of USAID would be on economic growth, political stability, and democracy in the developing world to prevent the threat of instability arising from poverty and the spread of communism. Furthermore, the birth of USAID also marked a change in strategy for US foreign aid away from major industrial projects to other areas such as agriculture. Data from the mid-1960s show that only 10% of USAID went to industrial and mining projects (Wood 1986).

The early USAID’s development program was based on the development theory (also known as modernization theory) of Walt W. Rostow, President Kennedy’s Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (modern equivalent is National Security Advisor). Rostow’s 1960 book, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, posited that economic development takes place in five stages: traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and high mass consumption. Rostow argued that a stimulus, such as foreign assistance in the form of capital, technology, and expertise, is needed to propel the developing world beyond the precondition stage to the take-off stage. Beyond this latter stage, foreign aid would no longer be required because economic growth becomes an automatic process.

According to USAID, one of its crowning achievements under the FAA of 1961 was setting up country-by-country planning and long-term, rather than

short-term or crisis, development planning mechanisms. Also among the agency’s early benchmarks was the Alliance for Progress. The 1961–1973 Alliance for Progress was intended as a Marshall Plan for Latin America. The United States pledged \$20 billion in assistance through grants and loans (Scheman 1988). In comparison, the Marshall Plan dispensed \$13 billion mostly to Europe. The Alliance for Progress was the largest US aid program for developing countries up to that point. USAID hoped that the aid program would strengthen capitalism, economic development, and democracy in Latin America and strengthen ties between the United States and Latin America. Even though the Alliance for Progress was a bold step, it did not seem to improve the economic and political situations of Latin America extensively, and the program was abandoned. Yet, in retrospect, the record of the Alliance for Progress is better than perceived at the time.

USAID and the FAA have been subject to change over time as a result of US domestic politics and events in international affairs. For example, in the early 1970s, in part a counter-reaction to the Vietnam War and in part a reaction to perceptions that US foreign aid to developing countries was counterproductive and wasteful, Congress rejected President Richard M. Nixon’s foreign assistance spending authorization bills. The result was that Congress amended the FAA to ensure that USAID assistance would be reserved for the poorest sectors of developing countries with the notion that assistance ought to go to directly to the recipient nation’s needy population to provide for their basic needs. Under this new “Basic Needs” approach, Congress replaced old categories of technical assistance grants and development loans with new functional categories aimed at specific problems such as agriculture, family planning, and education. The aim of bilateral development aid was to concentrate on sharing American technical expertise and commodities to meet development problems rather than relying on large-scale transfers of money and capital goods. One significant 1973 amendment to the FAA, the Helms Amendment, prohibits the use of US funds for abortion services. The structure of the FAA remains much the way it was following the 1973 amendments. Another change in 1979 divested administrative power from the secretary of state to the administrator of USAID.

In 1984, President Ronald Reagan announced a more stringent US, policy on foreign assistance concerning abortion. Reagan announced a ban on US government financial support for US and foreign family planning agencies that were involved in any way with the provision of abortion in foreign countries. The ban, known as the Mexico City Policy, totally removed all US government funding from

international agencies that provided abortion procedures, provided abortion counseling, or advocated for women's abortion access anywhere in the world. Thus, a family planning agency's funding might have been cut off from its contraceptive/family planning counseling services in one country if it had any abortion-related activity in the same or in another country. President William J. Clinton rescinded this ban in 1993 through an executive order. The ban was reinstated by President George W. Bush in 2001.

Another major change in USAID direction occurred under the George H. W. Bush administration, was renewed with vigor under the William J. Clinton administration, and confirmed again by the George W. Bush administration. In response to the wave of democratic transitions of the late 1980s, USAID issued a new initiative in December 1990, the Democracy Initiative. USAID would focus its resources explicitly to help promote and consolidate democracy. Democracy assistance programs were implemented to be further strengthened in 1995. Moreover, reflecting the revolutionary changes occurring in the world during the late 1980s and 1990s, democracy, economic, and technical assistance programs were expanded to include USAID assistance to Russia and the post-Soviet states from 1993 onward. The promotion of democracy had always been given lip service by the United States and USAID, but during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the United States tolerated and even assisted authoritarian states as long as they were anti-Communist.

A second major change in direction for USAID was the 1993 Clinton administration's decision to contract out some USAID development programs. By 1998, half of all USAID funds for development assistance were delivered in the form of contracts. This means that although funds still are used in developing countries, the services are provided by US firms, which is where the funds actually go. This change was initiated to appease domestic US critics who claim US foreign aid is wasted money. If the funds go to US firms and create US jobs, critics may be silenced. Nevertheless, the policy has possible shortcomings such as too many large-dollar contracts awarded to too few contractors, recipient needs becoming less important than US domestic economic interests, an emphasis on fulfilling the contract rather than fulfilling the need, noncompetitive contract awards, and very low standards of acceptable contract performance (Berríos 2000). Widely reported examples, but not of aid contracts administered by USAID, of the tenacity and possible validity of some of these criticisms surrounds the 2002 to 2004 condemnation of the contracts awarded to Bechtel Corporation and Halliburton by the Pentagon for the rebuilding of Iraq.

Since September 11, 2001, antiterrorism became a priority of USAID. "Defeating terrorism is our nation's primary and immediate priority," asserted President George W. Bush in the White House press release entitled *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism* of February 14, 2003. USAID has joined the effort to deny terrorists resources and state sponsorship and to work toward amending the conditions of poverty and oppression that terrorists seek to exploit (Natsios 2004). The war on terrorism brought USAID new funding for projects in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Philippines, and Palestine, but the bulk of these have gone to Iraq and are not new developmental assistance projects. Many of the projects that are now labeled as targeted against fostering the conditions of terrorism are the same projects relabeled. Nevertheless, the new urgency of international development, even under the label antiterrorism, is not negative for the developing world. It means that USAID and like programs will be easier to justify to Congress.

President George W. Bush announced in a speech at the Inter-American Development Bank on March 14, 2002, that the United States would increase its core development assistance by 50% during the following three years, resulting in a \$5 billion annual increase over current levels. President Bush said that combating poverty is a moral imperative and that he has made it a US foreign policy priority. To meet this challenge, the president has proposed increased accountability for rich and poor nations alike, linking greater contributions by developed nations to greater responsibility by developing nations. Bush's proposal would mark the largest single-year increase in bilateral aid in decades (Brainard *et al.* 2003). Bush's proposal also marks a newfound interest in and emphasis on international development.

USAID priorities and programs since 2004 have included initiatives to build roads in Afghanistan; to train educators in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean; to prevent the trafficking and sexual exploitation of people, particularly women and children; to promote clean energy and electrification in developing nations; to promote economic development in Central Africa while conserving the region's forests and wildlife; to expand information and communications technologies in Senegal, Peru, and Indonesia; to empower community and faith-based organizations (under the Bush administration's controversial policy on faith-based initiatives); to address global climate change; to combat the spread of communicable diseases, particularly AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, in developing nations; to assist in the development of agricultural technology for families and communities to fight hunger in Africa; to promote economic growth and job creation in Central

America and Africa; and to improve access to clean water throughout the developing world.

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**See also Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)**

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## UNITED STATES–DOMINICAN REPUBLIC–CENTRAL AMERICA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

For obvious geographical reasons, the United States has always been an influential actor in the evolution of political and economic life in Central America and the Caribbean, starting in the years after the United

States's independence in 1776. The Monroe Doctrine from US President James Monroe stated as early as 1823 that European powers could no longer intervene in America's countries, allowing the United States to become the main foreign power in the Western Hemisphere. By the early twentieth century, the doctrine had been extended to justify military intervention in the area and the implantation of semipro- tectorates.

Rapidly after independence in 1821, Central America's economies developed as export-led economies. Coffee and banana were the main export products and were central in the process of integrating the region in the world economy. The United States rapidly became the first buyer of the region's goods. As early as 1920, the American market was the destination of between 50% (for Costa Rica) and more than 85% (Honduras) of exports of the different countries of the Central American subcontinent. These two trends are to be kept in mind to understand the evolution of the relations between the United States and Central America.

A major attempt to break the export-led development scheme was envisaged in the 1960s and 1970s with the formation of the Central American Common Market (CACM) that promoted an import substitution model, whereby industrialization was seen as the main solution to solve the problems of underdevelopment. Unfortunately, for some political and economic reasons, this effort to ground economic development on a "closed regionalism," that is on the formation of an economic bloc that protected its internal markets, failed to reach sustainable success, even if the CACM raised the rate of the intraregional trade in relation with foreign trade from less than 7% in 1960 to more than 25% in 1970.

In the 1990s, two events occurred that would have significant importance in the process leading to the signature of the United States–Dominican Republic–Central American Free Trade Agreement (US-DR-CA-FTA). The creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 confirmed a tendency through the multilateralization of trade negotiations. Even if, at the same time, a lot of bilateral and regional trade agreements were signed, the ideological context of these integration treaties moved from a "closed regionalism" to an "open regionalism," where the regional trading blocs were seen as a step to integrate the globalizing economy rather than to isolate them like it was the case in the 1960s and the 1970s. Nevertheless, by 1999, the opposition between different groups of countries having divergent interests concerning the widening of the WTO (such as on the question whether an agreement protecting and promoting foreign investments should be

negotiated) showed all the limits of the multilateral framework.

The second event was the launch of negotiations for the creation of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) at the beginning of the 1990s. The objective was to form a free trade zone that would enter into force at the beginning of 2005. The negotiations were much more difficult than anticipated, and by the years 2002 and 2003, it appeared more and more that this goal was impossible to attain.

Facing such difficulties in the multilateral and hemispheric forums, the administration of President George W. Bush, led by Trade Representative Robert Zoellick, launched a succession of bilateral negotiations leading to bilateral or regional free trade agreements. For Central American countries whose economies are historically dependent on the US market, the signature of a free trade agreement then became the sole opportunity to penetrate and consolidate their link to this market.

The negotiations between the United States and Central American countries began in January 2003, and a final agreement was signed in May 2004. Then, in August, the Dominican Republic joined the treaty that became the United States–Dominican Republic–Central American Free Trade Agreement that was yet to be ratified.

The treaty is relatively classical in the sense that it covers the same components shared by other free trade agreements ratified by the United States in the last decade. It provides facilitated access for goods and services, offers better protection for foreign investment (and the possibility for investors to get access to international arbitration in case of dispute with the state receiving their investments), and forces countries to apply rules regarding government procurements and the protection of intellectual property. It includes a chapter on labor and another on the environment that essentially mandate member countries to enforce their own legislation on these two subjects. Possibly the strongest critique of the agreement concerns the issue of agriculture. Central American farmers fear to be unable to compete with the highly subsidized American multinationals that will now have an easier access to their market.

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**See also Central America: History and Economic Development; Central American Common Market (CACM); Costa Rica; Dominican Republic; El Salvador; Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); Guatemala; Honduras; Import Substitution Industrialization; Latin American Integration Association (ALADI); Nicaragua; Panama**

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## UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1948, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as an international commitment to humanity. Although many philosophers, statesmen, and religious leaders had argued throughout the ages for human rights, it took the genocide and crimes against humanity committed during World War II to finally make countries commit themselves to protecting human rights in a unified way.

The Nazi Holocaust of World War II resulted in the enslavement, torture, and murder of millions of people: Jews, Poles, gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war, homosexuals, the mentally and physically handicapped, and Nazi political opponents. Efforts to defeat the Axis powers became synonymous with the struggle to universalize human rights and punish those who violated them. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms speech before the United States Congress in 1941 propelled the momentum toward universal recognition of inalienable human rights. In his address, Roosevelt proclaimed that all people were entitled to freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

On April 25, 1945, as World War II was coming to an end, representatives from forty-six nations gathered in San Francisco, California, to form the United Nations and agree on the UN Charter. That UN Charter gave human rights a new international legal status. Its preamble identifies human rights as one of the four founding purposes of the UN. The UN Charter's first article declares that UN member states must work to "achieve international cooperation . . . in

promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.” Article 55 states that the UN will promote “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms,” and Article 56 states that members “pledge themselves to take joint and separate action” to achieve that respect. The UN Charter does not, however, define human rights. Instead, its Article 68 mandated that the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) should create a commission for that purpose.

ECOSOC established the official eighteen-member UN Commission on Human Rights in June 1946. The commission elected US Delegate Eleanor Roosevelt as its chairperson, China’s P.C. Chang and France’s René Cassin as vice chairmen, and Lebanon’s Charles Malik as rapporteur. The UN Secretariat supported the commission’s work under the direction of John P. Humphrey, Director of the UN’s Human Rights Division. The commission formed a subcommittee to draft a universal human rights document. The subcommittee was composed of Roosevelt, Chang, Malik, and Humphrey as well as representatives from Australia, Chile, France, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR, the United Kingdom, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

The subcommittee completed the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* on June 18, 1948, and on December 10, 1948, the UN General Assembly voted to adopt it without dissent. Forty-eight member states voted yes, while eight abstained (the Soviet bloc countries, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia). Two countries were absent and did not vote.

The declaration’s preamble recognizes that “the inherent dignity and . . . the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family [are] the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.” It goes on to state that, “Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” Because “a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge, . . . the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.”

According to the declaration’s thirty articles, universal human rights include the right to life, liberty, and security of a person; freedom from torture and discrimination based on race, religion, ethnicity, or gender; freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion, speech, and press; the right to participate in

the political system, to own property, to marry and have a family, and to associate with others; freedom from arbitrary arrest and searches; the right to a fair trial, to confront prosecution witnesses, and to put on witnesses and evidence in one’s own defense; the right to work and to an education; and the right to maintain one’s culture and native language. Article 29 states that every person also has the duty to respect the rights and freedoms of others, and that governments may limit human rights listed in the declaration only for purposes of “meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.”

The UN adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as an aspirational rather than as a legally binding document. The UN General Assembly intended the Universal Declaration to become the basis for a single, comprehensive human rights convention that states could formally ratify and thereby legally bind themselves. Unfortunately, the polarization of the Cold War prevented this from happening. The West, especially the United States, favored a convention containing only civil and political rights, while the Communist countries favored social and economic rights. The result was the creation of two separate documents: the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR) and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR). Both were adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966. A decade later, enough countries had ratified both for them to come into force. The United States ratified the CCPR in 1992 but has refused to ratify the CESCR.

Since its adoption in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has grown in stature and respect. It has become a basic source for the development of the international law of human rights. Human rights advocates worldwide constantly invoke its principles, and numerous countries have incorporated it into their national constitutions. Consequently, the Universal Declaration has become the basis of domestic law of many states.

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**See also Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations**

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### UNTOUCHABLES (DALITS)

The Reservation Policy, India's version of Affirmative Action, has brought about great changes in the lives of India's Untouchables, now commonly called Dalits. Quotas in political bodies and educational institutions as well as in government service have created some political power but most importantly a sizable and vocal middle class. However, the development of pride and self respect has also resulted in rural attempts to better conditions that have frequently resulted in violence against Dalits, graphically reported in *Broken People*.

### Scheduled Castes, Harijans, Ex-Untouchables, and Dalits

The names used for the lowest castes in the Indian hierarchy of caste indicate the history of change. In 1935, the British government in India placed more than four hundred castes on a list or schedule to receive government benefits. These castes were discriminated against because they worked with leather, human waste, dead animals, or cremation grounds; in addition, they could also have been held to be polluting by birth in spite of work such as basket making and village guard. The benefits have been continued and expanded for ex-Untouchables, so called because the practice of "untouchability" was made illegal in the Indian Constitution in 1950.

"Harijan" was Mahatma Gandhi's term for the Untouchables, developed in 1932 when he campaigned against their depressed conditions, but "people of God" was rejected as a patronizing and useless name by politicized Untouchables. "Dalit" (meaning broken down, oppressed) began to be used proudly in the early 1970s in the context of a militant group of

Untouchables in the state of Maharashtra, Dalit Panthers, and the development of protest literature, Dalit Sahitya, a genre of literature that has been translated from the Marathi in *Poisoned Bread*. Dalit has become the standard word for modernizing Untouchables and has been used in the general press. All these words are in use in various contexts.

### The Basis of Untouchability

Untouchable castes have been in evidence since about the sixth century CE although the idea of despised and polluting individuals is apparent in the literature that followed the earliest text, the *Rig Veda*. A theory of purity (the Brahmins, the priestly caste) and pollution (the Untouchables), the top and bottom of a graded hierarchy, was the religious justification for denying water and temple rights, a place in the village itself, and even literacy until the modern period. The *varna* system of Brahmin, *Kshatriya* (warrior, ruler), *Vaishya* (merchant), and *Shudra* (workers) did not include the Untouchable, who was outside the hierarchy but in specific castes—these castes included *Chamars* (leather workers); *Pariahs* (drummers), whose name has come into English as "outcaste;" *Bhangis* (waste removers); and *Mahars* (village servants). The majority of Untouchables are and probably were part of landless agricultural labor.

Untouchables are not separate by race from higher caste Hindus, just as the Burakumin of Japan are not separated; these people of Japan are part of a despised leather-working and butcher group and are treated much as are treated Indian Untouchables, even though Japan has no caste system as such. Much of the treatment and progress of the Untouchables in India, however, bears similarities to that of the treatment of the African-Americans in the United States.

### Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1891–1956)

Although India has had reformers and protesters against "untouchability" since the time of the Buddha, the most important was (and is) Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, a *Mahar* from Maharashtra who led the Untouchable movement in his day and now has become a symbol of progress and protest in most sections of India. Ambedkar secured an extraordinary education in the United States and England with the help of reformist non-Brahmin princes and used that education to bring legal redress to boycotts, to found

an educational system, to speak to all British parliamentary bodies, and, in a final triumph, to serve as chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of India and as law minister in independent India's first cabinet. After decades of protest against the caste system, Ambedkar also converted to Buddhism, taking millions of followers with him. His statue today, usually with one hand holding a book that represents the constitution, is seen in most town squares and Untouchable localities as a symbol of achievement. Resentment of Untouchable advances by higher caste Hindus is often shown by attempts to dishonor or destroy the statue. The Bahujan Samaj Party that honors Ambedkar, especially in the North, has superseded Ambedkar's Republican Party in importance.

## Progress and Problems

India's commitment to equality may be seen in the current position of a Dalit, K. R. Narayanan, as the very effective president of India, and the late G. M. C. Baliyogi, as speaker of the India Parliament, also a Dalit. Educational advances have resulted in the appointment of Dalits in both the vice chancellor and the registrar positions of the University of Mumbai. Meanwhile, more Dalits than higher caste Hindus are below the poverty line, and literacy rates are a consistent 15% below that of higher caste Hindus, with Dalit women lagging 24% behind. Village atrocities continue, and many Dalits fear that with privatization will come many fewer jobs for the ex-Untouchables.

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**See also Caste Systems; India**

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## URBANIZATION: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

It is conventional to measure the level of urbanization as the percentage of a country's population living in areas classified as urban and its level of development by calculating its per capita gross domestic product (PCGDP). Neither measure is perfect. Countries' definitions of what qualifies as "urban" vary, and GDP, the value of all goods and services produced in a specified time period, usually one year, is an estimate subject to frequent revisions. The population divisor is an annual interpolation between censuses, themselves prone to error; in addition, for purposes of comparison, different countries' PCGDPs have to be converted to a common currency, typically US dollars, and adjusted to correct for differences in purchasing power.

Subject to these caveats and qualifications, comparison of the two variables is illuminating. One method is to plot countries as points in a graph that has level of urbanization on the vertical axis and level of development on the horizontal axis. With data for 1950, the graph reveals a close correlation. A narrow band of points rises from countries that have low levels of both urbanization and development to countries that have high levels of the two variables. The band of points is contained within a floor and a ceiling to urbanization, both of which rise with development. The graph for 2000 is different. Whereas there still is a rising floor to urbanization as development increases, the ceiling is gone. Instead of a narrow band of points, there is a scatter throughout the triangle above the floor. Countries at low levels of development now display levels of urbanization that vary from low to the levels achieved in world's most developed regions. The change occurred because the second half of the twentieth century saw the decoupling of the relationship between urbanization and development in significant ways. Only the floor to the level of urbanization now rises with economic development.

## 1950: Development Drives Urbanization

In 1950, economists believed that simple causal relationships linked urbanization to economic development. On the demand side, Engel's Law was said to hold: because the income elasticity of demand for urban commodities is greater than that for rural commodities, the demand for urban commodities will increase faster than that for rural commodities as incomes rise. Thus, the society in which economic



development is occurring devotes more of its resources to urban activities. Complementing this, on the supply side, unbalanced technical change in which faster progress is made in manufacturing than in agriculture results in faster growth in manufacturing jobs and the attraction of migrant workers from agriculture to find urban employment. Hence, urbanization was said to be a consequence of economic development. The evidence was the pattern in the 1950 graph described in the previous paragraphs.

### **2000: Massive Overurbanization?**

The radical changes that unfolded between 1950 and 2000 suggest that this comfortable argument of Engel's Law may be of declining utility. Between 1950 and 2000, the world's urban population increased from 750 million to 2.86 billion and the urban percentage from 30 to 47. In the developing countries, the urban population increased from 392 million to 2.16 billion and the urban percentage from 20% to 42%. The number of cities in the world with a population of more than 1 million increased from 83 to 387—those in the developing countries increased from 43 to 297, or from 52% to 77% of the total. But much of this increase in developing country urbanization was in areas where the level of economic development, although increasing, remained low, belying the earlier idea that it is development that drives urban growth. Immigration to urban areas came from zones of rapid population increase marked by high fertility and the reduced death rates produced by improved medical services as well as from areas with growing pools of surplus labor caused by technological advance in the agricultural rather than the industrial sector.

In part, the early rush may have been encouraged by urban bias in the policies of newly independent developing country governments. Exchange rates, tariffs, and tax policies penalized rural dwellers and favored the urban elite. The consequence has been "overurbanization," the growth of cities to sizes unsupported by their traditional economic bases, with much resulting poverty and distress. The problem is most apparent in sub-Saharan Africa, but elsewhere, faced by the same immense challenges, the response has been remarkable. Price distortions have been reduced, often through reforms introduced by structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). More important, the new urban populations are inventing specializations that are turning the theory of

the 1950s around: instead of development driving urbanization, urbanization now is beginning to drive developing-country growth.

### **The New Dynamic: Cities Propel Growth**

Many features of life in the new cities are creating conditions conducive to growth. There are substantial health advantages to urban living compared with the rural alternative, as evidenced by greater declines in the mortality rate in urban areas. Urban areas offer better infrastructure and easier access to health care services. In some developing countries, chronic and degenerative diseases, accidents, and injuries are becoming more important than infectious diseases as causes of death, a sure sign that the mortality transition that accompanies development is well advanced. Large urban areas also offer marked advantages in the provision of piped water, waste disposal, electricity, and schools. They also influence individual and family perceptions of economic costs, benefits, and uncertainties. New urban opportunities are affecting women's wage rates and, through wages, the opportunity costs of time spent in child care. These opportunity costs have long been identified as important factors in fertility decisions. In many developing countries, the other half of the demographic transition—reduced fertility—is now beginning to take hold. Parents also are becoming aware of the economic returns to schooling and are increasingly willing to forego high fertility to have fewer but better-educated children. Such increased investment in human capital pays off in the creation of a more capable labor force that can attract economic activities from elsewhere, first the factories seeking low money wages and later those that rely on education and skills. This in turn increases urban income growth, which raises government revenue and provides the means to further improve public services.

With improved preconditions for growth, other economic factors begin to play their role: initially, the benefits of increased returns to scale and, subsequently, innovation and agglomeration economies. When production is characterized by increasing returns to scale—a doubling of inputs yielding more than a doubling of output—firms are motivated to concentrate their production spatially. Concentration of production implies concentration of the labor force. Two varieties of concentration are evident. Localization economies arise when the firms of a given industry cluster spatially, permitting the suppliers of inputs tailored to that industry to save on transport

costs and allowing for further specialization in the production of inputs. Urbanization economies arise with the cross-industry clustering of firms and the suppliers of inputs used across a variety of industries. When firms are spatially clustered, workers can search among them more efficiently, expending less time and fewer resources in locating jobs that are well matched to their human capital. Consumers can benefit from the increased array and quality of differentiated goods.

Layered on top of localization and urbanization are new types of agglomeration economies produced by spillovers of ideas and technologies both within and between industries. Such spillovers may be produced when one firm is able to observe the innovations, experiments, production processes, or competitive strategies of another. Workers carry such innovative ideas with them as they circulate among firms. They may also arise from the stimuli provided by diversity so that creative energies in one industry are stimulated by the collision of disparate ideas and facilitated by developments in other industries: creative ferment occurs when entrepreneurs, scientists, artists, and firms find themselves struck by analogies and by the observation of activity in spheres that overlap but do not wholly coincide with their own. These benefits of urban diversity are greatest in the initial stages of product development. Once a production process becomes standardized, some of its elements can be relocated to sites where wages and rents are lower. Services and production in high-technology sectors derive special benefits from economies of diversity, as is evident on the remarkable scale of change in the cities of Asia, particularly those of the Pacific Rim. Initially spurred by multinational corporations' search for cheap productive labor, growth in cities as diverse as Bangalore in India, Shenzhen in southern China, and Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia now is driven by technology and innovation, as it was earlier in Singapore and Hong Kong and throughout South Korea and Taiwan. In such cases, cities have been able to mobilize great quantities of human capital, to attract foreign investment, and to invent new economic specializations in a short period of time, becoming the engines driving their nations' economic growth.

The largest developing country cities now are joining the ranks of the "World Cities" that have pivotal roles in the global economy. Among these, New York, London, and Tokyo occupy the uppermost tier because of their dominance of finance and specialized services, their importance as sites of production and innovation, and their role as markets for new products and services. There are, however, as many as thirty other places, many in the developing

world, that now play a central role in the internationalization of capital, production, service, and culture.

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**See also Urbanization: Impact on Environment**

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## URBANIZATION: IMPACT ON ENVIRONMENT

The world's urban population increased fourfold between 1950 and 2000, with most of the increase occurring in middle- and low-income developing countries (Table 1). A growing share of this increase was in cities with more than one million inhabitants, for which the developing countries accounted for 77% of the world total of 387 in 2000, compared with 52% of a total of 83% in 1950 (Table 2). Megacities with a population of more than five million increased from 8 to 39 in the same time span, with 30 in the developing countries in 2000 compared with only 3 fifty years before (Table 3). The United Nations (UN) predicts that by 2010, more than half the world's population will live in urban areas, growing to two-thirds by 2030 when the developing countries are expected to account for 83% of the world's urban population of some five billion.

What are likely to be the environmental consequences of this massive surge of big-city population concentration in the developing countries? There are no definitive answers because little monitoring and even less analysis has been undertaken in these countries. One must rely on research conducted in high-income nations, recognizing that the consequences may differ because much of the developing world is characterized by lower incomes, different physical environments and cultures, and frequent absence of effective urban planning and environmental

## URBANIZATION: IMPACT ON ENVIRONMENT

Table 1: World urban population, 1950 and 2000<sup>1</sup>

Region	Mid-year population (millions)	
	1950	2000
<i>World total</i>	751	2862
<i>High-income countries</i>	359	697
<i>Middle- and low-income countries</i>	392	2165

High-income countries have gross national income per capital of \$9266 or more.

<sup>1</sup> United Nations (2002); World Bank (2002).

Table 2: Urban areas and their populations by size, 1950 and 2000<sup>1</sup>

City Size	Number of cities		Urban population (in millions)	
	1950	2000	1950	2000
<i>World total</i>				
Ten million or more	1	16	12	225
Five to ten million	7	23	42	169
One to five million	75	348	144	675
<i>High-income countries</i>				
Ten million or more	1	4	12	67
Five to ten million	4	5	26	38
One to five million	38	81	77	183
<i>Middle- and low-income countries</i>				
Ten million or more	0	12	0	158
Five to ten million	3	18	16	132
One to five million	40	267	68	491

<sup>1</sup> United Nations (2002).

regulation. Developed-world research reveals that modifications of the physical environment produced by rapid urban growth occur at three geographic scales: local, regional, and global.

At a local scale, urban development alters the nature of the Earth's surface. The natural surface of soil, grass, and trees is replaced by brick, concrete, glass, and metal at different levels above the ground. These artificial materials change the nature of the reflecting and radiating surfaces, the heat exchange near the surface, and the aerodynamic roughness of the surface.

Among the most important local effects are the land-use changes that affect the hydrologic regime (the system of rivers and streams and the patterns of runoff); changes in peak-flow characteristics (the scale and speed of runoff after storms); changes in total

Table 3: Urban agglomerations with five million people or more, 1950 and 2000<sup>1</sup>

Region	1950	2000
<i>High-income countries</i>		
Europe	Paris	Paris
	Rhein-Ruhr	Rhein-Ruhr
	London	London
North America	New York	New York
		Los Angeles
		Chicago
Asia	Tokyo	Tokyo
		Osaka
		Hong Kong
<i>Middle- and low-income countries</i>		
Asia	Shanghai	Shanghai
		Beijing
		Tianjin
		Seoul
		Bombay
		Calcutta
		Bangalore
		Delhi
		Hyderabad
		Madras
		Wuhan
		Jakarta
		Teheran
		Istanbul
		Bangkok
		Metro Manila
		Karachi
		Lahore
		Dhaka
Africa		Cairo
		Lagos
		Kinshasa
Latin America and the Caribbean	Buenos Aires	Buenos Aires
		Rio de Janeiro
		São Paulo
		Mexico City
		Lima
		Santiago
Europe		Bogota
		Moscow

<sup>1</sup> United Nations (2002).

runoff; changes in water quality; and changes in hydrologic amenities (the desirability of water bodies for recreation). After urbanization, runoff occurs more rapidly and with a greater peak flow than under nonurban conditions. Urbanization increases the impervious land area, and the urban area may be served by storm sewers. Both increase the peak

Table 4: Effects of large cities on environment<sup>1</sup>

Element	Compared to rural environs	
Contaminants	Condensation nuclei (particles that serve to attract condensation)	10 times more
	Particulates (e.g., soot)	50 times more
	Gaseous admixtures (mixtures of polluting gases)	5–25 times more
Radiation	Total on horizontal surface	0–20% less
	Ultraviolet, winter	30% less
	Ultraviolet, summer	5% less
	Sunshine duration	5–15% less
Cloudiness	Clouds	5–10% more
	Fog, winter	100% more
	Fog, summer	30% more
Precipitation	Amounts	5–15% more
	Days with less than 0.20 inches (5 millimeters)	10% more
	Snowfall, inner city	5–10% more
	Snowfall, lee of city	10% more
	Thunderstorms	10–15% more
Temperature	Annual mean	0.5–3.0°C more
	Winter minimums (average)	1–2°C more
	Summer maximums	1–3°C more
	Heating degree days	10% less
Relative humidity	Annual mean	6% less
	Winter	2% less
	Summer	8% less
Wind speed	Annual mean	20–30% less
	Extreme gusts	10–20% less
	Calm	5–20% more

<sup>1</sup> Landsberg (1981).

discharge: maximum sewerage and imperviousness result in peak discharges that are more than six times greater than those in nonurbanized conditions. In turn, sharper peak discharges increase flood frequencies and the ratio of over-bank flows. Urbanization thus increases the flood volume, the flood peak, and the flood frequency, and the flushing effect of storm water discharge increases turbidity (the mixing of sediments in the water) and pollutant loads. On the other hand, sediment loads may fall. The channel response will therefore shift from aggradation (build-up of sediment deposits) to bank erosion. Water pollution changes the quality of downstream resources, the ecology of the riverine environment, and the amenity value of the river bank or estuary. The effects become pronounced downstream of larger cities, where natural flushing is incapable of preventing long-term damage, and in coastal bays and estuaries, depending upon the city's location.

At the scale of the metropolitan region, by generating large amounts of heat artificially and by altering the composition of the atmosphere via emissions of gaseous and solid pollutants, big cities begin to create

their own climates (principal changes are noted in Table 4).

At certain times of the year in midlatitude cities, artificial heat input into the atmosphere by combustion and metabolic processes may approach or even exceed that derived indirectly from the sun. The heat island that results serves as a trap for pollutants. Other things being equal, the temperature difference between the city core and the rural periphery increases with city size; the difference is small and ephemeral in cities of a population of 250,000 or less but is substantial and longer lasting in larger cities. The heat island expands and intensifies as the city grows, and stronger and stronger winds are needed to overcome it. Wind speeds of 5 m/sec<sup>-1</sup> (12 mi/hr) can eliminate the heat island in a city of 250,000, but speeds of 10 m/sec<sup>-1</sup> (22 mi/hr) are required for a city with a population of one million, and speeds of 14 m/sec<sup>-1</sup> (32 mi/hr) are required for a city with a population of ten million. Yet, the surface roughness of the city serves to reduce wind speeds and inhibit this ventilation: average wind speed may be reduced as much as 30% by a big city. In cities with a population of more than ten million, the

mean annual minimum temperature may be as much as 2.5°C higher than that of the surrounding rural periphery. This difference is much greater in summer than in winter.

The causes of changes in climate in cities are two-fold, both of which are seasonally dependent. In summer, the tall buildings, pavement, and concrete of the city absorb and store large amounts of solar radiation, and less of this energy is used for evaporation than in the countryside because of the high runoff. The stored energy is released at night, warming the urban air. In winter, human-made energy used for heat and light produces warming, yet the blanket of emissions reduces incoming solar radiation by as much as 20% (a phenomenon known as heat rejection). When the Boston-Washington megalopolis reaches a population of 50 to 60 million, it will be characterized by heat rejection of 65 cal/cm<sup>2</sup>/d. In winter, the rejection is 50% of the heat received by solar radiation on a horizontal surface; in summer, this number decreases to 15%. In Manhattan, the heat produced by combustion alone in winter has been estimated to be 2.5 times the solar energy reaching the ground. This energy is trapped by the blanket of pollutants over the city, including particulates, water vapor, and carbon dioxide, and is reemitted downward to warm the ambient air.

In addition to the heat island, other regional-scale climatic effects—all increasing with city size—include greater cloudiness, fog, dust, and precipitation but lower humidity. When wind dissipates the heat island, a downwind urban heat plume is detectable in the atmosphere. Along this plume, there are increased precipitation, thunderstorm, and hail probabilities, often quite distant from the city.

Beyond such regional-scale consequences, urban activities are a major source of gaseous discharges into the atmosphere that may affect future global climates. Urban contributions to sulfur and carbon dioxide levels in the atmosphere are believed to be contributing to global warming. If warming increases, polar ice sheets will be reduced, leading to rising sea levels. Such changes are likely to be of greatest consequence for major coastal cities. Fluorocarbon emissions have been reduced significantly in the developed world but have already contributed to ozone depletion, producing the southern hemisphere “ozone hole” that has permitted increased ultraviolet radiation to reach the earth’s surface, raising skin cancer rates in southern latitudes.

Lack of effective environmental regulations in developing countries means that their cities are replacing those of the developed world as the principal sources of sulfur and carbon dioxide emissions and of fluorocarbons. Thus, it is the rapid urbanization of

the developing world that is most likely to propel global environmental change in the years ahead.

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**See also Urbanization: Impact on Development**

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## URUGUAY

With an area of 776,853 square feet (72,172 square meters), Uruguay is the second smallest republic in South America. Its topography is characterized by the *cuchillas* (rolling hills) and the grasslands, which are an extension of the pampas.

With land ideally suited for raising cattle and sheep, Uruguay’s economy is almost entirely dependent on livestock products. However, Uruguay’s 3.4 million inhabitants are not rural dwellers. More than 75% of its population is considered urban. Uruguay’s capital, Montevideo, contains more than half of the country’s population.

Uruguay’s population is not as racially diverse as that of other Latin American nations. As a result of a large scale European migration in the late nineteenth century, Uruguay’s population is 88% caucasian, 8% mestizo, and 4% black. It has one of the highest literacy rates in the world at 98% and one of the highest life expectancy rates in Latin America at 76 years of age. Although its GDP purchasing power parity per capita (\$12,600) is high by Latin American standards, 16% of its population is unemployed.

During the Spanish colonial era, Uruguay was just a buffer zone between Spanish-held Argentina and Portuguese-controlled Brazil. When wars for independence spread throughout the Spanish Empire, *gaucho* patriot, José Gervasio Artigas, drove the Spaniards out of Uruguay in 1816, but Portugal annexed it to Brazil. In 1822, when Brazil became independent, it remained part of the Brazilian Empire. In 1828, the Brazilians withdrew, and two years later the *República Oriental del Uruguay* was proclaimed.

The Uruguayan Republic, however, was plagued by political instability as the *Colorado* (Red) faction, composed of liberal-minded city dwellers, and the *Blanco* (White) faction, composed of conservative-minded landowners, battled for political control, plunging the country into civil wars.

In the twentieth century, conditions would change in Uruguay with the rise of José Batlle y Ordóñez. President from 1903 until 1907 and from 1911 until 1915, Batlle became the most influential politician in Uruguayan history. His plans for state-sponsored social welfare programs, state participation in key economic sectors, and his system of political proportional representation were crystallized in the constitution of 1919.

The *Batllista* economic program of state involvement benefited Uruguay enormously during the 1920s as demand for Uruguayan commodities rose in the world market. The world depression of the 1930s negatively impacted Uruguay's economy. To deal with the crisis, a new constitution was proclaimed, eliminating the *Colegiado*, a nine-member Uruguayan National Council that limited presidential powers. However, the *Batllista* socioeconomic system was retained.

World War II brought a period of prosperity for Uruguay as Allied dependency on Uruguayan products increased. Postwar Uruguay became the model country in Latin America for both democratic and socioeconomic progress. In 1951, Uruguayans held a plebiscite for a new constitution calling for a nine-member executive Uruguayan National Council with no president. Based on proportional representation, the council's chair rotated on a yearly basis.

During the early 1950s, the Uruguayan economy continued to grow, for Europe was in need of Uruguayan imports, and the Korean War kept its commodities in high demand. While US investments in Uruguay were minimal, diplomatic relations with the United States continued to improve as Uruguay saw the United States as a bulwark against Perónist expansionism in the region.

Juan Domingo Perón's overthrow in 1955 ended the Argentine menace. However, a more serious situation developed. Cheaper synthetic wool substitutes cost Uruguay 50% of its export revenues. In addition,

demand for Uruguayan beef plummeted as a result of a hoof-and-mouth disease.

Faced with keeping the welfare state, the National Council turned to inflationary measures. As inflation reached astronomical proportions, a political crisis developed in 1966, and Uruguayans turned to a new constitution that replaced the National Council with a strong presidency.

In 1967, Uruguay asked the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for help. It received a \$500 million loan but had to incorporate a plan containing austerity measures. This action caused labor strikes and civil unrest. By the early 1970s, both Uruguayan democracy and the *Batllista* system were in danger. The *Tupamaros*, an urban guerrilla group, began to destabilize the country through terrorist attacks. Voters showed their dissatisfaction with both the *Colorado* and *Blanco* parties when in the elections of 1971, the newly created *Frente Amplio*, a leftist learning coalition, received 30% of the Montevideo vote and 18% of the nationwide vote.

Shortly after the inauguration of the President Juan María Bordaberry in 1972, the *Tupamaros* launched a new wave of terrorist attacks. They wanted to provoke the military into conflict with hopes that a popular uprising against military intervention would result in the establishment of a Uruguayan Marxist state.

Unable to stop the urban violence, Bordaberry suspended civil liberties, gave the military a free hand to deal with the *Tupamaros*, and virtually became a puppet. In 1976, the military replaced him with Aparicio Méndez, another puppet president.

Scores of *Tupamaros* were imprisoned or killed, but innocent civilians suspected of being guerrilla sympathizers were jailed and tortured. Although the *Tupamaros's* hope for a popular uprising never materialized, they succeeded in practically destroying Uruguayan democracy. In 1981, Lieutenant General Gregorio Alvarez assumed direct control as president. The military regime, successfully having eradicated the *Tupamaros*, hoped to stay in power until 1987. However, a gargantuan debt, as well as international condemnation, prompted the regime to return power to constitutional government in 1984.

In 1984, *Colorado* candidate Julio María Sanguinetti was elected president. Since 1984, three *Colorado* and one *Blanco* party members have occupied the presidency. Although the state still plays a major role in the economy, both *Blanco* and *Colorado* administrations have conducted a limited privatization policy, and in 1995, Uruguay joined MERCOSUR, the Southern Cone Common Market.

As a result of economic crises faced by its major trading partners, Brazil and Argentina, the Uruguayan economy has been adversely impacted since

2002. However, it is expected to recover as a result of a weakened dollar, low interest international loans, and high prices for Uruguayan products. As the pendulum swings, Battle's dream has not disappeared; rather, it waits for better times.

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**See also Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR); Southern Cone (Latin America): History and Economic Development; Southern Cone (Latin America): International Relations; Tupamaros**

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## UZBEKISTAN

Uzbekistan is situated at the very center of Central Asia. It is the most populous of the former Soviet Central Asian states, holding about twenty-five million people. Roughly the same size as California in area, Uzbekistan lies at about the same latitude as Italy and experiences a continental climate. Much of the country is occupied by the Kyzyl Kum (Red Sand) and Kara Kum (Black Sand) deserts in the west, and most of the remaining land is arid steppe. Few locations receive more than ten inches of precipitation yearly, and agriculture is made possible only by the presence of two great rivers, the Amu Darya and Syr Darya, whose waters supply extensive irrigation works. The southeastern reaches of the country are mountainous, and this region contains the Fergana Valley, the country's most important agricultural area.

Uzbekistan has been part of the Muslim world for more than 1,200 years, but was absorbed into the Russian empire in the mid-nineteenth century. The

Tsar's forces captured Tashkent, the largest city, in 1865, and political control of the region remained in Russian (later Soviet) hands for about 125 years. The imprint of Slavic culture remains strong, as Russian is widely spoken and the Muslim prohibition against alcohol is seldom observed. Independent Uzbekistan faces enormous challenges in the wake of Soviet collapse. These include widespread environmental degradation, a rapidly expanding population, a stagnant economy only tenuously connected to the global economy, widespread political instability, and human rights abuses.

In the wake of World War II, Uzbekistan became the Soviet Union's primary source of cotton, which not only satisfied domestic demand but also provided badly needed foreign earnings when sold on the international market. After 1960, a vast amount of new acreage was opened to the production of "white gold," as the lucrative crop came to be called by Central Asians. The water for increased production came from the region's streams, primarily the Amu Darya and its smaller cousin, the Syr Darya. The "monoculture" of cotton had two extremely detrimental effects on Uzbekistan: catastrophic environmental damage and a retardation of economic development, as the agricultural sector was emphasized over the industrial and service sectors for most of the period after 1945.

Environmental degradation took its most obvious form in the demise of the Aral Sea. As recently as 1960, the Aral Sea was the world's fourth largest lake, but overuse of the rivers supplying it (the Amu Darya and Syr Darya) resulted in an unprecedented decline. Satellite images from the late 1990s reveal that the area covered by the Aral Sea is one-half that of the early 1960s, and a host of health and economic problems accompanied this collapse. As the sea shrank, its salinity increased, ultimately killing most of the fish and subsequently destroying the commercial fishing industry, which in turn resulted in the loss of thousands of jobs. The disaster has had a dramatic impact on the health of those around the sea as well, with tens of thousands of people suffering from increased incidence of certain cancers, blood diseases, and respiratory ailments.

After becoming an independent state in 1991, the Uzbek administration remained under the control of the former Uzbek Communist Party First Secretary, Islom Karimov. During Karimov's tenure, full economic integration with the global economy has failed to materialize, and as of 2001, the country's currency unit, the som, remains nonconvertible in international financial markets. Official statistics for poverty levels and unemployment in Uzbekistan are generally low, but probably significantly underreported is the actual magnitude of these problems. The transition from

the Soviet-era command economy to a free market system has followed a policy of “gradualism,” and much of the agricultural and industrial sectors remain in government hands.

The potential for economic development in Uzbekistan is high if the disadvantages of distance from international markets can be overcome. Sizeable deposits of gold and natural gas are present and serve as important sources of foreign earnings. The country has a reasonably well-developed infrastructure, highlighted by a recently expanded and remodeled international airport in Tashkent. In addition, about 40% of the population is urbanized, a fairly high percentage in the region, and approximately 10% of the workforce holds a postsecondary degree. However, to date, the amount of foreign investment has fallen short of expectations, and there is little internal investment capital available. Much of the potential for tourism remains undeveloped although Uzbekistan contains many important historical sites and much natural beauty.

Prior to 1991, Uzbekistan had never existed as an independent political entity. Having emerged from the Soviet empire, the new state has not implemented stable traditions of democratic government and has been slow in developing institutions typically associated with civil society. The government is authoritarian, the media is tightly controlled by the administration, the judiciary is not independent of governmental influence, and the few opposition parties that are represented in the *Oliy Majlis*, or parliament, are in fact pawns of the ruling faction. Opposition groups that formed in the late 1980s, such as *Birlik* (“Unity”) and *Erk* (“Will”) have been driven underground and their leadership forced into exile.

The process of constructing a national identity is ongoing in Uzbekistan. This process involves

resurrecting and honoring the deeds of historical figures connected to the country’s past, such as Amir Timur (Tamerlane), Babur, and Alisher Navoi; promoting Uzbek as a national tongue; and reconnecting to Islam. The latter movement, however, is tightly controlled by the government, which asserts that a “fundamentalist” threat to the nation’s stability has grown during the 1990s, a claim bolstered by mysterious bombings in Tashkent in 1999 and subsequent incursions by Islamic insurgents in the Fergana region. Critics of the Karimov regime argue that the dangers of Islamic radicalism have been dramatically exaggerated by the government to justify a general crackdown on dissent and to silence those who wish to promote a more open, democratic society.

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**See also Commonwealth of Independent States: History and Economic Development; Commonwealth of Independent States: International Relations**

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# V

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## VÄHI, TIIT

Tiit Vähi was born on January 10, 1947, in Valga, Estonia. Vähi received a degree in engineering from Tallinn Technical University in 1970. Upon graduation, Vähi pursued a management career with the Valga Trucking Company. Vähi emerged as one of the leaders of the Estonian Popular Front at the beginning of the national independence movement in 1989. Later in the year, Vähi was appointed Minister for Transport and Communications, where he embarked on a mission of improving transit relations with the Nordic countries and the other Baltic states. Vähi was crucial to the realignment of Estonia's infrastructure, such as seaports, railway hubs, and airports to Estonian control after fifty years of Soviet control.

Vähi became Prime Minister on January 30, 1992. Vähi's priorities included the implementation of policies to steer Estonia towards a Western market economy. The Estonian *Kroon* became the official currency of the nation in June 1992, effectively severing fiscal ties to Russia. Vähi played an essential role in the creation of the Estonian Privatization Agency, responsible for the denationalization of businesses and industries. In accordance with his agreement with the transitional government, Vähi did not seek a parliamentary position in the September 1992 elections.

Amidst public discontent about the harsh, sweeping economic reforms pursued by the conservative reformer Maart Laar and his government from 1992–1994, former communists won the largest number of seats in parliamentary elections in 1995. A coalition government was formed, and President Lennart Meri

appointed Vähi as Prime Minister. Vähi's government was comprised of political parties that held diametrically opposed views on major issues such as tariffs. Ultimately, this led to a persistent sense of governmental instability during a critical period in Estonia's economic and political transformation. Despite some public hope for a softening of the economic reforms implemented by the Maar government and renewed relations with Russia, the government continued implementing institutional reforms, thereby strengthening ties with Western Europe. The coalition was unable to deliver on campaign promises to increase social benefits and higher pensions. In October 1995, however, Vähi's government collapsed amidst rumors of illegal surveillance and wiretapping by Interior Minister Edgar Savisaar.

Despite the cabinet scandal, Vähi remained prime minister and created a new cabinet. 1996 proved to be a tumultuous year for the government. The results of local elections in the nation's capital, Tallinn, created great political difficulty. The conservative reformists expanded the local coalition to the national political arena, leaving Vähi governing in a minority position. In late 1996, Vähi introduced his "Ten Commandments," promising a more "socially oriented" market economy in the hopes of rejuvenating public support for his government, which had dwindled to 5%.

Ultimately, Vähi lost political acumen in 1997 amidst allegations of unethical privatization while he was head of Tallinn's City Council from 1993 to 1995. Laar revealed that under Vähi's watch, nearly

## VÄHI, TIIT

two hundred apartments in the city had been sold to prominent individuals for as little as 5% of their market value. Despite claiming innocence, Vähi resigned as prime minister prior to a scheduled vote of no-confidence in February 1997.

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**See also Estonia; Laar, Mart**

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## VANUATU

### Location and Description

The Republic of Vanuatu consists of over eighty islands located in the South Pacific with the capital, Port Vila, on Efate. The aggregate landmass is twelve thousand square kilometres, and it claims a territorial coastal zone of twelve nautical miles and a two hundred-mile exclusive economic zone.

Volcanic activity is apparent with frequent minor tremors. A tropical climate is moderated by the south-east trade winds. The area is subject to cyclones, and in recent years they have severely affected the economy.

### Colonial Past and Social Development

The former New Hebrides became independent on July 30, 1980. The colony had been jointly ruled by both Britain and France by a administration known as the Condominium, a dual system in which every police post had an officer of both nationalities. There were two education systems, two legal systems, and two official languages. Two national flags flew side by side, and great pains were taken to ensure they were exactly the same height.

Unofficially, there was intense rivalry between Anglo and Gallic functionaries. This extended to the indigenous population, some of whom saw themselves as either black Frenchmen or black Englishmen. These rivalries were evident in secessionist revolts

(with covert French support) on Espiritu Santo and Tana at independence.

Colonial rivalry was matched by local rivalries. Language and cultural differences not only separated islands but the islanders themselves. The island of Tana alone has four distinct languages (as well as English, French, and Bislama the *lingua franca*). A sense of national unity was something new that had to be carefully fostered.

### Economic Development

One result of the end of World War II on Vanuatu was the John Frum cargo cult. Cargo cults, indigenous to Melanesia with roots dating back to the nineteenth century, believe that the spirits of dead ancestors will return with cargoes of material goods for their descendants. The so-called cargo cults received a boost during the Second World War, when the Allies air-dropped large amounts of cargo onto the South Pacific Islands. At the end of the war, a figure known as Jon (sometimes John) Frum allegedly appeared on the island of Tana. Some people believe that he was a Vanuatu native posing as a god; in any case, his followers believe him to be a messianic figure who lives in a nearby volcano with an army twenty thousand strong. His message was to throw away money, slaughter the animals, and feast, as all needs would be met by the goods that he would provide. The Jon Frum movement survives to the present day, with Jon Frum Day celebrated annually on February 15; the movement even has its own political party.

After independence Vanuatu produced a development plan that aimed at self-reliance in fifteen years. The measure of success was to be Vanuatu's ability to match imports with foreign exchange earnings and fiscal requirements from domestic revenues. The plan identified three areas of concern: domestic savings were inadequate for investment, there was a gap between revenue and expenditure, and the cost of imports was far greater than the country earned in exports.

The plan was to encourage the private sector and the emergence of "national entrepreneurs" (National Planning Office ND). Foreign aid was to be invested in productive infrastructure to increase exports and substitute domestic product for imports. Finally, the government intended to stabilise expenditure through wage restraint, a ceiling on bureaucracy, increased efficiency, and to "stabilise the levels of social infrastructure investment."

However, for most of the 1980s, the economy stagnated and economic growth was minimal. Economic

growth averaged 1.6%, while population grew by 2.9%, leading to a fall in the standard of living. There were good years; 1984 saw a sharp rise in copra prices which, combined with increased tourism, pushed growth up to nearly 7%, giving a sound balance of payments position and allowing a build-up of foreign exchange reserves. However, Vanuatu's vulnerability to fluctuations in world markets was demonstrated from 1985–1987, with zero growth due to the collapse of copra prices and a decline in tourism.

Economic development is hindered by a number of factors. The distance to both export markets and between islands is a handicap. Lack of skilled labour caused a reliance on high cost expatriates. Most importantly there are few exports other than primary produce—copra, kava, beef, timber, coffee—while imports include machinery, equipment, food, and fuel. The dependence on imported fuels and the imbalance between imports of value added goods and export of agricultural products is reflected in the balance of trade. The 1999 estimates had exports at \$25.3 million, while imports were \$77.2 million.

## Current Economic Situation

Subsistence agriculture remains highly important, providing for 65% of the population. Fishing, off-shore financial services, tourism, and copra produce much of the foreign exchange. There is a small light industrial sector for the domestic market. The gross domestic product (GDP) comprises agriculture, 20%; industry, 9%; and service industries, 71%. The labour force consists of 65% engaged in agriculture; 32% in the services industry, and only 3% in industry. Industries include food and fish freezing, meat canning, and wood processing. GDP growth averaged less than 3% during the 1990s. The real growth rate in 1999 was –2.5%. Despite several attempts at government reform and implementation of policies, the development plan has failed to meet its objectives.

The assumptions upon which the development plan was based are those of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—an open economy based on private sector activity, increasing gross national product (GNP), and exports balancing imports. Many people now question whether this development model is appropriate to a small country like Vanuatu. It is hard to see how exports could ever equal imports in value. Nor does GNP measure many of the subsistence and community activities that make up the greater part of the local economy.

The development plan aimed to balance economic development with social responsibility and the cultural and environmental heritage. Yet the development process lessened the value of cultural produce. Prestige became a key factor with people preferring imported canned fish, canned meat, and rice to what they caught or grew themselves. Similarly, ownership of motor vehicles and outboard motor boats has become an important aspiration for many people in rural areas with demand for these items closely related to their value as prestige items. In effect, local “production” is being replaced by imports with a detrimental effect on both traditional culture and the balance of payments.

Two factors give some hope for Vanuatu's development in the broad sense. First, the colonial experience combined with local differences has made the people adept at evaluating different ways of doing things and selecting the method that best suits their needs. Second, there are organizations such as Jon Frumm, which has evolved from a cargo cult into a strong cultural movement that counters the “prestige” alternatives and values traditional production and custom. Perhaps Vanuatu can find some middle ground between the dictates of a full-blown Western economy and the pragmatic dictates of a very small country.

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**See also Oceania: History and Economic Development; Oceania: International Relations**

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## VARGAS, GETÚLIO

Getúlio Dornelles Vargas (1883–1954) was born in São Borja, in the far southern, cattle-raising state of Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul. He would become

the most significant political leader in modern Brazilian history. Although socio-economic change was a crucial means by which he obtained and kept power; of itself it was not his guiding objective. Such change served as but a means to his ultimate end, controlling with consummate skill the forces of political power.

The son of a general, Vargas graduated from law school in 1907. Elected to the state legislature and then the national congress, he achieved the coveted position of minister of finance in 1926. Elected governor of Rio Grande do Sul in 1928, he became a candidate for president in 1930. Defeated by powerful traditional forces, he rejected the results of the election after the assassination of his vice presidential running mate. Leading a coup to overthrow the incumbent president, Vargas became provisional president of Brazil at the end of 1930.

He faced a worldwide economic depression and plummeting prices for Brazil's most important export product, coffee. Vargas moved to consolidate his hold on political power and to manipulate or adapt to the social and economic changes developing in the country. Under a new constitution, he was elected president in 1934. Suppressing political uprisings from the communist left and fascist right, he established a dictatorial regime in 1937, the "New State," and remained in power until 1945.

For fifteen years, he molded the society and economy of Brazil. He organized unions under the federal government. He won new political adherents by authorizing a minimum wage, creating health, vacation, and retirement benefits for workers, and granting the vote to women.

As Europe prepared for war, it sought Brazilian raw materials, particularly iron for armaments and other manufactured products. With the Brazilian economy thus reignited, Vargas acted to diversify it through development of national industry, particularly iron and steel manufacturing. Thereby, further corporate segments of labor and business came to support him.

Vargas emphasized nationalism and development of cultural activities for the political ends they could serve. By projecting Brazil as a united nation under a beneficent federal government, he prepared the country for war and appeared as a defense against subversion and divisiveness. The emerging force of radio became a vehicle to propagate nationalism and the benefits of the Vargas government. In conjunction with the emerging record industry, radio also projected popular Brazilian culture, highlighting samba dance music and Carnival festivities.

The defeat of fascism at the end of World War II in 1945 meant that Vargas could no longer remain in

power; and he was removed by a military coup. However, in 1950 he won reelection to the presidency and was inaugurated at the beginning of the following year. Pledging to develop Brazil's petroleum industry as a government-controlled corporation, he provoked the ire of military and civilian political forces on the right. They exposed corruption in his administration, and the army prepared to remove him from office. To prevent that humiliation from occurring once again, he committed suicide on August 24, 1954.

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**See also Brazil; Kubitschek, Juscelino**

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### VELVET REVOLUTIONS

On November 16, 1989, students in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, began a peaceful protest against the communist rulers of their country. One day later, another group of peacefully protesting students—this time in Prague—were beaten by the government's riot police. The treatment of the second group of students triggered a series of peaceful anti-government demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of Czech and Slovak citizens.

The Czechs and Slovaks had taken to the streets in peaceful protests before—in the famed Prague Spring of 1968. But unlike in 1968, Soviet tanks and troops did not occupy the nation to crush the nascent rebellion. This time, on November 28, 1989, the Czechoslovak communist government announced that it would yield exclusive power, power that it abandoned altogether by the end of December.

Thus, in a nearly bloodless upheaval, the people had thrown off the Soviet shackles that had oppressed them since World War II. By demonstrating solidarity without violence, they had brought a formerly mighty empire to its knees and won.

The Czechoslovak revolution was later called the Velvet Revolution—a term that was, in time, applied to the series of political changes that shredded the Iron Curtain and conceived democratic governments throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

## Rust in the Iron Curtain

Czechoslovakia and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe had been locked behind what Winston Churchill called an “Iron Curtain” since the end of World War II. The Iron Curtain was a zone of *de facto* Soviet occupation—self-determination was not tolerated under the Soviets, who had in fact brutally put down a number of “uprisings” in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s—in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1970 and 1976. The threat of violence helped squelch another strike in Poland in 1980–1981.

But force could only accomplish so much. The Soviet Union was reeling from the effects of a disastrous war that it had brought on itself in Afghanistan. The Soviet economy was in a shambles, especially as the Soviet military machine spent itself into oblivion trying to match American defense spending and technological development during Ronald Reagan’s presidency. A new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, introduced *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (transformation) of the Soviet system to allow limited democracy and market-based economies.

Gorbachev, who assumed leadership of the Soviet communist party in 1985, was—unlike his predecessors—not inclined to use Soviet arms to put down protests in satellite nations. He rejected the “Brezhnev Doctrine,” a longstanding policy of the Soviet Union—first articulated by Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev on November 13, 1968, in a speech before the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers’ Party—to intervene, with force, if necessary, in the affairs of satellite states if those states pursued policies perceived as “antisocialist.” Demonstrations for greater autonomy and democracy were, according to the Brezhnev Doctrine, antisocialist.

Gorbachev’s rejection of the Brezhnev Doctrine seemed to open the door for Warsaw Pact nations to break away from Soviet hegemony.

## Solidarity

The first break came, ironically, in Poland, where the Brezhnev Doctrine was first articulated to the world. Polish workers had for years been restive under Soviet occupation. They first protested in 1956 and won some concessions from the Soviets before the brutal repression of the Hungarian Revolution later that year. Two workers’ revolts in Poland in 1970 and 1976 also were brutally put down.

Workers were still restless, however, and another strike began on August 14, 1980, in the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. An unemployed electrical engineer, Lech Walesa, who had been fired from a shipyard job in 1976 because of his union activities, climbed over the wall surrounding the shipyard and joined the striking workers. He became their leader, but had ambitions beyond the shipyard. He began organizing a much broader movement that became known as Solidarity. Fears of another round of Soviet repression led to the outlawing of the movement a year later, but Walesa and Solidarity merely went underground.

By 1988, the Polish Communist Party realized it would have to yield some power in order to prevent another wave of civil unrest. The government began two months of negotiations with Walesa and Solidarity in February 1989. The negotiations ended in the legalization of Solidarity, increased power for the Polish Sejm (parliament), and the right of candidates from Solidarity to run for seats in the Sejm. In elections that were held in June of that year, Solidarity won every seat it was allowed to compete for—enough seats for Solidarity to form a government without forming a coalition with the Communists. The Soviets kept to Gorbachev’s word and did not intervene to keep the Polish Communist Party in power.

Walesa was elected president of Poland in a landslide in 1990.

## A Snip Through the Wire

The next sign of a corroding Iron Curtain appeared in Hungary, where Soviet forces crushed a 1956 revolt and executed its leader, Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy—who tried to take his country out of the Warsaw Pact—two years later.

The wounds from 1956 had not healed, however, and the Hungarian parliament, led by reformist Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, passed a measure recognizing political parties other than the Communist Party in January 1989. On May 2, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn used a set of wire cutters to cut the barbed wire fence between Hungary and Austria.

Hungarian border guards began letting small groups of East Germans cross the border into Austria and freedom. Word spread, and thousands gathered in Hungary waiting for their chance to escape. Hungary was caught in a bind—it was a signatory to two conflicting treaties, an international accord pledging humane treatment of refugees, and another pact with East Germany that promised it would not allow East Germans to pass through its borders to the West. The

Hungarian government announced on September 11, 1989, that it would honor its human rights responsibilities. As the word spread, tens of thousands of East Germans began heading south to Hungary, then west to freedom.

Again, Soviet forces did not intervene. The East German government, destabilized by the mass exodus of its citizens, began to crumble.

### **Tearing Down the Wall**

East Germany possessed one of the most repressive of the Soviet Bloc regimes. In 1961, the Communist government, with the assistance of the Soviets, built one of the most recognizable and hated symbols of twentieth century repression—the Berlin Wall. Communist propagandists called it a barrier to Western imperialism. It was a barrier, but one built to keep the East Berlin residents trapped inside, not to keep foreign aggressors outside.

East German leader Eric Honecker was determined to resist the tide of liberalization. But as his citizens fled through the open gates at the Hungarian border, his power steadily ebbed. The East Germans began to take to the streets to protest the regime. Honecker looked to the Soviet Union for help, but the winds of change were blowing from Moscow.

Honecker had issued orders for his secret police to fire on demonstrators, but his subordinates were not inclined to obey. Honecker, obviously powerless, was ousted and replaced by his former internal security chief, Egon Krenz. Krenz promised change and dialogue, but the protests grew—as many as half-a-million protesters took to the Alexanderplatz in East Berlin on November 4, 1989.

By November 8, East German officials had promised to begin issuing exit visas for East German citizens the next day—at 8 a.m. Crowds gathered at a number of gates along the Wall the next morning, November 9, in anticipation. A nervous East German border guard, fearful that the crowd lining up at his gate would get out of control, opened the way west. Other gates were opened as word spread, and people flooded out of the city that had seemed a prison for almost thirty years.

The East German government soon gave up all pretense of controlling travel. Jubilant crowds on both sides of the wall began tearing the hated symbol apart. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl openly talked of reuniting the two Germanys. By October 3, 1990, just before East Germany would have reached its forty-first birthday, the nation split apart in the aftermath of World War II was one once more.

### **From Prague Spring to Velvet Revolution**

When Alexander Dubcek assumed the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on January 5, 1968, he was determined to reform the party and implement “socialism with a human face.” On March 4 of that year, he announced the abolition of media censorship and tolerance of non-Communist parties. Prague Spring was thus born, but its life was short, as Soviet tanks rolled into Prague on August 21 to crush the movement. Dubcek was arrested and transported to Moscow, forced to surrender to Soviet demands, and then sent to internal exile in Czechoslovakia. The Soviet troops stayed in Czechoslovakia, where they maintained order—but they could not make the people forget what was lost.

When the Iron Curtain began crumbling in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany, Czechoslovakian citizens sensed the time to again demand their own freedoms had arrived. On November 17, 1989, an anti-Nazi protest by Prague students metamorphosed into an antigovernment rally. Police attacked the protesters. The battle was won by the authorities, but had sown the seeds of their own defeat in the nearly bloodless war that resulted.

A group of students, artists, and other intellectuals met at the Magic Lantern Theatre in Prague and formed the Civic Forum. A leader emerged in those meetings—Vaclav Havel, a writer whose plays helped inspire Prague Spring and who had been imprisoned several times by Communist authorities.

With the help of the organizational and propaganda skills of the member of the Civic Forum, thousands of people filled the streets of Prague and other Czechoslovak cities demanding free elections and other reforms. On November 24, just one week after the students were attacked by Czechoslovak police, Havel and Dubcek spoke to and inspired 350,000 protesters who filled Wenceslas Square.

That night, the Communist government began a catastrophic collapse. The Politburo was replaced en masse overnight. Czechoslovak workers joined a call for a general strike, and Gustav Husak, the longtime leader who reimposed the Brezhnev Doctrine in the aftermath of Prague Spring, stepped down on December 10. By December 29, free elections were held—Havel was elected president, and Dubcek was elected premier.

### **Death of a Dictator**

Romanian strongman Nicolae Ceausescu was determined that he would not be bullied by protesters, but

he made the fatal mistake of ignoring the momentum sweeping through the Soviet Bloc. Ceausescu's initial blunder came on December 10, 1989, when he tried to oust Laszlo Tokes, a minister of a Hungarian Reformed Church in Timisoara, Romania, from the congregation because of comments Tokes had made critical of the Ceausescu administration. Parishioners began to rally in support of their ministers. Others joined the protests, which were peaceful.

Ceausescu ordered his police to fire on the protesters, but initially his orders were ignored. On December 17, he denounced the commanders, and said he wanted a Tiananmen Square-style massacre. That night, Ceausescu got his wish.

Initial reports were that the massacre claimed thousands of casualties—the actual number was about one hundred—but anger toward Ceausescu swept the nation. Fighting broke out in Bucharest. By December 22, Romania's military, in response to rumors that Ceausescu had the defense minister killed for being too soft on protesters, withdrew its support from the dictator. The army gave its support to a coalition of former Ceausescu aides and dissidents called the National Salvation Front. The coalition declared itself the legitimate government of Romania.

By the time Ceausescu realized power no longer rested in his hands, it was too late. He and his wife, Elena, tried to escape in a helicopter, but the pilot betrayed them and they were captured. On December 25, Ceausescu and his wife were tried, found guilty of genocide, and executed by firing squad.

## Aftermath

The remaining communist governments in Europe soon fell. Albania and Bulgaria abandoned communism fairly quietly. Yugoslavia, not part of the Soviet Bloc, disintegrated into a series of bloody ethnic conflicts among its former republics. The Czechs and Slovaks, on the other hand, peacefully divorced in 1992, dividing the former Czechoslovakia into two countries, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Walesa, hero of the Solidarity movement, discovered the joys of democracy when he lost his bid to be reelected president of Poland in 1995.

Several former Soviet Bloc countries have since joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—the alliance they were aligned against as members of the Warsaw Pact. They are Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. The territory of East Germany became part of NATO after its reunification with West Germany.

The Soviet Union even ceased to exist after an August 19, 1991, coup by hard-line Communists failed. Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, stood up to the rebels and assumed more power as leader of a rejuvenated Russia. Gorbachev, the engineer of the reforms that led to the dissolution of the Soviet empire, found himself consigned to the dustbin of history.

DAVID M. LAWRENCE

**See also Albania; Berlin Wall (1961–1989); Bulgaria; Ceausescu, Nicolae; Civil Disobedience; Civil Rights; Czech Republic; Dictatorships; Dubcek, Alexander; Elections; Glasnost and Perestroika; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Havel, Vaclav; Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Issue; Human Rights: Definition and Violations; Hungarian Crisis of 1956; Hungary; Jaruzelski, Wojciech; Krushchev, Nikita; Marxism; Poland; Prague Spring, 1968; Romania; Russia; Self-Determination; Slovakia; Socialism; Solidarity Union; Soviet Bloc; Totalitarianism; Walesa, Lech**

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**VENEZUELA**

Venezuela occupies approximately 353,841 square miles of the northwestern part of the continent of South America. Venezuela can be considered a Caribbean nation, because that sea has been its main gateway to the world. It controls several Caribbean Islands, the largest being the famous tourist spot Isla Margarita. Its capital, Caracas, is close to the sea.

Guyana, Colombia, and Brazil are at its borders. There have been ongoing border disputes with both Guyana and Colombia. Venezuela's territory is remarkably diverse and rich in biological and mineral resources. Venezuela has tropical areas near the Caribbean coast; Lake Maracaibo, one of the greatest sources of petroleum in the hemisphere; *llanos* (central plains) and mountains in the interior; and vast sections of Amazonian jungle that are largely undeveloped. Towards the border with Brazil are the fantastic Angel Falls and the impressive mesa region. In this same Amazon area are a number of indigenous tribes as well as largely untapped mineral deposits. Venezuela thus is a highly unevenly developed country, with strong regional inequalities. Venezuela's petroleum wealth, concentrated around Lake Maracaibo, is a major factor in the very high levels of urbanization of the country, with 75% of the population residing in cities.

With a population of just 23,707,000, and incredible petroleum wealth, Venezuela would seem to have great possibilities for a very high standard of living. Unfortunately, Venezuela's wealth is highly skewed, because only a small proportion of its population has reaped most of the benefits from petroleum. Mismanagement, corruption, political instability, and poor institutional development have held back both distributional and developmental progress.

Because of its location, Venezuela was of strategic importance to the Spanish colonizers who arrived in 1498, but it was relatively neglected early on, since it lacked the gold and silver riches of Mexico and Peru. Before petroleum, Venezuela was dominated by agriculture, principally cattle-raising. With its relative isolation in the Spanish Empire, Venezuela was at the forefront of the Independence movement, and the home of its hero, Simón Bolívar.

Early Venezuelan history is marked by a series of personalistic dictatorships based around the agricultural elite and led by military officers. Despite the ongoing political instability, Venezuelan governments developed constitutions, and by the end of the nineteenth century began to develop a more widespread constituency. A long period of stability took hold under Juan Vicente Gómez, who ruled from 1909 to 1935. Gómez ruthlessly developed efficient military

and police control of the population during this period, and was able to woo foreign investors into the nascent petroleum industry.

Immigration to Venezuela occurred more recently than in other Latin American countries and was spurred by the development of the oil industry. Large numbers of immigrants from Europe came to Venezuela in the first decades after World War II. Since then, the majority of immigrants, many illegal, have come from other Latin American nations. In conjunction with urbanization, high fertility rates have placed heavy pressures for public services on the Venezuelan government.

"Sowing the oil" is the catchword for Venezuela's avowed economic strategy for the better part of this century. Venezuela was the leader in creating the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960. Venezuela also was instrumental in increasing fourfold the price of petroleum in 1973. Thus, Venezuela has been able to use its petroleum platform and related revenues to conduct an activist foreign policy in the region.

Venezuela is at the forefront of the Group of Three, with Colombia and Mexico, that seeks to promote Caribbean Basin economic cooperation, and was a promoter of many of the Central American peace processes during the 1980s.

In some ways, Venezuela has managed to use its petroleum to support industrialization. First, there has been an expansion into the petrochemical industry, including the development of local refineries. The Venezuelan state oil company *Petróleos de Venezuela* (PEDEVESA) is a world leader in the petroleum industry, and even owns retail (Citgo) gasoline stations in the United States. Second, revenues from petroleum have been used to develop light and heavy industries, including consumer goods, motor vehicle assembly, iron and steel works, and, most successfully, an internationally competitive aluminum industry. Third, Venezuela has attempted to buttress its agricultural sector through protection and subsidies, although these efforts have not had much success.

Although an industrial base has been built, Venezuela still suffers from an over-dependence on petroleum. Venezuela suffers from the same economic problem as many natural resource producers who experience a boom: the newfound revenue increases inflation, or local prices. The increase in exports also usually leads to an appreciation of the currency, so that local exports become more expensive to overseas buyers. Thus, the boom industry, in this case, petroleum, tends to "crowd out" other sources of livelihood, including both competing industries and agriculture. Of course, the overall result may

not be negative if the industry in question has great employment itself, or has industries that are linked to it that benefit from the boom. Unfortunately, petroleum tends to be a relatively isolated and concentrated capital-intensive enterprise, so that its ability to provide new jobs or demands on local industry are very limited. Thus, the real key for Venezuela would be to use the revenues from petroleum to develop other, unrelated industries. Unfortunately, Venezuelan governments have historically found it difficult to effectively sow the petroleum revenues into product diversification and overall higher standards of living. Despite a history of stable democratic governance, Venezuela's political process has been rife with mismanagement and corruption.

Upon Juan Vicente Gómez's death in 1935, the Venezuelan political system began experimenting with democratic rights. At the same time, Venezuelan governments began their attempts to claim a better deal from their foreign partners in petroleum exploitation. These attempts began with a "revision" announced by President Medina as part of a law in 1943. The Hydrocarbons Act of 1943 is considered by many to be one of the cornerstone pieces to the consolidation of the "petro-state." The key revisions embodied by the law were to shift petroleum taxes from those based upon customs and concessions to those placed on income. More importantly, Medina adopted the "50/50" principle by which the industry's revenues should not exceed those going to the state. In return for accepting these changes, foreign companies were given full concession rights for forty years until 1983. The new revenues allowed the Venezuelan government to begin a continuing tradition of public supports for industry and for public services during this period. Medina's government was overthrown by a then-progressive group of military and civilian activists in 1945.

The new group that took over with a coup was led by Rómulo Betancourt, the leader of Democratic Action (Acción Democrática or AD). AD was widely supported, and passed a new Constitution that reflected several key concerns that had been brewing. Foremost was Venezuela's continuing desire to capture even more of the petroleum wealth for itself. This led to a move towards a 50/50 split of all future profits. Secondly, AD had a strongly supportive labor rights policy. Third, the new government supported increased social spending on housing, health, education, and further agricultural and industrial projects.

Conservative elements of the military reacted strongly, with a military coup in November 1948. General Pérez Jiménez took over as a military dictator. He immediately outlawed political activity and took steps to crush AD support in labour and the universities.

He also abandoned much of the social reform spending begun by AD. Amidst widespread popular protests, a group of military officers overthrew the dictator and reinstated a transitional military-civilian government for one year, with Betancourt as its head.

Betancourt was reelected in 1959, and remained president until 1964. This administration was a watershed, because it set the political tone for Venezuelan politics for the next forty years. The two major political parties, the AD and the Social Christian Party (Partido Social Cristiano, or COPEI), generally working in cahoots, came to dominate the political landscape with an important agreement of cooperation called the *Pacto de Punto Fijo*, signed in 1958. The idea was to ensure democratic party cooperation and moderation so that the military would not have any reason for future intervention. In this point, the new system succeeded without doubt. They created a unique system of limited democracy, using strong party discipline and patron-client networks to ensure their domination of elections. At the same time, they were able, during most of the period, to develop a consultative political culture, in which disputes were ironed out. The leadership shared a general consensus that oil revenues would be used to fund industrialization. The two leaders, Betancourt and Caldera, served as the hubs of the party patronage networks and served as the focal points of party loyalty.

In 1959, Betancourt softened much of the reform thrust of his 1945 government. The government nonetheless passed an agrarian reform law in 1960, and began a national steel industry in 1962. Despite this progress, the Betancourt government was rocked by economic crisis and a guerrilla war with Communists aided by Fidel Castro. After another AD administration, COPEI's longtime leader, Rafael Caldera, won the Presidential election in 1968. Although the patronage network changed, in practice, COPEI's basic platform was hard to distinguish from AD's. Nonetheless, the Caldera government did take majority ownership of the banking industry, control of the natural gas industry, and declared a moratorium on new oil concessions.

The early 1970s marked an important turning point for Venezuelan history, as new President Carlos Andrés Pérez nationalized the iron ore industry in 1975 and the petroleum industry in 1976. In combination with the OPEC oil price hikes, the Venezuelan government was able to increase its public spending projects and patronage graft through the rest of the decades. As oil prices declined in 1979 and continued the slide in the 1980s, the Venezuelan government found itself in the midst a major economic crisis, including a huge external debt, capital flight, a general slowdown in productivity, and growing unemployment.

The slowdown in oil prices hurt Venezuela's ability to pay back its external debt, which had been based on foreign borrowing with the expectation of future long-term payoffs. More importantly, the patron-client type networks that pervaded and held up the two-party system, were dependent upon the lubricating expenditures of oil revenues. A series of AD and COPEI governments was unable to wrest themselves from the crisis. In 1989, Pérez was reelected, and surprisingly began a neoliberal austerity program. The budget-tightening measures, including the raising of prices of basic goods, led to widespread riots in 1989, which were put down by the military. Pérez survived two coup attempts in 1992, including one led by a previously unknown Hugo Chávez Frías, who was then put in jail. However, Pérez did not survive charges of corruption, and he was forced to leave office in 1993.

After several interim presidents, omnipresent Rafael Caldera was reelected, this time as an independent. Caldera's independence worked in his favor, because the population seemed weary of the AD-COPEI power-sharing arrangement, which was widely seen as both corrupt and inefficient. Caldera inherited a situation of economic chaos, in which both inflation and growing capital flight hamstrung possibilities for recovery. The government at first moved towards increasing monetary liquidity in order to restore growth, but later reinstated austerity measures, including raising taxes to cover a budget deficit and introducing a fixed exchange rate to restore investor confidence. Caldera's attempts to stabilize the economy failed, not in the least part, because of Congressional opposition to changes in the tax code. The government's plan to raise funds and efficiency through privatization also met with limited success. The privatization process, which began under Pérez, was completed for several key enterprises: the national telephone company, CANTV (a state TV broadcasting channel), and the steel sector. However, the plans for privatization of other sectors was put off, and questions about whether a fair price was received and whom benefited abounded. In 1995, a number of major bank failures and growing labor unrest, including strikes, increased tensions further. The worsening economic crisis set the stage for a revolution in Venezuela's development.

Hugo Chávez, released from prison after leading a coup attempt in 1992, decisively won the 1998 presidential elections with his new Patriotic Pole party. With 80% of the Venezuelan population living in poverty, the previous system of AD-COPEI administration led by the Betancourt-Caldera generation had clearly exhausted any remaining patience. Chávez wasted no time in suggesting a number of wholesale

changes to Venezuelan politics, beginning with a new Constituent Assembly, which created a new Constitution, approved by voters in 2000. The new Constitution promises agrarian reform, access to health care, education, housing, and social security for the whole population. On the other hand, his economic policy initiatives in contrast to his rhetoric, are much more mainstream and evolutionary in nature. There has been no significant land reform; no universal access to social services has occurred, and the marginalized majority of Venezuela are no better off, in many ways worse off, than when Chávez started. In fact, his economic policy has been rather conservative, avoiding any major swings in government spending, and avoiding the subject of further privatization or state initiatives. Even though the changes have been piecemeal, a strong minority of Venezuelans have taken to the streets regularly to protest, which has been met by counterprotests. The political and economic chaos led initially to a deterioration in overall support for the president. In 2002, a clash between the two groups led to a military coup by forces linked to conservative elements in society. As support for the coup began to melt away amidst massive demonstrations and international condemnations (with the notable absence of the United States, at least initially), Chávez purged elements of the military and government institutions, seizing upon his triumphant return from the short-lived coup. An effort to create a referendum to recall the President seemed to go nowhere by the summer of 2004.

Particularly key have been Chávez's efforts to take control of *Pedvesa*, the national oil company, which have been met with resistance by both skilled workers and management. However, up to now, the previously formidable opposition, including AD and COPEI, have shown no ability to act as coalitional vehicles, related to the general repudiation of their years of corrupt rule and economic mismanagement.

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## VERWOERD, HENDRIK

An Afrikaner nationalist politician, Hendrik Verwoerd (1907–1966) was born in Holland. His family emigrated to South Africa while he was still an infant. He attended Anglo schools and studied at Stellenbosch University, with further studies in Germany, Holland and the United States. In 1927, he became Professor of Applied Psychology at Stellenbosch. During this time, Verwoerd developed an interest in Afrikaner impoverishment and organized the seminal 1936 National "Poor White Problem" Conference. He became an influential promoter of the notion that charity was no solution, instead advocating state-led ("affirmative action") interventionism to uplift, educate, and create industrial and civil service jobs to end Afrikaner poverty. In 1937, the National Party (NP) established a newspaper, *Die Transvaler*, to promote Afrikaner nationalism in Johannesburg, and appointed Verwoerd as editor. In this capacity, Verwoerd became leader of Transvaal Afrikaners, especially those raised out of poverty by the policies he promoted.

Transvaal nationalists were more ideologically dogmatic and ardently segregationist than Cape nationalists, who, representing more affluent Afrikaners, leaned towards laissez faire economics; by contrast, the Transvaal NP favoured state interventionism and race-based job-reservation in order to promote interests of working and lower middle class Afrikaners. When Malan's NP won the 1948 election, Verwoerd entered Parliament. In 1950, he was appointed Minister of Native Affairs and served in this position until 1958. During his tenure as Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd became the chief architect of apartheid (which he called "separate development"). He was regarded as the key intellectual behind apartheid—a socioeconomic policy that he built on the imported Dutch social theory of *verzuiling*.

As a politician, Verwoerd always faced the problem that he was regarded as "too intellectual" and a "social engineer." But over time, fewer and fewer NP politicians were prepared to challenge his views. Becoming Prime Minister in 1958, Verwoerd moved to fully implement his apartheid plan. Native Affairs was split into two departments, Bantu Administration & Development and Bantu Education. The term

"native" was dropped. Verwoerd remained in control of Bantu affairs while Prime Minister. He proposed a policy of "internal decolonization" in which separate black states would be created and eventually given independence so that ultimately there would be no black citizens of South Africa. Verwoerd argued that, otherwise, whites would be "culturally swamped" by a black majority. In 1959, legislation was passed creating separate territorial authorities on black tribal land, known as Bantustans, and removed black representation in the "white" Parliament. Ten "homeland" governments and the Bantu Education authorities were charged with promoting the traditions and culture of black ethnic groups. 1959 also saw the creation of new black universities and the Bantu Investment Corporation to promote economic development in the homelands. This was intended to "reverse the flow" of black people from tribal areas to the cities (so these cities could be kept "white"). Within "white areas," blacks were designated as foreign guest labourers—essentially, cheap labour.

Verwoerd's policies sparked urban black resistance beginning with the Sharpeville uprising (1960). Black political movements (ANC and PAC) were banned (1960), and Mandela was jailed (1964). In 1960, Verwoerd shocked Anglo South Africans by calling a referendum over becoming a republic. South Africa became a republic (1961) and withdrew from the British Commonwealth. Afrikaners celebrated severing links with the British monarchy as "independence." Verwoerd was a central player in developing the racial-capitalist framework for industrializing and urbanizing South Africa. He was killed in the South African Parliament House of Assembly in 1966, stabbed to death by a parliamentary messenger. It remains unclear whether the murder was a politically motivated assassination or whether the killer, who suffered from schizophrenia, was motivated entirely by mental delusions.

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**See also Apartheid; Bantustans; South Africa**

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## VIET CONG

(See *People's Liberation Armed Forces [PLAF]*)

## VIET MINH

The Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi, commonly known as the Viet Minh (Vietnam Independence League), was founded by Ho Chi Minh and others at the Eighth Plenum of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party (ICP) in May 1941. It served as the organizational hub for the development of a broad, national program. They called on “patriots of all ages and all types” to join a united front to oppose Japanese occupation and French rule. The purpose of the Viet Minh was tactical, never strategic. Its flexibility allowed the ICP to alter its course rapidly in response to each specific military and political situation. The Viet Minh temporarily downplayed Communist class struggle and focused on national liberation. As a result they involved all social and political groups in the “national” struggle. Anticolonialism, patriotism, and nationalism were the only prerequisites for joining this national united front. To this end, the Viet Minh made temporary alliances with several noncommunist organizations in order to achieve its more immediate objectives.

Following the Japanese invasion of 1940 and the collaboration of the Vichy French, there seemed to be no national resistance; however, General Vo Nguyen Giap raised an army for the Viet Minh which, with some US aid, effectively fought the Japanese throughout World War II. On March 9, 1945, the Japanese executed a relatively bloodless coup against French colonial forces, only to surrender to the Allies five months later. With few Allied forces available to occupy Indochina, a political void formed. Being the only well trained force in the region, the Viet Minh fully exploited the situation. In August 1945 (the August Revolution), the Viet Minh marched into Ha Noi and proclaimed Vietnamese independence.

On September 2, 1945, in Ba Dinh Square, with US Office of Special Services (OSS) operatives standing next to him, Ho read an official declaration ending French colonialism, Japanese occupation, and the Nguyen Dynasty. Shortly after Ho’s declaration of independence, the ICP announced that it was dissolving, leaving the Viet Minh as the only official party apparatus.

To the chagrin of the Viet Minh and most Vietnamese, postwar Allied treaties allowed the French to return in 1946 as colonial masters of Indochina. This touched off a war between the French and Viet Minh. As they had done during World War II, Ho and Giap withdrew the Viet Minh to mountain strongholds and appealed for broad support by ostensibly disbanding the Communist Party and emphasizing anti-imperialism, even though the communists,

bolstered with aid from the Communist Bloc, never surrendered control of the Viet Minh.

In 1951, Communist established the Vietnamese Workers’ Party (VWP) (Dang Lao Dong Viet Nam). According to revolutionary theory, the broad-based front was to be revised whenever historical circumstances shifted. As such, during the war with France, the VWP reconstituted the Viet Minh as the Lien Viet Front (United Viet Nam National Front), and in 1955, shortly after the Geneva Accords, reformed it again as the Viet Nam Fatherland Front. There is some question as to the actual date of the reconstitution of the Viet Minh. Scholars, such as Hoang Van Dao, in *Viet Nam Quoc Ddn Dang*, argue that the Viet Minh became the Lien Viet in April 1946. Others suggest that it was the Viet Minh that fought the French from 1946 to 1954. No matter, the Viet Minh have popularly been associated with the army that defeated the French at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu.

When the French left in 1954, the Communists took power in the north, while in the south, where the Viet Minh were never very strong because of a more pronounced French colonial influence, President Diem’s US-supported non-Communist regime held sway. By 1960, southern cadres of the old Viet Minh had reorganized as the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet Nam (NFLSV). Their military arm, the People’s Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF) or “Viet Cong,” launched the communist-led guerrilla war against Diem’s regime in South Viet Nam.

CECIL B. CURREY AND WILLIAM P. HEAD

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## VIETNAM

Viet Nam, today known as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV), is an “S-”shaped country that extends along the eastern coast of mainland Southeast Asia from the border with the People’s Republic of China (PRC) to the Gulf of Thailand. It is bordered on the west by Laos and Cambodia. It has a total area of 329,560 square kilometers, about the size of New Mexico. SRV has a tropical climate with dense jungles, lush rice paddies, and even mountains to the north and west.

As of July 2004, the population of the SRV was 82,689,518, the second largest in Southeast Asia after the Republic of Indonesia. The largest city is Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon, 5,894,100, while Hai Phong is the largest port. The median age is 24.9 years, the literacy rate 94%, and the life expectancy is 70.35. A total of 85% of the people are ethnic Vietnamese. Other ethnic groups include Thai, Khmer (Cambodians), Cham (Malayo-Polynesian), Chinese, and nearly sixty tribal groups. Although the vast majority are Buddhist, there are over 2 million Roman Catholics, 2 million in the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao sects and three hundred thousand Muslims. The primary language is Vietnamese, with many people speaking English, French, Chinese, and Khmer.

The SRV capital is Ha Noi. Under the most recent constitution, the nation is divided into fifty-nine provinces. The minimum voting age is eighteen. There is one legal party—Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) and the General Secretary is Nong Duc Manh. The Chief of State since September 1997 has been President Tran Duc Luong, and the Head of Government has been Prime Minister Phan Van Khai. The 498-seat National Assembly is a unicameral body.

The historical Vietnamese homeland in the Red River Delta can be traced to the seventh-century BC. From about the third century BC through the eleventh century AD, Chinese rulers dominated the region. For the next six centuries, the Chinese confronted internal rebellions, each resulting in the weakening of its control over Vietnam. In the 1540s, the Portuguese became the first Europeans to arrive in the area, but their staying power quickly dissipated. Finally, in the late 1850s, the French came to stay. By 1884, they imposed a protectorate over Vietnam that lasted until 1954.

The French developed and exported rice, rubber, tea and other tropical fruits, while creating a monopoly for the importation of French manufactured goods. The French also constructed roads and railroads throughout the country to support the export businesses. But the Vietnamese workers did not benefit from the system. The French also introduced

Western democratic institutions and education, but greatly restricted Vietnamese participation in both, usually to a handful of wealthy natives. For the Vietnamese, the colonial experience was oppressive and humiliating, a fact that contributed to longstanding resistance to the French presence.

In the early 1900s, self-determination emerged as a factor in local politics, and by the 1920s several local political parties, groups, and organizations emerged to call for the ouster of the French from Indochina. The most significant individual was Nguyen Al Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot), later known as Ho Chi Minh. Ho became a founding member of the French Communist Party in 1920. In 1924, he established a proto-Marxist political organization called the Revolutionary Youth League, and five years later, the league transformed it into the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP).

The onset of World War II ended French authority in Indochina. In the fall of 1940, Vichy French colonial regime permitted the Japanese to use military installations in Indochina. Operating as a multiparty nationalist alliance called the Viet Minh Front, the ICP organized guerrillas under Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap and fought the Japanese from the mountains north of the Red River Delta. After the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the Viet Minh occupied Ha Noi and declared the creation of Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRV).

In the south, the British returned power to the French in Sai Gon. Ho and the French commenced negotiations regarding the relationship between Vietnam and France. In the summer of 1946, formal negotiations in France broke down and war erupted in December. Viet Minh forces retreated back to the countryside to wage guerrilla resistance.

During the First Indochina War (1946–1954), the Viet Minh grew in strength emphasizing national independence and land reform, despite French efforts to undercut the DRV by forming a puppet government under former emperor Bao Dai. In October 1949, the Viet Minh also began receiving aid from the newly created People’s Republic of China (PRC). Even with US support for the French, the war turned into a stalemate and French public support steadily weakened. In the spring of 1954, France agreed to a peace conference in Geneva. Negotiations opened just after the Viet Minh victory at Dien Bien Phu. In July, the parties agreed to a cease-fire and a division of the nation with the DRV holding the north and the French and Bao Dai controlling the south. A demilitarization zone at the Seventeenth Parallel separated the states. A political declaration drafted at Geneva and approved by all representatives except

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Bao Dai and the United States called for national elections in 1956 to create a united Viet Nam.

After Geneva, Ho hoped that elections would reunify the country under DRV rule, but in Sai Gon, a new anti-communist government led by Ngo Dinh Diem refused to hold elections. President Dwight D. Eisenhower supported Diem, who faced a big challenge since the population in the South was so diverse. Diem, a Roman Catholic, never did gain the support of the 85% of the population that was Buddhist. While he agreed to US requests to form a new constitutional republic, his repression of all opposition alienated intellectuals and many ethnic and religious groups. By 1958, military conflict between the two governments marked the beginning of the Second Indochina War.

In 1960, with guidance from Ha Noi, the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV or NLF) was born. Like the Viet Minh, they stressed nationalism over class struggle. At first, party strategists, fearful of US intervention, sought victory through negotiations and later insurgent forces in the South—the People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF), popularly known as the Viet Cong (VC). President John F. Kennedy responded by increasing US assistance to the RVN. In the summer of 1963, Buddhists began protests over Diem's favoritism toward Catholics. The White House, frustrated by Diem's refusal to broaden his support base, turned a blind eye to a coup that overthrew Diem in early November. Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, were killed.

In early 1965, as the situation in the South deteriorated, President Lyndon B. Johnson sent US combat troops and began a bombing campaign against the DRV to reduce their support for the insurgency and obtain a negotiated settlement. Concurrently, increasing numbers of People's Army of Viet Nam (PAVN) forces infiltrated into the RVN and the conflict evolved into a more conventional war. The United States eventually committed more than five hundred thousand troops to support the RVN government of President Nguyen Van Thieu. By late 1967, most Americans thought that victory was near. That belief was shattered by the Tet Offensive in January–February 1968 and also marked the beginning of the end of US involvement. The war forced Johnson from the presidency and contributed to the 1968 presidential election of Richard M. Nixon with a promise to withdraw US forces. The war dragged on, however, and Nixon expanded it into Cambodia.

Peace negotiations that began in 1968 culminated in an agreement on January 27, 1973, that required the United States to withdraw all of its troops, but left more than one hundred thousand communist forces

in the south. In early 1975, the PAVN began another offensive that ended with the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975.

One year later, on April 25, 1976, Communist leaders replaced the DRV with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV), with its capital in Ha Noi. The Party and government leadership remained the same, although some NFLSV leaders were assigned senior positions. While some Southerners complained, unification took place with little violence, although thousands were sent to reeducation camps for indoctrination or punishment.

The SRV had a hard time achieving its goal of building a socialist society. In spite of heavy wartime damage, lack of capital, and the challenge of integrating the South into the socialist North, Party leaders launched an ambitious program of socialist transformation. In early 1978, all industry and commerce above the family level were nationalized, while private farmers were forced into collective farms. Thousands of Vietnamese, many of them ethnic Chinese who believed the new laws were directed at them, fled the country into the PRC. Economic production declined, and unrest broke out among many sectors of society.

The economy continued to downspiral, illustrated by a record inflation rate of 774.7% in 1986. As a result, the VCP Sixth National Congress elected Nguyen Van Linh as Party Chief, and subsequently implemented a policy called "Doi Moi" or "do Maui" (social and economic renovation). SRV leaders initiated a more tolerant attitude toward the private sector that brought about an improvement in the economy.

Vietnam's relations with its neighbors also improved during the 1980s. Relations with neighboring Cambodia and the PRC deteriorated and border clashes began in 1975. The fanatical Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot in Phnom Penh refused the SRV's proposal to form an alliance of the three Indochinese countries under Vietnamese guidance. Vietnamese troops occupied Cambodia in December 1978, and the PRC responded with a brief but bloody invasion of northern Viet Nam in February 1979. When Vietnamese forces created a new pro-Viet Nam government in Phnom Penh, the PRC joined other countries, including the United States, in imposing an economic embargo on the SRV. The strain on Vietnamese resources became extreme. Throughout this period, the SRV was conducting a two-front war by defending its northern border against a Chinese invasion, and supporting its sixty thousand-man army in Cambodia. The situation changed after the election of Nguyen Van Linh as party chief in 1986. He directed the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Laos and Cambodia in 1988, and by September 1989, virtually all

troops were gone. Viet Nam signed the Cambodian peace agreement in October 1991 and soon after restored diplomatic relations with China.

Beyond Asia, new partnerships were formed. In 1990, the European Economic Union established diplomatic relations with the SRV. This trend continued in 1992, when the SRV established full relations with both the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Republic of Korea (South).

The SRV also improved relations with the US as a result of Vietnamese cooperation in resolving the issue of MIAs. In February 1994, President Bill Clinton ended the economic embargo and on July 11, 1995, the United States normalized relations with the SRV. In April 1997, a pact was signed with the United States designed to repay the \$146 million wartime debt incurred by the RVN government. In November 2001, the National Assembly approved a trade agreement that opened US markets to Vietnamese goods and services, with tariffs rates dropping from rates as high as 40%. Viet Nam in return opened its state markets to foreign competition.

Despite the benefits that economic growth has brought to many Vietnamese, performance and structural inadequacies continue to plague the country. Its people continue to experience a substantial divide in terms of income and wealth distribution, and substantial incidences of poverty remain although macro economic successes have taken place. During the 1990–1993 growth period, the country's estimated overall poverty rate was 58% and food poverty affected 25% of the population. By 1998, overall poverty declined to 37% and food poverty dropped to 15%. Despite growth and poverty eradication, poverty plagues many Vietnamese. For example, Vietnam's population of about 82 million means that overall poverty affects some 27 million Vietnamese and 13 million of them go hungry and malnourished.

While poverty eradication tops the "list of things to do," Vietnamese scholars identify structural inadequacies that must be dealt with if growth with poverty eradication is going to be sustained. Policy generating and implementing institutions remain weak, regulatory systems are vague and often contradictory and the legal system, while improved, remains seriously underdeveloped. Government lacks the capacity to create sound accounting standards and its adjudication processes are inadequate when it comes to settling disputes on consistently reasonable bases. Bureaucratic red tape, high and growing levels of public corruption and abuse of power, and a haphazard taxation system that is in a constant state of flux, make conducting economic activity in the country an adventure. Banking decisions proceed without sufficient concern for

prudential lending and transparency. Production and consumption patterns contributed to environmental degradation and urban pollution, and resource preservation and human health protection efforts remain inadequate.

Vietnam remains among the lowest 25% of the world's countries measured by per capita income—no more than \$400 per year. No single measure can successfully address the causes of poverty, but clearly Vietnam's labor force is a primary contributor to what Vietnam has accomplished, and it stands to make substantial contributions to macroeconomic progress in the future if it is fully developed and used. However, numerous other obstacles stand in the way of doing so: one is high population growth rate; another is a relatively young and rapidly urbanizing population; also, a large segment of the rural work force is unskilled and deprived of sources of information. Urban immigrants tend to be young and unskilled and augmented by refugees, disabled veterans, demobilized soldiers and persons made unemployed due to shifts from State-Owned Enterprises to private-sector firms, they all make up a largely disadvantaged pool of labor.

Poverty-stricken poor Vietnamese make up 25% of all Vietnamese rural households. They live in poverty so pronounced that they could not afford to provide 2,100 calories of food per person *even if* all of their income was spent on food. Poverty in Vietnam continues to have a distinct rural bias: the ratio of urban to rural poverty increased from 1:6 to 1:10 over the 1993–1998 period. The rural poor tend to live in larger families with a larger number of both old and young dependents. They are more likely to be illiterate, have fewer years of schooling, faced limited access to credit and own less property. Ninety percent of all poorer households live in rural areas, and younger members of these family groups immigrate to urban areas where they swell the ranks of the urban poor and tax the country's capacity to generate education opportunities. This is important because while formal education has led to a nationwide basic literacy rate of 94.25% in 1996, in rural areas it was a slightly less 93.43%. Based on their education, 12.31% of the total population was trained with a useful skill, but in rural areas only 7.77% of the population had skills that were useful in a modernizing economy.

The Government of Vietnam attempted to confront poverty and, in 1997, it announced a seven-point poverty eradication strategy centering on improving economic management and competitiveness, strengthening the banking and financial system, and reforming state-owned enterprises. The strategy also involved strengthening physical and social infrastructures,



improving public administration, accelerating rural development, protecting the environment, and investing in people via formal and non-formal education and promoting social equity. In 1998, the government launched a social equity initiative in the form of its Hunger Eradication and Poverty Reduction Program (HEPRP) that targeted 1,715 of the country's poorest communities. The program included a combination of infrastructure improvement, credit expansion, population resettlement, subsidization of fees paid by the poor and training, vocational education, and agricultural extension services.

In 2000, the government sought to coordinate its various poverty eradication and alleviation initiatives via a Poverty Reduction Partnership Agreement (PPA) with the Asian Development Bank. The PPA focused on promoting sustainable development featuring agricultural diversification, social development emphasizing health and education, improving governance by concentrating on public administration reforms, and geographically targeting the poor for special treatment designed to improve agricultural output in the central regions of the country. The Agreement also concentrated on generating bilateral and multilateral assistance.

In 1998, the SRV began a drive to eliminate bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption and to curtail civilian criminal activity. These efforts reached a high water mark in June 2003, with the conviction of the notorious criminal syndicate boss Truong Van Cam, known as Nam Cam. He was sentenced to death, along with 155 other defendants, and executed in June 2004.

Despite the appointment in April 2001 of progressive Nong Duc Manh to replace Le Kha Phieu as VCP general secretary, change has been slow. There have been no concerted reform and renovation initiatives designed to bring about a more civil society by relaxing restrictions on the media, reducing the harassment of critics and dissidents, eliminating restrictions placed on individual political association, and permitting the formation of competing political parties. VCP leaders fearful of becoming another toppled communist regime continued to oppose political and civil reforms.

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**See also Ethnic Conflicts: Southeast Asia; Ho Chi Minh; Southeast Asia: History and Economic Development; Southeast Asia: International Relations; Viet Minh; Vietnam War**

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#### VIETNAM WAR

It is difficult to determine when this long conflict began. Its initial phases could include the self-exile to which a young Ho Chi Minh (born Nguyen Sinh Cung) dedicated himself when he left Viet Nam in 1911 for decades of world travel preaching the advantages of communism. It could have been when, on May 3, 1940, a dedicated communist history schoolteacher in Ha Noi, Vo Nguyen Giap, fled into China, fearing arrest by the French and internment or death at their hands. It could have been between August 19 and 30, 1945, when the Viet Minh (Ho's communist political party) ascended to power from the Red River to the Mekong Delta, a time known as "the August Revolution." It could have been the next month, September, when the British overseer of the occupation forces in the southern portion of Viet Nam repudiated the Viet Minh there and began a military campaign against them and turned the governance there once more over to the French.

Some might argue that the conflict began when the French government sent troops back into northern Viet Nam in early 1946 in an effort to regain control

of its colony. That sparked the first armed conflict when in December 1946 the French launched an open attack against poorly armed and trained Viet Minh troops at Hai Phong and Ha Noi. Retreating into the hills of the north, Ho's followers carried on desultory but bloody warfare with the French for the next several years. As those days passed, the Viet Minh military became ever stronger and more able to fight French troops.

Perhaps the war started on March 13, 1954, at 5:00 p.m. when Viet Minh artillery shells rained down upon French defensive positions at Dien Bien Phu, the beginning shots of the "set piece" battle, which the French had sought for so long. Or was it on May 7, 1954, at 5:30 p.m. when the beaten French soldiers at Dien Bien Phu finally hoisted a white flag over their ruined bunkers and surrendered? Thereafter, France surrendered all territory north of the seventeenth parallel, retaining a troop presence only in the south.

The Viet Minh soldiers there continued their "war of national liberation" against the French occupiers and a new Vietnamese government was authorized by the Geneva Conference of May 1954 in an attempt to bring peace to Indochina. Its president was Ngo Dinh Diem. Those in the south who opposed and fought against that new government were vilified by President Diem as "Viet Cong," a slang term for "Vietnamese communist." They might have been defeated except that they were aided occasionally by men and supplies sent down from the north. Working all through the following years to keep those allies provided were the two hundred thousand laborers controlled by northern General Vo Nguyen Giap. Those laborers moved enormous quantities of supplies to locations where they were most needed.

Two hostile nations now occupied the narrow strip of land facing along the South China Sea—the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the north and the Republic of Viet Nam in the south. With that development, by any standards, the war began.

In the last years of the French efforts against the Viet Minh, the United States had provided men, material, and treasure amounting to 85% of the cost of the war. Now, with the French defeated, the United States moved in to take their place. Advisers arrived in the south to instruct President Diem on how he might establish a longlasting, noncommunist government south of the seventeenth parallel. Americans advised military units, working from the highest to the lowest levels. Civilians were given the benefit of American experience and wisdom. It was never enough. Those from the United States who traveled to Viet Nam did not understand the people or their problems, belittled them, failed to learn to speak their language, and were generally unproductive.

It was not long before a major difference appeared between the nation of the north and that of the south. In Ha Noi throughout the war, for the most part, the same leaders continued to control policies and programs and could thus present a strong approach to problems. It was different in the south. Following the coup of 1963 and the assassination of President Ngo Dinh Diem, there was a rapid succession of governments. They changed so often that American Undersecretary of State George Ball coined the phrase: "The government of the week." And none of them were able to create a winning strategy against the north.

The war went on. It came to be known as a "People's War of National Liberation" by those who favored the efforts of the north. In the south, it was simply an illegal and murderous rebellion that Americans found ever more difficult either to understand or to combat. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) described it as "a civil war with dynastic overtones." The US government saw it as a contest between the feared Soviet Union and America, champion of world freedom. By the end of Dwight Eisenhower's presidency, some nine hundred Americans served there. When President Kennedy was assassinated, that number had grown to 16,300. Then under President Lyndon Johnson, American presence in Southeast Asia rose exponentially until it reached 536,100—and still the generals called for more soldiers. Johnson was able to so increase US participation because of supposed attacks on August 2 and possibly again on August 4, 1964, by North Vietnamese patrol torpedo boats against the American destroyers, C. Turner Joy, and the Maddox in Tonkin Bay. At Johnson's request, Congress quickly passed the Tonkin Bay Resolution, giving him full power to do whatever he might wish to protect attacks on American forces. He was quick to act. The Selective Service System fed hundreds of thousands of draftees into the Army.

The American presence became irrevocable when, on March 8, 1965, a little after 9:00 a.m., the ninth Marine Expeditionary Brigade stormed ashore onto the beaches of Da Nang wearing full combat gear. They were met by school girls in brightly colored *au dais* carrying bouquets of flowers, the mayor of the city, and a few army men holding signs saying: "The army welcomes the marines to Viet Nam." They were purportedly sent there to guard American installations, but soon Westmoreland had them operating offensively and spent the remainder of his tenure calling for ever more troops.

In the years thereafter until American withdrawal, US forces fired more small arms rounds, shot more artillery shells, and dropped more bombs than had been used in all theaters by all sides in World War II.

Many of the Americans resented their forced participation in the war. It became common to see soldiers wearing slogans on their helmets such as "Fuck the Army," or "UUUU," which meant "We are the Unwilling, led by the Unqualified, doing the Unnecessary for the Ungrateful." Traditional discipline disappeared and disillusioned soldiers at least once did the unthinkable, as at My Lai, where civilian women, children, and old men were slaughtered.

The intensity of the war grew only slowly. In the years prior to the massive infusion of American troops, the conflict was marked only by raids, murders, and kidnappings. A few years later, American forces faced large units totally dedicated to destroying them at places like "Hamburger Hill" in the Au Shau Valley and Khe Sanh. By 1968, at the time of the Asian Tet New Year's holiday, the Viet Cong (officially known as the People's Liberation Armed Forces) and the North Vietnamese Army were able to field divisions of men to attack throughout the south. They engaged American and south Vietnamese forces in forty-one of the forty-four southern provinces and in five of the six largest cities. Finally beaten back, they held on in Hue for nearly a month, during which time they executed some five thousand civilians and buried them in mass graves.

Troops there were led successively by generals William Childs Westmoreland, Creighton Abrams, and Fred Weyand. Such "tactics" were imposed on US troops as "Search and Destroy," "Free Fire Zones," "Harassing and Interdicting Fires," "Reconnaissance by Fire," and widespread bombings by the Air Force. Meanwhile, increasing numbers of Vietnamese began to sympathize with and fight for the Viet Cong.

It became the "helicopter" war, and thousands of those machines dotted the skies, carrying food and supplies, transporting wounded, taking combat-ready soldiers to attack points (landing zones), and ferrying the dead back to collection points. In the Ca Mau peninsula and the Delta, small well-armed patrol boats conducted riverine warfare, cruising the many rivers searching for enemy soldiers.

Despite the nearly unlimited supply of airplanes and artillery, M-16 rifles and mortars, napalm and night scopes, draft levies and swollen defense budgets, the richest nation on earth failed to impose a military solution on one of the poorest countries of Asia. Thus it was that, following Tet 1968, the American government began to look for ways to disengage from the conflict in Viet Nam. Newly elected President Richard Nixon said that the way to do so was to "Vietnamize" the war, to turn the fighting over to the Vietnamese themselves. Vietnamization would serve as the rationale for withdrawal.

Peace talks began in Paris in 1968 and continued four years, eight months, and seventeen days during

which time more than twenty thousand Americans and perhaps three-quarters of a million Vietnamese on both sides were killed. Finally signed on January 27, 1973, its provisions gave the DRV much of what it had sought but did little or nothing to sustain the interests of the ROV. It did, however, allow the United States to escape from Asia. The last military unit was withdrawn from Viet Nam only weeks later, on March 29, 1973.

After the American withdrawal, the North Vietnamese began to launch massive attacks against southern armies. Saigon fell on April 30, 1975. The war had finally ended.

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**See also Ho Chi Minh; People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF); Viet Minh; Vietnam**

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### VIRGIN ISLANDS (BRITISH)

The Virgin Islands are the collective name for more than 120 small islands, islets, and cays located in the West Indies; twenty have permanent residents. The British Virgin Islands (BVI) consist of four major islands (Tortola, Anegada, Virgin Gorda, and Jost Van Dyke), thirty-two smaller islands, and two dozen islets totaling fifty-nine square miles. The Virgin Islands form a portion of the Leeward Islands, the westernmost part of the Lesser Antilles, situated in the Anegada Passage between the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, forty miles east of Puerto Rico. The British islands lie to the southwest of Anegada and the passage; adjacent American islands are located immediately to the southwest and south. The US Virgin Islands (USVI) and BVI are, at their nearest point, less than one mile apart. The islands are the peaks of submerged mountains that comprise the eastern extension of a submarine plateau in the Greater Antilles. Elevations rise from mean sea level to 225 feet, but isolated peaks, notably Mount Sage on Tortola, have an altitude of 1,780 feet. There is little groundwater; hence, inhabitants rely upon cisterns. Bare rock outcrops are common, and there are substantial areas of coral sand and shallow loam derived from volcanic material. A sparse deciduous forest was

exploited for charcoal production early in the history of the islands; scrub timber and Guinea grass are the current primary vegetation. The islands have a year-round subtropical humid climate (65–90°F range, 78°F average) moderated by easterly trade winds. Rainfall is from forty to sixty inches per annum (average forty-five inches), varying from island to island, with higher elevations receiving the greater amounts. The rainy season is May to November, but there are seasonal and annual variations; hurricanes and tropical storms (July to October) are natural hazards.

Native American hunters and coastal maritime gatherers inhabited the islands as early as 710 BCE. By 100 CE, Taino Indians lived in villages located in sheltered bays, made pottery, and practiced horticulture, but by the 1400s, Carib and Arawak Indians inhabited the islands. During his second voyage to America in 1493, Christopher Columbus arrived at Sugar Bay or Salt River Bay on St. Croix (USVI) and fought with the indigenous Caribs. Naming the islands Las Virgines in memory of St. Ursula, Columbus claimed them for Spain but no Spanish settlements were established because of Carib attacks. Charles I of Spain ordered that these natives be killed; between military attacks and introduced European diseases, the natives died or left by the late 1500s. The islands were temporary havens for Spanish treasure galleons and a favorite haunt of buccaneers. Early economic development was controlled by the Danish West India Company, which established a free port at St. Thomas (USVI). There was a brief incursion by the British during the Napoleonic Wars in 1801; the islands were occupied from 1807 to 1815, and several thousand English naval and army personnel were quartered there. The northeastern islands became the British Virgin Islands in 1672, and fifteen of the sixty islands in the BVI are currently inhabited. Tortola (Spanish for “turtle dove”) covers twenty-one square miles and was initially settled by the Dutch in 1648 and was occupied by the English in 1666. African slaves were brought to work on European sugar plantations beginning in 1673. Anegara, or “drowned” island (15 square miles), makes reference to the flat landscape and maximum elevations only a few feet above mean sea level. Virgin Gorda, “fat virgin” (eight square miles), has a maximum elevation at 1,359 feet. Westernmost Jost Van Dyke (2.5 square miles) has only two hundred inhabitants. The Peter, Salt, Beef, Cooper, Ginger, and Norman Islands are among the small islets, many clustered round the Sir Francis Drake Channel; most are uninhabited or privately owned. The major settlement and capital of the BVI is Road Town, located at a harbor on the south side of Tortola Island. The largest towns on Virgin Gorda are The Valley, Spanish Town, and North Sound.

British plantations gave way to small farming and cattle-raising in the 1800s. Current exports include rum, fresh fish, fruits, gravel, and sand. BVI tourism generates nearly half of the national income. An estimated four hundred thousand companies are listed on the offshore registry of incorporated companies established in the mid-1980s. Geographic proximity and an intertwined British-American economy prevail because most BVI inhabitants work in the USVI and, established in 1959, the currency in local use is the US dollar. The BVI joined the West Indies Federation of British Islands in 1958. The BVI are an internal-governing, overseas territory of the United Kingdom. The islands are governed by a government administrator who is subject to the governor (appointed by the British monarch), an executive council composed of ministers appointed from the elected thirteen member legislative council. The population of the BVI, estimated at 22,187 (2004), has a growth rate of 2.1%; 83% is Black, with the remainder Caucasian, Indian, Asian, and mixed ethnic and racial groups. Protestant religions predominate (Methodist 33%, Anglican 17%, Church of God 9%, Seventh-Day Adventists 6%, Baptist 4%, Jehovah’s Witnesses 2%, others 15%), Roman Catholic 10%, none 2%, and other 2%. English is the official language, but some Creole is spoken.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Virgin Islands (United States)**

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#### VIRGIN ISLANDS (UNITED STATES)

The Virgin Islands is the collective name of more than 120 small islands, islets, and cays located in the West Indies; twenty have permanent residents. The United States Virgin Islands (USVI), officially Virgin Islands of the United States, is an unincorporated territory that is the easternmost United States possession, is composed of three major inhabited islands (St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix), plus about sixty-five islets and cays with a land area of 133 square miles. The British

## VIRGIN ISLANDS (UNITED STATES)

islands and adjacent American islands at their nearest point are less than one mile apart. Elevations rise from mean sea level to 225 feet; isolated peaks rise to 1,556 feet on St. Thomas, 1,277 feet on St. John, and 1,165 feet on St. Croix. There is little ground water, so inhabitants rely upon cisterns. The fresh water supply is now augmented by seawater distillation plants on St. Thomas and St. Croix. St. Croix (Santa Cruz to Spanish speakers), the largest of the islands (eighty-two square miles), lies forty miles south of St. Thomas and has a population concentrated in the cities of Christiansted and Frederiksted. St. John (nineteen square miles) is situated two miles east of St. Thomas and less than a mile from British Tortola. Most inhabitants live in the towns of Cruz Bay and Coral Bay. St. Thomas (twenty-seven square miles) is dominated by the city of Charlotte Amalie, capital of the Virgin Islands and a major seaport. For additional information on the geography and early history, see *British Virgin Islands*.

After Columbus's visit in 1493 and minor Spanish expeditions, English settlers voyaging to establish the colony at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 briefly visited the islands. Dutch and English settlers landed on St. Croix in 1625 but were expelled two decades later by Spaniards from Puerto Rico. The islands became temporary havens for Spanish treasure galleons and also were a favorite haunt of buccaneers. Beginning in 1673, African slaves were brought to work on European sugar plantations. The Spanish were supplanted by the French, and the French controlled St. Croix until they sold the island to the Danish government in 1733. A permanent Danish colony was founded on St. Thomas in 1672 and Danes settled St. John in 1717, eventually establishing 109 sugar cane plantations. Economic development was controlled by the Danish West India Company, which established a free port at St. Thomas. A six-month slave uprising and massacre of European residents in 1733 decimated St. Thomas's commercial prospects. There was a brief British incursion during the Napoleonic Wars in 1801, and the islands were occupied from 1807 to 1815 by several thousand English naval and army personnel. A slave rebellion on St. Croix in 1848 led to the abolition of slavery in the Danish islands on July 3, 1848. Renewed Danish commercial enterprises proved unsuccessful because of the decline of the sugar industry because of competition from other Caribbean islands. Between 1835 and 1915, the population dwindled from forty-three thousand to twenty-three thousand.

Denmark and the United States signed a treaty on August 4, 1916, transferring control of the Danish West Indies for \$25 million in gold. The treaty, ratified on January 17, formally ceded the Danish islands on March 31, 1917. The islands are situated halfway between New York and Panama, and to protect the

newly-constructed Panama Canal, an airbase was constructed on St. Croix and a submarine base in St. Thomas harbor, and the islands were administered by the US Navy from 1917 to 1931. In 1927, US Virgin Islanders became American citizens. A fifteen-member unicameral territorial legislature was established by the Revised Organic Act of 1954; executive power is vested in a governor appointed by the president of the United States. The right to self-elect their governor and legislators was granted in 1968. In 1958, John Merwin was appointed as the first native-born governor, succeeded by Ralph Paiewonsky in 1961–1969, and by Melvin Evans, who became the first native-born black governor. Virgin Islanders have a nonvoting representative in the US Congress but remain under the jurisdiction of the Office of Insular Affairs, US Department of the Interior.

Tourism is the primary economic activity, accounting for 80% of the gross domestic product, and features water recreation as well as cultural tourism. Laurance Rockefeller purchased land on St. John in order to establish the Virgin Islands National Park, created officially by Congress on August 2, 1956. Enlarged in 1962 and in 1978, it occupies nearly three-fourths of St. John and has enhanced ecotourism. In 1976, the United Nations designated the park a biosphere reserve. Major manufacturing includes two rum distilleries, bauxite and petroleum refineries, basalt mining, and textile mill, which contribute to the export economy. One of the world's largest petroleum refineries is located on St. Croix. Scientific instruments, electronics, pharmaceuticals, perfume, jewelry, and watches are other manufactures. Beef, dairy products, and eggs are the primary agricultural products, but most food is imported; commercial fishing is limited. Tourism, manufacturing, construction, and government (the territorial government and US National Park Service) are major employers.

Slavery and migration created a mixed population of more than twenty ethnic groups. The current population is 108,775 (2004); 78% Black, 10% Caucasian, and 12% other. Protestant denominations (primarily Baptist), Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Jewish, and other faiths are represented. English is the official language, but many islanders speak Virgin Island Creole English and lesser numbers speak Dutch Creole or Spanish, or are bilingual.

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**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Virgin Islands (British)**

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## VIRTUAL WATER TRADE

"Virtual water" is increasingly being used in the context of discussions on freshwater (hereafter referred to simply as "water") security, particularly in reference to the developing world. It was coined in the mid-1990s by Professor J.A. Allan and refers to the water required in the production of goods and services. For example, it takes on average 1,200 cubic meters of water to produce one metric tonne of wheat (Hoekstra 2003). The water is said to be "virtual" because, once the wheat is grown, the real water used to produce the crop is no longer contained in the grain. "Virtual water trade" refers to the idea that when countries or regions trade goods and certain services, they are generally also trading virtual water. For every tonne of wheat that a country trades, it is said to import or export 1,200 cubic meters of virtual water.

The virtual water trade concept was first envisioned as a solution for semi-arid and arid countries struggling with large water deficits. It is essentially an extension of the comparative advantage theory of international trade; its innovation is that it treats water as a key factor of production. It posits that a water-scarce country should limit its exports of virtual water and, depending on the level of water scarcity, resort to virtual water imports to avoid depleting its own water supplies. Indeed, if a water-scarce country imports one tonne of wheat, it is essentially freeing up 1,200 cubic meters of real indigenous water that can be used for other purposes. Water-short countries can optimize their water resources by limiting their production of water-intensive goods that have a low economic value, keeping their scarce water for highly valued uses as well as uses that yield high economic return per unit of water consumed, and by importing the water-intensive goods no longer produced domestically from water-rich regions.

Policies that encourage water conservation and technologies and practices that optimize or augment supplies, such as desalination and efficient irrigation systems, remain important tools in dealing with water

scarcity. However, in the case of severely water short developing countries, water-demand management can only stretch resources so far and technological means may be prohibitively expensive. The comparative advantage of virtual water trade is that, at present, it is generally more economic to obtain grains and certain other water-intensive goods on the international market than to desalinate water or to pump groundwater from great depths in order to grow it domestically.

The virtual water trade concept is based on the observation that the "world water crisis" is not one of total quantity, but one of distribution. While there is enough water on earth to satisfy everyone's needs in a sustainable way, the problem is that where the demand for water is high, the supply of renewable water resources is not always sufficient. Although water is a renewable resource, only a finite amount can be used up before tapping into nonrenewable supplies. At the core of the virtual water trade concept is the premise that water-rich countries—assuming they produce the water-intensive goods and services in a sustainable way—can support to a certain extent water-scarce countries through the trade of water-intensive goods and services.

Allan (2002a) estimates that many countries, such as Egypt, Israel, and Jordan, have now been dependent on virtual water imports for a few decades. Their indigenous water supplies are simply too low to allow these countries to meet all their domestic water demands. Since agriculture accounts for the overwhelming proportion of global water withdrawals (Shiklomanov 2000) and tends to yield low economic returns to water requirements, Allan (1996) observed that it becomes the reducible sector. This means that as demand exceeds supplies, water-scarce countries tend to become increasingly dependent on food imports. Israel and Jordan are two countries that have consciously adopted a virtual water trade strategy—gearing domestic production towards water-efficient goods—to try to manage their water budgets. Other water-scarce countries continue to deplete their water resources to produce low-value, water-intensive goods that they could obtain on the international market (World Water Council 2004; Qadir *et al.* 2003).

The virtual water trade paradigm is very controversial. Proponents argue that "virtual water trade" is a useful metaphor because it forces recognition of the opportunity costs associated with different uses of water. For instance, if water is used to irrigate a field, it is no longer available for domestic uses or to provide environmental services. Moreover, since the production of one tonne of wheat—to expand on our example—requires different amounts of water depending on where in the world it is produced (due mainly to differences in climatic conditions), virtual

water trade can lead to global water savings if wheat is produced in regions where the water requirement is low and exported to regions where the requirement is higher. Finally, the measurement of global virtual water trade flows also alerts us to the fact that increasing demand in water-scarce regions is placing growing stress on water resources elsewhere on the planet.

Critics stress the undesirable implications and difficulties of resorting to virtual water trade to achieve sustainable water resource development and argue that these are magnified in developing countries. They decry the recommendation to reduce the agricultural sector, which is an important source of income and employment for many in the developing world and an important means of stemming the flow of rural-urban migration. Virtual water trade also implies having to generate foreign exchange, another scarce resource in the developing world, in water-efficient, high-return (that is, industrial or service) economic activities. This is no mean feat since industrialisation has proven an elusive goal in many countries, water-scarce or not. Industrialisation also may lead to other environmental problems. Furthermore, food security is an important component of national security, and many states are weary of having to depend on access to the international market to meet domestic needs. Many people also prefer or derive a certain pride from locally grown agricultural products. In certain societies, water, agriculture, and local food have great historical, cultural, and religious value that the virtual water trade concept is said to ignore.

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**See also Irrigation; Water Resources and Distribution**

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**WISEHRAD GROUP**

The Visegrad Four is an unofficial name given to the four Central European post-communist countries the Czech Republic, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Poland and the Slovak Republic. Originally, the group was called the Visegrad Troika and the Four is the result of the split of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in 1993. The name of this grouping was chosen during a meeting of the President of the CSFR, Vaclav Havel; the Prime Minister of Hungary, Jozsef Antall; and the President of Poland, Lech Walesa at an event held at the north Hungarian city of Visegrad on February 15, 1991. At this meeting, the leaders signed a declaration on a close cooperation of these three (today four) countries on their way to European integration.

The Visegrad Group reflects the efforts of the countries of the Central European region to work together in a number of fields of common interest within all-European integration. The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia have always shared cultural and intellectual values and common roots of religious traditions that they wish to preserve and further strengthen.

All the V4 countries aspired to become members of the European Union (EU), perceiving their integration in the EU as another step forward in the process of overcoming artificial dividing lines in Europe through mutual support. They reached this aim in May 1, 2004, when they all became members of EU.

The Visegrad Group countries are committed to closely cooperating with their nearest partners in the Central European region. They also are ready to cooperate in specific areas of common interest with countries within the wider region, with other regional groupings in Europe as well as with third countries and international organizations.

The Prime Ministers of the Visegrad Group countries express their deep conviction that further cooperation between their countries, rooted in centuries of interlinked history and based on similar political, economic, and social developments in the past decades, will enrich the community of European nations and contribute to the building of a reunited, democratic, and prosperous Europe.

All the activities of the Visegrad Group are aimed at strengthening stability in the Central European

region. The participating countries perceive their cooperation as a challenge and its success as the best proof of their ability to integrate also into such structures as is, for example, the European Union.

The V4 countries agreed on efforts to preserve contributions from the member countries to the EU 2007–2013 budget at the current level of 1.24% of the gross domestic product of each country. Some EU countries proposed lowering the limit.

The economic issues and cooperation of the V4 are managed within the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA). The four countries, counting the Czech Republic and Slovakia as the former Czechoslovakia, were founding members of the CEFTA in 1992.

STEPHAN E. NIKOLOV

**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Central and Eastern Europe:**

**International Relations; Czech Republic; Havel, Václav; Hungary; Poland; Slovakia; Soviet Bloc; Velvet Revolutions; Walesa, Lech**

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## **WAŁĘSA, LECH**

Lech Wałęsa, known to everyone in Poland as Lech or Lechu, a charismatic leader of the 1980s, the 1983 Noble Peace Prize recipient and the president of Poland 1990–1995, was born in September 29, 1943, in Popowo, near Włocławek in northern Poland. In 1967 he started working as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

Wałęsa's political anti-communist activities date back to December 1970, the time of social upheaval in the coastal Pomerania region in Poland, triggered by the increase in food prices. He participated in the December 1970 strike in the shipyard. The communist government officials did not negotiate with the workers, but instead crushed the strike by force. Many workers died when police and the military opened fire. Wałęsa witnessed the tragedy and his involvement in the political opposition of the late 1970s was inspired by the events of December 1970.

The tragic events of the strike caused a governmental crisis. The new communist party leadership with the first secretary Edward Gierek appointed a new administration. Wałęsa was among those who trusted the new leadership, but the government had no intention of changing the workers' economic situation. In the second half of the 1970s a new opposition movement was formed in the coastal industrial centers—the Free Trade Union of the Coast. Its objective was to inform workers of their situation and their rights. Wałęsa joined the opposition and was arrested several times for his participation in an illegal anti-government organization. As the economic situation declined,

workers became more determined. During the summer months of 1980, social upheaval erupted and workers all over Poland protested. The Gdańsk-Gdynia shipyards became the core area of the protest and Wałęsa, who was not employed by the shipyard at the time, joined the strike in the Lenin Shipyard.

Because of his involvement in the 1970 strike and in the Free Trade Unions, he was elected the head of the shipyard's strike committee. The local communist authorities complied with the mostly economic demands of the protestors and the strike was about to end when strikers from other regions of Poland asked the shipyard workers to continue the strike and help them achieve their demands. The shipyard's strike committee agreed out of solidarity with all workers and formed a new strike committee called the Interfactory Strike Committee, representing demands of factories all over Poland. Soon several intellectuals, members of the political opposition, joined the workers and became key advisors to Wałęsa and the Committee. Subsequently, in addition to the economic demands, the Committee also issued unprecedented political demands such as the existence of independent trade unions, free press, the right to strike, abolishment of censorship, freedom of speech, and so forth. The demands were known as "the 21 postulates." This was the beginning of the movement later called "Solidarity," which by the end of 1980 incorporated more than 10 million members. Wałęsa was in the middle of all events, first as a head of the shipyard's strike committee and subsequently as a head of the nation-wide Interfactory Strike Committee.

“Solidarity” became the major political power of the early 1980s in Poland. The government was still controlled by the Communist Party but had to respond to the increasing demands from the movement. Solidarity was officially recognized by the authorities and registered as a trade union in October 1980. Wałęsa became the chairman of the movement, supported by a committee composed of leaders from all regions, some of them with long-standing experience in the opposition movement like Andrzej Gwiazda, Aleksander Hall, Bodgan Borusewicz, and his friends from the Free Trade Unions of the Coast. Solidarity existed until December 13, 1980, when the government imposed martial law in Poland and Solidarity was outlawed and its leaders arrested. Wałęsa was put under house arrest, separated from his advisors and supporters, and detained for almost a year before the authorities allowed him to return home in November 1982. Wałęsa became an ordinary citizen, but remained a leader of underground Solidarity.

In 1983 Wałęsa received the Nobel Peace Prize for his contribution to “universal freedom of organisation in all countries.” Fearing that the government would not let him back into Poland if he attended the ceremony in Oslo, he remained in Poland and his wife Danuta went to Oslo to accept the award on his behalf.

Another social upheaval in 1988 brought Solidarity back into official existence. It was a different Solidarity with different leadership. Many previous members emigrated or were forced to leave the country; several leaders left Solidarity and politics. Lech Wałęsa retained his leadership and once again negotiated with the communist government regarding the future of the trade union and the future of the country. The talks are known as the Round Table Agreement of 1989. Solidarity gained a new political status and in effect the first truly free elections in the Soviet Bloc were held in June 1989. Politicians who ran on the Solidarity ticket won the majority of seats in the Polish Parliament (Sejm) and formed the first non-communist Polish government since 1945. Wałęsa refused to become the prime minister of this historic government and instead supported Tadeusz Mazowiecki as the premier.

In 1990, however, he ran against Mazowiecki in the first Polish direct presidential elections and won by a landslide. He became the first democratically elected postwar Polish president. In 1995 he sought reelection but lost to a former member of the communist party, Aleksander Kwaśniewski. As a politician Wałęsa was unpredictable, often infuriating, but he had a natural genius for politics, a matchless ability for sensing popular moods, and great powers of swaying a crowd. More recently, Wałęsa has not been

active politically, although in November 2004 he visited Kiev in the Ukraine in support of free presidential elections.

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**See also Central and Eastern Europe: History and Economic Development; Poland; Solidarity Union**

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## WAR AND DEVELOPMENT

### Two Worlds of Conflict and Development

The recovery of societies from international or civil conflict is a major concern in contemporary world politics. Yet, there are important distinctions between the effects of global versus intrastate violence on sustainable growth and development. While nations such as Germany and Japan that were once devastated by the Second World War eventually returned to their original levels of economic vitality, many developing countries continue to be caught in a cycle of poverty and internal strife. When taken as a whole, the domestic conflict experienced by the nations of Africa and Asia from the mid-twentieth century to the present has produced more destruction and loss of life than both of the world wars combined. States are more seriously damaged by civil wars, as they are fought wholly on the home territory of a country. The diversion of government funds from health and infrastructure to building the military significantly reduces incomes and thus harms the national economic welfare. As vital resources and factors of production are lost or destroyed during conflict, domestic clashes can continue to have a negative impact on the prospects for growth even after a struggle has ended. The emphasis of public spending on maintaining security and police forces needed to preserve peace in the postwar period can also undermine efforts at reconstruction. Moreover, internal wars can have ripple

effects that spread beyond the borders of the affected country, producing global pathologies such as crime, disease, poverty and terrorism that will have their greatest impact in the years to come.

Thus, while the effects of war on national economies may have some general attributes, different conditions hold for the ability of nations to fully achieve prosperity after the experience of catastrophic violence. In the present world climate, international wars have become relatively rare and short-lived, while domestic conflicts are prolonged and often recurring. At the same time, a core of stable and prosperous nations enjoys peace, while civil war continues to affect certain types of developing states. The conflict-resolution issues facing these countries involve more fundamental concerns of political stability and structural viability than typically affects the industrialized nations. Managing the return to prosperous societies and economic systems therefore requires a closer look at the relationship between differing aspects of conflict and a wide range of political and economic variables.

### **Classical Theories of War and Development**

A number of classic studies have sought to determine the roles of labor, capital, and technology in the achievement of economic growth. One such work distinguishes between the impact of short- and long-term growth rates on future economic performance. This is known as the theory of convergence, which maintains that the economies of developing countries will grow faster than those of industrialized nations because of their greater investment and earnings potential. Thus, even in the event of a war or major conflict that destroys a nation's primary resources and industries, the overall social system can be expected to recover rapidly as the government seeks to restore productivity. Because of the greater possibilities for growth, the actual severity of the conflict experienced by a country is therefore positively related to the speed and extent of its eventual economic renewal.

Subsequent analyses that build on these findings have produced a statistically based theory known as the "Phoenix Factor." This theory maintains that although a country that is defeated in a world war may suffer significant losses of national power, it will catch up with and eventually overtake the victor as its postwar growth rates begin to accelerate. Such a conclusion suggests that contrary to conventional wisdom, it is a nation's pattern of domestic economic performance, rather than the provision of foreign aid, that holds the key to its recovery. The accumulated

evidence demonstrates that an advanced society that suffers severe wartime damage in terms of its population and infrastructure can return to its initial level of development within one generation.

However, while such studies may accurately portray the prospects for the great powers, this theory is not easily applicable to the majority of developing countries, which do not exhibit the internal conditions or policies conducive to rapid postwar regeneration. These nations are often faced with unresolved structural problems that foster continued instability. High levels of internal conflict rather than involvement in international wars typify the political histories of many Third World states. Despite the seeming frequency of warfare in developing regions such as Africa, there have been only two recorded African interstate conflicts since the year of independence that resulted in greater than 1,000 casualties: between Somalia and Ethiopia from 1977–1978, and Uganda and Tanzania in 1978.

Where major institutions are weak or do not enjoy broad popular legitimacy, a segment of the national population may continually challenge the government's right to rule. This is especially true of decolonizing and newly independent states. The economies of these countries have often been characterized by long-term periods of stagnation, or programs of state-led development pursued by authoritarian regimes that promote doctrines of socialism or "self-reliance." Some development policies may also produce vast disparities of income between urban elites and rural poor who rely on traditional practices and forms of subsistence, fostering tensions between social classes. These nations thus often become caught in a "poverty trap," in which high rates of fertility and increasing population levels are combined with minimal economic growth. This can slow or prevent the transition from an economy based upon the harvesting of primary goods to one based on industrial production and high technology. Worse still, the lack of effective means of dispute resolution within formal institutions can perpetuate dissatisfaction and conflict.

### **Conditional Theories of War and Development**

Just as there are important distinctions between the effects of conflict on the industrialized versus the developing nations, there are also differences in political and structural factors that may significantly influence the prospects for postwar reconstruction. If problems such as social inequality, weak institutions, and ethnic disputes remain unresolved in the aftermath of civil

war, these will continue to hamper the rebuilding of the society and economy. Additionally, the likelihood that conflict and economic degradation will continue is dependent on the goals and decision-making behavior of political leaders, and whether they pursue policies that benefit the society as a whole, or are designed to maintain their hold on power.

A second class of theories therefore seeks to address the influence of social conditions and domestic politics on the relationship between war and economic progress. The theory of collective goods applied to conflict resolution posits that in the aftermath of war, growth is hindered by the existence of institutional structures that are occupied and controlled by certain privileged groups. These ruling coalitions have a vested interest in maintaining the prewar political order, because it allows them to accumulate wealth for themselves rather than contributing resources to improving the general welfare. Therefore, it becomes a necessary first step to carry out reforms that remove entrenched political forces before significant economic gains can be achieved. The logical conclusion of this premise is that the revolutionary change or collapse that often accompanies a major war can eliminate the dominance of these groups, leading the way to modernization and growth. However, while these conditions may be of significance in producing and maintaining beneficent economic policies, this process has been shown to have little relationship to the actual rate of economic recovery.

Most essential to this issue is the observation that once a country has experienced a major internal conflict, the probability increases that conflict will resume within the near future. Therefore, the immediate post-war period is a critical phase during which the conditions for political stability and economic recovery must be created in order to prevent a recurrence of hostilities. This relates directly to the concept of a "poverty-conflict trap," in which underdevelopment and conflict occur as a cycle. Underdevelopment occurs where there are insufficient resources to sustain growth and improve economic competitiveness. Low economic growth perpetuates the tensions that foster domestic struggles and civil wars, which in turn produce the circumstances that are associated with poverty. These frictions are worsened by the maldistribution of wealth that is common in many Third World countries, in which an elite few enjoy the benefits of modern conveniences, while the majority of the population is deprived of basic necessities. Further, conflicts have often intensified where leaders have resorted to repression by the police and military in order to protect privileged classes and silence social unrest. For example: the resistance movements in Latin American nations such as El Salvador and Nicaragua were fueled

by the terror tactics used by the allies of a small group of landowning families and dictatorial governments.

Yet another important element of this equation is the intentions of political leaders in pursuing policies that may either benefit or harm the economic welfare of their countries. Unpopular leaders who seek to remain in power might engage in conflicts such as foreign policy crises or a campaign against insurgents in order to divert public attention from a poor economic performance. By demonstrating their ability to conduct a war or respond to threats, they may satisfy enough of the citizenry to maintain their hold on power, despite an obvious record of malfeasance. This in turn perpetuates the policies that foster low growth and poverty. These conflicts also waste valuable resources and hinder the investment necessary for increased productivity, insuring that these negative conditions endure. Yet again, it is certain countries, or those that suffer from an initially low level of available capital, that are most likely to be caught in the cycle of war and underdevelopment. These cases are especially concentrated in regions of the world such as sub-Saharan Africa.

Another such study of conditional factors seeks to account for both the impact of civil wars on domestic economic growth, and the extent of "spillover effects," or collateral damage on the welfare of neighboring countries. The authors extend the classical growth model by including an input for human capital in order to test for the disruptive effects of conflict on factors related to economic prosperity such as trade and foreign investment, as well as the diversion of resources from domestic investment and savings to military spending. The authors find that civil wars have an indirectly negative effect on short-term rather than long-term growth. Because low-income countries have more rapid growth rates, in the event that economic fundamentals such as labor, human capital, and investment are not directly altered, their economies can be expected to recover fairly quickly from the effects of internal war. At the same time, the degree of impact on neighboring countries is largely equivalent to the actual intensity of the conflict. Altogether, these findings demonstrate that civil wars are not simply an isolated problem that can be ignored by the developed nations.

### **Greed and Grievance in War and Development**

Armed rebellion and guerrilla warfare has long been a prevalent feature of the politics of developing nations. As the frequency of internal conflicts has surpassed

that of interstate warfare in the post-Cold War era, determining their causes has invited the application of different kinds of approaches in the study of war and development. Thus, the most recent crop of research into the causes and consequences of internal violence in the Third World attempts to present economic explanations for domestic conflict and civil wars. While traditional analyses of intrastate conflict seek to identify the political motivations for group violence, contemporary approaches have begun to emphasize the role of resource endowments and profit seeking in the initiation of civil wars, as well as their overall effect on economic prosperity. These studies have produced evidence that armed uprisings in the developing nations are motivated largely by “greed,” or the desire to control valuable resources, rather than “grievance,” or a protest against inequality of political rights. This is also linked to the finding that the risk of civil war is greatest in countries whose economies are highly dependent on income from natural resource exports, as rebel organizations can capture these industries as a source of finances for military operations. For instance, during the new wave of conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo that began in 1998, forces led by Laurent Kabila gained control over the diamond mines that produced the income necessary to fund his regime. The results indicate that opportunities for organized rebellion afforded by illegal finances or resource wealth provide a stronger explanation for the outbreak of civil wars across countries than do variables such as inequality, political rights, or ethnic differences. Controlling access to such resources may therefore hold a key to stemming or limiting the likelihood of violent uprisings in these countries.

More problematic for the cause of preserving peace in developing nations have been the significant changes in the form that domestic conflicts commonly take. This is evidenced by a shift from the prevalence of traditional guerilla insurgencies, such as those that took place in China, Cuba, and Vietnam, to a proliferation of new types of internal wars in which the combatants have no clear intent other than to kill their enemies and gain wealth and power. These conflicts most often take place in what are typically labeled as “failed states,” in which central government authority has collapsed or is too weak to control large areas of the country. African countries such as Liberia, Somalia, and the former Zaire are familiar examples of such states. A main characteristic of these conflicts is that the participant forces do not initiate war in the pursuit of a defined political objective. In classical guerilla warfare, soldiers are motivated by an ideological doctrine, on the basis of which they intend to overthrow the existing government and replace it

with a revolutionary regime. In addition, one of the central strategies of guerilla movements is to garner popular support for their cause by responding to the needs of those most affected by underdevelopment. In contrast, the soldiers in the new internal conflicts do not seek to occupy their society as a foundation for carrying out a prolonged struggle. Rather, their primary goal is to gather weapons and gain control over territory that provides access to valued goods such as minerals or narcotics. These resources generate income upon which warlords can further build their armies and personal fiefdoms. The conditions for a perpetuation of conflict are further intensified where warring populations inhabit the same areas and communities, particularly in the case of ethnic or religious disputes. This situation has been observed in countries such as Bosnia and Rwanda, where displaced refugees are forced to return to neighborhoods co-populated by those who perpetrated ethnic killings. What makes the prospect of resolution of these wars even more difficult is that the task does not simply end with the cessation of conflict. It requires additional efforts toward state building, in which basic administrative functions must be restored before the stability necessary for reconstruction can be achieved. The dilemma of state building is especially evident in centers of international crisis such as Afghanistan.

### **The Future of Conflict and Development**

Overall, the evidence produced by twenty-first century research on war and development indicates that civil wars have become more prevalent than international conflicts, and that they are largely concentrated in a particular group of low-income developing countries. In some cases, the responsibility for the prevention or resolution of civil wars lies with the individual government of the affected country. Yet, the notion that these conflicts do not affect the well-being of wealthy nations is a falsehood. Because the instability generated by domestic conflicts can impact not only neighboring countries but also the world as a whole, the problem demands a global agenda for action.

The two primary difficulties involved in organizing such efforts are the costs to participant governments, and determining which approaches will be effective in a given setting. Experience since the 1990s suggests that the provision of foreign aid to these countries would be problematic or even ineffectual. There is often little incentive to offer aid packages to war-torn or severely impoverished nations, which may have no ability to allocate funds effectively or to repay their debts. Further, the feasibility of introducing

broad institutional or policy reform into a country at the international level is limited. In the case of attempting to impose democratic accountability and constitutional government on unstable societies, it could be potentially destructive. This demands a more careful approach to intervention and the delivery of foreign assistance in the post-conflict period. Rather than the traditional method of providing an immediate infusion of money and peacekeeping forces that are quickly withdrawn after initial stability is achieved, foreign investment and reconstruction aid should be made conditional upon the introduction of necessary preliminary reforms as a foundation upon which to base future institution-building efforts.

In addition to the management of post-conflict environments in developing countries, the preservation of peace calls for the introduction of preventive strategies as well. One possible measure that the international community might pursue to decrease the actual incidence of civil war is to help control the access to natural resources that militant groups rely upon as a source of income. This would involve creating transparency measures that would make public the manner in which revenues from the harvesting of these valuables are used. Another would be to provide resource management assistance to countries whose economies are highly dependent on primary commodities in order to reduce the impact of shocks caused by a rapid decline in world product price levels. These downturns in economic welfare have been shown to create instability that increases the likelihood of violent conflict. Lastly, though regulation of military spending and arms buildups by international monitors is a highly challenging prospect, a possible alternative might lie in a coordinated effort by financial institutions and regional organizations to reduce arms purchases. In general, the degree of success with which international peacekeeping forces can prevent the resumption of internal conflicts is dependent on the level of commitment by the parties involved. Yet, while such efforts at intervention may prove expensive in the short term, the cost of neglect in terms of the overall impact on global peace and prosperity is far greater.

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**See also Military and Development**

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## WASTE MANAGEMENT

### Defining Waste Management

Technological and industrial development has led to high volumes of different types of generated waste. Waste management includes all activities that seek to minimize the environmental, health, and aesthetic impacts of disposed waste. In order to reach sufficient results and introduce proper options in waste-management practices, waste is divided into several categories according to different characteristics—origin, physicochemical properties, material, and management options. Dividing it by origin, waste can be domestic, industrial, commercial (institutional), agricultural, and so forth. By physicochemical properties, it is divided into liquid and solid; hazardous (toxic, flammable, radioactive, etc.) and non-hazardous. The material can be paper, metal, glass, wood, food scraps, textile, and so forth. The chosen management option depends on the type of waste (combustible, recyclable, compostable, etc.).

Waste-management approaches have developed over time. In ancient times waste was thrown into the streets and roads, where it was left to accumulate. The first disposal methods were simple and consisted of open pits located out of the residential areas. As population increased, efforts were made to transport waste farther from the residential sides. Demographic and economic developments led to increased volumes of generated waste. This emphasized the importance of the way wastes are managed. The type of the waste

(combustible, recyclable, compostable, etc.) determines the way it is handled, collected, disposed of, and stored.

Waste release, accumulation, and disposal are recognized as posing risks to the environment and public health. In order to minimize adverse effects caused by released wastes, different waste-management practices have been developed. The tasks of collecting, treating, transporting, and disposing of wastes present complex challenges. They vary with regard to the type of waste—solid or hazardous. Waste management will be discussed below in terms of the specifics of solid-waste management and hazardous-waste management.

## Solid Waste Management

Solid waste is material that is not in liquid form and has served its purpose or has no value for the person who holds it. Solid waste is accumulated through different activities: residential, commercial, institutional, and industrial. Some types of waste that can pose dangers to human health and environment are defined as hazardous; these will be covered in a separate discussion under the Hazardous-Waste Management section. All non-hazardous solid waste from a community (houses, streets and public places, shops, offices, etc.) is called municipal solid waste (MSW). Although some words such as “garbage,” “rubbish,” “refuse,” and “trash” are used as synonyms for solid waste, they have specific definitions and uses. Refuse comprises garbage and rubbish. Garbage is refuse resulting from the preparation, cooking, and dispensing of food. Rubbish includes heterogeneous household and business wastes that are not classified as garbage or ashes. This involves paper, wood, glass, rags, and metals. Trash is rubbish that includes bulky items, for instance couches, refrigerators, and so forth. Except for municipal solid waste, part of the generated solid wastes are also sewage-treatment solids (biomass sludge, settled solids, etc.); mining wastes; industrial wastes (chemicals, sand, paints, etc.); and agricultural wastes (crop residues, farm animal manure, etc.).

Adequate solid-waste management requires more than just dividing waste into different groups. It is a complex issue that requires technological skills and involves social, legal, financial, and institutional aspects. It demands coordination and management of a large workforce and collaboration among many stakeholders. Good waste management identifies three major points: (1) collection and transportation; (2) solid-waste treatment approaches; and (3) integrated

waste management. The way wastes are managed is crucial to the economy, health, and the environment. When thoughtful approaches are applied, waste management reveals the potential use of waste materials as valuable resources. Waste composition and quantity vary among nations and communities depending on the level of commercialism and institutionalism. In the United States, for instance, nearly 36% of the total MSW generation, which in 2001 comprised 229 million tons, is paper and paperboard. The second-largest component is yard trimmings, followed by food scraps, plastics, metals, rubber, textile, leather, wood, and other miscellaneous materials. In Europe, waste also constitutes a challenge. Annually, the total amount of waste generated is around 2,000 million tons. Paper and organic waste make a significant share of the municipal solid waste, with an increasing share of plastic. Low-income countries score low in terms of waste-generation rates, ranging between 0.4 and 0.9 kg per capita per day. The major part of their waste content is organic. Waste composition rates are important for precise solid-waste management plans.

Waste collection is the first step in the long waste-management chain. It is important for the protection of human health, environmental quality, and safety. It is one of the most expensive parts in the waste-management process and often inadequate financing can lead to poor waste-collection services. Usually the people remaining without waste collection services belong to the low-income population. Collection costs (as percentage of income) vary from country to country. For low-income countries they are between 0.9% and 1.7%. They represent 0.5%–1.1% for middle-income countries and 0.2%–0.4% for industrialized countries. However, financial restrictions are not the only factor that can affect adequate waste-collection services. Operational methods can also influence the efficiency of the solid-waste services. These include organizational structures and procedures, management capacity, and appropriate technologies.

Waste collection should occur at frequent intervals but not less than once per week because of the rapid decomposition of some residues. Waste transportation is an important stage of waste management. It is of crucial importance especially for large and densely populated areas, when an optimal route should be selected. Specially designed trucks are used for waste transportation to the final destination of the refuse. If it is not near the place where waste is generated, then transfer stations might be designed. Waste-transfer stations are facilities where municipal solid waste is unloaded from collection vehicles and held while it is reloaded onto larger, long-distance transport vehicles for shipment to landfills or other treatment or disposal sites.





seven toxic dioxins or only to the most toxic dioxin, called 2,3,7,8—TCCD (2,3,7,8-tetrachlorodibenzo-*p*-dioxin). Other pollutants are also released as a result of the incineration process. These include lead, mercury, cadmium, and others. Lead has been associated with a variety of negative effects on human health—slowed nerve conduction, reduced vitamin D metabolism, reduced hemoglobin production, kidney damage, and others. Mercury exposure affects behaviour and can lead to renal damages even at low levels. In addition to emissions of heavy metals, dioxins, and furans, the incineration of waste generates acid gases and particulate matter. Acid gases can cause respiratory problems and can lead to ecosystem damage by acidification. Particulate matter in the atmosphere can also cause adverse effects on human health. Last but not least, incineration plants require much investment and high operating costs. For a plant to be economically feasible, costs must be minimized through sale of energy recovered. Incinerators that convert the heat released from combustion into a stream of hot water are called waste-to-energy plants. Their systems require special equipment and controls and highly skilled technical personnel.

### Landfilling

The most traditional method of disposing of municipal solid waste has been landfills. *Open dumps* are a primitive stage of landfill development. Open dumps consist of unselective disposal of waste and limited measures to control operations, including those related to the environmental effects of landfills. As this is not a sustainable method of landfill waste management, the open dump approach will be mentioned, but not discussed further here.

Operated dumps are the first-stage-upgraded landfills, which operate under control measures. Incoming wastes are inspected and recorded and other measures are applied in order to achieve better control mechanisms. However, certain issues are not taken into consideration where operated dumps are used. These include environmental cautionary approaches such as leachate and landfill gas management. Leachate is a water-type liquid that seeps out of a landfill. It results from rain infiltration through the landfill and also from the moisture fraction in the waste. Because of the predominantly anaerobic environment, leachate is contaminated with heavy metals and organics and is highly toxic. It is important that the leachate is not allowed to reach and enter surface water or groundwater. Landfill gas is a result of the anaerobic degradation of biodegradable wastes. The released gas contains around 60% methane and 40% carbon

dioxide. Methane is poisonous and potentially explosive and as such it must be controlled. Converting open dumps or operated dumps to engineered landfills and sanitary landfills is a crucial step for introducing sustainable landfill management.

A safer alternative to landfill waste disposal is the use of *sanitary landfills*—solid waste is disposed of at a carefully selected location, constructed and maintained by engineering techniques that minimize the pollution of air, water, and soil, as well as reduce other risks to human health and the environment. Sanitary landfills apply measures to control gas and collect and treat leachate. The construction of a sanitary landfill must consider different technical aspects: siting, design, operation, and environmental impacts. The selection of the landfill site depends on many factors. These include:

**Economic and technical criteria:** haul distance, available land, etc.

**Geology/hydrology of the landfill site:** soil should have a very low hydraulic conductivity,  $<10^{-9}$  m/s, so as to prevent leachate penetration through the site. If the hydraulic conductivity does not meet the technical requirement, then additional protection material is necessary.

Depending on the type of waste to be disposed of and the specifics of the location, it has become a practice to provide a protective lining system. The lining system can be either single- or multilayer and it can be made of naturally *in situ* clay, imported clay, bentonite, or synthetics. For safety reasons, a seismically unsafe zone should be avoided for landfill sites.

**Ecological and biological conditions** should be also considered when a landfill is designed. These include existing and potential water supply sources, protected areas or species, climate conditions, etc.

**Socioeconomic factors** also play a role. They involve human settlements, recreational zones, historical and archaeological sites, agricultural regions, etc.

On sanitary landfills waste is spread and compressed in thin layers. Each day the compacted waste is covered with a layer of soil so that it prevents negative impacts such as odour, dust, rodents, birds, and other pests. The final cover for a completed landfill may also be topsoil, which can support vegetative growth.

Worldwide there are different landfill practices. As Johannessen and Boyer (1999) note in *Observations of Solid Waste Landfills in Developing Countries: Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, solid-waste landfills sites range from open dumps to sanitary landfills. At the national level, decisions are made mainly with regard

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to the gross national product (GNP), available infrastructure, and investment projects. The European Union has introduced stringent technical requirements for reducing adverse effects of waste and landfills and landfill taxes have been applied in some European countries.

Although each of the three options for solid-waste treatment propose solutions for generated waste, it is becoming more and more difficult to find adequate sites for landfills, since not all waste is proper for composting and incineration also has limits. One of the crucial issues in managing various types of waste is integrated waste management.

### *Integrated Waste Management*

Integrated solid-waste management involves a combination of techniques to manage municipal solid waste. It is based on the fact that the waste stream consists of different materials. The idea behind integrated solid-waste management is that a combination of approaches can be used to handle the miscellaneous content of the waste stream. Source reduction and reuse of materials, recycling, combustion, and land-filling are all methods of waste management. They form the hierarchy of integrated waste management.

Source reduction stays at the top of the hierarchy. It addresses how products are produced, purchased, and used. Source reduction can be achieved through design of the products, packaging with minimum material, increased product lifetime, and decreased consumption, among other methods. Implementation of source-reduction approaches can be done through education, research, financial incentives, technological development, and so forth.

Recycling is the next level in the integrated waste-management hierarchy. It cannot alone solve all waste-management problems, but it can reduce significantly the volumes of waste that are disposed of on landfills or are thermally treated. Recycling requires separation and sorting of waste. Source separation is done at the point where waste is generated (e.g., the households, business, etc.). In many cases, different materials are segregated (e.g., paper, glass, aluminum, etc.). This type of municipal waste collection is more expensive than ordinary refuse collection. An alternative to source separation are drop-off centers, which are usually situated at shopping centers or other convenient locations. Commonly recycled materials include paper (newspapers, corrugated cardboard, high-grade paper), aluminum, glass, ferrous metals (iron and steel), plastics (polyethylene terephthalate [PET]), high-density polyethylene (HDPE), mixed plastics, other plastics, and batteries.

The places where recyclables are received and processed are called materials recovery facilities (MRFs). MRFs may be designed to handle all types or certain categories of recyclables.

Recycling programs are one of the first waste-management options because they can divert significant quantities of materials from ultimate disposal. They reduce the overall waste stream that is directed either to landfills or combusting. In addition to this, recycling can have a positive impact on composting. Most recyclable materials such as glass, plastic, and metals are considered contaminants in the compost product and moreover, they are not easily composted. Recycling of toxic-containing products (e.g., batteries) leads to removal of hazardous constituents (lead, cadmium, etc.), which increases the product's quality as waste material. Integrated waste management suggests that waste-management alternatives should be designed to complement each other environmentally and economically. It shows the close link among the different waste-management options, and suggests solutions for mitigating the adverse effects of waste generation.

### **Hazardous Waste Management**

Hazardous waste is any solid, liquid, or gas material that can cause death, illness, or injury to people or environmental destruction if it is improperly stored, treated, transported, or discarded. Wastes are considered hazardous if they are *ignitable* (capable of burning or causing fire), *reactive* (able to explode), *corrosive* (able to harm organisms because of high contents of acidic or alkaline substances), *toxic* (poisonous), *containing heavy metals*, or *radioactive* (emitting ionizing energy that can harm living organisms).

### *Sources of Hazardous Waste*

Hazardous wastes result from different activities. Industries are one of the major producers of hazardous wastes. Agriculture also releases wastes that create hazards to human health and environmental safety (e.g., nitrates, herbicides, pesticides, fluoride wastes, etc.). Household-generated waste can also contain hazardous materials. These include, for instance, toxic paints, drugs, toxic batteries, pesticides, consumer electronic products containing cadmium, mercury, or flame-retardant materials. Waste from hospitals also must be treated with caution. Infected materials such as used bandages, needles, scalpels,

or materials contaminated with blood or tissue must be disposed of carefully.

Radioactive waste, particularly nuclear fission waste, continues to be one of the most dangerous hazardous wastes. It remains radioactive for thousands of years before fully decaying. Because of the complexity of the problem, the management of radioactive waste is usually considered to be a separate engineering task from other forms of hazardous-waste management.

Hazardous waste is generated at a particular site. In order to provide safe storage and further treatment of hazardous wastes, one of the initial hazardous-waste management steps is obtaining a suitable container for the waste. Safety is the primary consideration in container selection. It is also a general requirement that containers be labeled with a description of the waste material and the words "hazardous waste." In addition to safe storage, safe transportation of hazardous waste is also given special attention due to the threats that hazardous waste creates. Transportation vehicles and containers where hazardous waste is stored are designed in a way to avoid adverse impact that hazardous waste might have. Standards for cargo trucks and shipping containers are included in governmental regulations. In case of accidents during transportation, immediate and appropriate actions must be taken so that environmental and public health hazards can be reduced.

### ***Hazardous Waste Management Options***

Hazardous-waste management options are similar to those that apply to solid waste.

Hazardous waste reduction is the most desirable stage in hazardous waste management. Although reducing the quantity of generated waste or reusing and recycling waste materials are good options, they do not solve all problems with hazardous waste. There will always be need for their treatment and disposal. Chemical treatment includes oxidation, neutralization, and ion exchange. Physical processes include sedimentation, evaporation, and filtration of hazardous waste. These processes lead to reducing its volume. Biological treatment also suggests ways for handling hazardous waste. Microbes can be used on contaminated sites for stabilizing hazardous waste. This process is called *bioremediation*. In other cases, genetically engineered species that can metabolize the waste are used. Thermal treatment destroys hazardous wastes. However, high-temperature incineration can cause air pollution and this is one of the major problems posed by hazardous waste thermal treatment.

Proper disposal of hazardous waste is important in order to avoid adverse impacts on public health and the environment. A secure hazardous-waste landfill must have impermeable liners and leachate collection systems. An impermeable cover is placed over a finished landfill so as to reduce potential environmental damage. Hazardous waste can pollute the soil, surface and underground water, or the air.

### ***Legislative Framework***

Worldwide about 400 million metric tons of hazardous wastes are generated each year. This requires coordinated actions and efforts to minimize hazardous-waste generation and disposal. In response to the concerns regarding toxic waste being dumped from industrialized countries in developing countries and countries in transition, in 1989 the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal was adopted. The Convention entered into force on May 5, 1992. At the start the main focus of the Basel Convention was the "transboundary" movement of hazardous wastes, which is movement of such wastes across international borders. The Convention's objectives are to ensure environmentally sound management and adequate disposal facilities; to dispose of wastes as close as possible to the point of their generation; to minimize quantity and hazard of wastes generated; and to reduce transboundary movements. The Basel Convention introduces "environmentally sound management," the aim of which is to protect human health and the environment by minimizing hazardous waste production whenever possible. It proposes a set of strategies in order to stimulate and promote efficient activities by the parties involved.

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**See also Environment: Government Policies; Pollution, Agricultural; Pollution, Industrial**

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## WATER RESOURCES AND DISTRIBUTION

### The Hydrological Cycle

Freshwater is vital to all living organisms. It is the medium in which living processes occur and all organisms require water to complete their life cycle. Humans use water for drinking; irrigating crops; watering livestock; in industry; and as a medium to dilute, assimilate, and remove wastes. Lakes and rivers provide habitat for aquatic species and many of these are used by humans for food (e.g., fish, aquatic plants) and building materials (e.g., reeds for thatching). Aquatic systems provide humans with other ecological services such as flood control and water quality enhancement. Water bodies are also used for transport and recreation, and they give humans aesthetic pleasure. Water resources are unevenly distributed over the earth's surface, largely because of climatic influences on the hydrological or water cycle.

The earth is a watery planet with 75% of its surface covered in oceans. A total of 97.6% of water on earth is stored in the oceans and saltwater lakes that are too saline to provide water for many human uses. Of the remaining 2.4%, most (87%) is frozen as ice, snow, and permafrost; only 13% of freshwater is liquid. Much of this liquid water is stored underground in aquifers and soil. Only 3% is readily accessible in surface water bodies such as rivers, lakes, and wetlands. In other words, surface water bodies contain less than 0.01% of the earth's water and many of these water bodies are in remote areas far from human settlements.

Transfers between the reservoirs of water (oceans, atmosphere, land surface, and underground stores)

occur through the hydrological cycle. Water, evaporated from the oceans by heat from the sun, condenses in the atmosphere to form clouds and returns to the earth's surface as precipitation (rain, hail, dew, sleet, and snow). Approximately 80% of all precipitation returns directly to the oceans, while the remainder, an estimated thirty-three thousand to forty-seven thousand cubic kilometers per year, falls on land. Of the water falling on land, some is intercepted by vegetation and evaporates from leaves and stems, some flows down the plants to the ground, and some falls directly on the soil surface. Water that reaches the ground either infiltrates the soil or flows along the surface. Surface runoff and groundwater may flow into streams and rivers, eventually returning the water to the oceans. Some water may replenish groundwater reservoirs. Water stored in the soil may be absorbed by plants and used by them for growth and in photosynthesis. Most water taken up by plants is returned to the atmosphere through *evapotranspiration*.

Groundwater resources consist of either shallow, rechargeable aquifers that are connected to rivers and streams or those that filled many years ago with "fossil water" and are not currently recharged. The former are replenished as rainwater infiltrates the overlying soil and enters the aquifer. Water enters an aquifer through a recharge zone, a porous layer sandwiched between two impermeable layers of rock or clay that form the underground reservoir.

Water resources vary in time and space largely through seasonal and inter-annual variations in climate. In the tropics, radiant heat from the sun is concentrated over a smaller area than in temperate regions. Greater radiant heat input at the equator warms the air and it expands and rises. As it rises, the air cools and since cold air holds less moisture, rain falls. The rising air spreads out and falls in a high pressure zone around 30°N and S. The cool, dry air warms as it falls to earth and deserts tend to occur at these latitudes. This differential heating generates trade winds that meet in an equatorial low pressure trough, the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). The convergence zone moves north of the equator during the northern summer (June–August), bringing rain to the underlying regions. At the end of the northern summer, the ITCZ migrates south of the equator, bringing rain to the southern tropics and subtropics between November and February. Equatorial regions have two wet seasons, with rainfall occurring each time the ITCZ crosses the equator. These temporal variations in climate significantly affect the availability of water resources. For example, nearly 80% of all runoff from Asia occurs in six months (May–October), and in arid regions of Africa, about 80% of annual runoff occurs in one to two

months each year. Spatially, the boundaries of lakes and wetlands may change seasonally, expanding during wet seasons and contracting in dry seasons. The discharge of rivers and streams may also vary seasonally and corresponding water levels in floodplain lakes rise and fall with the flood pulse.

Changes in surface water resources also vary inter-annually, with more water stored or discharged during wet years and less during droughts. Much of the inter-annual variation can be related to the strength of El Niño events. In El Niño years, reversal of winds and ocean currents across the Pacific results in droughts in southern Africa, eastern Australia, and Brazil; droughts and forest fires in Indonesia; and storms and wet weather along the American west coast from Alaska to Peru. Computer models that analyze tiny temperature fluctuations in the Pacific Ocean can be used to predict El Niño years, and these models provide an early-warning system that assists in planning relief efforts designed to minimize the effects of drought-induced famines. El Niño events could become more intense with global warming since warmer oceans will increase the potential for El Niño events to develop.

### **Water Resource Distribution and Human Populations**

The human population of the world exceeded 6 billion in 2000. It has been projected that the population will peak by 2050 at between 7.3 billion and 10.7 billion. After that time the population is predicted to stabilize or fall. Per capita freshwater use is increasing in almost all countries and the frequency of critical water shortages is expected to increase. In 2001, 1.2 billion people lacked access to safe drinking water and 2.5 billion have inadequate access to water for sanitation, washing, and food preparation. Globally, between 1950 and 2000, annual per capita water availability decreased from 16,900 cubic meters to 6,800 cubic meters. This is predicted to decline to 5,400 cubic meters by 2025, as human population growth outstrips increases in water supply. A widely accepted threshold for water adequacy is 1,600 cubic meters per capita, per year. 1.7 billion people live in river basins with per capita water availability below 1,000 cubic meters, and the resultant water stress impedes food production and economic development. Most such countries are in the developing world.

The distribution of water resources corresponds poorly with the distribution of human populations. Asia, where 60% of the world's population lives,

has access to only 30% of global runoff. Conversely, South America with approximately 5% of the human population, contributes 26% to global runoff from land to sea, with the Amazon River alone accounting for 15% of global runoff. This uneven distribution, in both time and space, of water and corresponding human populations, is the underlying cause of many water-resource problems. For example, the Amazon River supplies only 0.5% of the world's population and therefore most, perhaps up to 95%, of its runoff is not utilized by humans. Conversely, so much water is diverted from the Ganges River that little, if any, reaches the sea during periods of low flow. The Huang He River in China is so heavily used that in 1997, a drought year, the lower course of the river was without water from February to August. Reducing flows in rivers can seriously impact in-stream communities and water quality, and some countries have established minimum flow regimes (environmental flows) that, when reached, water abstraction must cease.

With the growth in the world's human population, per capita water availability has declined on all continents. Predicting future water need for human use is difficult, and many of the projections produced in the past have over-estimated consumption because they were based simply on extrapolation of existing trends. More recent projections, incorporating sophisticated computer modeling, are more reliable, but these have generally been applied in developed countries and there is a keen need for their application in the developing world. These projections are key as the development of water-resource infrastructure requires planning years in advance of actual need. Increasing water demand by larger human populations may be offset by increased water-use efficiencies. However, by 2025 at least 3 billion people in ninety countries are expected to face severe water stress.

### **Human Settlements and Surface Water Resources**

Water availability is the key factor in the development of flourishing human settlements. Most early settlements were built on the banks of rivers or lakes that not only provided water but also a means for exploring and colonizing new sites. Freshwater supplies can be enhanced by increasing water-storage capacity to store runoff (dams and reservoirs), inter-basin transfers of water, increasing withdrawal of groundwater, conversion of saltwater to freshwater (desalinization), and by improving water use efficiencies.

In order to reduce their dependence on the vagaries of climate that largely control the availability of water resources, humans have managed water resources for millennia. Archaeological remains of water storage dams have been found in Jordan and Egypt that date back to at least 5000 BCE. However, construction of large storage reservoirs only began in the early 1900s and by the end of the twentieth century, there were over 45,000 large (more than 15 meters high) dams in over 150 countries. During the 1990s, an estimated US\$32–46 billion was spent annually on large dams, four-fifths of it in developing countries. Of the US\$22–31 billion invested in dams each year in developing countries, about four-fifths are financed by the public sector.

Half the world's large dams were built exclusively or primarily for irrigation, and an estimated 30% to 40% of the 271 million hectares of irrigated lands worldwide rely on dams. Reservoirs are estimated to provide irrigation water that results in 12–16% of world food production. About 12% of large reservoirs are designated as domestic water supplies. Through multipurpose use, reservoirs may also provide flood control and hydroelectricity as well as sites for fishing, recreation, and tourism.

Dams can have significant negative social, economic, and environmental impacts. Impoundments reduce downstream flows and this impacts human populations living on the banks of the lower reaches of regulated rivers. Displacement of human populations from the land flooded by new reservoirs has had significant social consequences, and dam development projects often meet with strong resistance and protests from people living nearby. Scheduled for completion in 2009, the Three Gorges dam on the Yangtze River in China will impound the world's largest reservoir and supply hydroelectric power to 150 million people. The reservoir will flood large areas of high-quality farmland, displace almost 2 million people, and the Yangtze River and reservoir could become polluted from wastes from the industries that will develop to use the hydroelectric power generated. The weight of water in the reservoir could trigger landslides and earthquakes.

The Aswan High Dam in Egypt forms a barrier, trapping the rich sediment that previously built up the rich, alluvial soils of the lower Nile valley and delta. The delta has declined in area and agricultural production has had to rely more on expensive, imported fertilizers. The annual sardine harvest in the eastern Mediterranean has declined by over 80%, partially resulting from the reduction in nutrient-rich silt previously carried out to sea through the delta.

Waterways have also been modified to improve navigation, drain wetlands for agriculture and urban

developments, construct irrigation systems, and enable inter-basin water transfers. These often massive engineering works have facilitated water transport, contained flood waters, generated hydroelectric power, and provided irrigation water for agriculture and urban areas, but these benefits must be weighed against the environmental and social costs.

Groundwater reserves are particularly important in arid areas where access to surface waters is limited. Approximately 1.5 billion people use groundwater as their sole source of domestic water supply. In many areas, abstraction of water from groundwater reserves exceeds the rate at which they are replenished (groundwater mining). In Asian cities such as Bangkok, Manila, Beijing, and Madras, high rates of groundwater extraction have lowered water tables by over ten meters. Groundwater abstraction may result in land subsidence (sinking or cracking of the hardened soil as water is extracted) or, in coastal regions, significant saltwater intrusion. Saltwater intrusion into the coastal aquifer underlying Madras has been detected ten kilometers inland. Abstraction of water from shallow aquifers also reduces flows in surface waters, which these aquifers supply.

Another significant problem with use of groundwater relates to declining water quality as aquifers are recharged with polluted agricultural runoff, urban drainage, and wastewater. In the small nations of the South Pacific with low-lying islands such as those found in Kiribati, Fiji, and Tonga, groundwater reserves exist as a lens of freshwater overlying saline water tables. These freshwater lenses are very susceptible to pollution with wastewater and to salinization if use exceeds recharge rates. In some densely populated, small-island nations, such as Nauru, water has to be imported.

Basic information on groundwater resources, such as storage capacities, exploitation, and recharge rates and water quality, is lacking in many developing nations. In the 1970s Bangladesh initiated a program to utilize groundwater resources for drinking water, reducing dependence on contaminated and polluted surface waters. This program significantly reduced infant mortality from water-related diseases. Unfortunately, groundwater in the region has high levels of arsenic, derived from naturally occurring minerals. Signs of arsenic poisoning are becoming more apparent in humans drinking well water with high arsenic levels, and the number of people affected may be as high as 18 million.

In arid areas near the sea, desalination of seawater may provide freshwater to satisfy domestic and some industrial needs. Desalination is an energy-intensive process and therefore costly, but improved technologies such as multistage flash distillation and

reverse osmosis, have, in certain circumstances, made the process economically feasible. However, production costs prohibit the use of desalinated water in agriculture. Another drawback of this source of freshwater is the disposal of the concentrated brine produced. Disposal of the salt in the sea can seriously impact marine life in nearby areas. Desalination plants supply freshwater to communities in the Caribbean, Pacific Islands, Middle East, and North Africa.

## Human Uses of Water Resources

Human adults require three to five liters of clean drinking water per day just to survive. In addition, minimum requirements for sanitation, bathing, and food preparation have been estimated at, respectively, twenty, fifteen, and ten liters per person per day. This total of approximately fifty liters per person per day is the minimum required to sustain life in a moderate climate and excludes the much larger volumes of water required to grow food. Per capita water use varies considerably between countries and approximately 2.2 billion people live in over sixty countries that report average domestic water use below the fifty liter minimum.

In addition to domestic supply, the main human uses of water are for agriculture, industry, and removal of domestic and industrial wastes. Globally, agriculture accounts for about 68% of withdrawals, industry uses 19%, and municipal and domestic uses account for 9%. Regionally, these use ratios vary significantly. In Africa, agriculture, industrial, and domestic use percentages are 90%, 4%, and 6%, respectively. In India, 93% of water use is directed towards agriculture, whereas in arid Kuwait only 12% of water withdrawals are used for agriculture. A dry climate precludes significant water use for agriculture and Kuwait, through its rich oil resources, is able to import food and water and to supplement water supplies through energy-intensive desalination of seawater.

Food production is water-intensive. It takes five hundred to one thousand cubic meters of water to grow one tonne of grain. Water required to produce an average human diet varies from 640 cubic meters per capita per year in Africa to 1,830 cubic meters per capita per year in the United States. Most of this variation can be attributed to differences in calorific intake and the proportion of meat in the diet.

Almost one-fifth of the world's agricultural land is irrigated and these lands account for about 40% of the world's agricultural production and almost 70% of the world's water use. Water diverted for irrigation has in many areas significantly altered hydrological

regimes. For example, water abstracted from rivers that flow into the Aral Sea (Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) has reduced, by over 50%, the area of what once was the world's fourth-largest lake and in some areas, the shoreline has retreated by 120 kilometers. Fish production has declined and twenty of the twenty-four fish species previously recorded from the lake are no longer caught.

One of the most serious consequences of irrigation is the increase in the salt content of agricultural soils or salinization. As irrigation water evaporates, it leaves behind the salts dissolved in it. Excessive water application can move salts up the soil profile, exacerbating the problem. It has been estimated that 20% of irrigated lands are salt-impacted; developing countries with significant problems include Argentina, Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan. Very large transfer of water from inflows to the Aral Sea has resulted in the salinization of its waters. The exposed bed of the Aral Sea, twenty thousand square kilometers in area, contains toxins and salts that are spread by the wind to surrounding farmlands. Intensive agriculture that often accompanies irrigation can also lead to soil loss, nutrient depletion, and soil compaction.

Irrigation has played a significant role in maintaining per capita food production in the last three decades of the twentieth century. However, trends indicate that the increase in food production is slowing. Growth in cereal production declined from 2.6% per year between 1967 and 1982 to 1.3% per year in the 1990s. This is partly due to reduction in the rate of expansion of agricultural lands under irrigation. In the 1970s irrigated lands were expanding at more than 2% per year but this rate fell to less than 1.4% per year in 2000. This decline in the growth rate of areas under irrigation is due to higher costs associated with irrigating more marginal land and reduced water availability. Many new high-yielding crop varieties require more water. While these new varieties have higher yields, production gains come at the cost of additional stress on water and soil resources.

Livestock use water directly and also indirectly through the production of the forage and feeds that they consume. Large differences in human per capita water requirements can be attributed to the quantity of meat in human diets. Approximately 40% of grain produced is fed to livestock and this requires a significant quantity of water to produce. Reduced meat consumption will not only increase food availability, it will also reduce water consumed in food production.

Many industrial processes require significant quantities of water, but much of it is returned to the environment, albeit often with reduced quality. Water is very effective at carrying away heat and up to 90% of water used in industry is for cooling; little is



consumed in this process and most is returned to the source. Thermal pollution (disposal of water at elevated temperature) can impact aquatic organisms in the receiving waters directly (many aquatic organisms are very sensitive to small temperature changes) or indirectly by reducing the dissolved oxygen content. Industry also uses water to dissipate wastes and this leads to significant pollution and reduced water quality. This is particularly true in newly industrialized urban areas in developing countries where few pollution controls have been implemented. Water used in industry generates economic returns per unit use of water that are fifty to seventy times greater than those from agriculture. However, due to political and social considerations and the desire for food security, many governments give agriculture a high priority in the allocation of water resources.

Water is used to carry away domestic, industrial, and agricultural wastes. Up to 80% of water withdrawn for domestic use is returned to rivers and groundwater as wastewater. Significant advances have been made in developing techniques for the treatment and recycling of wastewater. Primary treatment of sewage effluent consists of screening the wastewater to remove large particles followed by storage in ponds to allow time for smaller particles to settle. Secondary treatment involves techniques that promote bacterial breakdown of organic matter in the effluent. Tertiary sewage treatment removes certain pollutants that remain. However, in most developing countries, wastewater is either untreated or receives only primary treatment, and significant problems include high incidence of water-borne diseases and *eutrophication* (excess nutrient enrichment/pollution) of receiving water bodies. Economic development provides the opportunity to treat wastewaters and also for the implementation of economic incentives and penalties for polluters (“polluter pays” principle).

In many parts of the world, wastewater is more commonly being viewed as a resource that can be treated and cleaned to a level appropriate for a specific use. Suitably treated, wastewater can be used to irrigate urban parks and golf courses, as industrial cooling water, and for irrigation of certain agricultural crops such as fruit trees and pastures. In arid countries such as Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia, wastewater is used extensively in agriculture and this also reduces the need for fertilizers. Alternative disposal of recycled wastewater may be required during wet seasons when irrigation needs decline. Purification costs are higher if the end-use of wastewater is to be potable water, and few developing countries have made the necessary investment. Namibia has done so and reclaimed water provides

up to 30% of the total water supply to the capital city, Windhoek.

Other uses of inland water bodies include flood control, fish production, hydroelectricity generation, transportation, recreation, and tourism. Fisheries based on natural fish stocks have little direct impact on water resources. However, fish culture in ponds is a fast-growing industry and currently provides 20% of total fish production. Aquaculture requires large quantities of water and diverts supplies away from irrigated agriculture. Aquaculture ponds are enriched with fertilizers and livestock wastes and disposal of water from them may lead to eutrophication of receiving waters.

Hydroelectricity generation provides a significant component of energy resources in many developing countries. Hydropower currently provides 19% of the world’s total electricity supply, and is used in over 150 countries with twenty-four of these countries depending on it for 90% of their supply.

### Water Quality

Safe drinking water and adequate sanitation are essential for human health. In 1977, the United Nations Water Conference declared that all people, regardless of their socioeconomic standing, have a right to clean drinking water and sanitation services that prevent diseases. A goal of the United Nations Millennium Declaration is to halve, by 2015, the proportion of people who are unable to reach or to afford safe drinking water. Contaminated water causes millions of preventable deaths every year, especially among children.

Water quality is declining through pollution, salinization, and enhanced sediment loads from soil erosion. Poor water quality is common in areas with high rates of population growth, poor sanitary conditions, and poverty. Water quality issues are more severe in arid areas where dilution of wastes is minimal. Pollutants include microorganisms that affect human health; excessive nutrients; heavy metals such as lead, mercury, and cadmium; and numerous chemical compounds including persistent and toxic organic pollutants such as PCBs and DDT. Pesticide use in India increased over fifty-fold in the latter half of the twentieth century. Pharmaceutical drugs even in low concentrations can act as carcinogens or endocrine disruptors. Poor land management and deforestation has elevated sediment loads in many tropical rivers. Most developing countries lack the resources and trained personnel to establish and maintain programs

that monitor the quantity and quality of water resources.

### **Water-Borne Diseases**

Between 5 million and 10 million people die each year from water-related diseases stemming from inadequate access to safe drinking water and from poor sanitation. Many disease vectors rely on water for at least part of their life cycle and it has been estimated that 80% of infections in developing countries are related to water. Pathogenic organisms (viruses, bacteria, and protozoans) are found in areas where untreated sewage and effluents from animal husbandry operations enter domestic water supplies. Sewerage systems in many developing countries are inadequate, serving only a small proportion of urban populations. Significant diseases that are either water-borne or spread by vectors requiring free water to complete their life cycle include: diarrhea, schistosomiasis, malaria, dengue fever, poliomyelitis, Bancroftian filariasis, and onchocerciasis.

### **Water Resources and Global Warming**

Global warming will accelerate the hydrological cycle through enhanced rates of evaporation and precipitation. This will alter water resource availability, but exactly how is difficult to predict, particularly in the tropics where most developing countries are situated. The degree of uncertainty in predicting the impacts of climate change further complicates forecasting water resource needs. Water supplies in developing countries are already under stress. Alterations to water supply through climate change can only add to the stresses caused by expanding human populations and pollution. Climate change could also exacerbate economic and political tensions, particularly in the more arid regions where water resources are already scarce.

Several predictive models of global climate suggest that rainfall in the tropics will become more intense, leading to increased runoff and reduced soil infiltration. Freshwater ecosystems will be influenced by elevated water temperatures and altered flow regimes. In some regions the frequency and duration of large floods will increase; in others droughts will be more common and prolonged. These changes will severely stretch provision of government services. Floods affected 65 million people between 1972 and 1996, more than any other type of disaster including war, drought, and famine.

### **Water Resource Planning**

Government policies on water resources have largely been directed toward increasing supply to meet increasing demand and to guarantee food security. Emerging trends indicate that we are approaching a “water crisis” in several regions—most notably the Middle East and North Africa where per capita water availability is presently 1,247 cubic meters per capita, one of the lowest in the world, compared with 18,742 cubic meters per capita in North America and 23,103 cubic meters per capita in Latin America. The main causes of water shortages are a dry climate, periods of low rainfall (drought), poor management of natural resources (deforestation, overgrazing), and water stress brought about through human population growth outstripping the growth in water supply. The main constraint to agricultural production in many areas in the near future will be the availability of water, not land.

As water resources become more limited, long-term planning becomes imperative. This process requires accurate prediction of future water demand and the development of water resources to meet that demand. The planning process should be carried out for whole watersheds and should include the environmental consequences resulting from the construction of water resource infrastructure. Effective planning will require data on precipitation, evaporation, river flows, groundwater depletion and recharge rates, and water quality, as well as information on aquatic resources and habitats.

Governments are beginning to implement water management strategies that emphasize conservation, efficient use, and watershed protection, and to develop mechanisms that encourage wise use of water resources through education, regulation, and economic incentives such as water rights trading. Implementation of these strategies has been accompanied by water resource audits, enhanced monitoring, and pollution abatement programs. The most effective water resource management plans have focused on watersheds or river basins that integrate land and water management issues in a multi-sectoral approach. Whole basin management becomes more challenging where the basin straddles one or more international borders.

### **Politics and Water Resources**

Water disregards political boundaries. One-third of the countries in water-stressed regions of the world are

expected to face severe water shortages this century. Water resource issues (supply, distribution, and quality) have been identified as a potential major cause of political instability. Depletion and degradation of water supplies, population growth, and unequal access to water resources shared between nations all combine to make water issues a threat to human security. Worldwide, demand for water is outstripping supply and water quality is declining. Small conflicts over water have already occurred and evidence suggests that the lack of water can be linked with both poverty and political instability. There are 261 watersheds that cross the political boundaries of two or more countries and 145 nations share water resources. These international basins cover 45% of the land surface of the earth and affect about 40% of the world's human population. Four river basins in developing countries (Congo, Niger, Nile, and Zambezi) are shared by between nine and eleven countries. The Amazon, Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna, Mekong, Tigris-Euphrates, and La Plata extend over five to eight countries.

Water has caused political tension between Jordan and Israel, India and Bangladesh, and between the countries drained by the Nile River, particularly Egypt and Sudan. The total human population of the Nile Basin is 145 million (1990 estimate) and the runoff from the Nile is approximately 85 cubic kilometers per year. The average per capita water availability is therefore less than 600 cubic meters per person per year. Actual water availability per capita, through re-use, is higher than this. The Sudanese live upstream from the Egyptians and theoretically have access to 3,150 cubic meters per person per year compared with the 925 cubic meters per person, per year available to the average Egyptian. Sudan has abided by a treaty signed with Egypt and passed on much of the water that flows through its territory. Cooperation has partly come through Sudan's inability to use its water effectively owing to political instability, and tension over water could potentially rise in the future.

Political disputes over water tend to be more prevalent in developing countries because water supply is more closely linked with human survival, opportunities to reduce use are fewer, and resources to supplement supply are meager. States will need to focus more on including principles of water resource sharing in national water legislation, developing policies that address water resource issues, and negotiating treaties with states that share regional water resources.

A number of international organizations promote strategies for the wise and cooperative use of the world's water resources. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) provides advice, technical

support, and capacity building to member nations on policy, legal, and regulatory issues relating to improving sustainable use of water resources. The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), through its Freshwater Unit, promotes integrated management and use of freshwater and environmentally sustainable development. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) works to raise levels of nutrition and living standards, to improve agricultural productivity, and to improve living conditions of rural populations. With regard to water resources, FAO provides advice and development assistance on water use for agriculture, fisheries, and aquaculture. The Global Water Partnership (GWP), created in 1996 by the World Bank, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the Swedish International Development Agency, coordinates activities among government agencies, public institutions, private companies, professional organizations, and multilateral development agencies involved in water management. The GWP promotes Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM), an approach that seeks to balance human, industrial, agricultural, and environmental needs. The International Commission on Large Dams promotes progress in the establishment of design, construction, operation, and maintenance of large dams. The World Water Commission promotes awareness of critical water issues at all levels and facilitates efficient conservation, protection, development, planning, management, and use of water in all its dimensions on an environmentally sustainable basis.

The rapidly growing human population, movement of humans from rural to urban areas, and effects of economic development are exerting stresses on finite water resources. Water scarcity is exacerbated by declining water quality. In some parts of the world, the rate of increase in demand for water has slowed in recent years and this can be attributed to more efficient use and less waste. This trend needs to accelerate and developing countries need to implement measures to conserve water supplies, reduce leaks in distribution systems, reduce use, and develop techniques that recycle water efficiently.

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## WEST AFRICA: HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In order to provide the necessary geographic context for a discussion of the development of West Africa, we first need to grapple with the spatial definition of the region. Undoubtedly the region constitutes Africa's "big bulge," but how far north does it go? Where does the Sahara, for instance, begin and end? And, where does West Africa end and East Africa begin?

Basing their regionalization on ethnicity, the physical environment, history, culture, and the colonial frameworks, De Blij and Muller (2000), two influential world regional geographers, take West Africa to "include the countries of the western coast and Sahara margin from Senegal and Mauritania in the west to Nigeria and Niger (and part of Chad) in the east" (p. 357). Basil Davidson, one of the most respected Africanists, for his part, sees West Africa as "a handy term for all the land and the offshore islands between about 20° of latitude north of the equator down to the West African coast, and eastward to about 15° of longitude" (1998, p. 3). For Eugene Mendonsa (2002, p. 17), West Africa extends not right from the equator but from 5° to 25° north latitude and from 17° west to 15° east longitude; fairly similar latitudinal and longitudinal ranges were used by Mabogunje decades earlier. Evidently, like all perceptual or vernacular regions, West Africa has no exact geographical meaning, even though we all know where to point to on a map.

With insight from these authors, and conscious of our present interest in not only the historiography but also the economic development of the region (and, consequently, the need for reliable empirical data),

West Africa is here defined as the formal region embracing all the countries from the southern edge of the Sahara in the north to the Gulf of Guinea in the south, and from Senegal in the west to Niger and Nigeria in the east. This spatial definition includes the following sixteen countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. It is important to note that all the countries listed are members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Furthermore, the delimitation adopted here is almost coterminous with those of Davidson (1998) and De Blij and Muller (2000), with the explicit exclusion of Chad and Cameroon, both of which do not self-identify as West African countries, having opted to join the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) instead of ECOWAS. Clearly "West Africa" is a mental construct, the boundaries of which can vary depending on the analysis one seeks to pursue. This should not surprise anyone, for neither the historiography nor the economic development of West Africa is actually separable from that of Africa as a whole.

### Physical Environment and Climate

While environmental determinism is now rightly rejected by most geographers and development analysts, there is no denying that more than most parts of the World, the physical environment of West Africa has strongly influenced much of its economic development over the centuries. West Africa is characterized by east–west climatic and vegetation belts, which vary sharply as one moves from the north to the south. Lying astride the equator, West Africa has a relentlessly high temperature for the greater part of the year. While the region's perpetual high temperature means that the growth of plants and animals cannot be retarded for lack of heat and light, it still makes the availability of moisture a serious problem; consequently, the role of air masses becomes the more vital in any analysis of the region's climate and vegetation. West Africa is influenced by two main air masses: the tropical continental air mass (or the harmattan) and the tropical maritime air mass. The harmattan is a warm, dry, dusty air mass that forms over the Sahara Desert and moves southwesterly from December to March. At its maximum extent in January, it covers nearly all parts of West Africa with its desert-like conditions. As the name suggests, the tropical maritime airmass emanates from the ocean—more precisely, the southern Atlantic ocean—and

moves northeasterly across West Africa. It is a warm, humid airmass that peaks around July and August to about latitude 20° north, bringing much of the rainfall in West Africa. These two airmasses are separated by the Inter-tropical Front (ITF) or the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). It is along this front that much of the convectional activities that cause rainfall in West Africa take place. From around January to July, the ITCZ moves progressively northwards, bringing rain to large parts of West Africa. However, it retreats to the south from about July to December, extending the spell of dry conditions across most parts of West Africa. The north–south oscillation of the airmasses, the ITCZ, and consequently, rain, undergirds the discernable latitudinal variation in West Africa’s environmental conditions and vegetation, which range from the Sahara Desert in the north through the Sahel, to the Savanna, on to the rain forest, and finally to the coastal plains along the Atlantic Ocean.

By world standards, West Africa does not seem to be a densely populated region. With a land area of some 6 million square kilometers (about five-sixths the area of the United States) and a population of 236 million in 2000, the arithmetic density of West Africa is 39 persons per square kilometer, compared to China’s 131 persons per square kilometer, and India’s 309 persons per square kilometer. In fact the population of all the sixteen countries of West Africa is just about a quarter of China’s or India’s (World Bank 2002a and 2002b). Travel across West Africa and you would be readily impressed by its vast open spaces, especially in countries such as Mali, Niger, and Mauritania. But a closer look at the soil would quickly reveal the extent of soil infertility that many West Africans have to grapple with. Not surprisingly, the average arable land per capita for West African countries for 1997–1999, for instance, stood at a mere 0.25 hectares, with a range of 0.06 hectares in Liberia to 0.52 in Togo (the comparable figures for China and India are 0.10 hectares and 0.17 hectares, respectively). The soils of West Africa’s Sahel and the Savanna zones are loaded with iron and aluminum, with few nutrients. The forest soils, though relatively better, are excessively leached, and highly susceptible to sun baking, erosion, and nutrient depletions, especially following the removal of the forest cover that provides much of the decaying biomass that enriches the soil. West Africa’s high temperatures, and to some extent high humidity, create natural breeding grounds for a variety of disease-carrying organisms, including mosquitoes, fleas, flies, worms, and snails, which are implicated in the spread of yellow fever, sleeping sickness, malaria, Bilharzia, and other distressing diseases across West Africa.

## History

Until quite recently, the outside world knew very little about the history of West Africa—and, indeed, of Africa, as a whole. The common misconception was that African history has little in its own right beyond the European activities. This is how Trevor Roper, once the Chair of History at Oxford University, put it: “Perhaps in the future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none; there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness . . . and darkness is not the subject of history” (Mendonsa 2002, p. 40). This notion of a “historyless people” has almost disappeared, thanks to the recent upsurge of anti-Eurocentric scholarship. According to Davidson (1998, p. 25), “the written history of England, substantially, can be said to have begun around the same time as the written history of the Western Sudan (now West Africa).” He based this supposition on the fact that the Islamic scholar Abu Ubayd al-Bakri’s *Kitab al-Masalic wa’l Mamali* (*The Book of the Routes and Realm*), which dealt with the trans-Saharan trade in West Africa, was completed in Cordoba in AD 1068—just a couple of years after the landmark Norman invasion of England (Davidson 1998, p. 25).

The history of West Africa is invariably a central part of any meaningful attempt to understand humanity’s struggles to tame and survive in the vast and difficult continent of Africa, a continent believed to be the original home of the human race. Not only that, as the main source of Black African slaves, upon whose back the so-called New World was developed, West Africa holds a special place in the minds of Westerners, in both Europe and the Americas.

### *Early States and Empires*

West Africa had strong and durable cities, states, and empires prior to the European adventure in the region. The oldest empires include the Ancient Ghana, Mali, and Songhay (or Songhai) empires. Ancient Ghana—whose real name was Wagadu, with *ghana* (or war chief) being the title of one of its kings—was located to the northwest of the modern Republic of Ghana, covering parts of present-day Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal. While the origin of Ancient Ghana remains understandably obscure, scholars place its founding date around the second or third century AD, based on traditions recorded by Islamic scholars such as Es Sadi, al Fazari, al Kwarizmi, and al Bakri. The Soninke people of Ancient Ghana (the descendents of modern Senegal) owed much of their prominence

to the trans-Saharan trade, benefiting from their strategic location at the southern end of the caravan routes from North Africa across the Sahara, and the northern end of the trading routes that emanated from the gold- and ivory-producing regions of the south. Thus, the people of Ancient Ghana traded in gold and ivory procured from the south and salt and other commodities from the north.

For thousands of years, the kings of Ancient Ghana managed to weld various groups of people into a stable state, with the king's capital, which most likely moved from one place to another, complete with markets, religious shrines, foreign merchants, and fortified royal retreats. Available records show that at the height of its prosperity—that is, before the eleventh century AD when Ancient Ghana was invaded by the Almoravids—Kumbi Selah, its capital city, located some 320 kilometers north of present-day Bamako, was indisputably the largest city in West Africa, with more than 15,000 inhabitants. Tolls and levies on traded commodities and taxes from subjugated people were used to maintain an army and to exert law and order in the empire. Berber Muslims from the north mounted a series of invasions against Ancient Ghana around AD 1050, ruining its farmland and disrupting its trading link with the north. These invasions eventually led to the disintegration of the empire by AD 1098.

With the decline of Ancient Ghana came the upsurge and development of the Mali Empire. Originally located just east of Ancient Ghana, the Mali Empire continued to expand eastward along the Niger River, conquering Jenne and Timbuktu, both of which became major centres of the empire—ironically, the latter has somehow become the epitome of geographic isolation in the minds of many Westerners.

Writings of the famous Moroccan-born Islamic traveler and scholar, Ibn Batuta, who visited Mali in the mid-fourteenth century when the empire was at its zenith, indicate that the rulers of the Mali Empire were staunch Muslims who routinely participated in the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. The Mandingoes Muslims who ruled the empire were closely related to the Soninke of Ancient Ghana. Gold continued to be the most important export from the area, and formed the basis of Mali's wealth. In a nutshell, the people of Mali duplicated the achievements of Ancient Ghana, and exceeded them. However, it is important to note that while the active history of Ancient Ghana covered about a thousand years, that of Mali spanned only about two centuries, in which three main periods of succession occurred. The first major one was under Sundiata (1235–1260), who is known to have founded the Mali Empire. The second was under Mansa Sakuru (1298–1308); Ibn Khaldun, the great North African historian, once noted that under Mansa

Sakuru, Mali became so mighty that all the nations of West Africa stood in awe of its success. The third major period was under Mansa Kankan Musa (1312–1337), who again extended the power and influence of the empire (Davidson 1998, p. 41). By the early 1400s, Mali had outgrown its political and military strength and became highly vulnerable to invasion. The Tuareg invaded Timbuktu in 1431, and by the end of the century, Mali's rulers had lost control of the empire.

As the Mali Empire declined, other powers emerged, the noteworthy among which was that of the Songhay people of the Middle Niger, whose empire peaked around the mid-fifteenth century with the city of Gao as its principal centre of trade, wealth, and power. Other notable states and kingdoms that emerged in West Africa, prior to the European skirmish and the eventual colonization of the region, include those of the Mossi, Kanem-Bornu, Hausa, Bamabara, Wolof, Oyo, Yoruba, Benin, Dahomey, Ashanti, Bono, and the Awkamu.

### *Contacts with Europeans: Trade, Slavery, and Colonization*

European involvement in West Africa is generally traced to the early fifteenth century, when Portuguese explorers arrived in that region. The European adventure in West Africa did not merely interrupt the path of West Africans' civilization, it irreversibly changed their entire cultural, social, economic, and political systems. By the early seventeenth century, European trading ships were arriving at all the major West African coasts, from the coast of present-day Senegal in the west to Nigeria in the east. But the Europeans were yet to subdue militarily the West African states they encountered, as the latter was highly capable of repelling the former's threats of violence. And, as the accounts of Davidson and many other historians indicate, added to the perils of the ocean travel, the fevers and malarias of the mosquito-infested interior, and the fierce resistance and ambushes of the natives, were the risk of intense rivalry and fighting between the Europeans themselves. The Portuguese, who held the upper hand over the English and French, during the initial years were overtaken by the Dutch, with the capture of Portugal's Elmina Castle in the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana), which was the most active scene of European trade in West Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Notwithstanding the ensuing intra-European battles and native resistance, the European merchants kept coming to West Africa, due primarily to pressures from powerful political and commercial interests in Europe. With so much at stake—in terms of the procurement of gold,

ivory, and, ultimately, slaves, from West Africa—it did not take much for the Europeans to see the need for peaceful partnerships, a realization that culminated in the infamous Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, by which virtually all of Africa was divided up among the imperial powers of Europe.

The slave trade did not become a regular part of the European trade until after about 1620, when the Europeans got established in the Americas and needed more laborers to work on their budding mines and plantations. It is hard to find anything that more greatly undermined the basic humanity of both West Africans and Europeans during their contact centuries ago—and, indeed, continues to conjure emotional and sometimes vitriolic debate if not confrontation, among these two groups—than the enterprise of slavery. Common, unsophisticated, and racially motivated allegations of Blacks’ inferiority, slavish mentality, and lack of self-esteem, and of Whites’ hyper-cruelty, hypocrisy, and proclivity toward human exploitation are routinely tied to the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Contrary to what many believe, Europeans were not the first to engage in the trading and exporting of Black African slaves. The work of Chancellor Williams (1987), for instance, shows that Arab imperialism and slave trade in Africa preceded that of Europeans by centuries. Still, there is no denying that the version of slavery perpetrated by the Europeans in (West) Africa surpassed all the others in its sheer volume and brutality. Nobody knows for sure how many Blacks were shipped from Africa, primarily from West Africa, but common estimates range from 10 to 15 million people, with millions perishing not only in their capture and transshipment, but also from hard work and maltreatment in the mines and plantations of the Americas (Rodney 1974).

The key to understanding how the slave trade began and persisted as long as it did, according to the insightful analysis of Davidson (1998), lies in the slave system that existed in West Africa prior to the Europeans. African chiefs and kings, as in other parts of the world then, regularly turned war captives and some lawbreakers into slaves, who were sometimes sold, exchanged, or simply given away as gift to other chiefs, kings, and elites of society. And with time it was not exceedingly difficult for the Europeans to persuade the African chiefs and kings to sell these slaves or barter them in exchange for European goods, especially for firearms upon which the very survival of the African kingdoms and their kings came to depend.

Quite expectedly, European incursions and slave trade faced stiff resistance and battles in many parts of West Africa; perhaps the most notable were those mounted by the Ashanti warriors of the Gold Coast

against the British. Yet, the lure of European goods (e.g., alcohol and firearms) was far too strong for many people to resist. The proliferation of firearms across West Africa turned out to be awfully detrimental to the Europeans themselves, and perhaps no one captured the conundrum faced by the Europeans in this regard better than William Bosman, a Dutchman then living in the Elmina Castle in the Gold Coast: “[W]e sell them very great quantities, and in doing this we offer them a knife with which to cut our own throat” (Davidson 1998, p. 191).

As the demand of West African goods and slaves increased over the years, so did inter-tribal wars, slave raids, and invasions across the region. By the early seventeenth century, West Africans were squarely in the midst of the “profitable” triangular trade, which entailed the shipment of goods such as cotton, alcohol, and firearms from European ports for sale in West Africa, from where the Europeans procured slaves for sale in the plantations of the Americas in exchange for sugar, tobacco, rum, and other products, which were then shipped to Europe.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, after more than four hundred years of contact, the Europeans managed to lay claim to nearly all the lands of West Africa, following the Treaty of Berlin in 1885. Only Liberia was a sovereign state in the region at the beginning of the twentieth century. Apart from Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, which came under Portuguese control, West Africa, comprised four British colonies—Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Gambia—which lie separated from one another, and nine amorously contiguous French colonies. In 1957, Ghana became the first independent nation in West Africa, spurring a series of liberation struggles that resulted in the emancipation of the entire region by the early 1970s, under the leadership of such notables as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Leopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal.

## Economic Development

Despite more than five centuries of contact with Europeans and other societies around the world, through trade and the diffusion of innovations, West Africa (and indeed, Africa), is still one of the most marginalized and least developed regions of the world. West Africa continues to experience a substantial decline in its relative position in terms of world trade, investment, production, consumption, and access to computers and Internet connectivity. The region’s exports are still dominated by minerals

and agricultural commodities such as coffee in the cases of Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea; cocoa in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire; and maize in Benin and Burkina Faso. Despite the primacy of agriculture, West Africa still relies heavily on food imports and sometimes even food aid, as the rate of population growth outstrips that of food production in nearly all parts of the region.

Another striking feature of the West African economy is the relative weakness of the manufacturing sector. By 2000, with the exception of Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone, the contribution of the manufacturing sector to the respective gross domestic products (GDPs) of West African countries was generally below 15% (World Bank 2002b). With both Sierra Leone and the Côte d'Ivoire engrossed in civil wars, this figure is likely to shrink. In 2000, the average gross national income (GNI) per capita for the sixteen countries stood at a mere US\$385, and ranged from a low of US\$130 in Togo to a high of US\$1,330 in Côte d'Ivoire. And, despite some improvements in the education of women and access to healthcare, most West African countries are burdened with high infant mortality rates (IMR). In 2000, the estimated average IMR for the sixteen countries was as high as 98 deaths per 1,000 live births; the worst rates were recorded in Sierra Leone (154), Guinea Bissau (126), and Niger (114). The region's problems are certainly not confined to the economic and social spheres alone; they have inevitably spilled over to its natural and living environments, with acute levels of deforestation, desertification, soil erosion, and serious deterioration of sanitary conditions occurring in nearly all parts of the region. In recent years, however, it is the unfortunate proliferation of civil war in such places as Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire that is posing the greatest hindrance to the economic development of West Africa, as a growing number of people are thrown into precarious refugee situations.

The economic and geopolitical conditions in West Africa reflect and reinforce the region's long-standing dependence on the West in a core-periphery framework, hardened not only through colonialism and neo-colonialism, but also through the Cold War, and, critics have argued, through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund-sponsored Structural Adjustment Programmes.

The geopolitical boundaries of West Africa are a product of colonialism, with some minor tinkering in the post-colonial period. This made-in-Europe boundary framework paid minimal attention to the West African cultural mosaic at the time, lumping people who had histories of strife together, and elsewhere, such as along the Ghana-Togo border, splitting people of common cultural bonds into different countries.

It is not hard to see how this could undermine the geopolitical stability of these countries. Furthermore, the railroads and high-standard roads in all the coastal countries, from Senegal to Nigeria, still bear the imprint of colonialism. One still finds a situation where these transportation networks are orientated towards the coast, from the interior, to facilitate the shipment of goods to Europe, with minimal intra-West African connectivity. The transportation system of the landlocked countries (that is, Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso) are even worse, with access to ocean transportation coming only at an exorbitant price, thanks to the massive spatial segmentation wrought by the political boundaries.

Faced with crop failures, lack of agricultural credit, and land shortages, many rural West Africans are migrating to the cities in search of a livelihood. This familiar scene makes West Africa one of the most urbanizing regions of the world. The growing urban population, in the absence of a corresponding increase in housing and other urban facilities, has led to serious overcrowding, high traffic density, intense air and water pollution, and the spread of slums and squatter settlements in major cities such as Lagos in Nigeria, Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire, Dakar in Senegal, and Accra in Ghana.

It would certainly be disingenuous to attribute West Africa's development problems solely to colonialism, neo-colonialism, and other external factors, such as unfair terms of trade and the manipulations of donor countries and international financial institutions. The destructive roles of the nation-states in the region, epitomized by the growing political instability and the lack of institutional capacity; mismanagement and corruption; and disregard for human rights and the value of science and research, are all to be blamed for the economic problems of the region. While corruption is not peculiar to West Africa, nor to Africa, it is without a doubt one of the leading endogenous problems undermining the region's economic development. Given the long-standing David-and-Goliath-like struggles between West Africans (and indeed Africans) and the West in the global capitalist system, it is not surprising that an increasing number of scholars, including Davidson (1994), Manuel Castells (2000), and Bingu Wa Mutharika (1995), are calling for some form of self-reliance in Africa's development. A carefully crafted endogenous development approach—with a reasonable infusion of external scientific know-how—couched in regional cooperation and a diversified economy that blurs the usual dichotomy between agriculture and industry and eschews the detrimental reliance on monocropping and external aid, would help alleviate West Africa's development malaise. The recent strengthening of



democratic governance (albeit among a handful of countries, most notably, Ghana); the increasing regional cooperation through ECOWAS; and ongoing improvements in national and intra-regional infrastructure (for example, the construction of the region's trans-coastal and trans-Saharan highways), point to good development prospects in West Africa.

In the final analysis, though, viewed from the standpoint of "development," measured primarily with economic indicators such as GDP or GNI per capita, economic growth rates, and stock market capitalization, West Africa could not be seen in much positive light. Some would even assert categorically, as did Eugene Mendonsa (2002, p. 473), that "[d]evelopment in West Africa has failed." However, the only way the notion of development can even purport to hold any universal applicability is to move beyond its present individualistic, materialistic, and economistic underpinnings to incorporate the rich complexities of non-economized societies, such as those of West Africa. It is only through such a holistic interpretation of development that the true wealth of West Africa can be appreciated by outside observers.

JOSEPH MENSAH

**See also Benin; Burkina Faso; Colonialism: History; Colonialism: Legacies; Cote d'Ivoire; Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Gambia; Ghana; Guinea; Guinea-Bissau; Liberia; Mali; Mauritania; Niger; Nigeria; Nkrumah, Kwame; Senegal; Sénghor, Leopold; Sierra Leone; Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs); Touré, Sékou; Togo; West Africa: International Relations; West African Monetary Union (WAMU)**

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### WEST AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In order to better understand the international relations of West Africa, it is necessary to underscore some of the most salient characteristics that help give shape to the subregion's interactions with states and non-state actors within the external environment. As with the rest of Africa, West Africa's political balkanization is one of its dominant characteristics. The net result of European colonization, the subregion is made up of seventeen sovereign states that are as diverse as they are similar. They are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo—with Cameroon on the margins. There are vast differences not only in the population and territorial sizes of the countries but also in their military and economic powers. For instance, at about 130 million people, Nigeria's population is substantially higher than the combined total of all the rest of the other regional states. There are also huge differences in physical size between some of the larger states of the region such as Mali (461,389 square miles), Mauritania (432,000 square miles), Niger (458,874 square miles), and Nigeria (356,669 square miles) as compared to some of the smaller states such as Cape Verde (1,557 square miles), Gambia (3,977 square miles), and Sierra Leone (27,925 square miles). The overall effect of such disparities in power attributes may be seen in the differential capacity of states to influence international relations and events.

In many ways, the assorted differences in physical characteristics, level of development, and military and political powers of the states tend sometimes to mask many areas of similarities. Modern West African states are all largely the artificial creations of their European colonial powers—the United Kingdom,

France, Portugal, and Spain in the case of the still disputed Western Sahara. As such, they share a legacy of non-natural boundaries and the resulting separation of relatives and communities. Largely underdeveloped, they also share characteristics of dependency to Western (especially European) political economies. While there are huge differences, the combined effects of colonial legacy, natural disasters, and poor governance structures have served to create a subregion that suffers from a high degree of indebtedness, poverty, disease, political instability, and conflict.

Despite their diversity, and differing problems, West African states have sought to overcome the negative effects of their fragmentation by seeking to build more coherent and effective economic and political structures. Weak and inadequately equipped individually to deal equally and effectively with the leading industrial states of Europe and North America, the states of West Africa have sought ways of dealing with the severe challenges posed by a seemingly hostile external environment. As such, they have resolved to work toward developing pertinent institutions and structures that would allow them collectively to address common issues ranging from conflict prevention and resolution initiatives to coordinated approaches in addressing issues of health and the economy. Nevertheless, their general dependence and weakness vis-à-vis the leading states of Europe and North America, as well as their differing priorities and national interests, have also served to impede greater commitments to collaborative activities. The net result has been that they have struggled at times to address some of the critical factors and conditions that shape their external relations. Primarily, those factors have included the need for: economic development; conflict prevention and resolution; and poverty and disease reduction and control. Let us now examine those issues by looking at each of the four separable (albeit cross-cutting) layers of international relationships involving members of the West African subregion.

### **Subregional Relations in West Africa**

As with states in other parts of the world, member states of West Africa have a great need to interact with each other, not only in pursuit of common interests but also to address common problems. During the 1990s, ECOMOG, the regional military arm of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), became active in several countries within the region, especially in Liberia and Sierra Leone, where it provided decisive military counterbalance to

the warring factions, and in Cote d'Ivoire where it has been attempting to negotiate a political solution to the problems.

To alleviate poverty, control diseases, and foment economic growth and development, governments often find it easier and more effective to do so through cooperation mechanisms. This is especially so for weak and dependent states, which not only need infusions of external financial aid, investments, materials, and skilled workforce, but also must secure them from a hostile external environment driven by competing priorities.

Hampered by persistent poverty and underdevelopment, West African states sought to improve their bargaining capacity by pooling ideas and resources and working together. This way, they hope to achieve collectively objectives that may be harder to achieve as separate nations. This was the conceptual basis of the ECOWAS, which was founded in 1975 by its member states to serve as a vehicle for economic cooperation and integration within the subregion. It was expected that with such an integrating structure, the states of West Africa would be able to overcome many of the pervasive problems that serve to retard development, such as their narrowly-based economies, heavy reliance on the export of primary products, inadequate infrastructure, low levels of resource flows from advanced countries, declining terms of trade for their tradable goods, protectionist policies of their Western trading partners, expensive transport systems, lack of sufficient skilled labor, and small domestic markets. By sharing burdens and benefits and combining resources, the states of the subregion sought to enable members not only to promote the prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts within and between member states, but also to create a bigger and more attractive market for internal and external investment. It would also allow them to have a stronger voice in their relations with external actors and at international forums.

Unfortunately, the colonial historical experiences of the West African subregion have also created tensions and divisions among the member states. Deep suspicions and rivalries, particularly along the Francophone and Anglophone lines, have served as a crucial seam. Not surprisingly, there was a proliferation of overlapping subregional structures, which soon came to flounder due to their relative neglect and weakness. The impact of this colonial legacy, as well as fears about the regional dominance of Nigeria, have combined to weaken collaborative activities within the region. Nevertheless, since the late 1990s, there have been some areas of appreciable progress including health, agriculture, military, and economic policy making. Important frameworks and structures

that have been established include the West African Parliament, a subregional bank (ECOBANK), the West African Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of West African Manufacturers, a regional insurance scheme, and free movement of primary goods and handicrafts throughout the subregion.

Plans for a common West African monetary system have remained in place despite a series of delays due not only to challenges posed by the adopted convergence criteria, but also to the existence of a single monetary zone that groups Guinea Bissau and seven former French colonies—Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo—under the CFA franc. As envisioned in 2005, the currency integration exercise will take place in two phases. In the first phase, the governments of all the six non-CFA countries—Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, and Nigeria—will adopt a single currency on July 1, 2005. The second phase will involve the integration of the CFA countries into the West African monetary union.

### **Relations with Other Continental States**

In regard to other regional relations, West African states have continued to play important roles within the African continent. Due to residual effects of their colonial experiences and relatively weak economies, many of these relationships have been largely political. Various, West African states played important roles in the African decolonization processes between the late 1960s and early 1990s. Although much of their roles centered on political and diplomatic support, states such as Nigeria, Ghana, and Guinea were at the forefront of efforts that culminated in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 and its successor, the African Union, in 2002. They provided not only academic scholarships and aid to affected Africans but also substantial financial and material support to liberation movements from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. For its part, Nigeria worked very closely with the Front Line States as they battled to dislodge the apartheid system in South Africa.

Very little formal inter-African trade takes place. In 2004, such trade accounted for only about 10% of Africa's total exports and imports. West African trade with other African countries follows similar patterns to those of the rest of Africa. This is with the possible exception of Nigeria, whose light manufactures and petroleum products find their way legally and illegally into other African markets. This is partly due to the nature of West African states'

integration into the global economy as competing producers of raw materials for European markets. Other important reasons for the low level of intra-African trade include weak infrastructure, especially the comparatively feeble transport communications systems, encumbering trade policies, non-convertible currencies, high political instability, poor telecommunications networks, low worker availability and retention, poor governance structures (particularly, the lack of the rule of law, transparency, accountability, and severe corruption); and ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. The introduction of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has coincided with a growing importance of intra-African trade. Though criticized by some for reflecting similar patterns of global inequality as previous arrangements—particularly in the substitution of real partnership with impunity and dictation by one of the "partners"—NEPAD has remained the single most important instrument available for Africa's economic revitalization and recovery in the short and medium terms.

### **Relations with Global Powers and Beyond the Continent**

As with the rest of Africa, West African states have worked hard to develop and nurture their relations with non-African states, particularly Western Europe, North America, and other members of the OECD and the Commonwealth. For most, however, their flexibility and ability to shape their external relations have been severely delimited by the political and economic strictures inherited by the post-colonial state. With economies, infrastructure, and even politics that were often configured to suit the political and economic interests and policy preferences of their former Western colonizing powers, and a post-colonial international environment dominated by the West, most West African states have labored to stay relevant in the post-Cold War global politics. While some such as Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria have managed (more or less) to pursue relatively independent foreign policies, most others have struggled to extricate themselves from what appears to be lingering post-colonial influences. Perhaps the most enduring relationship between the states of the subregion and the world beyond Africa has been that of the former French colonies and France. Like many other former French colonies, francophone West African states (with the exception of Guinea) were linked to France in terms of preferential trade arrangements, military defense pacts, and monetary stability arrangements. Not surprisingly,

French influence not only remains palpable in the francophone areas but there is also a growing source of tensions and instability as occurred during 2004 in Cote d'Ivoire.

Although many of the relationships cultivated by West African states have been driven by the need to foment economic development, major global issues such as the Cold War and the latest US concern, the "war against terrorism," have also affected West African states—indeed, so much so that NATO Commander General James Jones described West Africa as "where the action is." Through various security initiatives aimed at conflict prevention and management, US and European political and military leaders have crisscrossed Africa to push collaborative military programs aimed at training and equipping African security forces. Driven by the increasingly vital and fast-emerging oil resources in the Gulf Basin states (anchored by Nigeria)—which include Angola, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tomé, and Príncipe—as well as the growing influence of rabid Moslem fundamentalism, the West African subregion has attracted renewed attention from US political and security strategists.

Western governments are particularly concerned about growing political instability and Moslem extremism in an area whose vast oil resources are increasingly important as an alternative to the even more volatile oil-producing Middle East. Nigeria, the principal oil producer and dominant political economy in the area, has been particularly hard-hit by political instability due not only to its deep societal cleavages and growing criminality, but also to interactive effects of rapid economic decline and unprecedented poverty. The ensuing political, communal, and religious violence has imposed huge costs on lost human lives and property. The recourse to the Islamic Sharia legal system in twelve of Nigeria's northern states has served to further worsen domestic tensions at both national and local levels. To some US political and military strategists, much of this has also been exacerbated by Osama bin Laden's designation of Nigeria as one of his top-priority targets. Although the poor human rights record and endemic corruption of the Nigerian government have limited direct assistance to that country, there is strong evidence of increasing prioritisation of both Nigeria and West Africa by the United States and her Western allies. Indeed, since September 11, 2001, African and US security-based partnerships have been growing. An example of these is the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI) under which military forces from Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger received specialized antiterrorism training.

Beleaguered by pervasive economic decline and high indebtedness, ethnic tensions and political instability,

new and significant threats from AIDS and narcotics, severe deterioration of infrastructure, and declining or low foreign exchange earnings, West African states have looked to Western Europe and North America for relief and development assistance as well as more balanced partnerships. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) instrument has been touted by some of its supporters as a mechanism for achieving such a relationship. Various other arrangements—such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGO) offered by the United States, the Commission for Africa by the British government, and the revised Lome Agreement with the European Community—have also been established over the recent past as potentially effective mechanisms for enabling these countries to break the cycle of underdevelopment and poverty. For instance, under the Lome IV Agreement regime, Europe would provide general trade and aid benefits to African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries through negotiated differential relationships with these countries. As part of the negotiations in pursuit of the proposed Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the European Community, West African states adopted a six-point plan in their August 4, 2004, meeting in Accra, which outlines the subregion's medium- and short-term ambitions:

- The progressive establishment, in accordance with WTO rules, of a free trade zone between ECOWAS and the European Community for a period of twelve years, starting January 1, 2008;
- The need to accord priority to development and poverty reduction;
- Cooperation in trade-related matters;
- Deepening of the integration process in West Africa;
- Enhancement of competitiveness: capacity building and upgrading; and
- Improved access for West African exports to the EU market.

Despite these lofty goals, some critics maintain that the new thinking on aid to the poorer regions of the world continues to miss the point on what is actually needed by these states to achieve effective transformative development. As such, they insist that the self-styled Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)—reciprocal free-trade agreements due to come into effect by 2008—are unlikely to provide the palliative needed for the transformation of West Africa's weak economies. Indeed, under the current negotiation framework, which split the ACP states into six regional groupings, West Africa is forced to negotiate its own unique relationship with Europe—thereby further weakening the putative collective bargaining strength they had as part of the ACP. There are growing

concerns that the EPAs will actually further open European investment and trade access into African markets in areas that these countries had resisted vigorously during the 2003 World Trade Organization negotiations.

Also important for many West African states are their relations with international financial and trading institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization. In the two decades between 1985 and 2005, virtually all of the states in the subregion have come under the economic reform programs pushed by these institutions.

While West African external economic relations have been dominated by their interactions with Western Europe and North America, the subregion also enjoys important economic relationships with East Asian, Southeast Asian, South Asian, and Latin American states. Indeed, economic relations with countries such as Japan, China, Brazil, and Malaysia have grown in significance over the past two decades. All that notwithstanding, West Africa states have strong and long-standing political or cultural relationships with states of the global South including East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the Caribbean. The collaborative political processes date back not only to the liberation struggles during the colonial era, but also to the early post-colonial period with the Group of 77 and the Nonaligned Movement.

### West Africa's International Relations: Prospects for the Future

Generally, ECOWAS has failed to live up to expectations. The member states have been fraught with internal problems such as political instability, pervasive mismanagement and corruption, human rights abuses, lack of transparency and accountability, a culture of leadership impunity, and the suffocation of civil society. Weakened by these internal as well as many other external factors, ECOWAS has generally struggled for relevance and effectiveness due to the absence of adequate commitment on the part of the political leadership. Despite a growing appearance of commitment at the turn of the twenty-first century, many of its integration schemes have remained rhetorical and administrative chimeras. The net effect of these problems and failures has been palpable increases in poverty, criminality, prostitution, corruption, waste, disease, environmental decay, and societal ills and conflict. Indeed, it is an objective fact that

most West African states (including Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone) actually regressed in terms of their per capita income and quality of life during the last two decades of the twentieth century.

All that notwithstanding, West Africa (through ECOWAS and the embryonic African Union) continues to represent one of Africa's most promising prospects for transformative development. The end of the Cold War ushered in a new era in West African relations with the world beyond the African continent. Although significant and steady economic decline of the late 1970s and 1980s had brought about demands for significant institutional and structural changes through much of the continent, the post-Cold War political climate served not only to intensify the domestic pressures, but also to remove external political support and protection for non-performing governments. The combined net effect was a dramatic shift in the formal, official attitude within the subregion toward conflict management and resolution, economic growth, development, and political liberalization and democracy.

UFO OKEKE UZODIKE

**See also Benin; Burkina Faso; Cameroon; Cote d'Ivoire; Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Ethnic Conflicts: West Africa; Gambia, The; Ghana; Guinea; Guinea-Bissau; Liberia; Mali; Mauritania; Niger; Nigeria; Senegal; Sierra Leone; Togo; West Africa: History and Economic Development; West African Monetary Union (WAMU)**

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## WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION (WAEMU)

(See *West African Monetary Union [WAMU]*)

## WEST AFRICAN MONETARY UNION (WAMU)

### Origins

The West African Monetary Union (WAMU), now called the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), was created by the Dakar Treaty of January 10, 1994, which formally came into effect on August 1, 1994. Comprising eight francophone countries in West Africa—Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo—WAEMU has its origins in 1895, when France, the colonial power, decided for administrative purposes to centralize the administration of its colonies in West Africa. The administrative capital chosen was Dakar, Senegal. A more defining characteristic of this consolidation was the introduction in 1945 of a common currency for all the countries in the zone, the *Franc de la Communauté Financière d'Afrique* (The Franc of the African Financial Community or the CFA Franc). The CFA was and still is backed by the French treasury and linked to the French franc at a fixed rate of exchange. Over the years, the CFA has gone through several bouts of devaluation. It was after the last devaluation, on January 10, 1994, that the countries in the group decided to transform what was then essentially a currency area to a monetary union—the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU).

The objectives as spelled out in the charter are:

1. To reinforce the competitiveness of the economic and financial activities of Member States in the context of an open and rival market and a rationalized and harmonized juridical environment;
2. To ensure the convergence of the macroeconomic performances and policies within the institution of a multilateral control procedure; and
3. To create a common market, based on the free circulation of people, goods and services, and capital.

Members of the union have a common central bank, Central Bank of the West African States (BCEAO), headquartered in Dakar, Senegal, which has the sole right to issue currency for the member states. The administrative structure of the union is as follows:

- The Conference of Heads of States;
- The Council of Ministers;
- The Banking Commission; and
- The Savings and Financial Markets Regional Council.

### *The Conference of Heads of State*

As the name implies, the Conference of Heads of State is the “supreme authority of the Union.” It decides on additions to the Union; settles issues referred to it by the Council of Ministers; and as the supreme authority, has the final say on all matters. It meets at least once a year in ordinary sessions and as often as necessary in extraordinary sessions.

### *The Council of Ministers*

The Council of Ministers acts as the executive arm of the Union. Each member country sends two ministers to the Council but only one of them votes. It is responsible for defining “the monetary and credit policy of the Union in order to safeguard the value of the common currency (CFA).” It also provides financing for the activities and development of the states of the Union. It deliberates on all matters affecting the union as outlined in the Treaty establishing the Union.

### *The Banking Commission*

The Banking Commission is at the center of the banking system of the Union. It came into force on October 1, 1990, with the express goal of restructuring

## WEST AFRICAN MONETARY UNION (WAMU)

the banking system and providing the conditions for uniformity and good-quality banking in the member states. Among the functions of the Commission are the following:

1. Off- and on-site inspection of banks and financial institutions;
2. Expression of views on the requests for authorization submitted by banks and financial institutions;
3. Taking of administrative measures when applicable provisions are not respected; and
4. Disciplinary sanctions according to the gravity of the infraction committed.

The Commission prepares Annual Reports on the banking conditions of the Union. It has a permanent secretariat comprising the officers of its common central bank, the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO).

### *The Savings and Financial Markets Regional Council*

The Savings and Financial Markets Regional Council is the second arm in the goal of developing and integrating the economies of the Union through common financial and capital markets. The first arm is The Banking Commission/Central Bank. When in December 1993 the Council of Ministers decided to create the second arm, a Regional Financial Exchange, the task was delegated to the Central Bank (BCEAO), which recommended the creation of two entities under the Regional Financial Exchange structure, namely:

- The Regional Council for (Public) Savings and Financial Markets
- The Securities Exchange (*Bourse Régionale des Valeurs Mobilières*—BRVM)

The Regional Council for Savings and Financial Markets is a public institution with the goal of overseeing the Securities Exchange and representing the general interest of the public. The Securities Exchange is a private entity but the member states own minority shares.

### **Successes**

There is no doubt that within the context of the African continent, WAEMU and its sister organization, the Central African Economic and Monetary Union (CAEMU), have already succeeded beyond any comparable measure. The harmonization of monetary and

fiscal policies among the eight countries that make up the union is very notable. Through its central bank, BCEAO, the WAEMU has been an active participant in reforming insurance, business law, and the mobilization of savings in the region. The use of a common currency has made trade among the countries easier and may thus be responsible for some modest amount of economic growth and integration. The establishment of a common securities exchange to mobilize savings and foster economic development is a laudable goal. The union has also often spoken with one voice in international fora on matters of common interest.

### **The Future and Its Challenges**

Even as the WAEMU has become stronger over the years, there is little disagreement about the fact that this strength came from the special relationship the countries have with France and the fact that the French franc has been the anchor for the CFA franc. With Europe (and France) moving to a common currency, the *euro*, it remains to be seen whether WAEMU can survive in the new environment. Furthermore, as the rest of mostly anglophone West Africa (Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone) move toward forming their own common currency area, it will be interesting to speculate on what could happen to the older WAEMU. Would the two currency areas merge into a one strong economic and monetary union, or would they compete? If they do compete, how would the smaller WAEMU fare against a more populous, economically bigger opponent? Or perhaps the WAEMU will seek to forge closer ties with its sister, the CAEMU. These are some of the challenges ahead for the WAEMU.

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**See also West Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: International Relations**

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*West African Monetary Union (WAMU)* <http://www.bceao.int/internet/bcweb.nsf/English.htm>

## WHITE COMMUNITY IN AFRICA

There has been long-standing European contact with Africa's northern coastline but a European presence south of the Sahara only emerged in the fifteenth century when Portugal established a sea trading route to India. The Portuguese transformed the economies of the Atlantic region by initiating the Atlantic slave trade from their trading forts and small colonies of slave traders along the African coast. These colonies of white slave traders along Africa's Atlantic coast used African agents to supply them with human beings who were shipped to Brazil and Portugal as slaves. An Atlantic trading system was built in which Africa was tied to Europe and the Americas. Portuguese penetration of the Indian Ocean had the effect of disrupting the old Muslim trading and slaving system. This precipitated a period of economic decline and decay along the East African coast because the Portuguese failed to rebuild an East African trading system equivalent to the one they had disrupted. Portuguese power was generally limited to gunshot range from their forts and only two small Portuguese colonies were planted in Africa, namely, in Angola and Mozambique. But the Portuguese made a significant cultural impact upon Africa by introducing new crops from South America, including maize, cassava, and groundnuts. These crops altered the African staple diet.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch, Danes, French, and British copied the Portuguese slaving model when establishing themselves in Africa. During this slaving period, whites were largely confined to a few forts along the Atlantic coast. The one exception to the rule was the creation by the Dutch of the Cape Colony in 1652. Africa's first significant white community was established at Cape Town to produce food for Dutch ships trading with the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). An agricultural sector producing wheat, fruit, vegetables, and wine was established in the southwestern Cape, built upon a settlement of Dutch and German “free burgers” and the importation of slaves from Indonesia, Madagascar, and Africa. In the last years of the seventeenth century, French Huguenot refugees joined the Dutch and German settlers in the expanding Cape Colony. During the early eighteenth century these Dutch-French-German settlers began calling themselves “Afrikaners” (Africans) during a rebellion against Dutch rule. In the process of indigenising

themselves to Africa, they developed a new language called Afrikaans. Despite attempts by the Dutch authorities to restrict white colonization to the immediate vicinity of Cape Town, Afrikaners began pushing inland as *trekboers* (“migrating farmers”). The Khoi-San inhabitants of southwestern Africa were conquered and assimilated into the “coloured” group of mixed-race Afrikaans-speaking labourers. The *trekboers* adopted pastoralism (borrowing from African pastoral practices) as white settlements dispersed across the interior and effectively slipped beyond the control of Dutch authorities. By the mid-nineteenth century these Afrikaners had established white communities (and “Boer” states) as far inland as the Limpopo River. This inland white community became substantively cut off from contact with other Europeans and its socioeconomic and political practices became partially Africanized through a process of interaction and conflict with surrounding African tribes. A different sort of white community evolved around Cape Town based upon plantation agriculture (deploying slave labour up until 1833), and remaining connected to the European trading system.

## The Three Types of White African Community

During the nineteenth century, Africa was divided up amongst European colonial powers, which led to three different forms of white community evolving in Africa over the next 150 years.

Firstly, small outposts of *white colonial administrators* (British, French, Belgian, Portuguese, and German) proliferated across Africa. The colonial administrators were never settlers. Instead they were transient functionaries of a foreign imperial machine, transferred to Africa as bureaucrats, magistrates, soldiers, and policemen in order to coerce and administer “the natives,” or to run the plantations and mines. They returned “home” to Europe at the end of their tours of duty. These colonial administrators were always few in number (in places like Nigeria, Gold Coast, French West Africa, Tanganyika, and Uganda) and always remained culturally aloof and detached from the imperial possessions they administered. White colonial administrators congregated in small colonies in the administrative capitals, but most were dispersed to the rural “district commissioner” offices across rural Africa.

Secondly, *white colonists* settled in some African countries during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These colonies never attracted the large numbers of settlers seen in North America and Australasia.



Instead, white colonists tended to be dispatched to quite localized geographical areas deemed suitable for European settlement by the colonial authorities. Within these colonial possessions, white settlers became politically and economically dominant and used their power to force black and Arab populations into subservient relationships. By the mid-twentieth century, five colonial possessions contained white settler communities sizeable enough to offer resistance to the decolonisation process.

Algeria's white community of over 1 million French colons (settlers) emerged during the French colonial period (1830–1962). The first white colons arrived in the 1830s–1840s but the largest wave of settlers migrated between 1870 and 1900, mostly from France. However, large numbers of Italians, Spaniards, Maltese, and Jews were also assimilated into the Algerian white community. The colons reproduced a southern European-type agriculture (producing wheat, olives, and grapes) on fertile coastal land conquered from the Arabs. This colon community saw itself as an integral part of France—an extension of the mother country on the other side of the Mediterranean.

Angola's white community of 250,000 Portuguese grew only toward the end of the colonial period, in the 1960s, when the Salazar government launched settlement schemes to transfer Portuguese peasants and unemployed urban workers to Angola to relieve economic pressures in Portugal and to try and strengthen imperial control of Angola. Under Salazar, an extraction and plantation economy dominated by the white settlers emerged in the western parts of Angola. The white community in Portugal's other major African colony, Mozambique, never grew to the same extent as Angola's, there being only 65,000 whites in Mozambique at independence.

Rhodesia's (Zimbabwe) white community of 250,000 was largely Anglo but with a significant Afrikaner minority. White settlement began with the arrival of Anglo South Africans in the 1890 "Pioneer column." Later, Afrikaners, migrating to escape poverty after their defeat in the Boer War, became farmers in the "white highveld" area. But the largest influx of white settlers arrived from a war-ravaged Britain after World War II. They settled overwhelmingly in urban areas where they built a commercial and industrial economy based upon exploiting cheap black labour.

Kenya's white community of seventy thousand was numerically dominated by British settlers. Kenya's white community was born in 1903 when the British colonial government recruited Anglo South Africans as settlers. They were followed by a wave of post-Boer War Afrikaner migrants. Then after World War I, a government-run soldier resettlement scheme initiated a wave of British settlement during the 1920s.

Kenya's white community created a plantation economy on the "white highlands" west of Nairobi, which was built upon the exploitation of cheap black labour.

South West Africa/SWA's (Namibia) white community of 75,000 are mostly Afrikaners, although some Germans remain from the German colonial period (1884–1914). The largest wave of Afrikaner settlers arrived in the 1920s when the new South African colonial masters of SWA worked with the Portuguese authorities to transfer a community of Afrikaners out of southern Angola and into northern SWA where they established a pastoral industry based on cheap black labour. Between 1949 and 1990 SWA effectively became another South African province and the SWA white community became merely an extension of the wider South African white community—SWA whites elected representatives directly to the South African Parliament and SWA became enmeshed in the wider South African economy.

The third form of white community in Africa was called "colonialism of a special type" or "internal colonialism" by Slovo (1985). This refers to the way an *indigenised white community* emerged in South Africa that had no European "motherland" to which it could retreat in the post-colonial era. This community attempted to segregate itself from black Africans through the policy of apartheid.

The South African white community, numbering over 5 million by 1990, developed a number of characteristics seen in no other white community in Africa. Most significantly, South African whites indigenised themselves—coming to see themselves as Africans rather than as European colonials in Africa. This community developed its own cultural forms, which although derivative of northwest European forms, became autonomous and distinctively "South African." The South African white community also developed some unique internal divisions associated with a conflict between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking whites. South Africa's Anglo community was born of British settlement schemes (in the 1820s, 1850s, and after the Boer War) and from major nineteenth-century migrant waves generated by diamond and gold rushes that attracted settlers from Britain, Ireland, the United States, Germany, and Australia. The Witwatersrand gold rush precipitated the Boer War, which generated long-standing animosity between the Anglo and Afrikaner communities. Another unique feature of the South African white community was that, unlike other white African communities, this community included members occupying a wide array of socioeconomic status positions, including a "poor white" *lumpenproletariat*, a working class, a middle class, a professional class, and a business-capitalist

class. Significantly, white South Africans are the only Africans to have produced an indigenous capitalist class—which consequently transformed Johannesburg into an autonomous sub-metropole of capitalism. Further, following the Second World War, white South Africans created Africa's most extensive industrial complex (built upon the exploitation of cheap black labour). In consequence, by the end of the twentieth century, 90% of white South Africans were urbanized. The South African white population is also a highly multicultural community, containing (in addition to Afrikaners and Anglos) large sub-cultures of Portuguese-speakers, Jews, Greeks, Italians, and Germans.

The white South African community has given birth to a number of small offshoot communities in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, and Swaziland.

### **Africa's White Communities Following Decolonization**

The 1950s–1960s saw the British, French, and Belgian Empires dismantled in Africa. The notion of decolonization met with some resistance in those African territories containing sizeable white communities because these communities feared for their fate under governments dominated by black Africans or Arabs. In consequence, armed conflicts broke out in these territories.

Algeria was the first African state to experience the outbreak of a guerrilla war aimed at overthrowing the colonial order. A war waged by Algerian nationalists from 1954 to 1962 saw bombs planted in the cities, colon farms attacked, and French schools burned down. It was a conflict that destabilized not only Algeria, but the French state itself. The colons tried to convince the French government to retain control of Algeria and continue to fight the nationalist guerrillas, but in 1962 France granted independence to Algeria. This precipitated a massive exodus of white colons from Algeria, many of whom moved to Corsica.

In 1951 Kenyan black nationalists launched a guerrilla struggle when white colonials in Kenya blocked an extension of black political influence. Between 1951 and 1960 a struggle aimed at overturning the Kenyan colonial order was led by the Mau Mau. Although the British army eventually triumphed over the Mau Mau guerrillas, the British thereafter opted to negotiate with the black nationalists concerning their demands and in 1963 granted independence to Kenya. As a result, many of Kenya's white community migrated to Britain, South Africa, or Australia.

Portugal refused to participate in the 1960s decolonization process. Consequently, they soon faced guerrilla struggles—beginning in Angola in 1961, followed by Portuguese Guinea in 1963, and Mozambique in 1964. These guerrilla struggles eventually led to a revolution in which the Portuguese armed forces overthrew the Lisbon government in order to end the wars. When Angola and Mozambique were granted their independence in 1975, most of the white population of these countries fled to Portugal or South Africa.

The white community in Rhodesia unilaterally declared itself independent from Britain in 1965 when it became clear the British government was not prepared to accept the continuance of white rule in Rhodesia. From 1967 the Rhodesians faced an escalating guerrilla struggle aimed at ending white rule. By 1980 the Rhodesians were beaten and Zimbabwe gained its independence. Two-thirds of Rhodesia's white community migrated to South Africa, Britain, or Australia.

In 1966 a guerrilla war was launched in Namibia aimed at ending South African control of that territory. The resultant struggle grew into a major South African-Angolan-Cuban-Namibian war during the 1980s, which became very costly for the South Africans. Namibia was granted its independence in 1990 following negotiations to end the Angolan war. No significant exodus of Namibia's white community appears to have taken place.

During the 1980s an intense anti-apartheid struggle was waged within South Africa. This led to a new constitution being negotiated that ended white rule and brought to power the first black-dominated government in 1994. Post-1994 socioeconomic changes triggered an exodus of sections of the South African white community (especially Anglos) to Britain, Australia, the United States, Canada, and New Zealand, and an internal migration of whites to the Western Cape.

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**See also Apartheid; Namibia; South Africa; Southern Africa: History and Economic Development; West Africa: History and Economic Development**

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## WILDLIFE PRESERVATION

The future of human civilization will be greatly affected by its capacity to preserve endangered species and their habitats. The variety of life on earth, ranging from mammals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians to insects, has been pushed to the brink of extinction. Conserving living resources and diverse life forms on earth is critical to human well-being not only because of their intrinsic and aesthetic worth but also because of tangible economic values derived from their proper management. In response to a growing recognition of the issue, international initiatives have been taken, since the early 1970s, to develop mechanisms for viable and sustainable conservation and use of wildlife resources and habitat.

### Species Extinction

According to various estimates, our planet has been home to as many as 500 million kinds of plants, animals, and microorganisms. Some scientific research suggests that today the world contains 10–80 million species, and approximately 420 to 490 million species are estimated to have been terminated. Careful scientific examination of ecosystem destruction indicates that as many as one hundred species are driven to extinction each day with an astounding annual number of thirty-six thousand species. These species are dying up to one thousand times faster than their natural rate of extinction. This alarming rate of extinction is specifically induced by a variety of human influences.

Destroying or significantly changing just one part of interdependent relationships among species harms the entire ecosystem. The extinction of one species is followed by the elimination of other species that

depended on it, since many species have developed complex mutual relationships with each other through their evolutionary processes. The destruction of the rainforests, containing approximately half of the earth's species, illustrates this intricate relationship. Each fallen tree brings down ten to thirty other species with it, including monkeys, sloths, birds, and rare orchids. Also gone are amphibians like poison dart frogs, which dwelled on the microhabitat of moss- and fungi-blanketed branches. The ground-level land is now stripped of vegetation full of microscopic bacteria and fungi, and soil becomes hard and infertile.

The destruction of a vast track of a tropical rain forest is completed after leaving only one small island of rain forest. Some species may manage to survive devastation and flee to the remaining patch of an undisturbed forest. In a tiny refugee patch overcrowded by huge immigration, food and shelter scarcity becomes severe with the increased number of species. The conversion of a large habitat to isolated islands reduces the interior of each forest patch and is inhospitable since many species cannot simply breed in small patches of forest. Species have evolved to avoid competing with one another within the same habitat. When species adapted to different ecosystems are cast together, intense competition in the pursuit of food and other scarce resources can result in species extinction.

### Values

Human species are a dependent part of the delicate ecological balance, and our own existence relies on millions of life forms. The loss of species has long-term, cumulative effects for ecosystem stability with consequences that undermine conditions for our survival. The health of larger ecological communities is maintained by a variety of functions performed by all species. Ecosystems recycle the chemical elements that make up soils and atmosphere. Nutrient cycling involves actions of all life forms (plants as the base of the food chain, animals as the consumers of plants, and decomposers such as bacteria). Whereas plants produce protein and sugars in the form of leaves and fruits to be consumed by insects and birds, their clients help their reproduction by pollinating flowers.

Biological resources have been used for supplying food, pharmaceuticals, and other physical needs for humans. The economic benefits provided by our fellow species are astronomical; the origins of hundreds of products used every day are traced back to wild species. A large percentage of the world's medicines are derived directly or indirectly from wild plants and animals. Wild species with millions of years of

evolution can help human society meet the unknown challenges of the present and future generations with scientific information that could be of great practical value. Each vanishing species can mean the loss of an opportunity to expand the breadth of human potential.

In addition, wildlife and their habitat provide a rich aesthetic resource separated from their consumptive uses. Human attitudes toward wildlife have changed with the decline in tribal cultures and religions that respect the ecosystem's own needs, intrinsic values, cycles, and energies. Recognizing other organisms' right to live and preserving endangered plants and animals are ethical issues, especially with human acquisition of the means to destroy the world. Our life is spiritually enriched by the sight of a swan nudging her offspring to swim; the lumbering grizzly bear on a grassy meadow; the graceful dive of the humpback whale; and the power of an elephant.

## Causes of Extinction

Many species are vanishing at an unprecedented rate due to habitat destruction, fragmentation or alteration, introduction of alien species, hunting, and deliberate extermination. In particular, habitat loss ranks as the leading cause of extinction and remains as the greatest long-term threat to many endangered species. When tropical rain forests, coral reefs, and wetlands are reduced, the existence of species living in the habitat is seriously challenged. Once forests, wetlands, rivers, islands, or grasslands are rendered inhospitable to the inhabitants, the progression toward species extinction proves difficult to reverse, since this has serious ripple effects with the loss of resources that many species depend on for their survival.

Natural habitats are destroyed by large-scale agriculture, cattle ranching, logging, home building, hydroelectric dams, oil extraction, and mining operations. A large number of landless poor people in Brazil and other developing countries are encouraged to convert natural areas to farms by their governments. Logging demands destroy forest habitats that are home to countless rare wildlife species, and local agriculture sucks watersheds dry. There are also multiple threats to migration with the destruction of summer and winter habitats and the resting spots in between.

Migration routes are either blocked or made difficult by human land use patterns. For example, Caribou in Arctic Canada face loss of their summer grazing tundra lands to oil drilling and pipeline installation; coniferous forests farther south used for their winter home are lost to the lumber industry.

A consistent decline in the population of migratory songbirds is attributed to the transformation of their summer habitats into suburbia, and the conversion of their winter habitat in Central America is lost to plantations. Habitat fragmentation limits availability of nesting sites and reduces food resources.

Massive species extinction can also be attributed to climatic change, water pollution, and atmospheric contamination. The vanishing sea ice in the Arctic marine ecosystem, affected by changes in the global climate patterns, threatens the very survival of the polar bear. The essential habitat of countless birds, marshes, and wetlands for aquatic life will be permanently flooded due to global warming. Unfavorable conditions for the survival of wild species are created by emissions of contaminants affecting air and wild land. Poisoning by DDT and other pesticides has taken a huge toll on the populations of eagles, peregrine falcon, brown pelicans, the California condor, and other types of wildlife.

The introduction of alien species into new territories, intentional or accidental, brings native species into extinction. In particular, islands are vulnerable to foreign species. This is illustrated by the extinction of 90% of all bird species in Hawaii following the influx of domestic animals that came with massive human settlement. In New Zealand, more than half the native birds faced a similar fate.

Increased hunting, fishing, and other natural resource exploitation threaten already stressed ecosystems. The world's fishery stocks have been heavily depleted by commercial fishing equipped with motorized boats and trawl nets. Commercial hunting is systematically putting many currently threatened species at further risk. The Asian medicine trade preys on bears for their gall bladders, tigers for their bones, and rhinos for their horns. The African continent's wild population of northern white rhinoceroses has declined from more than two thousand in the 1980s to a few left in Garamba National Park in the Congo. Many of the rhinoceroses in Africa have been slaughtered by poachers engaged in smuggling the horns to Asia to be sold for coveted medicinal properties.

In Virunga National Park on the eastern border of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the number of hippopotamuses was reduced from 29,000 in the early 1970s to 1,300 in 2003. The alarming number of hippos was killed to meet an increasing demand for hippo canine teeth in the illegal ivory trade. Smuggling rare, protected species generates increased profits, and international illegal wildlife trade becomes a lucrative business with stakes of 10 billion dollars a year. Wildlife trade has resulted, in particular, in a drastic decline in elephants, bears, gorillas, rhinos, tigers, jaguars, and cheetahs.

The elephant is expected to be close to extinction in many parts of Africa in the near future due to poaching and other systematic killings. Five hundred years ago, 10 million elephants populated Africa's forests and savannas. The elephant population dropped drastically, by nearly 50%, from an estimated 1.3 million in 1979 to 625,000 in 1989. The dramatic drop in the elephant population is attributed to the ivory trade, as the demand for ivory encourages the illegal poaching of the African elephant.

Whale hunting is another widely known example. One species after another were hunted down to the brink of extinction before commercial whaling was significantly reduced by the International Whaling Commission's regulations. In order to keep their whaling industry alive, however, Japan, Norway, and Iceland continue to harm whales under the guise of scientific research despite the international ban. Both Japan and Norway plan even to increase the number of whales to be hunted, ignoring international pressure. Japan expects to increase the number of whales killed per year from 260 to 380 in the Northern Pacific Ocean and from 50 to 120 along the Japanese coast on top of 400 whales in the Antarctic Ocean. Norway's parliament has called for a threefold increase in whale hunting. Encouraged by these examples, Iceland restarted its whaling industry in 2003 in a celebratory mood after a fourteen-year hiatus.

The world's current economic system does not value diverse biological resources. Wildlife is not given a high priority on the agendas of many states in the same way that oil or other mineral resources are. Expanding economic demand for more natural resources exposes many species to the spiral toward extinction. Profit-craving corporations and government development projects are responsible for the disappearance of huge natural areas.

### Strategies for Preservation

Traditional conservation efforts focus on the species level through devotion of resources to the maintenance of individual species under pressure for the most imminent danger of extinction. Given insufficient knowledge and resources, only a tiny proportion of the world's endangered species can be adequately surveyed, and far less will benefit from the recovery plans. The allocation of scarce resources to the conservation of a small number of high-profile or priority species may not overall prove the most efficient, because this approach does not benefit any other species under threat. Where diversity is unquantifiable with unnamed species, large areas of habitats have to be

protected. All of the species will have a better chance of survival if an entire ecological community is left intact.

The goal of conservation must be widened to embrace species everywhere because the maintenance of a complicated web of mutually dependent relationships is important to the survival of many species. Diversity within and between species is critical to the balance of the ecological complexes. Genetic variation is necessary even at the smallest level of the population in order to evolve or to adapt to changes in the environment.

At the same time, the conservation of biodiversity can be considered at different levels (such as the genetic, ecosystem, and landscape) with each level supporting the next. Ecosystem-level conservation action needs to be based on the notion that the web of mutually beneficial interactions between different life forms is woven by species living in a particular ecosystem. Methods of maintaining ecological integrity can be designed to enhance the ability of ecosystems to cope with stress and build their self-organizational capacities.

The stability of a wildlife species population is affected by the extent to which the habitat supplies the needs of that species in the complex natural communities. Dramatic changes in a physical or organic environment can have a long-range impact on species relationships. The least possible degradation for wilderness is to preserve naturalness with a lack of visible human activities. A natural process has to be allowed, to the greatest extent possible, so as to not disturb natural distributions and interactions of indigenous species of wildlife.

The long-term challenge of preventing species from becoming endangered is to protect natural habitat. The Serengeti National Park in Tanzania, the Galapagos Islands in Ecuador, and Manas Wildlife Sanctuary in India, all designated as UN World Heritage Sites, contain significant natural habitats for conserving biodiversity. To maintain representative ecosystems or important habitat types, a network of protected areas can be designated through controls on land use. In some Latin American countries, part of the rain forest was turned over to indigenous people who wanted to maintain sustainable living as common lands. Land management plans have been consolidated to maintain a critical wildlife habitat in the biologically diverse Central Andean region that is under threat from unregulated logging, poorly planned road construction, and infrastructure development. About 10% of Suriname's entire land territory was designated as a Nature Preserve. In Venezuela, a permanent title to a region of the forest, similar in size to Austria, was transferred to a native tribe.

The emerging consensus is that the larger the reserved areas, the better for conserving species. Many species need a vast range for hunting or grazing or migrate to seek their favorite weather patterns outside the borders of reserved areas. In small islands of habitats, populations are reduced below the levels that are critical to successful reproduction. A small population of Asian tigers and African lions in widely separated national parks is vulnerable to infectious disease, as exemplified by the death of one-third of the lions in the Serengeti from a viral infection in 1994.

The traditional strategy for safeguarding tigers, jaguars, cheetahs, and snow leopards in wildlife reserves was not effective for the reason that they hunt their prey over vast stretches of land. For instance, cheetahs in southern Africa traverse across six hundred square miles, and tigers in the Russian Far East reign over four hundred square miles. Even large parks would not be able to contain the fiercely territorial creatures, and they have been increasingly gunned down or poisoned by farmers, loggers, and poachers, especially when these creatures roam outside a wildlife reserve.

Since many preserved areas are too small to support all the species they shelter, establishing buffer zones and connecting corridors are essential for wide-ranging species. Reserved natural habitats can be further protected with the establishment of buffer zones and restriction of such human activity as timber cutting or cattle grazing. A strip of land can be set aside as the wildlife corridor to connect isolated patches of habitat for animals trapped in small habitat fragments by human settlement.

Mixed landscapes allow movements of species from core protected areas through land shared with humans such as tea plantations in India. In collaboration with the Indian and Nepali governments, Save the Tiger, and other groups, the World Wildlife Fund launched the Terai Arc Landscape Program in 2001 in order to turn eleven isolated preserves into one continuous, functioning ecosystem inhabited by tigers, elephants, rhinos, and deer. The World Conservation Society proposed a two thousand-mile-long chain of public and private lands needed to link the disparate populations of jaguars in the Americas. The proposed link extending from Mexico through Central America to northern Argentina would be able to save jaguar populations that lost their habitat to logging and ranching.

## **Resolving Human/Wildlife Conflict**

In many areas of the world with rapidly growing human populations and expanding economies, designing

practical solutions to resolve human/wildlife conflict is a top priority. Human/wildlife conflicts create difficulties for protecting a large number of threatened endemic species of wildlife. Wild species are often unfairly blamed for the destruction of agricultural lands and even food shortages as well as loss of human life. Natural habitat loss has been the main reason for the encroachment of zebras and other wild herbivores along with their predators such as lions on pasture lands for domestic livestock.

Wildlife, especially in densely populated parts of the world, is under extreme threat, largely because protected areas have become too small to meet the ecological needs of the animals. Elephant ranges have contracted with the extended use of forests and lands that were designated unsuitable even for agriculture as well as the rapid human population growth. Damage to crops is often caused by the expansion of human activities near or into elephant habitats or migration corridors.

Elephants invariably lose conflicts with the destruction and degradation of large areas of habitats. Hundreds of elephants are killed each year in Sri Lanka because they enter agricultural land. Kenya has been trying to mitigate conflict arising from elephant destruction of agricultural lands by moving four hundred elephants to a more suitable habitat. Although the project is innovative, it faces such challenges as insufficient space in designated reserve areas and costs involved in translocation of these huge creatures. To save elephants would require managing them across landscapes.

Human/wildlife conflict can be managed by the optimal use of land. By realizing the benefit from living harmoniously with their wild neighbors, local residents can become partners. A non-destructive economic role can be fashioned in integrating local people's needs. Saving threatened species from extinction requires collaborative projects with local scientists and educators as well as villagers and the park administration.

In collaboration with local communities in Kenya, the American Wildlife Foundation has been trying to identify key habitats for migratory wildlife and critical zones for human economic activities. Conservation priorities were determined based on the patterns of elephant movements in relation to the location of water and vegetation. This information is used to manage the daily occurrence of wildlife/human conflict with changes in land use patterns.

Trees or tall thatch grass can be used as cover by tigers prior to being harvested. The recovery of forests and grasslands brings back wild pigs, deer, and other tiger prey, reducing disturbance to farmers. In Southern Nepal's Bagmara Forest, locals directly benefit

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from the return of tigers, elephants, and rhinos with the growing number of tourists who come to see the wildlife. The success results from a tree nursery set up with the help of the World Wildlife Fund and the King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation.

### National Parks

Granting reserve status would be more effective before any massive deforestation. National parks and reserves should be large enough to ensure the conservation of important ecosystems on adjacent land. An alarming decline in the number of species is reported in all national parks but the largest ones; this is largely related to insufficient space for all the inhabitants.

Setting aside larger areas for protection in developing countries may not be politically and economically feasible without the financial support of developed countries. The deforestation of the Virunga Volcano ecosystem by Rwandan farmers in the early part of 2004 destroyed mountain gorilla habitats that had been preserved over the past thirty years. Outside support is needed to protect Virunga National Park, which supports over half of the world's seven hundred mountain gorillas.

Some national parks, in particular, with pristine stretches of rain forests, have become one of the fastest growing tourist destinations. The government of Indonesia created a park in West Java to protect the only viable populations of Javan gibbon, leaf monkey, and a host of other endemic plants and animals. Peru's Manu National Park and Biosphere Reserve houses a variety of plant and animal life, including monkeys, reptiles, birds, and insects. As one of the largest, least touched reserves in the world, Manu offers its inhabitants ample room for sustained growth, but some species are still in danger due to human intrusion.

### International Conservation Efforts

In protecting wildlife and wild lands, expertise and funds can be poured into conservation projects, including a direct purchase and management of habitat for rare and endangered species. The World Wildlife Fund has worked with partners in the southwestern Amazon to establish protected areas and conserve natural resources, culminating in the official recognition of Manu National Park in 1973. A more recent accomplishment is the approval of a ten-year plan to create a network of protected areas almost

twice as large as any US national park with a multi-million dollar Amazon fund established by the World Wildlife Fund in 2004.

The Indonesian government recently established Tesso Nilo National Park on the island of Sumatra (originally slated for logging) in order to preserve the park's unmatched biodiversity. In support of the government's initiatives, the World Wildlife Fund has been negotiating with logging companies to increase the acreage of the new park, which is inhabited by endangered Sumatran tigers and elephants and has a plant diversity twice as high as that of the Amazon. In collaboration with Conservation International and other international and national environmental organizations, the World Wildlife Fund purchased 147,500 acres of biologically rich temperate rain forest in southern Chile's Valdivian Coastal Range. Local communities and the government were invited to develop conservation management plans and sustainable development activities.

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) compiles a Red List of Endangered Species to provide policy guidance for governments and international organizations. Expertise in wildlife research can be developed through collaboration with local academic and research institutions. The Wildlife Trust has been working with the Asian Elephant Research and Conservation Center in Bangalore, India. The activities of the National Wildlife Federation, Sierra Club, Audubon Society, and Wilderness Society are concentrated on lobbying activities in the legislative arena.

### Future Actions

Whereas worldwide efforts need to be intensified to set aside old-growth forests and other regions of biodiversity, a high population pressure has placed hundreds of thousands of wildlife species at a great risk, with a demand for further resources. The spread of human populations to natural habitats would not be slowed without control over human population growth rates through family planning services. Financial resources need to be made available to help impoverished or debt-ridden tropical countries, which contain most of the world's diverse ecosystems. Rich countries should share the cost for wildlife preservation since it is an issue of common human heritage. Developed countries can assist in capacity-building and the transfer of technology and finance.

The protection of biodiversity on public and private land needs to be mandated by more stringent environmental laws at a national level. Many programs such as the Endangered Species Act (combined with

biodiversity reserves, buffer zones, and connecting corridors) are certainly helpful for improvement in wildlife management, but they are stopgap measures. Any of these measures alone cannot be adequate enough to keep pace with burgeoning agricultural development, urbanization, and other human demands.

To live with the biological principles of sustainability demands, systematic changes are needed in the way we conduct business. The efficient utilization of resources would greatly reduce habitat destruction caused by timber harvesting and mining. Recycling minimizes our need for the consumption of more natural resources as well as the amount of pollution. Turning to renewable energy resources such as sunlight and wind could be part of the solution to global warming, acid deposition, and oil spills, which have a devastating impact on natural habitats. Long-term conservation depends upon a drastic change in human perceptions of nature.

In practicing sustainability, individual-level actions can become an essential part of the solution. A great many people live too far from ecosystems to develop any understanding of our dependence upon nature. Only a small minority in most parts of the world, such as indigenous people, maintains a sustained way of living. The challenge will remain that any measures to reduce species loss have to be tailored to the ecosystem and the local community.

HO-WON JEONG

**See also Biodiversity Conservation; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism**

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### WILLIAMS, ERIC

Dr. Eric Eustace Williams is well-known in a dual capacity: as a noted historian, and as the founding father and first Prime Minister of Trinidad and

Tobago, a position he held until his death in 1981. He ranks among the greatest Black intellectuals and statesmen of the twentieth century.

One of twelve children, Eric Williams was born in Trinidad in 1911. From 1922 to 1931 he attended the Queen's Royal College in Port of Spain. Thanks to a scholarship, he attended Oxford University between 1932 and 1939, earning a doctorate in history. His dissertation, revised and published in 1944 in the United States under the title *Capitalism and Slavery*, along with the *Negro in the Caribbean*, published two years earlier, established his reputation as a scholar. These works contained several theses, hotly debated to this day, one of which pertains to slavery and the slave trade as major sources of the capital that enabled, or at least facilitated, the launching of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. It interpreted the abolitionist movement in the United Kingdom and the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies in 1833 as largely due to economic factors. In several of his works he also argued that racism was not the cause of the Transatlantic slave trade, but rather the centuries of chattel slavery were largely responsible for the spread of racial prejudice.

After a teaching appointment as professor of social and political science at Howard University, he returned home and entered the political arena with his founding of the People's National Movement. Between 1957 and 1962 Williams devoted considerable energy to the realization of his vision of a Caribbean Federation, to include at least the English-speaking islands of the West Indies. On its collapse he led Trinidad and Tobago to independence in 1962, retaining membership in the British Commonwealth at first, but eventually achieving status as a republic in 1976. Williams remained at the helm for a quarter of a century. With his emphasis on development, especially industrial development as in the renowned Point Lisas complex, and thanks to the country's oil and gas resources, Trinidad and Tobago is the world's leading exporter of methanol and nitrogenous fertilizers and has thus been able to avoid the vicious cycle of underdevelopment. It ranks among the middle-income nations of the world.

His political activities notwithstanding, Eric Williams never ceased writing and publishing. Among over six hundred articles, speeches, pamphlets, lectures, and books, his major works include a history of the Caribbean, *From Columbus to Castro: a History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*; *British Historians and the West Indies*; *Documents of West Indian History*; and his intellectual autobiography, *Inward Hunger* (1969).

The works and political activities of Eric Williams have been the subject of several international conferences, including those at the Rockefeller Conference



and Study Center, Bellagio, Italy, in 1984; the University of the West Indies in Trinidad and Tobago in 1996; Wellesley College, Massachusetts, in 2000; and the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center in 2002. The books and papers of Dr. Eric Williams, along with memorabilia and dozens of cubic feet of relevant correspondence from a variety of sources, comprise the Eric Williams Memorial Collection at the University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago campus—the very institution he was so instrumental in bringing to fruition.

MARIO D. FENYO

**See also Caribbean: History and Economic Development; Trinidad and Tobago**

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### WOJTYŁA, KAROL (JOHN PAUL II)

On October 16, 1979, a cardinal from Kraków, Poland, Karol Józef Wojtyła (1920–2005), a poet, playwright, philosopher, scholar, and priest, was elected the 264th pope.

Karol Józef Wojtyła was born in the small town of Wadowice near Kraków in southern Poland in 1920. His youth years were marked by several deaths in the family: His mother passed away in 1929 and an older brother died when Wojtyła was twelve. After that he lived with his father in Wadowice and in Kraków until his father's death in 1941. After graduating from high school in 1938, he enrolled in the school of drama at Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Official schooling stopped during WWII when Karol Wojtyła worked in a quarry and in the Solvay chemical factory. In 1942 he began his study in the Kraków seminary. At the same time he participated in the clandestine works of the "Rhapsodic Theatre" in Krakow. After the war, Karol Wojtyła continued studies in the Kraków seminary and in the faculty of theology of Jagiellonian University. On November 1, 1946, he was ordained to the priesthood and soon after left for Rome. He obtained his doctorate in theology in 1948. His dissertation was entitled "Love and Responsibility." It laid out the foundation for what George Weigel (2001) calls "a modern

Catholic sexual ethic." For a short time after finishing his studies, Wojtyła worked with Polish emigrants in Western Europe, namely France, Belgium, and Holland, and later in 1948 he returned to Poland. In 1951 Wojtyła enrolled in the Catholic University of Lublin to study philosophy and theology and in 1953 defended his second dissertation devoted to Catholic ethics in the ethical system of Max Scheler. Later he became a professor of ethics at his alma mater.

In July 1958 Karol Wojtyła was appointed auxiliary bishop of Kraków and in 1964 an archbishop of Kraków. On June 26, 1967, he became cardinal and in October 1979 was elected the pope and took up the name John Paul II. He participated in Vatican Council II, a sweeping program of modernization of the worldwide Catholic Church, and contributed to the Constitution *Gaudium et spes*. Mehmet Ali Agca, a Turk believed to have been serving the Bulgarian intelligence service, attempted to assassinate the pope in 1981.

Wojtyła, like his mentor Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, is a skilled politician who dealt with the Communist government in a very pragmatic manner, opposing the secularization of Polish society. His papal years are often characterized as charismatic. He was the most traveled pope in history, having completed 102 visits to foreign countries since 1978. An advocate of interfaith cooperation and reconciliation, Wojtyła was the first pope to visit a synagogue and the first to visit the Holocaust Memorial at Auschwitz; he was also the first pope to visit Egypt. His foreign visits regularly gathered crowds of more than a million people. He was fluent in several languages.

Critics, however, say that John Paul's record is mixed. Although the church has expanded in Africa and Latin America, it has lost followers in the industrialized world. John Paul II's leadership of the Church is grounded in its conservative tradition. His rejection of contraception and abortion has been absolute and rigid.

Though John Paul's first two decades as pope were characterized by his vigor and energy, his health began to deteriorate. He had arthritis in his legs, which made it difficult for him to stand unassisted, and he underwent operations for the removal of a tumor, a hip replacement, and a tracheotomy. In January 2001, one of his doctors publicly acknowledged that the pontiff was suffering from Parkinson's disease. He cut back his hours and decreased his international travel, but made no indication that he would consider stepping down due to concerns for his health. Pope John Paul II finally succumbed to ill health and age on April 5, 2005, after completing the third longest reign in the history of papacy. He was succeeded by Pope Benedict XVI.

Throughout his career, John Paul was a prolific writer on philosophical and ethical issues. Among his best-known philosophy works are *The Acting Person*, a philosophical essay on phenomenology; *Fruitful and Responsible Love*; *Ethics and Morality*; and others. He addressed numerous topics, but was particularly concerned with the meaning of freedom and the dangers of materialism, selfishness, and consumerism. Despite his busy schedule and his frail health, he wrote a number of books, including *Rise, Let Us Be on Our Way*, and *Memory and Identity*. He has also written a number of plays and essays on theatre, and has released a book of poetry. He was a frequent commentator on international politics and an outspoken critic of dictatorial regimes, as well as a supporter of Poland's Solidarity movement. He was an opponent of the US-led 2003 invasion of Iraq.

LUDOMIR LOZNY

**See also Christianity; Poland; Religion; Roman Catholic Church; Solidarity Union; Wyszyński, Cardinal Stefan**

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## WOMEN: LEGAL STATUS

An increasing number of legal documents address the status of women in society, at work, and, more recently, within the family. The intention of these legal documents is to formalise and promote equality between men and women in all spheres of life by addressing issues ranging from the reconciliation between maternity and employment, to the right to vote and hold public office, to the prohibition of exploitation in a variety of different industries. In this sense, women's legal status is defined through the recognition of the rights essential for women's existence, but which need to be formally recognised in order to be protected and promoted effectively.

States define and promote women's rights in their constitutions, national laws, acts of parliament, and so forth. While the promotion of the status of women enjoys varying degrees of success worldwide, most national legal instruments do make mention of the situation of women. It is nevertheless at the international

level that the process of definition of women's legal status proves the most meaningful: while it would be impossible to describe the specificities of the hundreds of national laws dealing with women's status, the international legal framework is central to defining what are the universally recognised rights of women. The legal status of women will therefore be presented by reference to international human rights instruments at the United Nations' level. The United Nations (UN) has, from the time of its creation in 1945, recognised the need to promote gender equality and to fight against discrimination based on sex. The preamble of the first modern instrument of human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, makes it clear that "... the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women ... ." Article Two guarantees the enjoyment of the rights outlined by the Universal Declaration "without distinction of any kind, such as ... sex ... ." From then on, numerous UN treaties would reaffirm the prohibition of discrimination based on sex and promote equality between women and men.

Prior to presenting what constitutes women's legal status within the human rights framework, the challenges linked to addressing women's status within a legal and rights-based framework will be addressed. A short account of the historical evolution toward the official recognition of women's rights will be given before presenting the central instrument of women's legal status today: the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

### The Value of a Legal Approach to Women's Status

One popular refrain of the contemporary human rights discourse is that "women's rights are human rights." By proclaiming so, women's groups intend to emphasise the fact that, as human beings, women should enjoy the benefits of the protection offered by human rights in general. Because the two central principles attached to human rights are their indivisibility and universality, women should benefit from the entire apparatus of rights without having to claim it. Nevertheless, the historical and gendered construction of human rights has made obvious the necessity for women to re-characterise and reaffirm their status within the human rights discourse. Historically, women have been excluded from the elaboration, implementation, and monitoring of human rights instruments. There was a widespread failure to recognise the

need to characterise the subordination of women as a human rights violation. Similarly, the fact that women's rights should be a full part of human rights was not self-evident at the time of the creation of modern human rights law and subsequently had to be reaffirmed. The legal framework for the recognition of women's rights is also conditioned by the fact that the development of human rights law has been partial and androcentric. Women's lack of power in both private and public spheres was not taken into account when drafting the first human rights instruments. As a result, the narrow language of rights did not account for women's systemic subordination in society. Another central problem of mainstream human rights law is that it does not integrate the specificities of women's lives and identities. Mainly linked to women's reproductive functions, these specificities call for the recognition of rights linked to reproductive autonomy, motherhood, and care. For all these reasons, women's rights have been reaffirmed, within as well as alongside the human rights discourse.

A legal approach to women's status can also be said to account only partly for women's actual position. The problematic nature of defining women's status is linked to the public and private spheres divide. The latter sphere originally emerged from classical Western liberal thought. Its contemporary application means that women, who are more likely than men to be confined to the privacy of the home—that is, the private sphere—do not benefit from the protection of human rights that apply, in their traditional understanding, specifically to the public sphere. While the right of women to participate politically in their state's structure is broadly accepted, there is hostility towards their right to live free from violence or to decide how to plan their pregnancy and decide on the number of children they will have. One task for women's rights activists and feminists today, therefore, is to challenge the divide and to make human rights more relevant to the reality of women's everyday life. Defining women's legal status is purposeless if it ceases to apply once women have crossed their doorstep.

As a preliminary conclusion, one could say that defining the legal status of women is useful provided that the "rights" they are subsequently given are adapted to women's particular situations and needs.

### **Toward Recognising Women's Rights: The UN Decade on Women and International Women's Rights Conferences**

The determination of women's status in the international framework came to a turning point in 1975

when the UN General Assembly, following the proposition of the Commission on the Advancement of Women, accepted the adoption of a "programme of concerted international action for the advancement of women" to be implemented over the "UN Decade for Women." This decade was the result of an increasing consciousness of the necessity to address women's status worldwide following growing concerns over the issues of the world's food situation and population growth. Because of their reproductive role, women were identified as central actors of this debate and their status was thus brought to the front of the international human rights stage. The first worldwide women's rights conference was held in 1975 in Mexico City and it focused on the three issues of equality, development, and peace. Several women's rights institutions were created in the wake of the Mexico City conference. Five years later, in 1980, a second worldwide women's conference was held in Copenhagen, focusing on issues of equal access to education, employment opportunities, and adequate health care. The third women's conference took place in Nairobi in 1985, entitled "World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievement of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace." While the obvious conclusion of the conference was that objectives had not been reached, participants and representatives agreed that it had been a success in terms of making the women's movement more visible, in highlighting progress that needed to be made, and in creating the structures necessary for addressing their needs. What has been by far the most important women's rights conference took place in Beijing from September 4–15, 1995. The Beijing conference was important in part because it brought together a very high number of women's organisations from all over the world. The "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action for Equality, Development and Peace" was adopted at the end of the conference. It sets out clear objectives and identifies twelve critical areas of concern for women: poverty, education and training, health, violence against women, armed conflicts, the economy, power and decision making, institutional mechanisms, human rights, the media, the environment, and the girl-child. The review of the Beijing Platform for action was organised five years later through a special session of the UN General Assembly. At the so-called "Beijing + 5," further areas of concerns were identified. Parallel to these developments, the women's movement in civil society was also gaining significant momentum. The "Beijing + 5" session closed with the adoption of a document entitled "Further Actions and Initiatives to Implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action." The next review process will be "Beijing + 10" in 2005.

## The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women—An Overview

### *Adoption of CEDAW*

The most important international instrument for defining women's legal status is the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW was adopted in 1979 and entered into force on September 3, 1981, after twenty countries had ratified it. On March 26, 2004, CEDAW had 98 signatories and 177 ratifications, making it the second most widely ratified UN instrument. It is the first instrument that brings together different categories of rights relevant to women; prior to CEDAW, the only instruments available were topic-oriented conventions adopted by the Commission on the Status of Women. CEDAW is innovative in that it brings together rights already recognised with newly identified ones, such as family planning and reproductive rights (article 12). CEDAW also addresses issues of culture and tradition in order to make clear that such cannot be used as excuses to justify the violation of other recognised rights. Like other UN treaties, the implementation of CEDAW is monitored by the committee it creates.

### *Content of CEDAW*

CEDAW is central to defining women's legal status. It lists the rights specifically to be enjoyed by women and prohibits discrimination between women and men in the enjoyment of all other human rights. In its first article, CEDAW defines discrimination as:

[A]ny distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Besides defining discrimination, CEDAW also provides for the necessity for states to engage in a series of positive actions, to the end of implementing the provisions listed. By ratifying CEDAW, states commit "to incorporate the principles of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women; to establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; to ensure

elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organisations or enterprises" ([www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw)).

CEDAW comprises a preamble and thirty articles, organised in six parts:

- I. Definitions and obligations (articles 1 to 6);
- II. Political rights and rights to citizenship (articles 7 to 9);
- III. Economic rights (articles 10 to 14);
- IV. Civil and political rights (articles 15 and 16);
- V. The Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the treaty mechanism (article 17 to 22); and
- VI. Implementation, ratification, and entry into force (articles 23 to 30).

Part I is dedicated to defining discrimination and detailing the nature of the obligations created by states' accession to the Convention. The formula used in the text of CEDAW is that "States shall take all appropriate measures" to implement the rights listed. This means that the responsibility for implementing the rights provided for by CEDAW depends upon national states adopting the necessary correlative legislation. These measures ought to be undertaken in order to combat elements potentially prejudicial to the promotion of women's equal status, including culture and stereotypes, in all fields of life. Part II addresses the promotion of the right of women to vote and be elected (articles 7 and 8) as well as the recognition of the fact that women's decisions regarding their nationality should be independent from external factors like marriage (article 9). Part III looks at women's economic and social rights, in particular women's equal right to education (article 10), health care (article 12), and rights linked to other areas of economic and social life (article 13). Article 11 promotes women's equal right to work and to enjoy work-related benefits, including equal pay for equal work and access to related social benefits; the second part of the article provides for protective measures related to women's work and maternity. Part IV provides for women's equal status before the law and their equal right to enter into contractual relationships (article 15). Article 16 focuses on women's position with regard to marriage and family matters. More specifically, it emphasises women's autonomous status with regard to entering and leaving a marriage relationship, planning and bringing up children, as well as acquiring property. The article also provides that it is not legally recognized for underage girls to be married. Part V deals with the establishment of CEDAW's committee, outlines its responsibilities and functioning mechanisms, and describes its composition and its relation with other UN agencies. Finally, Part VI

details accession, ratification, reservations, and interpretation of the Convention.

Another tool provided for by CEDAW in the protection of the status of women is the possibility, under article 21, for the Committee to make general recommendations (GR) on substantial or procedural points relating to CEDAW. The most recent general recommendation, the 25th, looks at temporary special measures. Others have dealt with a variety of issues, including circumcision (GR No. 14), AIDS (GR No. 15), and violence against women (GR No. 19). They prove a useful tool in clarifying the content of certain rights and explaining procedures more clearly, as well as increasing international attention and awareness on specific points.

CEDAW formalises a broad range of rights covering most aspects of women's lives. Nevertheless, feminists argue that CEDAW is failing to adequately address women's position in life. It addresses women's status in relation to men's and aims at bringing women to an equal position with men; however, it does not take an independent approach to women's needs and strengths. One suggestion consists of focusing "on powerlessness, exclusion, and disadvantage of women, rather than on sameness and difference" (Cook 1994, p. 156). One further problem is that while women's legal status is clearly defined through the thirty articles of CEDAW, the de facto situation is substantially different, as states do not necessarily fully implement these rights and cannot be compelled to do so. The effectiveness of CEDAW, like any other human rights instrument, rests upon states' willingness to comply; the only sanction that can be imposed is a public denunciation by CEDAW's Committee.

### *CEDAW's Reporting Procedure and the Committee*

CEDAW's Committee (the Committee) is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Convention. The committee is made up of twenty-three experts sitting in their own personal capacity. While they are nominated by states and elected by state parties for four years, they remain independent from their respective countries. The main procedure involving the Committee is the reporting procedure. Like other treaty bodies, the Committee is given the competence and power to request, examine, and analyse state reports on the situation of women's rights in that country. The reports must account for actions that have been undertaken in order to ensure women's status is in conformity with the standards under CEDAW. States are required to submit reports to the Committee at least every four years. The accuracy of the information detailed in the reports is left

to the discretion of the states, but is usually counterbalanced by shadow reports produced by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The Committee is responsible for examining the state reports and giving its conclusions. This monitoring procedure is the main tool available with regard to women's legal status, as internationally defined.

### *The Optional Protocol to CEDAW*

On October 6, 1999, the General Assembly of the UN adopted the Optional Protocol to CEDAW; it entered into force on December 22, 2000. It enables individuals—or groups of individuals—from a state party to this Protocol to bring a complaint for violation of rights guaranteed by CEDAW, before the Committee. While the conditions attached to the individual complaint procedure are restrictive, it is believed that the development of this procedure will allow for better protection of women's rights. Another procedure was also created that consists of the possibility for the Committee to enquire into a "situation of grave or systematic violations of women's rights" (rules 82 and 83 of the Protocol).

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the legal status of women is thoroughly addressed in international human rights law. Nonetheless, women are still the victims of multiple discriminations and rights violations. High illiteracy rates, malnutrition, discrimination in the workplace, and violation of women's reproductive rights are not recent phenomena and prove that there is still a long way to go in making this formal legal status a reality. Other women's rights violations, such as trafficking in women, are now being uncovered, and although strongly denounced, highlight a need for the rethinking of the current legal apparatus and the mechanisms available to implement it. Cultural exceptions are especially relevant to the status of women, as is shown by the significant number of culture-based reservations made to CEDAW. Even if sensitive in nature, these cultural exceptions need to be addressed in order to guarantee women a more meaningful legal status. As suggested by the Beijing Platform for Action, empowering women to address the problems they face and to suggest alternatives to the present system is the key to improving the value of their present legal status.

AUDREY GUICHON

**See also Basic Human Needs; Women: Role in Development**

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## WOMEN LIVING UNDER MUSLIM LAWS (WLUML)

Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML) is an international network that provides assistance, information, and channels for communication to women whose lives are affected or governed by laws and customs said to derive from Islam. The network aims to develop autonomy and strengthen solidarity among women in Muslim countries and communities. WLUML's goal to document and support women experiencing various forms of discriminations and oppressions connected to Muslim rulings, laws, or various traditions existing in Muslim communities is guided through networking, media alerts, various collective projects, and publications.

WLUML began its formation in 1984 as a result of three pressing cases in which women were being denied rights. Such incidents were symptomatic of a larger challenge facing women of systematic marginalization through reference to laws said to be "Islamic." Thereafter, nine women from eight countries came together to support specific women's struggles. This collaboration evolved into its near-global network of WLUML in 1986. By 2004 WLUML was operating in more than seventy countries.

The network extends to women in countries where Islam is the state religion, where secular states have Muslim majorities, and where political groups are pressing for religious laws; it also extends to women from Muslim communities in which minority religious laws preside, those in Muslim minority communities around the world, and non-Muslim women who may have Muslim laws applied to them. The network serves marginalized women, such as minorities facing discrimination, oppression, or racism, and women who face discrimination because of their assertions of sexuality, including sexual orientation.

As part of its overall strategy, WLUML bridges identities by building a network of individuals and feminist and human rights organizations at local and global levels through which it facilitates communication and information. Women can seek assistance, alliances, information on their legal rights, shelter, mediation, contacts to lawyers, psychological support, and the sharing of experiences. Such a forum enables dialogue among women of various ideologies and stances to break barriers and face common obstacles to their autonomy and self-development. Thereby, individuals' local experiences are connected to the wider context of international injustices perpetrated against women.

WLUML collects, analyses, and circulates information regarding women's diverse experiences and strategies in Muslim contexts using a variety of media. WLUML initiates and circulates "Alerts for Action" and campaigns to an international forum as a strategy of resistance. Through locally initiated information networks, women themselves can articulate their local situation. WLUML then distributes the information to connections that include Amnesty International, UNICEF, and women's organizations. WLUML also initiates letter-writing campaigns.

WLUML organizes "collective projects," which include initiatives that arise out of women's specific needs, interests, and analyses. A project typically involves three to over twenty groups and lasts from a few months to ten years. Collective projects include training sessions, workshops, research for advocacy, meetings, and exchanges around specialized topics.

Previous projects have included an exchange program (1988), Qur'anic interpretations meetings (1990, 2002, 2004), the Women and Law in the Muslim World Programme (1991–2001), a program on feminism in the Muslim World Leadership Institutes (1998 and 1999), gender and displacement in Muslim contexts (1999–2002), and the Initiative for Strengthening Afghan Family Laws (INSAF) (began in 2002). WLUML, moreover, implements capacity-building initiatives of its networks through internships at the coordination offices, as well as exchanges, trainings, and workshops.

WLUML brings awareness of women's situations through publications. It produces a theme-based dossier, an occasional journal that provides information about the lives, struggles, and strategies of women; a quarterly newsheet on women, laws, and society; occasional papers; and other publications on specific issues such as family laws, women's movements, and initiatives.

WLUML focuses on the concrete realities of women's lives. These include bringing awareness to basic human rights abuses against women, relocating women forced to marry against their will, as well as rescuing children kidnapped by their fathers to Muslim countries. However, in principle, WLUML responds to requests for help, as opposed to initiating cases.

WLUML has been successful in mitigating harsh sentences by rallying the international community for support. Highlighting but a few incidents, in 1995 in the United Arab Emirates a sixteen-year-old Filipino girl was pardoned after she was sentenced to death for killing her employer after he brutally raped her. WLUML called for preventing the execution, demanded the UAE government amend rape laws where the onus of truth is on the rape victim. Also in 1995 when a Muslim religious leader in Chad called for the killing of a woman for making a film denouncing female genital mutilation, WLUML alerted women's and human rights groups to her sentence. With a combined effort to petition the government of Chad, the imam was made to withdraw his decree. In 2002, Toujan Al-Faisal, a feminist and anti-corruption campaigner and Jordan's first female MP, was released from jail after WLUML in a combined effort petitioned for her release. After intense letter writing in late 2004 for the release of civil society activist Dr. Mahboobeh Abbasgholizadeh, she was released on bail from the Iranian authorities. However, the network also studies the theoretical underpinnings of women's oppressions. It concentrates on themes such as empowerment, fundamentalisms, state control, militarization, sexuality, health and reproductive rights, and violence. Particular attention is given to the effects of laws and law reform. Aiming to dispel the myth that one homogenous Islamic law exists, the network documents diverse practices and laws classified as Islamic, which have developed from male-dominated interpretations of religious texts and/or the political use of religion, and which are mixed with the differing local customs and practices, formal or informal. Female researchers trace the evolution of laws and identify contradictions between customs and scripts. One of its major activities continues to include reinterpreting "Islamic" sources for Muslim laws from this exhaustive inventory to support women's issues.

At times, cases or problems take years for the network to resolve. WLUML, nonetheless, brings awareness to women's voiced concerns under Muslim laws, and in so doing incrementally effects change within Muslim countries and communities towards greater egalitarianism, justice, and stronger civil societies. It is unique in that it encourages women to pursue and define justice without essentializing women's diverse identities.

WANDA C. KRAUSE

**See also Islam; Islamic Fundamentalism; Women: Role in Development; Women: Legal Status**

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## WOMEN: ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

### Women

The sociological category "woman" was analytically dismantled in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Feminist scholars recognised that women's experiences and activities were necessarily different due to the specific factors of every woman's social and historical context. While women in many societies share similar experiences and problems, their similarities must be balanced against women's very different experiences worldwide, especially in relation

to how their lives are shaped by race, colonialism, the rise of global capitalism, and the interventions of international development agencies. Women cannot be treated as an homogenous category; there are social differentiations between women according to rank, age, employment, earning capacity, and caste, for example, and women are affected differently in different countries by global capitalist development.

Although women's biology impels many into reproduction and the caregiving duties associated with infant and child socialisation, women's physiology presents different possibilities in different societies. This means that women can engage in the social role of mothering and, depending on the society in which they live, a range of other roles. The possibilities open to women are culturally elaborated, so that even the supposedly natural function of mothering is culturally defined. When focusing on what women do, questions about the sexual division of labour in different societies and about the related divisions of social life into "domestic/female" versus "public/male" domains, are raised. Many scholars argue that although women may be perceived as separate and different from men, in numerous cultures this does not necessarily imply inferiority or subordination to men. Various quality studies have shown that gender relations, that is, social relations between women and men, in many societies have been radically altered due to the impact of colonisation, Westernisation, and global capitalism. A number of studies have noted that development and wage labour make women more dependent on men by undermining local customary systems where women have, in the past, enjoyed a certain amount of control over production and reproduction. Some argue that men take control of women's land, goods, labour, and reproductive capacity by armed force or physical and psychological intimidation. In severe contrast, other studies refer to the "myth of male dominance" in which statements made about women, that is, statements expressing cultural ideologies, often represent women as less powerful than they actually are in their daily lives. They propose that although men have been represented as dominant in many societies, many women possess and wield considerable power and influence. Women may possess power that is complementary to, rather than in overt contestation with, male power. In addition, they argue that cultural valuations of women and men and their respective work in different societies often fail to reflect women's and men's respective access to and control over resources. For example, women may earn significant social respect due to their control over land in matrilineal societies. And women may be the principal food providers for their family due to their agricultural work and their animal-husbandry labours.

## Women and Development

While the focus on women across cultures has produced conflicting reports, women and development is an arena of research and practice that has linked questions about gender and gender relations with an analysis of the social and economic role of the state. Women and development focuses on the characteristics and management of state institutions, economic planning, policy formation, decision making, and the exercise of state power. It examines and questions male dominance and male privilege in relation to access to state resources and political power, and it raises issues concerning gender ideologies and how these ideologies inform planning and policy. In the arena of women and development, the issue of the success or failure of state policies designed to benefit women is discussed in terms of what kind of economic and sociopolitical changes are envisaged and implemented in order to bring about development. This field of enquiry overlaps an analysis of how women organise socially and politically, women's responses to development initiatives, and women's reactions to and perceptions of the state and its agents. Studies demonstrate that development is a complex and difficult field, because it blends theory and practice in ways that can drastically affect people's daily lives. Development is also fraught because it raises questions about relations of power: Who actually benefits from development? How do development project designers know what is best for disadvantaged peoples? How much damage are they causing with their interventions? What strategies are in place to enable disadvantaged peoples, particularly women, to contribute to the design, planning, and implementation of development projects? And how can development project designers judge what "disadvantage" actually means for people in cultures that are different from their own?

The deleterious effects of many development projects on women with regard to their access to and control over land, property, technology, training, and decision making are well documented. And although the effects of agricultural change on women have been diverse, nonetheless, a key trend that has emerged from evaluations of development projects to the end of the twentieth century has been the weakening of women's authority and decision-making powers. This has occurred because of changing roles in production, especially within the increasing commercialisation of agriculture, and the exclusion of women from technology, training, and credit schemes. Early writers on women and development demonstrated that many of the negative effects of development programmes on women were due to a neglect and/or



misunderstanding of women's key roles in all areas of subsistence production. And early development programmes mistakenly presumed that men were the most important workers in food and factory production. More innovative and radical policies and programmes aimed specifically at women have been moderately successful. However, improving women's participation in decision making, bureaucratic institutions, and women's political representation generally, has been judged by many to be a spectacular failure.

The key intellectual and social context for discussing women's role in development is to question why inequalities between women and men exist and why they are maintained in the face of discourses about universal human rights. Social structures; institutions; and values such as norms, customs, rights, and laws link with economic institutions such as markets to shape relationships between women and men, to form their socially expected roles, and to influence what resources women and men have access to, what activities they can or cannot undertake, and how they may participate in broader society and the economy.

While the social and economic institutions that shape and structure people's lives in different societies can be slow to change, they are never static. For example, in developing countries households are fundamental to the way that women and men experience their lives from childhood and how gender relations are transmitted between generations. The ways that tasks are allocated between daughters and sons, girls' and women's degree (if any) of autonomy, and what social expectations are promoted within the household all create, reinforce, and form seemingly rigid differences between genders. But such differences must be explored because different behaviours, social expectations, and perceptions of what is womanly or manly change across and within cultures. Studies note, for example, that although gender disparities tend to be less among elite and dominant classes, in some societies with rigid gender divisions (such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia) wealthy families invest far more of their sense of status, dignity, and prestige in female modesty and seclusion, particularly when they enjoy high socioeconomic status. Female modesty thus becomes a key symbol of their status.

Although gender inequalities persist among both the rich and the poor, they are often greatest among the poor, particularly in terms of household financial investments in education and health. Education is considered to be a fundamental and universal human right and a necessity for enhancing social and economic development. But as a result of different financial investments in education, major differences can be observed between boys and girls, particularly in

terms of the numbers of girls who attend school and for how long.

Nutritional studies show that receiving little or no formal education creates women with high levels of fertility and mortality, poor nutritional status, low earning potential, and little autonomy within their household. Low investments in female education translate into poorer health and nutritional practices by mothers, so that all children feel the effects, and the flow to the health, well-being, and productivity of the next generation may suffer. Low investments in female education are considered to be instrumental in reinforcing the asymmetry of power relations between men and women and, without women's education, a great deal of a country's talent, skill, and energy remain untapped. Conversely, high numbers of educated females and levels of female education are two of many reasons cited as positively contributing to general economic development, social progress, and gender equality. Nevertheless, school curricula and teachers' attitudes may act to reinforce existing gender biases in society. Some studies critique the ways that schools in many countries reflect the patriarchal cultural ideologies that often prevail among the elite and dominant class. Pupils are schooled to conform, and girls are taught to accept authoritarian structures, relations of male domination, and success on male terms.

Low financial investments in health produce high rates of malnutrition and mortality among girls, and can affect whether girls are allowed to be born. In the latter case, adverse female sex ratios in some states of India and China suggest endemic female foeticide (destruction in the womb by technologies such as ultrasound scanning and amniocentesis), infanticide, and neglect of young girls is occurring in cultures and societies where boys are preferred and girls are considered an unnecessary or expensive addition to a family.

### **Women, Gender, and Development**

Issues about women's power and women's capacity for active human agency in cultures and societies that often create significant structural barriers to women's existence as equal social actors have come to the fore as development studies and practices begin to more fully integrate concepts of gender.

As a consequence, it is impossible to discuss the ways in which the concepts of gender and gender relations have changed development without reflecting on the debates that have surrounded women's role(s) in development. Literature about gender and

development in the twentieth century can be categorized into three waves: women in development (WID); women and development (WAD); and gender and development (GAD). The key strategy of WID theory and practice was to progress women's social condition via broader economic growth. WID was concerned with maximising women's access to the modern sector, and opening the border between the traditional and modern sectors, to allow for an equal proportion of women within the latter. WID assessments of social and economic inequalities between women and men presupposed that a gradual process of reform would eventually produce gender equality. Structures such as male bias that were seen to exclude women from development were not perceived as grave, as science and enlightened reason were perceived as antidotes to the vestiges of prejudiced patriarchal superstition and ignorance that located women outside many cultures' ideas about what it is to be properly "human"—that is, male. The strategy sadly failed because development studies, social planning, and project design remained firmly orientated toward men; the concepts of man and men were deemed by Western development planners to be synonymous with all people; and, prior to 1970 it was thought that the development process affected women and men in the same way. These erroneous notions equated productivity with the cash economy and consequently ignored most women's work, which is based in non-cash agricultural labour, caregiving to family members within households, and provision of unpaid social management and community support.

A move then evolved to critically analyse the ways in which received ideas about women within Western epistemologies created discriminatory practices in Western cultures and societies, which were then imposed on other peoples through the frameworks and processes of development. A common assumption among Western development planners was that the social and economic problems of women in developing countries were attributable to their status; for example, the United Nations devised a Commission on the Status of Women. However, the concept of the status of women ignores the enormous variety of situations in which individual women live their daily experiences, and ignores women's diverse and complex cultures. In many cultures the flexibility of interpretation over status gives women and men sufficient leverage to operate relations of power to the advantage of the "self." This social practice suggests women's concerns as individuals need to be considered in tandem with their concerns as members of familial and social collectives. Certainly men and women in many cultures, such as those of Melanesia in the southwest Pacific, do not represent themselves

as separate autonomous beings. However, women's move in the latter decades of the twentieth century to urban environments has attenuated their ties with family, kin, and broader social collectives to the point that women can and do see themselves as individuals, albeit within a complex network of mutual responsibilities and cooperation.

An alternative vision of development *with* women was proposed. The WAD approach worked to integrate women's participation into development processes. It underscored the idea that the rise of globalisation, with its inequitable gender relations and prioritisation of global capitalism, was also inimical to men in developing countries. WAD also attempted to explain male domination and violence. Theorists contended that it is the structure of capitalism that keeps women at home in the domestic arena, not men, and male frustration with the class system was regarded as the determining factor in male abuse of women. But many theorists did not recognise the ways that men benefit from women's domestic labour, nor the extent to which women may also benefit from men's labour, and the complex economic exchanges that occur in the domestic arena. In consequence, WAD practices in development projects were criticised for privileging class over gender, in terms of remaining located in the processes of global capitalism and ignoring the complex social interactions between women and men at the grassroots level of economic production.

WAD failed in many countries because it did not adequately cater to rural and semi-urban women's needs. Many projects did little to change the distribution of household labour or increase women's access to resources, and surveys revealed that women's projects received dramatically less funding and attention than larger developments that employed male labour. The WAD approach failed due to insufficient awareness and sensitivity of planners, inadequate financial support and staff, unrealistic time frames for the achievement of project goals, and the lack of participation of women as the beneficiaries in project design and decisions. In essence, it remained anchored in dominant, powerful Western male modes of thought.

Although Western gender roles too often are used in support of a male ideology that seeks to exclude women from many important areas of modern life, it is equally important to recognise that conceiving of women solely as subordinate to men may provide little information about prevailing female–male relations, as expressed ideas about gender rarely accurately replicate social relations. In some cases women are represented as far more subordinate than they are in actuality. The WID and WAD approaches were condemned for focusing on "women" as a category and

thereby conflating women's diverse experiences into "otherness" as victim.

The newer theories driving gender and development (GAD) address the fundamental structures of inequality between women and men. A GAD approach makes visible the power relations that exist between men and women in most societies and the subordination to male power structures that many women face in a globalising capitalist world. Ideologically, GAD focuses not just on women but on the social relations that exist between women and men, on all aspects of women's lived experiences, and also centres gender and class relations, arguing that gender relations have to be located within hierarchical relations of domination that operate both at the micro and macro level of analysis in order to see clearly how changes may take place. Gender mainstreaming has become a strategy increasingly associated with GAD, for assessing the potential and actual effects of policies and programmes for women and men.

Such theoretical stress on gendered relations of power in many societies has been helpful, as GAD conceives "empowerment" to be the harnessed, self-generating power of women to act in their own interest. Indeed, more recent studies analysing women's agency suggest women are not passive victims of cultural and socioeconomic relations and structures, but rather they actively strategise and negotiate in order to achieve goals for themselves; their children; and extended family, kin, and clan members.

A number of studies have asked whether the diverse experiences of women across and within cultures and societies can be adequately addressed by development projects conceptualised, designed, and implemented by agencies in Western countries. To combat the disparities between theorisations about women, women's actual lived experiences, and women's roles in development, social anthropologists and comparative sociologists concerned with linking empirical data with perspectives of gender have engaged in rigorous inquiries into gender symbolism within and across cultures. As a consequence, they have critiqued Western notions of gender roles. Non-Western anthropologists, writing from within their own communities, show that variations in folk constructs about ideas of "male" and "female," and the probable relationships that exist or are considered socially appropriate between women and men, do not necessarily correspond to Western universalisations of "sex" and "gender" based on notions of hierarchies and oppositions between culture and nature, public and private. For example, decision making may denote some degree of agency, and hence the ability to form goals, commitments, and values. But to judge someone's success as an agent one must know what decisions

the person may, does, or must make; for whom and to what extent her decisions can then be implemented; and by whom the decisions are implemented. Because decisions classified by outsiders as being made exclusively by women may not be considered to be decisions by men, researchers argue that definitions of agency are specific to different cultures, as are concepts of choice and decision making.

Cross-cultural researchers argue that the key element to be drawn from observing how people live with gendered codes about social interactions is to analyse people's active agency in creating, re-creating, and resisting the system from their position within it. They contend that development practitioners need to consider how people, as active cultural agents, negotiate the limitations of their social structures, how different cultural agents experience life, and how they produce and manage various social identities. Development planners may need to rethink their ideas about active cultural agency in relation to the different activities conducted by women and men, because Western definitions of cultural agency are not as important as the social use of the concept in different societies.

The WID, WAD, and GAD debates demonstrate the important theoretical and practical changes that have occurred over time in analysing the topic of women's role in development.

### **Women's Roles in Development: Current Emphases**

Current emphases in theory and research on the topic of women in development recognise the multiple facets of women's activities and therefore pluralise their roles. Classical economic analyses are being radically rethought as their intellectual constraints do not acknowledge most of women's social roles, their work, or the diversity of their work. Globally, women engage in biological reproduction via child-bearing and early nurturing of infants, and perform the bulk of childcare and household maintenance. They also engage in social reproduction via the care and maintenance of the household such as housework; food preparation; and care for the sick, children, and the elderly; and in social management in terms of maintaining kinship linkages, developing neighbourhood networks, and carrying out religious or ceremonial duties in the community. Women in most cultures and societies combine household work with market or non-market work to generate income or raise household consumption. Such work has not been captured in classical economic theory or traditional labour force statistics. Women in rural areas are responsible for

subsistence agriculture. Small animals such as chickens and pigs, which can be fed on household scraps, are kept. Because female smallholders often find it difficult to hire men to undertake heavy physical tasks such as land preparation and pesticide application, they may be forced to leave some of their land uncultivated. The impact on women of the modernisation of agriculture is complex and contradictory, varying according to the crops produced, the size of farm and the farming system, the economic position of an individual farm family, and the cultural and political structure of the society. Women have often been excluded from agrarian reform and training programmes in new agricultural methods because Western experts have assumed a pattern of responsibility for agriculture similar to their own societies, in which men are the main decision makers. This lack of insight has resulted in the failure of many agriculturally based development projects.

Women tend to work significantly more hours than men when both market and household work are calculated. As many women undertake household work at the expense of income-generating activities, their bargaining power and decision-making capacity in the home can be limited, having implications for their overall well-being. Local politics and laws may also perceive women as less worthy of credit than men, thus adding to their difficulties.

Women also frequently head households where men have died, moved away due to marital instability, or migrated. Their households are often among the poorest as they contain fewer working adults than male-headed households and women earn lower wages than men. They may become poverty traps in which children become further disadvantaged because they may have to leave school early to seek paid employment or take over household chores to allow the mother to work outside the home. Maternal neglect and lack of paternal discipline may encourage truancy, delinquency, and perpetuate a family pattern of deprivation.

While these are important issues, researchers are also recognising the multifaceted nature of women's lives and work in impoverished and developing countries. In some cases women choose to establish their own household to gain decision-making independence, or to escape male violence and/or economic reliance on an irresponsible man. Such households can have a positive effect on women's autonomy and, despite frequently being socially stigmatised, they may function successfully as socioeconomic units.

A new phase of scholarship about women and development in the global economy has emerged around processes that suggest changes in the gendered nature of women's social roles, in women's psychology and

subjectivity, and in women's ideas about how they live as members of a nation-state. Research is also focussing on female immigrants, trafficking, and the potential for empowerment of women on the move. Authors argue that migration work is gendered, in the sense that the labour that underlies migration is often unpaid women's work. Women subordinate their own interests to the care of their families, negotiate to obtain resources for the family, link their family to broader society and maintain social networks, give up further education and careers, save money by reducing consumer spending, and rear children.

A key link between issues of migration and women's work in developing countries is the growing presence of women being trafficked across borders. Although cross-border routes are diverse, they share a vital feature, that is, they are profit- or revenue-making routes that are developed from the needs of severely disadvantaged women. Illegal trafficking provides hard currency for individuals and for governments, and provides people for the formal and informal labour markets of nursing, teaching, entertainment, tourism, and prostitution. Women search for work but illegal traffickers and governments contribute to the trafficking of women from developing economies. However, many developing economies can be described more accurately as struggling, stagnant, or failed states that have imposed survival strategies on people living in economies that are enduring the closure of small and medium-sized enterprises, moves to national rather than export markets, and the burden of large government debts.

Quality studies focused on the feminisation of survival in developing countries in terms of planting crops to earn cash and the rise of wage labour in agrarian communities then turned to the feminisation of workers as manufacturing internationalised. A concentration on the price urban women pay for development has been generated by world events. The 1997 Asian financial crisis exposed dangerous weaknesses in regional and global economies, and in development practices, which placed more crisis-induced burdens on women than on men. The impact was not confined to Asian regions but had a global ripple effect. The relative contributions and impediments that globalisation has given to the socioeconomic development of the region, and the extent to which global changes had a different impact on women and men regionally and locally, have created new questions about the impact of development on women. When the perspective of gender is infused into development studies, the existing image of regions such as East Asia as areas of affluence, with strong states, internal homogeneity, cultural cohesion, and a stable social order, must be

reassessed. Studies are showing that the three key processes of development—industrialisation, economic restructuring, and migration—have yielded new forms of women's subordination and inequality in work organisation and in society. Women are now strategising to gain from, and contest the process of, development.

### Women's Networks and Development

As women move from rural to urban areas, they often command improvements in urban services as they work to cope with the problems of housing and access to services for themselves and their children. Women's survival strategies habitually depend on building networks within the community. Some women's groups may provide a focus for the politicisation of women's lives around issues of importance such as rising food costs or the disappearance of their children at the hands of political and military repression, as has occurred in Argentina and Chile. Development agencies are also advocating the spread of grassroots women's groups because they are seen to avoid confrontation with established cultural patterns and prevent the subordination of women's interests and leadership to men. Women's groups affiliated with established churches in the southwest Pacific are increasingly being used by development agencies because they are active in townships and rural areas, conduct important group activities, and serve their community's needs. Several studies argue that the church has become so powerful an institution in many developing countries that development agencies and the state cannot afford to ignore it as an important vehicle for implementing development programmes.

Acknowledging the role of women's groups enables an understanding of the complex, multifaceted, and diverse cultures and societies that constitute developing nations, women's pivotal roles in contemporary societies, and differing ideas about and social uses of the concept of women's active cultural agency, and it offers the opportunity to examine modes of being that are established through alternatives to Euro-American experiences of modernity. The drive toward global homogeneity is constantly undermined as local peoples interpret, adapt, and transform external influences just as readily as they might internalise them and make them their own. Recognising the diversity of local people's cultural strategies is mandatory to expand critical perspectives within development studies, to problematise project design, and to enable researchers and development practitioners to acknowledge the importance of involving local

women in their discussions and planning processes, particularly from sources such as church groups that Westerners typically do not acknowledge as powerful social and political arenas.

Including the church as a significant social institution, and thinking about women and gender as durable but flexible sociocultural concepts, have the potential to encourage possibilities for women's resistance, subversion of oppressive power relations, and freedom. The significant insights about women, gender, and agency generated from non-Western communities should be more widely used in development planning and practice.

### Directions in Theory and Practice

Sad evidence testifies to the fact that development strategies based solely on macroeconomic theories, such as structural adjustment programmes, have failed to solve the problems of poverty in developing countries. Moreover, many have produced the unforeseen consequence of making impoverished women even poorer. This situation has been recognized by some donor agencies including the World Bank, and their policies have broadened to encompass microeconomic aspects of development.

Resources are being channeled to the kinds of organisations that are being initiated and sustained by female workers in the unorganised sector, and by women in organisations where they do not feel threatened by overt male power. Gender planning constitutes one of the ways in which the problems associated with women's roles in development are currently being addressed. The general goal of gender planning is the release of women from social, political, and economic subordination and to achieve gender equity, equality, and empowerment through meeting practical and strategic needs. It includes several critical characteristics: Gender planning is political and technical, assumes there will be conflict in the planning process, involves transformative processes, and characterises planning as debate. Gender planning therefore uses a methodology that emphasises discussion, negotiation, and conflict resolution.

Despite such progressive approaches, structural problems continue to limit women's roles in development. Bilateral technical assistance agencies (from one government to another) and multilateral agencies (from many governments working through the United Nations or global conduits to many other governments) have been instituted and staffed by men as part of established national agencies, foreign policies, and the maintenance of global relations that reinforce

a status quo of powerful male interactions. Women's bureaux, departments, and ministries within these agencies are usually underfunded and understaffed, and operate with limited jurisdiction. Rather than resourcing women for their needs, "gender" can be too easily mainstreamed as a political concession.

Advocates have successfully pressed for incorporating gender into development project design, planning, and implementation, an action that altered the term "women" and symbolised change. However, change has not necessarily been anchored in practice. Gender as a sociological term has been criticised as not translating well into languages other than English. Nonetheless, regardless of the viewpoints of theorists, researchers, and practitioners in relation to development, many are now engaging with the question of whether there can be any development. Should "post-development" be considered as a more progressive mode of working *with* rather than *for* more people, especially women? Authors are addressing the issue and its problems from tentative yet innovative positions and are courageously facing the gaps and silences in existing knowledge.

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**See also Basic Human Needs; Children and Development; Globalization: Impact on Development; Labor; Sex Trade/Trafficking; Women: Legal Status**

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### WORLD BANK

(See *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD]*)

### WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (WCL)

A congress at The Hague in 1920 established the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions—usually known by its French initials, CISC—on behalf of 3.5 million workers in ten European nations. Its policies reflected the social teachings of the Roman Catholic and some Protestant churches, emphasising "spiritual" rather than "material" values, rejecting both radical socialism and liberal capitalism, and promoting cooperative relations among workers, employers, and governments. During World War II the CISC was forced into abeyance.

In 1945 the CISC refused to join the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), formed by the trade union movements of the victorious Allied nations in an effort to continue the East–West collaboration of World War II. Again in 1949, after Cold War tensions caused many Western European and North American union affiliates to break from the WFTU to create the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the CISC maintained its separation from both the now patently pro-Soviet WFTU and the equally pro-Western IFCTU. This basic three-way division within the international trade union movement was to remain intact for the next five decades.

Given the already high degree of unionisation in Europe and North America, and the growing clamour by non-Western and colonised peoples for political independence and economic development, all three international trade union groupings concluded that real growth for their organisations could only be found in what was becoming known as "The Third World." It was assumed that this task would be most difficult for the Brussels-based CISC, which, in the post-WWII period had been reduced to just four main unions: France's CFDT, Belgium's CSC, and the Netherlands' NKV and CNV.

Nevertheless, at its 1952 congress at The Hague, the CISC counted twenty member organisations: twelve of them European, six Latin American, one Asian, and one Canadian. Contributing to the 1968 congress in Luxemburg were seventy-four affiliates representing sixty-eight countries, including: twenty-nine from Latin America, twenty from Africa, nineteen from Europe, five from Asia, and one from North America. Such growth was impressive, even if many affiliates were workers' associations rather than full trade unions, and the claimed total membership of 12.7

million was obviously inflated. A key factor in CISC's success in the Third World was its decision to divert significant resources there, much of it from an "International Solidarity Fund" supported by wealthier affiliates. Church charities and the Dutch government likewise funneled overseas aid money through this fund.

Also, the CISC chose to support semi-autonomous regional groupings, the first of which was the Latin American Federation of Christian Trade Unions (CLASC), formed in 1954—though this later became the Latin American Workers Central (CLAT). Other regional organisations established by CISC were the Pan-African Workers Congress (PAWC), begun in 1959 but dissolved in 1974 under pressure from African governments; and the Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unionists (BATU), set up in 1963 with headquarters in the Philippines and which since then has established affiliates in many Asian nations. The absence of the word "Christian" from the latter two titles reflected CISC's pragmatic efforts to attract non-Christian members in regions like Africa and Asia. But this shift in turn encouraged a wider secularisation process, leading to the 1968 CISC congress decision to change the organisation's name to World Confederation of Labour (WCL).

At this time the WCL also was going through an ideological transformation that reflected both an overall reorientation from the First World to the Third World, and the growing presence within the upper levels of the organisation of representatives from less developed nations. New constitutional principles reaffirmed the primacy for the organisation at large of spiritual values, condemned both capitalism and communism as incompatible with humane society; somewhat contradictorily, however, they also advocated "class struggle" and worker control of resources and production, and promoted forms of syndicalist democracy.

In the early 1970s the WCL faced major problems with the dissolution of its own African regional organisation, the loss of its Vietnamese affiliates, and growing pressure on its Latin American membership from authoritarian regimes. Nevertheless, "privileged partnerships" were established with the Organization of African Unity's official union body (OATUU), and with the similarly constituted International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU). Around the same time, the WCL was accusing the powerful US union grouping, the AFL-CIO, of "neo-colonial brutality" in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, and was describing itself as being in "a positive state of war" with official ICFTU bodies in Latin America.

Critics of the WCL, meanwhile, were charging it with unhealthy links to corrupt Christian Democratic

regimes in Latin America, and of lacking a clear view of what its slogan, "Solidarity and Liberation," actually meant. On the other hand, some considered this particular labour international to have a more subtle understanding of Third-World realities than either the First World-oriented ICFTU or the Second World-oriented WFTU, especially regarding linkages with groups like the poor, unemployed, women, peasants, and indigenous peoples. In the 1980s–1990s, too, the WCL was more proactive in networking with the new social movements emerging in response to issues like the environment, human rights, and globalisation.

Over time, some core constituencies inside the WCL became alienated by its leftward lurch and Third World-ist reorientation—and, indeed, by its overall failure to match the two giant internationals. Most significantly, its large French affiliate, the CGT, departed in 1977 to join the opposition ICFTU. Other affiliates, mainly Western, pushed periodically for merger talks with that same international, but for a long time such moves were rejected by the WCL's governing body. Finally, in late 2004, while describing itself as "representing some 27 million workers worldwide," the WCL leadership announced that during the coming year the organisation would formally unite with its long-time "free union" competitor, the ICFTU. Given their relative sizes, it is inevitable that the WCL will surrender most in the merger process.

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### See also Labor

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## WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

### History

The founding of the World Council of Churches (WCC) at Amsterdam in 1948 was the result of numerous attempts to bring together an international

fellowship of churches that had left the Roman Catholic Church at the time of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation in Europe. Previous steps toward unity, but not union, had included an 1810 call by the English Baptist missionary William Carey for global mission conferences to discuss evangelistic strategies. In 1946 the Evangelical Alliance met in Liverpool to form a united Protestant front against Roman Catholic advances in Britain and North America. A 1910 Edinburgh Conference met at a time when missionaries from Europe, North America, and Australasia were following imperial entrepreneurs and governments into Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In 1920 the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople appealed for cooperation in a “League of Churches” similar to the post-World War I League of Nations. Protestant church leaders echoed this call, but no action occurred.

As Hitler’s forces moved into Austria in 1937, two ecumenical bodies formed to implement agreements of the 1910 Edinburgh Conference, a Committee on Life and Work, and one on Faith and Order, and elected a provisional committee that met at Utrecht in 1938. That year the International Missionary Council (IMC) also considered the proposal to join a World Council of Churches, but several missionary groups expressed concern that they could lose their autonomy. In 1961 the IMC finally joined the WCC. In 1971 the World Council on Christian Education that had begun in 1907 as the World’s Sunday School Association joined the WCC.

In 1938, American McCreia Cavert suggested a name, “World Council of Churches,” and William Temple, Archbishop of York, became chairman of a provisional committee. W. A. Visser’t Hooft of the Netherlands became the first general secretary. They invited 196 churches—including a personal invitation to the Vatican—to attend a first WCC General Assembly in August 1941, but World War II broke out before they could convene. From 1940 to 1946 the provisional committee met in the United States, England, and Switzerland. It lent support to chaplain services, released prisoners of war and provided refugee assistance, and prepared for postwar reconciliation of the Protestant churches in Europe.

The first General Assembly of the World Council met on August 22, 1948. A total of 147 churches from forty-four countries represented most Christians outside the Church of Rome. Both the Life and Work and the Faith and Order groups merged with the new Council. As the Cold War began, the Soviet Union was claiming hegemony over most Eastern European states and was constructing a wall between East and West Berlin. The WCC basis for membership declared no political agenda, although the term “godless

communism” had already spawned an international ideological war.

The World Council would be a fellowship of national churches that accepted a simple statement of faith in “our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior.” By 1961 the Third Assembly at Nairobi would revise that formula to acknowledge fidelity to the trinity and scripture. The new statement held that the WCC professed faith in “the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior according to the scriptures,” and sought to fulfill a “common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.” Tinkering with the dogmatic basis for ecumenical unity, but not union with an elaborate creed and discipline, continued for the WCC’s first fifty years as it tried to be both catholic (universal) and evangelical, with members who often held diametrically opposed views on both faith and order.

As of this writing, the World Council claims 320 churches, denominations, and fellowships, with membership of about 400 million in over 100 countries. The criteria for membership are that churches have a “sustained independent life and organization” and apply for membership without seeking permission of any other body or person. Members must accept the idea that churches are “interdependent” and need to engage in “constructive ecumenical relations” in their nation and region. A church needs to have a membership of at least 25,000.

As conservative nationalists of the McCarthy era of the 1950s were concerned that the United Nations would become a super-state, some denominationalists worried that the World Council of Churches was becoming a super-church, with Geneva as a Protestant Rome and the General Secretary as a Protestant Pope. Would the WCC impose political, theological, or social dogma that member churches would find unacceptable? Would it make alliances with anti-Christian, anti-democratic, anti-free enterprise political regimes or with religious bodies, Christian or non-Christian, that would violate the sensibilities or doctrines of its members? Could member churches veto actions taken by the General Assembly, Central Committee, or Executive Council? Could WCC leaders embarrass member churches by social-political activities that were unacceptable to church members in the nations that supplied the WCC with most of its funding? For a half-century such issues have arisen regularly in WCC meetings and in the press.

## Theological Issues

World Council staff member Marlin VanElderen wrote: “Had the church continued to resemble the



portrait of the earliest Christian community given in Acts 2:44–47, the World Council of Churches would not be necessary.” Yet he acknowledged that while Jesus’ prayer was “that they may all be one . . . so that the world might believe” (John 17:21), and while the early church “had all things in common” in terms of possessions, “greed, lack of commitment, racial exclusiveness, lust for power, theological differences, personality conflicts, opposition from outside” plagued the church from the beginning. Such quarrels would also cause theological, as well as socio-political strife in the WCC from its earliest days.

Charged debates have occurred around such issues as the admission of churches to World Council membership that did not follow basic Christian or Protestant dogmas, such as those who did not practice the traditional sacraments. How would WCC members share the Lord’s Supper fellowship when they differed in who administered the sacrament and how it was to be done? What about the Society of Friends and the Salvation Army who saw the sacrament as unnecessary for salvation? This matter was tied to ordination—who were the clergy (priesthood) who could administer sacraments, and what was their relationship to the extra-biblical “laity”? Some churches believed in apostolic succession; only a man who was a properly ordained as a priest by a bishop could administer the sacraments of baptism and communion, whereas congregationally based denominations extended priestly functions to the laity and women in the 1950s, and gays in the 1960s, and held that all believers were ministers and equal in function, even if they held different church offices.

Some Protestant denominations complained that the Council was too aggressive in making peace with the Roman Catholic Church and feared that negotiations would lead to merger under papal authority. In 1960 the Vatican established a Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and invited Protestant and Orthodox observers to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). As a result of a 1964 Decree on Ecumenism, Rome opened discussions with Protestants and Orthodox Christians. In 1969 Pope Paul VI visited the WCC’s Geneva headquarters. The Catholic Church sends observers to WCC Assemblies and has membership on some of its committees. In 1999 John Paul II became the first Pope to visit Orthodox nations, with both warm meetings and chilly receptions in Eastern Europe. Also in 1999 Lutherans and Catholics signed a declaration on the doctrine of justification, the principal theological issue behind Martin Luther’s excommunication that largely resolved their differences on that dogma.

## Political and Social Issues

Political issues also threatened the World Council of Churches fellowship. During the Cold War some Western denominations, particularly in the United States, found it difficult to fellowship with Eastern Orthodox churches that had close ties to communist (atheistic) governments. Along that same line, fundamentalist denominations found the WCC staff to be too liberal (socialist or even Marxist) when it supported 1960s–1990s Third World liberation movements that were receiving weapons and humanitarian aid from communist states. This was particularly true when the WCC involvement was political, as opposed to purely humanitarian. Why did the WCC send funds directly to Marxist guerrilla groups in southern Africa and aboriginal groups in the West rather than provide grants to social programs sponsored by local churches or church councils? The WCC staff and most mainline denominations found colonialism and apartheid to be anti-Christian abominations that could only be wiped out by strong political as well as social action.

Perhaps the most controversial action by the World Council in the political-social arena was the establishment of the Program to Combat Racism (PCR) in 1969. It had already taken a strong stand against racial-ethnic segregation in 1954 when its Second Assembly at Evanston, Illinois, declared segregation to be “contrary to the gospel and incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the church of Christ.” At the time segregation was commonly practiced in the United States and apartheid was state policy in South Africa. By 1961, when the WCC held its Third Assembly at New Delhi, India, 18 of the 23 new members were from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and four others were from the Russian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Polish Orthodox Churches. At a 1966 World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva, for the first time at a large ecumenical conference Western participants were in the minority. A majority of the 420 delegates were laypersons. The Uppsala, Sweden, Assembly in 1968 witnessed sit-ins, walkouts, pickets, and vigils, with a large number of youth present. Black novelist James Baldwin asked whether the WCC had “the moral energy, the spiritual daring, to atone, to repent, to be born again.” The next year the WCC set up the PCR to combat “institutional white racism, entrenched in social, economic and political power structures, with the understanding that the victims of racism must undertake their own liberation and outsiders play only a supportive role” (VanElderen 1992).

As an example of the rift in WCC member churches and national councils, in 1970 the Christian

Council of Rhodesia voted to support the WCC's PCR program with only two dissenting votes. Following the meeting the international Salvation Army withdrew from the Council, and attacked the WCC for abetting violence promulgated by atheistic Marxists. In June 1978, at the apex of Zimbabwe's independence war, Africans killed two Salvationist female missionaries at a school near Bulawayo. Three months later the WCC-PCR gave Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front guerrillas an \$85,000 grant. A month later the Salvation Army suspended its WCC membership, making the break final in 1981 from membership that extended back to 1948. Fifteen of twenty-six Army leaders who had addressed a 1979 Toronto conference wanted full membership, while twenty-three favored some form of membership. African Salvationists expressed their anger with General Arnold Brown by marching on the Army's Harare headquarters. Few fundamentalist churches belonged to the WCC, and some conservatives in mainline churches voted with their purses not to support its work.

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## WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU)

At the outbreak of World War II the existing trade union internationals closed down, though their networks were used by resistance groups in German-occupied Europe. With the 1941 entry into the war

of the USSR, the need to coordinate industrial production for the anti-fascist cause led to the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) working with the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) to form the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council. After the United States joined the Allied cause later the same year, the powerful American Federation of Labour (AFL) agreed to cooperate with the TUC—but not with its own domestic rival, the Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO), or the communist AUCCTU.

Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt strongly supported close cooperation between each government and its national labour movement, and between the trade union centres of their respective countries. During wartime, trade unions were accorded far more status and power than they had enjoyed in peacetime. Then, as the war approached its conclusion, labour movements were considered key players in securing peace, achieving economic reconstruction, and rebuilding civil society. In Britain and throughout Europe, moreover, rank-and-file workers felt a special sense of solidarity with the Soviet people because of their leading role in defeating Nazism.

Consequently, at a Paris conference in October 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was born. Its main backers were the TUC, the CIO, and the AUCCTU—with the latter delivering over half the organisation's claimed 65 million members. The main objectives of the WFTU were the eradication of war and fascism; the promotion of democratic institutions; and full employment, decent wages, regulated workplaces, and social security for all citizens. But many British and US union leaders remained suspicious of their Soviet counterparts' ongoing support for "political" trade unionism, especially the spread of "real socialism."

Within the WFTU a major crisis occurred with the announcement of the Marshall Plan in October 1947. This proposal was welcomed by most Western unions as consistent with WFTU policies, but the AUCCTU condemned it as "the weapon of the transatlantic republic of the dollar and the atom bomb to split Europe." A tightening of unity amongst communist elements inside the WFTU followed. This was matched by a consolidation of anticommunist control over most Western national union centres. Finally, in January 1949, the TUC and the CIO led a major walkout from the WFTU; soon after they were joined by numerous other Western union groupings.

The main trade union centres remaining with the WFTU were from countries with Marxist-Leninist governments, but very quickly the organisation began to mirror the political tensions within that bloc. In 1950 the Yugoslav national affiliates were expelled

for, allegedly, letting their country “restore capitalism” and become a base for “imperialist aggression.” Then, in 1953 and 1956, the WFTU supported Soviet crackdowns on popular protests in East Germany and Hungary, respectively. China and Albania were ejected in 1966 after accusing the international of supporting Soviet “expansionism” and “revisionism.” During the 1968 “Prague Spring” uprising, the WFTU secretariat—based in that city and responding to pleas from Czech unions—briefly condemned the Warsaw Pact invasion, as did its affiliated French and Italian unions. But order was quickly re-imposed within the WFTU, and in 1976 when worker protests in Poland were violently suppressed, the secretariat said nothing. Two years later, the frustrated Italian affiliates totally withdrew, although their French colleagues opted to pursue “internal reform” a few years more.

WFTU views on the Third World reflected current East–West relations and the core tenets of Marxist-Leninist ideology. In practice, “development” was reduced to “the struggle of the workers and of the peoples against imperialism, exploitation by the transnational corporations, and an economic system causing a backwardness of the majority of the peoples.” The USSR and its satellites were presented as models of socialist development and proletarian democracy, and Third World labour movements were expected to combine historical materialist analyses and “appropriate” revolutionary strategies to ensure their countries attained similar heights. Especially strong support was given by the WFTU to affiliated unions involved in anticolonial and anticapitalist liberation struggles, such as in Vietnam, South Africa, and Chile.

By 1980 national union centres and affiliates from seventy-five countries, mainly in the Third World, were said to be attached to the WFTU, though the bulk of its claimed 190 million individual members were still in Eastern Europe. The organisation itself was intensely bureaucratic and quite divorced from ordinary workplaces and workers. Unsurprisingly, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989–1990 was a disaster for the WFTU. Over the next few years this once-powerful international lost most of its Russian and East European affiliates and members—plus the monies and state support they had long provided. While ostensibly still based in Prague, the WFTU rapidly became a disoriented and decentered organisation.

After a decade of relative inactivity, a World Congress of the WFTU was held in 2000 in New Delhi, funded by Indian unions. It was the first congress in the fifty-five year history of the organisation to be held outside Europe. While the official Web site described attendance by “delegates and observers from seventy-four countries representing a membership of 407 million,” such claims are misleading. Most

illustrative is the inclusion of the 135 million members of the ACFTU, China’s national trade union centre, even though its representatives were attending only as observers. Actual figures for national union centres, individual unions, and individual members directly connected to the WFTU in the twenty-first century must be considerably less than those for the 1980s.

Key ongoing issues, the WFTU says, are “the struggles to defend jobs, social security, health protection, trade union rights, poverty, environmental degradation, exploitation of child labour, etc.” Institutional enemies include “neoliberal capitalist globalisation” and agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organisation. Similarly odious are economic sanctions against Third World countries like Cuba, Libya, and Iraq, and military ventures by the United States and its allies. Clearly the WFTU remains committed to “working class solidarity,” “international socialism,” and “anti-imperialist struggle.” The only real changes seem to be that its leadership and agenda are now oriented towards the Third World rather than the (ex-)Second World, and that the “East–West” paradigm of its past has been replaced by the more recent “North–South” debates.

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#### See also Labor

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#### WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

The United Nations General Assembly established the World Food Program (WFP) in 1961 for the purpose of providing emergency food aid to areas of the world experiencing famine and disaster. It became fully operational in 1963, working closely with its parent organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), which was in turn the brainchild of the Allied Conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, in 1943. The FAO commenced operations in October 1945, and with the establishment of the UN came into close association with the United Nations Economic and Social Council as the lead technical agency

for food issues at the UN. The focus of the FAO, however, was on long-term development planning, and the increasing numbers of food emergencies during the early 1960s argued for creation of a sister agency to focus on the emergency food needs of countries afflicted with famines and disasters reducing local food supplies. WFP, like the FAO, maintains its headquarters in Rome.

### **From Emergency to Development**

The WFP was instituted on a trial basis. In 1966, it gained permanent status as the lead UN food logistics agency in emergency settings. The WFP specializes in tracking food supplies and food shipments globally, and in redistributing food supplies when shortages strike various areas of the world. It relies on in-kind contributions of food from food-producing countries and on voluntary cash contributions used for purchasing and shipping food. About sixty countries contribute to the WFP's assets, while around ninety benefit from its assistance. Swift shipping of food to famine-affected areas is essential for saving lives. The WFP has access to aircraft, ships, and hundreds of trucks, often on charter from governments, in order to distribute food supplies. In-country distribution of food aid is done in cooperation with governments and often with non-governmental organizations, such as CARE, that specialize in food-delivery systems and logistics.

Emergency food aid can have the effect of glutting food markets, reducing local food prices and thus inhibiting incentives for local production of food grains. To avoid this, the WFP attempts to free up available surpluses within the countries and regions where drought, famine, or emergency food needs have arisen. The use of local grains and the infusion of cash into local economies and food markets prior to importation of outside assistance is one way the WFP attempts to respect the integrity of development production. In addition, the WFP has developed food-for-work programs, which involve payment in food for work done on various development infrastructure and public works projects, such as road-building and reforestation programs. An example of a WFP food-for-work program during the 1980s was a collaborative effort with the World Bank and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Pakistan, where the influx of large Afghan refugee populations led to degradation of roads. By paying refugees and local Pakistani workers in food to maintain and develop roads, this program helped to enhance Pakistan's road infrastructure while providing food for workers

who would otherwise have remained unemployed. Such work by the WFP often extends to technical support to governments attempting to enhance food production, food storage, and food-distribution systems.

### **Interagency Collaboration**

Emergency food-aid policies are related to development policies and programs, so the WFP often interacts with other humanitarian aid bodies such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee for the Red Cross, as well as the UN Development Program, the World Bank, UNICEF, and the World Food Program's parent agency, the FAO. The WFP's work requires cooperation with UN specialized agencies in both humanitarian and development programs. In Africa, where the lion's share of WFP programming is implemented, the WFP is heavily engaged in development-related food-for-work programs, refugee assistance, and food aid to various complex emergencies, including the major humanitarian emergencies in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, the Congo, and the Sudan. The WFP is a member of the Interagency Standing Committee of the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), where it maintains close ties to the various UN emergency-assistance organizations and contributes to Consolidated Appeals for aid to countries facing emergency situations.

### **A Legacy of Effective Action**

The WFP's aid programs reach tens of millions of people every year, saving many lives and improving nutrition throughout the developing world. In recent years its programs have served more than 100 million people in more than eighty countries. It is directly involved in the world's most difficult humanitarian situations, conflict-torn regions, and disaster-affected areas. Additionally, by focusing on the mitigation of hunger in non-disaster areas, the WFP attempts to prevent malnutrition that stunts the full potential of young people as they mature. The WFP promotes school feeding programs to encourage child education programs. It provides food aid to encourage the development of schools, home shelters, and irrigation systems. It emphasizes disaster mitigation by using food as an incentive to build better roads, food-storage capacity, reforestation, and conservation programs. In all these ways, WFP assistance maintains

## WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

a long-term development focus as well as a commitment to rapid humanitarian response.

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**See also CARE; United Nations Economic and Social Council**

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## WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

Established in 1948, the World Health Organization is one of the four most important specialized institutions among the sixteen agencies officially affiliated with the United Nations, together with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); and the International Labor Organization (ILO).

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, concerted efforts had been undertaken in the field of international public health, and several international bodies were created. International Sanitary Conferences had been convened, notably to coordinate quarantine measures in times of cholera and later yellow fever, the first in 1851 in Paris, and the eleventh held in 1903. In 1907, twelve states agreed in Rome on the creation of the International Office of Public Hygiene (OIHP), based in Paris. The League of Nations established its own Health Organization in 1920. The two international health organizations coexisted until after World War II. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), added later, took over OIHP's role. Several regional bodies also dealt with health questions, particularly quarantine. The new idea to create a single international organization in all fields of public health emerged in 1945, at the UN Conference on International Organizations, held in San Francisco, and was recommended in a joint declaration submitted by Brazil and China.

The Constitution of the new World Health Organization (WHO) was signed by sixty-one states on July 22, 1946, and entered into force on April 7, 1948. Amendments to it were adopted in 1959, 1965, 1967, 1973, 1976, 1978, 1986, and 1998, of which five became integral parts without, however, touching on

the fundamental principles of the Constitution (Burci and Vignes 2004, p. 18). The principles and functions outlined in the Constitution indicated a clear re-orientation from those of the preceding health organizations, created for the "civilized" countries in order to protect them and establish a sanitary belt around the developed nations (Beigbeder 1995, p. 13). While WHO's objective is stated to be "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health" (Article 1), the preamble of the Constitution is visionary:

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition.

The health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent upon the fullest co-operation of individuals and States.

To achieve its objective, WHO is entrusted with multiple functions—both operational and normative—of cooperation, research, training and information. They include technical assistance to governments in strengthening their health services; actions to eradicate epidemic or endemic diseases; emergency aid, promotion of improved nutrition, housing, sanitation, recreation, economic and working conditions, and environmental hygiene; promotion of maternal and child health and welfare; activities in the field of mental health; and establishing international standards with respect to food, biological, and pharmaceutical products.

### Membership and Structure

Membership is based on the principles of universality and statehood. There are now 192 member states and two associate members (Puerto Rico and Tokelau). The structure of the Geneva-based organization is threefold and comprises the World Health Assembly, the Executive Board, and the Secretariat under the responsibility of the Director-General.

The *World Health Assembly* consists of delegates, representatives, and observers. Delegates represent members and their number is limited to three per member state, although they may be accompanied by delegations of varying sizes. Delegates are chosen for their competence in the field of health, and preferably represent health administrations. Associate members are entitled to send representatives. Observers may be invited for a limited period, but there are also "quasi-permanent" observers. The Assembly meets in regular

annual sessions, for about two weeks, while several committees work continuously.

The Assembly's role is to determine the policies of the organization. It elects the Director-General and the members of the Executive Board. Most of the decisions of the Assembly are recommendations to its members, which are not legally binding but nevertheless are important. It has also the normative authority to adopt regulations and binding conventions or agreements on health matters.

The *Executive Board* is composed of thirty-two persons. The selection of board members respects regional criteria, and they serve as government representatives rather than in their personal capacity, as was the case until 1998. The Board meets twice per year and follows an agenda set up by the Director-General. Its role is both technical and political; it prepares the Assembly's work and as such decides on the matters to be discussed (or not discussed); it is responsible for implementing the Assembly's decisions, can decide on emergency matters, and is a determining factor for the choice of the Director-General. The Board also appoints various committees to fulfill its task.

The staff of the *Secretariat* is under the authority of the Director-General and constitutes the third organ of the Organization. Since WHO's creation, five persons have occupied the post of Director-General. The initial five-year appointment can, since 1996, be renewed once only. The Director-Generals have been: Dr. Brock Chrisholm (Canada 1948–1953), Dr. Marcolino Gomes Candau (Brazil 1953–1973), Dr. Halfdan T. Mahler (Denmark 1973–1988), Dr. Hiroshi Nakajima (Japan 1988–1998), and Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norway 1998–2003). The first mandate of Dr. Jong-Wook Lee (Republic of Korea) started in 2003. The Director-General is “the chief technical and administrative officer of the Organization” (Article 31, Constitution), but the position's responsibilities go far beyond this and the individual's influence is considerable.

## Regionalization

From WHO's beginnings, the historical importance of regionalization was recognized and six geographical areas were delineated on the basis of continental groupings but also considering standards of health and the epidemiological situation in the countries to be included. The regions are Africa, the Americas, Southeast Asia, Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Western Pacific. The six originally determined regions have not been changed fundamentally, although some countries did change their affiliation to

a specific area. Each region has its own organization consisting of a regional committee and office. In some regions, special arrangements had to be made to account for preexisting regional structures and their relationship with WHO, as was the case for the Pan Arab Regional Health Bureau at Alexandria and for the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO).

## WHO's Relations with States

Relations with states are structured around obligations deriving from their membership and also from a network of agreements, for example, “host country agreements” with countries hosting the headquarters or regional offices; also “basic agreements” for technical cooperation with member states, notably with developing countries. More than 150 member states have concluded such “basic agreements” with WHO.

## WHO's Relations with Intergovernmental Organizations

WHO's primary relationship is of course with the United Nations, since it is one of its specialized agencies, but it also has significant relationships with the international agencies that predated its creation (PAHO, International Office of Public Health). WHO has formal agreements with sixteen organizations, mostly within the United Nations system. Other examples are the African Development Bank and the League of Arab States. There are also less formal, umbrella-type agreements and WHO collaborates on policy issues with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (for example, on tobacco control and HIV/AIDS). First with the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) and later with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the relationship has always been characterized by the difficulty to maintain a balance between resisting the United Nations' centralization attempts of technical cooperation by the resident coordinator and the effort to cooperate with the UNDP in order to integrate health programs in development activities (Burci and Vignes 2004, p. 75).

WHO has always had close relations with UNICEF, because of the overlap of the two bodies, particularly UNICEF's emphasis on maternal and child health and nutrition, on immunization, family planning, emergency relief, and so forth. The two bodies also have a Joint Committee on Health Policy (JCHP). First

concentrated on the eradication of a number of diseases, the cooperation became particularly important around the strategy of “Health for All by the Year 2000” and its focus on primary health care (see below). The 1978 Alma Ata Conference on Primary Health Care was indeed organized jointly by UNICEF and WHO. Other examples of close collaboration are the 1979 International Code for the Marketing of Breast-Milk Substitutes and the Children’s Vaccine Initiative, at the World Summit for Children, in 1990.

Several long-term programs are co-sponsored by WHO and other United Nations agencies: the Special Program for Research and Training in Tropical Diseases (TDR); the Special Program for Research, Development and Research Training in Human Reproduction (HRP); the FAO-WHO Codex Alimentarius Commission; and the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS).

TDR and HRP are based on the recognized necessity to pool international expertise, the political will of the states concerned, and financial resources. Co-sponsored and executed by WHO, they are mostly financed by extra-budgetary contributions. TDR was established in the 1970s, in a period when biomedical progress facilitated research on the prevention and treatment of major tropical diseases. At the same time, there was also awareness that pharmaceutical companies were not interested in developing medicines for the “diseases of the poor.”

Before the creation of UNAIDS, the reaction of WHO to the pandemic was to establish, in 1987, the Global Program on AIDS, headed by the widely respected Dr. Jonathan Mann who emphasized the social dimensions of AIDS. There was also a parallel Inter-Agency Advisory Group on AIDS as well as a WHO-UNDP Alliance to Combat AIDS. In the early 1990s, the focus shifted to a biomedical perspective. It became clear, however, that the complexity of the growing pandemic brought challenges in various sectors that needed to be addressed by coordinated action. WHO’s Director-General received the mandate, in 1993, to consider developing an inter-agency program in consultation with UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, UNESCO, and the World Bank. ECOSOC became involved later and proposed a membership formula. The Health Assembly and the other six co-sponsors agreed to the establishment of UNAIDS in 1995, as a joint and co-sponsored United Nations program on HIV/AIDS. Its secretariat is located in Geneva, headed by an Executive Director who is appointed by the UN Secretary General upon proposal of the six co-sponsors. UNAIDS operates in developing countries through the country-based staff of its co-sponsors. Coordinated action is decided by the UN Theme Group on HIV/AIDS.

### ***International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC)***

Created by Resolution WHA18.44 in 1965, IARC is a non-statutory body of WHO and is open to participation of all WHO Member States (as of February 2005, it had sixteen participating states: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK, and the USA). Its headquarters are in Lyon, France, because of the French origin of the initiative to create such a body and also because of its closeness to Geneva. IARC has a Governing Council, a Scientific Council, and a Secretariat. Its objective is to promote international collaboration in cancer research. Its functions are the collection and dissemination of cancer epidemiology and research information, the support of cancer research projects, and education and training of personnel for cancer research.

### **WHO’s Relations with NGOs**

From the beginning of the World Health Organization, its interaction with mostly international NGOs has been one of its most important means to accomplish its mandate. From twenty-six, in 1951, their number increased to over 190 in 2002 (Burci and Vignes 2004, p. 89). The working or official relations, as they are called, between WHO and NGOs reach from cooperation in technical matters to operational activities. Related NGOs have a variety of objectives and range from scientific associations, to advocacy and humanitarian organizations, to youth and women’s organizations, to private companies.

### **Relations with the Private Sector**

At the time of WHO’s establishment, the private sector and commercial companies were not considered important partners to international health policy. The relationship with private companies developed gradually, and cautiously, as WHO recognized the role particularly of pharmaceutical companies (for collaboration in research and development of new drugs and vaccines) but was also aware its policies may affect the commercial sector, which in turn might try to influence the outcome of WHO activities. Since the 1980s, WHO has adopted a patent policy by which, depending on the circumstances, the results of funded research are not necessarily placed in the public domain, as might be expected of publicly funded

research, but patent rights and any financial or other benefits associated therewith are used to promote the development, production and wide availability of health technology in the public interest. This permits, for example, the organization to support the development of new drugs in the area of tropical diseases. WHO has also sometimes encouraged donations in kind or money by private pharmaceutical companies to developing countries, monitoring the shipping, distribution, and use of donated drugs, and arranging for research and development. This was for example the case in 2001, when Aventis Pharma made a donation for five years of the drugs Pentamidine, Melarsoprol, and Eflorinthine for the treatment of trypanosomiasis (sleeping disease) in endemic African countries (Burci and Vignes 2004, p. 97).

The multiplication of such relations with the private sector has, however, also raised concerns about WHO's image as an impartial and objective policy agency, independent from undue influences, concerns which recently revised guidelines have not completely dissipated. The proliferation in recent years of longer-term "public-private partnerships" (PPPs) has been both criticized and welcomed, particularly when philanthropic foundations, such as the Gates Foundation, support financially the for-profit enterprises.

### **"Health for All" Strategy**

Immediately after its establishment, during the post-war years, emergency measures against malaria, tuberculosis, and sexually transmittable diseases were WHO's priority, as well as maternal and child hygiene and nutrition. Gradually, a conception of health as an essential element to industrial and agricultural development imposed itself. Social dimensions, prevention, and the necessary training of health care workers shifted to the foreground, together with the importance of sanitation and clean water.

During the 1960s, the fight against transmittable diseases, the strengthening of basic health care services, the training of the needed personnel, and nutrition and environmental concerns were still priorities. At the same time, the arrival of many recently independent state members made the interweaving of health and development obvious. Although the strategy against malaria made some points—except in Africa—large parts of the world's population continued to have no access to basic health care.

By the mid-1970s, no real progress had been accomplished; worse, some sectors were declining and the lack of basic health care services remained the most preoccupying problem. The ways to conceive

of health were more and more questioned; the approach appeared to be fragmented and static. In the developing world, expensive urban hospitals drained national health expenditures. Smaller dispensaries and clinics were rare and had little resources. Millions of people had no access to even rudimentary health care. During this period, WHO initiated a series of studies of successful and innovative initiatives in developing countries. Although the experiences were varied, they had in common a "commitment to universal coverage" (Burci and Vignes 2004, p. 161) and to bring basic health care to those most in need. In 1974, the United Nations General Assembly urged WHO to intensify its international action to improve sanitary conditions in developing countries and to concentrate its actions on prevention and access to basic health care services for collectivities. The Assembly insisted that complicated treatments and high technologies add little to sanitary development where it is most needed and drain precious resources. WHO is asked to reorient its resources and activities.

Probably the most important and long-lasting contribution of WHO to international health policy will be the adoption by the World Health Assembly, in 1977, of the concept of *Health for All by the Year 2000*. The International Conference at Alma Ata (USSR) culminated the following year in a Declaration recognizing primary health care as the adequate approach in order to attain this goal. The United Nations General Assembly expressed its support for the *Health for All by the Year 2000* strategy in 1981. The goal "by the year 2000" was, without doubt, too ambitious; but the policy was revised and reaffirmed in 1998, and continues to orient WHO's activities in the twenty-first century. The strategy is built around five principles, based on the primary health care approach as developed at the Alma Ata Conference. The main components are: (1) the equal distribution of resources and the accessibility of essential health care to everyone; (2) the individual and collective right and duty to participate in sanitary development; (3) equal importance of health promotion, disease prevention, and curative care; (4) scientifically sound technology for all, as economically affordable; and finally, (5) the recognition that the attainment of the highest level of health has to be a concerted effort of all domains of human activity. These guiding principles are further detailed in specific fields, such as education and training, nutrition, clean water, mother and child health, vaccination, and improving access to essential and other medicines. WHO's activities in the field of pharmaceuticals merit special mention. In order to assure rational selection of medicines, low prices, financing on the country level, supply, and delivery, WHO encouraged a policy of differential prices for



poor countries. It also raised awareness of how certain provisions of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) limit the affordability of medicines. A Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health was adopted in 2001.

## Challenges

WHO has had its share of criticisms and challenges. Like all inter-governmental organizations, it has to deal with the fundamental contradiction of programs that are international in scope but have to be implemented nationally. Regional differences in WHO's administration have been controversial from its beginnings, as have been administrative problems at the head office. The proliferation of "special programs," each with its own quite independent board, has been considered a factor undermining WHO's central leadership. Competition from other agencies, such as the World Bank, UNDP, or UNICEF, questions its credibility. Both the politicization and the Health Assembly's voting system, where each member has one vote, gave rise to criticism.

Since the World Health Organization's creation, enormous scientific and medical advances have been made while at the same time adverse side effects of certain treatments appeared (e.g., overuse of antibiotics or pesticides). The health gap between the developed and developing world has led to new strategies, but the most serious problems remain and new challenges, such as the deterioration of the environment and the AIDS pandemic, have to be addressed. The "Health for All" strategy with its emphasis on prevention leaves in the dark numerous congenital or accidental afflictions that cannot be prevented. It is also considered by many a "poor man's" approach to health. Finally, the normative function of WHO has often been controversial, most prominently around the International Code of Marketing of Breast-Milk Substitutes.

RUTH MURBACH AND MIKHAEL ELBAZ

**See also Basic Human Needs; Children and Development; Doctors Without Borders/Médecins sans Frontières; Health Care; HIV/AIDS; Infectious Diseases; Public Health**

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## WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION (WMO)

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) is an intergovernmental agency composed of more than 180 member states and territories, established by the United Nations to foster international cooperation in the collection, sharing, and analysis of meteorological, hydrological, and associated geophysical data.

The WMO's roots lie in the International Meteorological Organization (IMO), which had been founded in 1873. The successor was established by the "Convention of the World Meteorological Organization," a multilateral treaty that was signed on October 11, 1947, and which went into effect March 23, 1950.

The mission of the WMO is utilitarian—to improve human life and promote human activities by improving understanding of the environmental factors that affect those lives and activities the most. By establishing a coordinated network for the gathering and exchange of meteorological, hydrological, and geophysical data, for example, the WMO has provided benchmarks by which potential environmental threats to human welfare can be assessed.

Throughout its history, the WMO has helped scientists and policy makers understand weather-related climate disasters—such as the Sahel droughts that have caused famines throughout West Africa since the 1960s; or El Niño, a cyclical phenomenon that has the potential to disrupt global climate patterns. WMO programs can provide early warning of impending natural and man-made disasters. Such early warnings are necessary in order to provide citizens of

developing and developed nations adequate time to prepare for environmental changes.

Among the major issues of concern to the WMO are climate change, which may occur abruptly, but which have the potential—despite the rate of change—to cause significant disruptions to human lives and activities over the next century; desertification, whether caused by unwise land use or by natural phenomena; natural disasters such as an increase in the frequency or intensity of tropical storms, or climate effects from major volcanic eruptions; maintaining adequate supplies of clean water for growing human populations; pollution; food production; ozone depletion; and climate effects on the incidence and severity of human diseases.

The WMO's major programs include: (1) the Applications of Meteorology Programme, which focuses on development of meteorological services to agricultural, aeronautical, and marine interests; (2) the Atmospheric Research and Environment Programme, which integrates monitoring and research activities concerning, for example, atmospheric chemistry, ozone depletion, tropical meteorology, and weather prediction; (3) the Education and Training Programme, which ensures that member nations have adequate numbers of trained meteorologists, hydrologists, engineers, and technicians; (4) the Hydrology and Water Resources Programme, which is devoted to the monitoring of water resources and mitigation of water-related hazards; (5) the Regional Programme, which focuses on the problems of specific regions; (6) the Technical Cooperation Programme, which facilitates the sharing of relevant knowledge and technologies among member states; (7) the World Climate Programme, which promotes improved understanding of climatic processes; (8) the Space Programme, which supports the development of space-based weather observation platforms and the sharing and utilization of data from those platforms; and (9) the World Weather Watch Programme, which coordinates the acquisition of meteorological and hydrological data and the sharing of that data among WMO members.

DAVID M. LAWRENCE

**See also Acid Precipitation; Deforestation; Desertification; Disaster Relief; Environment: Government Policies; Environmentalism; Erosion, Land; Global Climate Change; Infectious Diseases; Irrigation; Natural Disasters; Pollution, Agricultural; Pollution, Industrial; Rain Forest, Destruction of; United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); Urbanization: Impact on Environment; Water Resources and Distribution; Wildlife Preservation; World Health Organization (WHO)**

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## WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO)

The World Trade Organization is a global, multilateral intergovernmental organization that promotes, monitors, and adjudicates international trade. Together with the regional and bilateral arrangements, the WTO is central to the overall expectations and practices of states with regard to international trade. The WTO is the successor organization to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was created in 1947 to facilitate free trade on a multilateral basis. For most of its existence, the name GATT was the source of considerable confusion because it was both the name of a treaty and the name of the organization headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. In fact, the GATT was more of a negotiating framework than an administrative institution. It did not actually regulate trade. That confusion has now ended. The GATT treaty was amended to create the World Trade Organization, which superseded the GATT organization as of January 1, 1995. Therefore, references to the organization now use WTO, and the treaty is referred to as the GATT. Although the GATT was a regime with little institutional infrastructure until the mid-1990s, it did have a small secretariat with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. In addition to its main role as a negotiating forum, the GATT helped to arbitrate trade disputes, helped to clarify the rules, and assisted states in observing them.

Since 1995 the GATT agreements on manufactured goods have been subsumed into the WTO framework and then extended to include trade in services and intellectual property. The WTO has some powers of enforcement and an international bureaucracy, which monitors trade policies and practices in each member state and adjudicates disputes that members

bring to the WTO. It is unclear how much power the WTO will eventually be able to wield over states in practice.

Over time the membership of GATT/WTO has grown from the original 23 countries to 148 members as of October 2004. Almost all of the world's major trading states are among the WTO's members. Two notable exceptions, however, are Russia and Saudi Arabia. They, along with twenty-one other countries, are seeking admission to the WTO. The United States and other countries demand, as a condition of membership, liberalization of the trading practices of Russia and other would-be members. The trade of the full members accounts for approximately 90% of all world trade. The GATT and the WTO have played an important role in promoting the meteoric expansion of international trade. The organization has sponsored a series of trade negotiations that have greatly reduced tariffs and non-tariff barriers, such as import quotas.

### A Brief History of the WTO

Since the Industrial Revolution swept across Europe in the early nineteenth century, industrialization and international trade have been closely interconnected. One of the main effects of the Industrial Revolution was the specialization of labor. In the early 1800s, the British economist David Ricardo developed the theory of comparative advantage. This theory holds that individuals, firms, regions, and nations can gain by specializing in the production of low-cost goods. Nations make further gains by exchanging low-cost goods for goods that they can only produce at high cost and others can produce at low cost. This implies that low-cost goods producers use productive resources more efficiently.

In a world consisting of open economies, comparative advantage is a central organizing principle of international trade. International competition makes it possible for domestic producers having a comparative advantage in a particular good or service to compete effectively in foreign markets and to profit from the export of these goods and services. In turn, a country's export revenues generate the necessary purchasing power to import goods and services produced at a lower cost in another country. The result of free trade is an expansion in both output and consumption in domestic markets. Low-cost domestic consumers gain by having a greater choice of lower-cost products.

Historically, nations have erected barriers such as tariffs and quotas to protect domestic jobs. As the

wave of protectionism raged during the 1930s (which may or may not have played a significant role in the Great Depression), international trade simply collapsed. Trade restrictions such as tariffs and import quotas, however, carry a hefty price for consumers. A tariff is simply a tax against foreign imports. An import quota specifies the quantity or value of a good allowed to be imported into a country for a given year. By creating an artificial ceiling on the amount of a product allowed to be sold in the domestic market, prices for the quota-protected product are higher than they would be if the quotas were removed. From the standpoint of consumers, quotas are more costly than tariffs. Tariffs do not limit the supply of imported goods, but quotas do. Trade quotas are the policy of restricting the quantity of traded goods and services. They may be used as a means of observing a bilateral or multilateral previous agreement, such as when some countries agree to limit their competition in certain products in the markets of partners to enable the partners' producers to maintain a certain level of the share of their domestic markets. Trade quotas are also used for political reasons. Since the 1960s, tariffs have been declining steadily as a result of multilateral trade negotiations among nations subscribing to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In spite of five decades of consecutive GATT negotiations, during 1990, twenty-one US industries protected by import barriers cost US consumers about \$70 billion paid in higher prices.

The post-World War II era, therefore, brought increasing efforts in developed countries to seek ways to forestall such trade slumps in the future. The United States and Britain, through a series of meetings and conferences, agreed to institutionalize trade policies, which resulted in creating the International Trade Organization (ITO) in 1945. The main purposes of ITO were to lower restrictions on trade and set rules of commerce. Policy planners hoped that this organization could assist in avoiding repetition of the international economic catastrophe that followed World War I. This plan encountered widespread resistance from European nations, developing countries, and domestic US political constituencies concerned with protection of domestic jobs and national sovereignty. Furthermore, its character became so watered down by other countries' demands for exemptions from generalized rules that Congress refused to approve it. In its place, the United States sponsored the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Although initially designed as a provisional arrangement, the GATT became the cornerstone of the liberalized trading scheme originally embodied in the ITO.

In 1947, the GATT was negotiated by twenty-three countries. Under the aegis of the GATT, states

undertook a series of multilateral trade negotiations, called “rounds,” aimed at reducing tariffs and resolving related issues. The eighth and most recent session (as of this writing), the Uruguay Round, completed in 1994, replaced GATT with a new World Trade organization (WTO), thus resurrecting the half-century-old vision of a global trade organization with teeth. The Uruguay Round started in 1986 in Uruguay. Although the rough outlines of a new GATT agreement emerged after a few years, efforts to wrap up the Uruguay Round failed at five successive G7 summit meetings in 1990–1994. It was estimated that a successful conclusion to the round would add hundreds of billions of dollars to the world economy over the remainder of the decade. But that money was a collective good, which would be enjoyed both by states that made concessions in the final negotiations to reach agreement and those that did not.

An agreement was finally reached in late 1994. In this round the United States and the European Union (EU) settled most of their differences on agriculture. In the end the United States got some, but not all, of what it wanted. The Uruguay Round negotiations were not only designed to reduce tariffs but also to confront more ubiquitous and less tractable forms of new protectionism that have become widespread. Non-tariff barriers are among the most ubiquitous of these.

### Non-Tariff Barriers

Non-tariff barriers (NTBs) to trade cover a wide range of government regulations that have the effect of reducing or distorting international trade, including health and safety regulations, restrictions on the quality of goods that may be imported, government procurement policies, domestic subsidies, and anti-dumping regulations. NTBs comprise one of several new protectionist challenges to the principle of free trade often called “neomercantilist” challenges. *Neomercantilism* is “a trade policy whereby a state seeks to maintain a balance-of-trade surplus and to promote domestic production and employment by reducing imports, stimulating home production, and promoting exports” (Walters and Blake 1992). Neomercantilist practices have assumed greater prominence in US foreign economic policy in recent decades. They are also evident in other countries, as witnessed by the concern among US trade partners about the consequences of genetically engineered agricultural products, of which the United States is the leading exporter.

### The Principles of the WTO

Since its inception, the GATT was based on four principles: most favored nation (MFN), reciprocity, nondiscrimination, and transparency. Members of the WTO, according to the MFN principle, are supposed to grant tariff or barrier reduction to all other WTO members. For example, if the United States reduced import tariffs for German automobiles by 8%, the US import tariffs for all automobile imports from WTO member countries had to be reduced by 8%. In this way, the WTO does not get rid of barriers to trade altogether but equalizes them in a global framework in order to create a level playing field for all member states. States may also extend MFN status to others that are not WTO members, as the United States did with China. President Clinton at first tried to use MFN status, which must be renewed annually, as a form of leverage to induce China to change its rights practices. When this failed, he unlinked human rights and trade relations with China, granting MFN status unconditionally.

Reciprocity bolsters the MFN principle because it implies that a country’s reduction in tariffs, for example, will be reciprocated by other WTO members. In the absence of a reciprocal tariff reduction by other partners, a WTO member is under no obligation to unilaterally reduce import tariffs. The two remaining principles are nondiscrimination and transparency, which means that foreign goods will be treated the same as domestic goods; that is, foreign goods will not be discriminated against. Nondiscrimination holds WTO members accountable for treating imported and domestic products on an equal competitive basis within the national market.

### The Structure and Role of the WTO

The WTO is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, and as of 2005 is headed by Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi, a former deputy prime minister of Thailand, who took office in 2002. Countries can file complaints against one another for violation of the GATT. The WTO has the power to enforce the provisions of the GATT and to assess trade penalties against countries that violate the accord. While any country can withdraw from the WTO by giving six months’ notice, that country would suffer significant economic perils because its products would no longer be subject to the reciprocal low tariffs and other advantages WTO members accord one another. When one country charges another with a trade

violation, a three-judge panel under the WTO hears the complaint. If the panel finds a violation, the WTO may impose sanctions on the offending country. Each country has one vote in the WTO, and sanctions may be imposed by a two-thirds vote. This means, among other things, that domestic laws may be disallowed by the WTO if they are found to be de facto trade barriers.

The WTO judicial process has been busy. From 1995 through January 2004, the WTO handled 305 cases. The first case in 1995 involved a complaint by Singapore against Malaysia related to its prohibition of imports of polyethylene and polypropylene. Case number 305 filed in early 2004 by the United States charged Egypt with maintaining illegally high tariffs on textiles and apparel products. However, most of the cases brought to the WTO between 1995 and 2004 were settled without the need for arbitration. When the WTO was called upon to adjudicate disputes, no government defied any of its rulings. Even though some countries were short-term losers in particular cases, they still abided by the WTO because of the broader and long-term benefits of WTO membership.

The WTO provides a way to resolve the dispute and avoid the bilateral retaliation, counter-retaliations, and occasional wars that have marked trade disputes in the past. When the George W. Bush administration imposed protective tariffs, some countries took quick retaliation against the United States by restricting their purchase of US goods, but the EU, Japan, and most other countries were satisfied to sue the United States in the WTO and to threaten retaliation if Washington lost the dispute and still refused to give way. In the end, that was not necessary. Most observers believe that the US presidents have wisely chosen not to risk major damage to the relatively free trade system and to the WTO, which the United States has been instrumental in creating.

### **The WTO and Its Critics**

The GATT/WTO has been considered by intellectuals and policy makers in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) as an exclusive club of rich nations. Influential economists have challenged the conventional wisdom of free trade. They contend that as exporters of single commodities or natural resources, developing nations are considered to be highly dependent on unstable world commodity markets, while rich industrial nations enjoy the core benefits of trade as exporters of capital.

Conservationist groups such as the World Wildlife Federation (WWF) argue that trade has a destructive impact on the environment because trade facilitates

the over-consumption of natural resources. The WWF believes that strengthening environmental regulations worldwide should take place before seeking greater trade liberalization. Another point made by many environmentalists is that companies will try to evade costly environmental standards in one country by setting up shop in another country where there are lax standards.

The WTO rejects the assumption that there is necessarily a trade-off between the environment and the economy as in the example of low trade barriers to environmental goods and services. In addition, the WTO's secretary general has argued that the real cause of environmental degradation is poverty, not trade.

In 1999, an unusual mix of individuals and organizations went to Seattle to protest a number of issues including environmental degradation, lost jobs, and the lack of accountability of the WTO. Protestors virtually shut down the WTO meeting. One of the common denominators of the protestors was that they were upset about the globalization process. The WTO is the most visible symbol of that process.

More specifically, the two biggest complaints against the WTO were related to environmental and labor issues. Protestors concerned with labor issues focused on the wages of workers in the Third World, where in some places, transnational corporations pay workers a dollar an hour or less, and where working conditions are often inhospitable and even dangerous. Of particular concern to the labor protestors in Seattle was the apparent trend of transnational companies to set up factories in countries with very low wages. Lower wages in the Third World countries, they believe, end up affecting wage levels in the United States. In short, US workers must settle for lower wages in order to keep their jobs from being sent overseas.

### **Assessment and Future Challenges**

From its inception, the GATT/WTO has generally resulted in significant tariff reductions through multilateral agreements. It is agreed that the level of tariffs facing member countries of the WTO are much lower today, in the early twenty-first century, than they have ever been. For LDCs, joining the WTO has enabled them to participate in its various multifarious negotiations, thereby giving them the opportunity to present their multifarious cases to the Developed Countries (DCs). It seems that GATT/WTO has generally been in the interest of LDCs by enabling them to suffer lesser trade barriers than they would have suffered without such a multilateral agreement.

Nevertheless, many of the benefits of GATT/WTO's provision are designed to be more favorable to the DCs than the LDCs. For example, tariff reductions on goods exported by the DCs—industrial goods—far outweigh tariff reductions on goods exported by the LDCs—that is, primary products. Although there exists a GATT principle of preferential treatment of the exports of LDCs, known as the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), which provides for reduced tariffs on selected manufactured goods exported by LDCs, the countries have not really benefited much from it. This is because many key industrial manufactured products exported from LDCs are exempted from the benefits of the GSP: textiles and apparel, processed raw materials, and a wide range of industrial and labor-intensive products.

Although the WTO has gotten off to a promising start, its future is not clear. The question is: What will happen if one or more member countries, especially powerful ones, refuse to abide by the WTO rules and reject the findings of the judicial process? So far, when Washington and the EU have lost a case, they have quietly given way, as the United States did in 2003 in the face of an adverse WTO ruling on the steel tariffs. What remains to be seen, however, is the reaction when a highly sensitive case is brought before the WTO.

The WTO is facing several major challenges in the future. First and foremost, the WTO must deal with the question of what type of organization it will be. Most observers agree that the WTO will continue to be dominated by governments seeking to hold onto as much national sovereignty as possible. Most of its members are not very interested in granting the WTO too many powers. In addition, there is often no real consensus among WTO member states about how policy problems should be dealt with. One should not get the impression, however, that the WTO is totally hampered by the whims of nation-states. Its members do understand the need for cooperation, and the WTO is heading into an increasingly large number of new areas.

NASSER MOMAYEZI

**See also General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank); International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

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#### WYSZYŃSKI, CARDINAL STEFAN

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński (1901–1981) led the Polish Catholic Church from 1948, when Pope Pius XII made him primate of Poland, until his death in 1981. He was popular among Poles both religious and not and a great proponent of the Vatican II Council. His legacy is rooted in the tradition of the Polish Catholic Church as not just a spiritual, but also a political and social institution.

Wyszyński was born on August 3, 1901, in the small village of Zuzela near Łomża in northeastern Poland. He received his education in a seminary in Włocławek where he studied philosophy and theology and in the Lublin Catholic University from 1924 to 1929 where he obtained a doctorate in canon law. His dissertation was entitled "The Rights of the Family: The Church and the State in Relation to Schools." After his doctorate he received a scholarship and in 1929–1930 he studied the Christian social sciences in Italy, Austria, France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany. In 1931 Wyszyński was appointed to the

faculty of the Włocławek Seminary and served until the German–Polish War of 1939. During WWII he lived and worked near Warsaw and was briefly arrested by the Gestapo in October 1941. In 1946 he was elected the bishop of Lublin and in 1948 he was promoted to the metropolitan see of Gniezno and Warsaw. In May 1953 he was made cardinal and received the title of S. Maria in Trastevere in May 1957.

A skilled administrator and politician, Wyszyński managed to establish the relationship between the Church and the Communist government in post-WWII Poland. As the primate he navigated the Catholic Church in Poland through years of harsh restrictions mixed with short periods of a more liberal approach. He skillfully created a pragmatic approach to deal with the Communist government. His way of approaching the authorities was criticized by those who expected a much harder line from the Church. The proponents of Wyszyński's politics say that his resistance to communism saved the Polish Church and perhaps also the Polish cultural identity. The critics, on the other hand, say that Wyszyński accommodated the Communist government too much. His position toward the Communist government can be characterized by the concept of the limit of concession stated: "Non possumus"—we cannot yield any more—that

he formulated around 1953. His nonconformist position resulted in house arrest confinement from September 25, 1953, until October 28, 1956. During the period of martial law in Poland he was featured on stamps issued by the Wrocław "Fighting Solidarity" (underground issue).

Cardinal Wyszyński participated in conclaves in 1958, 1963, and 1978. He attended the Vatican II Council from 1962–1965 and was active in the works of the Council from 1967–1979. He died on May 28, 1981, and is buried in the metropolitan cathedral in Warsaw. His brother Stefan Franczak named one of his summer-flowering Clematis varieties of the Jackmanii species, "Kardynał Wyszyński."

LUDOMIR LOZNY

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## **YAHYA KHAN, AGHA MUHAMMAD**

Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan (1917–1971), was born at Chakwal in February 1917. His father, Saadat Ali Khan, was from Peshawar. Yahya received primary education from Chakwal and Peshawar and later joined the Punjab University. In 1938, Yahya Khan was commissioned in the Indian Army and joined the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun. During World War II, he performed his duties in North Africa, Iraq, and Italy. During the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965, he commanded an infantry division. In 1966, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, with the rank of General.

When Ayub Khan resigned in March 1969 due to massive agitation against his government, General Yahya Khan took power, declared a second Martial Law, and assumed the title of Chief Martial Law Administrator. He terminated the constitution and dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies. On March 31, 1969, he became President of Pakistan, and on March 29, 1970, through an Ordinance, Yahya presented an interim constitution: The Legal Framework Order. Under the new constitution, in 1970 he held the first fair and free general elections in the history of Pakistan. Two parties won the elections: Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman swept 160 of 165 seats allocated to East Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party emerged as the single largest party from Punjab and Sind and managed to win eighty-one National Assembly seats. Both parties failed to get even a single seat from any province of the country.

This split mandate resulted in political chaos, where neither Bhutto nor Mujeeb was ready to accept his opponent as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. In the circumstances, Yahya failed to transfer power to the majority party, and the situation became worse. The people of the eastern wing demanded autonomy, a demand that Yahya's government considered a challenge to the country's solidarity. His inability to manage the political situation led to the outbreak of civil war in March 1971. At that time, Yahya facilitated a secret trip of Henry Kissinger to Beijing in July 1971, which strongly disturbed the Soviet Union. As a result, the Soviet Union and India signed the Twenty Years Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation on August 9, 1971, and declared war on Pakistan. During the war of 1971, the Soviet Union stood firmly with India and defeated Pakistan's allies, the United States and China together. Yahya, as President as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, failed to prevent war and protect the country. This ultimately resulted in the defeat of Pakistan, dismemberment of the country, and imprisonment of more than ninety thousand Pakistanis. The surrender of Pakistani forces without resistance and the fall of Dacca caused a plummet in Yahya Khan's popularity and authority. Thus, he was left with no other option but to hand over power to the leader of the minority party of the remaining part of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on December 20, 1971. Bhutto placed Yahya Khan under house arrest in 1972.

HUSAIN KASSIM



See also **Ayub Khan, Mohammed; Bhutto, Benazir; Central Asia: History and Economic Development; Central Asia: International Relations; Pakistan**

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## YEMEN

The Republic of Yemen (ROY) was created on May 22, 1990, by voluntary unification of the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen, with its capital at San'a) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen with its capital at Aden). The merger went poorly and civil war broke out in 1994. Northern armed forces defeated the southern rebels and reunified the country. The political leader at this writing, President Ali Abdullah Saleh (b. 1942) is a cautious authoritarian modernizer.

The ROY occupies approximately two hundred thousand square miles of the strategic southwestern corner of the Arabian peninsula, commanding the narrow strait of Bab al Mandab at the mouth of the Red Sea. Yemen has three main regions: (1) a hot, arid strip along the Red Sea coast; (2) the central highlands, which receive enough rain to grow crops on steep, terraced mountainsides; and (3) the *wadis* (usually dry river canyons) of the eastern region. Temperature and precipitation depend on altitude. The capital, San'a, although only 15° N of the equator, lies at seven thousand feet elevation and so is pleasant even in the summer.

Yemen is isolated, densely populated, and very poor. Its 19 million people (2003 estimate) are Arabs by race, language, and culture, but tribal and religious cleavages generate internal conflict. Yemen faces serious political, social, and economic challenges, the most basic of which is to create a sense of patriotism. Almost all Yemenis are Muslim, but Shi'ites predominate in the north and Sunnis in the south. The Salafist movement, which preaches a return to life as lived by the Prophet in the seventh century, is believed to have a few thousand followers in Yemen.

Yemen's classical history serves as a foundation for modern nationalism. Most famous of the ancient Yemeni kingdoms was Saba (Sheba). Its wealth was

based on control of caravan routes that brought frankincense and myrrh from Hadramawt to the Mediterranean world. At various times, Yemen was controlled by Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians. Yemenis accepted Islam during the Prophet's lifetime. The Shi'ite Zaydi dynasty ruled San'a from the ninth century until 1962. The Turkish Ottoman empire claimed sovereignty over the whole region, but Yemenis have always given primary allegiance to their own tribal chieftains. Great Britain seized the port of Aden in 1839 but exercised only indirect control over the tribal hinterland.

A republican revolution broke out in North Yemen in 1962. For eight years, the country was wracked by civil war as Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser sent troops to help the republicans while Saudi Arabia backed Yemeni monarchists. In 1977, Lieutenant Colonel Ali Abdullah Saleh, formerly the military governor of Ta'izz, declared himself the new head of state. In May 1983, the National Parliament confirmed Saleh as President for another five years. He won subsequent elections by disqualifying his opponents and remains firmly in power today.

South Yemen won independence from Great Britain in 1967 after a bitter guerrilla war. The Marxist leaders of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen had constant internal conflict. When the Soviets ceased to subsidize them, they opened negotiations with Saleh for national unification.

President Saleh rules through a five-member Presidential Council with the help of his political party, the General People's Congress. The constitution vests legislative power in a 301-member House of Representatives, but President Saleh allows parliament very little real power. The press is best characterized as semi-free.

Yemen remains economically undeveloped. Only a few roads are paved. More than half the labor force is employed in agriculture—the chief crops being potatoes, wheat, barley, sorghum, cotton, coffee, and a wide variety of fruit. In recent years, much arable land has been given over to cultivation of *qat*, a mildly narcotic plant that is popular in Yemen. Pastureland is grazed by sheep and goats. Only 10% of the labor force is now employed in industry, but there are commercially exploitable deposits of iron ore, copper, gold, and other minerals. Hopes for economic progress center on oil deposits of unproven size. Yemen's considerable potential for tourism has been curbed by widely publicized kidnappings of foreigners and the presence of al-Qaeda operatives.

The central government in San'a is unable to control large areas of the country. Yemen's legal system is

based on a combination of British, Turkish, and Islamic (Shariah) law, and tribal custom. Yemen is awash with an estimated 60 million guns, three for every man, woman, and child. Tribal feuds and skirmishes are constant—some tribes even possess heavy artillery.

Education in Yemen is free through the primary and secondary levels, but the public school system is rudimentary, compared with that in more affluent countries. Only half the children of primary school age attend school and the adult literacy rate, particularly among females, is well under 50%. There are few rural clinics, and many tropical diseases are endemic.

Yemen's foreign policy tends to focus on a perceived threat from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. President Saleh leaned toward Iraq in the Persian Gulf War and the Saudis retaliated by summarily expelling all 750,000 Yemeni expatriate workers, whose remittances had made up a large part of Yemen's foreign exchange receipts. Yemen has been burdened with an influx of refugees from wars on the Horn of Africa. Foreign aid will be required for the foreseeable future.

The San'a government's inability to control its own territory has created opportunities for terrorist organizations. Al Qaeda is believed to operate training camps in the mountains near Sa'dah. In October 2000, al-Qaeda terrorists blew up the USS Cole in Aden harbor, killing seventeen Americans. After the World Trade Center attacks of September 11, 2001, President Saleh, who fears political Islamists, promised to cooperate with the United States in its war against terrorism.

ROSS MARLAY

**See also Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations**

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### Location

Yugoslavia, "Land of the South Slavs," existed from 1918 to 2003 under three different names and two types of government. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, named Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, existed from 1918 to 1941. It was followed by the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia established in 1946, which became the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963. In 1992, when four of its six constituents' republics seceded, the remaining part was renamed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and lasted until 2003.

Located in southeastern Europe, Yugoslavia extended over half of the Balkan Peninsula. The borders were established in 1921–1925 and barely changed until 2003, except for the years 1941–1945. The total land area was 248,987 square kilometers in 1921 and 255,804 square kilometer in 1991. The country was surrounded by Italy, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania and opened on the Adriatic coast.

The population, 11,984,911 in 1921, increased to 23,528,230 inhabitants, according the last census of 1991. World War II took a heavy toll of about 10% of the population between 1941 and 1945. Yugoslavia was home to a mosaic of people. Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians coexisted with numerous minorities, Albanian, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, and others. Belgrade, the capital city remained the same under the different regimes.

### Land and climate

Yugoslavia was a country of contrasts. The Pannonian plain, its most fertile area extended from Hungary into North Central Yugoslavia (Vojvodina, Slavonia). The forests and highlands of the Dinaric Alps run northwest to south east and dominated the center and the west of the country. The Dalmatian coast, rocky narrows stripe stretched along the Adriatic Coast. The limestone ranges and basins of the Balkans Mountains distinguished the southeastern regions.

The main rivers were the Danube and its tributaries, the Sava, the Drina, and the Drava. The Morava and the Vardar valleys bisected South Serbia and Macedonia. Two major lakes, Prespa and Ohrid, are located in Macedonia along the Albanian border. The climate varied from Mediterranean along the Adriatic

## YUGOSLAVIA

coast to continental around Zagreb and Belgrade up to Sarajevo and Skopje with frigid winters and hot, dry summers.

### Origins to 1918

For centuries, the Yugoslav's lands had been occupied, divided, and influenced by political and religious outside powers: the Austrian, Ottoman, Russian Empires, and the republic of Venice. The South Slavs people were affected by their respective regime's main character: Strongly centralized under the Ottoman rule for the Serbs, while the Croats retained autonomy in the Habsburg Empire. Part of the South Slavs (Croats) became Catholic, while the majority chose Orthodoxy and the sense of church belonging left its print in the mentalities. Conversions to Islam occurred mainly in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The situation lasted five centuries until the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the development of nationalism after 1848.

The concept of Yugoslavia that is the unification of the South Slavs people into a joint state arose among Croatian intellectuals in Austria-Hungary. Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872) and later Josip Strossmayer (1815–1905) defended the idea that South Slavs people were ethnically close sharing a similar language, but history has separated and placed them under foreign rule.

The Yugoslav State is born out from World War I. From 1914 to 1918, the Yugoslav cause gained an increasing support in Serbia and Croatia. Leaders in France and Great Britain also supported the union of the South Slavs in order to defeat Austria-Hungary. In 1917, Prime Minister Nicolas Pasic of the Serb government in exile in Corfu signed an agreement with Ante Trumbic of the Yugoslav Committee, defending the interests of the South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire. The text proclaimed the future union under Peter I Karageorgevic of Serbia, but this was more a declaration of intentions than a political program. In November 1918, delegates from the Croatian National Council representing the short-lived Croatian state signed a “memorandum” with Pasic and Trumbic, emphasizing the bonds among the South Slavs in Serbia, Montenegro, and those of the former Austria-Hungary. Finally, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was proclaimed December 1, 1918, in Belgrade.

### The First Yugoslavia 1918–1941

The First Yugoslavia was plagued by an open confrontation between its two main people, the Serbs and

the Croats; the former ruled the kingdom highly centralized around the government, while the latter expected the regime to become a federation.

On June 28, 1921, a new constitution was adopted despite the Croatian opposition; the same year, Alexander became King after Peter's death. The text strengthened the power of the royal government. The administration and the army were concentrated into the Serb's hands. The national institutions did not function properly, as the Croats boycotted systematically votes taken in the Parliament. As a result, clashes between Serbs centralists and Croats federalists occurred regularly, and most governments were short-lived. Nicolas Pasic, leader of the Serb Radical Party, dominated the political life until his death in 1926. Yugoslavia joined the “Little Entente” with Romania and Czechoslovakia in 1921–1922. Close to France, the alliance was formed to ensure the borders and to oppose the revision of the Paris peace treaties signed after 1918.

In 1928, the situation deteriorated as a Montenegrin opened fire in the middle of a parliamentary session. He fatally wounded Stepan Radic, head of the Croatian Peasant Party, the main political force against the Serbs party. The incident led to a complete rupture between the Serbs and the Croats. In January 1929, King Alexander established a dictatorship. The kingdom became formally Yugoslavia. In order to solve the national question, Alexander reorganized the country and local administration by breaking up the traditional historical units. A “Yugoslavian” national identity was supposed to replace the ethnic ones.

Opposition to Alexander rose sharply. In 1934, while on a visit to France, he was assassinated by Macedonian agent of the Croatian nationalist movement, the Ustachis (“rebel”). A Regency under Prince Paul tried to hold the country together while under pressure of Germany and Italy. Internal tensions were still more acute as the Croatian issue became untenable. Finally in 1939, only a few weeks before the war started, the government of Milan Stojadinovic agreed with Vlado Macek, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, to establish an autonomous Croatian province that included part of Bosnia. The regime lasted until 1941.

On March 25, 1941, the Yugoslav government bowed to German pressure and signed an alliance with the Axis powers. Within days, a military coup occurred and the seventeen-year-old Crown Prince Peter was declared king. Less than two weeks later, Hitler's troops occupied Yugoslavia in eleven days. The Yugoslav lands were dismantled between Germany, Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Croatia under the leadership of Ante Pavelic was proclaimed independent but, in fact, remained under the control of the German Reich.

## Yugoslavia in World War II

From 1941 to 1945, Yugoslavia was devastated by a double war. Armed resistance against the German occupation started immediately, as monarchists led by Colonel Draza Mihailovic and communists partisans around Tito (Josip Broz), supported by the USSR, set up two organizations that fought against each other as much as they fought against the Axis troops. A civil war raged with numerous massacres and atrocities on all sides as the Germans turned against the civilian populations.

In 1942, the communists set up the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia that would, one year later, become and act as a future national government (Congresses of Bihac and Jajce). Mihailovic's Chetnik ("armed bands") were supported by the government of Peter II in exile in London and by the British government. In 1943, the partisans won the support of the British-American forces, and by 1944, the partisans liberated the country from the foreign occupation.

## The Second Yugoslavia 1945–1992

In November 1945, national elections were held despite the opposition abstention, and the newly elected constituent assembly proclaimed a Federal People's Republic. The 1946 constitution, modeled after the Soviet constitution of 1936, established six constituent republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia and two autonomous provinces within Serbia, Kosovo-Metohidja, and Vojvodina. In 1947, the Italian peace treaty awarded most of Istria, the eastern part of Venezia Giulia, Rijeka, and Zadar to Yugoslavia. However, a conflict over Trieste lasted until 1975 and ended with a partition agreement.

Until 1948–1949, Yugoslavia was a communist state close to the Soviet Union. A policy of agricultural collectivization, central planned economy, and forced industrialization was undertaken, and opposition was suppressed. The headquarters of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) that gathered communist parties under the Soviet leadership was established in Belgrade. However, on June 28, 1948, a crucial break-up between Stalin and Tito occurred as the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was accused of deviation from Communism and was ousted from the Cominform. In fact, Stalin had long been suspicious about Tito's loyalty and his growing independent ambitions in Southeastern Europe.

Tito began a new policy based on a balance between capitalism and communism. He received economic and military assistance from the West. In 1954, Yugoslavia signed a military defense pact with Greece and Turkey, both NATO members. Cordial relations resumed with the USSR under Krutchev in 1955. Tito created the Non-Aligned-Movement, gathering new states, mostly former European colonies, that wanted an alternative or a "third way" between the East and West.

In 1963, a new genuinely federal constitution was adopted and Tito became President for life. Communism was abandoned in favor of Socialism. However, a double-contradictory tendency emerged as further decentralization and reforms were granted to the republics, but the actual power remained in the hands of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Introducing a new economic policy of "self-management," councils of workers participated in the management of their companies.

Between 1968 and 1971, agitation and national question revived. Unrest appeared first in Kosovo where the large Albanian population demanded national and cultural rights. Then, in 1970–1971, Croatian intellectuals and students launched a series of manifestations asking for more autonomy. Tito crushed the movement called the "Croatian Spring," perceived as a national Croat opposition. However, the trend toward greater autonomy was pursued, and in 1974, the country's last constitution transformed Yugoslavia into an almost confederation. The Muslims became the six constituent people, while the central government continued to retain the political power. At the same time, the economy began to stagnate. After Tito's death in 1980, his successors were unable to maintain national unity or to undertake the drastic reforms as they clashed over the conflicting interests of their republics.

In 1987, a new leader emerged—Slobodan Milosevic—who began an aggressive campaign to reassert Serbian and communist hegemony over a recentralized Yugoslavia. As leader of the Serbian communist party, he limited the autonomy of Kosovo-Metohidja and Vojvodina and sent troops to Kosovo to suppress the protests (1988–1989). One year later, the disintegration process started, as in January 1990, the Slovenian and Croatian delegates walked away from the Congress of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia, one of the pillars of the Yugoslav regime. The conjunction of prosperity and revival of nationalism gave the Croatian and Slovenian leaders the strength to secede from Belgrade. Later that year, multiparty elections were held in each of the six republics. On June 25, 1991, Croatia and Slovenia declared independence, followed by Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992.

The secession of the four republics was followed by three wars. The first one occurred in Slovenia in June–July 1991. The Slovenes were determined to secure their borders, and the conflict ended with the retreat of the Federal Yugoslav Army. The second one started in July 1991 in Croatia, in the Serbian-populated regions of Slavonia and Kraijna. Since the elections of the nationalist leader Franco Tudjman, the 12% Serb minority's rights have been restricted. Following Milosevic's orders, the federal army helped the Serbian militia fighting the Croats. The intervention of the United Nations in December froze the front, but the Serbs occupied 30% of Croatian territory until 1995. The third war erupted in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, where Serbs fought first against the Croats and later against an "uneasy alliance Croats-Muslims" concluded under the US auspices. The siege of Sarajevo lasted until 1994. The leaders, Tudjman, Milosevic, and Izetbegovic alternatively fought against each other and negotiated the partition the country. Following the failed interventions of the European Union and the United Nations, the war ended with NATO bombing operations in 1995. The Dayton Agreement sponsored by Washington established that Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Bosnian-Serb Republic (Republika Srpska) and the Croat-Muslims Federation.

### The End of Yugoslavia

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born during the war in April 1992. It included Serbia and Montenegro as well as Kosovo and Voivodina. Milosevic, who became president in 1997, pursued his aggressive policy toward the Albanians in Kosovo. Tensions rose and battles erupted between a Kosovar guerilla army (KLA) and the Yugoslav troops. In 1999, NATO bombed Yugoslavia for more than two months. Since then, the province is placed under the administration of the United Nations (Resolution 1244). In September

2000, after his defeat in the presidential elections, Milosevic refused to yield power and massive demonstrations took place in Belgrade. On October 5, the regime collapsed. The opposition candidate, Vojislav Kostunica, became president and Zoran Djindic prime minister. Milosevic was arrested and on June 28, 2001, was extradited to the War Tribunal in La Hague where he was charged with genocide and war crimes.

After long and intense negotiations between Serbian and Montenegrins representatives, both parties agreed to establish a loose federal union of Serbia and Montenegro. After the proclamation of a new constitution, in February 2003, Yugoslavia ceased to exist and the name was erased from the European map.

NADINE AKHUND

**See also Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatia; Milosevic, Slobodan; Montenegro; Serbia; Tito, Josip Broz (Marshal Tito); Tudjman, Franjo**

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## **ZAIRE**

*(See Congo, Democratic Republic of the)*

## **ZAMBIA**

### **Geography, Topography, and Climate**

Landlocked Zambia is situated on the Central African High Plateau, with an average altitude of between 1,060 and 1,363 metres above sea level, and covers 464,937 square kilometres. The climate is moderate most of the year, though the river valleys are often tropical and very humid. Annual rainfall in the north averages 1,250 millimetres, while in the southwest, where Zambia borders the Kalahari, it averages 500 millimetres. The environment is favorable for growing crops, vegetables, and fruits in many parts of the country.

### **Historic Past and Current Economic Situation**

Zambia has been inhabited by humans for at least one hundred thousand years. The Bantu peoples, who now make up the bulk of the population, entered the country relatively recently. In 1889, the entrepreneur Cecil Rhodes obtained mining concessions from the Barotse

people and sent British mining specialists and farmers to the area soon thereafter. The territory was extended with the consent of the British government and ruled by Rhodes' "British South Africa Company" (BSAC). In 1924, the British government took over the administration of the colony, which was then called "Northern Rhodesia." The influx of white settlers, especially after World War II, led to the marginalization of many African peasants, since the white population took possession of the most fertile lands. The BSAC, and later the British government, levied taxes on Africans to force them to seek work in the mines. The development of the mining industry and Zambia's concomitant industrialization led to the transformation and urbanization of what previously had been a rural peasant society. The worsening situation of the African population after World War II led to protest and the formation of African political parties. Protests were furthermore triggered by a white-dominated confederation between Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. Northern Rhodesia became independent in 1964 and was renamed Zambia. It was ruled by Kenneth Kaunda and his "United National Independence Party" (UNIP), most of the time as a one-party state. A long-lasting economic crisis provoked domestic pressure that eventually forced Kaunda to give way to a multiparty democracy in 1990. Elections in 1991 led to the defeat of Kaunda by Frederick Chiluba, chairman of the "Movement for Multiparty Democracy" (MMD), who was reelected in 1996. In December 2001, Levy Mwanawasa of the incumbent MMD emerged as the new president.

Although Zambia is blessed with mineral resources as well as waterpower and fertile land, it is largely dependent on revenues from its copper exports. However, low prices for copper on the world market, ineffective industrial enterprises, and an inflated public sector make Zambia one of the most heavily indebted countries in Africa. For the past decade, the country has been pursuing economic reform programs under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which has resulted in the reduction of labour in the public sector and the privatization of state and parastatal industries like the giant “Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines” (ZCCM) and the “Roan Antelope Mining Corporation of Zambia” (RAMCOZ). Coupled with these policies is Zambia’s young labour force, which continues to grow. As a result, the unemployment rate is very high (50% in 2003). There is, however, no national strategy to tackle this problem. Real wages of the employees have continued to fall. The situation of the Zambian worker is aggravated by the rapid devaluation of the national currency against the US dollar and the attendant rise in inflation.

Gross domestic product per capita was estimated at \$800 in 2002; the labor force occupation in 2001 comprised agriculture (85%), industry (6%), and services (9%). The infant mortality rate total was estimated at 99.29 deaths/1000 live births in 2003. Life expectancy of the total population amounts to 35.25 years (2003). The country’s rates of HIV/AIDS are still great: the prevalence of the disease among adults was 21.5% (1.2 million people in 2001). In 2001, approximately 120,000 Zambians died of AIDS. The CIA factbook (2003) estimates that 80.6% of the total population aged fifteen years and older can read and write English.

### **Economic and Civil Development Since 1945**

In the late 1920s, extensive copper deposits were discovered in the Copperbelt, and by the late 1930s, about four thousand European and some twenty thousand African laborers were employed there. The Africans protested against the discrimination and ill treatment to which they were subjected with strikes in 1935, 1940, and 1956. The British authorities did not allow African trade unions but did organize self-help “welfare” groups, which brought together persons of diverse ethnic backgrounds. In 1946, delegates from these groups met in Lusaka and formed the “Federation of African Welfare Societies.” Up to that point, Africans were effectively excluded by the colonial administration from any political power: the Legislative Council,

the central political instrument of the Crown Colony, was left to whites only. In 1946, the British created the “African Representative Council,” which was filled by Africans. This council deserved its name, since its members had representative functions only, with no political power. Only from 1948 onwards were a few Africans allowed to sit in the Legislative Council. In the same year, the Federation of African Welfare Societies was transformed into the “Northern Rhodesia African Congress,” the first African political party of the colony.

From 1953 to 1963, Northern Rhodesia formed a federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in order to create a political and economic British counterpart to the influence of Boer-dominated South Africa, to reduce costs for administration and to feed bankrupt Southern Rhodesia with Northern Rhodesian export revenues. Protests by Northern Rhodesian African leaders against the Federation were fruitless. In 1956, copper revenues, the main source of income for the Federation, dropped dramatically, and many miners lost their jobs. Many Africans stiffened protests against their barring from political and economic power. In 1958, members of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress founded the “Zambian African National Congress” (later UNIP). The new party, led by Kenneth Kaunda, took a much more radical anti-colonial line than did the Northern Rhodesian African Congress. On December 31, 1963, the Federation floundered, and in October 1964, Northern Rhodesia gained independence as the Republic of Zambia.

After independence, Zambia’s economy was relatively stable and prosperous, since the price of copper rose considerably between 1964 and 1970, and because the government had acquired mineral rights from the BSAC. In 1965, the government concluded projects for social services and education, and slowly the Africans started to dominate the upper ranks of the public sector while the whites dominated the economic sector for a while.

Although Zambia was dependent on railroad tracks and pipelines through neighbouring countries, which were ruled by white minority regimes, Kaunda made Zambia a “frontline state” against these regimes and granted refuge to members of South African resistance movements. As a result, Zambia was cut off from the routes through Rhodesia and Angola. China built a railroad from the Zambian copper belt to Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) instead. This railroad was opened in October 1975.

In 1969, Zambia began to nationalize foreign copper mines. However, in 1970, a harsh economic crisis hit the country, since revenues from the copper export fell, while the price for oil and other import goods increased. Dissatisfaction with Kaunda’s government

grew, which led to the fission of the “United Progressive Party” from UNIP under Simon Kapwepwe in 1971. Kaunda reacted by transforming Zambia into a de facto one-party state (in December 1972), intimidating the opposition and greasing opposition leaders with lucrative posts. He established a sophisticated patronage system, created jobs by inflating the bureaucracy, and kept the ailing urban population at bay by subsidizing food prices. This subsidizing program was financed at the expense of heavy debt burdens and squandered relief funds. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), one of Zambia’s main donors, in return put pressure on the government to cancel food subsidizing. In 1986, Kaunda agreed to stop it, but reestablished it in 1987, provoking the withdrawal of the IMF from the donor community. Kaunda’s second attempt to cancel food subsidizing in 1990 caused major upheavals, particularly in urban areas, which effectively put an end to his regime.

His successor, Chiluba, had promised economic and social reforms as well as a commitment to human rights. However, in terms of “good governance,” his status after two terms in office was negative, particularly with regard to economic reforms. Since the government believed that static development policies during the UNIP era were a major factor in creating the economic problems faced by the country and that any recovery would require the financial support of the IMF and the World Bank, they committed themselves to a hasty privatization of state enterprises. In urban areas, the opening of the economy to foreign investors has caused a high level of unemployment and an expansion of the informal sector. Although the government acknowledges that the agricultural sector should play the dominant economic role, its policies do not give it priority.

MMD’s governing policies are characterized by corruption and xenophobia. Opposition leaders are threatened with forced exile by denying them their Zambian citizenship. The discontent and aggressions of the growing army of impoverished Zambians are frequently directed towards the Asian minority and the 250,000 refugees in Zambia, mainly from Angola and the D.R. Congo.

REINHARD KLEIN-ARENDT

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## ZAPATISTA NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (EZLN)

### Background

On January 1, 1994, following years of clandestine work, a well-organized army of mostly Mayan Indians simultaneously occupied four towns in the southern state of Chiapas. The uprising was led by the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN), named after Emiliano Zapata’s famous guerrilla band of the 1910s. The revolt was timed to begin with the institution of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which Zapatista leaders thought would further erode their standards of living. The government overreacted by sending a huge contingent of soldiers into the region to suppress the revolt. Under internal and international pressure, former President Salinas agreed to negotiate, by using Catholic leaders as mediators. Ongoing negotiations have been periodically revived with successive Mexican governments without reaching a satisfactory conclusion.

### Causes of the Conflict

Despite being Mexico’s resource-richest state, Chiapas had suffered more poverty, government neglect, lack of basic infrastructure, and landowner abuse than did the rest of the country. A large percentage of the population is composed of descendants from Maya Indians who, over the centuries, have suffered from discrimination and whose demands for a fairer distribution of land and recognition of their basic human rights have been ignored. The decision to take up arms was finally prompted by the government’s attempts to revoke Article 27 of the Mexican



## ZAPATISTA NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (EZLN)

constitution, which protected communal land holdings administered by Indian communities (*ejidos*) from privatization.

### Aims

The Zapatistas have been described by Castañeda as “armed reformists” rather than revolutionaries. Unlike all other armed revolutionary movements, they have not sought to seize state power or become a political party. The armed uprising was part of a larger strategy to promote the struggle for land reform, democracy, and indigenous rights, and to force the government into the negotiating table.

### Structure of the Movement

One remarkable trait that distinguishes the Zapatistas from other armed movements is the subordination of the military to civilian leadership. The highest political body is the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee (CCRI), composed of elected representatives from all the Zapatista communities. This body represents the collective decision making of the communities, since decisions are taken by consensus following extensive consultations and approval across communities. The same model of direct democracy applies at every level, from the autonomous municipalities to the local Zapatista communities, combining democratic principles with traditional indigenous assemblies.

### Achievements

Within the communities, the uprising had major consequences. One was the perceived need to redress traditional discrimination against women, which resulted in the Revolutionary Women’s Law. Another major gain was the creation of a partially liberated zone in part of eastern Chiapas, where thousands of Zapatista communities have carried out their own experiment in self-administration by following customary practices. Thus, the uprising instilled a newfound confidence and politicisation among the most marginalised sectors of Mexican society.

In February 1996, the parties signed the San Andres Accord. So far, only the first provision has been completed, recognising the autonomy of Mexico’s 10 million Indians and their rights to multilingual education.

Economic issues, such as control of natural resources and land redistribution, remain unresolved. The demand to demilitarise the indigenous areas in Chiapas is still to be met, but incorporative creative politics continues to flourish in the region.

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### See also Mexico: History and Economic Development

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### ZHOU ENLAI

Zhou Enlai (1898–1976) was born in Huai’an, Jiangsu, China, on March 5, 1898. Educated in China, Japan, France, Germany, and England, he belonged to the group of urbanised and cosmopolitan intellectual leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He joined the Communist Party in France in 1921, returned to China in 1924, and soon became a prominent leader of the Chinese Communist movement.

He participated in the Long March (1934–1935), acted as chief liaison officer between the CCP and the Guomindang during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), and became a follower of Mao’s political line in the early 1940s, starting with the Yan’an Rectification Campaign (1942–1945). After 1949, Zhou Enlai increasingly took over the role of handling the every day problems of Communist rule. The many speeches he made in his capacity as premier of the Chinese Communist government and leading member of the CCP reflect his ideas on questions of development in economic, political, and social terms his main concern being the necessity to overcome underdevelopment and poverty in order for China to reclaim its position among the most advanced nations of the world.

In the field of economics, Zhou Enlai first adhered to the Soviet Union model of socialist construction regarding the development of heavy industry as the most important task of the modernising socialist

state. At the same time, private entrepreneurs should be allowed to contribute under the regime of state capitalism to the well-being of society and economy by investing into the light industry. Agricultural production was supposed to gain momentum as a consequence of land reform and cautious collectivisation. He was convinced that China did not need the kind of large-scale state-run agriculture of the Soviet Union, but also believed in the enhancement of agricultural output with the help of a form of collectivisation that would conform with the peasants needs and wishes.

But in 1956 already, Zhou Enlai expressed his doubts about the Soviet model and started to reflect on the rearrangement of priorities in economic development. In this context, he repeatedly underlined the problems of a planned economy, but never lost hope in the possibility to accelerate development by planning on the basis of “seeking truth in facts.” As a consequence of severe problems arising during and after the Great Leap Forward, he finally agreed to regarding agriculture as the foundation of development, serving the light industry with the necessary products the production and consumption of which would provide the sector of heavy industries with the necessary capital. By this, he hoped to overcome the central problem of shortage of capital without having to rely on financial aid from the Soviet Union or other countries of the Socialist block. In terms of speed, this new setting of priorities would slow down the process of modernisation, but it would at the same time prevent the country from suffering under the kind of disproportionate growth it had gone through during the enthusiastic years of the Great Leap Forward. On the top of that, the Great Famine from 1959 to 1961 had shown that without focusing on agriculture, the newly founded People’s Republic would not even be able to supply its population with the necessary amount of grain.

Politically, Zhou Enlai stressed the necessity to integrate as many members of society as possible under the leadership of the Communist Party. Recurring to his experiences gained as head of the liaison office in Chongqing during the war against Japan (1937–1945), he was aimed at slowly convincing as many members of society, even those from so called “hostile classes,” to submit to the leadership of the CCP and contribute to the improvement of livelihood in China. Thus, he emphasized the length of the so-called transitional period and the necessity to allow for different forms of property rights to coexist.

As Zhou Enlai’s development strategies were focused on modernising China so as to enable it to catch up with the highly industrialised countries of the world, he was extremely concerned with mobilising

the intelligentsia for the cause of enhancing the education of the younger generation. He was convinced that China could join the countries with the highest standards in science and technology and strongly argued against anti-intellectualism. As early as 1956, he gave a speech on the role of intellectuals as well as of science and technology in socialist construction asking the whole nation “to march towards science.” After severe persecution and criticism of intellectuals during the Campaign against Rightists (1957–1958), Zhou Enlai used the period of readjustment during the early 1960s to reinforce his policies towards intellectuals, reiterating that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals were patriotic, progressive, and served socialism wholeheartedly, and should therefore be regarded as part of the working class.

It is mainly because of this focus of his modernisation strategy that Zhou Enlai is still acclaimed as a humane socialist without the personal ambitions of many intellectuals in the PRC. Stressing that without him, the economy in mainland China would have collapsed during the tumultuous early years of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), many who lived through the chaos of that period commemorate him as the saviour of the country. Zhou Enlai did not submit absolutely to Mao Zedong’s will during the years 1966 to 1976. However, while participating in “class struggle,” he laid the foundation of the reform policy Deng Xiaoping, his successor as premier of the PRC, would later promote as the “four modernisations.” Using his increased influence after the death of designated party leader Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai spent the last years of his life attempting to redefine China’s role in international politics and prepare the ground for the modernisation of agriculture, industry, national defence, science, and technology. He died on January 8, 1976.

SUSANNE WEIGELIN-SCHWIEDRZIK

**See also Chinese Communist Party; Chinese Revolution; Deng Xiaoping; Mao Zedong; Modernization**

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**ZIA UL-HAQ, MUHAMMED**

Muhammed Zia ul-Haq (1924–1988) was born on August 12, 1924, at Jalundhar. He was the eldest son of Muhammad Akram, a teacher in the British Indian Army. Zia received his early education in the Government High School Simla and obtained a B.A. Honours from St. Stephen's College (Delhi). He joined the British Army in 1943 and served in Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia during the World War II. At the time of independence of Pakistan in 1947, Zia joined the Pakistan army as a major. In 1963–1964, he went to the United States for a training course in the Commander and Staff College. During the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, he acted as the Assistant Quarter Master of the 101st Infantry Division, which was posted at Kiran sector. Zia was posted to Jordan from 1967–1970, where he was an instructor in the Jordan military academy. In 1975, he was appointed as Core Commander of Multan, and in 1976, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto appointed him Chief of the Army Staff. In July 1977, he overthrew the democratically elected Bhutto government due to the political uncertainty and declared martial law for the third time in the brief history of Pakistan. Bhutto was imprisoned by Zia's government and was charged with conspiring to murder a party colleague; in April 1979, he was hanged by Zia's military regime. Zia promised to hold elections in the next ninety days, but in 1977, he postponed the elections and decided to start an accountability process for politicians. He established a Disqualification Tribunal that disqualified many politicians during the next seven years.

On September 16, 1978, after the retirement of President Fazl Ellahi Chudhary, Zia assumed the office of President and announced a Nizam-e-Mustafa (Islamization) programme. In 1979, Zia joined the Non-Aligned Movement and also joined the US partnership against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. The Afghan war enabled Zia to continue martial law and legitimised its military regime. His government received \$3.2 billion and \$4.2 billion in economic and military aid from the United States. The US administration and the Congress waive the Symington amendment and make an exception regarding Islamabad's nuclear programme. Thus, Zia's government's clandestine efforts successfully achieved nuclear weapons capability and produced weapons-grade uranium. In 1980, he introduced a 284-member Majlis-i-Shura (nominated by the president) as an advisory council for the president. In 1985, Zia was declared President through a dubious referendum, amended the constitution, and institutionalised the supremacy of the military in decision-making by the

inclusion of the three chiefs of staff in the National Security Council.

In 1985, Zia announced elections on a non-party basis, and the major political parties boycotted them. The results showed that many victors belonged to local, regional, ethnic, and religious parties. Zia nominated Muhammad Khan Junejo as the prime minister from among the members of the assembly. But before handing over the power to the new government, he introduced the eighth amendment under which the president had the right to dissolve the elected assembly. These measures were endorsed by the parliament before Zia lifted the state of emergency in the country in 1986. On May 29, 1988, he dissolved the National Assembly and removed the Prime Minister under article 58(2)B of the amended constitution due to differences on the issue of parliamentarians' freedom and decision to sign the Geneva Accord (April 1988). Zia again promised to hold elections within ninety days, but before any decision, he died in an air crash near Bahawalpur on August 17, 1988. Zia-ul-Haq was buried in the premises of Faisal Mosque (Islamabad), and later the country celebrated the rule of democracy.

HUSAIN KASSIM

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**ZIMBABWE**

Zimbabwe in southern African has a landlocked area of 150,804 square miles, with South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique as neighbors. Its 2003 population was 12,890,000 but decreased to an estimated 12,671,860 (CIA) in 2004 due to the HIV/AIDS crisis. By 2050, Zimbabwe's population could fall to 12,658,000 if present trends continue. The United Nations estimates that 34% of the adult population is infected by HIV/AIDS. Another report cites life expectancy as 40.1 years for Zimbabwe

males; 39.7 years for females. But a United Nations (UN) Human Development report places life expectancy at 32 years, compared with 50 years three decades ago, for the Southern African states of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Mozambique, Lesotho, and the Central African Republic.

Zimbabwe's largest cities are Harare, the capital, with a population of 1,868,000, and Bulawayo, with 824,000 inhabitants. Approximately 24% of Zimbabwe's workers are employed in service industries. Schooling is compulsory for ages five to 12; literacy is 90.7%. Religion is a syncretic mix of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and traditional African beliefs. African-led churches, often with a mix of charismatic or pentecostal emphases, are increasing.

Nearly two-thirds of Zimbabwe's people live in rural areas, where only 7% of the land is arable. Thus, most rural people are subsistence farmers who depend on irregular rainfall to produce maize, and cotton, tobacco, wheat, coffee, and cotton. Livestock was estimated at 5.70 million in 2002.

South African whites took the arable land from Zimbabwe's Bantu and Ndebele population in 1890. Cecil Rhodes invaded in order to extract mineral resources: gold and diamonds. Zimbabwe also had nickel, copper, chrome, veradium, tin, and platinum.

Eighty-two percent of the natives are of Shona-related ethnic groups; 14% are Ndebele-speakers.

Before Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC) arrived, Shona and Ndebele (a Zulu tribe from the South) ruled Zimbabwe. Portuguese traders and Roman Catholic missionaries had visited from Mozambique long before Rhodes had established his diamond trade in South Africa in 1880. In 1890, Rhodes and his Pioneer Column defeated the Shona and established Fort Salisbury. Rhodes detested African culture and stole African land and minerals after he got Ndebele King Lobengula to sign a phony treaty. Queen Victoria ceded political control of Mashonaland and Matabeleland to the BSAC, which ruled "Rhodesia" from 1890 to the 1920s. Rhodes gave three thousand acres to white pioneers and allowed white farmers and miners to rule.

British and other whites brought capitalism, imperial rule, and Christianity to Zimbabwe. Rhodes awarded grants to missions to impose "Christian" culture in subsidized schools, clinics, and churches. The BSAC granted land and stipends for missionary teachers and doctors. Christian culture included religion, Western dress, marriage customs, English language, and deference to whites. They rechristened the landscape with Christian names. The BSAC and Christian missions married acquisition of wealth to imperialism and faith.

A scramble for African land involved carnal and religious interests that became so intertwined as to be almost indistinguishable. Their interests were to transform African culture and to dominate its people. Africans would become forced laborers in mines and on farms, and they would be transformed into believers with European habits and often Christian names. They would abandon African religious rites for European beliefs.

Professor C. J. M. Zvobgo argues that Christian missions shared two beliefs with Rhodes' BSAC. As a result of early London Missionary Society (LMS) and Jesuit experiences, missionaries believed that success in converting the "heathen" to the Christian ways depended on breaking Ndebele power by force. They argued that the Ndebele were masters of the Shona. The missions were indebted to Rhodes for mission land grants and were willing to support use of force to maintain BSAC rule. By 1925, the BSAC had given missions 325,730 acres, mostly without permission of African chiefs.

Rough white South African miners had little interest in religion. Their interest was in material wealth. Thus, most missions turned to work among Africans when BSAC offered land grants. Few missionaries raised issues of BSAC land confiscation, hut taxes, and forced labor from Africans. And few missions sought African advice on health, education, or church policy. Paternalism held that Africans were incompetent in management matters. On the whole, deaths of whites were seen as "martyrdoms," with no connection to their theft of land or denial of African cultural/political self-determination.

In 1923, white settler government replaced BSAC rule, and in 1965, Ian Smith's settler government unilaterally declared independence from Britain and established a minority white-ruled "republic" to deny the vote to the majority African population. In the early 1960s, Africans had begun to organize guerrilla forces to fight for independence. Warfare lasted until the British negotiated a settlement in 1979. Patriotic Front leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo gained one-person-one-vote democracy and renamed the country Zimbabwe. The new African state was recognized by the United Kingdom, United States, and United Nations. UN sanctions, supported by a World Council of Churches' (WCC) Program to Combat Racism and work of international relief agencies, combined with weapons from Asia and Eastern Europe, helped bring Prime Minister Mugabe's multi-party government to power in 1980.

African and white political parties and white and African churches chose sides in the war. Irish Presbyterians, the Reformed Church, and Salvation Army broke with the WCC over humanitarian grants to the

“Marxist” insurgents. Zimbabwe’s war became an extension of cold war politics for American and British conservatives. But when war ended, Mugabe’s Shona army engaged in a brutal civil struggle with Nkomo’s Ndebele. Later Mugabe sealed an alliance with the Ndebele wing of the Patriotic Front that held to the early twenty-first century in spite of Mugabe’s increasingly autocratic rule.

After a period of peace and relative prosperity under President Mugabe, Zimbabwe experienced political instability and economic crises in the 1990s. Joining a civil war in Zaire (Congo) squandered Zimbabwe’s capital. Inflation reached 900%. Whites emigrated due to attacks on their property by Mugabe’s veterans of the independence war. U.K. and US funds for land redistribution to Africans did not arrive to restore land to Africans. And an HIV/AIDS epidemic broke the spirit of Zimbabweans.

It remains to be seen whether President Mugabe will step aside at the end of his present term and permit a democratically elected government to succeed him. When that occurs, land reform may proceed by legal due process and the international community may offer assistance. In the meantime, Zimbabwe may find a way to heal itself and capitalize on its wealth and cultural heritage.

NORMAN H. MURDOCH

**See also Mugabe, Robert**

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## ZIONISM

Zionism is a much-maligned concept in the developing world. The word is often misunderstood, and in recent years, has taken on meanings that would not likely be embraced by its originators.

Traditional Zionism may best be defined as “Jewish nationalism.” In essence, the early Zionist movement’s primary goal was to create a Jewish national

homeland in Palestine and to reconstitute Jewish sovereignty over what was the biblical Land of Israel.

While the movement successfully achieved its primary goal with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, it was simultaneously responsible for displacing and disenfranchising the existing residents of the region, namely the Palestinian Arabs. As a result, Zionism remains a controversial movement, particularly, though not solely, in the Arab and Muslim worlds.

## The Origins and Evolution of Zionism

The father of the modern Zionist movement, Theodor Herzl (b. 1860), was a secular European Jewish writer, thinker and visionary who, in 1896, wrote the book *Judenstaat* (“The Jewish State”). The book’s thesis suggested that the solution to the problem of Jews living as insecure, threatened, and weak minorities in the lands of Europe and elsewhere (the Jewish Diaspora) was the (re)creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, with Jerusalem as its political and cultural capital. There, Jews could run their own affairs and determine their own destiny in a safe refuge free of anti-Semitism and other hatreds and dangers.

The First Zionist Conference met a year later, in 1897. Its purpose, and the purpose of succeeding Zionist conferences and meetings throughout the early twentieth century, was to encourage *aliyah*, mass Jewish migration to Palestine. Upon arrival, Jews from throughout the world sought to develop social, economic, and political structures that would facilitate eventual independent statehood. These structures included the creation of mechanisms to acquire and settle the land, to build cities and communal agricultural settlements (*kibbutzim* and *moshavim*), to create a governance structure, and to create and adopt a new common language, *Ivrit*, that is, Modern Hebrew. The Jewish community at this time became known as the *Yishuv*, and its governing structure was known as the World Zionist Organization, later to become the Jewish Agency during the British Mandatory period.

## Anti-Zionist Sentiment in the Developing World

From its earliest beginnings, the actions and ideas of the Zionist movement were opposed by the Palestinian Arab residents of the region, by other Arab and Muslim communities, and by other countries and

groups around the world. Many saw Zionism as a form of European colonialism and imperialism under Jewish guise.

The 1917 Balfour Declaration declaring “sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations” marked a significant moment in Zionist history, as a major power, the United Kingdom, openly expressed support to the movement’s cause. And yet, throughout the British Mandatory period in Palestine (1917–1947), local Arabs used both diplomatic and at times military means in an attempt to discourage Jewish immigration to Palestine. The mid-1930s was an especially notable period of Arab unrest against the Jewish presence in Palestine, which ultimately contributed to the issuance of the British White Paper of 1939 that placed limitations on Jewish immigration to the region.

This was a partial victory for the Palestinians, but it was a short-lived success. The end of World War II and the revelation to the world community that millions of Jews had been slaughtered in Adolf Hitler’s concentration camps drew sympathy to the Zionist movement and its goals. This sentiment came to a head when, in late 1947, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine put forward a partition plan to create a Jewish state alongside an Arab state in post-colonial Palestine.

The Arab community rejected the plan. Soon thereafter, on May 14, 1948, the Jews of Palestine unilaterally declared the creation of the new State of Israel, which was quickly recognized by the United States, the Soviet Union, and other key global powers. Neighboring Arab states did not accept Israel’s existence, however, and initiated a war the following day. The war, which Israelis refer to as their “Independence War,” was won handily, though there were numerous casualties on both sides. The war only further harmed Palestinian interests, as the Zionist claim to Palestine was formalized and consolidated.

And yet the Arab states, the Palestinians, and others who saw the Zionists and their cause as illegitimate, if not illegal, continued to fight for its eradication from Palestine. After years of activity both within the Middle East and around the world, the anti-Zionist movement achieved a diplomatic victory. In November 1975, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly issued Resolution 3379, a proclamation that effectively condemned Israel’s very existence and equated Zionism with racism.

In part, this argument was premised upon the nature of Israel’s “Law of Return,” a centerpiece of Zionist ideology. The law states that a Diaspora Jew may “return” to Israel as an Israeli national, with the full rights that status offers. Non-Jews, on the other hand, cannot effectively achieve this status (although

they may be citizens of the state; nearly 20% of modern Israel’s citizens are non-Jews), regardless of their birthplace.

Only in December 1991—sixteen years later—did the UN retract this resolution with Resolution 46/86. Some Arab and Muslim states, as well as Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam, expressed their opposition to the repeal of the 1975 resolution.

## Zionism in the 21st Century

The UN World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, in September 2001 brought the issue of Zionism to the fore once again. Resolution draft language again equated the movement with racism, suggesting that it is “a new form of apartheid” which is inherently discriminatory and based on racial superiority. Protests against this language from the United States, Israel, and other parties were responsible for its eventual removal, and the final draft document made no mention of Zionism in this context.

That said, Zionism remains a controversial movement throughout the developing world and is typically equated with the imperialistic and racist ideologies that fueled the European colonial enterprise throughout Asia and Africa during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, the word “Zionist” often is used as an epithet against those, Jewish or not, who are seen as acting against the interests of Third World peoples.

STEVEN C. DINERO

**See also Balfour Declaration; Israel; Middle East: History and Economic Development; Middle East: International Relations; Palestine; Palestinian Diaspora**

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