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A Global Guide to Citizens' Rights and Responsibilities

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A Global Guide to Citizens' Rights and Responsibilities

VOLUME 4

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY to ZIMBABWE

C. Neal Tate, *Editor in Chief*

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Governments of the World: A Global Guide to Citizens' Rights and Responsibilities

C. Neal Tate, Editor in Chief

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Popular Sovereignty

The concept of popular sovereignty is grounded in three terms: *popular*, which refers to behavior or sentiments associated with the common people or with all of the people, as in popular culture and popular opinion; *sovereign*, which refers to a person or group invested with the highest authority and exercising supreme power, as with a sovereign monarch or government; and *sovereignty*, which refers to the condition or quality of being sovereign, as with the sovereignty of states in the international community.

The idea of popular sovereignty took root in the West with the onrush of **modernism**. This was especially evident in the sphere of governance and politics. By the end of the sixteenth century, new states, mostly in Europe, were being carved out of old empires—a process that spread across the world and continued to almost the end of the twentieth century. Early on, a distinctive vocabulary was devised to explain and legitimize this historic development, beginning, in 1576, with the French thinker Jean Bodin (1530–1596) introducing the legal concept of state sovereignty.

In a generic sense the concept of sovereignty speaks to the right of the government in a state to make and enforce rules within a defined territory containing a permanent population, without external interference. A state that is free and independent from others, and commands obedience from its citizens or subjects, is regarded as sovereign, or invested with sovereignty.

For Bodin, sovereignty was lodged in a ruler, the monarch, who, unrestrained by law, had unqualified power over the people inhabiting a defined territory. Subsequently, political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau instead associated the concept of sovereignty with either the government or the people themselves. This was the basis for popular sovereignty, a doctrine in law and political theory holding that government is created by and subject to the will of the people.

In the modern parlance of governance and politics, popular sovereignty has been displaced by another concept, democracy, meaning, literally, the “rule

modernism: a philosophy advocating ideas and elements specific to modern times, or the integration of those ideas into preexisting cultures or beliefs



ENGRAVING OF FRENCH PHILOSOPHER JEAN BODIN. In 1576 Bodin's book, *Six Livres de la République* (Six Books of the Republic), asserted that an orderly state was one in which national leaders possess total authority, allowing for consideration of social customs and natural law. While his theory encountered much opposition at the time, it represented the basis for popular sovereignty. (SOURCE: ART RESOURCE)

of the people.” In its modern incarnation, popular sovereignty is integral to institutional arrangements for arriving at political decisions intended to serve the common good by making the people decide issues by electing individuals who then carry out the popular will.

Modern authoritarianism often seeks to cloak tyranny and repression with the vocabulary of popular sovereignty. For example, in the aftermath of World War II (post-1945) the Soviet Union imposed “people’s democracies” throughout Central and Eastern Europe, mocking the key attributes of modern democracy: governance in accordance with the rule of law; citizens having the right of free expression of opinion on matters of policy; and respect for a broad range of human rights. In the early twenty-first century a similar disposition can be found in numerous authoritarian societies, among them the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea).

See also: Democracy; Representation; Republic.

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Alvin Magid

Portugal

Portugal is located at the southwestern tip of Europe, bordering Spain in the north and east, and the Atlantic Ocean in the west and south. It has a land area of 91,640 square kilometers (35,400 square miles), including the Atlantic archipelagos of Azores and Madeira, and a population of 10.3 million inhabitants, with 10 million of them, according to 2001 census data, of Portuguese nationality. The climate is **maritime** temperate, cooler and rainier in the more mountainous north and warmer and drier in the southern plains. The capital is Lisbon, located by the estuary of the Tagus River, with a population of 564,000 inhabitants, although close to 1.8 million live in the greater metropolitan area. Portuguese—a Romance, Italic, Indo-European language—is spoken by all nationals; other languages are spoken by very small minorities of the population. According to the 2002 European Social Survey, close to 90 percent of the population belonged to a religious denomination and, of those, 97 percent were Catholic, although actual religious practice varies widely.

Portugal came into existence as an independent kingdom during the twelfth century, under King Afonso Henriques (1109?–1185). He engaged in warfare with both Alfonso VII (1126–1157) of Castille and León—who finally recognized him as King of Portugal in 1143—and the Muslim emirates that had controlled most of the Iberian Peninsula since the eighth century. By the mid-thirteenth century the defeat of the last Muslim enclave in the south of the country left Portugal with the territorial borders in continental Europe that it has preserved ever since.

In the three centuries that followed, this small kingdom would become one of the most powerful empires of its age. Portuguese maritime expansion ultimately

maritime: relating to the sea or the coast

led to its control of numerous outposts in the African eastern coast, the discovery of Brazil and the sea route to India, and commercial **hegemony** in the South Atlantic and Southeast Asia. By the early sixteenth century Portugal's control of the spice, gold, and slave trades had transformed it into one of the wealthiest monarchies in Europe. However, a slow but steady decline would follow. Territorial and military overstretching, the competition of rival emerging economic and military potentates, and the weakness of the Portuguese urban merchant class—constantly defeated in its disputes with the monarchy and the landed aristocracy, and stripped of some of its most dynamic elements with the expulsion of the Jews—all contributed to this decline. By the early nineteenth century the Napoleonic invasions and Brazil's independence had put an end to the nation's previous grandeur.

The first half of the nineteenth century was characterized by struggles between **liberalism** and **absolutism** and, following the victory of the former, between radical and moderate liberals. Political stability finally surfaced in the mid-nineteenth century in the form of the rotation of power between the two major political parties of the nobility. However, rampant political patronage, the fact that only a limited segment of the population was entitled to vote, and international disputes over African territories created a breeding ground for the radical nationalistic republican movement that ultimately deposed the constitutional monarchy in 1910. The ensuing republic was plagued by great political instability, a result of weak party institutionalization and acute personal rivalries between faction leaders and local political elites. In 1926 a right-wing military **coup** brought the First Republic to an end and paved the way for what came to be the longest-lived authoritarian regime in Western Europe, under António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970).

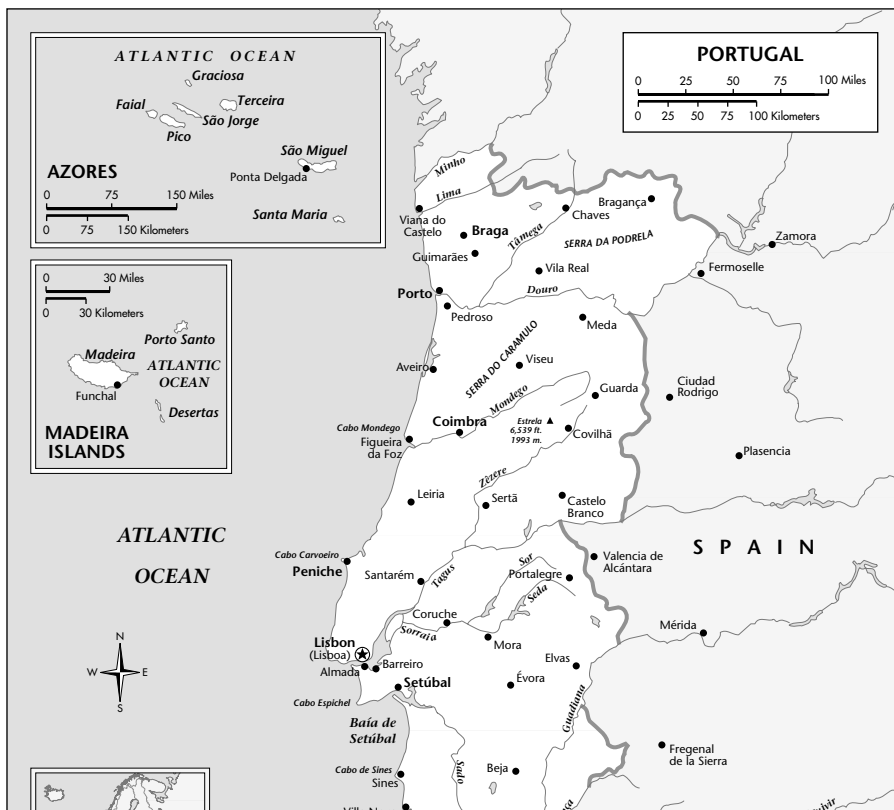
Salazar led a conservative authoritarian regime that, unlike other contemporaneous varieties of fascism, was predominantly interested in demobilizing

hegemony: the complete dominance of one group or nation over another

liberalism: a political philosophy advocating individual rights, positive government action, and social justice, or, an economic philosophy advocating individual freedoms and free markets

absolutism: a way of governing, usually monarchic, that reflects complete control and an unwillingness to compromise or deviate from dogma or principles

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

society and restoring order. These objectives were successfully achieved, but the cost was severe political repression and the preservation of Portuguese social and economic structures in a perpetual state of limbo. From the early 1930s to the 1960s the agricultural sector continued to dominate the economy, illiteracy was still the highest in Western Europe, and the industrial sector was constrained from significant internal or external competition. Marcelo Caetano (1906–1980) succeeded Salazar; his timid attempts at political liberalization were accepted neither by the growing opposition forces nor the former regime's hard-liners. In the context of a colonial war that the country had fought since the 1960s in African territories many times larger than continental Portugal, Caetano's demise was ultimately brought about by a coup led by junior military officers in 1974.

In the two years that ensued, Portugal experienced a revolutionary process in which the choice of either a **pluralist** liberal democracy or a **communist** popular democracy remained politically and socially contested, with the internally divided and deeply politicized military playing the "kingmaker" role. However, in November 1975 a coup attempted by extreme leftists, followed by a successful countercoup, resulted in a liberal democracy. In 1976 General Antonio dos Santos Ramalho Eanes (b. 1935), one of the leaders of the moderate military camp, was elected president of the republic. Until 1982 the military maintained important reserve powers, but a broad constitutional revision that took place that same year, and the subsequent election of the first civilian president, Mário Soares (b. 1924), in 1986, finally completed Portugal's transition to a fully democratic regime.

In its time as a pluralistic liberal democracy, Portugal has experienced dramatic **socioeconomic** change. In 1974 approximately one-third of the population was actively employed in agriculture. According to 2002 Eurostat data, that number had dropped to about 10 percent, with more than 50 percent of the population employed in the services sector. Portugal's gross domestic product (GDP) **per capita** has more than doubled since the 1970s, rising from about 50 percent of the European Union (EU) average to about 70 percent in 2003. According to the 2003 United Nations Human Development Report, Portugal ranked number twenty-three among high human development countries. Despite these positive developments, however, it remains the least developed Western European nation. Particularly troubling in relation to the patterns of other countries in Europe are the high levels of social inequality and poverty (as of 1999, about 21% of the population was at risk of poverty), as well as the low levels of education (as of 2002, only 21% of the population had completed the equivalent of a high-school education, while a mere 8% had graduated from a university).

INSTITUTIONS OF PORTUGUESE DEMOCRACY

Portugal is a presidential–parliamentary democracy. As in a parliamentary system, the cabinet, led by a prime minister, is responsible to a **unicameral** legislature (*Assembleia da República*). Members of parliament (MPs) are elected by a system of **proportional representation** (PR) with closed party lists and serve a four-year term in office. The official head of state is the president of the republic; he or she is popularly elected every five years by a two-round majority vote and enjoys powers that, although nonexecutive, confer more than a ceremonial role.

The everyday running of political affairs falls to the cabinet and prime minister. An absolute majority vote in parliament is not required for a new cabinet to take office: Unseating a cabinet only requires either the support of an absolute

pluralism: a system of government in which all groups participate in the decision-making process

communism: an economic and social system characterized by the absence of class structure and by common ownership of the means of production and subsistence

socioeconomic: relating to the traits of income, class, and education

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

majority in parliament for a motion of censure or, conversely, lack of majority support for a motion of confidence presented by the government itself. Furthermore, passing bills requires, with few exceptions, a mere **plurality** on the floor, and the executive enjoys vast powers of decree in comparison with most Western European parliamentary democracies. Finally, majority rule prevails in the body charged with setting the legislative agenda, and although the Portuguese parliament has a specialized committee system, strong party discipline—stimulated by PR's closed-list electoral system—has contributed to keep those committees aligned with the will of the majority. In this way, policy making and institutional rules have combined to foster stable and cohesive support for single-party cabinets, and considerable autonomy for the executive vis-à-vis a relatively united parliament.

These majoritarian aspects of the Portuguese policy-making process are somewhat mitigated by the role of the president of the republic. He or she has the power to dissolve parliament, dismiss the executive, and veto both parliamentary bills and governmental decrees. However, cabinets supported by cohesive absolute majorities in parliament can override presidential vetoes of most acts of parliament, as well as reintroduce as a bill any decree vetoed by the president. In addition, a 1982 revision of the constitution limited the president's ability to dismiss the executive. It transformed the previous direct political accountability of the executive before the president into a much more vague institutional accountability. And although the president's ability to dissolve parliament remains largely unrestrained from a formal point of view, public expectations about the presidential office in Portugal appear to have constrained both presidents elected since 1986, Mário Soares and Jorge Sampaio (b. 1939), to interpret their role as relatively distant and impartial arbiters in relation to everyday politics.

The judiciary imposes another limitation on the majoritarian nature of the Portuguese political system. Although the judiciary is mostly composed of career judges, serving within a hierarchical **bureaucratic** organization—topped by the Supreme Court of Justice (civil and criminal cases) and the Supreme Administrative Court—most decisions pertaining to judicial appointments are made by elected superior judicial councils and parliamentary appointees, with justices on these councils typically having the upper hand in most decisions. In this way, the benefits and incentives that could conceivably be used to thwart judicial independence vis-à-vis the executive have been preserved outside political reach. However, the price of such strong corporatist independence on the part of the judiciary has been a lack of available mechanisms to reward competent judges, curtail inefficiency, and subject the administration of justice to external scrutiny. This, together with the speed of social and economic change since the late twentieth century in Portugal—and its consequences in terms of rising and increasingly complex litigation—has caused the courts, despite their recognized impartiality, to function slowly and remain overburdened. Nor have Portuguese courts, in general, been successful in addressing lingering human rights problems, such as occasional abuse of force by police officers and the excessive use and length of pretrial detention.

The Portuguese Constitutional Court was created in 1982. It considers the constitutionality of bills before they are made into law, as well as that of existing laws and decrees; it also serves as the last court of appeal in its **judicial review** of decisions made by lower courts. Bills, decrees, and statutes can be referred to the Constitutional Court by a broad variety of public officials, including MPs and the president of the republic. On several occasions since 1982, both opposition parties and the president, particularly when facing cabinets supported by absolute majorities in parliament, have used this as a political weapon. However, such countermajoritarian use of constitutional litigation has been constrained

plurality: more votes than any other candidate, but less than half of the total number of votes

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

judicial review: the ability of the judicial branch to review and invalidate a law that contradicts the constitution

jurisprudence: the body of precedents already decided in a legal system

by several factors, including the very composition of the Court. Although most justices are appointed by parliament, the qualified majority rule required for their election has induced the major parties to preserve a delicate balance between majority and opposition appointees. In 1997 further steps were taken to increase the autonomy of justices, rendering their terms nonrenewable and extending them to nine years. As a result, although the behavior of individual justices in the most politically contentious cases seems to be affected by their party affiliation, the **jurisprudence** of the Court as a whole has remained politically and ideologically balanced, rendering the pure countermajoritarian use of constitutional litigation a political weapon of rather uncertain effectiveness and with potential political costs. Since the mid-1990s such use has correspondingly diminished.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND ELECTIONS

As of 2003, there were five main political parties in Portugal: the Social Democratic Party (*Partido Social Democrata*, PSD), Center-Right; the Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista*, PS), Social Democratic; the Popular Party (*Partido Popular*, PP), Conservative; the Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Português*, PCP); and since 1999 the Leftist Bloc (*Bloco de Esquerda*, BE), Left-Libertarian. The main trend in electoral support from 1975 to 2002 has been a gradual erosion of support for the smaller parties, the CDS/PP and PCP, and, conversely, an increasing number of votes for both the PSD and PS. By 1975 the two latter parties combined obtained about 69 percent of the popular vote and 78 percent of seats in the legislature; by 2002 those percentages had increased to about 80 and 87, respectively.

The reasons behind this trend are not easy to pinpoint and have been the object of scholarly debates in Portugal. Institutional factors seem to be of marginal importance. Since 1975 Portugal has used the d'Hondt method, through which, although parliamentary seats are allocated in proportion to the votes received by party lists, larger parties tend to be benefited. This, combined with the fact that about half of the districts elect only five or fewer MPs, makes Portugal one of the most disproportional systems in Europe. The effective threshold for representation has only increased moderately—from 6.3 to 6.8 percent—as a result of the reduction in the number of MPs from 250 to 230 in 1989.

Thus, the more promising explanations for the reduction of the party system in Portugal lie in sociopolitical factors. Although the basic features of the electoral system have remained unaltered, the realignment of the Portuguese electorate in the direction of the two largest centrist parties, the PSD and PS, seems to have been made possible by the overall weakness of parties in Portuguese society and the shallowness of the voting process. On the one hand, Portuguese parties lack both significant mass membership and strong organization. On the other, in spite of the resilience of important inequalities and cleavages in Portugal, social variables are very poor predictors of partisanship. Their ability to explain voter alignments had been further weakened by a rise in the level of economic development and the transformation of employment nationwide, which has created a large and politically amorphous middle class. Thus, under these conditions, electoral volatility has been high and voting behavior seems to be increasingly determined both by the popularity of leaders and strategic considerations on the part of voters. This has benefited parties whose leaders enjoy greater media exposure and are more likely to form stable cabinets.

The general result of these trends has been governmental stability, despite alternating power between the two main centrist parties and a general depolarization of Portuguese politics. However, a different side of these developments

FAST FACTS

The d'Hondt formula is a computational method used for awarding parliament seats based on citizen votes.

has been the general decrease in electoral turnout. Although average turnout in legislative elections since 1975 has ranked high in comparative terms (81% of the voting-age population), its drop since the first democratic elections has been one of the sharpest among Western democracies. In the 2002 legislative elections, voter turnout was approximately 65 percent, well below the average of other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) democracies without **compulsory** voting. Together with well-documented low levels of political participation, both conventional and unconventional forms, in Portugal, this development has raised increasing concerns about political disaffection and the quality of democracy in this European nation.

See also: Presidential Systems.

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Pedro C. Magalhães

compulsory: mandatory, required, or unable to be avoided

Presidential Systems

Presidential systems represent one model for organizing the national executive. Although national executives are a relatively recent concept, every nation has an executive or government, at least in the strictest sense of the term. They are the primary organs of modern political leadership. The most common forms of executives are either presidential or parliamentary. Presidential systems are also referred to as systems, whereas parliamentary schemes may also be called cabinet models or consensus governments. Wide variations exist within each of these broad categories.

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

Some basic characteristics can be used to distinguish between the two systems. The relationship between the executive and legislative branches is one of the defining features. In a presidential system, the president is popularly elected, either directly or indirectly, and holds office for a fixed term. The legislature cannot remove the president from office, except by **impeachment**. Conversely, in a parliamentary system, the executive is named by the legislature, on which he or she depends for continuance in office. The national executive encompasses the dual roles of head of state and head of government. In a presidential system, these two roles—the first a ceremonial one representing the nation and the second the administrator of the government—are joined in a single person. In a parliamentary system the two are separated, with one person, sometimes a monarch, serving as head of state.

In many parliamentary democracies the head of state is indirectly elected, usually through some kind of special **electoral college**. The head of government, whose title may include chancellor, prime minister, premier, or minister president, among others, is responsible to the legislative body whose confidence it must hold and by whom it can be dismissed through a vote of no confidence or censure. In parliamentary systems, the cabinet is collectively responsible for the policies of the government and makes policy decisions jointly. On the other hand, in a presidential system the president names a cabinet that serves only as his or her advisors; the president alone has the authority to make decisions and may ignore the positions championed by cabinet members. Therefore, presidential systems are known as one-person, noncollegial executives, whereas parliamentary systems have collective or collegial executives.

Separation of powers in presidential systems normally prevents any person from serving in both the legislature and the executive, so that the two are usually totally independent one from the other. The reverse is true in parliamentary systems. In some cases, such as in the United Kingdom, one must hold a position in parliament to serve in the executive. In Italy, on the other hand, cabinet members may also be elected members of parliament but are not required to be. Parliamentary systems see the legislative and executive branches as fused organs that are mutually interdependent. To preserve the separation of powers in presidential systems, the president is not able to dissolve the legislature or call for new elections. However, in parliamentary systems, the executive does have that authority, although formally he or she may have to propose dissolution to the head of state.

VARIATIONS WITHIN PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEMS

Although a basic profile can be drawn of presidential systems, wide variations exist in the real world of politics. The United States introduced presidentialism and best represents the model in its pure form. However, presidentialism can be found in various forms in both democratic and nondemocratic states. The role of political parties often accounts for the adaptation of a presidential system in nondemocratic nations, in which a party becomes a façade and decision making rests in the hands of a leader, his or her entourage, and the **bureaucracy**. Therefore, a number of one-party governments, particularly in post-World War II (post-1945) communist regimes or those found in parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and Asia, are presidential in form and are identified by a “strongman” leader. In democratic presidential systems, like that of the United States, political parties are more **peripheral** because the president has acquired legitimacy through popular election, not through the party.

impeach: to accuse of a crime or misconduct, especially a high official; to remove from a position, especially as a result of criminal activity

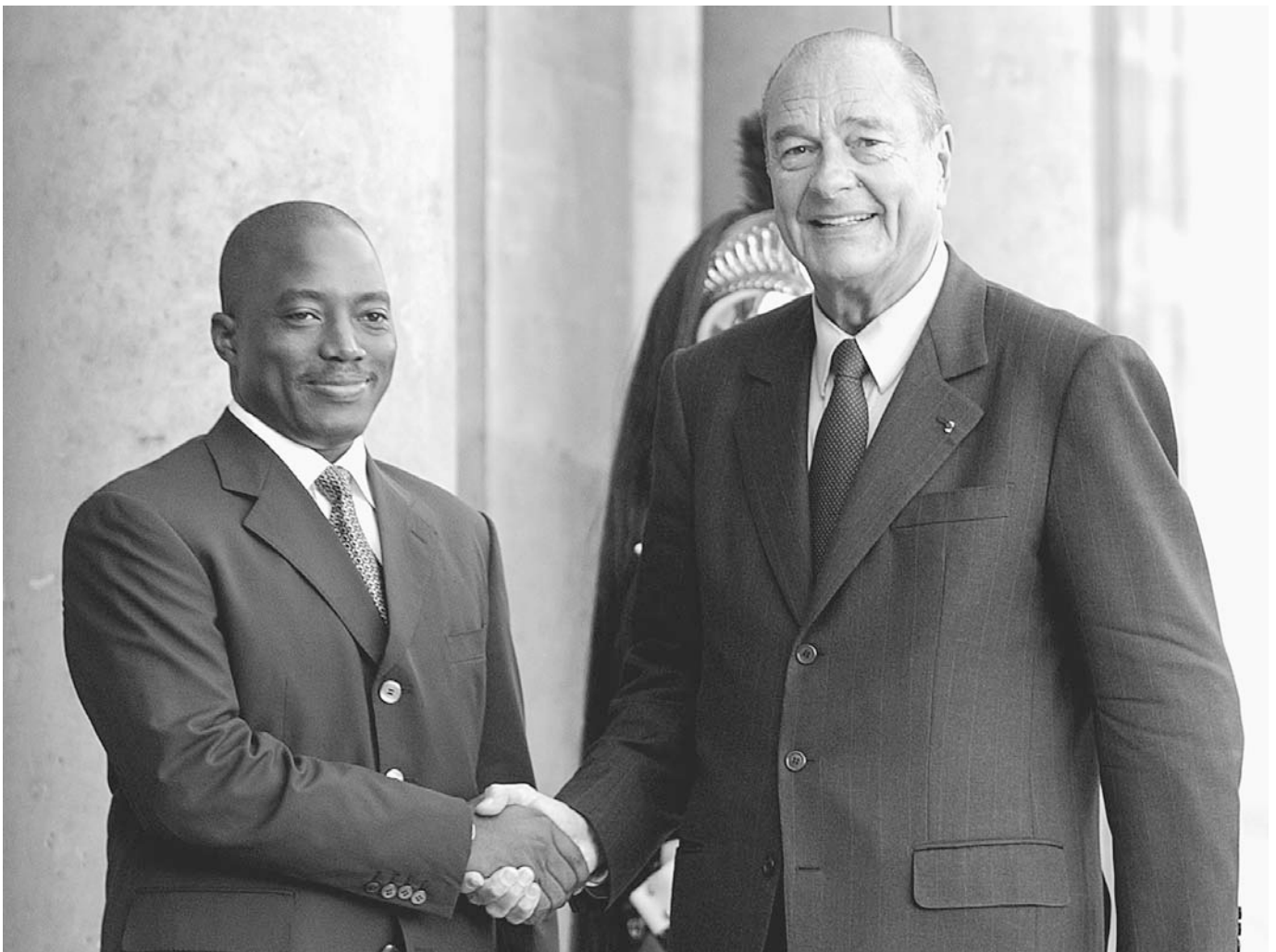
electoral college: the system for selection of the president in the United States, in which states or localities elect individuals pledged to support a specific candidate who then officially elect the president

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

peripheral: marginal; on the outer limits

The French Republic's presidential system manages to combine elements of a parliamentary system with those of a presidential one. The 1958 French constitution provided for both a president and a prime minister, but the president, who served as head of state, was not a mere **figurehead**. The primacy of the president was cemented in 1962 when the constitution was altered to make the president directly elected by the people and thereby bestowed the greatest political legitimacy on that office. The president also has a long list of powers but bears no political responsibility. The president appoints the prime minister, who may or may not be the leader of the majority party in the lower house of parliament. Indeed, the president, not the prime minister, presides over the cabinet, appoints significant government officials, serves as the commander-in-chief of the military, and heads the diplomatic corps. The French president can

figurehead: an individual with a title of leadership, but no real authority or power



THE PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC), JOSEPH KABILA, MEETS WITH FRENCH PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC IN 2001. Although both men served as presidents of their respective countries, and their executive powers are widespread, Chirac was democratically elected to the position, whereas Kabila assumed the presidency upon his father's death, pledging to lead the DRC through the transition from dictatorship to democracy. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

call for referendums, dissolve parliament and call for new elections, and even rule as a form of “legal dictator” in times of war or emergency.

This combination of powers has tamed political parties in parliament, which has reinforced the president’s power. Because the president has no political responsibility, the prime minister receives the majority of the blame when policies go awry. The president may choose to leave large policy areas to the prime minister and cabinet or may decide to become involved in whichever ones have an appeal. In the event that there is a parliamentary majority of a party different from the president, the president is compelled to appoint a prime minister from that party and must defer to the prime minister in appointments to the cabinet. The president also loses significant power over policy areas outside of foreign affairs. However, the French president serves an unusually long term of seven years and may be reelected. The French variation on the presidential model has been called semi-presidentialism.

Another prominent variation on presidentialism can be found in Israel, where the prime minister actually serves as a president. Notably, however, there is also a president who is head of state. The Israeli political system was clearly a parliamentary one until a reform in 1996 authorized direct election of the prime minister. Direct election is a hallmark of presidentialism because it gives the elected leader legitimacy and a **popular mandate**. Also, the Israeli prime minister does not serve at the pleasure of parliament but rather for a fixed four-year term.

Another interesting variation in Israel’s system is the rule of mutual dismissal, which happens when the prime minister dissolves parliament and parliament gives a vote of no confidence to the prime minister. In that event, both parliament and the prime minister face elections. How much the new Israeli system ultimately is parliamentary or presidential depends largely on how often mutual dismissal occurs. If it is frequent, then the system functions more like a parliamentary one; if it is rare, then the system is clearly presidential.

A few other nations have popularly elected presidents, but their powers are weak and the systems function like a parliamentary system. This is true of Ireland, Austria, and Finland. Portugal had a presidential system until 1982, when the powers of the popularly elected president were severely reduced.

Some observers argue that of the countries with a pure presidential system only the United States can claim to have been totally successful. A number of Latin American nations have tried presidential systems but without great success. Some Latin American presidents found restrictions on their powers too cumbersome and either provoked **coups** or moved toward **authoritarianism**, usually under the guise of emergency powers.

Early in the twenty-first century Venezuela’s Hugo Chavez (b. 1954) attempted to enlarge the scope of his powers and was met with popular resistance, which he attempted to stop with the military. The presidential system of Mexico was not viewed as a success for most of Mexico’s history since independence because of the dominance of a single party in the presidency and in congress. The rotation in power that began with the election of Vicente Fox (b. 1942) in 2000 signaled that presidentialism in that country may become more legitimate and viable.

A presidential system does not necessarily determine a particular type of legislative–executive relationship. Legislative gridlock has occurred in the United States when congress is dominated by one party and the presidency is held by another. A balance of power is the best description, except in a few eras when one party held the presidency and had significant majorities in both houses of congress. A balance of power relationship between the legislature and executive has also been typical of Costa Rica.

popular mandate: authorization granted by the electorate, derived from the support of at least the majority

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

TYPES OF PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

Presidents typically have two kinds of powers—those authorized in the constitution and extra-constitutional ones. Constitutional powers typically include ways that the president can react, as in the power to veto legislation, and can initiate action, as in proposing legislation. In a number of countries, presidents have the power to issue decree laws, which enables them to make laws directly, usually depending on the ability of the legislature to validate the decree. In the United States, the same phenomenon occurs when executive orders are made. The presidential act is valid until or unless congress overrides it. In Russia, Peru, Colombia and Chile, presidential decrees become law immediately and are permanent law in lieu of legislative action. In Ecuador and France, decree laws are not immediately effective, but they do become permanent laws if the legislative body does not act to counter. Each of the constitutions of these countries have restrictions on the fields of law into which presidential decrees may reach.

Extra-constitutional powers are those that come from leading the political party and from direct possible election. Serving as party leader becomes a significant power if the president's party holds a majority in the legislature. If the opposition party dominates the legislative branch, the president's power is significantly diminished and stalemate can follow. Having a popular mandate through direct popular elections can also enhance a president's power, but a minimal margin of victory lessens the ability of a president to claim a mandate. The constitutional powers of a president are more stable than the political ones. Because an effective president must rely on both constitutional and political powers, parliamentary systems have proven more appropriate than presidential ones for nations attempting to consolidate democracy.

See also: France; Israel; Mexico; Parliamentary Systems; United States; Venezuela.

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Mary L. Volcansek

Primaries

The primary election is a distinctly American phenomenon. As noted by Maurice Duverger in 1954 and Leon Epstein in 1967, the primary election proved fatal to the establishment of mass parties in the United States since it removed from parties even the power to select their own candidates—considered a fundamental party function in most general works on political parties. Thus, the American practice of selecting party candidates at all levels in a popular election

of party supporters (in the very loosest sense of the term) has had profound effects on American party development and on the American system of government. In fact, probably even more than the separation of powers, the primary election is the most unique and, to foreign observers, inexplicable element of the American political system.

ORIGINS OF THE PRIMARY

The term “primary” appeared during the nineteenth century to signify the process of candidate selection in the major American parties. During this era of strong party organizations, candidate selection was conducted formally by party conventions and committees, but unofficially by powerful bosses who controlled the state and local party machines characteristic of nineteenth-century American politics. After the election of 1896, one or other of the major parties was so predominant in most states (the Republicans in the North and West, the Democrats even more so in the South) that party leaders effectively chose elected officials for all positions from the local to federal level. Bosses were also the key actors in the selection of the president since they controlled state **delegations** to both parties’ national conventions.

delegate: to assign power to another, or, one who represents another

During the Progressive Era (1900–1916) reformers strongly believed that corruption was entering the American governmental process at all levels through boss domination of candidate selection at all levels. By “buying” the party boss, powerful private interests such as railroads could effectively buy the state. When this occurred in states such as California and Wisconsin that were economically dependent on the railroads, it spawned a powerful public reaction that led to the rise of prominent reformers such as Robert LaFollette in Wisconsin and Hiram Johnson in California. LaFollette concluded that the means to break the power of the bosses and special interests over Wisconsin politics was to turn the process of candidate selection over to the people in a so-called open primary, whereby they could vote in the primary of the party of their choice. Thus, Wisconsin became the first state to pass a mandatory direct primary law in 1903.

The primary was also introduced in the southern states although as a result of somewhat less wholesome motivations. Due to the virtual one-party system established by the Democrats after Reconstruction, the incentives were similar in recognizing the need for some kind of popular participation in the electoral process, but also less noble in that a “whites-only” primary was also seen as the last line of defense against black participation in the political system (evading the Fifteenth Amendment’s constitutional guarantee of the right to vote by claiming that the Democratic Party was a private association). The whites-only primary was eventually outlawed by the Supreme Court’s 1944 *Smith v. Allwright* decision.

Given the general reformist atmosphere of the Progressive Era, the concept of the direct primary spread rapidly and had become almost universal practice for candidate selection in most states by the end of World War II (1945). Because the introduction of such primaries was a matter of state law, however, the nature of the eligible primary electorate varied greatly from state to state. Most states used a form of the primary in which only those who had registered as a Republican or Democrat could vote in that party’s primary (the closed primary), a few adopted the totally open system of Wisconsin, whereas others allowed registered independents to vote in the primary election of their choosing. The southern states introduced another innovation, a second runoff primary election, if no candidate secured an outright majority of the vote in the first primary. Primaries certainly precluded the emergence of powerful party machines in the emerging South and West, but in the industrial and urban Northeast and Midwest, party machines

were sufficiently powerful to organize their forces for the primary. At the presidential level, primaries were introduced in several states for choosing national convention delegates but they were not regarded as either important or decisive until much later, and presidential nominations remained under the control of party bosses.

LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY

Over the course of the twentieth century, however, the primary did play a major part in the erosion of party machines. By the 1960s candidates for Congress and state and local offices had become essentially self-selecting with little element of peer review. The advent of television also made it easier to circumvent the party organization and appeal directly to voters in primary elections, and candidates could rely on personal means or those of powerful interest groups rather than party officials to secure nominations. Given these factors and the invariably lower turnout in primary elections, it is debatable whether the primary election has indeed proved to be a more representative means of selecting candidates. In combination with registration reforms that gave privileged ballot access to the Democratic and Republican parties, however, mandatory state primary laws did permanently weaken the party organizations, and preclude durable alternative parties from ever developing in the United States. In fact, the scholar Walter Dean Burnham has interpreted the Progressive Era electoral reforms as a more or less deliberate attempt to preclude the development of radical party options in American politics.

In presidential politics, primary elections began to become important in the 1940s. The major states (with the exception of California) still chose their delegates by party-controlled methods, however, and the primaries in states such as Wisconsin and Oregon functioned more to test opinion, as public opinion polls do today. Thomas E. Dewey's (1902–1971) victories in Wisconsin in 1944 and Oregon in 1948 were nevertheless decisive in propelling the New York governor toward his two Republican presidential nominations, and primary victories contributed to the presidential nominations of Dwight Eisenhower (1890–1969) in 1952 and Adlai Stevenson (1900–1965) in 1956. In 1960, when John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) became the first presidential nominee whose nomination was based on a strategy of primary victories, it was clear that the presidential nomination was moving away from the convention hall. In 1968 primary defeats drove **incumbent** president Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973) into retirement and eventual Democratic nominee, Vice President Hubert Humphrey (1911–1978), never overcame the stigma of having secured the nomination without entering a single primary.

Between 1968 and 1972 the Democratic Party wrote national rules for the nomination process that encouraged the adoption of presidential primaries and the Republican Party followed suit. By 1980 two-thirds of the states and over 75 percent of convention delegates were selected in primaries, and that is where presidential nominations are still won and lost with more than a little help from interest groups and the media.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Curiously enough, primaries (including presidential primaries) remain a matter of state law, and eligibility to participate still varies from state to state. Closed primaries or primaries open to independents (but not registrants of the other party) are the most common, but some states such as Wisconsin and

incumbent: one who currently holds a political office, or, holding a political office

Washington persist with open primaries. Ten southern states plus Oklahoma also retain the runoff election even though the one-party Democratic South is long gone.

Another anomaly given that the intention behind primaries was to enhance representation of the popular will at the expense of special interests, is the effect of the extremely low participation rates in primary elections on election outcomes. Primary electors tend to be better educated, wealthier, more politically involved, and more ideological than the general public; thus, the candidates they select are not necessarily representative. In fact, the evidence seems to indicate that the primary system pulls Democratic and Republican voters toward more extreme positions, which, in turn, has contributed to greater partisanship in national elections and government over the past decade. Moreover, as most congressional districts are drawn these days to be safe for one party or the other, there is a great incentive for representatives to be more responsive to primary rather than general election voters. Presidential primary elections, which formerly took place at weekly intervals between February and early June, have been increasingly frontloaded into February and March so as to produce a nominee as early as possible and unite the party. Of course, this is of advantage to already



VOTERS GO TO THE POLLS IN 2004 FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRIMARY. Prior to 1996, Californians participated in a closed primary system where only registered party members could vote. A proposition altering this to an open system won public approval in 1996, but was reversed by the California Supreme Court in 2000. However, it was reshaped to allow political parties to decide whether unaffiliated voters could take part in their primary elections. (SOURCE: ROBYN BECK/AFP/GETTY IMAGES)

nationally known figures in the party with access to ample funds and ties to organized interests. Ironically then, an electoral procedure intended to break the power of party tends to reinforce partisanship.

In the international sphere the primary election has been little imitated. Most other democracies have mass party systems where the party organization choosing candidates at the appropriate level is the norm, and where party membership involves a greater commitment of time and resources than registering with a party and showing up on primary day. Some mass parties—in Israel, Great Britain, and even Mexico—have adopted a mass ballot of party members (in Britain by mail) for choosing national party leaders. Given that American parties are unique in their weak **decentralized** organization, the peculiarly weak concept of party membership, and their ideology (or the lack of it) by comparison with those in almost all other contemporary democracies, this is hardly surprising. And although the European mass party has shown some signs of erosion with the decay of class politics over the past half-century, and new “postmaterialist” parties with a more democratic concept of party organization have arisen, there is no indication of a significant move toward an American-type primary system elsewhere. The primary election to choose party candidates thus seems likely to remain an American anomaly.

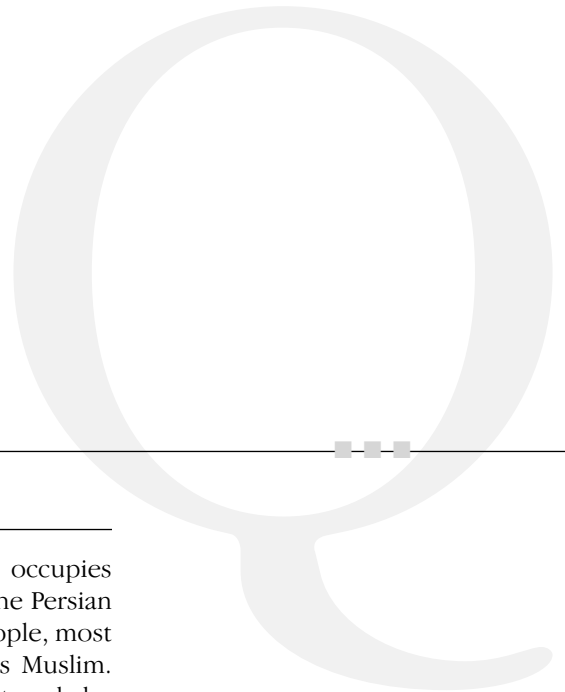
See also: Elections; Political Parties; United States.

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decentralize: to move power from a central authority to multiple periphery government branches or agencies

Nicol Rae



Qatar

Qatar, with its capital Doha, is located in the Middle East. It occupies 11,437 square miles (4,415 square miles) on a peninsula bordering the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. Qatar's population numbers some 817,052 people, most of whom live in the cities. Ninety-five percent of the population is Muslim. Foreigners outnumber Qatari nationals. The Qatar Peninsula is hot and dry desert land, with very warm summers and mild winters.

Qatar has been ruled as an **emirate** since the mid-1800s by the al-Thani family, who settled in the region after coming from Najd, Saudi Arabia. It came under British protection in the early twentieth century. After failed negotiations to form a **federation** with Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates, Qatar became independent on September 3, 1971. The emir at independence was Ahmad bin Ali al-Thani (1917–1977), who was ousted in a bloodless **coup** in 1972 by Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani (b. 1932). On January 27, 1995, while out of the country, Sheikh Khalifa was deposed by his son Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani (b. 1952) in another bloodless coup that was supported by the ruling family and the Qatari people. In 2003, his son Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad bin Khalifah al-Thani (b. 1979) was designated the heir apparent.

Qatar is a traditional monarchy. The emir is the head of state, minister of defense, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Emir Hamad oversaw several reforms to the Qatari political system by convening a constitutional committee to draft a permanent constitution in 1999. After almost 97 percent of Qatari voters approved it, the first permanent constitution was adopted in 2003—replacing the provisional constitution of 1972. It provides for the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Executive power lies in the hands of the emir and his cabinet (which he appoints). Members of the al-Thani family occupy a large number of seats in the cabinet. Legislative power resides with a **unicameral** *Shura* (Consultative) Council made up of forty-five members serving four-year terms, two-thirds of whom are elected by universal direct vote with the rest appointed by the emir. The judiciary is nominally independent, but judges hold their positions at the government's pleasure. Its **jurisdiction**

emir: a ruler in a country with a government based on Islamic religious beliefs

federalism: a system of political organization, in which separate states or groups are ruled by a dominant central authority on some matters, but are otherwise permitted to govern themselves independently

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

is unlikely to confront the ruler's exercise of power. The legal system consists of both secular and Shari'a courts (those based on Islamic law).

Qatar has significant oil and natural gas revenues (85% of the country's total income), which enables the nation to rank among the world's wealthiest countries **per capita**, not far below the leading industrial nations of Western Europe. The per-capita gross national product (GDP) is \$20,800. Although attempts to diversify the economy have had limited success, the revenues from oil and natural gas allowed for the creation of a welfare state with free and subsidized services. Life expectancy for the total population averages seventy-three years and the literacy rate is 83 percent.

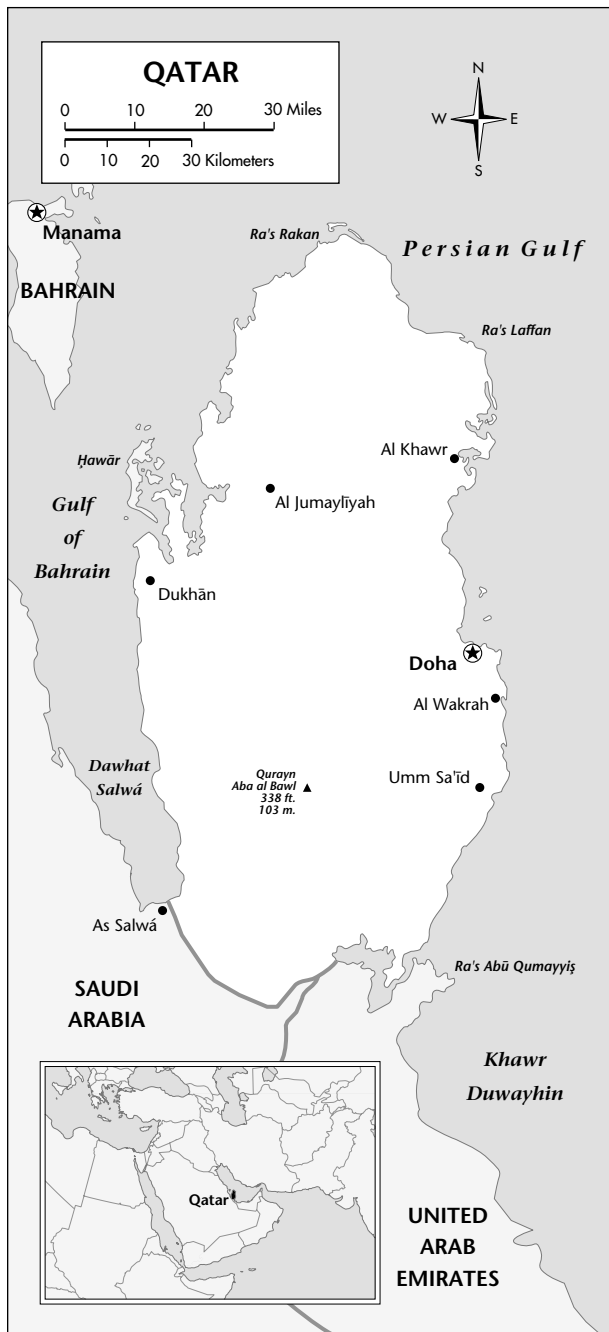
Opposition and dissent are not tolerated in Qatar. The government limits the rights of assembly and association, bans political parties, restricts freedom of religion, and imposes some restrictions on freedom of speech and freedom of the press. However, since 1995, the press has remained somewhat free of government interference. Internet use is encouraged, although websites are monitored for political or religious content. Citizens have limited participation in the political system—but can raise questions in the *majlis*, which is a system of consultation open to the public.

See also: Shari'a.

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Amal I. Khoury



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)



Racism

Racism has two broad meanings. First and most commonly, racism refers to the belief that there exist biologically defined races, or categories of human beings in which membership is determined by the possession of certain biological characteristics within the human species, and that some of these races are superior to others. This position is also known as psychological racism, because it describes an individual's beliefs. Some argue that racism in this sense also implies a certain degree of antagonism toward those of different races. According to this view, a racist does not merely believe that some races are superior to others, but positively disdains or at the least disrespects in important ways those races she or he believes to be inferior.

Second, racism can also refer to institutional racism, which is the notion that even if no individuals hold racist beliefs, the practices of existing institutions can have different impacts on different races, negatively affecting some and positively affecting others. Institutional racism does not necessarily imply that psychological racism does not exist, but rather focuses simply upon the practices of institutions as opposed to the beliefs and practices of individuals alone. It should be noted that much debate exists over what precisely constitutes institutional racism—for example, is it sufficient for an institution's practices to have a disparate impact on different races for those practices to qualify as instances of institutional racism, or do additional conditions have to be satisfied before we identify a practice as an example of institutional racism?

Regardless of how one precisely conceives of institutional racism, both forms of racism have been highly prevalent in modern Western, and indeed human, history (meaning the period from about the year 1500 to the present), and the theory, practice, and study of racism have undergone significant changes within that timeframe as well.

RACIST THEORY AND HISTORY

Although racist theories began much earlier, the term racism itself was not used until the 1930s, when the word was introduced to discuss certain beliefs gaining ground among the Nazis in Germany. Ruth Benedict described racism as “the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority” (Benedict 1943, p. 97). Nonetheless, this brief history of racist theory begins at a far earlier point.

The habit of human beings to classify each other into groups according to certain perceived characteristics dates well back into ancient history. Whether one is speaking of the ancient Greeks, the ancient Hebrews, the ancient Chinese, or anyone else, human beings have habitually used categories to distinguish themselves from one another (the Greeks called the non-Greeks barbarians, for instance, distinguishing them from Greeks), as well as to establish a **hierarchy** among those groups (the Greeks conceived of themselves as superior to barbarians). The theoretical establishment of a hierarchy according to explicitly racial characteristics, however, did not begin in the West until the fifteenth century—although the notion of race, in some contexts, existed prior to that.

Throughout the Middle Ages the primary distinction Europeans drew between themselves and others was a religious distinction, that of heathen and Christian. This distinction carried with it an explicit hierarchy, in which Christians were considered superior to the heathens. Europeans also felt themselves culturally superior to tribes of “savages” encountered in Africa and elsewhere. This sense of superiority did not derive from any identification of shortcomings inherent in other races, though. A heathen could convert, and an African or Asian raised in proper surroundings could learn. Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430), for example, a fifth-century Christian bishop whose writings had enormous influence on the development of Christian doctrine, was a North African and did not permanently convert to Christianity until the age of thirty-one, although he had been exposed to the religion at an early age by his mother.

However, beginning in the fifteenth century in Spain, the situation began to change. Anti-Semitism, which had previously focused on Judaism as the weakness of the Jewish people, took on a distinctly racist overtone. Jews were now condemned not just for their religion, but also certain characteristics associated with their ethnicity. Since the inferiority of the Jewish group could not be **eradicated** by religious conversion, according to such a view, it became preferable to isolate, and sometimes banish or kill, members of this group.

Similarly, when the African slave trade first began, it was justified on the basis that Africans were heathens, and that their capture, if it resulted in their conversion, was to the greater good. Indeed, the spread of the Christian religion was the primary mechanism of justification for European colonialism. For a brief period of time, this justification seemed to suffice.

However, the inequitable treatment of captured slaves and native peoples, even after their conversion to Christianity, existed increasingly in tension with a growing belief in the fundamental equality of human beings during the Enlightenment (approximately from 1700 to 1789). If all human beings were equal, how could Europeans think well of themselves while enslaving and oppressing foreign populations? The former religious distinctions failed, since they would countenance enforced servitude only as a means toward educating those enslaved. European colonialism and **imperialism**, however, obviously

hierarchy: a group of people ranked according to some quality, for example, social standing

eradicate: to destroy or eliminate a population of items, people, or other living things

imperialism: extension of the control of one nation over another, especially through territorial, economic, and political expansion

intended to institute servitude and inequality for certain peoples on a permanent basis, irrespective of education or religion. New justifications were needed for this practice. Racism hastened to fill the gap.

Although racism was initially a crude and scattered body of beliefs that held, on the basis of often wildly exaggerated and false observations of Africans and Asians, that each race possessed different levels of greed, impulsivity, intellect, and so forth (Thomas Jefferson notoriously speculated on such racial differences in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*), the nineteenth century witnessed far more precise and systematic statements of it.

Perhaps the first such statement was written by a Frenchman named Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) in 1855. Gobineau argued that race could be used to explain the course, and the fall, of whole civilizations. He pointed to the existence of three races: yellow, black, and white. According to Gobineau, each race was marked by different characteristics—the yellow race supposedly being materialistic, the white race intelligent and liberty-loving, and so forth—and the characteristics of these races explained how different civilizations had evolved throughout history. Furthermore, Gobineau wrote, the mixing of races would lead to their degeneration. Since a civilization could not forever maintain its racial purity, it would eventually collapse due



IN DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA, AN AFRICAN WOMAN HANGS A BANNER FOR THE WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM. In a 1997 resolution, the UN General Assembly detailed the objectives for its third World Conference Against Racism held on August 31, 2001. More than 2,300 representatives from 163 countries evaluated the struggle to prevent racial discrimination along with devising new strategies to confront it. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

apartheid: an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination

to offspring of increasingly mixed racial background. Although Gobineau himself condemned slavery, his views became the justification for **apartheid** in South Africa and formed the basis of other racist movements in the twentieth century.

Systematic statements such as Gobineau's were made in other nations as well. While the authors of these theories often opposed slavery and other forms of involuntary servitude, their arguments allowed many, including Southerners in the United States intent on justifying a system of racial oppression and Britons intent on justifying imperialism, to claim that such systems were simply the natural order of things. Such individuals claimed that each race, possessing certain characteristics, was destined to assume a certain hierarchical place in the world—and that, of course, the white race was clearly destined to administer wise rule to the world (a view that was shared by U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt).

The burgeoning authority of science also caused many supporters of racist theory in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to seek to justify their theories on the basis of scientific studies. In fact, these studies tended to be highly unscientific and shoddily conducted, driven not by evidence but by the “scientist's” desire to reach a particular conclusion. Among the more prominent examples of pseudoscientific studies to establish the truth of racist theory are phrenology (the study of the shape and contours of the human skull and its relationship to such characteristics as intellect) surveys purporting to show that Caucasian skulls are on average larger than those of other races, and a complete misuse of the U.S. Army's extensive intelligence testing of recruits in the military buildup for World War I.

At the close of the twentieth century and into the early twenty-first century, some continue to argue that certain scientific studies support the notion of differences in various attributes, including intelligence, between the races. One such controversial study, *The Bell Curve*, published in 1994 and condemned by most scholars, argued that only genetic differences, which are correlated with race, can explain different average racial IQ scores. Most scientists and scholars, in fact, are highly skeptical even of the notion that there really are biological



NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

While Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) is best known as the author of the Declaration of Independence, his *Notes on the State of Virginia* influenced political thought as well.

Notes on the State of Virginia, Jefferson's only book, was written during the American war of independence, between 1781 and 1783. It began as a written response to questions submitted by the secretary to the French legation to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

The book contains basic facts about Virginia's climate, geography, flowers, trees, animals, and native minerals. In addition Jefferson expressed his thoughts on religion, society,

science, politics, and slavery. While Jefferson noted that the practice of slavery contradicted the doctrine of rights on which the U.S. was founded, he continued to use slaves for the upkeep of his estate. Jefferson, who believed slavery was evil, justified this practice by his belief that blacks were intellectually inferior to whites. Therefore, he wrote, whites and blacks could not coexist peacefully, making slavery unavoidable. He did express his hope that slavery would one day end, with blacks and whites living separately. Jefferson's *Notes* is considered an Enlightenment classic, but its arguments concerning slavery and race were influential in the development of later theories justifying both slavery and Jim Crow laws.

■ ■ ■

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Enlightenment was a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual movement that occurred mainly in Europe. It was an attempt to promote systematic reason and scientific inquiry as the means of reordering society and was in part a response to the destructive religious wars of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Enlightenment was characterized by skepticism toward the social and political structures of the time, including long-standing beliefs about the authority of church and state, and new concepts of toleration and individual rights. Critical thinkers began to question, for example, the moral, religious, and economic justifications for slavery. Philosophers and

political thinkers began questioning feudal arrangements that still governed landowning–landworking class relations; the absence of political representation for the budding bourgeois capital-owning classes; and related social questions. Scientific inquiry was applied to subjects previously governed by faith, tradition, or ancient authority.

The Enlightenment led to the American and French revolutions with their declarations of rights and introduction of mass politics. Virtually all modern political and social doctrines, from liberalism to social democracy to communism and all their variants—as well as the responses to them that we characterize as “reaction”—have their origins in the European Enlightenment.

racism, much less the notion that complex characteristics like intelligence are somehow correlated with these races.

It is noteworthy that the types of races described in these theories, and particularly those races to which inferior capabilities are ascribed, would often seem to depend on economic and political interests. Thus, for example, the large influx of poor immigrants from southern Europe into the United States in the early twentieth century, which made native-born Americans compete with them for jobs, resulted in views that southern Europeans actually constituted a separate and inferior race from various types of northern Europeans. Similarly, some of the British, while struggling to maintain political power over the Irish, argued that the Irish were not of the same race as the Britons, but of inferior Celtic stock. In East Asia, various Asian nations would use racist theories to explain either their conquest of neighboring countries or their suffering at the hands of a local invader.

Opponents of affirmative action in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries use studies such as *The Bell Curve* to argue that differences in average income, grades, and the like between different races are, in fact, caused by genetic differences, not social or political conditions—and that therefore affirmative action is not needed. The constant theme in the history of racist theories is their use in justifying the oppression of a particular group of people for the sake of political and economic gain.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Racism denies the fundamental equality in human rights described in documents ranging from the American Declaration of Independence to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Scholars often refer to the tradition holding that each human being possesses certain rights and is entitled to equal respect as liberalism (this definition should not be confused with another meaning of the word, which seeks to describe an American political movement). As liberalism became dominant, first in Western nations and then globally, proponents of racism found themselves under growing pressure to change their views and alter their practices. Thus, for example, recall that

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

European imperialism came to be justified by the notion that the European race was inherently better at governance, and that therefore other races would benefit from European tutelage—which here means European domination.

In the twentieth century the growing acceptance and **ideological** power of liberalism made it quite difficult for European nations to justify continued domination of other peoples. Some scholars, in fact, argue that this change in beliefs (from racism to liberalism) was in part responsible for the massive international movement toward decolonization. Other examples of the influence of liberalism and human rights, and the sharp international rejection of racism, would include the numerous human rights resolutions and conventions passed by the United Nations, specifically condemning racist systems such as apartheid as well as racial discrimination in general.

THEORIES ABOUT RACISM

Numerous explanations have been offered for the phenomenon of racist theories. That is, many scholars have advanced various ideas to explain why racist theories were created in the first place. There is broad agreement that political and economic incentives were the motivations behind racist theories, as elaborated above, although many believe that other factors were also involved. Other suggested factors range from a desire to explain obvious physical differences, for example, differences in skin pigmentation, between human beings to various forms of psychological insecurity.

CONCLUSION

The evolution of racism as a concept is complex in a historic and philosophical sense, and the term has been deployed for a variety of uses. The debate continues to rage over the precise meaning of the term, and the reader is encouraged to utilize the sources below to conduct an independent investigation.

See also: Apartheid.

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Andrew Costello

Referendums and Plebiscites

There is no modern political institution that is more democratic than the referendum. Popular elections of officeholders are commonly assumed to be the hallmark of a democracy, but this is a misconception. Although electing representatives is a process inherent in modern representative systems, it is not a process of direct self-government. Only the referendum exhibits democracy in its purest form. It is the Athenian assembly or the New England town meeting expanded in size to include the thousands or millions of citizens in a modern polity. It is the citizenry directly considering and voting on government policy.

polity: a form of government held by a specific country or group

TERMINOLOGY

Although referendums are nearly as old as democracy itself, the term is not. The alternative term “plebiscite” has a much older lineage. It is derived from the Latin *plebiscita*, describing votes of the Roman plebs in the fourth century B.C.E. The term was applied to popular consultations in France from 1793 onward. It was also used to describe votes resolving League of Nations boundary disputes and in Nazi Germany to describe popular votes legitimizing the regime’s policies.

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

The term “referendum” can be traced to seventeenth-century Switzerland, in which members of the Diet of the thirteen-canton (or thirteen-state) Swiss Confederacy (1513–1798) took policies back to their respective cantonal councils or populations *ad referendum et instruendum* (“for referring back and instructions”). In its modern form, the term was first used in the constitutional plebiscite attempting to legitimize the new regime of the Helvetic Republic (Switzerland), which was imposed by the French conquerors in 1798. The word first appeared in English in its contemporary sense in the 1880s. Although no agreed-upon line of distinction exists between the terms plebiscite and referendum, the former is more often associated with **ad hoc** popular votes to endorse a regime or a specific policy. Early twenty-first-century usage tends to favor the word referendum.

ad hoc: created for a specific purpose or to address a certain problem

The popular initiative is a specific type of referendum. This instrument allows citizens the right to propose legislation or constitutional amendments that are put to a popular vote and must be implemented by the government if passed. The only countries that allow voters this right on national questions are Switzerland and Italy. The initiative also exists at the subnational level in twenty-three U.S. states and the District of Columbia.

REFERENDUM USAGE AROUND THE WORLD

Switzerland has held more nationwide referendums since it introduced the institution in 1848 than all other countries combined, following the emergence of the modern **nation-state**. Between 1793 and 1978, there were 257 nationwide referendums in all nations combined, except Switzerland. In Switzerland during the 1866 to 1978 period, there were 296 referendums. The gap has widened further since 1978. Among democracies in the postwar period, Switzerland accounts for more than two-thirds of the total. In fact, no other state in the world even comes close in applying direct democracy to national political questions. In most years the Swiss voter is called on to decide six to twelve national questions, which are typically spread over twenty-four separate ballots. In addition, he or she will be asked to vote in numerous cantonal and communal referendums. Only in California and a few other western U.S. states do referendums play such an important role in daily political life.

nation-state: a relatively homogeneous state with only one or few nationalities within its political borders



SEEKING TO REMOVE PRESIDENT HUGO CHAVEZ FROM OFFICE, PEOPLE IN CARACAS, VENEZUELA SIGN REFERENDUM PETITIONS. After collecting three million signatures in November 2003, voters participated in a recall referendum of Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez on August 15, 2004. Elected in 1998, the leftist leader defeated the petition with nearly 60 percent of the voters supporting him. (SOURCE: © JORGE SILVA/REUTERS/CORBIS)

canton: a political subdivision, especially in Switzerland

Clearly, Switzerland has carried the practice of direct democracy to a level that no other nation has reached. The predominant explanation for the Swiss attachment to this institution is its longstanding experience with direct government in citizen assemblies prior to the emergence of the referendum. Swiss direct democracy is more than 700 years old, the first direct vote of citizens on policy being documented in 1294 in the **canton** of Schwyz. Popular legislative assemblies, or *Landsgemeinden*, were used in several of the mountain cantons from the thirteenth century onward. The resilience of the *Landsgemeinden* was a major reason that representative, parliamentary institutions never displaced direct democracy in Switzerland. However, population growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries rendered the *Landsgemeinden* impractical in most cantons. Referendums and initiatives came into common usage as a way of preserving the tradition of direct legislation. Similarly, referendums in American states have their roots in New England town meetings and direct government on the Western frontier.

The scarcity of referendums elsewhere does not mean that they have never been tried. On the contrary, a majority of European countries and more than a third of United Nations (UN) member states have experimented with the device. The only countries that have been democracies from a date prior to 1900 and have never held a nationwide referendum are the United States and the Netherlands. However, most governments have been reluctant to institutionalize the referendum or take significant risks with it. They have dabbled in the use of “controlled” referendums—in which the government decides whether or not to hold the referendum, when it will take place, and how the question will be asked. Some controlled referendums backfire, as was the case in the French vote of 1969 concerning the reform of the Senate and local government. President Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) miscalculated popular support and linked his political fate to the question; the voters rejected his position, and he was forced to resign. In Switzerland, all national referendums are uncontrolled. In fact, the parliament and government are expressly prohibited from calling optional referendums. Direct democracy in Switzerland is not a weapon employed by central authority. On some questions, it is a constitutional necessity, but in most cases it is introduced by a **petition** of citizens. The referendum plays a similar role in California and the other U.S. states in which the popular initiative is used frequently.

petition: a written appeal for a desired action, or, to request an action, especially of government

In such places, referendums are a central element in the political system and a definitive aspect of the political culture. These “governing” referendums play an integral role in the governing of the polity and occur relatively frequently. The overwhelming majority of referendums held elsewhere in the world have not been of this type. They have either been “state-defining” referendums or “deadlock-breaking” referendums. State-defining referendums are one-time projects designed to establish the legitimacy of territorial borders or to usher in a new political regime. They are not part and parcel of a country’s political system. For example, the May 1980 referendum in Quebec on the question of independence from Canada fell into this category. This case was unusual in that the result was not a foregone conclusion. (The referendum failed, with 40.4% opting for secession.) Most state-defining referendums are relatively low-risk moves for the governments involved, and results yielding an affirmative vote of more than 90 percent are quite common. Deadlock-breaking referendums, the third category, usually serve as politically expedient escape routes for governments that are divided over controversial questions. In such instances, the government may be in danger of splitting on the issue. This was the case with Britain’s June 1975 referendum on European Community (EC) membership. (Approximately 67.2% of voters opted to stay in the EC.)

Inevitably, the referendum device plays a slightly different role in every nation that makes use of it. Historical circumstances and national political cultures vary, as do modern governmental environments. Operating within diverse political structures and tethered by various constraints, referendums have different consequences in different countries. However, many commonalities and trends are evident. One of the most salient trends is the increased use of the device.

THE RISE OF THE REFERENDUM

Starting in the early years of the twentieth century, referendums steadily increased in frequency as more countries adopted the device. Then in the early 1970s worldwide interest in and use of the referendum surged dramatically. The enlarging of the EC gave rise to five referendums. In April 1972 France let its people voice their opinion on whether the newcomers (Ireland, Denmark, Norway, and Britain) should be accepted; 67.7 percent of French voters approved their



THE 1980 QUEBEC REFERENDUM

Quebec, the largest of Canada's ten provinces, has a distinctly French character. More than twice the size of Texas, it covers 1,542,056 square kilometers (595,391 square miles) and is rich with natural resources. Quebec is also home to many "sovereignists" who want their French-speaking province to be made fully independent from Canada as a sovereign nation to protect their cultural and linguistic heritage.

In May 1980 Canadians went to the polls to vote on a Quebec "sovereignty-partnership" referendum. It failed, however, gaining just 40.4 percent of the vote. The measure would have allowed Quebec to negotiate its secession from Canada. While Quebec would have become its own nation, it would have kept the same currency as the rest of Canada. A similar effort also failed in 1995.

devolve: to move power or property from one individual or institution to another, especially from a central authority

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

North Atlantic Treaty Organization: a military alliance chiefly involving the United States and Western Europe that stated that, in the event of an attack, the member countries would have a mutual defense

admission. Each of the four countries intending to join put the membership issue to their citizens eventually, and in all but Norway the idea received popular endorsement. In Britain the June 1975 EC vote was preceded by a March 1973 vote in Northern Ireland on the question of withdrawal from the United Kingdom; and in March 1979 the question of **devolution** was put to voters in Scotland and Wales. (Approximately 51.6% of Scottish voters who went to the polls voted for devolution, but the referendum failed to satisfy the requirement that 40% of the entire electorate must assent. In Wales only 20.9 percent of those who voted favored devolution.) The referendum also began to play a critical role in facilitating the transition to democracy in previously **authoritarian** nations. In Greece citizens voted in December 1974 to close the curtain on the monarchy, with 69.2 percent voting in favor of its abolition. Two years later Spanish voters registered overwhelming support for their own political reform package, with 94.2 percent approving it.

In the 1980s and 1990s the surge of referendums continued unabated. A number of ballot issues during this period were particularly notable. The questions of whether divorce and abortion should be legalized were put to the predominantly Catholic voters of Ireland. Italy had placed the same questions on the ballot in May 1974 and May 1981, respectively. The Italians opted to allow both practices. (Approximately 59.1% voted in favor of allowing divorce, and 67.9% voted to legalize abortion.) Irish voters went the other way, rejecting abortion in September 1983 and then the legalization of divorce in June 1986. (Approximately 66.9% voted to ban abortion, and 63.5% rejected the legalization of divorce.)

In March 1986 Spanish voters endorsed their government's decision to remain in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO), with 56.9 percent in favor. This referendum drew wide international attention and even attracted the direct involvement of other countries in the campaign. The most dramatic surge in referendums outside of Switzerland occurred in Italy, where fifteen ballot issues were decided between 1981 and 1991.

From 1989 onward fledgling democracies in Eastern Europe looked to the referendum for the legitimization of political change. For example, in November 1989 Hungarian citizens voted overwhelmingly to disband the workers' militia, ban political activity in the workplace, and force the former Communist Party to disclose its financial assets. On a fourth question, they narrowly approved parliamentary election of the nation's first president, rejecting popular election of the office. Similarly, in a December 1991 referendum, more than three-quarters of Romanian voters approved the country's new, democratic constitution. In

1990 and 1991 numerous republics of the Soviet Union held referendums on the issue of independence, increasing the centrifugal pressure that ultimately led to the disintegration of the country.

Shortly thereafter, in October 1992, direct democracy took center stage on the Canadian political scene. The last nationwide referendum in Canada (on **conscription**) had been in 1942. In the 1992 vote, 54 percent of Canadians (and six of the ten provinces) rejected the Charlottetown Accord, a package of constitutional reforms designed primarily to quell demands in Quebec for greater provincial autonomy. Because a rejection by any one of the provinces would have been sufficient to defeat the accord, the six-province rejection ended the matter convincingly. Consequently, this referendum result created an important reference point for subsequent discussions of the country's future.

Although worldwide interest in and use of the referendum have increased monumentally, it is important to bear in mind that there are effectively two worlds of referendums. The first includes Switzerland, California, a few other U.S. states, and increasingly Italy, where direct democracy is a central element of daily political life. The second world is one in which referendums are used infrequently, on an ad hoc basis. Most of the rest of the world falls into this category. However, some countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland, fall somewhere in between. They have held an unusually large number of referendums, but the device remains tangential to the basic governing of the polity.

No country is governed entirely by referendum. In every instance, the referendum supplements, rather than supplants, institutions of representative democracy. And the referendum device is not without its detractors.

conscription: to draft an individual into the armed services against his will

THE REFERENDUM DEBATE

The most common criticism of the referendum is that popular decision-making is less informed than decision-making by elected representatives. Although this criticism may seem persuasive at first glance, it is difficult to prove or quantify. Generally, voters do understand the issues that are placed before



THE CHARLOTTETOWN ACCORD

In 1992 officials of Canada's federal government met with provincial leaders and representatives of native peoples (known in Canada as First Nations) and hashed out a package of constitutional amendments to put before voters. This package was dubbed the Charlottetown Accord after Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where the meeting had been held.

The accord was meant to more clearly define the boundaries between federal and provincial powers, helping to resolve some long-standing disputes regarding the nature of Canada's confederation and in particular the status of the province of Quebec within Canada. It would have greatly strengthened the relative autonomy of the provinces, granting them complete jurisdiction over forestry, mining, and other natural resources.

It also contained far-reaching reforms concerning the Canadian Senate and the makeup of the Supreme Court. In addition, the measure would have strengthened self-government for the First Nations and guaranteed Quebec a certain proportion of seats in Parliament.

The leaders of Canada's ten provinces all supported the measure. Other political players, however, were dissatisfied with many of its provisions and felt the accord was too complex to be put to a simple yes-or-no vote. Pierre Trudeau, a former Canadian prime minister, campaigned against the Charlottetown Accord, arguing that it meant the end of Canada as a united country. His message got through and on October 26, 1992, Canadians went to the polls and defeated the measure.

them. There is little evidence that voters are easily duped into voting against their interests or against their preferred outcomes. And while elected representatives have more time to acquaint themselves with policy issues and the staff support to research them, it is unclear whether politicians in most countries truly possess a substantially deeper understanding of most issues than the typical “person on the street.”

Moreover, referendums avoid a problem that, arguably, may taint voting by representatives: the trading of votes. Referendums and initiatives tend to atomize issues, breaking down policy areas into specific questions. This impedes the trading of votes by elected politicians that often results in the passage of multiple measures which would not pass if considered separately. Citizens tend to view referendums with tunnel vision, voting according to what they perceive to be in their own best interest on each question. It can be argued that this self-interested approach of the citizenry usually serves the national interest, because programs that are beneficial to specific interest groups or particular geographic areas but detrimental to the entire polity are usually rejected.

A second frequent criticism of referendums is that large quantities of money spent on referendum campaigns can influence voters. Although it is true that a cottage industry of petition circulators and political consultants has grown around the popular initiative in California, it is not at all clear that money can buy victory on ballot issues. This has been demonstrated time and again by the fact that the side with less money often wins.

Furthermore, although financial contributions to initiative and referendum campaigns have some influence on outcomes, it is also clear that financial contributions have a substantial impact on decision-making by elected representatives. The critical distinction regarding referendums is that the money operates in the open, especially when laws require full disclosure of contributors to referendum campaigns. In contrast, elected officeholders sometimes receive contributions in return for unstated commitments to support legislation in the future. Consequently, the effect of financial contributions in elected representative bodies is more difficult to pin down.

A final criticism of referendums is that they can be abused by tyrants. The most common example was the use of plebiscites by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) to solidify his rule over Nazi Germany. It is true that populations in the midst of national crises can be intimidated into voting for dictatorial powers. This vulnerability exists with respect to both referendums and popular elections of officeholders. However, it is also true that such abuses do not typically occur in political systems which have an established tradition and history of referendum usage. Similarly, a country with a long history of electing representatives is less likely to see the election process manipulated by tyrants. The more firmly rooted democratic institutions become in a country’s political culture, the less susceptible they are to abuse.

See also: Canada; Democracy; France; Switzerland; United Kingdom.

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Kris Kobach

Refugees

According to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a "refugee" is an individual who

owing to well-founded fear of being **persecuted** for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. . . .

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that in 2003 there were approximately 10.6 million refugees in the world, broken down as follows: Asia (4 million), Africa (3.3 million), Europe (2 million), North America (600,000), Oceania (65,000), and Latin America (41,000). The largest refugee-producing countries were Afghanistan (2.4 million), Burundi (574,000), the Sudan (505,200), Angola (433,000), and Somalia (429,000). Those countries hosting the largest number of refugees were Iran (1.3 million), Pakistan (1.2 million), Germany (980,000), Tanzania (690,000), and the United States (485,000).

The definition of refugee has several components. The first requirement for refugee status is that a claimant must be outside of his or her country of origin. This, of course, severely restricts the class of those able to obtain refugee protection, and in fact, the population of those termed internally displaced persons—essentially refugees who have not left their country of origin—is now considerably larger than the world's refugee population. As an aside, the U.S. definition of refugee does not **mandate** that a claimant be outside his or her country of origin, and as of 2004 upwards of 80 percent of those admitted as refugees to the United States had never previously left their country of origin.

The second requirement for refugee status is that the claimant must have a "well-founded fear" of persecution. This "fear" component has traditionally had both an objective and a subjective element to it. Because the insufficiency of state protection is the basis for recognizing an individual as a refugee, the appropriate starting point for determining the conditions within the refugee claimant's state of origin is an examination of that country's general human rights record.

How much fear rises to the level of a well-founded fear? Certainly, one can have a well-founded fear of an event happening when there is less than a 50 percent chance of it taking place. According to the standard enunciated by the U.S. Supreme Court in *INS v. Cardoza-Fonseca* (1987):

Let us . . . presume that it is known that in the applicant's country of origin every tenth adult male person is either put to death or sent to some remote labor camp. . . . In such a case it would be only too apparent that anyone who has managed to escape from the country in question would have "well-founded fear of being persecuted" upon his eventual return.

persecute: to belittle, harass, injure, or otherwise intimidate, especially those of a different background or group

mandate: to command, order, or require; or, a command, order, or requirement

The key to the refugee determination process is a careful consideration of the claimant's own evidence. In that way, how the claimant has been treated in the past is a vital consideration in determining refugee status. In addition, even if the claimant cannot substantiate his or her past persecution, it is enough to show evidence of harm to persons similarly situated. Despite this legal standard, some adjudicatory bodies have shown a great reluctance to recognize as refugees persons whose fear is shared by large numbers of fellow citizens, the apparent concern being that no limiting principle exists when generalized oppression or persecution is present. Thus, rather than helping the claimant, there often has been a "perverse-inverse" relationship between levels of human rights abuse and the granting of refugee protection.

The third requirement for refugee status is the notion of persecution, left undefined by the Convention's drafters. As a general rule, refugee protection is premised on the need to safeguard an individual from serious harm, although this harm does not have to be of life-and-death proportions. Essentially, refugee protection consists of an international response to disenfranchisement from the usual benefits of nationality. States are split on who the agents of this persecution must be. The European approach has been to limit refugee protection to those instances where state agents are responsible for persecution, whereas the



FAMINE SUFFERERS AWAIT FOOD AT A REFUGEE CAMP IN SUDAN. Refugee camps are numerous throughout Sudan and the continent of Africa, which contains one-third of the world's refugee population. In 1984–1985, about 300,000 of the Ethiopians who fled their homeland's famine crisis entered Sudan. (SOURCE: CHRIS RAINIER/CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.)

U.S. approach has been a willingness to recognize persecution at the hands of nonstate actors.

The final requirement for refugee status under international law is that the claimant must also establish that the persecution he or she faces is based on one of five factors: race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. The rationale for this limitation was not that other persons were less at risk, but rather, that persons affected by these forms of fundamental sociopolitical disenfranchisement were less likely to seek effective redress within the state.

In terms of actual state practice, despite the repeated cries in Western states of “compassion fatigue,” or the feeling on the part of Western governments and Western peoples that they are overwhelmed by human suffering in other parts of the world and they are tired of dealing with these issues, nearly all refugee protection takes place in developing states. The number of refugee claims in Europe continues to decline mainly because of visa requirements in states experiencing gross human rights abuses as well as the institution of “safe” third country programs, whereby claimants who have passed through a safe country (even fleetingly) are denied the ability to file a refugee claim.

U.S. refugee policy has two important aspects. The first is an overseas quota program under which the United States admits on the order of 70,000 refugees—although these numbers have been severely slashed since September 11, 2001. The second is that individuals who are within the United States can apply for refugee status. However, the government’s Haitian interdiction program indicates some of the lengths to which the U.S. government will go in order to prevent claimants from arriving in the United States. This policy was upheld in *Sale v. Haitians Centers Council* (1993) when the Supreme Court found that the legal duty not to return an individual to a country where his or her life would be threatened (so-called nonrefoulement) only arises after that person has arrived in this country.

See also: Immigration and Immigrants; United Nations.

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Mark Gibney, Linda Cornett

redress: to make right, or, compensation

Representation

delegate: to assign power to another, or, one who represents another

Representation is a re-presentation of someone or something that is in some sense absent. A country may send an ambassador to another country and a **delegate** to an international body (such as the United Nations), and those persons are said to *represent* that nation. The governing officials who decide the foreign policy of that nation are not (typically) present in person, but the delegate speaks for the decision makers in their absence and, by extension, for the nation itself. (The commitments made by such delegates do not oblige the delegate personally but the nation.)

Representation, therefore, often is understood as a process engaged in by persons who “stand in” or “stand for” others. Such representatives may stand in for the nation, a government, or even a single individual (as occurs when a person is represented by a lawyer in a court of law). Representation in the broadest sense, however, does not occur only between persons. Flags, for example, are said to represent a nation, province, or, in fact, any entity that may choose to use a flag. In this case, a person is not representing, and it may not be a person (or persons) who is represented. An artist may put forward a work intended, for example, to represent the pain and destruction caused by warfare. Such an artwork may represent an abstraction and not reference any particular persons or collectivity.

Persons who act as representatives, or who engage in acts of representation, also may represent abstractions in the sense that their account of what they represent may not correspond with a given person or interested party’s specific wishes; rather, they claim to speak for a common cause, one unattached to specific persons or **factions**. They may claim to speak for a particularly broad interest (e.g., a commercial interest or consumers), or they may claim to speak as representatives of ideals (e.g., equality or world peace).

factionalism: a separation of people into competing, adversarial, and self-serving groups, usually in government

Acts of representation are an everyday part of public political life, and they often stir conflict in societies. Groups and persons of all kinds find themselves and others represented (in words or images) in popular forums. Often those represented (or those who concern themselves with how others are represented) believe the representation is flawed or misleading. Representations therefore may be used as a part of a political strategy by casting others in a positive or negative light. Group members may even disagree with one another as to how they should choose to represent themselves. In the study of governments, the forms of representation that capture the most attention among social scientists, however, are those that involve persons standing for other persons or for specific interests.

REPRESENTATIVE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

The seventeenth-century British political philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) argued that the governed ought to think of their leader (or leaders) as a sovereign representative. In the life without government (Hobbes called this the “state of nature”) individuals must rely on themselves to ensure their protection and have, Hobbes insisted, the right to pursue their protection by any means they judge necessary. However, when they consent to make someone (or an assembly of persons) their sovereign, they all agree to a social contract by which they transfer these rights and judgments to their sovereign, which becomes the subjects’ representative in that after the transfer of these rights the sovereign’s words and actions are to be understood as the subjects’ own. As such, subjects are obliged to obey those representatives they have authorized in the social contract and to support no rival authorities so long as the sovereign protects them.

Hobbes's sovereign representative, however, only partially explains what most modern citizens associate with representative forms of government. Persons living under representative governments also expect that they will be represented in deliberative bodies that determine how they are governed. (According to the logic of the republican tradition, people could not be considered free if they did not play a role in determining their own laws.) The most important of these bodies are legislatures (bodies that make—or at least play an essential role in making—laws).

Not all members of deliberative bodies are placed there by election. Some may be appointed by persons in government; positions in some deliberative bodies have been passed down by hereditary right. In democratic societies, however, election processes are the usual method for selecting representatives to lawmaking bodies. In some democratic countries governing heads of state (often called presidents) are selected through elections. In some countries ceremonial heads of state may be said to represent the nation, but their representation is largely symbolic. They do not govern, and they may or may not be elected.

How an elected official should perform the functions of representation is a matter of debate. What counts as adequate representation? For citizens in democratic societies, where sovereignty is said to rest ultimately in the people, this question must be asked when the people are electing, or reelecting, representatives. The same applies for members of organizations that profess democratic principles. Rules for when states and organizations hold elections vary. Representatives may be sent for a fixed term and may or may not be permitted to run for re-election. Other systems may involve a process by which elections are called or triggered by a vote of no confidence by a legislative body or members of an organization.

In part, expectations placed on a representative are determined by the method of election. Many popular representatives in legislative bodies are elected by persons within a specific geographic region. Typically, the candidate who wins the majority of votes is elected (additional, or run-off, elections between top candidates may be necessary if no candidate wins a majority). Regional, state, or provincial representatives are expected to defend and promote the interests of their **constituents**, but they also may feel competing pressure to conform to **ideological** goals because of their affiliation with a particular political party.

In many parts of the world the election processes may work according to a different logic, called **proportional representation**—many governments combine some elements of geographic representation and proportional representation. Systems of proportional representation vary, but in general parties present voters across regions with a list of candidates. Voters are asked to select a party list or, in some cases, specific candidates on the party list. The number of seats won in the legislative body (or the proportion allotted through proportional representation) by a party is determined by the total number of votes each party receives. In this system, unlike geographic representation, a majority of votes within a given region does not elect a single representative from that region; minorities with a sufficient number of votes in their favor (a minimum number of votes determined as a part of the rules) gain representation in rough proportion to their share of votes among the entire enfranchised population. The method of proportional representation asks voters to respond primarily to the party's publicized commitments rather than to the commitments a candidate might make to a particular district.

In systems of parliamentary government, in which those capable of assembling a majority of seats in the parliament are entitled to form a government, ruling **coalitions** may consist of elected representatives from more than one party. Relatively small parties in the legislature may gain leverage over larger parties by tipping the balance in favor of a majority coalition. The duties of representatives

constituency: the people who either elect or are represented by an elected official

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

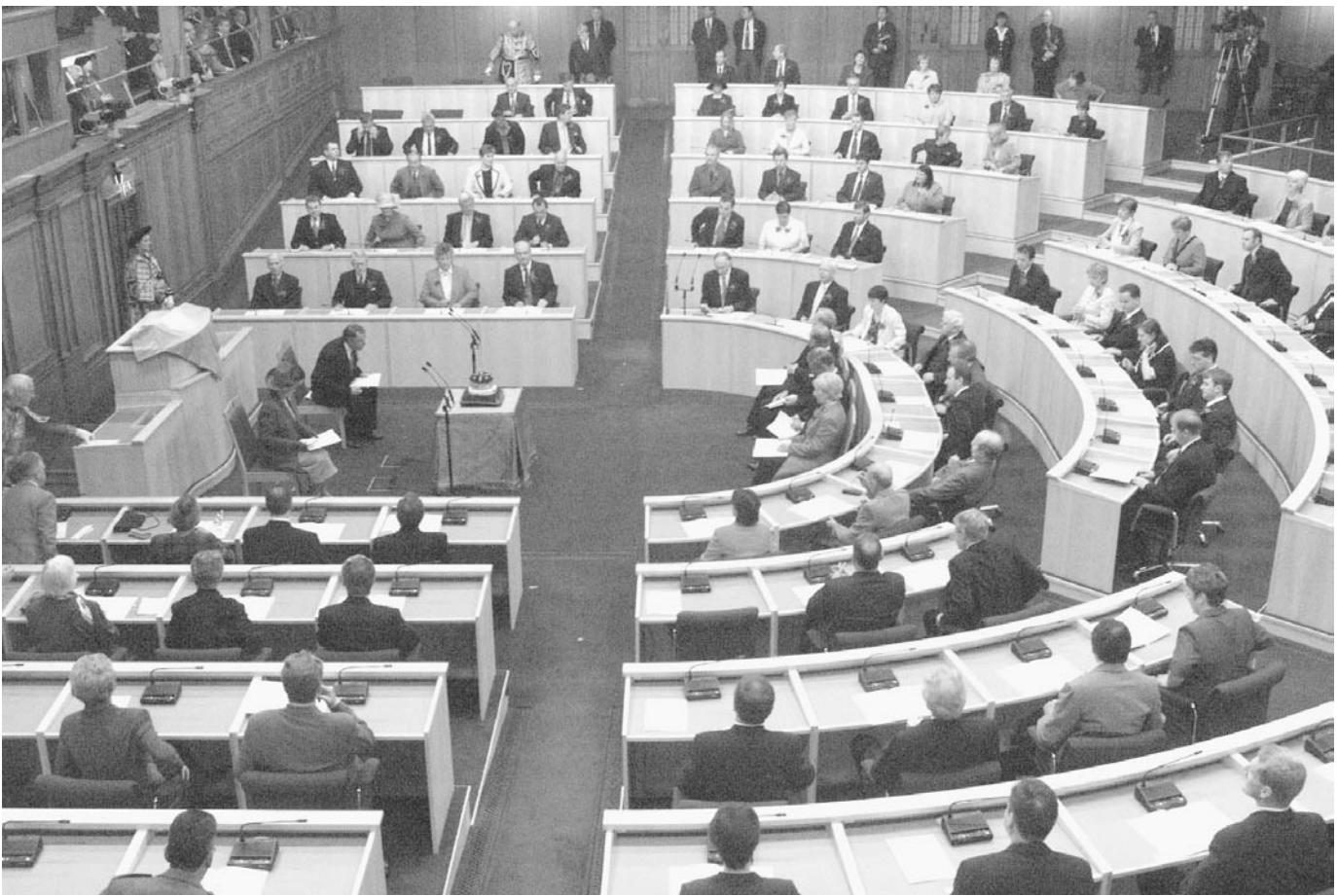
coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

in these circumstances might be pulled in at least two directions at once: the duty to uphold the party ideals and promises that won them votes in the election and the duty to coalition partners to honor agreements that make it possible to form the majority coalition. The question of which method to use is very often a point of conflict, especially in states that are beginning a process of **democratization**.

What does it mean to represent a particular constituency? Does the representation of people require that the representative resemble the citizens who put him or her into office? How close should the resemblance be? Proponents of proportional representation often claim a greater correspondence between the general electorate and its representatives. Representations of any kind, however, are not expected to be exact duplicates of that which they represent (representations are not copies), and what it would mean to duplicate a large population precisely is by no means clear given the dynamic nature of legislative processes.

Representation in this context, however, often is thought to imply a duty to present the opinions, the sentiments, or at least the interests of the citizens who elected the representative. Typically, geographic representatives feel the greatest obligation to represent the views of the majority of voters (the persons who elected them to office), but within democratic societies it is not unusual for such representatives also to profess a dedication to represent all persons in



THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT CONVENES WITH BRITAIN'S QUEEN ELIZABETH II, (LEFT). The Scotland Act of 1998 created the country's first parliament since 1707 and in 1999 the 129-member legislature opened. Until then, Scotland's 72 members were part of England's House of Commons, the British Parliament's lower house. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

their region. The decisions of a regional representative often are colored by a desire to be reelected. A representative who wins by a large majority may conduct himself or herself differently than does one who wins by a slim margin. On some political questions the representative may feel he or she has wide latitude and on other issues may feel a strict requirement to vote in accordance with the wishes of voting majority.

Nevertheless, the duty of the representatives—even those who believe that they must echo the views of their constituents—is not always clear. In a deliberative assembly, issues may come before the representative concerning which the electorate may have no opinion or no clear opinion. An ambassador is typically free to explain the complexities of deliberations to responsible parties in government and ask for instructions. Elected representatives rarely have this opportunity and cannot always count on finding a majority opinion in their constituency on the issues that arise in any specific vote in the legislature. More often, democratically elected representatives (if and when they are asked) explain their votes and decisions to their constituents after they have made them.

Representatives therefore often find it necessary to fall back on the principle that their decisions promote the welfare of those they represent, which in many instances may prove a workable solution. However, what if a representative concludes that the wishes of his or her constituents are contrary to their welfare? Representatives who wish to ensure the welfare of their constituents in these cases are in a more difficult situation. Some representatives may feel duty bound to vote their constituents' wishes regardless of their own views. Others, however, may feel an obligation to what they see as their constituents' "true interests."

Political parties also may play a strong role in determining votes. In these situations explanations offered after the fact may become critical. Representatives (and parties) may lose votes and elections, and voters may become better educated about their interests. The give-and-take between representatives and the represented can be understood as a part of a well-functioning representative democracy.

EDMUND BURKE

Representatives in governing deliberative bodies therefore frequently have to exercise their own judgment. How much latitude should a representative be allowed? The eighteenth-century British parliamentarian Edmund Burke (1729–1797) occupies one pole in debates over representation. He held that representatives in most instances should be largely independent of the voters' opinions.

According to Burke, the purpose of a parliament is **deliberation**. Writing at a time when the right to vote in his nation was very far from universal, Burke held that representatives should be selected from among the political elite. They should possess the powers of reasoning and be capable of weighing the various interests and points of view (including the grievances of various populations) but should base legislative decisions on what would be in the interest of the nation as a whole. Burke's estimation of the general population's intellect was not merely low (although it was); he also believed that persons deprived of the opportunity to deliberate in parliament were in no position to know what was best. Burke's notion of representation therefore was much closer to that of a trustee than conceptions of representation that stress representatives' role as a relay for the will of their constituencies.

Burke's conception often is contrasted with notions associated with liberal political philosophies. Here representatives within deliberative legislative bodies are not necessarily perceived as being far above their constituencies in

deliberate: to present contradicting arguments and choose a common course of action based upon them, or, characterized by such careful discussion

ability or rank. Instead, as representatives they are seen as accountable for passing on the opinions of their constituencies. If a legislative body is designed to allow the nation in all its diverse points of view to deliberate over and vote on matters of law and policy, the duty of the representative on this *delegate* theory is to ensure that the constituents' views and preferences are made known and promoted.

JAMES MADISON

Whereas Burke counted on the superior wisdom of representatives to ensure that the true welfare of the nation is not harmed by the wishes of misinformed constituents, some liberal theorists, perhaps most notably the American Federalist James Madison (1751–1836), believed that the best safeguards for the well-being of the nation would be found in the design of representative institutions. From the Madisonian point of view, the greatest danger facing democracies is faction, by which he meant a collectivity (either a majority or a minority) of persons united by goals harmful to the rights of some other citizens or to the permanent or collective interests of the nation as a whole.

Early small democratic communities in which each citizen was entitled to participate in government often were disadvantaged by the problem of factions. A relatively small number of persons might coordinate to form a majority to tyrannize minority groups or specific citizens. Because of these problems such “direct democracies” were criticized for creating particularly unstable **regimes**, communities where the lives and property of individuals or minorities might be unsafe.

Mechanisms of representation, however, allow for larger states that cover a range of geographic regions and therefore a greater combination of interests. Because of this, Madison held, such states had a distinct advantage. A much wider range of interests would be represented in the legislative body, and therefore a majority faction would be much more difficult to form. Factions may achieve some success on local levels, but the possibility of kindling a vicious sentiment across a diverse nation was thought much more difficult. Indeed, Madison thought that potential factious majorities would be less likely even to discover their numbers or act in unison in such a system.

Within this form of representative government, therefore, the greatest safeguard against vicious motives was not a belief in the superior moral faculties of those who are elected as representatives (although Federalist writings expressed the hope that this would prove true) but the expectation that even if each representative devotes himself or herself strictly to the local preferences of his or her constituency, the dynamic conflict between interests in a national assembly would help ensure that interests would check one another.

See also: Democracy; Republic.

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regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

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Ted H. Miller

Reproductive Rights

Reproductive rights include the right to choose to have, or not have, children as well as to control one's reproductive decisions. Societies pass laws regulating issues of reproduction to reflect their economic, political, and religious values and traditions. Anthropological studies have shown that contraception and abortion were largely accepted in ancient societies throughout the world; however, as organized religions began to grow, so too did opposition to both. Proponents of reproductive rights for women contend that safe and reliable contraception and abortion are both essential to the overall level of women's health and that control over reproductive choices is fundamental for women's social, political, and economic status. By challenging traditional gender roles that link the value of women only to their ability to procreate, many women across the world have become independent, vital to the community for their varied contributions and abilities. Independence in their reproductive choices allows women to be equal citizens with men, with similar chances for self-fulfillment.

Reproductive rights presuppose that people have an inherent right to procreate. Fertility rates in most regions of the world have decreased substantially since the 1960s; much of this decline has been the result of conscious efforts to limit family size, delays in marriage, and the use of contraception and abortion. However, some forms of coercion have also affected the right to have children, such as mandated sterilization and the insertion of contraceptive devices without the knowledge or permission of a patient. Two kinds of involuntary sterilization exist—cases in which the patient is coerced or compelled and cases in which the patient is deemed incompetent to give legal permission. Compulsory sterilization typically is applied to those of the lower class and criminals. In many countries parents or guardians can petition to have sterilization procedures performed on the mentally ill or retarded, even against individual wishes, raising many ethical and moral issues. An additional issue related to the right to have children emerged when the communist Chinese government instituted its controversial one-child policy in 1979. The policy provides incentives for families to have only one child and **sanctions** families with more than two children. China's one-child policy is designed to stem population growth, but the potentially negative aspects of such a policy must be taken into account, such as the neglect and infanticide of female babies as well as selective abortions based on gender.

The right to not have children is perhaps even more controversial than the issues surrounding the right to have children. Early Christianity declared that marriage was necessary for procreation and that all sexual relations should occur for the purpose of childbearing; hence, abortion and contraception were seen as sinful and later as criminal. Religious leaders initially regarded the fetus as a living being in need of protection after quickening (when a pregnant

"In many countries, parents or guardians can petition to have sterilization procedures performed on the mentally ill or retarded, even against individual wishes, raising many ethical and moral issues."

sanction: economic, political, or military reprisals, or, to ratify

sect: a group of people with a common distinctive view of religion or doctrine

woman is able to feel the movement of the fetus); this view allowed abortion before quickening. Such thinking continued until the 1860s, when the Roman Catholic Church declared that life began with conception and any kind of abortion was thus a crime. Similar distinctions were made in early English Common Law. However, this attitude further evolved in the early 1800s, when a law was passed that made abortion a criminal offense, punishable by a sentence of life imprisonment. Islamic law similarly prohibits the taking of a soul, but different sects have different perspectives on when a person acquires a soul (ranging from conception to quickening). Islamic law generally allows an abortion, regardless of the stage of pregnancy, to protect a woman's life. Under Orthodox Judaism abortion is permitted only to protect the life of the woman. Abortion was illegal in most areas of the world throughout the nineteenth century; nonetheless, illegal abortions were far from rare. Vladimir Lenin (1870–1974) passed the first liberal abortion law in the former Soviet Union in 1920. The law was based on the belief that women were equal to men and had the right to control their fertility.

The recognition of women's rights to control their reproductive choices has been a long and slow process. In 1968 the United Nations (UN) held its International Conference on Human Rights in Tehran, where a resolution was adopted that declared that all couples should have the choice to control the number of their children and the years between births. In the same year the Economic and Social Council stated that a fundamental connection exists between fertility rates and the status of women. Only with two UN forums, the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994) and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), did the international community seriously address the issues of women's health and reproductive and sexual rights. Despite significant religious opposition to change, these two forums

linked gender equity and empowerment to reproductive health and declared that unsafe abortions were a major public-health issue requiring governmental attention. The Beijing conference called for governments to decriminalize abortions and recognize that women have rights over their own sexuality and fertility.

“... the Economic and Social Council stated that a fundamental connection exists between fertility rates and status of women.”

In 2005 a broad range of laws pertaining to abortion existed across the world. In Europe abortion law varies, with some countries allowing abortion on demand in the first trimester (e.g., Sweden, Austria, and Great Britain), one nation (Ireland) prohibiting all abortions, and still others stipulating a compromise position, which allows an abortion if a woman's health is in danger or in the case of rape, incest, or fetal deformity (e.g., Spain, France, and Italy). All European countries, except Ireland, permit abortions beyond the first trimester to protect the life of the mother, and many states pay the cost of abortion services. With the exception of Poland (where abortion is illegal except in cases of rape or incest, cases of serious fetal deformity, or to protect the life of a woman), countries in Eastern Europe permit abortions for a broad range of reasons. Most Asian countries have liberal abortion policies, allowing abortions into the second trimester paid for by the government. The Philippines, however, prohibits all abortions. In Australia abortions are restricted but permissible to protect a woman's health and in cases of rape or incest or serious fetal deformity.

Muslim countries in North Africa and the Middle East generally prohibit abortions, but some variation exists from country to country. Sunni Islamic countries generally permit abortions only early in pregnancy to protect the life of a woman (e.g., Saudi Arabia and Egypt), but two Sunni Muslim



THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) HOLDS A PRO CHOICE RALLY IN HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA, IN 1989. Since 1966 the National Organization for Women (NOW) has addressed women's concerns such as sexual harassment and discrimination, spousal abuse, and abortion and birth control. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

countries (Turkey and Tunisia) allow abortions upon request in the first trimester. Two Shiite Muslim countries (Iran and Iraq) have similar laws, with Iraq's **statutes** being broader. In Iran abortions can be performed only in cases where the woman's life is in serious danger. Similar provisions exist in Iraq, but abortions are also allowed in the case of rape, incest, or significant fetal deformity. A husband must grant written permission, however, before such an abortion may be performed. Abortions are legal in Israel if approved by a committee of two doctors and one social worker. Most countries in Africa, with the exception of Tunisia, Ghana, and Liberia, have placed strong restrictions on abortions. They will allow abortions only in rare circumstances, such as the protection of a woman's life; nevertheless, some prohibit all forms of abortion.

Countries in South America generally allow abortions to protect the life of a mother and sometimes in instances of rape or incest. Chile, however, prohibits abortions under any circumstances. Latin American and Caribbean countries generally prohibit abortions unless it means saving the life of a woman, and many require written permission by the woman's husband or parent. Abortion in the first two trimesters is legal throughout the United States;

statute: a law created by a legislature that is inferior to constitutional law



FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION

Female genital mutilation, or infibulation, is a ritual procedure that began in ancient times, originating in the desire of males to control female sexuality. Genital mutilation includes a range of procedures that vary among cultures. The procedures may involve removal of the clitoris, removal of both the clitoris and the labia minora, or abrasion of the inner edges of the labia majora. In the latter case, the abraded edges are sutured or the girl's knees and thighs are tied together until the abraded edges heal.

At the turn of the twenty-first century the World Health Organization estimated that 130 million girls and women who had undergone the procedure were still living. In the early 2000s, these procedures were still being performed throughout several African countries parts of Asia and the Middle East.

Tradition keeps the practice alive. Many women fear that if their daughters do not undergo this procedure, men will not marry them for fear that they are unclean and promiscuous. Fathers see this ritual as necessary to marry off their daughters to the most desirable men. Girls still die from procedures that are often performed with primitive and dangerous instruments, and women suffer from terrible infections and childbearing complications; but these results are considered to be acceptable.

In the late 1990s the international aid community finally turned its attention to the problem and began supporting efforts to eradicate the practice. The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo, launched an attack on the ritual. In the subsequent decade, thirteen African countries passed legislation banning the practice.

individual states, however, may prohibit abortions in the last trimester unless a woman's life is in danger. Other abortion restrictions vary by state, with many requiring parental notification for minors seeking abortions and mandatory waiting periods. Abortions are available on demand in Canada, with virtually no restrictions.

In addition to religion, many cultural and societal factors exist that affect reproductive rights. As women become more educated, they have lower fertility rates as education affords women greater economic independence and professional choices, increases the dissemination of information about contraception, and delays marriage beyond adolescence. Women's social status also affects reproductive rights; in countries where women have civil liberties, civil rights, and higher social status, they are typically better able to assert their reproductive rights. In countries where women have low social status, they are often powerless to control their reproductive lives, frequently being forced to undergo genital circumcision, marry at a young age, and bear many children. Changing gender roles also affect reproductive rights. As women increasingly are perceived to be equal to men in terms of their potential contributions to society, they are not defined exclusively based on their ability to procreate. When women have greater options to define their role in society, they thus develop greater abilities to realize their own personal goals. Women who lack control over their reproductive choices find their lives severely limited as a result; being in a state of continued pregnancy or lactation, and having to care for an endless number of children, limits the economic and employment options available to women, often making them vulnerable. Human rights dictate that women be regarded as first-class citizens worldwide and that they retain control over their reproductive decisions to ensure the best political, economic, and social outcomes.

See also: Common Law; Right to Privacy.

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Joanne Connor Green

Republic

The concept of the *republic* has been used to describe at once an attitude toward political life and a constitutional form of political order. In both senses it has always been contrasted with tyrannical or monarchical rule. The term has its roots in Roman political vocabulary. The *res publica* means literally “the public thing,” or that which is shared by a public. The Roman orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) summed up its usage best in *De Republica* (On the Commonwealth) when he argued that a republic consists of rule by the people, and the people consist of the citizens gathered together under law for mutual advantage, that is, for the public good.

Along with the emphasis on a regime deriving its authority from popular will and aimed toward the common good, the Roman meaning also included an emphasis on civic virtue and the striving for glory—citizens distinguishing themselves by putting the good of the whole community above their personal interest. Finally, for the Romans a republic, unlike a tyranny or a monarchy, protected the freedom of its citizens both in the negative sense of prevention against unjust intrusions by political power and in the positive sense of guaranteeing the right of citizen participation. Indeed, the two notions of freedom were seen as supporting each other, for both derived from protection against domination.

Curiously, as a constitutional arrangement of power, a republic could take many different forms. The only requirement was that it be a mixed form of government, combining the positive features of monarchy, **aristocracy**, and democracy so that these different kinds rule might balance and moderate the extremes of one another. This requirement was derived from Aristotle’s (384–322 B.C.E.) concept of **polity** in books three and four of *The Politics*. During the Roman period it was further developed by Polybius (200–118 B.C.E.), who argued that a durable republic could be constructed by balancing these three forms in the distribution of public offices: If properly done, each form would provide a check on the others; however, during an external crises all three would compete to enhance the good of the state.

During the later medieval period and through the Renaissance (1400s and 1500s) debate was ongoing among the civic **humanists** over the exact composition of a well-ordered republic. Some sided with the model of the Venetian republic, which was highly stable and ruled by an **oligarchy** based on birth. Others sided with the Florentine model, which was far less stable but incorporated the lower classes of craftspeople into the rule of the city. Different civic humanists saw the mixture of popular government, aristocratic government, and executive rule differently, depending on whether they emphasized stability or liberty through citizen participation.

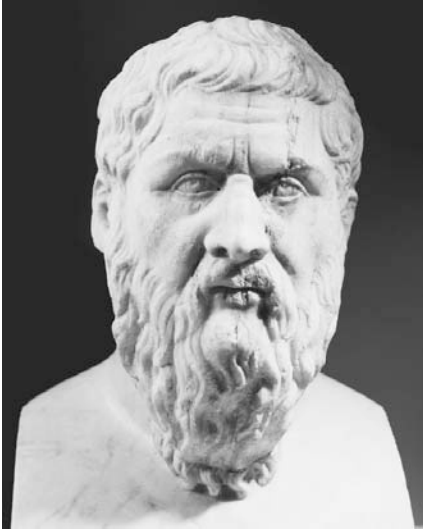
In 1513 Niccoló Machiavelli (1469–1527) entered this debate in a new and innovative way with his *Discourses on Livy*. Machiavelli attacked both the aristocratic

aristocracy: a ruling financial, social, or political elite

polity: a form of government held by a specific country or group

humanist: one who places a great deal of importance on humankind and its experiences

oligarchy: government by a few or an elite ruling class, whose policies are often not in the public interest



A BUST OF THE GREEK PHILOSOPHER PLATO. Written as dialogue, Plato's most powerful work, *The Republic*, discussed the structure of the ideal political system of government that included three classes: merchants (economy), military (security), and philosopher-kings (leadership).
(SOURCE: © GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS)

model of a republic based on achieving stability through balance and the more democratic model seeking to transform the inner character of citizens into public-regarding beings. Radically revising the Roman model, he argued that republican liberty and the common good will best be achieved in a republic that encourages a constant but controlled conflict between the ordinary people seeking to escape domination and the few who desire to rule. When the common people actively resisted the rulers through street protests and indictments of power-hungry political leaders, laws leading to republican self-government would be introduced.

Equally important, Machiavelli insisted, a republic that responded to the demands of the common people could mobilize all of its citizens to fight on its behalf when it sought to expand its power over other states—aristocratic or oligarchical republics could not avail themselves of this political resource. Machiavelli was one of the first political thinkers to recognize that even though there was an inherent tendency in all republics for an oligarchical or aristocratic political class to arise, a constant tension between the many and the few would result in the continuous expansion of popular self-government and the introduction of laws favoring the common good.

RADICAL REPUBLICANISM VERSUS COMMERCIAL SOCIETY

Machiavelli's focus on the ordinary people as a dynamic force in a republic and his emphasis on popular conflict as a healthy element of political life spawned a variety of reactions among later republican thinkers. Some republican thinkers, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Thomas Paine (1737–1809), and later Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), sought to make popular sovereignty the center of republican theory. Others, such as James Madison (1751–1836) saw radical republicanism as a danger to political stability and sought instead to redefine republican theory so that it might accommodate the new commercial market society of the later eighteenth century and its notions of private property.

Rousseau is of particular importance to the post-Machiavellian tradition of radical republicanism because he combined democratic popular sovereignty with mixed government in a way that shifted the model republic decidedly in the direction of direct democracy. Famously he argued in *The Social Contract* that the only legitimate republic is one in which the sovereign authority consists of an assembly of citizens who participate directly in legislating general laws for themselves as subjects. He called this authority, in which the makers of the laws and the subjects of the laws were identical, the general will. In an even more radical move he argued that the government must be made dependent on the general will. Its job was to carry out the laws, not to make them.

According to Rousseau, for the government to heed the general will, it had to combine the monarchical principle in an executive, the aristocratic principle in a representative body, and the democratic principle in the subjects of government. The right balance would be reached when the government was strong enough to implement the laws but not so strong that it usurped the authority of the general will. By putting the republican approach to constitutional balance in the service of the republican ideal of direct citizen participation, Rousseau claimed he was merely restoring the ancient model of citizenship at a time when it had been undermined by large territorial **centralized** states and by the inequalities of property produced through the new commercial markets.

Viewing such radical notions of republicanism as a danger to both private property and a stable political order, James Madison, especially in *The Federalist Papers* numbers 10 and 51, argued that a republic was distinct from a democracy. Although republican government must be authorized by the people, it must be

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

organized so that no majority could attack the **natural rights** to private property of the few. To this end, he proposed that instead of transforming citizens into publicly interested legislators, as did Rousseau, republican government should be spread over so wide an area as to encompass as many self-interested **factions** as possible.

In this way, a new kind of balance was introduced into republican theory; namely, organized partial interests would at once compete with one another to advance their political goals and check one another so that a permanent majority interest could not form. Here Madison quite explicitly believed he was applying the new psychology of interest developed in Adam Smith's (1723–1790) theory of the competitive market as well as the Newtonian theory of a closed balanced energy system to produce stability through an equilibrium of interests.

On this foundation, Madison introduced his famous account of the American constitution as a system of checks and balances among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, as well as his slightly less famous account of representative government in which the House of Representatives would be elected by the citizens but the Senate would be selected from the better, more politically virtuous classes through the state legislatures. The significance of Madison's revision of the republican model is that he at once made it compatible with a society of commercial interests while diminishing the republican ideal of citizens participating in authorizing laws for the public interest. Liberty as *protection* against popular rule trumped liberty as *participation* in popular rule.

FROM POLITICAL WAY OF LIFE TO CONSTITUTIONAL FORM

The tension between the radical popular republicanism and a republicanism rooted in the protection of individual rights continued into the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States. Increasingly, from the later nineteenth century through the whole of the twentieth century the latter took the place of the former. Liberal states based on constitutionally limited government, representative institutions, competitive parties, and capitalist property relations have claimed to be republics to the degree that they have consisted of a divided government whose authority is derived from the people. The ideal of participatory republicanism, however, has disappeared into the struggle for democracy. Since the nineteenth century, democratic movements—whether they were seeking universal **suffrage**, **socialist** transformations of the economy and the state, or more participation in the workplace or the local community—have incorporated that ideal. In the twentieth century both liberal and illiberal states claimed to be republics in their constitutional structure. Indeed, almost all constitutional regimes call themselves republics. At this point the original plasticity of the term has led almost to complete shapelessness.

THE REVIVAL OF THE REPUBLICAN IDEAL

Nonetheless, in the later twentieth century and the beginning of twenty-first century a number of writers sought to revive republican thought as a way of criticizing the concern in modern liberal “democracies” with the individual pursuit of private interest, the dominance of the market in social life, and, above all, the limited participation of citizens in political life. Among them, Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929) has proposed a synthesis between liberal procedural democracy and radical republican models. His model institutes an active sphere of deliberative public opinion between society and the institutions of government that would legitimate legislative actions according to whether they might achieve the public good.

natural right: a basic privilege intrinsic to all people that cannot be denied by the government

factionalism: a separation of people into competing, adversarial, and self-serving groups, usually in government

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

socialism: any of various economic and political theories advocating collective or governmental ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods



NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI (1469–1527)

Niccolò Machiavelli is generally considered the founder of modern political science. Born in Florence, he entered the service of the city's government in 1498. Machiavelli learned about power politics firsthand through his work as a diplomat. His missions on behalf of the Florentine Republic included meetings with King Louis XII of France (in 1504 and 1510), Pope Julius II (in 1506), and Emperor Maximilian I (in 1507).

After the Medici family returned to power in Florence in 1512, Machiavelli was jailed and briefly tortured on charges that he had been involved in a plot against the family. After his release, he retired to the countryside to write his major works, the *Discourses on Livy* (1517) and *The Prince* (published

posthumously in 1532). In May 1527 the Florentines again drove out the Medici and briefly reestablished a republic, but the people no longer trusted Machiavelli. He died on June 22, 1527, embittered by the city's refusal to offer him a government position.

Machiavelli's political thought is marked by two important innovations. The first is his notion that a healthy state is marked by internal social conflict rather than stability—an idea set forth in the *Discourses on Livy*. The second is his separation of political analysis from ethics or moral philosophy—a break with tradition that made his name a synonym for the cynical and amoral use of power.

Other commentators have argued that the Internet could revive the republican ideal of public participation in political life by instituting a sphere in which all citizens, no matter how dispersed, could discuss and debate opinions. However, others fear it might allow citizens to select only those opinions and sources of information with which they agree. Finally, some commentators, using the European Union as a model, speak of republican citizenship being extended on a global scale as new problems arise, such as regional diseases, global poverty, and ecological damage, that cannot be dealt with at the national level.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the history of its usage, a tension has always existed in the concept of republicanism. As a form of political life, it represents the striving to launch a political community in which citizens regularly participate in legislating laws for the common good, resist tendencies toward tyranny, and seek recognition by fulfilling their duties to the community as a whole. It is the idea of a small civic community applied to a large-scale political order. As an institutional arrangement of power, however, it has accommodated a variety of political forms. Some republics tend toward a democratic form of sovereignty, including citizens actively in their common life; others are more aristocratic, allowing citizens only to be represented by their betters; still others tend to subordinate both the few and the many to more executive rule; and yet other forms claim to derive their authority from the common people but divide the decision-making power among representative legislative bodies such as a parliament or congress, an executive such as a prime minister or president, and a judicial branch such as a supreme or high court.

Hence, as an institutional form, a republic can deviate rather widely from the ideal that is intended to legitimate it. And yet, in practice, almost every regime in the world in the twenty-first century—be it dictatorial, ruled by one party, or organized through a system of competitive parties—claims to be a republic of some kind. It would seem that very few political regimes want to forgo the claim to legitimacy represented by the republican ideal of a constitution resting on popular will—even if they are loath to realize it.

See also: Constitutions and Constitutionalism; Democracy; Popular Sovereignty.

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Republic of Korea

See Korea, South.

Rhodesia

See Zimbabwe.

Right to Privacy

The right to privacy has developed as a nearly universal human right. The best evidence of that trend is the adoption of comprehensive privacy and data protection standards and statutes, as well as the right’s inclusion in the Universal



IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, A BOOK STORE MANAGER COLLECTS PETITION SIGNATURES AGAINST THE USA PATRIOT ACT. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the U.S. Congress enacted the USA Patriot Act in October 2001. Many civil liberties groups believed that the act could violate a person's privacy and right to free speech as it permitted expanded wiretapping of phone and electronic mail, as well as allowed noncitizens to be held indefinitely without charge. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

An example of broad support for privacy rights can be found in the 1980 Organization for Economic Protection and Development (OECD) Guidelines on

the Protection of Privacy and the 1985 Declaration on Transborder Flows of Personal Data, which document international guidance concerning the collection and management of personal information. Containing core principles, the Guidelines assist both governments and the private sector in their efforts to protect privacy and personal data.

As an example at the national level, Australia—in its Privacy Act of 1988—recognized privacy principles based on OECD Guidelines. Sometimes privacy principles have also been embedded in national constitutions, as in Article 22 of the Belgian Constitution or Article 5 of the Constitution of Brazil. The French Constitutional Council has ruled that the right to privacy is implicit in the French Constitution, as has the Indian Supreme Court, interpreting its country’s 1950 Constitution.

In addition to protection of personal data, privacy involves respect for the right of people to be left alone, at least when governments or others, acting under carefully prescribed public policy, are unable to demonstrate some compelling justification for intruding. The right to privacy places a high value on individual autonomy—especially valued in the United States—and holds that autonomy ought to prevail across a range of decisions, for example, those involving intellectual pursuits, religious and moral choices, family matters, and most aspects of the sexual conduct of consenting adults. Privacy interests usually cannot be protected effectively except by balancing the interests of individuals, groups, and governments, and in the end, when privacy is protected, this usually results from the coercive authority of the state—most often through the courts. Thus, the right to privacy has come to be seen as a potentially important obstacle against technological intrusions. As in the OECD Guidelines, the protection of personal data—potentially retrievable through various electronic means—is regarded as a pressing contemporary problem. However, whether an abstract right to privacy can be enforced effectively in the face of intrusive and often invisible technologies is an open question, especially when terrorism or national security may be involved.

In private lawsuits the right to privacy has been successful in protecting against

1. Intrusion into a person’s private affairs,
2. Public disclosure of private facts about a person’s life,
3. Publication of materials that place a person in a false light in the eyes of the public, and
4. Exploitation of, especially for commercial purposes, a person’s name or likeness.

These four instances have been enshrined in the *Restatement of the Law of Torts*.

As a right protected by the U.S. Constitution, privacy has focused most prominently on reproductive freedom, although the right is also important in protecting individuals against other unwarranted intrusions by government officials, especially in instances of eavesdropping or searches.

THE WARREN-BRANDEIS LEGACY

Most scholars cite the key contribution of Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis in their “The Right of Privacy,” (1890) to the conceptualization of the right to privacy in American **jurisprudence**. Warren and Brandeis cited English **precedents**, but their article chiefly addressed intrusions on privacy through the unauthorized publication of private materials, especially photographs. They did concede that the right to privacy should not prohibit the publication of any matter that is truly of public or general interest. However, in their view, if the publication is of purely private information, neither the truthfulness of the matter published nor the

jurisprudence: the body of precedents already decided in a legal system

precedent: an established ruling, understanding, or practice of the law

absence of malice on the part of the publisher should be a defense. The remedies Warren and Brandeis proposed were damages, tangible actual damages, as well as compensation for injury to feelings. They also called for the use of injunctions in some cases.

enumerate: to expressly name, as in a list

The U.S. Constitution is silent as to the right to privacy, although the Ninth Amendment says that the “enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.” These “retained rights,” which presumably existed prior to constitutional government, have been held to include the right to privacy. Moreover, courts have determined that privacy interests are protected by the First Amendment (freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and association), the Fourth Amendment (protection against unreasonable searches and seizures), the Fifth Amendment (protection against self-incrimination), and—as decided by state governments—the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. A key case establishing a constitutional right to privacy was *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965). Justice William Orville Douglas (1898–1980) wrote in *Griswold* that the right of privacy could be found in the penumbras (shadows) cast by the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth, and Fourteenth amendments. Other members of the majority in *Griswold* relied directly on privacy as a “retained right” under the Ninth Amendment, but the majority agreed that decisions of a married couple concerning birth control were not the business of the government.

Before *Griswold* several important judicial decisions were rendered that in retrospect appear to implicate privacy, although each was decided on other grounds. These included the right of parents to decide where and how their children should be educated and the right of private associations to refuse to disclose their membership lists to authorities without some compelling justification, which was found lacking in this instance.

In a 1967 decision the U.S. Supreme Court relied on the “reasonable expectation of privacy” as the basis for protection against police interception of telephone calls when no probable cause warrant had been issued. Reasonable expectation has since been a core determinant of whether a governmental intrusion constitutes a violation of the Fourth Amendment. Another application came in a 1969 decision that held that the public sale, display, or distribution of obscenity was not protected by freedom of expression but found the possession of pornographic materials in the privacy of one’s home could not be the subject of a search, seizure, or consequent arrest (with the exception of child pornography).

TERMINATION OF PREGNANCIES

By far the most controversial application of the right to privacy has concerned the extension of reproductive freedom to include the termination of pregnancy. The 1973 decision of the Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* has been the subject of continuing controversy for more than thirty years. Unlike the decision in *Griswold*, the Court’s majority recognized that the respect for the prospect of life and societal concerns had to be taken into account in determining limits on a woman’s autonomy in making decisions concerning her body. Justice Harry A. Blackmun’s (1908–1999) opinion balanced these factors by adopting a trimester rule. A woman’s autonomy was respected and protected during the first trimester of pregnancy. During the second trimester the government could intrude, but only for the purpose of protecting the life and health of the woman, and during the third trimester the government could intervene to protect the interest of the unborn child and to prohibit abortions that were not based on protecting the life or health of the woman.

It probably was the practical but extra-textual and innovative character of the trimester rule that chiefly outraged legal commentators who are textual purists. Most opponents of *Roe v. Wade*, however, were religious moralists whose view that life begins at conception precluded all abortions, except for those who reluctantly conceded that abortions might be appropriate in the instance of forcible rape or incest. Efforts to put justices on the Supreme Court who might vote to repeal *Roe v. Wade* have been a continuing feature of the conservative social agenda in American politics. On the other side of the fence, for those who support a woman's "right to choose," it has been a **litmus test** of liberal political views.

The core of the *Roe* decision often has rested on the views of one or two justices, most notably those of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor (b. 1930), the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court. The Court has ruled that neither the federal government nor state governments have any obligation to provide public funds for nontherapeutic abortions. The decisive votes on the Court in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992) reflected movement toward a "undue burden" rule. Thus, the question that must be decided is whether a state regulation or limitation on abortion places a substantial obstacle in the path of a woman's right to choose. One example of a circumstance held to be an undue burden was a state requirement of spousal notification as a condition to a woman's decision to terminate a pregnancy.

litmus test: a simple test in which a single quality determines the outcome

SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Individual autonomy concerning sexual conduct also has proved controversial with respect to homosexuals. The Supreme Court's decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986) upheld a Georgia statute that criminalized sodomy even for adults in the privacy of a home. The majority refused to recognize the fundamental right of adults to engage in private sexual conduct. The opinions of the four dissenters in *Bowers*, however, were consistent with the origins of the right

INTERNET PRIVACY

In the mid-1990s the debate over Internet free-speech rights came to a head when the Group of Seven (G-7) nations began formulating plans to control information passed along the Internet in the name of preventing terrorism.

In one proposal the G-7 nations (Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States) sought to limit private encryption programs, fearing terrorists would use unbreachable programs to hide their communications. Encryption programs are used to "scramble" messages sent over the Internet so they cannot be read by any Internet user. The G-7 wanted to regulate encryption programs and hold the "key" to decoding messages, promising to do so only if they sensed a security threat.

This proposal raised concerns among many who believed it would be a violation of free speech and privacy

for governments to have access to their citizens' private communications. Soon after this proposal was announced, the Global Internet Liberty Campaign (GILC) was launched. The GILC, which works to protect free speech and privacy, is made up of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Electronic Privacy Information Center, Human Rights Watch, and other international human-rights and free-speech advocates.

While the GILC was initially able to prevent this plan from becoming reality, many countries, including the United States, regulate the exportation of encryption programs, fearing the most powerful ones should not be available abroad for terrorists to use. The GILC remained an active force into the twenty-first century, as governments renewed calls for restricting the Internet and other forms of electronic communication as a means to prevent terror.

to privacy in upholding the right to be left alone. However, in 2003 the Court reconsidered in the case of *Lawrence v. Texas*. In this instance a Texas statute only criminalized sodomy between homosexuals. Most regulations of private adult heterosexual conduct had been decriminalized. A majority of the Court voided the Texas statute on grounds of equal protection of the law and the right to privacy. The extension of equal protection to cover sexual orientation was a key development, but the affirmation of the right to privacy was a direct repudiation of *Bowers v. Hardwick*.

DATA PRIVACY

The advent of high-speed information technology in the late twentieth century raised a number of pressing concerns about privacy, especially the capacity of powerful government-owned computer systems to scan huge amounts of information. The first legislation addressing these concerns materialized in the early 1970s, with the first U.S. law coming in 1974. One advocacy report notes that all such laws require that personal information must be (1) obtained lawfully, (2) used only for the intended purpose, (3) not excessive for the intended purpose, and (4) destroyed once the purpose is served.

The world after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks has made data privacy concerns even more compelling. For example, the USA Patriot Act relies significantly on database surveillance, including, for example, the possible examination of the records of public libraries to see what books the patrons are reading. The act also permits government surveillance of any transmission that uses Web technology or airwave transmission. Its full ramifications in terms of privacy have not been yet been determined. However, a United States District Court late in 2004 declared certain portions of the Patriot Act to be unconstitutional. Even so, the only definitive judgment must come from the Supreme Court of the United States. The U.S. government also has led efforts to limit privacy and enhance the surveillance of law enforcement. The Global Internet Privacy Campaign (now the Global Internet Liberty Campaign) has called attention to two policies. One has been the **mandate** that digital telephone switches and cellular and satellite phones have built-in surveillance features. The other has been regulation of the private use of encryption programs.

Project ECHELON, an alliance between the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA) and the United Kingdom's Government Communication Headquarters (GCHQ), provides for the scanning of most worldwide data communication for key words, with real-time scanning capability yet to come. Video surveillance (CCTV) is now a feature of everyday urban life, especially in the United Kingdom. Workplace surveillance, both electronic and video, also is becoming a commonplace feature of everyday life.

PROTECTION OF IDENTITY

Issues involving personal identity also have come to the fore. Whether the issue is identity theft or national or international identity registration systems, privacy concerns raise important issues. The retrieval of biometric data, including DNA or facial identification, is at the cutting edge, with appropriate regulations yet to be determined.

The long list of developments here demonstrates that the privacy concerns raised by Warren and Brandeis in 1890 may still be relevant in abstract principle but quaint in their details. Technology-driven social changes promise to outstrip the capacity of the law to enforce effective controls. Perhaps most ominous is the

mandate: to command, order, or require; or, a command, order, or requirement

reality that individuals lack the capacity to protect their own privacy. Probably the only way to monitor electronic surveillance and intrusion effectively is through countervailing institutions and programs that themselves require sophisticated technology, large resources, and their own technocratic personnel; of course, these programs and institutions might have much the same capacity to intrude on personal privacy as the governmental institutions that they claim to monitor. The old question “Who will watch the watchers?” has taken on new meaning and relevance. It catapults the transnational and international protection of privacy rights to the first order of importance.

“The old question ‘Who will watch the watchers?’ has taken on new meaning and relevance.”

Privacy rights have been recognized in Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (“No one should be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks on his honour or reputation”), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted in 1966, entered into force in 1976), and regional rights documents such as the European Convention on Human Rights and Freedoms (adopted in 1950, entered into force in 1953), the American Convention of Human Rights (adopted in 1969, entered into force in 1978), and the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man (adopted in 1948). The most extensive application of privacy rights in these documents so far has occurred through Article 8(1) of the European Convention, which provides for the protection of private life and family life, home, and personal correspondence, whereas Article 8(2) provides that any interference with these rights (1) must transpire “in accordance with the law,” (2) are permitted only “in the interest of national security, public safety or economic well-being of the country,” and (3) are “necessary in a democratic society.” Cases involving the interpretation of these words have been prominent in decisions of the European Court of Human Rights.

As noted above, entirely circumscribing the family with the right to privacy may have the consequence of limiting the rights of children. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (adopted in 1989, entered into force in 1990) has sought to address this issue, its purpose, in part, being to separate the rights of children from those of families and to treat children sometimes as independent “rights actors” relative to their parents and governments. Indeed, it is characteristic of privacy claims that they almost always involve the balancing of competing interests, as this discussion has clearly demonstrated.

See also: Freedom of Expression; Freedom of Religion and the State; Freedom of Religion, Foundations of.

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Romania

Romania is a country in southeastern Europe that is bounded on the north by Ukraine, on the east by the Republic of Moldova, on the southeast by the Black Sea, on the south by Bulgaria, on the southwest by Serbia and Montenegro (formerly Yugoslavia), and on the west by Hungary. The capital and largest city is Bucharest.

The total estimated population of Romania in 2003 was 22.3 million inhabitants, and the average population density was 94 persons per square kilometer (243 per square mile). The population was 55 percent urban. The Romanians, who constitute about 89 percent of the population, are descendents of the inhabitants of Dacia, the ancient land roughly equivalent to modern Transylvania and Walachia. Dacia was conquered by the Romans and incorporated into the Roman Empire in the early second century. The largest minority groups are Hungarians, who constitute 7 percent of the population and are settled chiefly in Transylvania; Roma (Gypsies), who comprise 2 percent of the population; and Germans, who make up less than 1 percent of the population. The religious groups are Romanian Orthodox (70%), Roman Catholic (6%), Protestant (6%), and other (18%). The official language of Romania is Romanian, a Romance language derived mainly from Latin.

Romania has a maximum distance from east to west of 720 kilometers (450 miles) and a maximum distance from north to south of 515 kilometers (320 miles). The Carpathians, a long chain of mountains, curve through northern and central Romania. The Danube River forms much of the country's southern and southwestern borders with Bulgaria and Serbia and Montenegro, and the Prut River divides Romania from its northeastern neighbor, Moldova.

HISTORY

The territory that is known as Romania first appeared in history as Dacia. Dacia was conquered by the Roman Emperor Trajan (c.E. 53–117) between 101 and 106 and incorporated in the Roman Empire. For the next thousand years, the Daco-Roman people were subjected to successive invasions by Huns, Avars, Slavs, and Bulgars. Slavs brought Christianity to the region in the fourth century. In the fifteenth century the **Ottoman Empire** (1299–1922) began its expansion in the Balkan Peninsula, and direct Ottoman rule began in 1526.

Ottoman Empire: an empire centered in Turkey (and defeated in World War I) that once spanned Northern Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Southeast Europe and contemporary Russia



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Until 1821 the ruling families were often of Greek origin, chosen from the Phanar district of Constantinople by the Ottoman Sultan. The period of *Phanariot* rule was one of the most oppressive and corrupt in Romanian history. By the mid-1800s a unification movement had gathered strength in the territories of Moldavia and Walachia. The 1856 Treaty of Paris that ended the Crimean War between the Ottoman Empire and Russia led to the union of Moldavia and Walachia and their autonomy under the name Romania in 1857.

A German ruler, Carol I (1839–1914), ruled Romania—first as prince and then as king—from 1881 to 1914. Carol's reign saw great economic expansion. The last traces of Ottoman rule finally disappeared as a result of a Russian-Romanian victory over the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and 1878. The full independence of Romania was recognized in 1878 by the Congress of Berlin.

When World War I (1914–1918) broke out, Romania declared a policy of armed **neutrality**. Romania later joined the Allies, however, in 1916 in their fight against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Romania hoped to gain several provinces of Austria-Hungary that had large Romanian populations. Romania emerged from the war having almost doubled its area and population.

During the 1920s, Romania had a parliamentary **regime** and a prosperous economy. After 1929, Romania was engulfed in the general world economic crisis. Large-scale unemployment and political unrest led to the rapid growth of fascist organizations. During World War II (1939–1945), Romania became an ally of Germany and declared war on the Soviet Union in 1941. Although the Romanian army advanced as far as southern Ukraine, it suffered heavy losses in the Battle of Stalingrad in 1942 and 1943. Soviet troops entered Romania in 1944. On December 30, 1947, the monarchy was abolished, and the People's

neutrality: the quality of not taking sides, as in a conflict

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

socialism: any of various economic and political theories advocating collective or governmental ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods

bloc: a group of countries or individuals working toward a common goal, usually within a convention or other political body

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

interim: for a limited time, during a period of transition

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

Republic of Romania was then proclaimed, with a constitution similar to that of the Soviet Union. Power was passed to the Communist Party, and cultural and political institutions were reorganized to conform to Soviet models.

The political situation was stable after the war, and the death of the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) allowed Romania to develop its own variety of **socialism**. This tendency increased after the 1960s, when the country did not follow the Soviet **bloc**'s lead in breaking diplomatic ties with Israel after the 1967 Arab–Israeli war or invading Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1965 Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901–1965), party chief for most of the previous twenty years, died and was succeeded by Nicolae Ceausescu (1918–1989). Although diplomatic in matters of foreign policy, Ceausescu strictly enforced communist orthodoxy in domestic affairs. He promoted a personality cult around himself and his family, censored the press, and restricted personal liberties.

The economy grew substantially in the 1960s and 1970s, but in the 1980s Ceausescu used virtually all of Romania's foreign currency reserves to pay the foreign debt, producing major food and fuel shortages. In 1989 Ceausescu's brutal suppression of antigovernment demonstrations in Timisoara turned the army against him. He and his wife, Elena, were charged with murder and embezzlement of government funds, and a secret trial took place. They were found guilty and executed on December 25, 1989.

The first elections after the fall of communism took place on May 1990. Ion Iliescu (b. 1930) was elected president, and his party, the National Salvation Front (NSF), won control of the legislature. A new democratic constitution was adopted by popular **referendum** in 1991. Iliescu was reelected president in the October 1992 elections. The NSF's Nicolae Vacaroiu (b. 1943) served as prime minister for most of Iliescu's first term (i.e., 1992–1996).

The years from 1990 to 1996 were dominated by many economic difficulties and ethnic turmoil. These issues caused Iliescu and his team to lose the elections held in November 1996. This marked Romania's first peaceful transition of power. The new president, Emil Constantinescu (b. 1939), and his government, initially headed by the popular Bucharest mayor Victor Ciorbea (b. 1954), pledged to implement a comprehensive plan of economic reform in an attempt to counter Romania's seven years of lackluster progress toward a free market economy. Although the new government tried to reform the economy, they were unable to do much to decrease generalized corruption and increase the standard of living of the population. Ciorbea was forced to resign in 1998, and several **interim** and short-term prime ministers were able to accomplish little.

The parliamentary elections held in November 2000 restored to power the party that had governed the country between 1992 and 1996 (i.e., the NSF). In presidential elections in the same month, Iliescu finished first, with 37 percent of the vote, and he won the runoff elections on December ahead of Corneliu Vadim Tudor (b. 1949), the leader of the far-right Greater Romania Party. Prime Minister Adrian Nastase (b. 1950) headed the government for most of Iliescu's second term.

The elections of December 2004 produced another transition. Traian Băsescu (b. 1951) was elected president in the December 12th run-off election. Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu (b. 1952), leader of a center-right **coalition** of parties including the Democratic Party, the National Liberal Party, the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania, and the Romanian Humanist Party, was named prime minister. International assessments of the 2004 elections reported some irregularities, but indicated that the elections were generally free and fair.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND QUALITY OF LIFE

The political and economic changes that have taken place in Romania since the 1980s have made daily life difficult for many ordinary citizens. Few Romanians can afford luxuries and food prices are high, relative to the country's low minimum wage. Housing is relatively poor by European standards. Most apartment buildings were built during the communist period and are cramped, with minimal facilities. Overall, Romania ranked sixty-ninth among the 177 countries on the United Nation's 2004 Human Development Index, in the "medium development" category, lower than all Western European countries.

Among the most serious social problems in Romania are the high rate of unemployment and the low standard of living resulting from the country's transition from a planned economy to a **market economy**. Other social problems are generated by the ethnic minorities. The most significant are the conflicts that occurred between ethnic Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania at the beginning of the 1990s. The Roma (Gypsy) minority also has been a target of harassment and hostility. On the other hand, the party which represents the Hungarian minority (the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania) has been represented in the parliament since 1990 and participated in the government from 1996 to 2000.

Corruption also remains a significant problem. Transparency International ranked Romania eighty-ninth (tied with Iran and the Dominican Republic) on its 2004 Corruption Perceptions Index. Government efforts to fight corruption have become prominent, however, in part because of Romania's desire to qualify for membership in the European Union.

Although these problems have not been fully solved as of mid-2005, Romania has made significant progress. In April 2005, for example, the European Parliament voted in favor of a resolution that endorsed Romania's membership in the European Union scheduled for January 2007.

GOVERNMENT

The 1991 Constitution proclaims Romania to be a democracy and market economy, in which human dignity, civic rights and freedoms, the unhindered development of human personality, justice, and **pluralism** are supreme guaranteed values. The constitution directs the state to implement **free trade**, protect the principle of competition, and provide a favorable framework for production. The constitution provides for a president, a parliament, a Constitutional Court, and a separate system of lower courts that includes a Supreme Court. The constitution guarantees the principle of division of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

The president of Romania, who is elected by direct popular vote to serve no more than two four-year terms, serves as the chief of state, represents the country in foreign affairs, and serves as the commander of the armed forces. The 1991 Constitution stresses that the president may not belong to any political party.

The president officially appoints a prime minister to head the government. The prime minister is generally the leader of the party with the majority of seats in parliament. As chief of government, he is responsible for selecting a cabinet to help carry out the operations of government. The government makes executive policies and applies the laws and regulations passed by the parliament. Although the prime minister is the actual center of power in the country, the constitution offers the president some prerogatives that serve as checks on the prime minister's power.

Romania has a bicameral (two-chamber) parliament called the National Assembly. Its lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, has 346 seats, of which 19 are

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

pluralism: a system of government in which all groups participate in the decision-making process

free trade: exchange of goods without tariffs charged on importing or exporting

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

reserved for ethnic minorities. The upper house, the Senate, has 143 seats. Members of both houses of parliament are elected to four-year terms according to a modified system of **proportional representation**. All citizens aged eighteen and over are eligible to vote. The parliament is the highest legislative authority of Romania and has the right to ask the president and the prime minister to present detailed reports about their activity.

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial authority in Romania. Its members are appointed by the president at the proposal of the Superior Council of Magistrates. Each of Romania's forty counties has a county court and several lower courts, or courts of first instance. Romania has a Constitutional Court charged with ensuring a balance of power among the organs of government. The procurator general is the highest judicial official in Romania and is responsible to the National Assembly, which appoints the procurator general to a four-year term.

The constitution provides for an independent judiciary. International assessments, however, have indicated that the judiciary remains subject to political influence.

CITIZENS' FREEDOMS, RIGHTS, AND LIBERTIES

The 1991 Constitution guarantees the right to vote and to be a member of an official registered party for all citizens who are eighteen and over. The constitution also guarantees all personal freedoms, rights, and liberties. That these



NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU (1918–1989)

Born in Scornicești, Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu was raised in a peasant family. Joining various revolutionary and social movements of the times, he became a full-fledged member of the Romanian Communist Party in 1933.

Ceaușescu was imprisoned in 1936 and again in 1940 for his Communist Party activities. While in prison, Ceaușescu became a protégé of his cell mate, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who would become the Communist leader of Romania beginning in 1952. After the death of Gheorghiu-Dej in March 1965, Ceaușescu succeeded to the leadership of Romania's Communist Party; in 1967, he became head of state as well. He soon won popular support for his independent, nationalistic political course, which openly challenged the dominance of the Soviet Union. In the late 1960s Ceaușescu virtually ended Romania's active participation in the Warsaw Pact military alliance, and he condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces (1968) and the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union (1979). Ceaușescu was elected to the newly created post of president of Romania in 1974.

While following an independent policy in foreign relations, Ceaușescu's domestic policy adhered closely to the

communist orthodoxy of centralized administration. His secret police maintained rigid controls over free speech and the media and tolerated no internal dissent or opposition. In an effort to pay off the large foreign debt that his government had accumulated through its mismanaged industrial ventures in the 1970s, Ceaușescu in 1982 ordered the export of much of the country's agricultural and industrial production. The resulting drastic shortages of food, fuel, energy, medicines, and other basic necessities drove Romania from a state of relative economic well-being to near starvation.

Ceaușescu's regime collapsed after he ordered his security forces to fire on antigovernment demonstrators in the city of Timișoara on December 17, 1989. The demonstrations spread to Bucharest, and on December 22 the Romanian army defected to the demonstrators. That same day Ceaușescu and his wife were captured and taken into custody by the armed forces. On December 25 the couple were tried and convicted by a special military tribunal on charges of mass murder and other crimes. Ceaușescu and his wife were then executed by a firing squad.

rights and freedoms are generally meaningful is clear from the assessments of Romania's record offered in the U.S. State Department's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* and Freedom House's *Freedom in the World 2005*. The country report for Romania found the general state of the rights of Romanians to be secure but also noted that instances of police abuse, especially directed against the Roma minority, have occurred, as well as some instances of intimidation of free expression that have not been effectively controlled by the government.

Although Freedom House rated Romania as one of the world's "free" nations, these and other problems led Freedom House to give it ratings of 3 and 2, respectively, on its 7-point scales (a score of 1 indicates maximum freedom) that assess a country's observance and protection of political rights and civil liberties. Romania's performance should perhaps be judged at least partially in light of its recent past, however. At the time of the downfall of Ceausescu, Romania was as repressive as any country in the world, according to Freedom House.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Between 1948 and 1989 the only political organization allowed in Romania was the Communist Party. Led by Ceausescu after 1965, it controlled all aspects of government. It was dissolved after communism began to collapse in 1989, and many other parties emerged.

The most powerful party after 1989 was the NSF. It was constituted from many former members of the Communist Party and won the 1990, 1992, and 2000 elections. In the early 2000s, the main opposition party was the Democratic Convention of Romania, a coalition led by the Christian Democratic National Peasant's Party. It won the 1996 elections but broke up into many political formations after it lost the elections of 2000. About two hundred political parties were registered in Romania in 1994; however, only a small percentage of these were represented in the government.

PERSONAL SECURITY

The death penalty was abolished in December 1989 and is forbidden by the 1991 Constitution, which also guarantees freedom from torture, illegal imprisonment, and any other form of discrimination. The constitution provides for freedom of assembly, and the government respects this right. Workers have the right to form unions and strike.

Travel within the country is not restricted, and citizens who want to change their place of residence face no legal barriers. Religious freedom is respected, although some nontraditional religious organizations sometimes encounter difficulties when attempting to register with the state.

See also: Ethnic Cleansing; Moldova; Stalin, Joseph.

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Bogdan Alex Fratiloiu

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

See International Criminal Court.

Roosevelt, Eleanor

**FORMER FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES
1884–1962**

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (or ER as she came to be known) was one of the most admired, respected, and controversial figures of the twentieth century. Although born to a family of privilege on October 11, 1884, she was deeply concerned with the plight of the disadvantaged. ER married Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) (1882–1945), her fifth cousin once removed, on March 17, 1905. ER was a good mate for FDR; she encouraged him to enter public life and served as an important political asset throughout his life. ER was a strong politician with keen negotiating skills who remained optimistic despite harsh criticism from her enemies. Years before she became the longest-serving first lady, ER was a Democratic Party activist, political campaigner, teacher, writer, journalist, editor, mother, and faithful wife who nursed her husband back to health when he was stricken with polio.

One of ER’s enduring legacies was the manner in which she transformed the role of the First Lady in American politics. She traveled throughout the nation, serving as her physically handicapped husband’s “eyes and ears,” observing firsthand the concerns and living conditions of millions. In touring coal mines, tenements, schools, hospitals, and war zones, ER understood the urgent need for many of FDR’s programs; she provided him with intimate knowledge of the plight of common Americans. She advocated powerfully for the disadvantaged, pushed for a minimum wage, called for an end to racial discrimination, promoted women’s rights, and fought to abolish child labor. In 1936 she began writing a syndicated column, “My Day,” that became one of the most popular newspaper

columns in the country. As First Lady ER regularly held scheduled press conferences to which only women journalists were invited, forcing some major presses to hire women reporters to avoid missing out on important news.

After FDR's death in 1945, ER considered entering private life but decided to continue her work. Later in that year President Harry S Truman (1884–1972) appointed her to the first U.S. **delegation** for the newly created United Nations (UN), where she was soon regarded as the hardest-working delegate. In this role her most important work ensued: She was unanimously elected chair of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which was charged with drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration was adopted on December 10, 1948, largely through ER's efforts. Her hard work and political skills coupled with her humanitarian ideals helped create a document that has endured as an accepted standard of basic individual rights for nations around the world. ER's uncompromising belief in the value of all human beings and her commonsense approach to life are reflected in the straightforward language of this important document.

In 1961 ER chaired President John F. Kennedy's (1917–1963) Commission on the Status of Women, which partly fueled the modern women's rights

delegate: to assign power to another, or, one who represents another



ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AT THE UNITED NATIONS IN GENEVA. Eleanor Roosevelt met with delegates at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva starting in 1946. She chaired the commission and considered the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 her greatest achievement. (SOURCE: © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.)

movement. She died on November 7, 1962, never wavering in her convictions. A woman ahead of her time, ER was an activist with a lifelong commitment to social justice and the promotion of human rights. Her sincerity and conviction touched people everywhere; she is remembered for her passionate efforts to promote peace and human dignity for all.

See also: United Nations Commission on Human Rights; Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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Joanne Connor Green

Russia

Russia is the largest country in the world. It spans eleven time zones and contains 148 million people, making it sixth largest nation in terms of population. It borders fourteen countries—eight of which were, like Russia, former members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)—and the Arctic and North Pacific oceans. It is rich in natural resources, but its northern climate limits the amount of land available for cultivation and habitation. Russia's historic capital is Moscow. Peter the Great (1672–1725) moved the capital to his new city of St. Petersburg in 1712, and Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) returned the government to Moscow in 1918.

Until the twentieth century Russia was an **autocracy** ruled by czars. In March 1917, as the economy collapsed, popular unrest mounted, and casualties rose in World War I (1914–1918), Czar Nicholas II (1868–1918) **abdicated**. A provisional government assumed control, but before a constitutional assembly could convene the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, seized power on November 7, 1917. After a lengthy civil war Lenin established the USSR in 1924. Russia was the largest of the USSR's fifteen constituent republics, but the names Soviet Union and Russia were often—and incorrectly—used interchangeably. The USSR collapsed in late 1991, leaving Russia the largest of fifteen newly independent states. Russia occupies 76 percent of former Soviet territory.

SOVIET RUSSIA

The USSR was a **totalitarian** state with **sovereignty** vested in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). No other political parties or ideologies were allowed. The CPSU controlled all media, and censorship was common. Personal freedom was highly restricted. Individuals had little control over where they lived or their careers. Life revolved around the workplace, with schools, day-care facilities, medical clinics, and even vacation properties available only through workplace assignments. Travel abroad was extremely limited.

autocracy: a political system in which one individual has absolute power

abdicate: to renounce or give up power, usually referring to royalty

totalitarianism: a form of absolute government that demands complete subjugation by its citizens

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

The CPSU controlled the economy through central planning and emphasized heavy industry and military production over consumer goods and agriculture. An extensive police network and the Committee for State Security (KGB) enforced discipline. All policies were decided by party officials, and a rubber-stamp legislature, the Supreme Soviet, followed all instructions given by the Kremlin (the citadel of Moscow; the government of Russia).

In theory the highest authority in the land was the Communist Party Congress, consisting of some 4,000 party members from across the USSR. But because congresses met for only one week every five years, actual control was delegated to the Central Committee, a smaller body (around 300 members) that met twice annually. Day-to-day management was exercised by yet another group, the Politburo, whose members (around fifteen) met weekly. The general secretary chaired the Politburo, which had no formal organizational rules. Members were chosen formally by the Central Committee but served at the pleasure of the general secretary.

Although the USSR had presidents and prime ministers, real power was vested in the CPSU general secretary. There were no explicit rules for selecting or replacing general secretaries, and they typically ruled until their death. After Lenin's death in 1924, Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) ruled ruthlessly as general secretary until his death in 1953. Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) eased controls but was fired in 1964 when many of his policies failed. Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) replaced Khrushchev and served until his death in 1982. Brezhnev's immediate successors were elderly and ill, serving barely a year each: Yuri Andropov (1914–1984; served fifteen months) and Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985; served thirteen months). Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931), the youngest Politburo member, became general secretary in 1985 and served until the USSR dissolved in late 1991.

Gorbachev surprised his Politburo colleagues by introducing numerous reforms. He sought to open discussion of alternative ideas, promote economic initiative, and shift the focus of power from the CPSU to the government. He

introduced a new parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies, in 1988, along with a smaller standing parliament, still named the Supreme Soviet. In 1990 Gorbachev ended the CPSU's monopoly on power, but he still sought to control the reform process. He created a new, more substantial office of the USSR president, selected by parliament, not the people, and he became the first—and only—person to hold that post. The republics followed suit, shifting power from their first secretaries to new presidencies. In June 1991 Boris Yeltsin (b. 1931) became president of Russia through a popular election. A dual power situation ensued during which Yeltsin and Russia worked to wrest power from Gorbachev and the USSR.

federalism: a system of political organization, in which separate states or groups are ruled by a dominant central authority on some matters, but are otherwise permitted to govern themselves independently

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

Gorbachev's efforts to give substance to the USSR's purported **federal** structure provided Yeltsin with ample opportunity to challenge the Soviet president. After many rounds of negotiation and a popular **referendum** Gorbachev announced a new federal treaty that would be signed on August 20, 1991. The treaty created a Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics (substituting the word *sovereign* for the previous *socialist*) and tacitly acknowledged that the six republics refusing to participate in the negotiations (Armenia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Moldova) were free to enter or decline to enter the new political union. The treaty ceremony never took place. Hard-line Soviet leaders, fearing that the new treaty would mean the end of the great Soviet state—and their own power—seized power on August 19, 1991. Their ill-planned **coup** lasted only three days, during which time Russian President Yeltsin led a popular revolt against the plotters. By the time Gorbachev was released from house arrest, Yeltsin had emerged as the dominant political leader in Moscow.

During the autumn of 1991 Yeltsin put Soviet assets, institutions, and authorities under Russian control until it became obvious that Gorbachev had little left to govern. On the weekend of December 8, 1991, Yeltsin and his counterparts—Stanislav Shushkevich (b. 1934) from Belarus and Leonid Kravchuk (b. 1934) from Ukraine—declared the USSR dead. Gorbachev resigned the USSR presidency on Christmas Day.

INDEPENDENT RUSSIA

Yeltsin then began the simultaneous tasks of establishing a new state, a **market economy**, and a new political system. He faced two major institutional obstacles. First, Russia was still legally regulated by its 1978 constitution, although numerous amendments were introduced to place democratic reforms on a legal basis. Second, Yeltsin faced a sitting parliament that had been elected before independence and remained packed with communists. The Russian Supreme Soviet challenged Yeltsin's policies at every opportunity, particularly his radical economic changes (known as "shock therapy") and privatization. Finally, on September 21, 1993, Yeltsin dissolved the Supreme Soviet and called for elections for a new legislature in December. When parliament, led by speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov (b. 1947) and Vice President Alexander Rutskoi (b. 1945), refused to disband and attempts at negotiation failed, Yeltsin dispatched troops on October 3 to seize the parliamentary building by force. Critics accused him of turning from democrat to dictator. Subsequently, a new constitution was drafted for this revised Russian state.

CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

The Russian political system is defined by the constitution adopted in December 1993. It is a **super-presidential** system with a **bicameral** parliament, the Federal Assembly. The upper house, the Federation Council, consists of 178 seats—two for each of the Russian Federation's eighty-nine constituent units.

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

super-presidential: referring to a republic with a very strong presidency, especially Russia

bicameral: comprised of two chambers, usually a legislative body

The lower house, the State Duma, has 450 seats elected in two ways. Half the seats are selected in single-mandate districts, and the other half are chosen on a proportional, party-list basis. Duma members serve a four-year term.

The constitution vests tremendous powers in the presidency, and the potential for dictatorship is considerable. The president may serve a maximum of two four-year terms. The president nominates the prime minister, who then is confirmed by the Duma. The president may dissolve the government, call referendums, and issue decrees. The new constitution does not provide for a vice president.

The Russian judicial system has changed little from its Soviet days, and corruption remains a significant problem. Russia has three main courts: The constitutional court rules on constitutional issues, the Supreme Court deals with criminal and civil matters, and the higher court of arbitration deals with business issues. Individual defendants often are kept in pretrial detention for months or years. During their trials defendants are locked in metal cages in the courtroom, a measure that undermines any presumption of innocence. Defendants have few opportunities to appeal findings against them, but the state can ask for new trials without any concern over double jeopardy.

PARTY SYSTEM

Russia has a very weak party system. After one-party Soviet rule many Russians hesitated to join political organizations. The constitution prohibits the president from being a member of any party. Consequently, there is no one party of power. Instead, the Kremlin has hurriedly assembled parties for each Duma election, only to allow them to collapse before the next election. For the 1993 election the anointed party was Russia's Choice, which finished second behind the **nationalist** Liberal Democrats. In 1995 the Kremlin produced the Our Home is Russia Party, and the Unity movement was produced in 1999. With Kremlin support, Unity became a formal party, United Russia, in 2003.

Parties are consolidating slowly. Although nearly a hundred parties contested seats in the 1993 election, only twenty-three participated in the 2003 election. The constitution mandates that any party must receive at least 5 percent of the vote to claim a party-list Duma seat. But with so many parties, votes are scattered, and few parties can muster the required 5 percent. In 1995 nearly half the votes were "wasted" on parties that could not pass the threshold. A 2001 law reduced the number of parties by setting minimum membership levels for registration.

OTHER PLAYERS

Regional and business leaders have been key players in post-Soviet Russia. When Yeltsin faced opposition in parliament, he appealed to the leaders of Russia's eighty-nine regions and republics. He signed a series of bilateral treaties that gave the regions greater autonomy than was specified in the federal constitution. When one republic, Chechnya, refused to acknowledge Moscow's supremacy, the Kremlin launched two separate wars (1994–1996 and 1999 into the early 2000s) to prevent it from **seceding** from the Russian Federation. When the regional leaders became too independent, President Vladimir Putin (b. 1952), who was elected to the presidency in 2000 after Yeltsin's resignation, created seven super-regions overseen by his handpicked representatives.

The oligarchs, a powerful group of seven businessmen who had made personal fortunes from privatization deals, also influenced post-Soviet Russia.

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

secede: to break away from, especially politically

bloc: a group of countries or individuals working toward a common goal, usually within a convention or other political body

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

SUBNATIONAL JURISDICTIONS

After decentralization, Russia's constitution of 1993 provided a high degree of autonomy to its roughly one hundred groups of people. In addition to the central federal government, the many regional, or subnational, jurisdictions within the country were granted rights, status, and governmental power of their own. These jurisdictions include six territories (*kraya*); ten autonomous regions (*okrug*) and the separate Birobidzhan Jewish *oblast*, or province; twenty-one ethnic enclaves; and forty-nine other *oblasts*. St. Petersburg and Moscow also have independent city status equal to that of the *oblasts*.

Many of these jurisdictions have sought to secede from the republic of Russia and become completely independent states, largely because of ethnic concerns or desires to control resources, whether trade- or tax-related. The balance of power continued to shift away from the central government toward the subnational jurisdictions throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, but the ties between jurisdictions and the central federal government have largely remained.

Anxious to protect their interests, the oligarchs backed Yeltsin's re-election in 1996 and handpicked his successor, Putin. For the 1999 parliamentary and 2000 presidential elections several oligarchs organized the governors into the pro-Kremlin bloc, Unity. As with regional leaders, Putin quickly moved to eliminate alternative power sources. He ordered the arrest of two oligarchs, Boris Berezovsky (b. 1946) and Vladimir Gusinsky (b. 1952), both of whom fled abroad.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND SUCCESSION

As of the early twenty-first century, post-Soviet Russia has had two presidents: Yeltsin (elected 1991 and 1996) and Putin (2000 and 2004). Both men have been accused of manipulating the political system for personal reasons.

Yeltsin's re-election bid was rigged to benefit his inner circle of advisers. Additionally, between the first round of voting and the run-off, Yeltsin had a massive heart attack, but this fact was concealed from Russian voters until Yeltsin had secured victory. He underwent quintuple bypass surgery in November 1996, contracted pneumonia, and was effectively an invalid for months. With no vice president, the daily business of running the country fell to Yeltsin's closest advisers and his daughter.

Yeltsin's last years in office were marked by a declining economy, rising corruption, and frequent turnover in the office of prime minister. The oligarchs soon turned on one another, fighting for assets and access.

As Yeltsin's second term neared its end, his family's complicity in a growing number of corruption schemes became problematic. On New Year's Eve 1999 Yeltsin abruptly resigned six months before his term was to end. As specified in the constitution, Prime Minister Putin—an ex-KGB agent and the latest of Yeltsin's string of prime ministers—succeeded him, with elections called within three months. As acting president, Putin's first action was to grant Yeltsin immunity from future prosecution. Putin won a landslide victory in March 2000 and was reelected in March 2004.

Putin's presidency has been marked by a series of moves to centralize power in the executive branch and eliminate opposition views. He began with center-periphery relations and then moved on to the oligarchs. Ignoring the constitution, Putin changed the method for selecting members of the Federation Council; rather than regional governors and legislative chairs taking seats, governors and legislatures now appoint representatives. Putin ordered the arrest of businessmen who challenged his authority and shut down media outlets critical of his policies. He also showed an increasing preference for appointing former military and security service operatives (*siloviki*) to key government positions.

Putin's rise to prominence coincided with the second war in Chechnya. In summer 1999 a new burst of terrorist attacks was blamed on the Chechens. Putin, serving as prime minister at the time, portrayed himself as a strong leader able to impose control (unlike the ailing Yeltsin) and launched a massive second campaign to rein in the rebel republic in October 1999. Numerous international and human rights groups criticized Moscow for the war's brutality, human rights abuses, and massive refugee populations. In October 2002 Chechen rebels seized a theater in Moscow, holding 750 cast and audience members hostage. Putin sent special forces to storm the theater, killing all the hostage takers. However, many of the hostages died from inadequate medical treatment when authorities delayed in identifying the gas pumped into the building to disarm the terrorists.

Putin declared victory in Chechnya in 2003, imposing a new constitution and installing his own candidate, Akhmad Kadyrov (1951–2004), as president of the republic. But the Chechens had not capitulated. Kadyrov was assassinated in May 2004, and in August another Kremlin candidate, Alu Alkhanov (b. 1957), became Chechnya's president. This election, which was criticized strongly by some independent observers, was followed immediately by a series of terrorist attacks blamed on Chechens: Two Russian airliners exploded simultaneously in midair, a bomb exploded at a Moscow metro station, and over 300 people (mainly children) died when terrorists seized a school in the village of Beslan.

Putin invoked the Beslan tragedy to justify a massive shift away from democracy in late 2004. He proposed a variety of changes to the political system, including replacing popular elections for regional governors with presidential appointments, ending single-mandate districts in the Duma, and giving the president an almost exclusive right to appoint and remove judges. Putin insisted that such measures would eliminate the corruption that had made Russia vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TRANSITIONS

The transition from the Communist Party–led dictatorship to a reconstituted Russia with aspirations for significant economic growth and a free and democratic government has not been an easy task. The severe economic difficulties of the late Yeltsin years have eased to some degree. As of 2004, the Russian economy had experienced six straight years of economic growth averaging 6.5 percent per year, investment prospects appeared to be recovering, and income was rising: Russia's **per capita** income in 2003 was estimated at \$8,900, about the same as that of Malaysia and Mexico and \$700 higher than the average for the world. Overreliance on resource exports and an archaic manufacturing sector remain as economic problems that will require solutions if Russia is to achieve its economic aspirations.

On the political front the **authoritarian** tendencies of Presidents Yeltsin and Putin, the evident corruption and abuse of power, and the ethnic and regional conflicts that plague contemporary Russia leave its citizens in what Freedom House rated as a “partly free” society, one in which both political rights and civil liberties ratings were 5 on Freedom House's 7-point scale, in which a rating of 7 indicates one of the least free nations in the world. Few observers would argue that the citizens of Russia in the twenty-first century have fewer rights than they had at the height of the USSR, but progress toward a democratic and free society has been limited.

See also: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Stalin, Joseph; Yeltsin, Boris.

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per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

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Ann E. Robertson

Rwanda

Rwanda is a small landlocked country in East Africa. It is situated slightly below the equator. Rwanda lies south of Uganda, west of Tanzania, north of Burundi, and east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Rwanda's territory covers 26,338 square kilometers (10,166 square miles). This means that Rwanda is about the size of Maryland or Vermont and slightly larger than Massachusetts. The terrain is quite hilly, ranging between roughly 1,000 meters (3,280 feet) to 4,500 meters (14,765 feet) above sea level, and is, given the plentiful grassland, verdant. There is considerable deforestation owing to extensive cutting of trees for fuel and to clear land.

Principal economic activities include agriculture (tea, coffee, sorghum, and bananas) and mining. The vast majority (90%) of the labor force is engaged in agriculture, mostly at the subsistence level. Because food production often does not keep pace with population growth, considerable amounts of food must be imported. The Rwandan economy is susceptible to price fluctuations in international **commodities** markets.

commodity: an article of trade or commerce that can be transported, especially an agricultural or mining product

POPULATION

Rwanda's population was estimated at 7,810,056 in July 2003, and 42.5 percent of Rwandans are under age fifteen. The country's median age is eighteen years. In 2003 life expectancy at birth was estimated at about thirty-nine years (men: 38.5 years; women: 40 years). Even though the population is predominantly rural, Rwanda's population density is the highest in Africa.

Rwanda's population is divided among three ethnic groups: Hutu (85%), Tutsi (14%), and Twa (1%). These ethnic groups are found throughout East Africa. However, all Rwandans speak the same language, Kinyarwanda (many Rwandans also speak French and, increasingly, English), and share a common culture. Religious affiliations are not ethnically driven. Although the majority of the population is Roman Catholic, there are significant Protestant, Seventh Day Adventist, and Muslim minorities. Hutu and Tutsi, in particular, live geographically commingled.

Nonetheless, much of the modern history of Rwanda has been characterized by ethnic strife, specifically between Hutu and Tutsi. The most acute form of this strife occurred in the 1994 genocide, in which approximately 800,000 Rwandans, overwhelmingly Tutsi, were murdered. Political life in Rwanda today is dominated by the pursuit of accountability and reconciliation in the wake of the 1994 genocide. This pursuit engages much of the **infrastructure** of the legal system, the creativity of policy makers, and the resources of the government. This is understandable as it will be very difficult for Rwanda to move beyond systemic interethnic conflict without first establishing viable justice, legitimate reconciliation, and credible **reparation**.

infrastructure: the base on which a system or organization is built

reparation: funds or other compensation offered as a remedy for damages

BRIEF HISTORY

In the precolonial period the Tutsi minority dominated the Hutu majority economically and politically. However, lines between the groups were porous and permeable. Through marriage or professional success Hutu could in a sense “become” Tutsi. In 1933 the Belgian colonial powers crystallized ethnic identities by issuing ethnic identity cards. The Belgians favored the Tutsi, to whom they doled out patronage appointments within the colonial state.

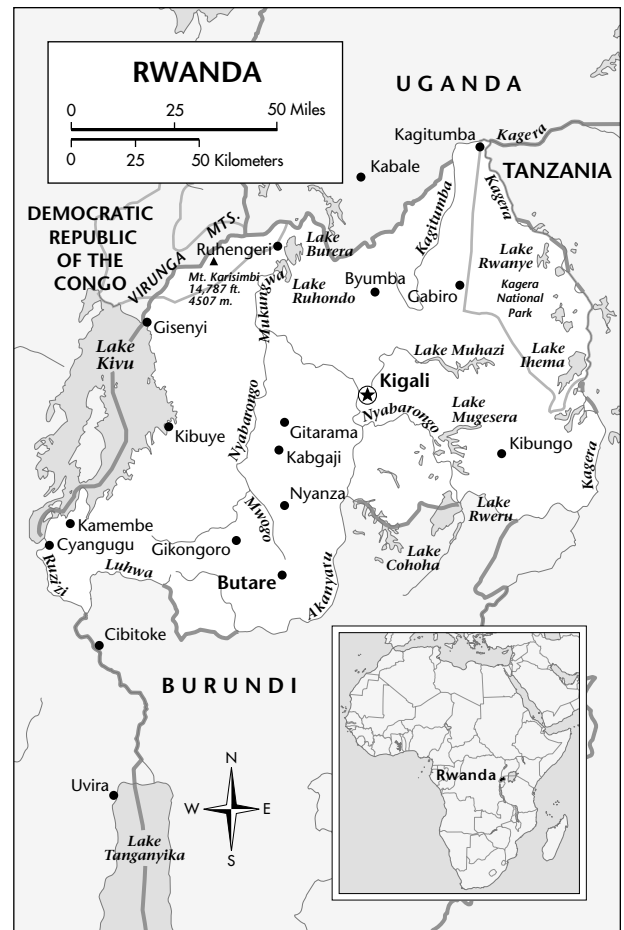
In 1959 the majority Hutu overthrew the ruling Tutsi king. On July 1, 1962, Rwanda gained its independence from Belgian-administered United Nations (UN) trusteeship. Interethnic tensions worsened after independence and were exacerbated by the democratic process, which deepened ethnic cleavages, accelerated ethnic competition for scarce land and resources, and ethnicized political discourse. Rwanda’s first president was Grégoire Kayibanda (1924–1976), a Hutu intellectual. In 1957 Kayibanda published an influential tract called the Hutu Manifesto in which he argued that the Tutsi were foreign invaders. Over the next several years thousands of Tutsis were killed. Those pogroms also drove 150,000 other Tutsi into exile in neighboring countries, in particular Uganda. Rwandan exiles in Uganda eventually formed a political party, called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), with its own armed forces, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA, now called the Rwandan Defense Forces)—both of which would end up playing a critical role in contemporary Rwandan politics.

In the early 1990s anti-Tutsi sentiment was catalyzed when the RPA invaded Rwanda. The armed forces of the Rwandan government repelled the incursion. However, the RPF threat prompted then President Juvénal Habyarimana (1937–1994), a Hutu who had ruled Rwanda since 1973, to suggest publicly the need for power sharing among ethnic groups and political parties (although there is cause to question the authenticity of Habyarimana’s intention to implement power sharing).

Habyarimana was killed in an airplane crash on April 6, 1994, along with the leader of neighboring Burundi. Although the Hutu government charged that the plane was shot down by the RPA, evidence also exists that it was downed by extremist Hutu who were suspicious of Habyarimana’s apparent power-sharing reforms. In any event, a radical clique of Hutu militants succeeded Habyarimana. Those militants immediately put in place plans for genocide that they had concocted much earlier.

From April to July 1994 those extremists initiated a populist genocide. The approximately 800,000 victims, many of whom were butchered in brutal fashion, were overwhelmingly Tutsi. Between 10,000 and 30,000 Hutu also were murdered. These victims mostly were moderates opposed to the genocide, killed as individuals and because of their politics. The Tutsi, in contrast, were killed as a group and solely because they were Tutsi. The speed of the genocide was facilitated by the ethnic identity cards: People without a Hutu card were killed systematically.

In the spring of 1994 the RPA once again invaded Rwanda. This time the armed forces of the genocidal Hutu regime could not repel the RPA. The RPA stopped the genocide essentially without assistance from the international community. International peacekeeping efforts in Rwanda were weak and ineffective.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

pogrom: a planned annihilation of a specific people, especially the Jews

regime: a type of government, or the government in power in a region

In mid-July 1994 the RPF assumed power in Rwanda and has continued to govern the country. In March 1999 the RPF put in place the first local elections held in Rwanda. On August 25, 2003, RPF leader Major-General Paul Kagame (b. 1957) was reelected in the national presidential election. Kagame, who had received military training in the United States, previously had served as the mastermind of the RPA's ouster of the Hutu government.

After the genocide tens of thousands of Hutu militants fled east to the DRC. For a number of years these forces sought to destabilize the RPF government. In response Rwanda engaged in military action with the DRC.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Historically a poor nation, Rwanda was devastated by the genocide. The UN lists Rwanda (together with Sierra Leone and Bangladesh) among the countries with the lowest human development index in the world. In 2002 gross domestic product **per capita** was just \$1,200.

HIV/AIDS is a major public health issue. In 2001 nearly 9 percent of adult Rwandans were living with HIV/AIDS. Many people were infected deliberately during the genocide through systemic sexual violence. Mental health issues also are a major public policy concern. They include post-traumatic stress disorder, fear of new attacks, and massive depression among Tutsi survivors in Rwanda. Nearly 50 percent of Rwandan children witnessed genocidal killings.

GOVERNMENT: STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL PARTIES

After the genocide Rwanda became a republic. There is, therefore, a president. The legislature, composed of the **unicameral** *Assemblée nationale* (National Assembly), hosts a multiparty system. There are fifty-three seats in the *Assemblée nationale*. Members are elected by direct vote. The president serves as the chief of state, and the prime minister (a member of the legislature) is the chief of government.

Although their effectiveness is limited, a number of political parties operate in Rwanda. They include the Centrist Democratic Party, Democratic Socialist Party, Democratic Popular Union of Rwanda, Democratic Republican Movement, Islamic Democratic Party, Liberal Party, and Rwandan Socialist Party. The RPF is the dominant party. One party, the Party for Democratic Renewal, is officially banned.

The capital is Kigali, which also is the largest city. There is universal **suffrage** for Rwandans eighteen years of age and older.

There also is a local government system. Rwanda is divided into twelve *préfectures*, each with its own administrative center. The *préfectures* are Butare, Byumba, Cyangugu, Gikongoro, Gisenyi, Gitarama, Kibungo, Kibuye, Kigali Rurale, Kigali-ville, Umutara, and Ruhengeri. Within each *préfecture* there are well-organized subunits of government. In descending hierarchical order, these are the *commune* (155 in total), the *secteur* (1,531 in total), and the *cellule* (8,987 in total). The highly organized nature of the governmental **bureaucracy** facilitated the speed and scale of the genocide.

POWER AND LEADERSHIP

Despite the multiparty framework, politics and power in Rwanda remain **centralized** within the RPF. President Kagame received 95 percent of the popular vote in the August 25, 2003, presidential election, although opposition candidates

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

leveled charges of improprieties during the campaign. In the legislative elections held on September 29, 2003, the RPF won forty seats in the *Assemblée nationale*; the Democratic Socialist Party, seven seats; and the Liberal Party, six.

Because the Tutsi dominate the RPF, the Rwandan government can be thought of as an **ethnocracy**, and power sharing, inclusiveness, and effective governance had not been achieved by 2005. Nonetheless, the RPF has initiated some reforms to pluralize power distribution, transcend ethnicity, and promulgate some sort of **consociational** political structure. Also, the government is striving to create a Rwandan civic identity and, in furtherance of that goal, has removed ethnic references from schoolbooks and official identification documents. The government also has added the crime of *divisionism* to the domestic criminal code, an offense that includes speaking too provocatively about ethnicity.

Rwanda's traditionally weak civil society is becoming increasingly robust. Genocide survivors have engaged in considerable social activism and have formed a variety of pressure groups. One in particular, IBUKA, has gained considerable credibility and influence.

ethnocracy: a state ruled by people of one particular common background, thought to be the superior ethnicity

consociational: belonging to an association, especially a church or a religious association



OUTSIDE OF A MEMORIAL SITE IN MWULIRE, RWANDA, SURVIVORS OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE ARE GREETED BY UN SECRETARY GENERAL KOFI ANNAN ON MAY 8, 1998. During the 1994 genocide, about 800,000 Rwandans lost their lives as Hutus massacred Tutsis and Tutsi-sympathetic Hutus. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan accepted the findings of an independent panel report that concluded the United Nations had failed as a system, as did its member states, in preventing and halting the violence. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

CONSTITUTION AND LEGAL SYSTEM

Rwanda's legal system is based on the German and Belgian civil law system. The courts are structured in standard fashion: Local (communal) courts are overseen by appeals courts, which in turn are overseen by the Supreme Court. Because the Rwandan judiciary historically has been plagued with corruption, Rwandans tend to view the administration of justice with great skepticism. The RPF has expended considerable effort to improve the credibility and legitimacy of the legal system. For example, Rwanda adopted a constitution on May 5, 1995, and then adopted a revised constitution on May 26, 2003, designed to encourage a multiparty and more open political system. There is **judicial review** of legislative acts in the Supreme Court. Increasingly there is talk of the need to protect human rights.

Rwandan courts are overburdened with genocide-related cases. Rwanda has seen a vigorous attempt to secure accountability through the use of criminal prosecutions and trials. The genocide has prompted the largest number of actual or pending prosecutions for systematic human rights abuses in the shortest order in history. As of mid-2004 approximately 6,500 individuals had been tried in domestic courts under the Organic Law, a statute specially enacted in 1996 for the prosecution of genocide-related offenses. As many as 30,000 additional individuals have been paroled (provisionally released) in recent years owing to lack of evidence, age, infirmity, illness, or confession of crimes. Another 80,000 suspects remain imprisoned pending a formal legal process.

Many of the individuals who have been paroled have participated in informal community dispute resolution, called *gacaca*. In Kinyarwanda *gacaca* means "judgment on the grass." All the members of a village gather together to **adjudge** crimes alleged to have taken place in the village. In October 2000 the *Assemblée nationale* approved legislation establishing *gacaca* tribunals to hear genocide-related charges, and *gacaca* was launched officially through a pilot project in June 2002. Progress has been slow, halting, and subject to considerable delay. *Gacaca* sentences are geared to reintegrating the offender. Those adjudged by *gacaca* tribunals can serve half their sentences outside prison doing community work. That work includes renovating houses partially destroyed during the genocide or building new houses for survivors. Reparation generally and **restitution** specifically also are important goals.

ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Rwandans express considerable skepticism toward international institutions. This is a consequence of the startlingly ineffective UN peacekeeping operations in Rwanda in 1994. Those operations did little to stop the violence.

Rwanda is a member of many international organizations and has signed a number of international treaties. However, implementation of treaty obligations remains difficult because of infrastructural limitations and resource constraints.

The international institution with the highest profile in Rwanda is the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), established by the UN Security Council on November 8, 1994. The ICTR investigates and prosecutes a select number of political, military, and civic officials for their involvement in the 1994 genocide. It has jurisdiction over genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The ICTR has issued convictions for each of those crimes.

Of the twenty individuals convicted by the ICTR as of mid-2004, eleven have been sentenced to life imprisonment, one to a term of thirty-five years, one to a term of thirty years, one to a term of twenty-seven years, three to

judicial review: the ability of the judicial branch to review and invalidate a law that contradicts the constitution

adjudge: to settle a case by judicial procedure

restitution: the transfer of an item back to an original owner, or, compensation for that item

terms of twenty-five years, and the remainder to terms ranging from ten to fifteen years. The ICTR cannot issue a death sentence. There are no Rwandans among the ICTR judges or prosecutors. This somewhat ironic reality is the result of a deliberate decision by the international community that this is the best way to maintain the impartiality of the proceedings. The ICTR has contributed to the development of international criminal law. For example, it broke new ground by convicting persons for sexual violence as a crime against humanity. It also has convicted media leaders for disseminating hate propaganda that incited genocide.

However, surveys of the Rwandan people reveal mixed attitudes toward the ICTR's work, and most Rwandans express feelings of ambivalence or antipathy. Many Rwandans view the ICTR as a poor excuse for the more preventive measures the UN and powerful states could have instituted to prevent the violence in the first place. Moreover, many Rwandans are perplexed by the fact that genocidal leaders are subject to an international institution instead of Rwandan justice.

See also: Genocide.

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Mark A. Drumbl, Michelle S. Lyon



Saint Kitts and Nevis

The twin island federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis is 261 square kilometers (100 square miles) in area and is located in the northeastern Caribbean chain of the Leeward Islands. A two-mile-wide channel separates the two islands, and the capital city of Basseterre is located on Saint Kitts. The population, estimated at 46,700 in 2002, has a life expectancy of 72 years and a 98 percent literacy rate. The site of the earliest British colonial settlement in the Caribbean, the islands gained their independence in 1983.

Sugar plantations traditionally dominated Saint Kitts, whereas Nevis was shaped by small farms and trading. Tourism, remittances, and assembly manufacturing are the mainstays of the economy. The 2001 World Bank estimate of gross national income **per capita** was \$10,190, well above the Latin America and Caribbean average, and qualified Saint Kitts as an upper-middle-income country. The currency is tied to the U.S. dollar and 60 percent of exports are to the United States, but the islands also maintain close trading ties with Europe and other Caribbean states.

Trade unions developed among sugar workers in the 1930s and led to the creation of the Saint Kitts and Nevis Labour Party (SKNLP) in 1940. After the 1960s other parties emerged in reaction to the early SKNLP dominance in politics. The People's Action Movement, started in 1965, reflected opposition on Saint Kitts, and Nevis-based parties were developed in the 1970s and 1980s, including the formation of the Nevis Reformation Party and the Concerned Citizens Movement. New parties continue to be formed: The United People's Party was founded in 1993 and the United National Empowerment Party in 2004.

The 1983 constitution is based on a British-style parliamentary system. Eleven members are elected, and three are appointed. Eight electoral districts are on Saint Kitts, and three on Nevis. Majority control of the parliament has been achieved either by one party winning the Saint Kitts electoral seats or by a **coalition** between a Saint Kitts party and Nevis representatives. The SKNLP controlled the government from the 1957 until 1980. From 1980 to

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

1995 the government was formed by coalitions between the People's Action Movement on Saint Kitts and Nevis Reformation Party on Nevis. These coalitions became increasingly fragile: The 1993 election caused protests when a governing coalition was formed by a narrow margin. The SKNLP returned to power in 1995 and won re-election in 2000. In the October 2004 election the SKNLP won seven seats, all on Saint Kitts, and Denzil Douglas (b. 1953) was named prime minister for a third term.

The 1983 constitution is also based on a federal arrangement between the two islands and reflected long-standing conflicts. Nevis has autonomy over many policy matters, possesses its own island assembly, and has the right to secede. Secession is a contentious issue on Nevis: A 1998 referendum failed to meet the required two-thirds by 4 percentage points. Electoral politics has increased conflict between the two islands. The demands for secession reflect a desire for more control over resources, represent a way for Nevis-based parties to appeal to the electorate, and have been a bargaining strategy between the parties. Inter-marriage and travel as well as a sense of national identity brought about by emigration have tended to defuse the rhetoric between the parties on this issue.

Saint Kitts and Nevis has an excellent human rights record. The judicial system follows British common law practices and procedures. Saint Kitts and Nevis is a member of the Eastern Caribbean Court of Appeal and is cooperating with other Caribbean states in the creation of a Caribbean Court of Justice to replace the British Privy Council as the final appellate court. The death penalty is mandatory for capital offenses

but was ruled to be unconstitutional by the British Privy Council. Allegations about the impact of drug smuggling and money laundering on politics and about close ties between parties and law enforcement officials have put into question the quality of democracy in recent years. Freedom of speech and the press has been challenged on occasion by the intensity of electoral competition.

Saint Kitts and Nevis is a member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, a multi-island regional administrative organization. Security is provided by the Eastern Caribbean Regional Security System, a collective security organization, and by a 370-member police force. The main security concern is the interdiction of drug smugglers, and a 1995 treaty with the United States allows for joint patrols of adjacent waters.

See also: Caribbean Region.

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Derwin Munroe

Saint Lucia

Located in the eastern Caribbean, Saint Lucia has an area of 616 square kilometers (239 square miles) of rugged volcanic territory. Of note is the fact that the tiny nation has produced two Nobel Laureates: Sir Arthur Lewis (in Economics) and Derek Walcott (in Literature). In 2003 Saint Lucia's population was estimated at 162,157 people. Its ethnic breakdown was as follows: 90 percent of predominantly African descent, approximately 6 percent of mixed races, and 3 percent of East Indian or Asian descent. Overwhelmingly, its people are Roman Catholic (90%), with some 3 percent Episcopalian. English is the official language, but the popular dialect is a French-based patois. Literacy is about 70 percent. In the sixteenth century European settlement brought with it rampant disease that largely decimated the Amerindian population of Arawaks and Caribs. Colonization also resulted in the development of plantations, which led to the importation of African slaves and, after the abolition of slavery in 1834, the recruitment of indentured laborers from India and other places. British and French colonization alternated fourteen times before final British rule that lasted for 165 years, from 1814 until 1979, when Saint Lucia became independent.

The economy initially was based on agriculture, at first sugar and, after World War II (post-1945), bananas. The island has shifted toward a service-oriented economy, which in the early twenty-first century accounted for 73 percent of the gross national product (GNP), mainly in the form of tourism. Even though unemployment was about 16 percent in 2000, per capita income was stable at \$5,400, as was economic growth at 2 to 3 percent. Long-term British rule resulted in the formation of a constitutional monarchy with a **governor-general** representing Queen Elizabeth II (b. 1926) and a **Westminster**-style parliamentary system undergirded by English common law. Saint Lucia shares its Supreme Court with several other islands in the eastern Caribbean and has a final **appellate** court in the British Privy Council. Political power resides in a bicameral legislature consisting of an elected seventeen-seat House of Assembly and a nominated eleven-seat Senate. Universal adult suffrage was introduced in 1951 and, with it, competitive partisan politics dominated by two main parties that have alternately held power.

The country's two main parties are the Saint Lucia Labor Party (SLP) and United Workers Party (UWP), but both have received minor challenges periodically from smaller parties. In May 1982 the UWP gained power; however, it lost power to the SLP in 1997. SLP leader Ken Anthony was reelected to a second term as prime minister in 2002.

The alternation of power between the SLP and UWP has followed the course of trade union politics, much of it revolving around the banana industry and

governor-general: a governor who rules over a large territory and employs deputy governors to oversee subdivided regions

Westminster: a democratic model of government comprising operational procedures for a legislative body, based on the system used in the United Kingdom

appellate: a court having jurisdiction to review the findings of lower courts



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

public service employees. The banana industry had brought prosperity to Saint Lucia because of its access to the European Union (EU) through concessionary prices guaranteed by the Lome Convention. First signed in 1975 and coming to an end in 2000, the Lome Convention was an international aid and trade agreement between a number of African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries and the European Union aimed at helping Third World countries achieve self-sustained development. However, when cheaper bananas from Central America became available to EU member states, this triggered the collapse of the island nation's entire banana industry in the late 1990s. The crisis was offset somewhat by the development of tourism, with Saint Lucia surviving the radical shift in its economy. The nation's two-party system endures, as do freedom of the press and the safeguarding of human rights and civil liberties. Saint Lucia maintains strong links with two key regional bodies: the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States and the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). It has been blighted by share of HIV-AIDS and drug smuggling but generally remains a stable democracy whose citizens enjoy unhampered exercise of their political rights.

See also: Caribbean Region.

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Ralph R. Premdas

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is a small group of islands in the Lesser Antilles north of Trinidad and Tobago and west of Barbados. Saint Vincent is the largest of the thirty-three islands that constitute the country. The remaining islands in the northern Grenadines (the southern Grenadines are part of Grenada) are primarily small islands and cays. The population of approximately 120,000 resides primarily on the island of Saint Vincent and is predominantly of African and mixed-race descent (85%), with some European, Asian, and Caribbean residents.

Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) was the first European to visit the central island, arriving on Saint Vincent's Day, January 22, 1498. The island's name derives

from that event. In the eighteenth century both France and Great Britain claimed Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. The islands were ceded to Great Britain in 1783 in the Treaty of Versailles. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines remained part of the British colony of the Windward Islands from 1871 to 1969. It was also a member of the West Indies Federation from 1958 to 1962. In 1969 Great Britain granted the islands associated state status, giving them internal self-government. The islands gained full independence in 1979. As a member of the British Commonwealth, the islands recognize the queen of England as their chief of state. Queen Elizabeth II (b. 1926) has been represented by Governor-General Sir Fredrick Nathaniel Ballantyne since September 2, 2002.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines qualifies as a constitutional parliamentary democracy, with a House of Assembly. The House of Assembly has fifteen members elected from single-member districts by universal adult suffrage; it is led by a prime minister. There are also six appointed senators. Four of these representatives are appointed on the recommendation of the prime minister, and two on the recommendation of the opposition's leader. Elections are held every five years. Universal suffrage for adults over age eighteen was granted in 1951.

In Saint Vincent's political system two parties dominate. In 2004 the Unity Labor Party (ULP) held twelve of the elected seats in parliament, with the New Democratic Party (NDP) filling the remaining three. The NDP governed the islands, under Prime Ministers James Mitchell and Arnhim Eustace, from 1984 to 2001. In 2000 antigovernment protests arose over an increase in parliamentary pensions. This led to early elections and the victory of the ULP, led by Ralph Gonsalves (b. 1945), in March 2001.

Saint Vincent, as a member of the British Commonwealth, follows the common law tradition. As a member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States it uses the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court as its court of last resort.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is a lower-middle-income country with a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of approximately \$3,000. The economy lacks diversification, and unemployment is high. Saint Vincent historically had a plantation economy, based on slave labor, that produced sugar, cotton, coffee, and cocoa. In the early twenty-first century Saint Vincent's main source of income was bananas and other agricultural products, with a small tourism sector.

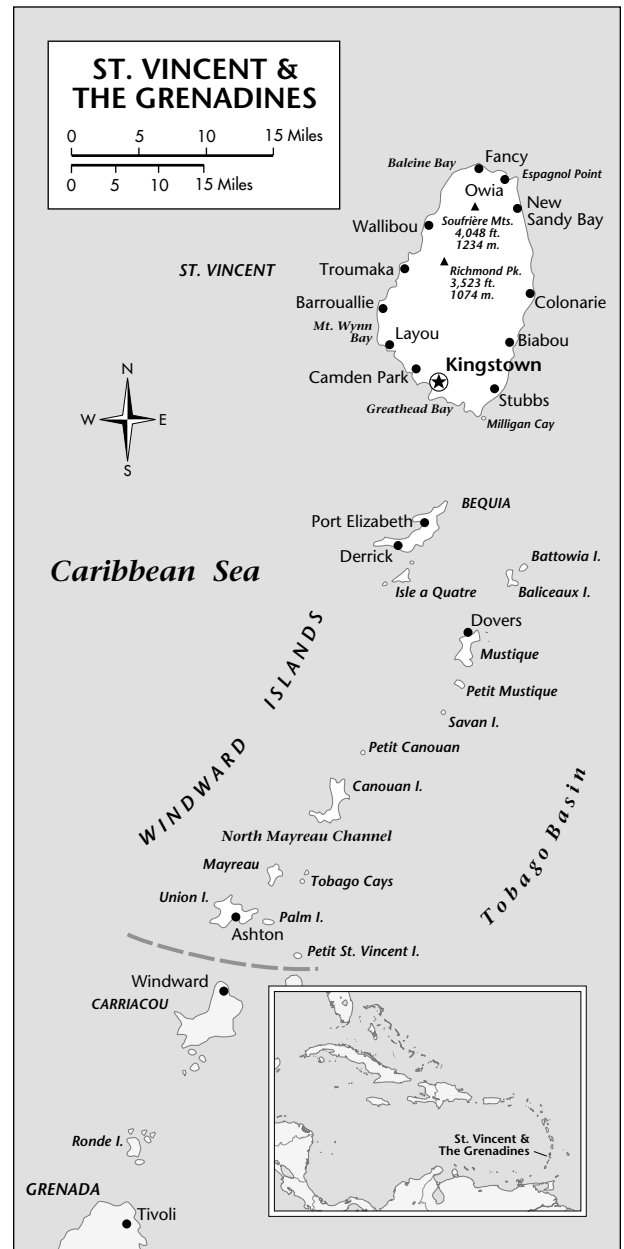
See also: Caribbean Region.

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(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Scott A. Dittloff

Samoa

Samoa is an independent island nation in the South Pacific Ocean located about 2,900 kilometers (1,800 miles) northeast of New Zealand and halfway from Hawaii. Samoa consists of nine islands with a total land area of 2,934 square kilometers (1,133 square miles) and an estimated population in 2004 of 178,173. Together with Tonga, Samoa is considered the traditional and historical base of the development and spread of Polynesian civilization.

annex: to incorporate; to take control of politically and/or physically

An 1899 treaty among Great Britain, Germany, and the United States split the Samoan Islands into Western Samoa, **annexed** by Germany, and American Samoa, controlled by the United States. New Zealand occupied Western Samoa at the outbreak of World War I (1914–1918) and continued to administer it as a mandate and a trust territory until 1962, when Western Samoa became the first Polynesian nation to gain independence. Western Samoa changed its official name to Samoa in 1997. American Samoa continues to be a territory of the United States.

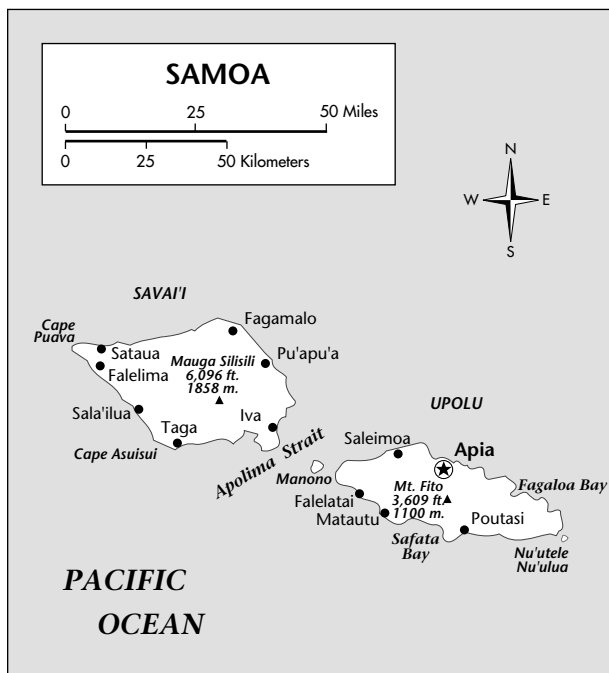
The economy of Samoa depends largely on development aid and family remittances from overseas. Agriculture and fishing are key to Samoa's economy. Tourism, an expanding service sector, accounts for 25 percent of the gross domestic product.

Samoa's government is based on the British parliamentary system, modified to incorporate certain traditional Samoan practices. The constitution provides for a constitutional monarchy under a native chief (the head of state), a prime minister who serves as the head of the government, a unicameral legislature, and a judiciary. At independence the constitution recognized chiefs Malietoa Tanumafili II (b. 1913) and Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole (1929–1963) as joint heads of state of Samoa for life. Chief Malietoa has held the sole position of chief of state since Chief Mea'ole's death in April 1963.

The legislative assembly (*Fono*) consists of forty-nine members—forty-seven ethnic Samoans and two representing the non-Samoan community, who are elected on separate electoral rolls. Since universal suffrage was extended in 1990, all citizens age twenty-one and older are eligible to vote but only the 25,000 chiefs (*matai*) may stand for election to the *Fono* for any of the forty-seven Samoan seats. Only 5 percent of the *matai* are women.

Actual executive power is vested in the prime minister, who is the head of government. The cabinet consists of twelve members appointed by the chief of state with the advice of the prime minister, and their service is subject to continued confidence of the parliament. The country does not have a defense force. The judiciary is independent of both the executive and legislative branches of government and falls under the administrative responsibility of the Department of Justice. The constitution establishes two courts with original jurisdiction, the Supreme Court and the courts of land and title, and a court of appeals. The court of appeals hears appeals from the Supreme Court with leave and as prescribed by statute. It has no jurisdiction in land and titles court matters. Judges may not be removed except by the head of state for misbehavior or infirmity of the body or mind; however, the removal must be supported by two-third of the members of parliament.

There are several political parties in Samoa, but the political process is defined more by individual personalities and



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

village loyalties than by strict party affiliation. The numerous political parties are evidence of political freedom in the island nation. In its annual survey Freedom House ranks Samoa as a “free country” in regard to political rights and civil liberties. Samoan law, specifically Article 7 of the constitution, prohibits torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment. There are no reports that government officials employ these measures.

See also: Constitutional Monarchy.

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Marc-Georges Pufong

San Marino

See: European Microstates.

São Tomé and Príncipe

The island republic of São Tomé and Príncipe, located in the Gulf of Guinea, is, after the Seychelles, the smallest country in Africa, covering a total area of 1,001 square kilometers (386 square miles), with a population estimated at 137,599 in 2004, of which about 6,000 live on the smaller island of Príncipe. The mountainous islands of volcanic origin are covered by dense tropical vegetation. The Pico de São Tomé (2,024 meters; 6,640 feet) is the highest mountain.

The native Creole population is descended from African slaves and Portuguese settlers who colonized the uninhabited islands from the late fifteenth

plantation system: a system of farming in which landowners use slaves or poorly paid workers to farm large tracts of land

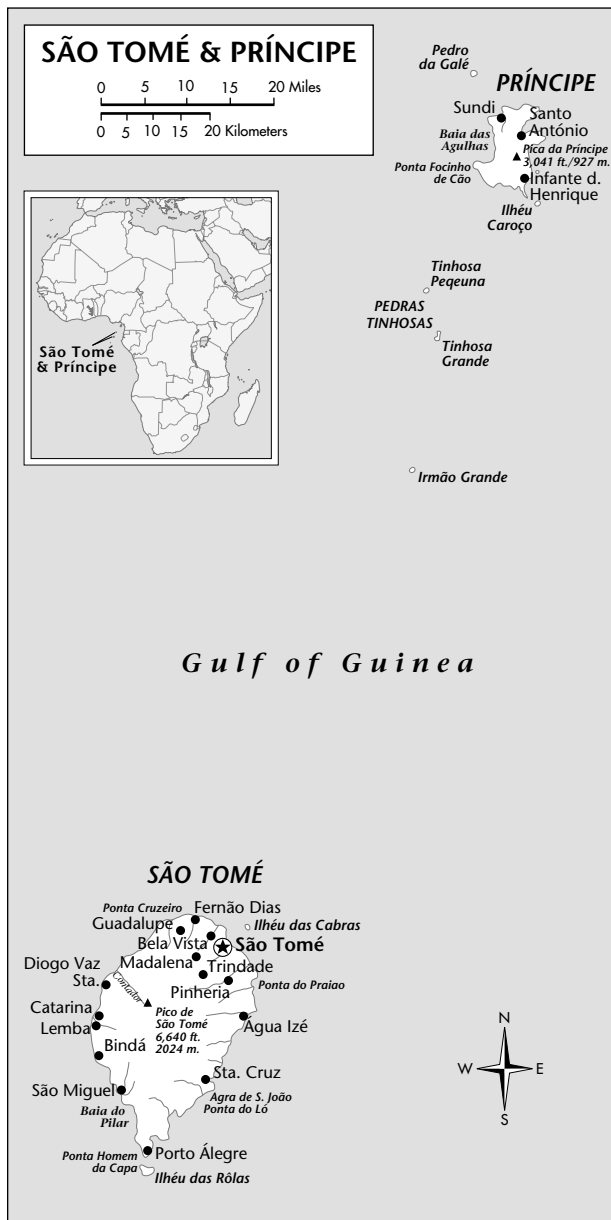
century. The **plantation system** dominated the local economy until the 1990s, when the large plantations were dissolved and the lands were distributed to former estate workers. Although cocoa has remained the most important export crop since the 1890s, after independence in 1975 cocoa production steadily decreased and no longer was able to sustain the economy. The country is completely dependent on foreign aid. Per capita income was estimated at \$338 in 2003, and more than half of the people live in extreme poverty. The government has vested great hopes in offshore oil deposits discovered at the turn of the twenty-first century.

After independence in 1975 the country became constitutionally a socialist one-party state. The head of state was Manuel Pinto da Costa (b. 1937), who served from 1975 to 1990. As a result of economic failure, from the mid-1980s the regime gradually shifted away from the socialist model, liberalized the economy, and introduced a multiparty democracy. The democratic constitution approved in 1990 is modeled on the Portuguese example.

Under the semipresidential system, the head of state has executive powers in defense and foreign affairs. The head of government is the prime minister. Legislative power is exercised by the fifty-five-member National Assembly. The many ambiguous provisions of the semipresidential constitution have favored power struggles and resource competition between the president and the government. In turn, these conflicts have contributed to frequent government changes and political instability.

There are twelve officially registered political parties, of which four dispose of a functioning party apparatus and receive regular electoral support. Political parties represent competing interest groups within the local elite rather than diverging political programs. Since 1991 both presidential and legislative elections have been held regularly and peacefully. Voter turnout has been high by international standards, and elections have been considered free and fair, although campaigns frequently have been affected by vote buying. The first democratically elected president was Miguel Trovoada (b. 1936), who served from 1991 to 2001. In 2001 Fradique de Menezes (b. 1942) was elected president. Twice—in 1995 and 2003—a discontented military waged a bloodless coup d'état. In both cases the constitutional order was restored after one week of negotiations mediated by foreign governments.

The public administration has been affected by institutional weakness and sluggishness, and corruption and other forms of malpractice have become widespread. As a result of similar shortcomings the constitutionally independent judiciary has not functioned properly and is vulnerable to political manipulation. Since the democratic transition the government has respected the legally guaranteed human rights. The independent media are weak because there are no daily newspapers but only a few sporadically published newsletters. Television and radio are state-owned and subject to government influence.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

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Gerhard Seibert

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia, with its capital in Riyadh, is situated in the Middle East. It occupies 80 percent of the Arabian Peninsula and borders Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar, and the Republic of Yemen. The Saudi government estimates the country's size at 2,217,949 square kilometers (856,128 square miles). The country is the only one in the world named after its ruling family—in this case, the al-Saud, who came to power in the eighteenth century. The religious importance of the country lies in the fact that it includes the Hijaz region, which is the birthplace of the prophet Muhammed (c.E. 570–632) and the cradle of Islam. Each year Saudi Arabia receives millions of Muslims who make the pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca.

The Saudi population as of 2004 is 25.7 million, 5.6 million of whom are foreigners and comprise a large portion of the labor force. The majority of the population practices Sunni Wahhabi Islam, and only about 5 percent adheres to the Shia sect. The latter population represents the lowest socioeconomic group in the country. Population distribution varies greatly, with the interior oases densely populated and the deserts almost empty. Even though the desert makes up most of the kingdom's area, the country's landscape also includes mountain ranges and flat coastal plains. There are no permanent rivers or lakes. The harsh dry desert climate makes less than 1 percent of the total area suitable for cultivation.

sect: a group of people with a common distinctive view of religion or doctrine

HISTORY

Modern Saudi Arabia was established by King Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud (1880–1953), also known as the "Lion of Najd." He assumed control of the Hijaz from the Hashemite family and united the country under his family's rule. On September 23, 1932, having unified all conquered territories, Abd al-Aziz announced the birth of what he called Saudi Arabia. What is important in the historical evolution of Saudi Arabia is the fact that unlike other countries in the area, it has never come under the control of a European power.

The rise of al-Saud started long before that and can be traced back to the eighteenth century and Mohammed ibn Saud (1710–1765), who linked the al-Saud name to the Wahhabi movement. Mohammed ibn Saud enjoyed close relations with Muhammed ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792), the thinker behind Wahhabism. In 1744 they promised to work together to establish a state run



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

according to Islamic principles. With the help of supporters, Wahhabism, along with al-Saud political authority, was established in most of the Najd by 1765.

Since the creation of Saudi Arabia in 1932, the country has been ruled by the al-Saud family. Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud was succeeded by his son King Saud (1902–1969), who in turn was deposed by his brother, Faisal ibn Abd al Aziz ibn Saud, in November 1964. King Faisal was assassinated by his nephew, Faysal bin Musa'id bin-Abd-al-Aziz, in March 1975; he was succeeded by another brother, Khalid bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud (1912–1982). In June 1982 King Khalid died of a heart attack and was succeeded by yet another al-Saud brother, Crown Prince Fahd bin Abdal-Aziz al-Sa'ud (1920–2005). In 1986 King Fahd added the title “Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques” to his name to affirm his commitment to Islam. However, his half-brother, Crown Prince Abdullah bin-Abd-al-Aziz al-Saud (b. 1924), effectively served as ruler from 1995, when the king had a series of debilitating strokes until the king died in 2005 and the Crown Prince became king. Prince Abdullah has been the **de facto** leader of the country and has advocated a number of reforms, such as allowing slight criticism of the government in the press and publicly stating the view that women should be allowed to work.

All these rulers have maintained a somewhat similar foreign policy: calling for Arab unity and siding with Egypt and other Arab countries in their wars against Israel and their demand for the liberation of Palestine. The most important leverage that Saudi Arabia maintained during those times of conflict was the suspension, in 1973 and 1974, of Saudi oil exports to Britain and the United States, which have supported Israel. Nonetheless, at no time in Saudi Arabia’s history has the

de facto: (Latin) actual; in effect but not officially declared

king severed diplomatic relations with the West. Emphasizing the importance of Arab unity and Saudi Arabia's role in it, King Fahd even reestablished diplomatic ties with Egypt—which had been broken for a nine-year period after President Anwar Sadat (1918–1981) signed the Camp David Accords with Israel in 1978—and played a mediating role in the Lebanese civil war in 1989. Saudi Arabia also suffered significant military, political, and economic consequences as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. In addition to contributing to the multinational **coalition** that fought Iraq, the Saudi government provided for temporary deployment on its own territory of hundreds of thousands of U.S. and allied troops.

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Saudi Arabia is the world's largest oil exporter. The kingdom's economy is heavily based on oil, with oil revenues accounting for 55 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and yielding a **per capita** GDP of \$11,400. The government has strong control over major economic activities. The oil industry aided in the transformation of the country and led to an extensive social welfare system. Education is not **compulsory**, but free schooling at all levels is available for a large proportion of the population. Literacy rates have increased tremendously throughout the years, recently estimated to be 85 percent for men and 71 percent for women. The education system is segregated by gender, and there is heavy emphasis on the study of Islam in the curriculum. Saudi Arabia has one of the fastest rates of population growth, and the average life expectancy for the total population is sixty-nine years.

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

compulsory: mandatory, required, or unable to be avoided

In 1960 Saudi Arabia became a founding member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and it used its oil wealth as political leverage by initiating the oil embargo against countries that supported Israel during the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War. However, the government is pushing for industrial diversification and has encouraged the establishment of non-oil-related industries such as copper, lead, zinc, silver, and gold (which are still little exploited). About 40 percent of the economy is private, and further privatization is being promoted. The flourishing private industrial sector produces cement, electrical equipment, synthetic rubber, plastics, processed foods, and soft drinks. Saudi Arabia has the highest ratio of military expenditures in relation to military personnel of any developing country. Although the kingdom's terrain and climate do not allow for much agriculture, some agriculture and farming take place in the highlands of al-Hijaz.

GOVERNMENT

Saudi Arabia is a monarchy (a kingdom) governed according to Shari'a (Islamic law). The king is both the head of state and head of government. There is no written constitution or elected legislature. The Qur'an, the holy book of Islam, is considered to be the country's constitution. The fact that no separation exists between religion and state places the king in control of not only political life but also religious life. Religion is an important aspect of the state and plays a crucial role in the government. The political role of religious scholars, or *ulama*, is second in importance to that of the ruling al-Saud family. In the 1990s two ministries were created: the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Call and Guidance and the Ministry of Pilgrimage. This action increased the voice of the religious sector in the Council of Ministers.

In an unprecedented move symbolizing a breakthrough in the kingdom, King Fahd announced the formulation of a new basic code of law, the so-called

promulgation: an official declaration, especially that a law can start being enforced

WAHHABIS

Wahhabis practice a strict form of Islam that closely—and quite literally—adheres to the Qur'an, the sacred book of Islam. Known as Wahhabism, this puritanical reform movement began in the eighteenth century under the direction of Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab (1703–1792) in an effort to restore orthodox Islam. Most Wahhabi Muslims do not like the label Wahhabi. Instead they call themselves al-Muwahhiddun, or “the monotheists.”

Wahhabis aim to follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad directly and as such, they adhere to a set of deeply inflexible tenets and principles. They reject luxury, dancing, gambling, music, and the use of tobacco.

At the turn of the twenty-first century Wahhabis came under scrutiny as their practices and beliefs became associated with groups of Islamic extremists blamed for acts of terror around the globe. Scholars estimate there are about eight million practitioners, mostly in the Arabian Peninsula. In Saudi Arabia Wahhabism is the state religion.

Basic System of Government, in 1992. This code of law comes in the form of several decrees that establish new political structures—emphasizing the duties and responsibilities of the ruler and regularizing succession to the throne—and **promulgate** various administrative procedures concerning the state and government. However, this new code of law is not considered the kingdom's constitution; it simply emphasizes the Arab Islamic character of the kingdom, with the Qur'an remaining its constitution. The document further strengthens the dominance and control of the king and assigns to him responsibility for selecting members of the Consultative Council (*Majlis al-Shura*) every four years. This council is strictly an advisory body and originally consisted of sixty members, mostly religious and tribal leaders. This number rose to 90 in 1997 and then to 120 in 2002. The decrees further call for an independent judiciary.

In 1993 the king took another major step and divided Saudi Arabia into fourteen administrative divisions, each having an emir, a deputy, and a consultative council of at least ten members appointed by the emir for a four-year term. The al-Saud family's dominance and control are illustrated further by the fact that the emirs or governors of all these provinces are members of the royal family. The basic code further places control of various security forces in the hands of the government. These forces include the *Mubabith*, or internal security force; the elite special forces; and the *Mutawwa'in*, or religious police.

DIVISION OF POWER

No real division of power exists in the kingdom. The three branches of government—the executive, legislative, and judiciary—are controlled by the king and have limited powers. The chief government and religious official of Saudi Arabia is the king. According to the 1992 decree, the king may designate or remove the crown prince, who does not automatically rise to the throne at the king's death. The crown prince would then serve only as provisional ruler until fully confirmed by religious and government leaders. The king is advised by a cabinet of ministers and serves as prime minister. High government officials are members of the royal family and a few other prominent families. Saudi Arabia has no separate legislature: The king and his ministers issue the laws. The Consultative Council created by King Fahd in 1992 is only a consultative body with no legislative prerogatives. Officially inaugurated in 1993, the council is selected in its totality by the king. It has no legislative powers but does have the right to summon and question ministers and offer recommendations to the king. In a groundbreaking move in 2003 the king granted wider authority to the council, enabling it to initiate legislation without his permission. Another advisory body to the king and cabinet is the Council of Senior Islamic Scholars, which reviews the government's public policies to make sure that they comply with the Shari'a.

Although the basic law calls for an independent judiciary, the branch is still subject to influence by the executive branch, and the king alone acts as a final court of appeal and has the power of pardon. The Saudi Arabian legal system is based on the Shari'a. The principal tribunals of the country are the Supreme Council, the Court of Cassation, general courts, and summary courts. The Ministry of Justice operates the country's Shari'a courts.

At a local government level Saudi Arabia is divided into fourteen provinces or emirates, each headed by a governor or emir who is appointed by the king. The al-Saud's power is illustrated by the fact that most of these governors tend to be members of the royal family. Their form of rule includes holding regular *majlis*, at which citizens may appear in person and present their problems to

the governor, thus opening up an arena where citizens can voice their concerns. These *majlis*, however, are not accessible to all citizens. In 2005 Saudi Arabia held its first elections of any kind since the creation of the kingdom in 1932: Male citizens voted to elect some municipal councilors, who were expected to have very limited powers.

RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

The Saudi government contends that it protects human rights and civil liberties according to the Shari'a. However, numerous signs of suppression abound in the kingdom. Political parties, labor unions, and professional associations are banned, and opposition views are suppressed. Despite the fact that King Fahd has allowed mild criticism of the government, the general climate of repression has not changed. There are still political detainees, although their number is not certain. In 2003, for example, the police broke up a rally calling for political reform in the capital of Riyadh. They arrested hundreds of people suspected of participating in the demonstration. The government insists, however, that the opinions and interests of Saudi citizens are not suppressed, that the views of a broad segment of the population are in fact heard at the *majlis* held in various provinces and by the king himself.

The government prohibits or restricts freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, religion, and movement. Abuse against members of the Shia minority continues. State ownership of television and radio stations gives the government even greater control of the media and has resulted in the most tightly controlled media environment in the Middle East. A further sign of suppression is the banning of books and magazines deemed morally offensive. The government also controls Internet access, censors all forms of public artistic expression, and prohibits a public cinema and public musical or theatrical performances. In addition, it has restricted academic freedom severely, prohibiting the study of such topics as the evolution of humans, the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud, the socialist beliefs of Karl Marx, Western music, and Western philosophy.

Significant discrimination against women also exists within Saudi Arabia's political system and social life. Women are not represented in the Consultative Council; they do not serve in the judiciary or the cabinet. They make up approximately 5 percent of the official work force, and even though they own about 20 percent of all Saudi businesses, their influence is constrained by the requirement that they be represented by a male relative in these financial transactions. Women have a limited social role and duty, which is to marry, bear children, and raise them. For this reason few women work outside the home, and when they do, they generally are employed only in fields such as education and health care. In the kingdom women's physical movement is also limited in that they are not allowed to drive and cannot travel abroad without a male relative's approval.

See also: Shari'a.

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socialism: any of various economic and political theories advocating collective or governmental ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods

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Amal I. Khoury

Senegal

Senegal, covering an area of 196,712 square kilometers (75,930 square miles), is the most westerly country in Africa. It has a population of around 10.6 million that belongs to various ethnic groups, the largest of which is the Wolofs (36% of the population), who share similar cultural values with the other ethnic groups (the Fulani and Toucouleur, Serer, Diola, and Mandingo). Islam is the main religion (92%). Agriculture, fishing, and tourism are the country's most important resources. One in five Senegalese live in the capital, Dakar.

Present-day Senegal has been inhabited for more than a thousand years. From the sixteenth century onward European merchants tried to establish their influence. It was, however, only in the nineteenth century that the country became a permanent French possession. In 1960 Senegal became an independent **republic** with Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001) as its first president. Senghor retired from politics in December 1980.

With the introduction of Senegal's first constitution as an independent country in 1960, the country had a president (Senghor) and a prime minister. As a result of a conflict of power between the two politicians, the constitution was changed in 1963 and a purely presidential system was introduced. From 1966 to 1976 Senegal had a single-party system dominated by the *Union Progressiste Sénégalaise* (UPS). However, in 1976 the constitution was again amended to introduce a "guided democracy" that allowed for only three political parties, which were supposed to represent the major ideological currents: the socialists (represented by the UPS, which became the *Parti Socialiste*), the liberals (the *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais*), and the Marxist-Leninists. After Senghor stepped down as president in 1980, his successor, Abdou Diouf (b. 1935), introduced an integrated multiparty system.

The **incumbent** president and the ruling party won all the elections while Diouf was in power, although with an ever-decreasing majority. The elections were held in an explosive political and social climate and resulted in riots whose participants demanded *sopi* (change). Abdoulaye Wade (b. 1926), the leader of the main opposition party, the *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais*, emerged from each election with increased popularity. Finally, in March 2000, the opposition succeeded in winning the presidential election and Wade became president, ending forty years of *Parti Socialiste* rule.

republic: a form of democratic government in which decisions are made by elected representatives of the people

incumbent: one who currently holds a political office, or, holding a political office

After a referendum a new constitution was adopted in January 2001. The executive was given wide-ranging powers: The president, elected for five-year terms, can dissolve parliament, determine the politics of the nation, and appoint the prime minister, who, in consultation with the president, appoints the ministers. In April 2004 Macky Sall (b. 1961) became the fourth prime minister since the political changes in 2000. The team of ministers (thirty-nine in total) is made up of members of the *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais* and the *sopi* coalition that brought Wade to power and includes one opposition minister. All are chosen for their unwavering loyalty to the president.

The 120 members of the unicameral National Assembly are also elected for a five-year term by direct popular vote. After the 2001 elections the coalition led by Wade had eighty-nine seats, the Socialist Party had ten, and the rest were held by various smaller parties.

The constitution provides for an independent judiciary, but in practice it is weak and subject to government influence.

Senegal enjoyed a relatively peaceful transition to democracy—a rarity for Africa—and its constitution sanctions the principle of good governance, acknowledges the people's right to oppose government politics, and specifies rights for women (such as property titles). Human rights generally are respected, although prison conditions are poor and lengthy pretrial detentions are common. Constitutional freedom of expression has led to an expansion of the printed media and the setting up of private radio stations. Numerous secular associations (such as unions and students' and women's groups) and Muslim brotherhoods continue to play an influential role in society and politics.

This generally positive image of Senegal is, however, not uncontested. As a result of shortcomings (e.g., corruption, **neo-patrimonialism**, and a poor

neo-patrimonialism: a system of government that outwardly delineates between the personal and the public realm, but in which political patronage by the ruler is the reality, with personal relationships defining one's wealth or power



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

CASAMANCE

The southern region of Senegal, the Casamance, is largely cut off from the rest of the country by the Gambia, and the Movement of Democratic Forces in Casamance (MFDC) demanded independence in 1982, leading to ongoing conflict. This protracted, low-intensity war between the Senegalese forces and the MFDC has resulted in the killing of several thousand people, human rights abuses by both sides, and the mistreatment of journalists. The economy of this potentially rich region has suffered badly. On December 30, 2004, Senegal's government signed a peace pact with the separatist movement aimed at ending one of West Africa's longest-running insurgencies.

ranking in the United Nations Development Program's human development index) Senegal often is considered a semidemocracy, a quasi-democracy, or a democracy of façades.

In 2000, when *sopi* became a reality, the Senegalese people's expectations were high, but after six government reshuffles discontent began to grow. Before the elections for the National Assembly in 2006 and the 2007 presidential election President Wade and his team still had most of their promises to fulfil for the Senegalese people.

See also: Colonies and Colonialism.

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Gerti Hesseling

Serbia and Montenegro

Serbia and Montenegro is located in southeastern Europe, bordering Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. Its landmass is approximately 102,136 square kilometers (39,435 square miles). The capital of Serbia is Belgrade, and that of Montenegro is Podgorica. Common government institutions are situated in Belgrade. The population was estimated at 10,825,900 in July 2004. Estimated per capita income in 2003 was \$2,300.

In 2001 the United Nations (UN) admitted Serbia and Montenegro under the name Yugoslavia. In February 2003 Serbia and Montenegro created a loose confederation under their constitutional charter and abandoned that name. Each constituent republic is entitled to independence subject to a voter referendum that was scheduled to be held no earlier than May 2005. Serbia and Montenegro is also a member of the Council of Europe (CoE).

After liberation from Ottoman rule in the early twentieth century and a short period of independence as a constitutional monarchy, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was created in 1918. After a period of political instability during the dictatorship of King Alexander I (1888–1934), who changed its name to Yugoslavia, the country broke up under Nazi occupation in 1941. The Serbian government, with the support of "Chetnik" troops, collaborated with the Nazis. Communist Party leader Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) led the fight

against the Nazis and Chetniks. Upon their defeat Tito became leader of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on November 29, 1943. Tito ruled as an **absolutist**, serving as president of the republic, commander in chief of the military forces, and president of the Communist Party until his death.

In 1987 Slobodan Milosevic (b. 1941) assumed leadership of the Serbian Communist Party and in four years came to dominate Serbian political life. His attempt to seize control of Yugoslavia was frustrated by effective declarations of independence by Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia in 1992. Declaring Serbia and Montenegro to be the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Milosevic led an extended but ultimately unsuccessful effort to invade the neighboring republics of the former Yugoslavia to establish a unified Serb republic. In 1999 attempts by his military and Serb **paramilitary** forces to expel ethnic Albanians from Kosovo drew international opposition and the stationing of a UN peacekeeping force in Kosovo. Milosevic was defeated in the general elections in the autumn of 2000 and then arrested and handed over in 2001 to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague to be tried for crimes against humanity.

Major political leaders following Milosevic were the pro-Western reformist Zoran Dindic, Serbian prime minister until his assassination in March 2003, and

absolutism: a way of governing, usually monarchic, that reflects complete control and an unwillingness to compromise or deviate from dogma or principles

paramilitary: modeled after a military, especially as a possible supplement to the military



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

Vojislav Kostunica of the **nationalist** Center-Right Democratic Serbian Party, the prime minister as of late 2004. Political life in Montenegro at that time was characterized by an even split between supporters of independence and supporters of a union with Serbia.

Serbia and Montenegro has a common assembly elected indirectly by the assemblies of its constituent states. The number of representatives is proportionate to state populations (ninety-one from Serbia and thirty-five from Montenegro). The president of the state is elected by the assembly for a period of four years. Other institutions include a five-member Council of Ministers with its seat in Belgrade and the Court of Serbia and Montenegro in Podgorica. Each constituent state has its own parliament, government, and president. Despite the country's turbulent history in the 1990s, respect for human rights in Serbia and Montenegro improved in the early twenty-first century, with citizens free to exercise them.

See also: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Kosovo; Slovenia; United Nations.

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Siniša Rodin

Seychelles

homogeneous: simple; consisting of components that are identical or similar

Seychelles is an archipelago of 115 islands with a landmass of 445 square kilometers (172 square miles) scattered around more than 1,374,000 square kilometers (530,000 square miles) in the southwestern Indian Ocean, about 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) east of Kenya. In 2004 the estimated population of the country was 80,832. Seychelles has a relatively **homogeneous** and predominantly Christian population of mixed African, Asian, and European ancestry. Its literacy rate is estimated at 87.5 percent.

Seychelles was a French colony until the Treaty of Paris of 1814 gave Britain formal control of Seychelles and Mauritius. The people of Seychelles exercised some degree of involvement in self-governance before independence in 1976.

In 1964 two pioneering political parties emerged in the country: the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) led by James Mancham (b. 1939) and the then Seychelles People's Unity Party (SPUP) led by France Albert René (b. 1935). Negotiations with Britain resulted in Seychelles's independence on June 29, 1976. With independence, Mancham took office as the first president of Seychelles, with

René as the prime minister. Tensions between the two rival parties led to President Mancham being overthrown by Prime Minister René while Mancham was at a Commonwealth Conference in London. René installed himself as the new president, suspended the constitution, dismissed the legislative assembly, and banned all political parties except his own. For fourteen years René ruled Seychelles by presidential *fiat*. In December 1991, however, René reinstated a multiparty system. Mancham, the former president, returned to Seychelles, and he and President René called for national reconciliation in support of a new democratic constitution, which was adopted in June 1993.

Seychelles is a presidential-parliamentary democracy with a “mixed statist” economy. Executive power is vested in the president, who serves as both the chief of state and the head of government and is elected by universal suffrage for a maximum of three five-year terms of office. A Council of Ministers appointed by the president assists the president in the exercise of executive functions and serves as the president’s cabinet. The vice president serves as the head of the president’s executive cabinet. The president in 2004 was James Michel (b. 1944), a former vice president who took office in April 2004, when President René retired. (René had been reelected in the previous election held in 2001.)

Legislative power is vested in a unicameral National Assembly that consists of thirty-four members elected for five-year terms. The Seychelles People’s Progressive Front (SPPF), René’s political party, formerly the Seychelles People’s Unity Party (SPUP), has continued to dominate the political landscape in both presidential and legislative elections.

Seychelles’s legal system is a blend of the French and English legal systems. The constitution vests judicial powers in the Court of Appeals of Seychelles, the Court of Last Resort, and the Supreme Court, as well as other subordinate courts and tribunals. The constitution provides for an independent judiciary, with constitutional immunity protecting judges from liability resulting from judicial proceedings. However, the judiciary is not efficient, lacks adequate resources, and is subject to executive interference. Judges are appointed for seven years and may be reappointed by the president on the recommendation of the Constitutional Appointment Committee. Almost all judges in Seychelles are noncitizens, except for the Chief Justice, who must be a citizen. A common critique is that expatriate judges lack sensitivity on issues such as human rights.

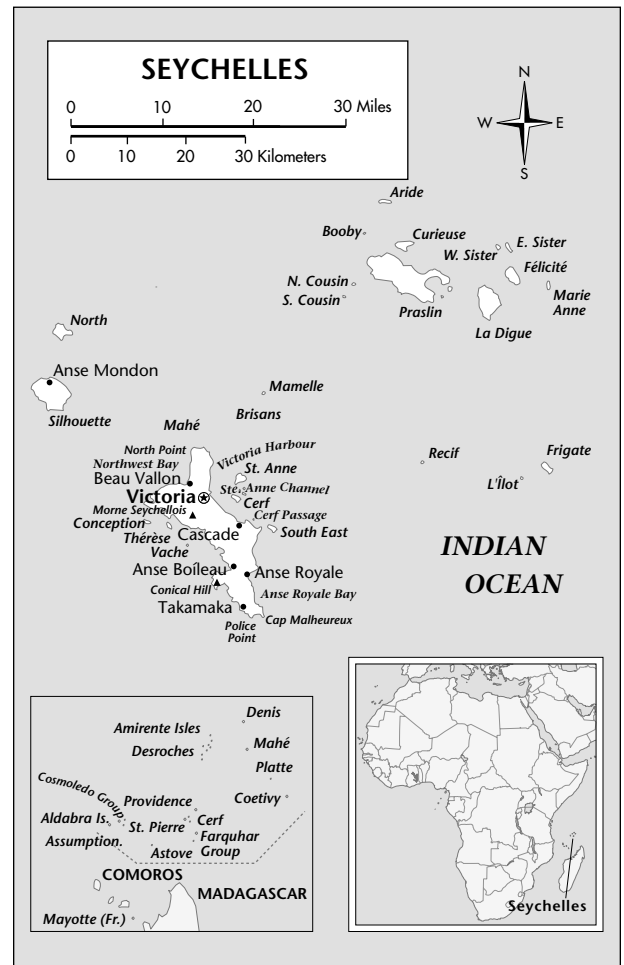
Freedom House classifies Seychelles as a “partly free country” in its political and civil liberties ranking for 2003. The country ranks three on a scale of seven, in which one represents “most free” and seven represents “least free” in terms of guarantees enjoyed by citizens on both civil rights and civil liberties scales.

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fiat: an authoritative, sometimes arbitrary, order, usually by a government



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

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Marc-Georges Pufong

Shari'a

Unlike Christianity, Islam does not separate religion and politics. Islamic law, or Shari'a, regulates all facets of life of individual Muslims including the personal, family, social, commercial, criminal, political, and religious aspects. Shari'a consists mainly of family and inheritance law and to a lesser degree contracts law, penal code, taxation law, and the law of war.

Many Muslims consider Shari'a as divine, which renders the reform of Islamic Shari'a an exceedingly difficult task. This task is further complicated by the absence of any central spiritual Islamic council or a Supreme Court of Shari'a to legislate for the Muslim world. As a result, individual Muslim countries have adapted Shari'a to their particular circumstances and cultures.

Shari'a laws are derived from four sources. The primary source of Shari'a is the Qur'an, which is directly revealed by God to his messenger Muhammad (c. 570–632). The Qur'an consists of guidelines to regulate the various aspects of the private and the public life of individual Muslims.

The life of Muhammad constitutes the second important source of Shari'a known as Sunna. Muhammad's sayings on religion and worship practices, his rulings on social, family, and Muslim community affairs, as well as his interpretation of Qur'anic verses have guided the social and moral aspects of the daily life of Muslims over the centuries. Muhammad's sayings and practices were compiled and codified by the Muslim **jurists** and scholars two centuries after his death. These jurists formalized the pronouncements of the Qur'an and Sunna concerning family affairs and worship rituals into standards for private and public conduct. Twenty-first century Islamic **fundamentalists** insist that these practices should be observed and enforced by the state.

jurist: a person learned in legal matters; most often, a judge

fundamentalism: a philosophy marked by an extreme and literal interpretation of religious texts and an inability to compromise on doctrine or policy



ABOUT ONE-HALF MILLION ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS RALLY IN HONOR OF UPHOLDING SHARI'A, OR ISLAMIC LAW, AND THE QUR'AN. For Muslims the Qur'an is the foundation of their religious belief system that represents one component of Shari'a, defining their daily existence and conduct. (SOURCE: © JACQUES LANGEVIN/CORBIS SYGMA)

After the death of Prophet Muhammad, Muslims began to develop secondary sources of law to deal with cases and situations for which no specific Qur'anic reference or sayings by the Prophet existed. These secondary sources consisted of *ijma'* (consensus) and *qiyas* (reasoning by analogy). Rulings derived from *ijma'* and *qiyas* are manmade laws and should therefore be consistent with the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet.

Although the *ulama* (Muslim clerics and scholars) designated *ijma'* as an important source of Shari'a during the early decades of Islam, liberal Islamic thinkers raised serious questions concerning its meaning and scope. These Muslim scholars have questioned what constitutes *ijma'* and whether it is arrived at by a unanimous decision or by a majority ruling and whether it gives room for dissenting opinions. Other Islamic scholars ask if past rulings based on *ijma'* should be binding on future generations of Muslims regardless of their nationality and place of residence. Still other reform-oriented thinkers inquire whether *ijma'* can be reached today by the elected representatives of the Muslim people in a parliament and, if this is the case, whether such an *ijma'* can abrogate a Shari'a law arrived at by the consensus of the early *ulama*.

The fourth source of Shari'a is *qiyas*, or reasoning by analogy. It calls for applying the principle of **precedent** to cases for which no relevant Qur'anic text

abrogate: to abolish or undo, usually a law

precedent: an established ruling, understanding, or practice of the law

and no precedent in the Sunna exists. For instance, Shari'a prohibits all types of alcohol and any monetary gains derived from financial investments following the Qur'an's ban on drinking of wine and usury.

Another form of *qiyas* is *ijtihad*, or the application of reason by an individual. In the tenth century, Islamic jurists argued that after three centuries since the death of Muhammad, the Shari'a was complete and as such *ijtihad* should not be practiced. They contended that the continuation of independent reasoning and rational interpretation of Qur'an would undermine Islam. They therefore insisted that new questions should be answered by reference to the Qur'an, Sunna, and *ijma'*.

With the stifling of *ijtihad*, Islam turned inward until the nineteenth and early twentieth century, when a group of Islamic reformists revived *ijtihad*. These modern and liberal Islamic thinkers rejected the claim of the *ulama* that Shari'a was complete and could not be amended or reformed. They contended that the vast majority of the rules of Shari'a were not directly revealed by God and questioned the authenticity of many of the opinions and rulings attributed to the Prophet and his companions. They stated that the vast majority of these opinions and rulings were transmitted orally from one individual to another and were collected and codified more than two centuries after the death of Muhammad.

The liberal thinkers concluded that because the early jurists took it on their own to make many of the specific rules of Shari'a, Muslims should be able and willing to modernize Shari'a to accommodate the needs of modern societies. In particular, they want to harmonize Shari'a with the modern standards of human rights. In their opinion, although Shari'a emphasized equality of all believers before God, it gave unequal rights for men and women and Muslims and non-Muslims. They state that although the Qur'an significantly improved the social and legal status of Muslim women, it denied them equal rights with men in the areas of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. This unequal treatment is evidenced in **polygamy**, the need for a male relative to negotiate the marriage contract for the woman, the male right of **unilateral** divorce, and the laws of inheritance, which give men twice the share of women.

They also indicate that although Shari'a calls for religious tolerance and for granting the Christians and Jews autonomy in the areas of self-administration and family law, it denied them several privileges. They were not considered as full members in the community, excluded from military service, had to pay a special tax, banned from marrying Muslim women, and their places of worship were not to be superior to Islamic mosques.

Finally, the liberal thinkers further added that Shari'a traditional criminal law includes some forms of corporal punishment—such as amputation of limbs for robbery and stoning for adultery—that are cruel and conflict with modern human rights standards. Although they acknowledge that these traditional Shari'a penalties do not exist in the criminal codes of the vast majority of contemporary Islamic states, a few Islamic countries including Iran, Sudan, Pakistan, and Afghanistan have used these corporal punishments in the twenty-first century.

See also: Halakhah.

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polygamy: the practice of having more than one mate or spouse at one time

unilateral: independent of any other person or entity

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Emile Sabliyeh

Siam

See: Thailand.

Sierra Leone

Located on the west coast of Africa and bordered by Guinea to the northeast, Liberia to the southeast, and the Atlantic Ocean on the southwest, Sierra Leone is roughly the size of South Carolina. The country's landmass of 71,740 square kilometers (27,700 square miles) encompasses rain forests, swamp land and semi-arid areas. Natural resources (diamond, gold, rutile, bauxite, and iron ore) are in abundance, and the country boasts one of the finest coastlines in West Africa and one of the deepest natural harbors in the world. A rainy season (May to October) and a dry season (November) are the country's two dominant weather patterns.

The country's population of 5 million is divided into sixteen ethnic groups, with the Mendes of the south and the Temnes of the north each accounting for roughly 30 percent of the population. Comprising less than 5 percent of the population, the Krios are concentrated in the western area, especially in Freetown and its mountain (Leicester, Gloucester, Regent, Bathurst, Charlotte) and peninsular districts (Goderich, York, Sussex, Kent, Waterloo). Krio, which also refers to the language of the Krios, is the country's lingua franca, or common language. Fifteen other languages are spoken besides Krio, with English serving as the official language. Thirty percent of Sierra Leoneans are Muslim, 20 percent are Christian, and the remainder adhere to indigenous religious beliefs and practices.

Sierra Leone was given its name by Portuguese explorers who "discovered" the country in 1462. Britain later colonized Sierra Leone, gradually extending imperial authority from the coastal enclave of Freetown to the interior. Independence came in 1961 under the leadership of Sir Milton Margai (1895–1964), the country's first prime minister, and the Sierra Leone's People's Party (SLPP). Operating within a constitutional democratic framework, Sierra Leone was a promising democracy in its first few years of independence, but this brief flirtation with democracy came to an abrupt end in 1967.

imperialism: extension of the control of one nation over another, especially through territorial, economic, and political expansion



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Milton Margai died in office in 1964 and was replaced by his half-brother, Albert Margai (1910–1980), as prime minister and leader of the SLPP. Albert Margai's refusal to accept defeat in the 1967 elections prompted the declaration of martial law by the army commander, Brigadier David Lansana. A counter-coup a few days later resulted in the arrest of Lansana and his patron, Albert Margai. The leaders of this counter-coup established the National Reformation Council (NRC) as the new governing authority, with Brigadier Andrew Juxon-Smith as chairman and head of state. A subsequent coup by noncommissioned officers of the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) removed Juxon-Smith and the NRC from power in 1968 and returned the country to constitutional rule under Siaka Stevens and the All People's Congress (APC), winners of the 1967 parliamentary elections.

With Siaka Stevens at the helm (1968–1985), Sierra Leone became a republic in 1970 and a one-party state in 1978. Stevens retired from the presidency in 1985 but not before hand-picking his successor, Joseph Saidu Momoh, army commander at the time. Momoh was ousted from power in a coup led by junior officers of the armed forces in 1992. From 1992 to 1996 Sierra Leone was governed by the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), which was headed first by Captain Valentine Strasser (1992–1996) and later Lieutenant Julius Maada Bio (1996). Bio and the NPRC transferred power to a democratically elected government in 1996 but this government, led by Ahmad Tejan Kabba, was overthrown fourteen months later by a combined force of renegade soldiers and rebel insurgents.

Led by Major Johnny Paul Koroma, a new governing body called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) terrorized society for almost a year before it was violently dislodged from power by a West African intervention force led by Nigeria. This was followed by the reinstatement of President Kabba in March 1998. Kabba and the SLPP won a landslide victory in the 2002 presidential and parliamentary elections, receiving 70 percent and 67 percent, respectively, of the popular vote.

Despite its abundant natural resource base, Sierra Leone consistently ranks among the poorest countries in the world, with four-fifths of the population living in absolute poverty. Only 34 percent of the population has access to safe drinking water and the average life expectancy is thirty-eight years, compared to a sub-Saharan average of forty-five years. Infant mortality rate is 182 in 1,000 and 80 percent of the population is functionally illiterate. Negative economic growth rates in the 1990s were made worse by the rebel insurgency, which brought a halt to formal mining activities and depleted the government's shrinking revenue base. GDP growth rates were negative for much of the 1990s and export revenue, which had stood at \$224 million in 1980, plunged to less than \$10 million at the height of the rebel **insurrection**. Declining exports resulted from the informalization (displacement of official economic activities by clandestine networks and transactions) of the economy and the pervasive insecurity created by the rebel war.

As of 2004 Sierra Leone was a constitutional democracy with a directly elected president and parliament. How long this constitutional arrangement will last is unknown, given the country's history. The first experiment (1961–1967) in

insurrection: an uprising; an act of rebellion against an existing authority

democratic governance was scuttled by military intervention, whereas the second, beginning in 1996, was temporarily aborted in 1997 and 1998. The failure of **authoritarian** rule (1968–1996) to foster development and the untrammled venality of the political class triggered a variety of societal responses in the 1990s, ranging from renewed support for democratic change to armed struggle. Public support for democracy was not diminished by the rebel war and support from the international community, especially the British government, prevented Sierra Leone from falling into the hands of criminal insurgents.

The war may be over in Sierra Leone but the political class, largely responsible for creating the conditions that led to war in the first place, is as corrupt in the early twenty-first century as it has ever been. Tackling the problem of predatory accumulation and mass deprivation may hold the key to democratic consolidation, but it is doubtful whether the present government is capable of leading the fight against these scourges. The **bureaucracy** remains a cesspool of corruption, with many prominent and not so visible public officials commanding personal resources that are vastly incommensurate with their official salaries.

In summary, political life in the Second Republic of Sierra Leone represents a vast improvement on that of the First Republic. The current political system is far less repressive but no less corrupt than in the past. The press is relatively free, respect for the **rule of law** is making a gradual comeback, individual rights and liberties are recognized if not always protected, numerous political parties and associational groups opposed to the government are allowed to operate freely, and a fragile peace seems to be holding after a decade of one of the most brutal armed insurgencies in Africa. Because the state collapsed in Sierra Leone, restoring institutional capacity will be critical to **democratization**. Rehabilitating the image and capacity of the state hinges on the performance of the government, which can either strengthen or weaken public support for democratic institutions.

See also: Peacekeeping Forces.

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Jimmy D. Kandeh

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

Singapore

Singapore is a small island state in Southeast Asia that is situated along the strategic Straits of Malacca, key to the shipping trade between Europe and East Asia. Situated between Malaysia and Indonesia, two large predominantly Muslim states, Singapore has a history that has been dominated by its geography and

framed by the twin themes of vulnerability and survival. Singapore's total land area, including the surrounding tiny islands, is 697 square kilometers (269 square miles).

Singapore's population in 2003 was 4.2 million. Because of low fertility rates Singapore has a strategy of attracting foreign talent. Of the total population, about three-quarter million are not citizens. The ethnic composition, which has been stable, is approximately 77 percent Chinese, 14 percent Malay, and 8 percent Indian. This makes Singapore the only Chinese majority state in a region noted for harboring resentments against minority Chinese communities.

In 1819 sparsely populated Singapore was secured by treaty for the British East India Company and thereafter grew into a major trading and commercial center. In 1826 Singapore, Malacca, and Penang were joined administratively as the Straits Settlements, and in 1867 the Straits Settlements became a British Crown colony.

During World War II (1939–1945) Singapore was occupied by the Japanese for three and a half years. After the war, when British rule was restored, Singapore became a separate Crown colony. The war left the economy in shambles, with widespread unemployment and a critical housing shortage.

The British were concerned about communist infiltration of the trade unions and Chinese middle schools, and the period from 1946 to 1959 was turbulent. Because of the communist challenge, progress toward self-government was hesitant. The salient postwar political division in Singapore was between the English-educated of all races and the Chinese-educated Chinese. The early elections for a minority of the legislative seats featured a limited franchise, and those elected were all English-speaking moderates.

A new constitution was promulgated in 1955 that provided for an enlarged franchise and an elected legislative majority. This stimulated the formation of some new political parties, including the Labour Front (LF), a moderate-left party, and the People's Action Party (PAP), led by British-educated moderates, which was perceived as a radical anticolonial party backed by the pro-communists. In the 1955 elections the LF won the most seats and formed the government under David Saul Marshall (1908–1995), the first chief minister. The PAP contested only four seats and won three.

Marshall's tenure as chief minister was undermined by violent riots, Chinese school sit-ins, and strikes. He was succeeded by Lim Yew Hock (1914–1984), who vowed to restore order and crack down on subversives. He succeeded but at the cost of losing the electoral support of the Chinese-educated community.

The PAP seriously contested the May 1959 elections. The communists needed a "front" organization, and so they supported the PAP. The moderate leaders needed the votes of the Chinese-speaking electorate, and so they collaborated with the communists. Both sides knew there would be an eventual showdown. The election swept the PAP to power, and Lee Kuan Yew (b. 1923) became Singapore's first prime minister.

It was not obvious at this point that the PAP would become a dominant party, but the PAP, empowered with full internal self-rule, started fast, passing tough labor legislation, reducing the salaries of ministers and civil servants, and cracking down hard on corruption.

In May 1961 the Malaysian prime minister suggested that Malaysia, Singapore, and the Borneo colonies join together as

communism: an economic and social system characterized by the absence of class structure and by common ownership of the means of production and subsistence

franchise: a right provided by statutory or constitutional law; to give such a right



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

“Malaysia.” Lee and the PAP leaders agreed and pushed a resolution favoring merger through the legislature. This precipitated a showdown with the pro-communists, who adamantly opposed merger. The Federation of Malaya had been fighting a communist rebellion since 1948 in a conflict known as “the Emergency.” The communists in Singapore did not want to become subject to the federation’s tough internal security regulations.

The PAP split, with the pro-communists forming an opposition party, leaving the government with a precarious majority. The PAP successfully engineered a **referendum** victory for merger and then needed to win re-election in 1963. The PAP campaigned on its government record of converting debt to surplus while building more schools, health clinics, and low-cost housing; establishing Southeast Asia’s showcase industrial complex; and reducing unemployment, as well as successfully ending colonial rule. The PAP won thirty-seven of fifty-one seats, although only 47 percent of the vote, in Singapore’s most critical election.

After all the effort to achieve merger the marriage was traumatic and unhappy. Twenty-three months later Singapore was abruptly expelled from the federation on August 9, 1965. Independence having been unwillingly thrust on it, the city-state was now on its own.

MAJOR POLITICS LEADERS AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Lee Kuan Yew, the founding father of modern Singapore, served as prime minister from 1959 to late 1990. Until he voluntarily stepped aside, he was the world’s longest-serving elected leader. After resigning his post as prime minister, Lee continued to serve in the cabinet as a Senior Minister and also as “minister mentor,” remaining enormously influential.

Lee, who graduated from Cambridge University with a first-class degree and star of distinction, was assisted by a group of exceptionally capable ministers, particularly economic guru Goh Keng Swee (b. 1918). Still, most of the credit for Singapore’s progress from the “politics of survival” in 1965 to its “Asian tiger” status must go to Lee as the top leader. It was his vision, political will, and political savvy that led the way, and the PAP has been shaped according to his values and actions.

Considered a **technocrat**, Goh Chok Tong (b. 1941), having been groomed and tested and then selected by the cabinet in 1985, became the prime minister in 1990 in a smooth succession. He viewed his role as a custodial one, and although his style was more consultative, he told parliament not to expect any sudden shift of gears because what Singapore had, worked. He was viewed originally by many as a “seat warmer” because his deputy was a rapidly rising young Cambridge- and Harvard-educated politician named Lee Hsien Loong (b. 1952)—the oldest son of Lee Kuan Yew.

By the time Goh relinquished power, his leadership had made an impact on Singapore. He had allowed some needed space for civil society and guided the country through two economic crises affecting the region. The 2001 election results defied the conventional wisdom that the PAP’s support rested on fragile “performance legitimacy” that would erode quickly if the economy declined. In this election, in the middle of a **recession**, the PAP increased its total popular vote by 10 percent to just over 75 percent—the best result since 1980. After again overseeing the revival of the economy, in August 2004 Goh stepped aside, taking over the title of senior minister and serving as head of the Monetary Authority of Singapore.

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

technocracy: government by technicians using scientific expertise and analysis to optimize conditions for the public

recession: a period of negative economic growth associated with high unemployment

Lee Hsien Loong succeeded Goh as prime minister in 2004. He was viewed as strong-willed, intense, and disdainful of traits associated with the “soft state.” However, like all PAP leaders, he was pragmatic and recognized that political systems are not immutable. His challenges were to win the affection and trust of Singaporeans as Goh did, and to reform the economy so that it would continue to meet high expectations.

Singapore is an economic success story. The country’s leaders studied the constraints on small states and developing economies and decided to focus on attracting foreign investment and multinational corporations. To give Singapore a competitive advantage, they provided political stability, a good commercial legal system, no corruption (Transparency International consistently ranks Singapore as one of the world’s least corrupt states), tame labor unions, tax holidays, low inflation, and an educated and productive work force. They also targeted specific niches for development—first manufacturing, then the “brain industries” and financial services, and then biology and biotechnology (e.g., stem cell research, cloning). The result was high, often double-digit, annual growth rate that averaged 5.1 percent between 1975 and 2001. The **per capita** income in Singapore in 2003 was \$20,667, and gross domestic product growth for 2004 was estimated at 7.5 percent.

Gross domestic product does not always translate into good quality of life indicators. However, here too Singapore has scored well. Singapore ranked twenty-eighth out of 175 countries in the United Nations Development Programme’s human development rankings for 2003. The *Human Development Report 2004* gives life expectancy as 78 years, literacy at 92.5 percent, and per capita income in 2002 at \$24,040, which was higher than that of Spain. Singapore’s infant mortality rate is lower than that of the United States, and its violent crime rate is one of the lowest in the world. All of Singapore’s environmental indices are high.

THE NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

Singapore is the only country in Southeast Asia that has not imposed military or emergency rule. It is a unitary **republic** with a parliamentary system of government headed by an elected president with some discretionary powers. Originally, the president was appointed and his role was ceremonial. A constitutional amendment in 1991 created an elected president with some blocking powers over the use of the state’s substantial reserves and a veto over certain high civil service appointments. This was done in case the opposition ever came to power. Elections for six-year terms were held in 1993 and 1999.

There is one house of parliament, led by the party (or parties) that controls a majority of seats, as decided by periodic elections. The controlling party forms the government.

Singapore’s constitution owes much to its British colonial legacy. The constitution’s language takes into account Singapore’s geography and ethnic composition in recognizing the principle of multiracialism, notably, four official languages, and, although there is a **meritocracy**, the special position of the Malays.

POLITICAL LIFE: WHO GOVERNS?

Legally, the constitution is supreme, and the courts ensure the **rule of law** and act as guardians of the constitution. Parliament is the lawmaking body and can amend most clauses of the constitution with a two-thirds vote. In fact, the PAP has controlled a majority in parliament since independence in 1965 and has formed every government. In such a system, given party discipline, most power

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

republic: a form of democratic government in which decisions are made by elected representatives of the people

meritocracy: a system of society or government in which individuals are rewarded based on individual achievement

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

actually resides with the executive branch and is typified as cabinet or prime ministerial government.

When the PAP came to power, it replaced seniority in favor of merit as the criterion for advancement for the **bureaucracy**. High performance standards were set, and it was made clear that corruption would not be tolerated. In the 1980s bureaucrats were rewarded by pay raises matching those in the private sector. Policy initiatives emanate from the cabinet, but the bureaucracy is a closely associated with the party.

The constitution provides for an independent judiciary that may interpret the constitutionality of the laws that are passed. Still, the judiciary is not intended to act as a check and balance as in the United States. Singapore's judiciary has received high marks for its efficiency and the fairness of its procedures, especially concerning commercial and business law and civil law (other than for defamation cases), and the mediating innovations of the lower courts. The World Bank has recommended Singapore's lower courts as a model for developing and developed countries to study.

The World Competitiveness Report Yearbook from the International Institute of Management Development in Switzerland regularly ranks Singapore's legal

bureaucracy: a system of administrating government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government



SINGAPORE'S OLD SUPREME COURT BUILDING. Built in the late 1930s, the old Supreme Court Building in Singapore was the first court in the republic's history. All judges within the two courts of the Supreme Court—the High Court and the Court of Appeal—are selected by the president with the prime minister's approval. (SOURCE: © CARL & ANN PURCELL/CORBIS)

system first in enhancing the country's economic competitiveness, and the Political and Economic Risk Consultancy firm usually ranks Singapore's police and judiciary as the best in Asia. However, it is criticized for allegedly being politically compliant. There is a perception that the judiciary reflects the view of the PAP in politically sensitive cases. The U.S. State Department's country human rights report for Singapore noted that these ties did not appear to influence the judiciary's independence, but there have been critics. As in some European countries rather than in Britain, there is no jury system.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

Singapore has a dominant party system, meaning that although other parties legally exist and compete in elections, the same party—in this case, the PAP—always wins, at least in the short term. Unlike one-party systems, however, the dominant party must to some extent take account of other political actors and be responsible to the public to ensure its legitimacy and dominance. The PAP is one of the world's longest surviving dominant parties. It has retained its dominance by being a “catchall” party that is basically nonideological, is responsive, co-opts available talent, has avoided damaging **factions**, and above all has proved itself to Singaporeans by providing positive results.

The constitution requires that parliamentary elections be held at least every five years, and elections have been held regularly. Singapore has a **majoritarian** electoral system with a mix of single- and multiple-member constituencies. There is universal adult **suffrage**. Registration is automatic, and voting is **compulsory**—an average of 95 percent of eligible voters typically cast ballots. The U.S. State Department regularly reports that elections are fair and accurate and that vote counting is free from tampering.

The opposition does face formidable obstacles, however. On the whole the parties are mostly “parties of personality” that are poorly organized, underfinanced, and thin on practical policy proposals. They have very little access to **grassroots** organizations, lack a sympathetic media, face the threat of defamation suits if they make misstatements, and cannot easily attract qualified candidates. Singaporeans support the party in power and are not easily persuaded to join opposition efforts.

To add some non-PAP voices to the parliament the PAP has devised two schemes. First, a 1984 act allows for the appointment of up to three nonconstituency members of parliament if fewer than three opposition members are elected. The second scheme, started in 1990, was to raise the intellectual level of debate by appointing a number of prominent **nonpartisan** members nominated by the public. The second scheme generally is acknowledged to have been very successful, and the number of members without any association with the PAP has risen from two to nine.

PARTICIPATION, INTEREST GROUPS, AND CIVIL SOCIETY

A random sample of Singaporeans conducted in the late 1990s showed that 76 percent believed that voting gave citizens the most meaningful way to participate. There does not appear to be a strong demand for more participation except among a number of English-educated Singaporeans; most of the middle class is more interested in acquisition, consumption, and higher-status lifestyles.

There are two models of civil society. The first refers to the traditional network of voluntary organizations such as sports clubs, self-help groups,

factionalism: a separation of people into competing, adversarial, and self-serving groups, usually in government

majoritarianism: the practice of rule by a majority vote

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

compulsory: mandatory, required, or unable to be avoided

grassroots: at the lowest level, often referring to support from members of the public rather than from political elites

nonpartisan: not relating to a political party or any division associated with the party system

FAST FACTS

The death penalty raises more concern with Western human rights organizations and the European Union than with Singaporeans. An online poll in 2001, conducted by Think Centre, an NGO that opposes the death penalty, revealed that 83 percent of Singaporeans supported capital punishment.

and church groups. The second model is more normative, referring to the network of non-governmental advocacy or interest group organizations (e.g., environmental, human rights, women, democracy, peace, and animal rights groups) that often view their role as adversarial and are seen by the PAP as engaging the state on political matters. The PAP has encouraged the former and opposed the latter, often with parliamentary acts. The main control on interest groups has been through the Societies Act, which requires most organizations of more than ten people to register and, if registered, to seek permits for public meetings.

Societies are not allowed to make political statements outside their stated constituency; for example, the Law Society can comment only about the law and not about the electoral system. There has been a gradual loosening of constraints on non-governmental organizations. The government now tolerates, and at times consults with, some quasi-political organizations, and the prime minister promised to allow more space for civil society.

PERSONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Despite the existence of some draconian laws, including the death penalty and restrictions on the media, the Singapore government has not committed any serious violation of the civil rights of Singaporeans. There have been no **extrajudicial** killings or disappearances, and there are no political detainees or reports of torture. The annual U.S. Department of State's *Country Human Rights Reports and Practices* for Singapore has consistently stated that the government "generally respects" the human rights of its citizens, although some significant problems exist, particularly the limits on citizens' political rights and obstacles handicapping the political opposition. Still, reports have stated that Singaporeans do have the means to change their government democratically if they so choose.

See also: Malaysia.

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extrajudicial: outside the legal system; lacking the legitimating authority of the government

Slovakia

Slovakia is a landlocked republic in Central Europe, bounded on the northwest by the Czech Republic, on the north by Poland, on the east by Ukraine, on the south by Hungary, and on the southwest by Austria. The capital and the largest city is Bratislava.

Slovaks comprise about 86 percent of the country's inhabitants. Other minorities include Hungarians, Roma (Gypsies), Czechs, Ukrainians, Poles, and Germans. The estimated population in 2003 was 5.4 million. The religious composition is Roman Catholic (60.3%), atheist (9.7%), and Protestant (8.4%); other religions comprise the remaining 11.6 percent.

Slovakia existed as a part of Hungary from the beginning of the tenth century until 1918, when it united with the Czech regions of Bohemia and Moravia. Slovakia declared its independence in 1939, shortly before the start of World War II (1939–1945), under pressure from German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). In 1945 it was reunited with the rest of Czechoslovakia, which was ruled by a Soviet-style communist regime. The country broke apart again in 1993, however, and Slovakia and the Czech Republic each became independent states.

Living standards declined after the 1990s in Slovakia, when the reintroduction of a **market economy** produced a sharp increase in unemployment and a high rate of inflation. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, tensions materialized between the Slovak government and Hungarians who resided in Slovakia. Many Hungarians complained of discrimination and pressed for educational and **cultural autonomy**.

The new constitution, adopted on September 1, 1992, went into effect with independence in January 1993. It declares Slovakia to be a parliamentary democracy. The first parliamentary elections for independent Slovakia were held in 1994.

The Slovakian constitution guarantees the principle of division of legislative, executive, and judiciary powers. Slovakia has a single-chamber parliament called the Slovak National Council. The parliament's 150 members are elected to four-year terms by popular vote. All citizens over the age of eighteen are eligible to vote.

The president of Slovakia is popularly elected to a five-year term. The president is responsible for naming the prime minister to head the government. The prime minister is usually the leader of the party with the majority of seats in parliament and is the real center of power in the country. The president also appoints the cabinet on the advice of the prime minister.

Slovakia has a constitutional court composed of ten judges appointed by the president and a Supreme Court composed by judges appointed by the parliament.

The 1992 constitution guarantees human freedom, rights, and liberties as they were established by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Slovak citizens enjoy a range of personal rights and liberties. The government respects the inviolability of the home, the right to privacy, and the right to move and travel freely. The constitution provides protections for marriage, parenthood, and the family. The government respects the right to assemble peacefully, **petition** state bodies, and associate in clubs, political parties, and trade unions. Judges, prosecutors, firefighters, and members of the armed forces may not strike. The Slovak constitution forbids the death penalty and guarantees freedom from torture and illegal imprisonment.

Freedom House rated Slovakia in 2002 as one of the world's "free" countries, assigning it the best possible rating of 1 for the freedom with which its

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

cultural autonomy: the state in which a group's beliefs and behavior patterns do not incorporate influences from other groups

petition: a written appeal for a desired action, or, to request an action, especially of government



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

citizens exercise democratic political rights and the next best possible score of 2 for their exercise of civil rights and liberties on its 7-point scale. In recognition of its progress since the end of communist rule, Slovakia was one of ten countries admitted to membership in the European Union in 2004.

See also: Czech Republic; European Union.

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Slovenia

With an area of 20,273 square kilometers (7,827 square miles), Slovenia is situated on the southeastern side of the Alps in southeastern Europe, bordering Italy, Austria, Croatia, and Hungary. Its capital is Ljubljana. The population of Slovenia was estimated at 2,011,473 in July 2004; the country is ethnically homogeneous, with 92 percent of the population being Slovene. Estimated per capita income in 2003 was \$18,300. Slovenia has a functional **market economy**.

The Slavic ancestors of modern-day Slovenes settled in the area in the sixth century. The territory of twenty-first-century Slovenia was part of the Habsburg Empire until 1918, when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was established under the crown of the Serbian monarch. During World War II (1939–1945) Slovenia joined other constituent republics in forging a **federation** under the **communist** leadership of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980).

After Tito's death Yugoslavia gradually disintegrated into its constituent sub-national units, and on May 25, 1991, Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia, with that independence becoming effective after a ten-day conflict with the Serb-dominated remnant of Yugoslavia.

After declaring independence, Slovenia established a parliamentary democracy under a constitution adopted on December 23, 1991. It gained diplomatic recognition by the European Union (EU) on January 15, 1992, and was admitted to the United Nations (UN) in that year. As of 2004 Slovenia was also a member of the Council of Europe (CoE), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Legislative power in Slovenia is vested in the bicameral National Assembly (*Skupščina Slovenije*), which is made up of a State Chamber or Parliament (*Državni Zbor*) of ninety representatives elected by **proportional representation** for four-year terms and a Senate or State Council (*Državni Svet*), which mainly

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

federalism: a system of political organization, in which separate states or groups are ruled by a dominant central authority on some matters, but are otherwise permitted to govern themselves independently

communism: an economic and social system characterized by the absence of class structure and by common ownership of the means of production and subsistence

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

has an advisory role, elected indirectly by an electoral college for five-year terms. The president of the republic is elected in a general election, but his or her role is largely ceremonial. Executive power is vested in the government, whose head, the prime minister, is nominated by the president of the republic. The prime minister nominates a Council of Ministers that is elected by the parliament and that controls public administration. Judicial power is vested in the Supreme Court (whose judges are elected by the National Assembly on the recommendation of the Judicial Council) and lesser courts, whereas the constitution and fundamental rights are safeguarded by the Constitutional Court (whose judges are elected for nine-year terms by the National Assembly on the nomination of the president).

The principal political figures since independence have included Milan Kucan (b. 1941), former president of the state and reformed communist leader who led the country to independence; the president elected in 2002, Janez Drnovsek (b. 1950), a former member of the Yugoslav collective presidency and former prime minister of Slovenia; and Anton Rop (b. 1960), leader of the Liberal Democratic Party and the prime minister elected in 2002. In the October 2000 elections the major parties were the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS) with 36 percent of the vote, the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (SDS) with 16 percent, the United List of Social Democrats (ZLSD) with 12 percent, the Slovene People's Party (SLS/SKD) with 10 percent, and the New Slovenia (NSI) with 9 percent.

See also: European Union; Parliamentary Systems.

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Siniša Rodin

Solomon Islands

Solomon Islands archipelago is in the Southwest Pacific. Its nearest neighbors are Vanuatu to the Southeast and Papua New Guinea to the west. It is made up of twenty-six main islands, roughly arranged in a double chain formation, together with hundreds of atolls and reef islands, spread out over

protectorate: a territory or country under the protection of another sovereign country's military

repatriate: to return to the country of one's birth or citizenship

Westminster: a democratic model of government comprising operational procedures for a legislative body, based on the system used in the United Kingdom

governor-general: a governor who rules over a large territory and employs deputy governors to oversee subdivided regions

statute: a law created by a legislature that is inferior to constitutional law

a sea area of 1,340,000 square kilometers (517,377 square miles). The land is mainly mountainous and includes a number of volcanoes, two of which are active, and totals 28,370 square kilometers (10,954 square miles). Solomon Islands's population numbers approximately 409,000; it is made up of Melanesians (93%); Polynesians (4%); and Micronesians, Europeans, and Chinese (3%).

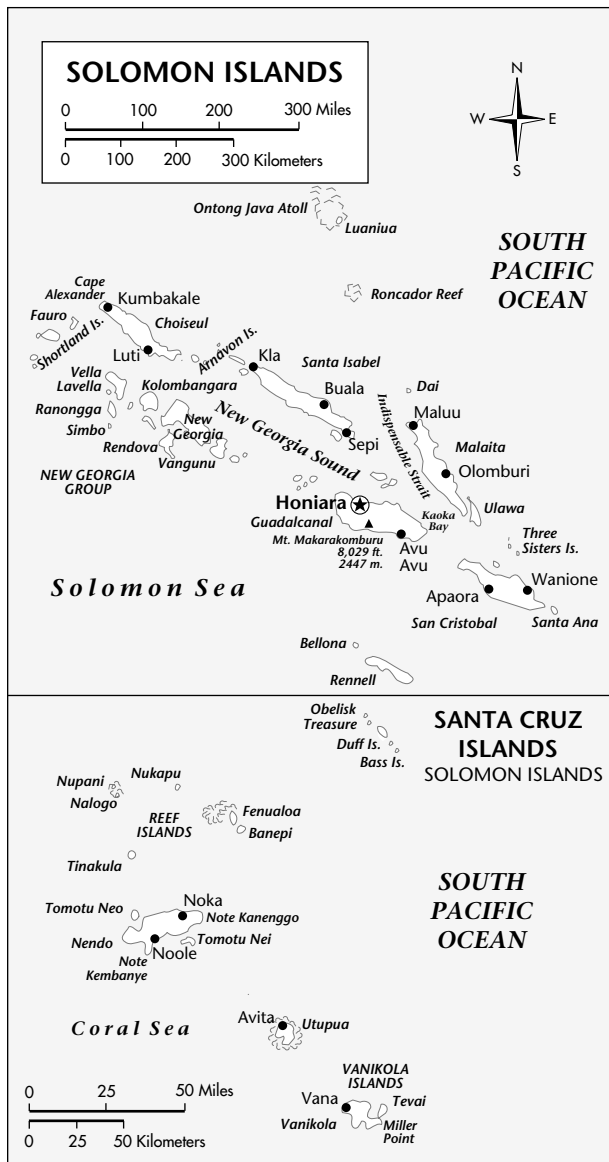
The first extensive settlement in Solomon Islands occurred ca. 2000 B.C.E. The first recorded European sighting was in 1568. In 1843 the southern islands of the Solomon chain became a British **protectorate**. Germany laid claim to the northern islands in 1885. This claim was relinquished in 1890, and in 1893 the whole country was declared a British protectorate. In 1960 a Legislative Council was established, followed in 1967 by an Executive Council. A new constitution, which came into force in 1970, replaced these councils with a single Governing Council with elected members. In 1974 this body was replaced by a Council of Ministers and a Legislative Assembly. In 1978 Solomon Islands gained its independence.

In 1998 animosity between rival groups from Guadalcanal and Malaita escalated into armed conflict. Fatalities occurred on both sides, and an estimated 22,000 Malaitans were forcibly expelled from Guadalcanal and **repatriated** to their home island. The conflict came to a head when the prime minister was placed under house arrest by the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF) and eventually forced to resign. In October 2000 the MEF and its rival group, the Isatabu Freedom Movement, signed an agreement with the government of Solomon Islands and the Guadalcanal and Malaita provincial governments to work toward peace. Attempts to encourage the surrender of weapons exercises were only partly successful. In July 2003 the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands, consisting of approximately 2,200 army personnel from other countries in the South Pacific, intervened at the request of the government, to help restore law and order. A scaled-down force still remains in the country.

The Independence Constitution of 1978 (UK) established Solomon Islands as a sovereign democratic state. In the same year it became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. It has a **Westminster**-style system of government, including a unicameral legislature, with a member from each of fifty constituencies. Elections are held every four years on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

The British monarch is the head of state, represented by the **governor-general**. The governor-general acts on the advice of the cabinet. The prime minister is elected from members of parliament. Other ministers are appointed by the governor-general, on the prime minister's recommendation.

The Constitution vests judicial power in the High Court and the Court of Appeal. Inferior courts have been established by **statute**. The Constitution contains a bill of rights, based on the United Nations's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Council of Europe's Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The Constitution provides for the division of the country into Honiara City and a number of provinces for the purpose of local government, which is limited to a list of matters specified by legislation.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

The current government is committed to a program of constitutional, legislative, political, and structural reform, including the introduction of a “home-grown” federal system of government.

See also: Federalism.

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Somalia

Somalia occupies the horn on the eastern coast of Africa, bordered by Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya on the west and by the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden on the east. With an area of 637,657 square kilometers (246,135 square miles) it is slightly smaller than the state of Texas. It is primarily a desert country. In the twenty-first century it remained one of the few countries in the world that had no effective central government, a condition it has been in since 1991.

Somalia’s population is very difficult to estimate because of its history of civil war and instability, the lack of a recent census, and the nomadic nature of many of its people. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency’s *World Factbook* estimated the population at 8,304,601 in June 2004. Whatever its size, the well-being of the population is poor: Somali **per capita** income in 2004 was estimated to be only \$500 per year, tying the country for poorest in the world.

The independent Republic of Somalia was formed by the union of British and Italian Somaliland dependencies in 1960. The constitution adopted in 1961 provided for a parliamentary democracy, which operated in Somalia for eight years, with political parties and movements being organized primarily around ethnic or clan loyalties. The parliamentary period came to an end in 1969 when General Mohamed Siad Barre (c. 1919–1995) staged a **coup** d’etat that overthrew the elected government and installed himself in power. Siad Barre’s rule was characterized by political repression, gross violations of human rights, and clan and regional loyalties and rivalries that were manipulated to Siad Barre’s benefit. Playing Cold War politics, Siad Barre aligned his **regime** first with the Soviet Union and, after a falling out with his communist benefactors, for a time with the United States. In the process his country began to fall apart. Clan and **factional** groups warred against Siad Barre’s government. In 1991 they forced him from power.

Siad Barre’s departure from his position as ruler did not lead to a unified or stable succession. Armed militias led by clan-based **warlords** clashed with one another and prevented the establishment of a central government. Their battles not only produced a high death toll but also destroyed the nation’s economic

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

factionalism: a separation of people into competing, adversarial, and self-serving groups, usually in government

warlord: a leader, usually over a small region, who governs by military force

infrastructure: the base on which a system or organization is built

and social **infrastructure**. Drought aggravated the situation, producing a humanitarian crisis that led in late 1992 to a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping intervention intended to protect relief workers and the devastated noncombatant population. Those efforts were unsuccessful—indeed the United States in 1994 withdrew the troops it had committed to the effort after they suffered several highly publicized military reverses in fighting in the capital city, Mogadishu. The UN peacekeeping effort succeeded in stemming famine but was unable to establish peace or stability before it ended in early 1995.

The inability to develop a central government led to efforts to establish regional governments, with a Republic of Somaliland declaring its existence in the north and Puntland, which had been self-governing since 1998, taking steps toward creating its own independent republic in the central part of the country. A transitional national government was established for a three-year period after a conference in Djibouti in 2000. However, its authority was not recognized in Somaliland or Puntland or by several factional leaders, and its official existence ended in August 2003.

The year 2004 saw new efforts to create a central government for Somalia. In January 2004 warlords and politicians meeting in Kenya agreed to set up a new transitional national assembly (TNA). Although sporadic conflict continued, the TNA did begin functioning in August 2004. On October 10, 2004, Abdullah Yusuf Ahmed (b. 1934), leader of Puntland, was elected president of Somalia by the TNA. In December Ali Mohamed Ghedi (b. 1952) was selected



as the prime minister by the TNA. Because President Ahmed was denounced as a war criminal by the leaders of Somaliland immediately after his election and border relations between Ahmed's Puntland and Somaliland are sharply contested, optimism about the new transitional government probably will remain a scarce commodity.

See also: Peacekeeping Forces; Transitional Political Systems.

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C. Neal Tate

South Africa

Officially called the Republic of South Africa, South Africa is located at the southern tip of Africa. With an area of 1,219,912 square kilometers (471,008 square miles), South Africa is just under twice the size of Texas. A dry plateau fills much of the nation's interior, while bands of forest and coastal plains dominate along the South African coasts. Despite the generally arid climate, however, conditions along the southwest coast of South Africa most closely resemble those of California or the Mediterranean.

As of 2003, an estimated 42,768,678 people lived in South Africa, with a median age of twenty-five. Life expectancy at birth was about the same for both male and female at forty-seven years. This very low life expectancy in part resulted from the large numbers of people infected with HIV or AIDS. In 2001 an estimated 20.1 percent of the population was infected, and the number in subsequent years was expected to climb even higher.

Most South Africans, 75.2 percent, are black, 13.6 percent are white, 8.6 percent are colored (South Africans of all races use the term "colored" to refer to South Africans of mixed white-non-white ancestry; the term is not pejorative), and 2.6 percent are Indian. Approximately 68 percent of the population are Christian, 2 percent are Muslim, and some 29 percent maintain religious and spiritual beliefs **indigenous** to the area. English and, to a lesser extent, Afrikaans, are the languages of government and commerce, but, in keeping with South Africa's ethnic and religious diversity, there are eleven official languages spoken in South Africa. According to the 2001 South African census, the official

indigene: a person who has his origin in a specific region

languages have the following percentages of “home” speakers: Zulu (23.8%); Xhosa (17.6%); Afrikaans (13.3%); Seped (9.4%); English (8.6%); Setswana (8.2%); Sesotho (8.2%); Xitsonga (4.4%); Siswati (2.75%); Tshivenda (2.3%); IsiNdebele (1.6%).

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

As of 2003, the South African gross domestic product (GDP) **per capita** was estimated at \$10,700 and was growing at a rate of 3 percent. Inflation remained high, at about 10 percent, and roughly half the population lived below the poverty line. Including those workers who were no longer looking for a job, some 37 percent of South Africa’s labor force remained unemployed. Despite these problems, South Africa has a wealth of natural resources on which to rely. The continuing high crime rates, however, and persistent social and public health problems—including the shockingly high rate of HIV/AIDS infection—have discouraged many foreign companies from investing in South Africa.

A BRIEF HISTORY

Although humans settled in South Africa many millennia ago, the story of the modern nation-state began in the early seventeenth century. The Dutch East India Company had begun developing different shipping routes to India and Java. For these routes to work, however, a base had to be established on the southern tip of Africa where ships could refit and resupply themselves. The company’s demands on the local population led rapidly to conflict, and so it decided to build a full-fledged colony (the Cape Colony) in South Africa, along the southwestern coast.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

The establishment of the Cape Colony required that the Dutch East India Company forcefully take land from indigenous people, in this case the Khoikhoi (referred to, pejoratively, as “Hottentots”). Over the next several decades the colony grew rapidly, and eventually, around 1690, poorer farmers desperate for land began to move away from the colony and into the interior, fighting the African peoples they encountered, enslaving many of the survivors, and seizing land as they went. This process of expansion and war continued for the next two centuries.

In 1795 the British, busily fighting France and extending their dominance over the sea, took the colony from the Dutch. Much of the existing system was left in place, including the colony’s legal apparatus, but the British did make some changes, including banning the slave trade in 1808.

By 1836 the non-British colonists (primarily of Dutch descent, who called themselves Afrikaners) had become increasingly restless, and Afrikaner farmers (called Boers) began to move farther north in a bid to establish settlements outside British rule. They succeeded in creating the Boer Republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State in 1852 and 1854, respectively. Britain also continued to expand across South Africa, establishing a second colony, Natal, and waging several wars in the eastern portion of South Africa, eventually conquering the Zulus in 1879.

Tense relations between the British government and the Boer republics, made tenuous by the discovery of diamonds and gold in the areas, resulted in two Boer Wars (1880–1881 and 1899–1902). Ultimately losing to the British, the two republics were assimilated into the British Empire as the Transvaal and Orange River colonies in 1902. By 1902 South Africa consisted of four political regions: Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange River.

In general, the Boers’ treatment of non-whites had been harsher than British actions toward the same groups, but British conduct was quite racist and brutal as well. Thus, despite the British abolition of slavery in the early nineteenth century, a white minority continued to brutally oppress non-white peoples, a state of affairs that would continue nearly to the end of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, this subtle difference in treatment was, in part, what led most non-whites to support the British during the Boer Wars.

In May 1910 the four colonies successfully negotiated with each other to unite into a republic. Under the terms of this unification, the British Parliament recognized the new unified state as a self-governing part of the British Commonwealth. The **enfranchisement** laws of each colony also remained in force in their respective territories. Blacks were not able to vote in the former Boer republics or Natal, but in Cape Colony, some wealthier blacks were able to participate in elections.

British liberals hoped that the more relaxed laws of the Cape would spread to the other former colonies, but this was not to be the case. Indeed, as economic competition increased between white and black laborers in the mines, and as the Afrikaners increasingly dominated South African government, laws were passed that swept away what few rights nonwhites possessed. This process culminated in 1948 under Prime Minister Daniel François Malan (1874–1959) in the implementation of **apartheid**, a policy designed to completely separate racial groups. The supporters of apartheid argued that this separation was necessary to ensure the harmonious development, and to maintain the purity, of the races, but in fact the policy entrenched the privileges of a white minority and resulted in the increasingly savage oppression of non-whites. Despite sporadic efforts by the African majority to oppose apartheid, the policy was successfully implemented and even

franchise: a right provided by statutory or constitutional law; to give such a right

apartheid: an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination

expanded throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Protest demonstrations periodically met violent responses by the police, and the leading opposition group, the African National Congress (ANC), was banned and its leader, Nelson Mandela (b. 1918), tried and jailed. Criticism of South Africa by its Commonwealth colleagues led to its withdrawal from that body in 1961.

In the 1970s and 1980s internal and international opposition to apartheid resulted in numerous condemnations within the United Nations (UN) and widespread economic **sanctions**. As international condemnation grew louder, black opposition grew more powerful, opposition among whites grew more common, and economic conditions deteriorated as a result of both sanctions and economic inefficiencies caused by South Africa's legal and political systems, apartheid crumbled. A new and temporary constitution became law in 1993, **eradicating** the remaining **vestiges** of apartheid. In 1994 the first nonracial elections were held. Mandela, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize with his predecessor, former South African President F. W. de Klerk (b. 1936), for their work in ending apartheid, won the votes of enormous numbers of whites and blacks alike to become South Africa's first black president.

To address the ravages wrought by apartheid and the continuous anger that had resulted from decades under such a system, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established. The TRC allowed individuals to confess to crimes committed under apartheid in exchange for amnesty, and also provided victims of those crimes with an opportunity to testify publicly about their travails. Although approved by Mandela and enthusiastically supported by others, such as Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, who chaired the Commission, many opposed the TRC, including Mandela's own political party, the ANC. The TRC officially ended its work in 2001, issuing voluminous detailed reports and recommendations for the payment of modest **reparations** to victims of apartheid. The government has since begun to make these payments.

In 2004, under a permanent constitution signed into law by Mandela in 1997, Thabo Mbeki (b. 1942), like Mandela a longtime fighter against apartheid, occupied the office of president, a position he was first elected to in 1994. Nevertheless, South Africa continued to grapple with the economic and social legacies of apartheid.

CURRENT POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND POLITICS

The South African national government consists of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Some of the national government's power is shared with provincial governments, as provided for in the constitution. Two houses, the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces, compose the legislative branch. The National Assembly originates and passes most laws, and is also responsible for electing the president. The National Assembly consists of 400 members, elected by popular vote to five-year terms. Unlike many other nations, however, voters do not cast ballots for individual members. Instead, each political party that wishes to participate in the elections submits a list of ranked candidates. On election day the people vote for a political party, not an individual. The proportion of votes received by a political party determines how many of their candidates will assume a seat in the National Assembly. This system of election is known as "list-proportional representation."

The National Assembly election in 1999, for example, resulted in the African National Congress (ANC) party—which dominates South African politics—receiving 66.4 percent of the popular vote. This means that the ANC received

sanction: economic, political, or military reprisals, or, to ratify

eradicate: to destroy or eliminate a population of items, people, or other living things

vestige: a remnant of a lost or vanished entity, as in a nation or an institution

reparation: funds or other compensation offered as a remedy for damages

66.4 percent of the seats on the National Assembly or 266 seats. In the April 2004 elections the ANC increased its share of the vote to 69.7 percent or 279 seats. No other party received as much as 10 percent of the vote in 1999. In 2004 the Democratic Alliance got 12.4 percent of the vote or 50 seats.

The National Council of Provinces (NCP) consists of ninety members, who also serve five-year terms. Ten members are elected by each of the nation's nine provincial legislatures. The NCP is intended to safeguard local interests, as well as ethnic and religious minorities. Certain types of legislation must be approved by the NCP to become law. Thus, the NCP plays a role analogous to that of the U.S. Senate, although the two do differ in important respects.

The executive branch consists of the president, who is elected by the National Assembly to a five-year term. The president is responsible for, among other duties, initiating legislation (only members from the executive branch may initiate bills allocating money or levying taxes or duties), signing bills into law, implementing the law, and commanding the military.

The judicial branch is independent and headed by two courts. The Constitutional Court has the final say on all constitutional issues, whereas



SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDENTS WAIT TO VOTE AT THE POLLS IN A GENERAL ELECTION ON JUNE 2, 1999. After enduring apartheid from 1948 to the early 1990s, all South African adults have had the right to suffrage. South Africa has used a system of proportional representation where the winning party receives seats in the 400-member National Assembly equal to the percentage of votes won; the majority party then chooses a president. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

the Supreme Court of Appeal is the highest court for all other matters. The Constitutional Court has played a rather prominent role in the creation and shaping of the new South African constitution and government.

Importantly, especially given South Africa's history, the constitution provides a bill of rights. Many of its provisions reflect the difficult history of apartheid. For instance, South Africans are ensured freedom from **arbitrary** imprisonment, torture, execution, and cruelty. In addition, the bill of rights guarantees equality before the law, due process, freedom of expression and belief, movement, residency, and so forth.

Citizen participation and interest in the government are strong. In the 1999 nationwide elections some sixteen political parties participated and roughly 80 percent of eligible citizens registered as voters. Although women are still underrepresented in government, those numbers are improving, and signs exist that the major political parties are jockeying to garner more of the increasingly important women's vote. For example, the ANC declared that combating violent crimes against women and children was its top priority, and placed, relative to previous years, a large number of women candidates on its list (roughly 40% of the total were women). The Democratic Party (DP), the next largest political party, which took only 9.6 percent of the vote in 1999, also emphasized the importance of gender equality and fighting violent crime. Unlike the ANC, however, it opposes forms of affirmative action and is considered the more conservative party. Racial divisions continue to plague South African politics, as the 1999 campaign exemplified.

Among the issues of prime concern to South African voters in 2004, the economy, which though growing is still burdened with high unemployment, inflation, and widespread poverty, and crime top the list. Although most citizens have long listed the economy as their most important concern, in 2004 the issue of crime ranked on almost the same level, as violent crime rates skyrocketed throughout the nation. As of 2004, South Africa had one of the highest rates of violent crime in the world.

The transition to majority government after the end of apartheid has made South Africa a democratic success story. In 2003 Freedom House, an independent advocacy foundation, rated it as one of the world's eighty-nine free nations, giving it the highest possible rating of 1 on its political rights index and the next highest rating, a 2, on its civil rights and liberties. The U.S. State Department's 2003 Human Rights Reports concluded that the South African government generally respected the rights of its citizens, while noting some persistent problems: police abuse of suspects, overly long trial delays, and domestic abuse of women and children.

See also: Apartheid; Biko, Stephen; Mandela, Nelson.

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arbitrary: capricious, random, or changing without notice

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Andrew Costello

Spain

Spain is located in the southwest of Europe. Its territory extends to most of the Iberian Peninsula, the Balearic Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, the Canary Islands in the North Atlantic Ocean, and several minor enclaves in North Africa, including the cities of Ceuta and Melilla.

Spain is one of the largest Western European countries (505,998 square kilometers; 195,362 square miles), but it is not very densely populated (41.8 million inhabitants, i.e., less than 83 inhabitants per square kilometer, according to the official estimate of 2002). Most of the population lives in the coastal areas, where the climate is mild, even if rather hot in spring and summer in the east and south. Extreme weather conditions prevail in the plateau that makes most of the interior of the peninsula. Thus, it is sparsely populated, with the only exception of the capital city of Madrid (3 million inhabitants).

Spain's geography has rendered communications with continental Europe difficult; the numerous mountainous systems have hampered internal communications. Despite the steady process of deforestation that has occurred in the last centuries, over 33 percent of the Spanish territory is occupied by forests, still one of the highest percentages in Europe.

HISTORY

The territory of Spain has been inhabited since remote times. Under Roman, Visigothic, and Arab rules, the Iberian Peninsula came to be regarded as a geographical and cultural unit. The marriage of the monarchs of Castille and Aragón in 1469 was the first step in the road to political unification. But it was only during the War of Independence against the Napoleonic army (1808–1814) that Spain emerged as a modern **nation-state**.

The chronic weakness of central governments in the nineteenth century prevented the completion of the nation-making process. Political instability and a relatively poor economic performance made Spain one of the more backward countries in Europe. The process of social and economic **modernization** only took firm roots in the early years of the twentieth century. The proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1936) is generally considered as a first (and missed) attempt at political and social convergence with Western Europe. But social instability led to a failed coup d'état in 1936, which marked the beginning of the Civil War (1936–1939), in which a fraction of the army actively supported

nation-state: a relatively homogeneous state with only one or few nationalities within its political borders

modernization: the act of incorporating new ideas or technology



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

totalitarianism: a form of absolute government that demands complete subjugation by its citizens

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

by Nazi Germany and fascist Italy defeated the Republicans. The leader of the army rebels, General Francisco Franco (1892–1975), established a personal dictatorship in the war's aftermath. The regime characterized itself as “totalitarian” and “national-syndicalist,” by which it expressed its ideological affinity with fascism and Nazism. But after 1943, with the collapse of Benito Mussolini's (1883–1945) fascist regime in Italy, and even more so after 1945, Franco was forced to soften the fascist dimensions of his regime, and after 1959 to abandon his self-sufficient conception of the economy, which had hampered economic growth for two decades. Structural reforms led to rather high and sustained rates of economic growth in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The death of Franco in November 1975 marked the beginning of the transition to democracy. The nomination of Adolfo Suárez (b. 1932) as prime minister in 1976 resulted in the dismantling of the basic institutions of the dictatorship and democratic general elections in July 1977. The *Unión de Centro Democrático*, a coalition of center-of-the-right parties led by Suárez himself, obtained a short but decisive victory. The new government committed itself to drafting a new constitution and making Spain a member of the European Communities.

The new constitution was approved in December 1978, after a national referendum. Suárez obtained a second (and larger) electoral victory in early 1979. However, the stability of the new government was undermined by rapidly growing unemployment rates. Suárez resigned in early 1981. A failed coup d'état took place before Calvo Sotelo, also a member of UCD, could replace Suárez as prime minister. The economy's worsening performance increased instability and social unrest. In the general elections of 1982, the Social Democrats (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*) obtained a landslide victory. Felipe González (b. 1942) became the first socialist prime minister in half a century. His government

implemented a program of economic modernization that resulted in dramatic increases of productivity, but also in even higher levels of unemployment. The bases of a mature **welfare state** were established by making taxation and public expenditure levels converge with those prevailing in Western Europe (the tax burden moved from under 20% of GDP in 1976 to over 32% in 1995). Spain became a member of the European Communities in 1986. This opened a cycle of sustained economic growth. González renewed his parliamentary majorities in 1986, 1989, and 1993.

It was only in 1996 that the *Partido Popular* (PP or Popular Party) managed to win a general election. The deterioration of the economic climate after 1992, and the involvement of former socialist officials in the dirty war against terrorism in the early 1980s, heavily influenced the result. José María Aznar (b. 1953), the leader of the Popular Party, became prime minister of a minoritarian government supported by the main Basque and Catalan **nationalist** parties. The new government applied a rigorous economic policy, which made it possible for Spain to become a founding member of the European Monetary Union in 1998. However, sustained economic growth and decreasing unemployment rates came hand in hand with a marked increase in economic inequality. Economic growth fueled the landslide victory of the Popular Party in the general elections of 2000, which resulted in its absolute majority in Parliament. Aznar emphasized his defense of a Spanish communitarian national identity and aligned his foreign policy with that of U.S. President George W. Bush after 2001. The defeat of the Popular Party in the elections of 2004 might indicate that such choices were bound to be deeply controversial in one of the most pro-European member states of the Union. As a result, the Social Democrats returned to power with a comfortable majority, with José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (b. 1960) as prime minister.

welfare state: a political state that assumes liability for the wellbeing of its people through government-run social programs

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND QUALITY OF LIFE

Spain is one of the most developed countries in the world according to the United Nations (UN) Human Development Index (it ranks nineteenth in the 2002 index). Spaniards generally live beyond seventy-nine years, one of the highest life expectancies in the world.

Since the mid-1980s Spain has experienced sustained economic growth. In 2001 GDP per head was 19,200 euros (approximately \$23,000), 83 percent of the European Union (EU) average. Most workers are employed in the services sector, as is the case in all European countries. High numbers are employed in the construction sector (over 12% of the total workforce according to official 2003 data). The rate of unemployment has been cut in half during the last decade, but remains high at 10.6 percent of the working population (the European average is below 7.5%). Most new jobs are part-time or based on a short-term contract. The female unemployment rate is double the male rate (15.4 and 7.5%, respectively).

The basis of a European-style welfare state was established between 1982 and 1994. However, social expenditure has been sharply reduced in the last years. As of 2004, it stood at 20 percent of the GDP, the same level it reached in 1990. This has resulted in a process of social “de-convergence” with other European states. Health assistance to all residents continues to be provided by public institutions, with out-of-pocket payments limited to pharmaceutical expenses. However, waiting lists have increased and hospital care has deteriorated (in 1999 there were only 413 beds per 100,000 inhabitants). Family and child allowances are very low, while housing programs have been dramatically downsized. This has fostered the growth of regional and personal economic inequalities (Spain is, after Portugal and Greece, the country of the EU with the largest income disparities).

Immigration has resulted in the steep growth of the population in the last ten years (over 5%). In stark contrast, birth rates are among the lowest in the world (with 1 birth per 1,000 inhabitants per year).

THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Spain proclaims itself a democracy respectful of fundamental rights and freedoms. This aspiration is first and foremost reflected in the fundamental law, that is, the 1978 Constitution. Article 1 defines Spain as a democratic and social state based on the **rule of law**. The Bill of Rights is heavily indebted to the constitutional traditions common to member states of the EU.

The Constitution identifies Spain as a kingdom; however, the powers of the monarch are purely symbolic.

Spain is divided into seventeen states, made up of one or more of the fifty Spanish provinces. The Constitution lays the groundwork for a **federal** state but in name only. Vast powers can be (and, in fact, have been) **devolved** to the states, the *Comunidades Autónomas* (autonomous regions). States are granted full-blown legislative powers within their substantive powers. Two states (Basque Country and Navarre) obtained financial autonomy through the devolution of taxing powers in the early 1980s, while the others acquired similar autonomy in the late 1990s.

POLITICAL LIFE

The Constitution establishes a parliamentary system of government both at the federal and state level.

At the federal level legislative power rests with two houses of Parliament: the Congress and Senate. The first is elected according to a **proportional system**, while each province elects four senators.

The *Presidente del Gobierno* (the prime minister) is elected by, and accountable to, Congress. However, the mediating role of political parties has resulted in the executive dominance of Parliament.

State parliaments consist of one single chamber, which elects the *Presidente de la Comunidad Autónoma* (the state prime minister). Executive dominance can also be observed at the state level, perhaps with the exception of those regions where coalition governments are customary (such as is the case in the Basque Country).

The progressive devolution of powers to the states has transformed considerably the size and purpose of the federal administration. It increasingly focuses on a coordinating role of state bureaucracies, both internally and in their relationships with the EU. State bureaucracies grew rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s, as they progressively absorbed a good deal of the tasks and personnel of the central administration. Membership in the EU resulted in increased capabilities and a progressive, albeit slow, modernization of the **bureaucracy**.

The court system is based on jurisdictional specialization. Civil, penal, administrative, and labor courts exist. Their powers are established on the basis of the nature of the cases at hand.

States have assumed powers in the administration of justice. This means that, for most purposes, the *Tribunales Superiores de Justicia* (regional supreme courts) are the courts of last instance. Equality before the law is ensured by the possibility of further appeal to a federal Supreme Court, although under limited circumstances. There are special federal courts with exclusive powers in regard to certain crimes. Moreover, the supervision of

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

federalism: a system of political organization, in which separate states or groups are ruled by a dominant central authority on some matters, but are otherwise permitted to govern themselves independently

devolve: to move power or property from one individual or institution to another, especially from a central authority

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

judges lies in the hands of a federal institution, the *Consejo General del Poder Judicial* (the General Council of the Judiciary).

The Constitutional Court is the guardian of the constitutionality of federal and state **statutes**. It is expected to solve conflicts of authority between the federal state and the states. It also reviews the constitutionality of statutes on the basis of not only complaints from institutional parties, but also individual complaints if one fundamental constitutional right is at stake (the so-called *recurso de amparo*).

statute: a law created by a legislature that is inferior to constitutional law

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, RESPONSIBILITIES, FREEDOMS, RIGHTS, AND LIBERTIES

All Spanish citizens over eighteen years of age have the right to vote. Voting is not compulsory. According to EU law, European citizens who are residents in Spain have the right to vote in local elections. Such a right is also granted, on a **reciprocal** basis, to the nationals of other countries.

reciprocity: mutual action or help that benefits both parties

Elections to national, regional, and local institutions are held every four years. Elections to the European Parliament are held every five years.



PLAZA DE CIBELES IN MADRID, SPAIN. *Plaza de Cibeles* (Cibeles Square) is comprised of main buildings such as the *Banco de España* (Bank of Spain); the *Palacio de Comunicaciones*, Madrid's main post and telegraph office; and the *Palacio de Linares*, currently the *Casa de América* or the House of Americas Culture Center. (SOURCE: © CARLOS DOMINGUEZ/CORBIS)

Turnout tends to be rather high throughout the country (ranging from 70–80% of those entitled to vote), with the only major exception being the elections to the European Parliament.

Political mobilization was high in the years following the establishment of democracy, but has declined since then. Affiliation with political parties and trade unions remains low, although an increasing number of Spaniards have become active in new types of political organizations, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

It must also be said that mass mobilizations against the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 resulted in renewed political activism, especially among the young urban population. This might have been one of the causal factors behind the results of the 2004 general election.

The federal structure of Spain is reflected in its political party system. Three large national parties exist: *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE or the Spanish Socialist Workers Party) a mainstream Social Democratic party, with 164 of the 350 members of Congress (MPs) in 2004; *Partido Popular* (PP or Popular Party), the successor of a hard-line conservative party, refounded in 1993 as a Europeanized conservative party, 148 MPs in 2004; *Izquierda Unida* (IU or United Left), a coalition of left-wing parties, whose main partner is the Spanish Communist Party, 5 MPs in 2004.

Several regional parties flourish, with a strong presence in their states. The main five are *Convergencia i Unió* (CIU or Union and Convergence Party), a center-right party that ruled Catalonia for twenty-five years and was the key partner in national government coalitions from 1993 to 2000, 10 MPs in 2004; *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC or Republican Catalanian Left), a left-wing party with historical roots that ruled Catalonia before the Civil War and has regained political ground in the last two years, 8 MPs in 2004; *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* (PNV-EAJ), the conservative and ruling party in the Basque Country since 1979, 7 MPs in 2004; and *Eusko Alkartasuna* (EA), the main government partner of the PNV, although with center-left leanings, 1 MP in 2004.

The two main, and occasionally rival, trade unions are *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO or Workers' Commissions), originally a communist union, and *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT or Workers' General Union), the historical counterpart of the PSOE. Employers are organized in the *Confederación Española de Empresarios* (CEOE or Confederation of Spanish Entrepreneurs). The CCOO, UGT, and CEOE play a central role in collective bargaining; the government usually consults with them before adopting any new labor laws.

Individual rights and personal freedoms are guaranteed by a three-tier system: the 1978 Spanish Constitution (with review powers entrusted to the Spanish Constitutional Court), the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (under the **jurisdiction** of the Court of Justice of the European Communities), and the European Convention of Human Rights (under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights).

Both the death penalty and life imprisonment are considered unconstitutional. However, there were several instances of severe violation of civic rights within the context of the fight against terrorism in the 1980s and 1990s. The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture also continues to assess in rather negative terms the living conditions in Spanish prisons, which are chronically overcrowded.

See also: Constitutional Courts; European Union; Parliamentary Systems.

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

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Agustín José Menéndez

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is an island, roughly the size of West Virginia, at the southern tip of India. It is separated from its large neighbor, India, by about 29 kilometers (18 miles) of sea. The Sinhala, who constitute about 75 percent of the island's estimated 2003 population of 20 million, are mostly Buddhists and unique to the island. The Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils who make up approximately 17 percent of the population are mostly Hindus and have counterparts in southern India.

British colonizers signed a convention in 1815 agreeing to maintain Buddhism as the official state religion in Sri Lanka, known as Ceylon until 1972. However, the introduction of Christianity, the English language, and other Western institutions resulted in violations of that agreement. Sri Lankan Tamils as a group gained political and economic advantage over the Sinhala Buddhist majority. Nevertheless, with the introduction of universal franchise and a parliamentary democracy in 1931, the Sinhala Buddhist majority began to dominate the political scene. A social welfare state providing free education, health care, and subsidized food was also inaugurated with political **democratization** in 1931.

In 1948 Sri Lanka gained its political independence under the leadership of the Westernized constitutional elite of the United National Party (UNP) led by D. S. Senanayake (1884–1952). With the victories of the breakaway Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) headed by Solomon West Ridgeway Dias (S.W.R.D.) Bandaranaike (1899–1959) in 1956 and later his widow Sirimavo (1916–2000), the state used its power to reclaim a special place for Buddhism and to make Sinhala Sri Lanka's official language. These policies undermined the privileges of powerful Christian and Sri Lankan Tamil minorities and resulted in ethno-religious conflicts and violence. This disaffection was not restricted to ethnic and religious minorities, however. Many Sinhala youth from rural areas were also experiencing limited access to state employment and upward mobility. The **insurrection** of the Marxist-based *Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna* (JVP) in 1971 resulted from their dissatisfaction with Sinhala elites.

When J. R. Jayawardena (1906–1996) came into power in 1977, an open economy and a new constitution were introduced. The 1978 Constitution of Sri Lanka replaced the previous **Westminster**-style parliamentary government

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

insurrection: an uprising; an act of rebellion against an existing authority

Westminster: a democratic model of government comprising operational procedures for a legislative body, based on the system used in the United Kingdom

with a presidential system modeled after France, one with a powerful chief executive. It included substantial provisions for Tamils, including national language status for the Tamil language and the elimination of restrictions on Tamils seeking to enter the university system or gain state employment. Nonetheless, by the early 1980s Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (the “Tamil Tigers” or LTTE) were engaged in an armed struggle in the hope of creating a separate and exclusive Tamil nation-state. That struggle developed into a civil war between the Sri Lankan government and Tamil Tigers that continued for nearly twenty years.

However, beginning in late 2001, both parties declared ceasefires and began fragile peace negotiations that in 2004 produced much-reduced levels of violence. Decades of civil war and political turmoil have taken their toll on citizen rights in Sri Lanka. Persisting partisan conflict between President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (b. 1945), daughter of the former prime ministers S.W.R.D. and Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and opposition Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe hampered peace efforts, as well as effective government, until 2004. In that year, the president’s party won a plurality, although not a majority, in parliamentary elections. However, continued child recruitment, killing of Tamil dissidents, and other violations of human rights and democratic norms by the LTTE pose serious threats to the achievement of a sustainable peace.

See also: Presidential Systems.

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Asoka Bandarage



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Stalin, Joseph

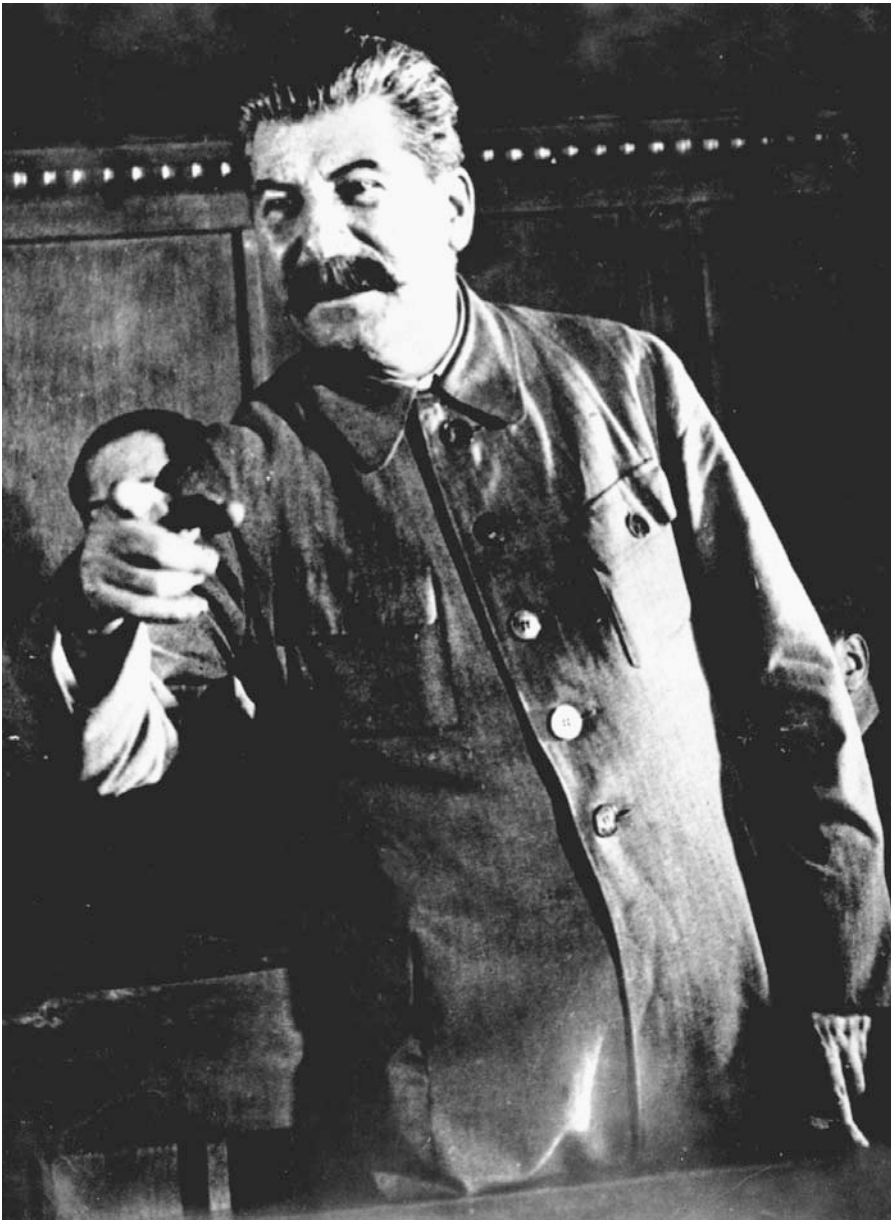
HEAD OF STATE OF THE SOVIET UNION
1879–1953

Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhughashvili was born December 21, 1879, to a peasant family in Georgia. He joined the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1901 and adopted the name Stalin, meaning “man of steel.” Stalin undertook a variety of Party tasks, including editing the Party’s newspaper, *Pravda*. In

1913 he wrote the **treatise** *Marxism and the National Question* which became the basis of Bolshevik nationalities policy. Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), leader of the Soviet government, rewarded Stalin by appointing him Commissar of Nationalities in 1917. Stalin became General Secretary in 1922 and used that platform to seize control upon Lenin's death in 1924.

Under the slogan “socialism in one country,” Stalin sought to completely transform society by dragging a backward empire into Europe as a modern,

treatise: a type of scholarly essay that outlines principles and draws conclusions from the factual discussion included



RUSSIAN DICTATOR JOSEPH STALIN SPEAKS IN MOSCOW. Though Stalin's tenure as Secretary General from 1922 to 1953 brought about the modernization of the USSR and solidified the country's military power, it was overshadowed by the devastating effects of his economic policies and the vicious executions he ordered of his real or perceived political adversaries. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

secular, and socialist state. All of society was to serve the needs of the state. Stalin ordered massive industrialization campaigns and brutally collectivized agriculture. He launched the first five-year plan in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and executed economic “saboteurs.”

Stalin established a cult of personality that made him the source of Soviet achievements. To deflect blame for numerous failed policies, Stalin needed scapegoats. He accused Leo Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin, and other Party leaders of attempting to subvert Soviet society and orchestrated mock show trials that sent his perceived rivals to the firing squad. Stalin reigned with terror and gradually created a new political elite totally subservient to him. Spies, informers, and a new class of “political criminals” now populated Soviet society, while tight controls on information kept alternative ideas and full disclosure of the terror from the public.

As Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) rose to power in Central Europe, Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with the Nazi leader in 1939. Hitler ignored the pact and invaded the USSR in June 1941. Stalin used Russian **nationalism** to rally the country for the subsequent war effort. He also met with Britain’s prime minister Sir Winston Churchill (1874–1965), and U.S. Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) in Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam to coordinate Allied strategy.

By the end of World War II (1945), Soviet troops occupied key territories in Eastern Europe. Stalin installed **communist** regimes throughout the region and prevented leaders of such satellite states from adapting communism to fit their local needs and characteristics. This insistence on uniformity led to clashes with Yugoslav communist leader Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980). The Stalin-Tito split was a watershed in Soviet–East European relations and formed the basis of several future policies. Stalin’s portrayal of socialism as an alternative to capitalism caused a rift with the USSR’s American and British allies, triggering the Cold War.

In the early 1950s, Stalin’s paranoia resurfaced. He accused his doctors of trying to poison him and was prepared to launch a new round of terror. His death on March 5, 1953, thrust the USSR into deep mourning. Three years later, Stalin’s successor, Nikita Khrushchev (1874–1971), stunned the world by revealing the excesses of Stalin’s reign. Khrushchev launched a campaign of “destalinization” to remove repression and fear from communist societies.

See also: Russia.

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Ann E. Robertson

Stateless People

A stateless person is one who does not have a nationality or citizenship in any state. People are stateless because they did not acquire a nationality at birth, their state of origin no longer exists, or no state will accept them as citizens. Some groups, such as many Palestinians, have found themselves to be without a nationality because their state of origin was dissolved and the state in which

they reside has not accepted them as its citizens. Other groups have been deprived of a nationality due to the breakup of their state of origin, such as the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the former Yugoslavia, into smaller independent states that do not recognize them as citizens. People are vulnerable to statelessness when governments determine citizenship based on descent, race, ethnicity, or the whim of those in power.

Some states bestow citizenship based on “blood,” or descent from a family member, rather than by place of birth. In these states, even though a family may have resided outside of its state of origin for generations, its members are not granted citizenship where they reside. Some states construct high barriers to citizenship, such as requiring residents to have excellent language skills and several years of permanent residence.

Women and children are particularly vulnerable to becoming stateless. In many areas of the Middle East, North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa, citizenship is restricted to the children of male nationals, so women may not independently obtain a nationality nor may they pass on nationality to their children. When a woman marries a citizen of another state, she may be required to forfeit her



A BEDOUIN TRIBE CAMPS IN IRAQ. Bedouins are stateless Arabs; most live in tribes, or family groups, throughout the Middle East and northern Africa. Into the early twenty-first century, Middle Eastern governments have encouraged Bedouins to give up the nomadic lifestyle, with individual countries sometimes granting resident Bedouins citizenship. (SOURCE: © ATTAR MAHER/CORBIS SYGMA)

nationality even if her husband's state refuses to grant citizenship to her or her children. An international treaty prohibiting discrimination against women, adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1976, requires states to grant women equal rights to acquire, change, or retain their nationality. Despite this treaty, many states retain their gender-based citizenship requirements. With regard to the nationality of children, even though the principle of nationality based on place of birth is now recognized as the norm, it is frequently violated.

Living without a nationality causes many problems. Stateless people have no right to participate in the public affairs of the state in which they reside. Without status as citizens or nationals, persons are deprived of the right to vote and to run for public office, and they may be denied access to public benefits including education, housing, health care, and employment. Stateless persons often have no **recourse** against this discrimination and may end up living for generations in substandard housing, suffering from poor education and lack of employment opportunities.

The UN has expressed its concern for stateless people and attempted to regulate their treatment. International laws require states to protect certain core rights of stateless persons who reside in their territory, especially the right to life, freedom from unlawful arrest and interference with privacy, access to the courts, the right to marry, freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and the right to retain language, culture, and traditions.

See also: Citizenship; Immigration and Immigrants; Refugees.

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Barbara A. Frey

Statute of the International Court of Justice

See: International Court of Justice.

Student Rights

Although it would be a mistake to conclude that the rights of students had their origins exclusively in decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, it is only fair to note that the Court required the application of due process standards to student discipline in U.S. public schools. The starting point was *Goss v. Lopez* (1975), in which the Supreme Court required, even for a short-term suspension, that a student be informed of accusations against him or her, be given an opportunity to respond, and, on denying the accusation, be informed of the evidence

of guilt. For longer suspensions, or expulsions, the Supreme Court required even more formal due process hearings.

However, two years later, in *Ingraham v. Wright* (1977), the Supreme Court refused to require due process hearings prior to the imposition of corporal punishment and held that the corporal punishment of schoolchildren does not represent cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment or the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The decisions of the European Court of Human Rights in applying Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights (“No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”) have been mixed. However, the European Commission on Human Rights did find the punishment of a sixteen-year-old girl who received corporal punishment from a male teacher in the presence of another male, resulting in her injury, to be degrading treatment (*Warwick v. United Kingdom*, 1986). When a fifteen-year-old male student at a private school in the United Kingdom was “caned” four times on his buttocks, causing severe bruises, he brought suit. The Commission determined that the caning was degrading under Article 3 (*Y v. United Kingdom*,



DES MOINES, IOWA, STUDENTS OPPOSE THE VIETNAM WAR. Siblings John and Mary Beth Tinker of Des Moines, Iowa, were suspended in 1968 from North High School for wearing black armbands adorned with peace signs to demonstrate against the United States's involvement in the Vietnam War. (SOURCE: © BETTMANN/CORBIS)

1992), although that decision was withdrawn when the United Kingdom settled the case later. However, in a case brought by a seven-year-old male student who received three “whacks” on his buttocks, the punishment was not found to be of sufficient severity to constitute degrading treatment (*Costello-Roberts v. United Kingdom*, 1993).

The United Nations (UN) Human Rights Committee, applying Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (“No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”), has determined that the excessive punishment of students may be a violation of this article.

The outcomes in the United States regarding searches of students also have been mixed. In *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* (1985), the U. S. Supreme Court held that students were entitled to some Fourth Amendment protection, although the standard for searches could be less than probable cause. Instead, a particularized reasonable suspicion, directed toward a specific student, might be a sufficient basis for a search. In *Vernonia School District v. Action* (1995), the Supreme Court did uphold a school’s drug-testing program, even in the absence of particularized suspicion, although the testing was limited to students participating in interscholastic sports.

Respecting freedom of expression, the U.S. Supreme Court has extended protection to public school students, although again with mixed outcomes. The first case was *Tinker v. Des Moines School District* (1969), in which the Court determined that high-school students wearing a black armband as a form of protest against the Vietnam War were protected by the First and Fourteenth amendments. That was the high point legally speaking, for subsequent cases represent at least a partial judicial retreat from *Tinker*. In *Bethel School District v. Fraser* (1986) the Court held that a high school student’s use of sexual innuendo in a nominating speech before a high school assembly was not protected, whereas in *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988) it found that a high school principal was entitled to some discretion in censoring newspapers produced as part of the school’s curriculum.

See also: Freedom of Expression; Freedom of Religion and the State; Freedom of Religion, Foundations of.

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Donald W. Jackson

Sudan

The Sudan is located in northeast Africa along the Red Sea. With an area of 2,505,810 square kilometers (967,247 square miles), it is Africa's largest nation, about equal to the territory of the United States east of the Mississippi. It contains many of the basins of the White and Blue Niles that meet in Khartoum, the nation's capital. The Sudan borders nine nations, including Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Central African Republic, Chad, and Libya. Northern Sudan lies within the Sahara Desert; the central region has rich savanna lands, light rainfall, and a thorny forest; the southern quarter has a tropical climate with high heat and humidity.

The last complete census in the Sudan was undertaken in 1956, and fifty years of civil strife have not allowed for the most accurate census taking. Most estimates are based on growth rates that project the general population at about 35 million. The population is distributed unequally and concentrated along the river valley. Millions have been internally or externally displaced by war, famine, and drought. Perhaps a quarter to a third of the population (about 7–8 million people) live in the "Three Towns" area of Khartoum, Khartoum North, and Omdurman.

Most northerners are Sunni Muslims, and those in the central Nile Valley have an Arab culture and speak Arabic. In the south animism and various Christian faiths prevail among a Nilotic, Sudanic, and Equatorial ethnographic mosaic. The far north is home to Nubians; in the far east the Beja and Hadendowa peoples predominate; and in Darfur, to the far west, live Arab groups of Baggara and Kabbabish, and non-Arab Muslim Africans including the Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa.

BRIEF HISTORY

The Sudan has a long archaeological history, with Kerma being one of the most ancient states on earth, dating back to approximately 2500 B.C.E. Complex governments reigned, including a period when Sudanese Nubians ruled Egypt and a thousand years of Napatan and Meroitic civilization. A millennium of Byzantine Christianity then ensued, followed by seven centuries of Islamic rule. Egypt's colonial occupation lasted some 500 years, but the Sudan mostly maintained cultural and political uniqueness because of its relative isolation, local communities' autonomy and self-reliance, and a strong sense of national independence. Modern-day colonial occupation occurred under the Turco-Egyptians from 1821 to 1885. This was followed by an Islamic revivalist state known as the Mahdist period, after the Mahdi (1884–1885), a religious prophet, drove the Turco-Egyptians from Sudan. In 1898 British imperialism militarily conquered the Sudan.

In 1956 Anglo-Egyptian condominium (colonial) rule came to an end and the Sudan reclaimed its independence. Since then power has oscillated between democratic and military governments. From 1956 to 1958 Isma'il al-Azhari (1900–1969) headed a plural democracy; from 1958 to 1964 the pro-West military regime of General Ibrahim Abboud (1900–1983) ruled; and from 1964 to 1969 the Sudan became a plural democracy once again, this time under the leadership of Sadiq al-Mahdi (b. 1936). From 1969 to 1985 the military government of Jaafar Nimieri (b. 1930) followed various socialist, capitalist, and Islamist paths. In 1985 a transitional military government under General Abd al-Rahman Mohamed Hassan Sowar al-Dahab (b. 1934) assumed control of the country. From 1986 to 1989 plural democracy was restored with Sadiq al-Mahdi's

imperialism: extension of the control of one nation over another, especially through territorial, economic, and political expansion

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

election as prime minister. A military **coup** on June 30, 1989, led by General Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir (b. 1935), was backed by the Nationalist Islamic Front (NIF). In 2004 the Popular National Congress (PNC) under General al-Bashir continued to rule the Sudan.

MAJOR POLITICAL FORCES

The 1989 coup d’etat was engineered by the NIF ideologue Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi (b. 1932). Immediately, all trade unions and political parties were suspended, and the practice of free elections ceased. PNC members are essentially approved by the military. In principle, the Sudan’s legal system is based on Shari’a (Islamic law), but, in effect, military law has the final say in all important political matters. Such judgments cannot be formally appealed by civilian courts. Charges of a wide variety of human rights abuses have been levied against the regime, including summary and **extrajudicial** execution, arrest without charge, limited **habeas corpus**, and slavery. There is no functioning democratic constitution, nor balance of powers or other expected dimensions of civil society.

extrajudicial: outside the legal system; lacking the legitimating authority of the government

habeas corpus: a written order to determine whether one’s detention or imprisonment is lawful; Latin for “you shall have the body”

Under such circumscribed freedoms, one suspends public political activity either to avoid harassment by security officials or to limit exposure to arrest and detention. The only real opportunity for political activity rests with externally-based groups. Chief among these is the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) founded by John Garang (1945–2005) on March 3, 1984, after the government decided to impose Shari’a (the so-called September Laws) as state law

applicable to non-Muslim citizens. The SPLA was engaged in armed resistance against the military government until a 2003 ceasefire and 2005 peace accords. The **guerrilla** movement has managed to control most of the south except for the garrisoned provincial capitals of Wau, Juba, and Malakal and some other smaller towns and fortified locations. Because of its military strength, the SPLA remains the most powerful member of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), based mainly in Asmara, Eritrea. The NDA also includes the Democratic Unionist Party, based on the Khatmiya religious brotherhood, the Sudan Allied Forces, the Beja Congress, and the Sudan Communist Party; it has also included, at times, the Umma Party headed by a descendant of the nineteenth-century Mahdi, as well as other pro-democracy individuals opposed to military rule.

guerrilla: a soldier engaged in nontraditional methods of warfare, often separate from any structured military group

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The socioeconomic conditions of Sudan run the gamut, ranging from simple rural self-sufficiency to a complex urban lifestyle. The nation's economy is mainly agricultural, resting on the production of grains, sugar, cotton, and livestock with a special emphasis on gum arabic. A significant new development has been the active prospecting and production of petroleum. The country's oil-producing area is mainly in the south, but refineries, largely bankrolled by Malaysian and Chinese investors, are located in the north. Past conflicts between the north and the south occurred without oil being a major factor. However, in the early twenty-first century oil has taken a lead role in the conflict by allowing the government, situated in Khartoum in the north, to use oil export revenues for acquiring military weapons and at the same time giving southerners an added incentive for serious negotiations with the north. Urban life in Sudan remains challenging for the large numbers of internally displaced people and for those who have determined the rural economy is failing and that their only hope lies in the nation's burgeoning towns, where shops are fully stocked for those who can afford to buy.

GOVERNMENT IN PRACTICE

The military government of Sudan in the early twenty-first century does not allow political parties, basic human rights, political freedoms, or even a constitution. **Arbitrary** detention is commonplace as are extrajudicial field executions. Military judgments may overrule the findings of any lesser body.

arbitrary: capricious, random, or changing without notice

As with many military governments, the military regime in Sudan seized power and suspended all formal political opposition. The first military regime of Abboud was toppled following a mass street protest in 1964 known as the October Revolution. The second military regime of Nimeiri was similarly toppled and replaced by a transitional military regime that restored democracy. As of 2004 the military regime in power had used its security forces and repressive measures to curb such attempts. However, in the south the SPLA has largely defeated it. In addition, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) in Darfur in the west and, to a lesser extent, the NDA and Beja Congress in the east actively challenge the government.

neutrality: the quality of not taking sides, as in a conflict

Simply stated, the options in Sudanese political life are limited: Either support the military-commercial elite that currently rules, adopt political **neutrality** to stay out of the grasp or glimpse of the state's security infrastructure, become an internally or externally displaced refugee, or oppose the government while living in exile. Because political parties and trade unions are officially banned, whatever political activity does exist occurs either underground, or in exile communities or political groups. As previously mentioned, the SPLM/A is

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

sect: a group of people with a common distinctive view of religion or doctrine

perhaps the most significant of these organizations. In mid-2004 it was the chief party engaged in peace negotiations (at Naivasha, Kenya) with the military government in Khartoum. During these negotiations, peace accords between the north and south have now been signed. Many issues related to military governance, political control, wealth sharing, and borderland disputes had been largely resolved. Nevertheless, the political will for a signed agreement and its implementation remained to be seen after 2005. The goal remained a continued ceasefire and, with signing of the accords, a trial period of peace for six years, after which a **referendum** would be held to decide whether the two conflicting regions would be reunited or each granted separate autonomy.

These peace negotiations were conducted under pressure from the American-based Sudan Peace Act and the Intergovernmental Agency for Development (IGAD) initiative of the President Carter Center in the United States. However, a new conflict developed in Darfur in 2004, one that complicated the north-south accord. The JEM and SLA started a new revolt against the government, and Khartoum retaliated by dispatching regular troops and militias known as Janjaweed into combat. The conflict, in fact, significantly predates the al-Bashir government and rose from many dimensions: historic, economic, cultural, linguistic, political, regional, and personal. Virtually all the combatants were Muslims, albeit of various **sects** and practices. SPLA leader Garang posited that the variety of issues that fueled the conflict in Darfur are similar to those at play in southern Sudan, and all groups affected needed to adopt a unified front against Khartoum. Meanwhile, Khartoum continued to charge that the SPLA, Eritrea, and Chad secretly backed the revolt in Darfur, and that it alone was prepared to sign the north-south accord. Regarding the Darfur conflict, some member states of the United Nations (UN) charged Khartoum with genocide in precipitating a refugee crisis. In a sense, the conflict, which continued to escalate in 2004, gave both Khartoum and the SPLA an excuse for retarding the north-south accords, which they may not have sincerely supported even prior to the start of the conflict. Khartoum for one held no interest in an agreement that could potentially dismember the government. This possibility was also opposed by others in the Arab world, especially Egypt that heavily relies on the waters of the Nile that flow from Sudan.

DIVISION OF POWERS

The division of powers in the Sudan is based on the military government. The PNC is viewed as a “rubber stamp,” and the judiciary has also been brought closely under check except for personal, civil, and criminal matters that do not threaten the military state. General al-Bashir serves as the executive head of the government, the state, and the military.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Citizens who support the government have greater access to wealth and advancement. A large part of the population is excluded from such opportunities, however, so they work in the private sector or with non-governmental organizations (NGOs). As earlier suggested, political activism mostly occurs in exile or within clandestine groups such as the Sudan Human Rights Organization or the Sudan Organization Against Torture (SOAT). Some **liberalization** has taken place since 1999. Al-Mahdi returned from political exile along with Nimieri, but neither was allowed to lead or participate in formal political activities. Indeed, the once favored al-Turabi apparently broke with al-Bashir, who jailed the former, held him under house arrest, freed him, and then again confined him. No official

liberalization: the process of lowering trade barriers and tariffs and reducing government economic regulations

charges or trials occurred during any of these incidents. Personal security and freedom from arbitrary arrest are not guaranteed. Torture and physical abuse by security and prison officials have been reported. The cutting of limbs to punish theft and flogging for immorality occur periodically. The widespread use of so-called ghost houses for the detention, torture, and murder of detainees, common practice in the early years of al-Bashir's rule, has been reduced but not entirely eliminated.

See also: Genocide; Shari'a.

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Suffrage

Suffrage is the right to vote in an election. An important type of suffrage is universal suffrage, when all adults in a country have the right to vote without distinction by race, sex, belief, or wealth. Although it has not always been viewed as important to democracy, in the early twenty-first century many regard universal suffrage as an essential component of democracy. In fact, suffrage may be viewed as a minimum standard for democracy since the right of individuals to vote is presupposed in a requirement of competitive elections. Some of the largest social movements in history have centered on extending suffrage to disenfranchised groups (e.g., the international women's suffrage movement and the civil rights movement in the United States). Even countries that do not have other features of democracy tend to hold elections in which all or most citizens can vote. Universal suffrage has become the global ideal if not completely the norm.

SUFFRAGE OVER TIME AND ACROSS COUNTRIES

Many individuals may take the right to vote for granted. But the right to vote was denied to many people in the past, and continues to be denied to groups of people in some countries. Sometimes, the exclusion of groups of individuals is written explicitly into electoral laws. For example, in Belgium from 1893 to 1948, the vote was restricted to men (universal manhood suffrage). In Italy between 1861 and 1912, the vote was restricted to those who were male, property owners, and literate. Andrew Carstairs in *A Short History of Electoral Systems in Western Europe* explains that these restrictions kept the extent of suffrage to under 2 percent of the population. Indeed, early in their history, many Western democracies had property

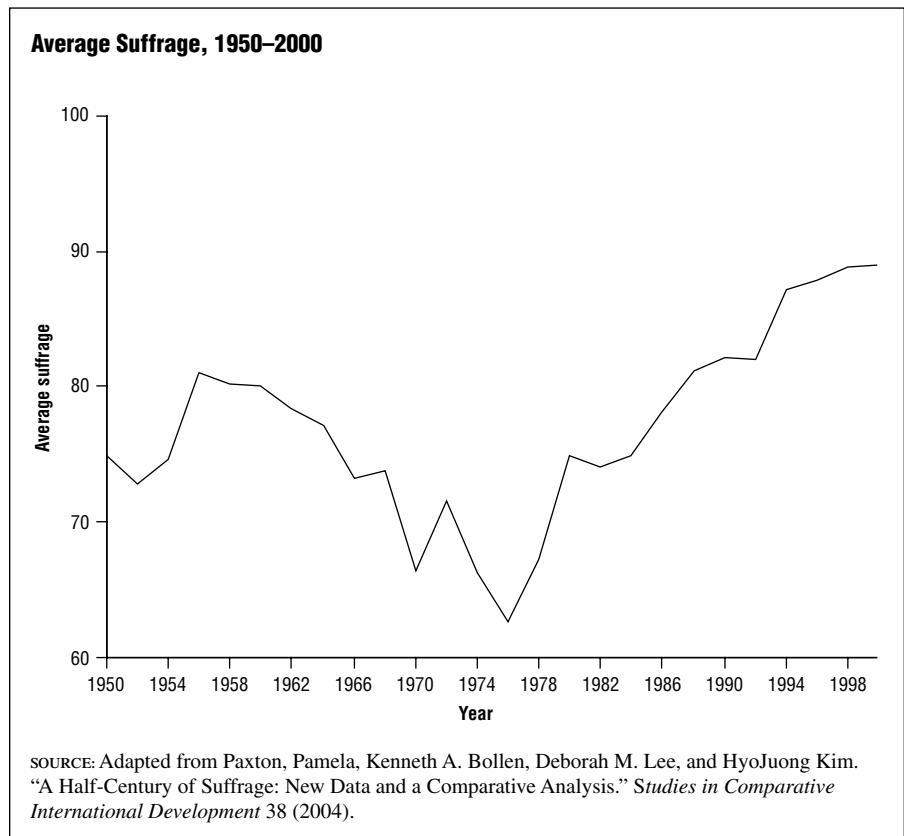
franchise: a right provided by statutory or constitutional law; to give such a right

requirements for the vote (e.g., Britain, Denmark, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands). This meant that only the wealthy who could afford property were allowed to vote, and such a requirement often reduced the extent of the franchise to less than 10 percent of the population.

At other times the exclusion of groups of individuals from voting occurs only in practice, through the use of mechanisms such as poll taxes or literacy requirements. A poll tax can refer to either a tax levied on all adults in a community, or a fixed amount to be paid before a citizen is allowed to vote. When poll taxes are used as a prerequisite for voting, it can disenfranchise the poor. Poll taxes were most famously used to disenfranchise blacks in the American South before the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the constitution and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Since most former slaves were very poor, they were unable to pay the poll tax and therefore could not vote. The poll tax was circumvented for poor white men by using grandfather clauses, which held that if an individual's ancestors (grandfathers) had voted, he was exempt from poll taxes or literacy requirements.

Further restrictions on suffrage occur if equal suffrage is not guaranteed. Equal suffrage occurs when every vote is counted equally, rather than being graded by income, wealth, occupation, or education. In the past, the wealthy were sometimes allowed to cast multiple votes, in proportion to their income or wealth. For example, in Sweden from the 1860s until its final abolishment in 1921, the rich were permitted to cast thousands of votes (limited to 5,000 votes in 1900). At the end of the nineteenth century in Belgium, Carstairs explains, an extra vote was given to married or widowed taxpayers and two extra votes to those with a higher education or membership in certain professions. Equal suffrage, like universal suffrage, was the norm across the world in the early

FIGURE 1



twenty-first century. Unequal, graded voting is most visible during general meetings of shareholders, where individuals vote in proportion to their amount of stock holdings.

The U.S. system of electing presidents through the **electoral college** is a graded or unequal voting system because individuals in less populous states have “more votes” than individuals in more populous states. How does this happen? Every state has a number of electoral college votes equal to their number of representatives in Congress (based on population) plus their two senators (not based on population). Thus, a very lightly populated state will always have a minimum of three electoral college votes, even if it would get only one electoral college vote based on population. Consider that Wyoming, with a voting-age population (in 2000) of 358,000 and three electoral college votes, has 8.3 votes per million people. In contrast, Florida, with 11.8 million people and twenty-five electoral college votes, has 2.1 votes per million people. This means that a citizen in Wyoming has almost four votes for every citizen’s vote in Florida. Furthermore, because minority voters are disproportionately found in more populous states, they are disproportionately disenfranchised. This system does not meet the requirements of equal suffrage: “one person, one vote.”

Over time, it has become less and less acceptable to argue that certain groups do not have the right to vote. In 1906 Finland was the first country to introduce universal suffrage and many countries have since followed suit. Thus, during the twentieth century there was a general movement toward universal suffrage in many countries. This process is illustrated in Figure 1, which shows how suffrage has changed over time across almost 200 countries from 1950 to 2000. Time trends in suffrage follow a general U shape over the fifty-year

electoral college: the system for selection of the president in the United States, in which states or localities elect individuals pledged to support a specific candidate who then officially elect the president

FIGURE 2

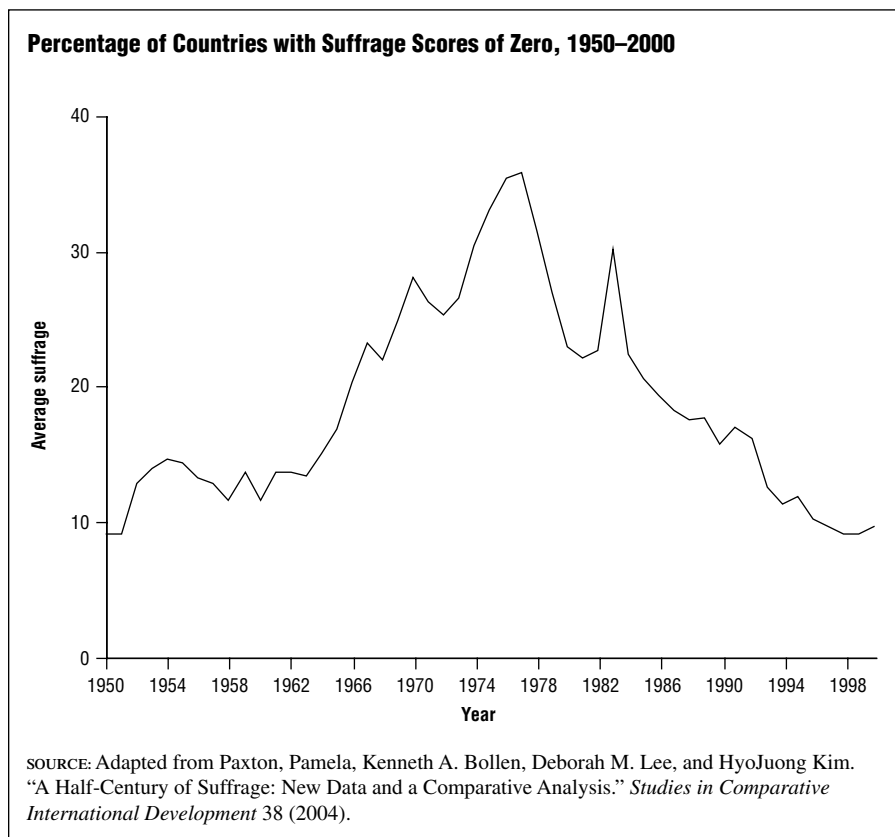


TABLE 1

Countries Granting Suffrage to Women

By date first granted.

New Zealand	1893	Mexico	1953
Australia	1902	Colombia	1954
Finland	1906	Ethiopia	1955
Norway	1913	Ghana	1955
Denmark	1915	Nicaragua	1955
Iceland	1915	Peru	1955
USSR	1917	Cameroon	1956
Austria	1918	Central African Republic	1956
Czechoslovakia	1919	Chad	1956
Luxembourg	1919	Congo	1956
Netherlands	1919	Egypt	1956
Poland	1919	Gabon	1956
Sweden	1919	Guinea	1956
Canada	1920	Côte d'Ivoire	1956
United States	1920	Laos	1956
Ireland	1922	Madagascar	1956
Mongolia	1924	Mali	1956
Germany	1928	Mauritania	1956
United Kingdom	1928	Niger	1956
Ecuador	1929	Pakistan	1956
Spain	1931	Senegal	1956
Sri Lanka	1931	Sudan	1956
Brazil	1932	Tunisia	1956
Thailand	1932	Upper Volta (Burkina Faso)	1956
Cuba	1932	Haiti	1957
Turkey	1934	Honduras	1957
Uruguay	1934	Lebanon	1957
Burma (Myanmar)	1935	Malaysia	1957
Bulgaria	1938	Albania	1958
Philippines	1938	Algeria	1958
Dominican Republic	1942	Iraq	1958
France	1945	Somalia	1958
Guatemala	1945	Cyprus	1959
Hungary	1945	Mauritius	1959
Indonesia	1945	Morocco	1959
Japan	1945	Nigeria	1960
Panama	1945	Zaire	1960
Trinidad and Tobago	1945	Burundi	1961
Benin	1946	Gambia	1961
Italy	1946	Paraguay	1961
Liberia	1946	Rwanda	1961
Romania	1946	Sierra Leone	1961
Yugoslavia	1946	Tanzania	1961
Argentina	1947	Uganda	1962
Malta	1947	Iran	1963
Togo	1947	Kenya	1963
Venezuela	1947	Libya	1963
Vietnam	1947	Afghanistan	1964
Belgium	1948	Malawi	1964
Israel	1948	Zambia	1964
North Korea	1948	Botswana	1965
South Korea	1948	Singapore	1965
Chile	1949	Guyana	1966
Costa Rica	1949	Lesotho	1966
India	1949	Yemen PDR	1967
Syria	1949	Swaziland	1968
Barbados	1950	Fiji	1970
El Salvador	1950	Switzerland	1971
Nepal	1951	Bangladesh	1972
Bolivia	1952	Jordan	1974
Greece	1952	Portugal	1976
China	1953	Lichtenstein	1984
Jamaica	1953		

SOURCE: Courtesy of author.

period. The average level of suffrage (measured as the percent of the population that can vote) was 69.8 in 1950 and drops to a low of 62.8 in 1976, when many democracies reverted to **authoritarian** regimes. From that point, the trend continues generally upward, reaching a high of 88.9 in 2000.

Another way to think about suffrage over time is to consider the percentage of countries that do not allow anyone to vote. Figure 2 shows the percent of countries with no suffrage from 1950 to 2000. Over time, there has been a generally increasing and then decreasing percentage of countries with no suffrage at all.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE

Women typically received the vote much later than men. For example, women received the right to vote 11 years after men in Austria, 104 years after men in Switzerland, 27 years after men in Italy, and 51 years after men in Germany.

Why were women not allowed to vote? Throughout history, philosophers such as Aristotle, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Georg Hegel, and Arthur Schopenhauer argued that women should be excluded from politics because they were nonrational, inferior in intellect and reasoning ability, and inferior in their sense of justice. Consider what the German philosopher Hegel had to say about women in his essay “The Philosophy of Right” in 1821: “If women were to control the government, the state would be in danger, for they do not act according to the dictates of universality, but are influenced by accidental inclinations and opinions.” (p. 167). Opponents of women’s suffrage argued that men were perfectly able to represent their wives and, in fact, could do a better job than their wives themselves.

In 1869 the Wyoming Territory (before it became a state) was the first government to extend equal suffrage to women and to allow women to run for political office. The earliest countries to extend the right to women were New Zealand in 1893 (although they could not run for office) and Australia in 1902 (except for Aboriginal women). Switzerland was one of the last countries to grant women the right to vote. Although considered to have a long history of democracy, until 1971 women could not vote in Swiss national elections. In a 1959 **referendum** in Switzerland, suffrage for women was rejected by the male electorate 95 percent to 5 percent. Even when women did receive the vote, there was debate and opposition: The vote granting women suffrage in 1971 was approximately 65 percent to 35 percent. In fact, the last hold-out Swiss state was forced to grant women the right to vote in local elections in 1990.

In 1999 a bill granting women full political rights in Kuwait was narrowly defeated, but passed in 2005. There are still a few restrictions on women in local elections around the world; for example, women were not allowed to vote in the municipal elections in Saudi Arabia, first held in 2005. Table 1 includes a sampling of dates when women were granted the right to vote.

What does it mean for one’s understanding of the history of suffrage if women’s suffrage is explicitly considered? First, countries that are typically considered to have long traditions of democracy may not actually have achieved democracy by modern definitions until the middle of the twentieth century. Switzerland, discussed above, is an excellent example. Second, the dominant place of Western countries in early **democratization** weakens, since some Western industrialized nations did not become female-inclusive democracies until long after other less developed nations.

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

SUFFRAGE FOR RACIAL OR ETHNIC GROUPS

Blacks and other ethnic groups also received suffrage later than whites in the United States and some other Western democracies. In the case of the United States, the vote was originally restricted to white males. The Fifteenth Amendment, adopted in 1879, made it illegal to deny any citizen the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In practice, however, the United States did not have universal suffrage on the basis of race until 1965 when the Voting Rights Act was passed. Before that year, due to harassment, poll taxes, literacy requirements, and violence, few blacks in the South were registered to vote. For example, in Mississippi before the Voting Rights Act was passed, only 5 percent of eligible blacks were registered to vote. After the passage of the Voting Rights Act, over 60 percent of eligible blacks were registered to vote.

South Africa was an infamous Western holdout on the right to vote for non-whites. The system of **apartheid**, in place until 1990, denied non-whites the right to vote in national elections. As universal suffrage became more closely equated with democracy throughout the twentieth century, South Africa became more and more of a pariah state because of its refusal to extend the franchise (among other restrictions). For example, the United Nations passed resolutions condemning South Africa, South Africa was barred from participation in some international sports events, and investors began to disinvest in South African companies. Voting restrictions ended on February 2, 1990, under President F. W. de Klerk (b. 1936).

apartheid: an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination

CURRENT EXCLUSIONS ON SUFFRAGE

Even though universal suffrage is a global norm, in practice many countries have restrictions on the right to vote. In a 2002 article on democracy, Gerardo Munck and Jay Verkuilen explain: "Although **de jure** restrictions on the right to vote are not found in current democracies, a whole battery of other restrictions, usually informal ones, curb the effective use of the formal right to vote and significantly distort the value of votes" (Munck and Verkuilen 2002, p. 11).

Even when countries have ostensibly had universal suffrage, there were any number of minor restrictions on the right to vote across countries in the early twenty-first century. For example, many nations do not allow sentenced prisoners or criminals convicted of serious crimes to vote. In almost all U.S. states, voting privileges are denied to individuals convicted of felonies, even after they are released from prison. In other countries, such as France, disenfranchisement may be imposed by a court decision during sentencing. The right to vote is also often denied to the mentally ill or mentally incompetent.

Almost all countries deny the vote to noncitizens, a practice that does not reduce claims to universal suffrage. In a few cases, however, this restriction can be excessive. In Kuwait, for example, ethnic non-Kuwaitis (55% of the total population in 1999) are not enfranchised. In Monaco prior to 1993, the requirement of true-born Monegasques nationality effectively disenfranchised 82.5 percent of the total population. Citizenship by birth may also be required, as in the case of Thailand. Or, voters may be required to be physically present in the country on voting day (as in Slovakia, Tuvalu, and Samoa).

Other restrictions on suffrage include age, with most countries requiring that voters be at least 18 years of age. The minimum age for voting was steadily lowered throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Minimum voting ages of 25 or higher were common when universal manhood suffrage was

de jure: (Latin) by right

instituted in many countries. As of 2004, the most common minimum age for voting was 18.

Certain countries deny the vote to members of particular political parties or to individuals who participated in previous undemocratic governments. For example, Portugal denies the vote to anyone who supported the regime in power prior to April 1974. This disenfranchises those who were part of the former authoritarian regime. Another example is Indonesia, which prohibits voting by anyone who at one time supported the now-forbidden Communist Party.

Below are some further examples of restrictions on the vote:

- In Thailand Buddhist priests, monks, or clergy are not allowed to vote.
- In Slovakia those who are seen as a threat to public health are not allowed to vote.
- In Niger undischarged bankruptcy results in disenfranchisement.
- In Mexico a citizen must have an “honest means of livelihood” to vote.

It is also worth noting that voting is mandatory in some countries such as Australia and Belgium. Individuals who do not vote are subject to fines or other sanctions.

sanction: economic, political, or military reprisals, or, to ratify



ISRAELIS GO TO THE POLLS. Since Israel established its independence in 1948, the country has allowed universal suffrage; all adult citizens have the right to vote. (SOURCE: DAVID RUBINGER/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.)

SUFFRAGE AND DEMOCRACY

Suffrage is closely related to democracy. Samuel Huntington defines a government as “democratic to the extent that its most powerful collective decision-makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which *virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote*” (Huntington 1993, p. 7, emphasis added). Huntington continues, “To the extent, for instance, that a political system denies voting participation to part of its society—as the South African system did to the 70 percent of its population that was black, as Switzerland did to the 50 percent of its population that was female, or as the United States did to the 10 percent of its population that were southern blacks—it is undemocratic” (Huntington 1993, p. 7).

Suffrage and democracy are related, but not equivalent. It is difficult to argue that an election is fair, for example, if a third of the population does not have the right to vote. On the other hand, universal suffrage can exist but voters may be presented with only a single candidate for office. Suffrage is therefore a necessary but not sufficient condition of democracy. In general, the fairness of elections should be viewed as separate from the percent of the population allowed to participate. Among countries with universal suffrage it is possible to have fair or unfair procedures. Rigged voting, ballot stuffing, and vote buying can occur at varying degrees of suffrage.

See also: Civil Rights Movement in the United States; Democracy; Finland; New Zealand; Voting Rights.

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Pamela Paxton

Suriname

Suriname is located on the northern coast of South America, bordering the Atlantic Ocean on the north, French Guiana on the east, Guyana on the west, and Brazil on the south. It occupies 163,270 square kilometers

(63,039 square miles) is slightly larger than the U.S. state of Georgia, and is the smallest independent nation in South America. Its population was estimated to be 436,935 in July 2004. In 2003 its per capita income was estimated at \$3,500, about the same as that of Sri Lanka, Azerbaijan, or Ecuador.

Suriname is an ethnically and religiously diverse country: 37 percent of its people are of (East) Indian origin, 31 percent Creole (mixed black and white), 15 percent Javanese (Indonesian), and 10 percent descended from African slaves brought to the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who escaped and took up residence in the interior of the territory. There are also small groups of American Indians, Chinese, whites, and “others.” Reflecting its ethnic diversity, Suriname’s population is 27 percent Hindu, 23 percent Roman Catholic, and 25 percent Protestant, with 5 percent of the population following indigenous beliefs.

Suriname was a Dutch colony from 1667 until the country gained its independence in 1975. Its first president, Johan Ferrier, served for five years before being ousted by a military **coup** led by national army commander Désiré Bouterse. The coup leaders appointed Henk Chin A Sen prime minister and abolished the parliament. Sen was replaced by the coup leaders in 1982, with Lachmipersad F. Ramdat Misier (b. 1926) named as president. He served (as acting president) until January 25, 1988, when he was succeeded by Ramsewak Shankar (b. 1937), after parliamentary elections were again allowed in 1987. Shankar’s rule lasted for nearly three years before he, too, was ousted from office by the military and replaced by Johannes Kraag, a military ally. In reality, although he occupied the position of president for only a few days on two separate occasions, Bouterse was the **de facto** ruler of the country for a decade, working from his position as army chief and chairman of the National Military Council. Under Bouterse’s leadership, the military regime “brutally suppressed civic and political opposition” (Freedom House, 2004).

Negotiations with the leaders of a simmering rebellion and new elections in 1991 finally led to the decline of military dominance. A newly formed political party, the New Front for Democracy and Development (NF), won a working majority in the parliament and subsequently selected Runaldo Venetiaan (b. 1936) as president. Venetiaan served in this capacity until 1996, when he was replaced by Jules Albert Wijdenbosch (b. 1941), but he returned to office after his party won the 2000 elections.

Suriname nominally is a constitutional democracy with a unicameral National Assembly of fifty-one members elected for five-year terms. Its small judiciary consists of Magistrates Courts as the courts of first instance (first level trial courts) and a Court of Justice based in the capital, Paramaribo. A Constitutional Court is provided for in the country’s constitution, but has never become operational. Despite its turbulent past politics, Suriname in the early twenty-first century was rated by Freedom House as a free nation in which citizens’ rights were generally well protected.

See also: Caribbean Region.

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

de facto: (Latin) actual; in effect but not officially declared



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

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C. Neal Tate

Swaziland

The Kingdom of Swaziland is a small landlocked country in southern Africa bordered on three sides by South Africa and to the east by Mozambique. Roughly the size of the U.S. state of Rhode Island, the country is mountainous with steplike plateaus descending from high through middle to low. Well-watered, it is cut by four major river systems increasingly used for the irrigation of sugar, cotton, and citrus cultivation.

In 2000, its population was estimated at 925,000, but there are certainly as many Swazis living in South Africa. The bulk live in the KwaZulu and Mpumalanga provinces of South Africa, sections of which formed part of the larger nineteenth-century Swazi state and which form the basis of a current Swazi land claim against South Africa. Swaziland also claims most of Mozambique's southern province up to its capital, Maputo. These land claims are sources of occasional tension between Swaziland and its neighbors.

The modern Swazi state emerged in the mid-nineteenth century as part of a process of regional state formation and dissolution triggered by the development in northern KwaZulu of a powerful Zulu empire under King Shaka (c. 1787–1828). As Zulu power expanded, numerous groups fled northward in an attempt to preserve their autonomy. The Dlamini clan sought refuge in the Lebombo mountain range. Through skillful defensive military tactics and a series of alliances with British and Boer groups and then penetrating central South Africa, the Swazis resisted Zulu incorporation and emerged as an autonomous and homogeneous entity dominated by the Dlaminis.

By the 1890s, this independence was threatened by a rush of British and other white settlers seeking fortunes on the newly opened goldfields of the South African interior. British colonial power loomed and in 1894, the Swazis signed a **protectorate** arrangement with the Transvaal Boer Republic. This was shortlived, and in 1902 Swaziland became a British colony after the British **annexed** the Boer states after victory in the South African or Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902.

The colonial era spanned the period from 1902 to 1968, during which the Swazis were forcibly removed from more than half of their land area, which was

protectorate: a territory or country under the protection of another sovereign country's military

annex: to incorporate; to take control of politically and/or physically

ceded to white settler farmers and corporate agricultural companies. In the one-third of the territory set aside for exclusive Swazi occupation, the traditional institutions of governance (i.e., monarchical and chiefly authority) were left intact. In the 1960s, the British agreed to grant Swaziland independence in terms of a Westminster-type constitution that allowed for multiparty elections on a basis of universal suffrage. To contest the pre-independence elections, the king, Sobhuza II (1898–1982), formed a political party, the Imbokodvo National Movement (INM). Articulating an **ideology** of tradition and narrow ethnic nationalism, it basically expressed the political and class interests terms of the royalist **aristocracy**.

In the 1968 independence elections, the INM captured all seats, and although power was constitutionally vested in the elected legislature, nothing was done without the king's expressed approval. In the first post-independence election in 1972, an opposition group, the Ngwane (the Siswati language name for Swaziland) National Liberation Congress (NNLC) won three seats. In response, Sobhuza declared a state of emergency, closed down parliament and banned all political parties, including his own INM. Political parties, he declared, were foreign elements fostering disunity. This emergency state persisted into the early 2000s.

In the years since the state of emergency was declared, the monarchy has consolidated its monopoly over political affairs and acquired a strong economic base through a royalist controlled corporation (the Tibiyo Fund), which has a strategy of acquiring equity on behalf of the "Swazi Nation," (i.e., the aristocracy) in enterprises spread across all sectors of the economy.

The ruling group's conservatism and hostility to democracy was demonstrated in the 1980s when King Sobhuza entered into a secret security pact with **apartheid** South Africa allowing its security forces to undertake border-crossing incursions targeting South Africa's African National Congress operatives and their local sympathizers. In 1984, the Swazi government banned the African National Congress from operating in the country and expelled its membership. Most were sent to Zambia and Tanzania, but some were allowed to fall into South African hands.

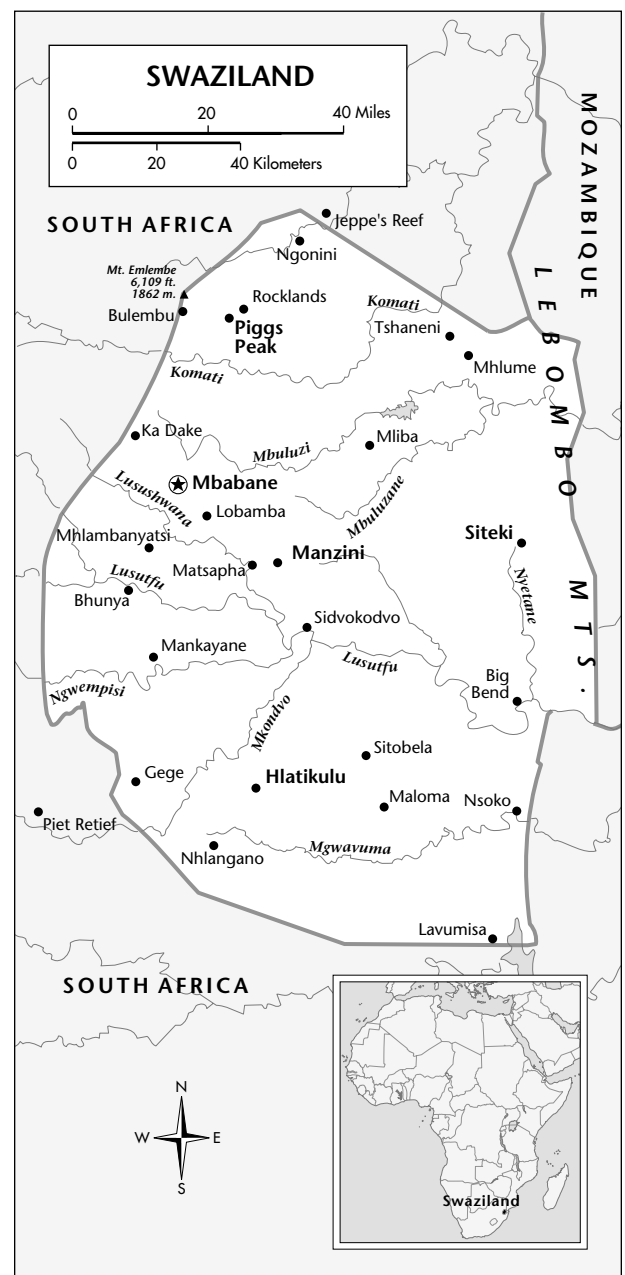
In 2005 Swaziland remained an **absolute** monarchy with effective executive and legislative—and increasingly judicial—power vested in the king, Mswati II (b. 1958), and a small coterie of unelected princes and chiefs and some commoners. The country is a no-party state with the prohibition on political parties still extant. Some political groups such as the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC) have unilaterally unbanned themselves but are subject to severe repression and cannot function openly. The bicameral legislature comprises a lower house of fifty-five directly elected members but all candidates are prescreened for their "suitability" by the traditional authorities in each electoral area, and none may run on a party platform. The upper house consists of thirty members, of whom twenty are nominated by the king. The monarch also selects the prime minister and cabinet. Parliament is not an autonomous body and has historically functioned as a monarchical rubber stamp.

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

aristocracy: a ruling financial, social, or political elite

apartheid: an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination

absolute: complete, pure, free from restriction or limitation



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

The constitutional review process inaugurated in 1996 remains stalled in 2005 with certain proposals, such as the legalization of political parties and the inclusion of a diluted bill of rights, which the king has declared unacceptable. The resulting political paralysis has intensified the drift to arbitrary and personal rule by the monarchy.

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

appellate: a court having jurisdiction to review the findings of lower courts

pandemic: affecting a large segment of the population or a large geographic area

A crisis over the **rule of law** and the administration of justice was in effect in the early twenty-first century, occasioned by the refusal in November 2002 of the king and his government to accept two rulings of the court of appeal. In protest, all the judges of the court resigned, and the country was left without an **appellate** bench. The result has been a clogging of the judicial process with hundreds of civil and criminal cases at appeal stage and unable to be concluded. This is a serious violation of the right to legal remedy.

A humanitarian emergency has been triggered by the HIV/AIDS **pandemic**, which has infected an estimated 38 percent of Swazis. This is the world's highest infection rate and a situation that has overwhelmed the state health system. Coping with the crisis has been assumed by a private-sector group.

See also: Mozambique; South Africa.

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John Daniel

Sweden

Sweden is greatly influenced by its geography. Approximately 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) long and 500 kilometers (300 miles) wide, its 450,000 square kilometers (174,000 square miles) make it the third largest country in Western Europe. Its latitude is comparable to that of Alaska, but its climate is warmed by the Gulf Stream. Average temperatures in Stockholm range from -2.8 degrees C (27 degrees F) in January to 17.2 degrees C (63 degrees F) in July. Its surface is 53 percent forests, 17 percent mountains, 9 percent lakes, and only 8 percent cultivated land. It borders Denmark, Norway, and Finland, with which it shares a common Nordic culture and history. The country's location on the northern fringes of Europe has created a distinctive Swedish culture, resourceful in adapting to the climate and land. It also has created a people who regard themselves as Europeans with a difference and predisposed them to avoid entangling military alliances in modern times.

As of November 2003 Sweden's population was 8,973,491. The official language is Swedish, a Germanic language, but some Finnish-speaking minorities do exist. Since the end of World War II (1945), through immigration and asylum seekers, Sweden has become less **homogeneous** in terms of ethnicity and religion, although 82 percent of the population still formally belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sweden.

By about c.e. 800 the population, largely of German origin, had developed into settled agricultural communities. The Vikings, who were both farmers and fishermen, set forth energetically in their longboats, mostly toward the Baltic littoral and Russia.

By 1000 the independent provinces of Sweden had come together in a single country. The monarchy was sufficiently powerful by 1350 to replace the provincial law codes with a national one. In 1397 the Danish Queen Margaret (1353–1412) united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden into the Kalmar Union, which was dominated by Denmark. In 1523 Swedish objections to that subjection created a revolt led by the nobleman Gustav Eriksson Vasa (c. 1496–1560), who took the name Gustav I Vasa and became the first king of an independent Sweden.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, especially during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632), Sweden had become one of the major European powers. It lost its great power status in a series of eighteenth-century conflicts, culminating in the Napoleonic wars. In 1810 the French marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte (1763–1844) was elected as the Swedish monarch Charles XIV John, founding the Bernadotte dynasty, which continued to reign in the early twenty-first century.

Since the early nineteenth century Sweden has avoided involvement in European wars. This has resulted in part from its policy of nonalignment and in part from its fortunate location on the fringes of the European continent. As a result Sweden escaped unscathed from both World War I (1914–1918) and World War II (1939–1945) and the Cold War. Its membership in the European Union (EU), which Sweden joined in 1995, made the nonalignment policy more difficult to maintain in the early twenty-first century.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

By European standards Sweden was late in becoming industrialized, and at the beginning of the twentieth century it was one of the poorest countries in Western Europe. By the 1950s, however, the country had become one of the most advanced and prosperous in the world. The growth of the Swedish economy initially was based on the abundance of forests, iron ore, and rivers capable of providing electricity.

The country underwent rapid economic expansion after World War II. During that period the distribution of growing industrial wealth was guided mainly by Social Democratic governments. While retaining an economy that was 90 percent privately owned, the Social Democrats—aided and abetted by most of the nonsocialist parties—created the Swedish **welfare state**. This

homogeneous: simple; consisting of components that are identical or similar

welfare state: a political state that assumes liability for the wellbeing of its people through government-run social programs



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

system was so successful that it became world-renowned as the “Swedish Model” or the “Swedish Middle Way” between socialism and capitalism.

During the heyday of the Social Democrats (1945–1976) their strong Cabinet was complemented by a circle of interest organizations that authoritatively represented the interests of all major socioeconomic groups, whether blue- or white-collar workers, traditional professions, farmers, or employers. That system reduced unemployment dramatically and provided substantial economic growth, universal health and pension plans, and modern affordable housing, as well as improved education at all levels. The best-known Swedish leaders since 1946 have been the nation’s Social Democratic prime ministers, including Tage Erlander (1946–1969), Olof Palme (1969–1976 and 1982–1986), Ingvar Carlsson (1986–1991 and 1994–1996), and Göran Persson (1996–). Of these, the most internationally recognized was Olof Palme, who was murdered in 1986. The best known of the nonsocialist prime ministers was Carl Bildt, a Conservative who served from 1991 to 1994.

Beginning with the global rise in oil prices in 1973, the Swedish economy experienced serious difficulties. Government deficits, rising unemployment, and a reduction in the rate of industrial growth began to trouble the Swedish idyll. Pressures to lower taxes and **decentralize** public decision making brought a temporary end to the Social Democratic Party’s dominance and decreased stability in the party system. Economic stagnation continued well into the 1990s.

By the year 2000, however, Sweden began to make a comeback. The rate of economic growth increased, employment grew, and the national economy no longer was running a deficit. A special feature of the Swedish economic recovery derived from the rapid, widespread introduction of computerization and information technology. In the early twenty-first century Sweden was one of the most highly computerized societies in the world.

By any measure the quality of life in Sweden is high. In 2000 life expectancy at birth was 77.1 years for males and 82.5 years for females. Literacy is practically 100 percent. There was one physician for every 366 persons and an infant mortality rate of 3.5 per 1,000 births in 1999. Every worker receives a five-week paid annual vacation, and the nation boasts an extensive child-care system that guarantees paid parental leave for the parents of infants. Slums are practically nonexistent, and a strong environmental movement has resulted in a quality of air and water above that of most European nations.

NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Swedish governmental system is a constitutional monarchy. It is characterized by popular sovereignty (democracy), the supremacy of the *Riksdag* (the parliament), a cabinet form of government, a public administration guided by the **rule of law**, universal adult **suffrage**, independent political parties, free elections, courts independent of direct government interference, a free and active mass media, freedom of information, and a high level of political trust (although this may have declined since the 1970s).

The system rests on a written constitution. The constitution is entrenched in that it cannot be amended by any ordinary law of the parliament; amendments require passage twice by the *Riksdag* with an intervening election. The Constitution of Sweden consists of four documents:

- The Instrument of Government (*Regeringsformen* or RF,) which establishes the basic framework of government, is the linchpin of the constitution. The present version was adopted in 1975, replacing one dating back to 1809. It

decentralize: to move power from a central authority to multiple periphery government branches or agencies

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

has been amended several times, including 1994 provisions that allowed Swedish entry into the EU.

- The Act of Succession establishes the order of succession for the monarchy. The original version dates from 1810, when the Bernadottes ascended to the throne. It was amended in 1980 to allow female succession.
- The Freedom of the Press Act of 1949 protects printed matter from government intrusion. Freedom of the press has long been a Swedish tradition; it can be traced back to 1766. It has suffered occasional periods of curtailment, most recently during World War II, but has been firmly observed since 1949.
- Finally, the Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression was passed in 1991 to extend freedom of expression to newer types of mass media, including radio, television, and electronically recorded materials.

The present form of government is the product of an evolution that began in the eighteenth century and frequently has involved the formal adoption of existing practices, mainly those of parliamentary supremacy.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the basis of representation was semifeudal, involving a *Riksdag* composed of four “estates” (the clergy, nobility, **bourgeoisie**, and farmers). This was peacefully replaced in 1866 with a **bicameral** *Riksdag* and a system based on the separation of powers. In the twentieth century this system gradually gave way to a purely parliamentary system, culminating in the constitutional reforms of 1974 and 1975. All in all the transition to democracy in Sweden occurred gradually and peacefully compared with the process in other nations on the European continent.

Very little discrepancy exists in the Swedish government between principle and practice. The people are sovereign. The monarch is a **figurehead**. It is the citizens who elect the *Riksdag* in regular elections held at least every four years. Parties are represented in proportion to their popular vote. The *Riksdag* has a monopoly on lawmaking power; the prime minister and cabinet are responsible to it. Whenever the cabinet has strong support in the *Riksdag* and is led by a forceful prime minister, the high level of party discipline makes it unlikely that the *Riksdag* will oust the ruling government.

Although the civil service does not govern in a political sense, it has such an important role in day-to-day governance, fortified by the respect commanded by its long tradition of service, that the country can function well even in times of political instability or weak prime ministers.

Clearly, the *Riksdag* is the pivotal institution of government. Since 1971, when it replaced a bicameral system created in 1866, it has been a **unicameral** body with 349 members. Compared with the process of most European countries, the body’s selection of a prime minister and cabinet occurs rather smoothly, the reason being that the candidate for prime minister need not command a positive majority of *Riksdag* members to remain in power. It is sufficient that a majority of its members have not voted against him or her.

Once a cabinet has been formed, it may be dismissed in the vote of a no-confidence proceeding initiated by one-tenth of the *Riksdag*’s members. The prime minister then has several alternatives. One of these is to resign and call a new election. Any government resulting from such an election does not serve a full term, but only the unexpired part of the existing four-year term. If the prime minister chooses to undergo the no-confidence vote, the only way that individual may be forced out of office is for the majority to vote against him or her.

Sweden’s preference for policy making based on consensus is reflected in its “commissions of inquiry.” In addressing very important issues, legislation

bourgeoisie: the economic middle class marked by wealth earned through business or trade

bicameral: comprised of two chambers, usually a legislative body

figurehead: an individual with a title of leadership, but no real authority or power

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

involves widespread consultation. Legislation usually begins with a directive from the appropriate cabinet ministry. It then goes before a specially appointed commission composed of representatives from all the political parties, other interested public bodies, and experts on the subject. The commission holds hearings and conducts research, often for a year or longer. Its final report to the appropriate ministry frequently is referred to various authorities and interest group organizations for their opinions and comments (this referral for consideration is known as the remiss procedure). The ministry then compiles these opinions and prepares a legislative proposal to be presented to the *Riksdag* for consideration. By the time a bill has passed, every authority or organization with an interest in its passage will have had ample opportunity to be heard. The resulting law is likely to be anchored in a solid consensus.

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

Another tool in the legislative process is the **referendum**, which allows the government to submit controversial issues to the electorate for its opinion. This has happened with several key issues, for example, prohibition of the sale of liquor, the transition from left- to right-hand traffic, the future of nuclear power, and membership in the EU or the Euro-zone. These referendums are usually only advisory, except when they deal with proposed constitutional amendments.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND THE COURTS

The Swedish administrative tradition extends back to the seventeenth-century Sweden of Gustavus Adolphus. It is unusual by European standards in that, although policy is made at the cabinet and ministerial level, its implementation is made by independent central administrative agencies protected against government interference. If agencies abuse that discretion, an administrative judicial system exists that provides an aggrieved citizen with the opportunity to appeal the alleged abuse at several levels, culminating in a hearing before a Supreme Administrative Court (*Regeringsrätten*) if the question is of a legal nature or the cabinet if it involves a particular application.

The ordinary civil and criminal courts in Sweden are organized under the Ministry of Justice. Judges are career civil servants. However, the judiciary is totally insulated from political influence by the cabinet, a ministry, or any other body. The judicial system includes seventy-two trial courts (*tingsrätter*), six courts of appeal (*bovrätter*), and a Supreme Court (*Högstadsdomstol*). Judges do not become practicing lawyers and then judges as in the United States. Instead, they serve a judicial apprenticeship as part of their legal training.

precedent: an established ruling, understanding, or practice of the law

Career judges also sometimes participate in lawmaking as members of commissions of inquiry. When deciding cases, however, they do not create lawmaking **precedents** as in the common law tradition but merely interpret the laws made by the *Riksdag*. The judiciary formally has the power to declare laws unconstitutional yet has never exercised it. Finally, both the courts and the *Riksdag* increasingly are bound by decisions of the European Court of Justice in matters brought by treaty within its **jurisdiction**.

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

POLITICAL PARTIES AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

In Sweden the traditional difference among political parties is between socialist parties (as in the case of the Social Democrats, the Left, and on occasion the Greens) and nonsocialist principles (as espoused by Liberals, the Center, Conservatives, and Christian Democrats). In the early twenty-first century this mainly socioeconomic distinction was blurred somewhat by other differences, such as environmental protection versus economic development

and pro- and anti-European sentiments. Parties are still important; they retain, for example, a monopoly on the nomination of *Riksdag* candidates. However, at least since the 1970s the influence of the media has grown at the expense of Sweden's political parties.

The Social Democratic Party has remained by far the largest party since the 1930s. The party was founded in 1889 in partnership with the Swedish trade union movement. Originally Marxist, it gradually evolved into a reform party similar to the British Labour Party. As the economy changed and white-collar workers grew in importance, the party modified its original blue-collar emphasis to accommodate those changes. In the 2002 general elections the Social Democrats received 39.8 percent of the vote.

The Left, formerly the Communist Party, stands to the left of the Social Democrats but usually gives at least tacit support to the Social Democrats when a vote of no confidence is held in the *Riksdag*. It was founded in 1917 as a breakaway from the Social Democrats. In 2002 it received 8.3 percent of the popular vote.

The Environmental Party (the Greens) is closer to the traditional socialist parties, rather than to the nonsocialists, in its viewpoints. Founded in 1989, it opposes nuclear power, is skeptical about Sweden's membership in the EU, and favors environmental protection. Its share of the 2002 vote was 4.6 percent.

On the nonsocialist side of the spectrum the Conservative Party, founded in 1904, is the largest; it received 15.5 percent of the vote in 2002. Conservatives favor free enterprise, and although they do not totally oppose the Swedish welfare state, they have reservations about it. In European terms they are economic liberals (believing in a **market economy**) and social conservatives (favoring traditionalism).

The Liberal Party is another nonsocialist organization. It was founded in 1902, and its fortunes have waxed and waned over the years. In 2002 its share of the popular vote rose to 15.5 percent of the electorate.

The Center Party, founded in 1921, was originally the Farmers Party. As Sweden became more middle-class and less rural, the party changed its name to the present one in 1957 in an attempt to widen its appeal to include urban areas. As of 2002, however, its support, 8.3 percent of the vote, once again was concentrated in more rural parts of Sweden.

The Christian Democratic Party was founded in 1985; by 2002 it commanded the support of 9.1 percent of the electorate. Unique among the parties in a highly **secularized** Sweden, its support turns on an appeal to religious values.

Truly extremist parties have had little success in building support in Sweden. Although racism and anti-immigrant sentiments are not totally absent, no party promoting such beliefs has experienced electoral success.

All citizens over eighteen can vote in national and local elections. Immigrants who have resided in Sweden for at least three years may vote in local elections. Elections are publicly financed through government **subsidies** to all the existing political parties, television advertising is not permitted, and campaigns are short. Voter participation is high (80.1% in 2002), but it has been both higher (86% in 1991) and lower (38.4% in the 1999 elections for seats in the EU parliament) in the past.

RIGHTS IN SWEDEN

Sweden is an open society whose constitution and tradition protect the human and civil rights common to free countries. Chapter 1, Article 1, of the Instrument of Government states that "all public power in Sweden proceeds

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

secularism: a refutation of, apathy toward, or exclusion of all religion

subsidy: a government grant used to encourage some action

ombudsman: a government official that researches the validity of complaints and reports his findings to an authority

from the people.” Chapter 1, Article 2, continues: “Public power shall be exercised with respect for the equal worth of all and the liberty and dignity of the private person.” Some of the freedoms typically protected include those of expression, the press and other media, assembly, demonstration, association, and religion. Public access to official documents is guaranteed. The right to due process, although not usually referred to as such, is covered by the Swedish concept of the rule of law, which is deeply embedded in Swedish judicial procedures and in the institution of the **ombudsman**.

See also: Constitutional Monarchy; Denmark; European Union; Freedom of Information; Norway; Ombudsmen.

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Joseph B. Board

Switzerland

Switzerland is a landlocked continental European country. It has borders with Germany to the north, Austria and Liechtenstein to the east, Italy to the south, and France to the west. It covers 41,290 square kilometers (15,940 square miles), which makes it slightly less than twice the size of New Jersey. It has three major regions: the Jura, a low western mountain range that constitutes 10 percent of the total surface; the Alps, which covers two-thirds of Switzerland; and the densely populated midlands (with more than 400 inhabitants per square kilometer) between Jura and the Alps.

The population was estimated to be 7.4 million inhabitants in 2003. This corresponds to the population of the city of New York. A fifth of all inhabitants are foreigners. Only three-fourths of the labor force consists of Swiss nationals. The Swiss people consist of four language groups: the French speakers, living in the west (21%); the German speakers mainly in the northeast (73%); the Italian speakers, most of whom live in the Ticino at the southern borders of the Alps (4%); and a few Romansch speakers scattered in the southeastern state of Grisons.

BRIEF HISTORY

The history of Switzerland as a nation-state and as a democratic state began at the end of a short civil war in 1847 when a constitutional assembly drafted a new constitution. It codified certain principles that remain in force in the early twenty-first century.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Democracy. According to the 1848 constitution, every male citizen has a vote, and legislation is made by parliament or by the people in popular votes. The parliament is elected in free, fair, and secret elections, and the government is elected by the parliament at the beginning of the legislative period. The government has to govern in the interest of the people. After 1848 major changes included the abolition of rules and practices that withheld enfranchisement from about 20 percent of the male population in 1848. Suffrage for women was extended successively on the cantonal level and then on the federal level between 1959 and 1971. Since 1971 women have had the same political rights as men on all levels of the political system. The minimum voting age was lowered from twenty to eighteen years in 1991. Various forms of direct democracy were added. The constitution of 1848 established only a constitutional referendum and a constitutional initiative for a total revision of the constitution. In 1874 the legislative referendum and in 1891 a constitutional initiative for partial revision of the constitution were added. Since 1921 international treaties are under optional referendum.

Rule of the Law and Written Constitution. The Swiss polity is based on the rule of the law. The written constitution has been revised many times. Major changes occurred in 1874. The present constitution of 1999 does not differ much in substantial terms from its predecessor. The articles are ordered more systematically and have been rewritten in modern language.

Federalism. Switzerland is a federal state. All political power rests with the states (called “cantons”) and their local communities unless the constitution explicitly transfers competencies to the federal state. In 1848 this was restricted mainly to a common currency, customs, foreign policy and defense, postal

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

polity: a form of government held by a specific country or group

welfare state: a political state that assumes liability for the wellbeing of its people through government-run social programs

infrastructure: the base on which a system or organization is built

neutrality: the quality of not taking sides, as in a conflict

quasi-presidential: similar to a president or presidential system, or, having the identical effect of a presidential system

consociational: belonging to an association, especially a church or a religious association

services, gages, and federal technological institutes. With the expansion of the **welfare state** and a more active role of the state in the economy, the federal state was awarded authority over the **infrastructure** (e.g., railways in 1874), schemes for worker protection (1874), accident and sickness insurance (1890), pensions (1925), and economic policy (1947).

Switzerland started out with twenty-two cantons in 1848. Three of them are split in half (half-cantons). Whereas each canton has two seats in the Council of States (as do states in the U.S. Senate), half-cantons have only one. In 1978 the twenty-third canton of Jura was created to satisfy French-speaking citizens in the western part of the predominantly German-speaking canton of Berne, who felt discriminated against and asked for their own state.

Neutrality. Switzerland does not participate in any war involving other nations. This principle was necessary for internal integration. Otherwise the conflicts between neighboring countries might have created internal conflict between the different sociocultural groups. In addition, **neutrality** helped preserve the independence of the new state. After the decline of the communist world, neutrality lost much of its meaning. Nonetheless, it is still very important for the self-definition of the Swiss people.

SWISS GOVERNMENT

Switzerland is one of the oldest established democracies in the world, with full political and economic freedom and freedom from torture and political prosecution. Capital punishment has been abolished. The constitution was modeled after the U.S. Constitution in many respects, but the political system works quite differently.

Five interrelated institutional principles shape the political system: federalism, a **quasi-presidential** system, direct democracy, **consociational** structures, and corporatist structures.

Federalism. Federal systems can be distinguished on the basis of whether they intend to give the people of a state the possibility to determine their condition of living (e.g., by different taxes or school systems) or whether they intend to create similarity of living conditions across the whole nation by severely limiting the leeway of state governments and forcing the states to cooperate closely with federal agencies (similar to Germany and Austria). The United States and Switzerland clearly belong to the former group. As in the United States, the Swiss federal government has grown in importance because of a more active role of the state in the economy and the growth of the welfare state, and there has been a backlash by state governments attempting to reclaim their autonomy and share in the public budget. A considerable proportion of welfare state schemes are decided, financed, and implemented by state governments; however, the major national social security insurances and their funds are decided at the federal level. In 2001 the Swiss welfare state redistributed a quarter of its gross domestic product, and, of those monies, about 40 percent funded cantonal or municipal schemes.

A Quasi-Presidential System. Switzerland's executive ("government" or cabinet) is the seven-member Federal Council, elected by the legislature, the Federal Assembly, from among its members for a four-year term. Because the executive is elected once in a legislative period and cannot be replaced by parliament before the end of the term, the Swiss system is "presidential." Because the executive is plural and is elected by the legislature from its members, the Swiss

system is considered quasi-presidential. The Federal Council in turn elects two of its members to serve as federal president and vice president for rotating terms of one year.

The federal president is the chief of state and chief of government for Switzerland. The federal president elected to serve for the year 2004 was Joseph Deiss (b. 1946) of the Christian Democratic Party. He succeeded Pascal Couchepin (b. 1942) of the Free Democratic party.

The electoral system for the Federal Council makes the executive independent from parliamentary political parties and their **coalitions**. In turn, parties have little incentive to rally behind their representative in the government. Hence, there is much less discipline by members of parliament with regard to party lines compared to the situation in clearly parliamentary systems such as that of the United Kingdom.

Direct Democracy. No nation-state in the world uses direct democracy to such an extent as Switzerland. This applies not only on the federal level but also on the state level and municipal level, where the use of popular votes is widespread. In all instances the people have the final say. The decision in a popular vote cannot be undone by a parliamentary decision even if that decision is unanimous.

Matters concerning constitutional changes are the object of mandatory popular votes. These changes can be drafted by the parliament or by the people directly through an initiative, which requires 100,000 signatures by citizens to be brought to a vote. Changes are accepted if there is a double majority (i.e., if the proposition receives more than 50 percent of the vote nationwide and a majority of voters in a majority of cantons). Introduced in 1848, this rule gives minorities a strong veto position if they are concentrated in particular cantons. From 1848 to 1997, among the 201 constitutional changes that were proposed by parliament, three-fourths were accepted. In the same period the people decided on 121 initiatives, accepting only 10 percent.

Laws and international treaties can be the objects of optional referendums. A law or a treaty accepted by parliament can be brought to a vote if demanded by 50,000 citizens. A total of 1,890 parliamentary decisions were subject to efforts to hold optional referendums between 1848 and 1997. In 7 percent of cases a referendum actually was held. About half of these referendums were successful. Therefore, only 3.5 percent of all parliamentary decisions have been rejected by the people, and the overwhelming number of laws are decided exclusively by parliament.

In Switzerland popular votes have supported political compromise and coalitions. Afraid of unforeseeable decisions in a popular vote over carefully prepared parliamentary projects, the political elite tries to integrate in the preparation of the law all major groups able to trigger a referendum by mobilizing 50,000 citizens for their signatures. This applies to the four largest parties; the large interest organizations of farmers, employers, and employees; and the representatives of the sociocultural groups. Therefore, Switzerland is governed by an informal but fragile grand coalition of large parties and interest groups.

Consociationalism. Consociational democracy denotes a type of democracy in which majority decision is not the dominant technique of decision making. Switzerland is a clear example of such a consociational democracy. The opposite case is the **Westminster** democracy of Great Britain. Consociational democracies developed in Switzerland and many continental European countries with strong societal fragmentation along politically mobilized lines of **ideology**, religion, or

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

Westminster: a democratic model of government comprising operational procedures for a legislative body, based on the system used in the United Kingdom

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

language. In these nations there will be always large and organized minorities that never have a chance to reach a plurality of votes and seats but that are large and powerful enough to create serious challenges to the political system, including civil war and secession. Therefore, in these societies politicians tend to include not just the majority but as many groups as possible into the government of the country. Since 1959 the same four parties have been represented in the government. The consociational features of Swiss democracy are supported further by the institution of direct democracy.

Corporatism. The Swiss state, in particular the federal state, is weak in resources. For that reason, since the late nineteenth century the federal government has worked together with employers' associations, trade unions, and the farmers' association. In this corporatist type of relationship between state and interest groups, interest groups do not just exert pressure on the state. They also participate in the decision process by bringing in expertise and data. In addition they accommodate their policies to state policies. Finally, they assume responsibilities in implementing the concerted policies. One result of this smooth coordination is labor peace. In 1937 the then-major trade union agreed on a peace treaty with the employer association, banning strikes.

JUDICIARY

Switzerland is unusual among nations in that its courts are all staffed by judges elected either by popular vote, cantonal parliaments, or, for national courts, the Federal Assembly. Furthermore, although almost all Swiss judges above the level of justice of the peace are in fact well-trained lawyers, there is no constitutional requirement that they be lawyers. Most courts are cantonal: There are three principal national courts: the Federal Tribunal (or Federal Supreme Court), which functions as the general Supreme Court, the Federal Criminal Court, and the Federal Administrative Court formed in 2005. Cantonal courts often are divided, as in most other civil law countries, into a hierarchy of ordinary courts with both general civil and criminal jurisdictions—usually consisting of justices of the peace, district courts, and headed by a high court or, in some instances, a court of cassation, and an administrative hierarchy headed by an administrative Supreme Court. Appeals from the highest courts in the cantonal hierarchies may be taken to the Federal Tribunal, but the Tribunal has no constitutional authority to declare federal laws unconstitutional.

PARTIES, INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Switzerland has numerous parties. In 2004 fifteen political parties were represented in the federal parliament. Usually parties are organized on the state level, and parties with the same affiliation to a national party differ in goals and strategy among states. Four national parties dominate the party systems: a liberal-radical party (the Free Democrats), a Christian Democratic party, a party of the Protestant middle classes that is turning into a right-populist catchall party (Swiss Peoples Party), and the Social Democratic Party.

The liberal-radical Free Democrats are the oldest party. (In continental Europe, liberal denotes rejection of extensive state intervention in society and the economy.) They created the democratic state of 1848. In the last election they won 17 percent of votes and have been in the government since 1848. In 2004 Social Democrats had two of seven Federal Council seats.



THE FEDERAL PALACE, HOME TO THE SWISS PARLIAMENT, IN BERN, SWITZERLAND. Switzerland's House of Parliament, or Bundeshaus, is comprised of two buildings with the adjoining central hall covered by a large glass dome that was completed in 1902. (SOURCE: © PIERRE VAUTHEY/CORBIS SYGMA)

The Christian Democratic Party evolved from the conservative Catholic party of the late nineteenth century as a reaction to the dominance of the liberals. The party served as a mouthpiece for the Catholic minority. A member of the European centrist party family, the Christian Democratic Party joined the federal government in 1891. Christian Democrats received 14 percent of votes in the national election of 2003 and had one seat in the executive in 2004.

Historically, the Swiss Peoples Party was the party of the Protestant farmers and middle classes in the German-speaking part of the nation. In the 1990s it changed its ideology and constituencies and became mainly a right **populist** party with a constituency also in the French-speaking region and among workers. It amplifies **xenophobic** sentiments among the electorate and staunchly rejects any integration into the European Union. Between 1991 and 2003 it increased its share of votes from 12 to 27 percent. In 2004 it had for the first time two seats in the federal government. Its populist political leader, Christoph Blocher (b. 1940), was a member of the government in 2004. He deliberately violates some of the rules of consociational politics.

The Social Democratic Party supports a strong welfare state and intervention in the economy and since the 1970s has been a major supporter of

populist: someone who advocates policies for the advancement of the common man

xenophobia: a fear of foreigners, often leading to isolationism, reduction in immigration, and racism

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

the ecological movement. It was integrated into federal government from 1943 and 1952 and then since 1959. It is the second largest party, with 23 percent of votes in the national election of 2003. It has two representatives in the government.

Swiss interest organizations are organized on the cantonal level. They are weakly **centralized**. This does not apply to the interest organizations of farmers, employers, and workers, however. Their centralization is due to their early integration as a corporatist organization into the federal system. The overall density of organizational membership is moderate to high. Union membership is low. The trade union movement has been split along ideological and religious lines. The major trade union confederation has strong links to the Social Democratic Party; the second largest confederation has been linked to the Christian Democratic party as an organization of Catholic workers. These links became very weak in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Citizen Participation. Voter turnout and participation in popular votes declined from a high of 80 percent in the national election of 1919 to 45 percent in 2003. Together with the United States, Switzerland is the established democracy with the lowest rate of electoral participation. Likewise, participation in popular votes fell from 75 percent in the 1930s to about 45 percent in the period from 1990 to 2004. By contrast, citizen-declared interest in politics is high by international standards. An explanation links the low turnout to widespread satisfaction with the way democracy works: Swiss citizens show up at the ballot box to a large extent only if they think an important issue is at stake or if they are dissatisfied with their smoothly working political system.

See also: Federalism; Presidential Systems; Referendums and Plebiscites.

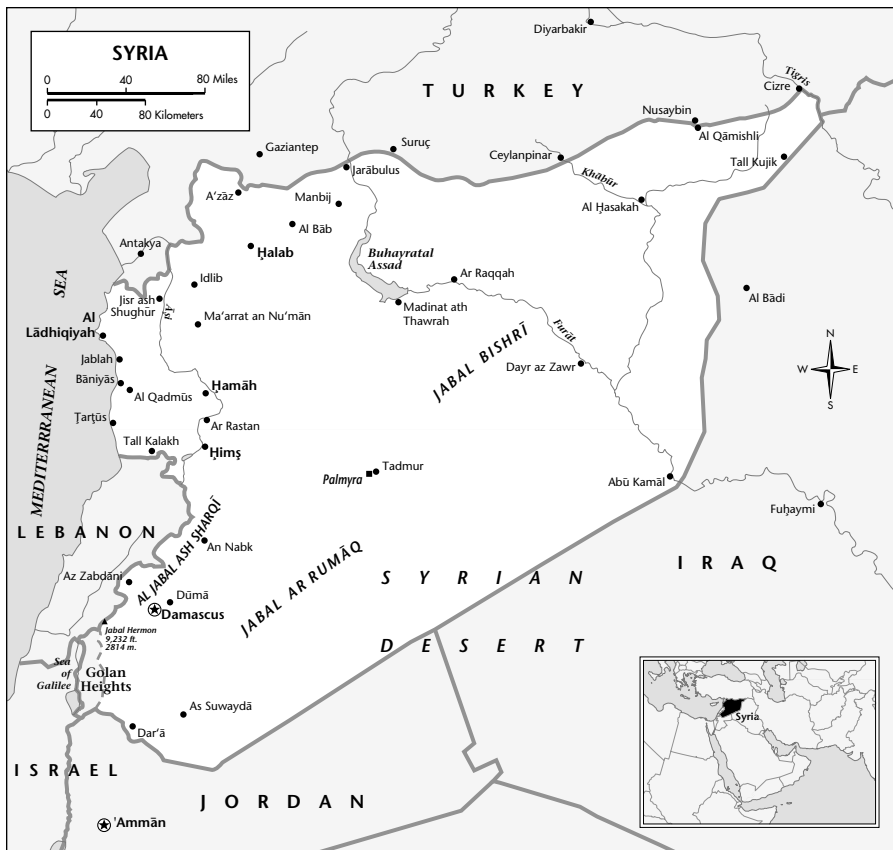
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Klaus Armingeon

Syria

The Syrian Arab Republic is located in the Fertile Crescent, the agricultural heartland of the ancient Near East. It is bordered on the west by Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea, on the north by Turkey, on the east by Iraq, and on the south by Israel and Jordan. It occupies 185,180 square kilometers



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

(71,480 square miles)—including 1,295 square kilometers (500 square miles) of Israeli-occupied territory—and consists largely of semiarid desert plateau with a narrow coastal plain and small mountains in the west. With a desert climate Syria is expected to exhaust its ground-water reserves by around 2010, leaving it totally dependent on river water.

The population of Syria in 2003 was estimated to be a little more than 18 million people. Arabs constitute 90 percent of the population, with Alawite, Druze, and small minority groups making up the remaining 10 percent. Approximately 75 percent of the population is Sunni Muslim, with other Muslim sects constituting a little more than 15 percent and at least a dozen different Christian sects making up the remaining 10 percent. A once-sizeable Jewish community largely **emigrated** after the creation of Israel in May 1948, with only tiny groups remaining in major metropolitan centers such as Damascus and Aleppo. The rate of population growth averaged over 3 percent annually for much of the last fifty years of the twentieth century but had slowed to 2.4 percent by 2003. Syria’s high population growth rate places enormous sociopolitical strains on a country with very limited water and other resources.

Beginning in March 1963, when the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Ba’th) Party came to power in the wake of a military coup d’etat, the Syrian government gradually extended state control over key components of the national economy. State intervention reached its peak from 1965 to 1970 with the **nationalization** of the banking, industrial, and trade sectors, together with the establishment of a network of production and distribution cooperatives and state farms. The government later relaxed a few of the restrictions on

emigration: the migration of individuals out of a geographic area or country

nationalization: the process of giving control or ownership of an entity to the government

statist economy: an economy highly regulated by a state's central authority

subsidy: a government grant used to encourage some action

Ottoman Empire: an empire centered in Turkey (and defeated in World War I) that once spanned Northern Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Southeast Europe and contemporary Russia

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

factionalism: a separation of people into competing, adversarial, and self-serving groups, usually in government

liberalization: the process of lowering trade barriers and tariffs and reducing government economic regulations

the private sector; however, Syria remained a predominantly **statist economy** into the twenty-first century. With gross domestic product (GDP) growth at less than 1 percent in 2003, major distortions contributing to the weak performance of the Syrian economy included multiple exchange rate controls, major agricultural **subsidies**, price controls, an inefficient state-run financial system, and numerous state-owned enterprises. Given its relatively high rate of population growth, in 2002 the World Bank estimated that Syria's GDP would have to grow more than 5 percent annually to improve the welfare of its people.

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

After the breakup of the **Ottoman Empire** (1299–1922) during World War I (1914–1918) Syria was administered by France as a League of Nations mandate until it gained independence in April 1946. After independence the armed forces became a major means of advancement for Syria's minority communities, especially Alawis and Druze, who entered the military academy in growing numbers. At the academy they encountered radical political ideas, including those of the Ba'th Party and the Syrian Communist Party. Rising disaffection within the ranks of the military later prompted its high command to champion social reforms and express solidarity with nationalists in neighboring Arab states. In March 1949 a group of military commanders overthrew the elected government, suppressed all political parties, and ruled by decree. For much of the next two decades Syria was governed by a series of military–civilian **coalitions** increasingly dominated by the Ba'th Party. A notable exception was the period from 1958 to 1961, when Syria briefly united with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic (UAR). The UAR split apart in September 1961 when Syrian elements in the UAR army launched a secessionist coup d'état, ushering in a period of Ba'th Party military rule.

Hafiz al-Asad (1930–2000), who played a major role in the March 1963 coup that brought Ba'thist officers to power, was promoted to major-general and commander of the air force in 1964. After 1965 Asad mastered the techniques necessary to survive in the **factional** politics plaguing Syria, helping the Military Committee extend its networks throughout the armed forces. In February 1966 Asad was made minister of defense, and in 1968 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general. In November 1970 he seized control of the government in what he termed a “corrective movement,” purging opponents and initiating three decades of highly personal rule. Under Asad a new chapter in Syrian politics unfolded, characterized by internal political continuity and stability.

On the domestic front Asad stressed the need for reconciliation and national unity, built stable state institutions, and courted disenchanting social classes with measures of economic and political **liberalization**. Socialism, retained as a tenet in the rhetoric of the ruling Ba'th Party, became in practice statism, or state capitalism. The Asad regime also relaxed restrictions on the private sector. The Syrian economy responded positively, growing at an annual rate exceeding 9 percent throughout the 1970s. Additional rounds of limited economic liberalization followed in 1979, 1987, and 1991. To heighten the impression of a fresh start Asad introduced a more liberal climate for writers and novelists and courted former Ba'thists who had been out of favor with the previous regime.

Stable political structures also emerged after Asad's coup, including a People's Council, or parliament, in 1971. The next year the Ba'th Party formed the Progressive National Front, a coalition with five smaller parties: the Arab Socialist Party, Democratic Socialist Unionist Party, Arab Socialist Union, Syrian

Communist Party, and Socialist Unionist Movement. Otherwise Asad tolerated no political opposition, vigorously attacking the Muslim Brotherhood, a religious political organization, and viciously suppressing a domestic uprising in Hama in February 1982.

In addition to the army the institutional pillars of the Asad regime consisted of a multilayered intelligence network, formal state structures, and a revitalized Ba'th Party. In 1971 the newly formed People's Council appointed Asad as president; thereafter **plebiscites** repeatedly endorsed his re-election for seven-year terms. The consolidation of the state, accompanied by a concentration of power in Asad's hands, was accepted by the Syrian political elite as necessary to confront the external threat the country faced in the wake of its defeat in the June 1967 war and the subsequent Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights. Asad's state building was largely dependent on outside resources, with the Soviet Union providing the arms to rebuild the military and Arab oil money funding an expansion of the **bureaucracy** and the co-opting of the **bourgeoisie**.

Calling into question the radical policies of his predecessors, Asad initiated a more realistic foreign policy, recognizing the military superiority of Israel. He moved quickly to end Syrian isolation in the Arab world, focusing on Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. After the 1973 Arab–Israeli War, Asad also agreed to a May 1974 disengagement agreement with Israel. Geopolitical rivalry, personal animosity, and a Ba'th Party **schism** combined to separate Asad's Syria from the Iraq of Saddam Hussein. Syria sided with Iran during the Iran–Iraq War (1980–88) and adhered to the Western-led, anti-Iraq coalition during the 1991 Gulf War. Syrian involvement in the U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace process involved Syria for the first time in direct negotiations with Israel; however, talks with Israel stalled in 1996 and again foundered in 1999.

As the transition to a state of coexistence with Israel continued, Asad initiated a new round of economic reforms. The decade of the 1990s saw the slow dismantling of the public sector and the socialist measures associated with it. Private investment overtook public investment, and agriculture became almost exclusively the domain of the private sector. At the same time strong resistance to additional reforms from the bureaucracy, the Ba'th Party, and the military, together with widespread patronage, waste, and corruption, remained a serious obstacle to rational economic policies.

The pursuit of economic reforms, together with the peace process, generated pressures for greater political openness, but political liberalization, especially **democratization**, remained anathema to the Asad regime. President Asad died of natural causes on June 10, 2000, and was replaced by his son Bashar al-Asad (b. 1965) on July 17, 2000.

BASIS FOR GOVERNMENT

In theory by a parliamentary democracy, Syria's political system is dominated by the executive branch and the two institutional pillars of Syrian society: the armed forces and the Ba'th Party. The governmental structure is highly **centralized** and strictly hierarchical, concentrating power primarily in the hands of the president and secondarily within the top leadership of the Ba'th Party. This system developed after March 1963, when military supporters of the Ba'th Party overthrew the parliamentary order that reappeared after the dissolution of the union with Egypt in 1961.

Shortly after seizing power the Asad regime appointed a representative body, the **unicameral** People's Council, to draft a permanent constitution. Seats in the legislature were distributed mostly among five political parties, with the Ba'th Party receiving 50 percent of the total. The People's Council drafted

plebiscite: a vote by which the people of a country make known their opinions on a proposal or regime

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

bourgeoisie: the economic middle class marked by wealth earned through business or trade

schism: a separation between two factions or entities, especially relating to religious bodies

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction

governorate: a political subdivision, often associated with Middle Eastern states

modernization: the act of incorporating new ideas or technology

a document that, after approval in a March 1973 plebiscite, became the permanent constitution. After declaring the Syrian people to be the ultimate repository of national sovereignty, the 1973 constitution outlines a democratic socialist system whose principal feature is a very dominant executive. Providing for a seven-year presidential term of office, the document empowers the president to appoint and remove vice presidents, the prime minister, deputy prime ministers, and other members of the Council of Ministers. In addition, it grants the president authority to dissolve the People's Council and to call national plebiscites to **ratify** legislative measures not adopted by the parliament.

Although the 1973 constitution grants the People's Council the authority to veto or amend presidential decrees, the president's power to dissolve the council at will and to take over legislative functions during its adjournment renders it the weakest of government institutions. Members of the People's Council, which totals 250 persons, were elected to four-year terms in March 2003.

Syria consists of fourteen provinces, and the subnational government is organized along provincial lines. Each province is administered by a governor appointed by the central government. Each governor is advised by a provincial council, 75 percent of whose members are elected by popular ballot, with the remainder appointed. Since 1970 these councils have exercised little decision-making autonomy, focusing instead on the implementation of central government decisions. Provinces are further subdivided into districts, each having its own elected district council and appointed district officials.

Municipal councils provide public services at the local government level, licensing businesses and supervising the collection of local taxes. Each municipal council is headed by a mayor. The city of Damascus constituted a separate **governorate** until 1987, when it was merged with the surrounding province of Damascus to form a single administrative unit. The central government bureaucracy responsible for administrative functions is highly politicized and consists largely of Ba'th Party members.

Nominally independent of the central government, the judicial branch in practice is under the direct control of the executive branch. Justices of the Supreme Constitutional Court, which rules on the constitutionality of laws and decrees as well as on electoral disputes, are appointed to four-year terms by the president. Like all other facets of the Syrian political and administrative system, members of the Supreme Constitutional Court are thus a product of the regime and, in particular, the president. Similarly, the president is chairman of the High Judicial Council, which is responsible for ensuring the independence of the court system, which appoints, transfers, and dismisses judges. The 1973 constitution specifically charges the High Judicial Council with assisting the president to ensure the independence of the judiciary. A system of supreme state security and supreme economic security courts deals with national security issues.

POLITICAL LIFE UNDER THE REGIME

Bashar al-Asad is the second son of Hafiz al-Asad. At first not attracted to politics, he studied medicine at the University of Damascus, later completing his postgraduate education and specialization in the United Kingdom. Asad eventually entered the Homs Military Academy in 1994, graduating first in his class and rising quickly through the ranks to become a colonel in 1999. Entrusted with military and political responsibilities much heavier than justified by his junior rank, he became commander in chief of the armed forces as well as secretary general of the Ba'th Party. He also served as president of the Syrian Computer Society, a role often cited by the regime as an indication of his interest in **modernization**.

Elected to a seven-year presidential term in July 2000, Asad received over 97 percent of the official vote tally. As the sixteenth president of the Syrian Arab Republic he emphasized the dual themes of continuity and change that characterized the initial years of his presidency. Asad cautiously promoted limited **socioeconomic** change to stimulate the economy and generate popular support but delayed broader economic reforms out of fear they would lead to calls for political reform and democratization.

Early on Asad displayed considerable political skill, eliminating potential rivals and promoting younger officials dedicated to modernization. He also made clear his distaste for a cult of personality, a prominent feature of his father's regime. Another sign of a more liberal inclination was his promise to reactivate the role of the Progressive National Front, a 1972 coalition of political groups dominated by the Ba'th Party. Asad also granted amnesty in 2000 to several hundred political prisoners, including members of the Muslim Brotherhood and some communists, and decreed a 25 percent salary increase for public sector workers.

The mounting regional tensions that eventually led to the U.S. occupation of Iraq in 2003 diverted Asad's attention from domestic issues and dampened expectations of rapid economic and political change. Early liberalization measures, known as the Damascus Spring, soon were tarnished by steps taken to reassert the authority of the old regime, including a crackdown in mid-2001 on political discussion groups and the imprisonment of pro-democracy militants. The March 2003 parliamentary elections were held under largely unaltered rules, and the Ba'th Party won two-thirds of the seats, leaving the previous allocation basically unmodified. Moreover, some 1,000 political prisoners and activists of the Damascus Spring remained in prison.

Although Asad appeared to reverse course in mid-2003, implementing a new round of relatively minor reform measures, most observers dismissed them as largely cosmetic. In early March 2004 protesters demonstrating outside the People's Council were arrested, and human rights advocates were jailed later in that month for belonging to a banned group. In April 2004 a gun battle with alleged Islamic **fundamentalists** rocked Damascus, and in May 2004 the U.S. government imposed economic sanctions on Syria for supporting terrorism and impeding U.S. efforts to stabilize Iraq. Under siege, the Asad regime kept broader reforms on hold, fearful that they would cause further political destabilization. Consequently, wider economic and political reforms remain the dominant long-term issue in Syrian politics.

See also: Jordan; Lebanon.

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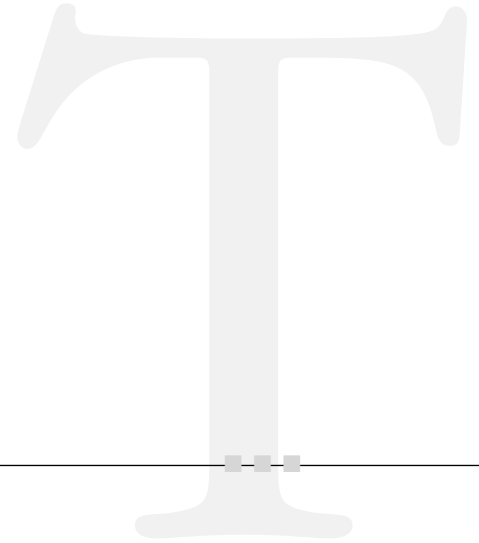
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socioeconomic: relating to the traits of income, class, and education

fundamentalism: a philosophy marked by an extreme and literal interpretation of religious texts and an inability to compromise on doctrine or policy

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Ronald Bruce St John



Taiwan

Taiwan, an island territory off the southeastern coast of China, straddles the Tropic of Cancer in the South China Sea, north of the Philippines. It consists of one main island and several smaller islands in the Taiwan Strait. Its area is 35,980 square kilometers (10,030 square miles), and its population was approximately 22,749,838 in July 2004. Taiwan's per capita income in 2003 was estimated to be \$23,400. Its economy has grown dramatically in the last three decades of the twentieth century, and it is a major exporter of electronics and other manufactured goods to the world market. The residents of this mountainous island are nearly all immigrants or descendants of immigrants from mainland China (98%). Most of these people, known as the "Taiwanese," can trace their heritage back to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century immigrants. Officially and in the view of the international community Taiwan is a province of China, but it maintains a robust political independence that belies its provincial status.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Taiwan's political future has long been murky. For centuries the island state has engaged with the mainland across the Taiwan Straits. In addition to the immigrant ties that bind Taiwan to mainland China, there are political ties as well. Beginning in 1680, Qing Dynasty (1644–1912) officials in Beijing ruled Taiwan as a prefecture. In 1887 Qing authorities declared it to be a separate province.

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 those political ties were severed when Taiwan became a Japanese colony. For the next fifty years colonial authorities integrated Taiwan's economy and political system with Japan's. At World War II's end (1945) Japan was forced to surrender control of the island, which then reverted back to China.

At the same time that Taiwan returned to Chinese control, the political situation on the mainland turned tenuous. After the evacuation of Japanese forces from China, Chiang Kai-shek's (1887–1975) Nationalist troops began to engage

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

martial law: rule by military forces in an occupied territory or rule by military officials declared during a national emergency

liberalization: the process of lowering trade barriers and tariffs and reducing government economic regulations

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

plurality: more votes than any other candidate, but less than half of the total number of votes

Mao Tse-Tung's (1893–1976) Communist troops for control of the country. By 1949 it had become clear that the Nationalist troops were outmatched, and Chiang began relocating his government to the relatively safe offshore island of Taiwan. By the end of that year nearly 2 million “mainlanders” arrived in Taiwan, becoming a powerful minority group relative to the more numerous Taiwanese. Although the war was technically ongoing, the Communists were free to establish their **regime** on the mainland, while Chiang retained control of Taiwan. Both Mao's People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland and Chiang's Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan claimed to be the legitimate government of all of China, including Taiwan.

Between 1945 and 1975 Chiang was the undisputed leader of the ROC on Taiwan. Recognized and protected by the United States, Chiang strictly controlled the press and suppressed any movements toward Taiwanese independence from China. Utilizing **martial law**, Chiang maintained his one-party system of government and was reelected repeatedly by the National Assembly up to the time of his death. Furthermore, his party, the *Guomindang* (GMD), reserved nearly all high government positions for mainlanders, alienating the majority Taiwanese population.

After Chiang's death in 1975 his son, Chiang Ching-kuo (1910–1988), succeeded him and initiated a process of political **liberalization** for Taiwan. He suspended martial law, began restructuring the government, and, most important, began appointing Taiwanese to high positions in the administration. The most visible of those appointments was Lee Teng-hui (b. 1923), who served as Chiang Ching-kuo's vice president from 1984 to 1988. By the time of his death in 1988 Chiang Ching-kuo had laid the foundations for a burgeoning democracy.

When Lee assumed the presidency in 1988, Taiwan's process of political liberalization quickened. Lee had been born in Taiwan during the period of Japanese occupation and therefore was considered Taiwanese. He had earned a doctorate in agricultural economics from Cornell University in the United States and was committed to creating a legitimate democratic state. Lee was elected president by the National Assembly in 1990 and then was reelected, this time in an island-wide general election, in 1996.

The presidential election of 2000 marked another important shift in Taiwan's political development. Lee stepped down as president, and it appeared as if the oppositional party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), had a legitimate chance to win the presidency. With Chen Shui-bian (b. 1950) as its candidate the DPP advocated rewriting the constitution and holding a popular **referendum** on independence. After garnering a **plurality** of votes cast, though falling short of a majority, Chen was sworn in as the president in 2000.

Chen's first term in office was less successful than many had hoped it would be. He continually battled with the legislature, which was still dominated by Chiang Kai-shek's old GMD party. The economy was stuck in the doldrums, and it appeared Chen would not be reelected in 2004. His narrow margin of victory, coupled with an assassination attempt the day before the election, led many to protest the election and question Taiwan's political stability. For a “rogue province” or “pseudo-state” such as Taiwan, political confusion seems to be the natural condition.

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

Taiwan's current government structure consists of five branches, or five *yuan*: the executive branch, legislative branch, judicial branch, examination branch, and control branch. The most powerful single position in the government is the

president of the republic. The ministers of the executive branch serve as the president's cabinet. The legislative branch is charged with creating laws, passing budgets, and negotiating treaties. The judicial branch, consisting of grand justices appointed by the president, is the highest court in the nation and is responsible for interpreting laws and protecting civil liberties. The examination branch is in many ways a remnant of the **imperial** civil service examination system. In addition to administering civil service examinations, it functions as a ministry of personnel. The final *yuan*, the control branch, supervises the government and monitors corruption and efficiency. It has the power to **impeach** members of the other branches.

After their 1949 retreat to the offshore island, officials of the ROC reestablished the five-branch system of government on Taiwan. The most powerful government body at that time was the National Assembly. The National Assembly, elected in 1947, was charged with rewriting the constitution. Because the members of the National Assembly represented constituencies on the mainland and were physically separated from those constituencies, they were allowed to maintain their government positions "indefinitely." Consequently, the same members of the assembly who were elected in 1947 continued to control the National Assembly until the 1980s.

With the political liberalization of the 1980s the National Assembly experienced a marked transformation. Many of the **delegates** were encouraged to step down, and in 1990 the Council of Grand Justices announced that all remaining members of the 1947 election would be retired at the end of 1991. At the same time the government officially announced that it did not "dispute the fact that the PRC controls the mainland" (Liu 2004). Although such a statement simply recognized the undeniable reality that had existed for four decades, it was significant in that it signaled a change in the makeup of the National Assembly. In 1991 voters from across the island went to the polls and elected a new National Assembly.

This new assembly immediately set out to rewrite the constitution and provide for even greater democratic involvement of the island's population. Accordingly, the legislative branch, which previously had been simply a rubber stamp for the president, assumed more power and authority relative to the president. Similarly, the National Assembly called for direct presidential elections. After instituting those changes, the National Assembly members agreed to dissolve the assembly, surrendering control to the popularly elected legislative *yuan*.

Compared with the drastic changes in the legislative and executive branches, the judicial and examination branches have continued to serve their intended purpose. At the same time the control branch has become increasingly active in investigating and prosecuting government officials suspected of corruption. In short, although the five-branch system of government remains basically intact, the responsibilities and powers of those *yuan* have undergone drastic changes since the 1980s.

MULTIPARTY POLITICS IN TAIWAN

Along with the expansion of democratic participation, since the 1980s Taiwan has seen the development of a multiparty political system. The *Guomindang* (the National People's Party,

imperialism: extension of the control of one nation over another, especially through territorial, economic, and political expansion

impeach: to accuse of a crime or misconduct, especially a high official; to remove from a position, especially as a result of criminal activity

delegate: to assign power to another, or, one who represents another



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)



THE EAST GATE IN TAIPEI, TAIWAN IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Built in the shape of a stone in 1882, the city of Taipei has five stone walls called “gates”—East Gate, West Gate, South Gate, Secondary South Gate, and North Gate. Taipei became Taiwan’s administrative capital in 1894 and the seat of the Republic of China in 1949. (SOURCE: © FREE AGENTS LIMITED/CORBIS.)

often referred to as the GMD or Nationalists) was the party of Chiang Kai-shek. The GMD continues to exist and wield tremendous influence in Taiwan’s political arena. Because it was the only legal party before 1991, it enjoyed all the privileges of power and networking. By the 1990s the GMD owned a large number of banks, media outlets, and petrochemical companies, with a combined value of approximately \$6.5 billion. Not surprisingly, the GMD was riddled with corruption and fraud.

Despite its wealth and influence the GMD presided over the development of a multiparty system. During the 1980s the GMD allowed nonparty candidates to run for office, and in 1991 it legalized the formation of opposition parties. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) has been the most successful of these parties. Favoring independence from the mainland, the DPP appeals to Taiwanese who have felt limited and frustrated by GMD and mainlander privileges. In the 1992 election the DPP demonstrated it was a powerful political player, winning 51 of the 161 seats in the legislative *luan*. Since that time the

DPP has continued to expand its influence, winning the presidential race in 2000. The 2000 election results caught the attention of many international observers, demonstrating Taiwan's rapid shift from a one-party state based on martial law to a true multiparty democracy.

As is frequently the case with two dominant political parties, the GMD and the DPP moved closer to the center between 2000 and 2004. For example, whereas the GMD favors eventual reunification with the mainland and the DPP favors independence, both sides have backed away from rigid interpretations of those goals. As a result more extreme members of both parties have broken away and formed new parties. Some of those parties include the People First Party, New Party, Taiwan Solidarity Union, and Taiwan Independence Party. During the 2004 elections the People First Party and New Party worked together with the GMD under the Pan-Blue Alliance, and the Taiwan Solidarity Union and Taiwan Independence Party worked together with the DPP under the Pan-Green Alliance. Because of the maturation of these alliances and their appeal to the center of the electorate, many observers predicted the 2004 election would be extremely close. Few, if any, however, could have predicted the extremely narrow margin of victory or the unusual events that transpired during the final twenty-four hours of campaigning.

In his hometown of Tainan, Taiwan's president, Chen Shui-bian, had been campaigning on the last day before the election, accompanied by his vice president, Annette Lu (b. 1944). As the crowd cheered and firecrackers exploded, Chen and Lu were rushed to the hospital with gunshot wounds. The wounds turned out to be minor, with Chen insisting that he would be fine and that the election should continue. The next day, March 20, 2004, Chen won the election by a mere 0.2 percent, or 30,000 votes out of 13 million cast. Immediately, the opposition candidates began to suggest that the assassination attempt had been a ploy designed to win sympathy votes. Hundreds of thousands of protesters took to the streets demanding a recount or new election. Hoping to convince the skeptics, Chen took the rare step of releasing photos of his wounded abdomen.

News reporters in Beijing quickly jumped on the story, describing it as a sign of the violent and dangerous nature of democracy. "We will not sit by watching should the post-election situation in Taiwan get out of control, leading to social turmoil, endangering the lives and property of our flesh-and-blood brothers and affecting stability across the Taiwan Strait," one report stated (Bradsher 2004).

Others, however, were more optimistic in their appraisal. Because the demonstrations were largely peaceful and both parties sought the moral high ground, some suggested that Taiwan's democracy was healthy and strong. If Taiwan could survive such a tumultuous election, they contended, democracy would truly find a home in this island state.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

It is impossible to understand Taiwan's domestic politics without understanding its international relations. Because the PRC government on the mainland still claims **sovereignty** over Taiwan and the ROC government on Taiwan has not declared Taiwan to be independent, international organizations and states have had to choose which government to recognize. Before the 1970s the United States and most of its allies maintained formal relations with the ROC. Since that time most nations, including the United States, have severed formal diplomatic ties with the ROC in favor of establishing relations with the PRC on the mainland. In 2004 the Commonwealth of Dominica severed ties with Taiwan, leaving only twenty-six countries recognizing Taiwan's government. Most of those countries

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity

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FACT SHEET ON TAIWAN

Political System: Multiparty democracy. There are four major parties, with the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) holding a plurality of seats in the legislature.

Constitution: Created December 25, 1946; last amended 2000.

Branches of Government (the *yuan*): executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and control.

Major Political Parties: Democratic Progressive Party (DPP); the *Guomindang* (GMD or Nationalist Party), People First Party (PFP), Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU).

Suffrage: Universal for citizens over twenty years of age.

Last Proposed National Budget (for fiscal year 2003): \$45.6 billion.

Defense Spending (for 2003): 16.82 percent of entire national budget.

Flag: Red field with white sun in blue rectangle in upper left corner.

(including such states as Kiribati, Palau, and Tuvalu) are small and underdeveloped, hoping to benefit from immense amounts of Taiwanese aid.

Taiwan's precarious international position affects more than its state-to-state relations. Taiwan repeatedly faces problems when dealing with international organizations ranging from the Olympics to the World Trade Organization (WTO). During the SARS epidemic of 2003 the PRC government in Beijing decried the actions of the World Health Organization (WHO) in Taiwan, insisting that the organization had failed to coordinate its work with government ministers on the mainland. Similar confusion followed international relief efforts in the wake of Taiwan's 1999 earthquake. When it is allowed to participate in international organizations, Taiwan often is given nonstate or nonvoting status.

In an attempt to continue the relatively calm status quo the United States has followed a policy of intentional ambiguity. By neither committing to the defense of Taiwan nor to **neutrality**, it has sought to keep both the mainland and Taiwan from engaging in provocative actions. It sells weapons to Taiwan to defend itself but withholds the most advanced weaponry in the U.S. arsenal. Not surprisingly, these regular military procurements antagonize Chinese authorities in Beijing.

CITIZEN RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

The liberalization of Taiwan in the wake of four decades of **authoritarian** rule by Chiang Kai-Shek and his successor son has been effective. Freedom House (the nonprofit organization founded by Eleanor Roosevelt that is dedicated to the advancement of democracy) recently rated Taiwan as a free country, giving it political rights and civil liberties scores of 2 on its 7-point scale, where 1 represents the maximum level of freedom.

The confusion and instability surrounding the 2004 presidential election marked another episode in Taiwan's long and confusing political drama. Taiwan's history, in terms of both domestic politics and foreign relations, has captivated the attention of international observers for many decades. Despite the uncertainty of the future, it is clear that Taiwan has experienced some remarkable and drastic political changes in the post-World War II world.

See also: China (PRC).

neutrality: the quality of not taking sides, as in a conflict

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

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Tajikistan

Tajikistan, a landlocked country in Central Asia, is bordered by Uzbekistan to the west and north, Kyrgyzstan to the north, China to the east, and Afghanistan to the south. With an area of 143,100 square kilometers (55,235 square miles), it is slightly smaller than Wisconsin. Its climate features cold winters and hot summers and varies dramatically with elevation.

As of 2003 Tajikistan's population was estimated at 6.25 million. The prominent ethnicities are Tajik (67%) and Uzbek (23%). The prominent religions are Sunni Muslim (80%) followed by Shia Muslim (5%).

Tajikistan was annexed by Russia in the late nineteenth century. It did achieve independence for a short time beginning in 1920 but quickly was brought under control by the Bolshevik authorities, becoming the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1936 Tajikistan was formally integrated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) as a union republic. Tajikistan declared full independence in September 1991.

In the years after independence Tajikistan experienced a five-year civil war as a result of tribal clashes that lasted from 1992 to 1997. In the aftermath of the breakdown of authority of the Soviet empire, chaos ensued. At the beginning of the civil war, the first president, Rakhmon Nabyev (1930–1993), was forced out of office and was replaced by Emomali Rahmonov (b. 1952), a leading Communist Party member. Rahmonov remained as acting head of state until 1994, when he won the presidential election. Election fraud was alleged, and other candidates either boycotted or were prevented from participating.

Formally, Tajikistan is a **constitutional republic** with a strong executive branch. The president is head of state and Supreme Assembly chairperson and has broad authority in appointing and dismissing officials. Originally the president was directly elected for a single seven-year term, but in June 2003 a constitutional **referendum** allowed Rahmonov to serve two additional seven-year terms.

The legislative branch is bicameral parliament consisting of the upper house, the *Majlisi Oli* (National Assembly), and the lower house, the *Majlisi Namoyandagon* (Assembly of Representatives). The *Majlisi Oli*'s thirty-three members are either appointed by the president or elected by regional assemblies; the *Majlisi Namoyandagon*'s sixty-three members are directly elected. All legislators serve five-year terms.

The judiciary is influenced by the executive branch and has no authority to review legislative acts. The president appoints the justices for five-year terms.

During the civil war in Tajikistan the Supreme Court banned several political parties that were in opposition to the government. In August 1999 that ban was lifted, and the opposition parties again were allowed to register and function in Tajikistan.

constitutional republic: a system of government marked by both a supreme written constitution and elected officials who administer the powers of government

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Even with the right to freedom of the press, journalists often are harassed and intimidated; this influences what is reported concerning political issues and other sensitive topics. Public media sources are mostly state-run because obtaining a broadcast license is cumbersome and expensive. Freedom of religion generally is allowed, but religious groups are required to register with the government to be legally recognized. In 2005 Tajikistan remained **authoritarian** and nondemocratic.

See also: Ukraine.

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Cara Richards

Tanzania

Tanzania is situated on the eastern coast of Africa, bordering the Indian Ocean to the east, Kenya and Uganda to the north, Mozambique to the south, and Malawi, Zambia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi to the west. Its name comes from the combination of the names of two former British colonies: mainland Tanganyika and the much smaller islands of Zanzibar and Pemba (hereafter Zanzibar), which merged in 1964 to form Tanzania. The merger with Zanzibar has never been complete—Zanzibar retains considerable autonomy—and continued political difficulties on Zanzibar raise the specter of the merger dissolving at some point.

Tanzania's land area is just over 945,000 square kilometers (365,750 square miles), about twice the size of California. Its coastal regions are tropical in climate, but its western highlands, topped by Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest peak in Africa (5,895 meters; 19,340 feet), exhibit much more temperate conditions. On the north and west Tanzania borders on Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika, and Lake Nyasa, three of Africa's largest and most spectacular lakes. Tanzania's capital and largest city is Dar es Salaam, which has a population estimated at 2.5 million.

Tanzania's population in 2004 was estimated to be 36,588,225. Its mainland resident people are overwhelmingly (99%) native African in origin, representing over 100 traditional tribal groups. The approximately 800,000 people of Zanzibar are more diverse, consisting of Arabs, Africans, and mixed Arab-Africans. In contrast, the mainland is religiously diverse: 30 percent of the population is Christian; 35 percent, Muslim; and 35 percent, animist. Zanzibar is 99 percent Muslim.

Tanzania's official language is Kiswahili or Swahili, the **lingua franca** not only of Tanzania but also of much of central and eastern Africa, but most Tanzanians

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

lingua franca: a universal or very common language

FAST FACTS

The capital of Tanzania in 2005 remained Dar es Salaam; legislative offices were moved to the city of Dodoma in 1996, but complete transfer of the government to that city had stalled.

imperialism: extension of the control of one nation over another, especially through territorial, economic, and political expansion

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

pan-Africanist: an advocate for the unity of all African nations

socialism: any of various economic and political theories advocating collective or governmental ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods

speak a local language or dialect as their first language. English is also an official language, and English and Arabic are used in business and government. Seventy-eight percent of Tanzania's adult population is literate in Kiswahili, English, or Arabic. Its proximity to Rwanda, Burundi, and the Republic of the Congo and its relatively peaceful conditions have made Tanzania the home of the largest refugee population in Africa (650,000 refugees in 2001).

Tanzania is a very poor nation with a largely agricultural economy, with 80 percent of its population employed in agriculture. Its 2003 per capita income was estimated to be \$600. This figure tied Tanzania with its neighbors Burundi and Malawi and with the Gaza Strip for the 225th rank out of 231 countries and territories whose incomes are estimated in the 2004 U.S. Central Intelligence Service's *World Factbook*. The poverty and generally poor state of public health in Tanzania lead to a relatively short life expectancy of just over forty-four years, which ranks Tanzania 205th out of 225 ranked nations on this key health indicator. Like many of its neighbors in southern Africa, Tanzania has a relatively high incidence of HIV/AIDS among its population: 8.8 percent of its adult population was estimated to be infected with AIDS in 2003. This was the twelfth highest estimated incidence of AIDS in the world. Deaths from malaria are also very common.

HISTORY

Before the arrival of the Europeans, who turned the mainland territory of Tanganyika into an imperial possession, people in the territory lived in relatively small tribal societies headed by chiefs. Germany established colonial control over the territory, labeling it German East Africa, in 1884. When Germany lost World War I (1914–1918), it also lost its African colonies, and Tanganyika was assigned to Great Britain as a trust territory under the auspices of the League of Nations. Britain's trusteeship was renewed by the United Nations when that body was organized after World War II (1939–1945) and lasted until Great Britain granted Tanganyika independence on December 9, 1961. Tanganyika gained its independence under the leadership of Julius Nyerere (c. 1922–1999), a former school teacher and **nationalist** political organizer and the leader of what became the nation's dominant political party, the Tanganyikan (later Tanzanian) African National Union (TANU).

Zanzibar, although small, was historically a very wealthy territory, largely as a result of its prominence in the spice trade. The Portuguese had had a presence there since the days of their great voyages of exploration but were driven out by the native population and their Arab allies at the end of the seventeenth century. The Sultan of Zanzibar signed over control of the territory to the British East Africa Association in 1887. Like Tanganyika, Zanzibar gained its independence from the British on December 9, 1961.

The great disparity in size and population between Tanganyika and Zanzibar led to their uniting as Tanzania in April 1964 under the leadership of Nyerere. Reflecting its previously independent status and different society and culture, Zanzibar remained semiautonomous under the United Republic of Tanzania, a federal state. Zanzibar retained its own president, legislature, and judiciary.

As leader of the independent Tanganyika and the united Tanzania, Nyerere was one of the most respected and influential leaders and political thinkers of the early years of independence of the African nations. Nyerere was a committed **pan-Africanist** and one of the cofounders of the Organization for African Unity. As the leader of TANU he defined a political philosophy and national policy based on African **socialism**, economic independence, and *ujamaa* (familyhood). Unfortunately, Nyerere's economic



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

policies, which often were criticized as being well intentioned but naive, failed to produce the growth in mass well-being for which he hoped, and Tanzania still struggles to achieve significant economic progress.

Politically, Nyerere, like many leaders of the newly independent African states, feared that allowing political competition would threaten his nation with disintegration as individual parties appealed to narrow regional and ethnic political interests. Like them, Nyerere officially established TANU—renamed Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) or the “Party of the Revolution” in 1977—as the nation’s dominant and sole party. Unlike his contemporaries, however, Nyerere voluntarily gave up the presidency of his country, becoming the first African president to do so. He retired from active political life in 1985 but, until his death in 1999, remained an important presence in Tanzanian politics.

Nyerere was replaced by Ali Hassan Mwinyi (b. 1925). Mwinyi began changing the collectivist and unsuccessful economic policies established by Nyerere, but he was limited in what he could achieve while Nyerere was still alive and politically influential. Mwinyi served until 1995, when Tanzania’s one-party state came to an effective end with the holding of the nation’s first multiparty elections. CCM’s Benjamin William Mkapa (b. 1938) won the 1995 elections with 61.8 percent of the vote. A former TANU activist, government minister, ambassador to the United States, and National Assembly member, Mkapa ran with the blessing of Nyerere. After Nyerere’s death Mkapa was reelected in 2000 with 71.7 percent of the vote and was still serving as Tanzania’s president in late 2004, with the next elections scheduled for October 2005. He has won considerable international praise for

his continuation and expansion of the free market economic reforms begun by his predecessor. Amani Abeid Karume (b. 1948) was elected to the office of the president of Zanzibar on the same date as Mkapa's election.

GOVERNMENT

Tanzania's government operates under a constitution originally adopted in 1965, which has been much amended, most significantly in 1992, when it was altered to allow multiparty politics. The constitution establishes the president as chief of state and chief of government as well as head of his political party and commander in chief of the armed forces. The president is elected by direct popular vote for a five-year term and is limited by the constitution to a maximum of two terms. There are two vice presidents. The first vice president is appointed by the president to succeed him if necessary. The second vice president is the president of Zanzibar, who is elected directly by his **constituents** and has responsibility for much of the internal government of the island. The president also appoints the members of his cabinet and the prime minister of the National Assembly.

constituency: the people who either elect or are represented by an elected official

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

The constitution establishes a unicameral legislature, the National Assembly (*Bunge*). The Interparliamentary Union and the website of the National Assembly report that the *Bunge* consists of 295 seats: 231 elected by direct popular election; 47 allocated to women who are elected by their political parties on the basis of **proportional representation** among political parties represented in the National Assembly; 5 members elected by the Zanzibar House of Representatives from among its members; the attorney general; and 10 members nominated by the president. However, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's *World Factbook 2004* and several other sources report that the National Assembly has 274 seats, of which 232 are elected by popular vote, 37 are allocated to women nominated by the president, and 5 are allocated to members of the Zanzibar House of Representatives. The National Assembly has authority over lawmaking for the United Republic and for mainland Tanzania.

The constitution also provides for a House of Representatives for Zanzibar, which has lawmaking power for the island and its citizens. The House of Representatives has fifty directly elected members.

monopoly: the domination of a market by one firm or company

Although Tanzania is no longer a one-party **monopoly** state, there is little doubt about the domination of the political system by the CCM, which, as of late 2004, held the presidency, 244 seats in the National Assembly, and 34 seats in the Zanzibar House of Representatives. Other legislative seats are held by the Party of Democracy and Development (CHADEMA), the Civic United Front, the Tanzania Labor Party, and the United Democratic Party.

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

appellate: a court having jurisdiction to review the findings of lower courts

magistrate: an official with authority over a government, usually a judicial official with limited jurisdiction over criminal cases

The Tanzanian judicial system has a four-level structure headed by the Court of Appeal, which consists of a chief justice and four other judges. Below the Court of Appeal lies the High Court. The High Court consists of a chief judge and twenty-nine other judges. It has unlimited **jurisdiction** over both civil and criminal cases and exercises **appellate** jurisdiction over the decisions of the judges at the next level of the hierarchy, the district or resident **magistrate's** courts. At the bottom of the judicial hierarchy lie the primary courts, the principal courts of first instance in the localities. There are also specialized courts: a military tribunal, a permanent labor tribunal, commercial courts, and juvenile court. The national judiciary was judged in the 2003 U.S. Department of State's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* as being formally independent but subject to considerable corruption and inefficiency, especially in Zanzibar.

CITIZEN RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Constitutionally, Tanzania has universal suffrage for adults over the age of eighteen. Voters choose the president and most members of parliament in direct elections. The constitution mandates that at least 20 percent of the seats in the National Assembly be held by women. As of late 2004 the assembly had sixty-three women members (21.8%), with forty-eight members of that group holding the special seats described in the section on the legislature.

International observers of Tanzania's elections have concluded that since multiparty elections began the elections have been generally free and fair. This has not been the case for Zanzibar, however. The 2000 elections there were judged by international observers to have been "seriously marred by irregularities and politically motivated violence" (U.S. Department of State, 2004). The election difficulties in Zanzibar and the continued domination of the political system by the CCM raise serious questions about the extent to which the citizens of Tanzania are in reality free to change their government when they see fit.

Tanzania's citizens also reportedly are subject to persistent although not extensive abuses by government security forces and citizens' patrols set up to assist the authorities. Abuses occur especially in connection with the large number of refugees to Tanzania, who have fled from the genocide and violent conflicts that have occurred in some of Tanzania's neighboring states. The government has imposed some limitations on basic rights such as freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Women and children continue to experience violence and abuse, and female genital mutilation remains common. Traditional beliefs in witchcraft continue to motivate violence against and even killings of persons accused of witchcraft, especially in the western part of the country. Government corruption is a significant problem: Tanzania ranked ninetieth (on a scale in which the rank of one is least corrupt) among the 144 nations named on the *Corruption Perceptions Index 2004* compiled by Transparency International.

However, there have been few instances of **extrajudicial** killing, torture, or disappearance of political activist or opponents of the government, and Tanzania's citizens have not been subject to the extreme political violence characteristic of its neighbors. Consequently, Freedom House's *Freedom in the World 2004* ranks Tanzania as a "partly free" nation, assigns it a ranking of 4 (where 1 is "most free") on its 7-point index of political freedom and a 3 on its similar index of civil liberties, and notes that it made progress toward greater citizen freedom in the last decade of the twentieth century; in 1994 Tanzania was rated as "not free" and assigned scores of 6.

Tanzania also has made economic progress, in part because of the **liberalization** of the economy after the passing of Nyerere and his beloved *ujumaa*. Real growth rates generally have exceeded 5 percent, and discoveries of oil and gas and increases in the production of minerals—especially gold—have expanded the resource base for income and government revenues. Industrial growth has been occurring. These may be hopeful signs for Tanzania's future.

See also: Colonies and Colonialism; Federalism; Uganda.

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extrajudicial: outside the legal system; lacking the legitimating authority of the government

liberalization: the process of lowering trade barriers and tariffs and reducing government economic regulations

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Thailand

The Kingdom of Thailand is situated in Southeast Asia on the Gulf of Thailand and the Andaman Sea and has borders with Myanmar (Burma), Cambodia, Laos, and Malaysia. Bangkok is the country's capital and largest city, with an estimated population in 2004 of almost 5 million people. Thailand has a tropical climate. The country has three seasons—a hot, dry season from March to May; a hot, wet period from June to October; and a cool, dry season from November to February.

Thailand covers 513,115 square kilometers (198,115 square miles). The country is distinguished by four main land regions: the Central Plain or Central Lowlands; the North or the Mountainous North; the Northeast or Khorat Plateau; and the Southern Peninsula.

In 2004 Thailand had an estimated population of 64,865,523; its population growth rate was 0.91 percent annually. Improvements in health care have reduced the death rate, but the birthrate remains high. The majority of Thailand's people live in rural areas.

Most of Thailand's people belong to the Thai ethnic group (75%). People of Chinese origin make up the second largest population group (15%). The next largest groups are the Malays and Khmers. Small ethnic groups include the Hmong, the Karen, and other isolated hill peoples in the far north and northwest and a number of Indians and Vietnamese. Thai is the language spoken by almost all people in the country. English also is taught in schools and often is used in business and government affairs.

The villages of rural Thailand are centered on a *wat* (Buddhist temple-monastery), which serves as the religious and social center of the community. Village life traditionally has been organized around religious and agricultural rituals and festivals. Radio and television now also have a strong influence. Since the early 1960s large numbers of Thai—especially young adults—have moved from rural areas to cities in search of jobs and educational opportunities. As a result a large educated middle class has emerged in Bangkok and other cities. However, Thai cities have had to cope with serious problems caused by rapid population growth. Such problems include crowded living conditions, traffic jams, pollution, the growth of prostitution, and the spread of AIDS.

Most Thais are Buddhists, but the Chinese population in Thailand follows Confucianism in addition to practicing other religions. The majority of Thailand's Malays are Muslims. Hinduism is the main religion among Indians. Approximately 1 percent of the nation's people are Christians.

Ninety-three percent of the adult population is literate. Thai law requires children to attend school from age seven to fourteen. The government provides free public education, but some students attend private schools. In 2002 over 43 percent (1.8 million) of age-eligible students were enrolled in higher education in universities, technology institutes, teaching colleges, and vocational colleges.

Thailand experienced rapid economic development in the last two decades of the twentieth century, although its growth was slowed by the Asia-wide financial crisis of 1997–1998. Its economy is now diverse and in the early twenty-first century once again was growing at a healthy rate. Only 10 percent of Thailand's gross domestic product comes from agriculture; 44 percent, from manufacturing; and 46 percent, from services. Thailand's per capita income in 2004 was estimated to be \$7,300, about the same as that of Brazil, Bulgaria, and Namibia.

HISTORY

The history of the country that is known today as Thailand can be dated to 1238, when the Thai Kingdom declared its independence from the broader Khmer empire. Known as Siam for centuries, it officially took the name Thailand on May 11, 1949. The word *thai* means “free,” and therefore *Thailand* means “Land of the Free.” The name is appropriate, for Thailand is the only country in South or Southeast Asia that has never been dominated by an imperial power. Portuguese envoys, arriving in 1511, were the first Europeans to visit Siam, but unlike the rest of Southeast Asia, Thailand never became a European colony.

Thais give great credit for their historical independence to the nineteenth-century King Mongkut (1804–1868; also known as Rama IV, he reigned from 1851 to 1868), who began the modernization of Thai institutions to develop the ability to resist pressure from the British and other imperial powers for concessions and extraterritorial power in his kingdom. Mongkut's reforms were continued and intensified by his son, Chulalongkorn (1853–1910; Rama V, who reigned from 1868 to 1910). Chulalongkorn abolished slavery and introduced railroads, telegraph services, and scientific education.

The exposure to Western ideology culminated in a bloodless revolution in 1932 in which an elite group of civil servants and military officers (“the Promoters”) demanded a constitutional government that would limit the powers of the king. The 1932 revolution also began the struggle between military and civilian groups for control of the government, a continuing feature of Thai political life into the twenty-first century. Since 1932 Thailand has had over fifty cabinets and sixteen constitutions.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

imperialism: extension of the control of one nation over another, especially through territorial, economic, and political expansion

Disagreements among the Promoters led to a gradual consolidation of governmental power by the military that continued through World War II (1939–1945), mostly under the leadership of Luang Pibul Songgram (1897–1964), who held power in his own name from December 1938 through August, 1944. Songgram was an admirer of Japan because of its strength and independence from Western imperialism, but when World War II broke out, he was forced to make many concessions to the conquering Japanese army and was forced from office by popular and military pressure in 1944. Songgram and the other Thai leaders were able to fend off full Japanese control of the country and avoid the wrath of the victorious Allies by failing to deliver on the declaration of war on Britain and the United States that Thailand was forced to make by the Japanese.

Songgram was replaced by a series of civilian prime ministers, the most notable of whom was his principal rival for power among the Promoters, the civilian and civil servant Pridi Phanomyong (1900–1983). However, Pridi retained the office for only eighteen months before being forced to resign and leave the country because of rumors linking him to the death of King Ananda Mahidol (1935–1946; Rama VIII), who had returned only recently to Bangkok from his wartime exile in Switzerland.

In 1947 a bloodless military **coup** brought Field Marshal Songgram back to power, and he ruled until a similar coup in 1957 replaced him with Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat (1908–1963). Sarit died in 1963, and his successor, General (later Field Marshal) Thanom Kittikachorn (1911–2004), initiated a brief return to fractionalized politically civilian rule in 1968 but replaced it with martial rule in 1971 as unrest mounted. In 1973 an **interim** civilian government was led by Sanya Dhamasakti (1907–2002).

Elections held in 1975 failed to produce a majority, and **coalition** governments led by Seni Pramroj (1905–1997) and then Kukrit Pramroj (1911–1995) failed to unite the divided nation. Seni was reelected to office in 1976 but later that year was ousted in a military coup led by Admiral Saangad Chaloryoo. Thanin Kraivichien (b. 1927) was named prime minister, but he was replaced in 1977 in a bloodless coup that brought General Kriangsak Chomanan (1917–2003) to power.

Elections in 1979 returned Kriangsak to office as prime minister of an elected government, but he resigned in 1980. General Prem Tinsulanonda (b. 1920), the new prime minister, survived an attempted coup in 1981 and won a second term in 1983. Although tensions between civilian politicians and the army remained, the Thai military command supported the Prem government during an unsuccessful coup attempt in 1985. Prem remained prime minister after elections 1986. In 1988 there was another return to civilian government under Chatichai Choonhavan (1922–1998), followed by another coup in 1991.

This time the people of Thailand had had enough, and the army's attempt to impose Suchinda Kraprayoon (b. 1933) as prime minister led to a popular revolt in Bangkok in which many people died. Intervention by the king led to a final withdrawal of the army from politics and the **promulgation** of a fully democratic constitution in 1997. The new constitution of Thailand was signed by the king on October 11, 1997. Under Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai (b. 1938) there was considerable economic and political progress, but Thailand was hit hard by the economic crisis of 1997. Disillusionment with existing political options led to the triumph of the executive Thaksin Shinawatra (b. 1949) and his **populist** "Thai Love Thais" (Thai Rak Thai) party at the 2001 elections. The older parties, the liberal Democratic Party of Chuan Leekpai and the conservative Thai Nation Party, were heavily defeated.

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

interim: for a limited time, during a period of transition

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

promulgation: an official declaration, especially that a law can start being enforced

populist: someone who advocates policies for the advancement of the common man

GOVERNMENT

Thailand is a constitutional monarchy, a form of government in which the constitution limits the power of the king or queen. The nation's constitution provides for a monarch, a prime minister, and a legislature called the National Assembly. The monarch has an advisory role as head of state, and the prime minister heads the government. King Bhumibol Adulyadej (b. 1927; also known as Phumiphon Adunyadet; Rama IX) has been the chief of state since June 9, 1946. The king is extremely popular with the Thai people and has been able to exercise influence when the country has faced difficult political conditions. Under the 1997 constitution the prime minister is appointed by the king and is the leader of the largest party in the legislature, to which he is accountable.

Thaksin was named prime minister after the 2001 National Assembly elections. A wealthy businessman, he often is given credit for policies that restarted the Thai economy after the financial crisis of the late 1990s. According to Freedom House, an independent advocacy foundation, his populist spending policies in support of small business and his stern campaign against the illicit drug business appear to be popular with most Thais. However, Thaksin has been criticized for concentrating power in his own hands, trying to smother media criticism of his administration, and support of policies that benefit his family and his cabinet members.

The National Assembly consists of the House of Representatives with 500 members and the Senate with 200 members. The house members are elected by the people of Thailand to four-year terms. The senators also are elected from single-member districts by the people of Thailand on a **nonpartisan** basis. Senators serve six-year terms. One hundred of the 500 members of the House of Representatives are elected via a party list system of **proportional representation**, with the remaining 400 members elected from single-member districts. As a result of the elections that brought Thaksin to office, held between March 2000 and January 2001, the House of Representatives had 248 members of the prime minister's Thai Rak Thai Party and 128 members of the People's Party. Four other parties held between fourteen and forty-one seats.

The House of Representatives selects the prime minister, who then is formally appointed by the monarch. The prime minister selects the cabinet. The maximum number of cabinet members is forty-eight.

Local Government. Thailand is divided into seventy-six provinces (*chang-wat*). The provinces are subdivided into more than 600 districts (*amphoe*), about 6,600 units of local government called *tambons*, and about 60,000 villages. Each province has a governor, and every district has a district officer. Thai villages range in size from a few hundred to a few thousand people. Each village elects a *headman* to be its leader. The people within each *tambon* then select from among the village headmen a *kamnan*, or chief administrator, for their *tambon*.

Politics. Thai citizens eighteen years old or older have the right to vote. Historically, Thai political parties often came to power through a military coup rather than through popular elections. Thai political parties have been organized around leaders rather than common political philosophies, and few parties have had lasting strength.

Thai political parties in 2004 included the Democrat Party, led by Bantadnan Banyat; National Development Party, led by Suwat Liptaphanlop; People's Party,

nonpartisan: not relating to a political party or any division associated with the party system

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

led by Anek Laothamatas; Thai Nation Party, led by Banhan Sinlapa-acha; and Thai Rak Thai Party, led by Prime Minister Thaksin Chinnawat.

Since 1992, Thai elections have been democratic and there have been five peaceful transfers of power in that period. These elections generally have been



NEAR PHETCHABURI, THAILAND, RESIDENTS ATTEND A THERAVADA BUDDHIST TEMPLE.

Divided into 76 provinces, Thailand's 60,000 villages, excluding Bangkok, are governed individually by a villager-selected "headman." It is the headman's duty to work with the villagers and district level officials; the position is usually held for five years. (SOURCE:

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judged to be free and fair, although there have been persisting problems of vote buying and even of killings of some campaign workers.

Courts. The Thai court system generally is patterned on the multifunctional court systems characteristic of European civil law countries. (Thai law is based on the civil law model.) The judicial system consists of four bodies. A constitutional court interprets the constitution. A separate military court has authority over crimes committed by members of the armed forces. An administrative court hierarchy considers disputes arising out of the exercise of authority by government servants. Finally, the court of justice hierarchy handles all civil and criminal cases; it is headed by the Supreme Court. The judiciary has a reputation for independence but struggles with problems of corruption.

The armed forces of Thailand consist of an army, a navy, and an air force. The forces have a total membership of about 300,000. Men from twenty-one to thirty years old may be drafted for at least two years of military duty. Women may serve on a voluntary basis.

Thai citizens are guaranteed due process and equal justice under the law. There is good evidence that these guarantees have considerable reality: Freedom House rated Thailand in 2004 as one of the world's "free" nations, giving it scores of 2 and 3, respectively, on its 7-point scale for political rights and civil liberties, where a score of 1 is the best possible score for respecting rights.

See also: Constitutional Monarchy; Indonesia; Suffrage.

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(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Togo

Situated in West Africa, the Republic of Togo is bounded on the north by Burkina Faso, on the south by the Gulf of Guinea, on the east by the Republic of Benin, and on the west by the Republic of Ghana. The population of Togo is estimated at 5 million people, and Lomé, the capital city, has an estimated 1 million inhabitants. Togo is a developing country. Its main economic activities are subsistence farming and commerce. In 2003 the per capita gross national income was about \$1,500. Life expectancy was estimated at fifty-one years for men and fifty-five years for women; approximately 32 percent of the population was living in poverty.

On April 27, 1960, Togo became independent from French-administered United Nations trusteeship. On January 13, 1963, the first president of Togo, Sylvanus Olympio (1902–1963), was assassinated in a military coup, the first ever in West Africa. On May 5, 1963, Nicholas Grunitzky (1913–1969) became president of Togo. His presidency ended on January 13, 1967, when Lieutenant Colonel Etienne Eyadema (c. 1936–2005), later called General Gnassingbé Eyadema, ousted Grunitzky from office.

On April 14, 1967, Eyadema took over the presidency and ruled until his unexpected death in February 2005 from a heart attack. The military immediately took control of the country, suspended the constitution, and named Eyadema's son, Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé (b. 1966), as the new president. However, twenty days later, under extreme international pressure, Gnassingbé stepped down. As outlined in the constitution, Abass Bonfoh (b. 1948), head of the National Assembly, was named interim president until the presidential election (the first in forty years) in April 2005, in which Gnassingbé won with 60.22 percent of the vote. The results of the election were met with violence as opposition supporters fought policemen in Lomé.

Politically, the Republic of Togo is considered to be in transition to a multiparty and democratic regime. Togo has an executive branch with the president as the chief of state, a prime minister as the head of government, a legislative branch with a unicameral National Assembly, and a judicial branch. Technically, all these governmental entities are supposed to be politically independent. However, the president has absolute power over them and dictates what goes on in the country. In fact, there is little transition under way.

President Eyadema ruled with an iron fist. He and his followers terrorized the population. Freedoms and rights have

been abused constantly. His party, the Rally of Togolese People (RPT), was the only party until 1991. As a result of political and social unrest and international pressure, multiple parties were allowed in 1991. However, repression of the press and human rights abuses have been practical means to muzzle the population. Generally, journalists, opposition activists, and people considered enemies of the regime are imprisoned, tortured, or killed. In some cases political opponents have disappeared without trace.

Electoral fraud has been the norm in Togo. Since early 1990s, confronted by opposition forces demanding democratic changes, there have been presidential and legislative elections fraught with irregularities. Presidential elections in 1993, 1998, and 2003 were found to be fraudulent by the international community.

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Florence Attiogbe

Tonga

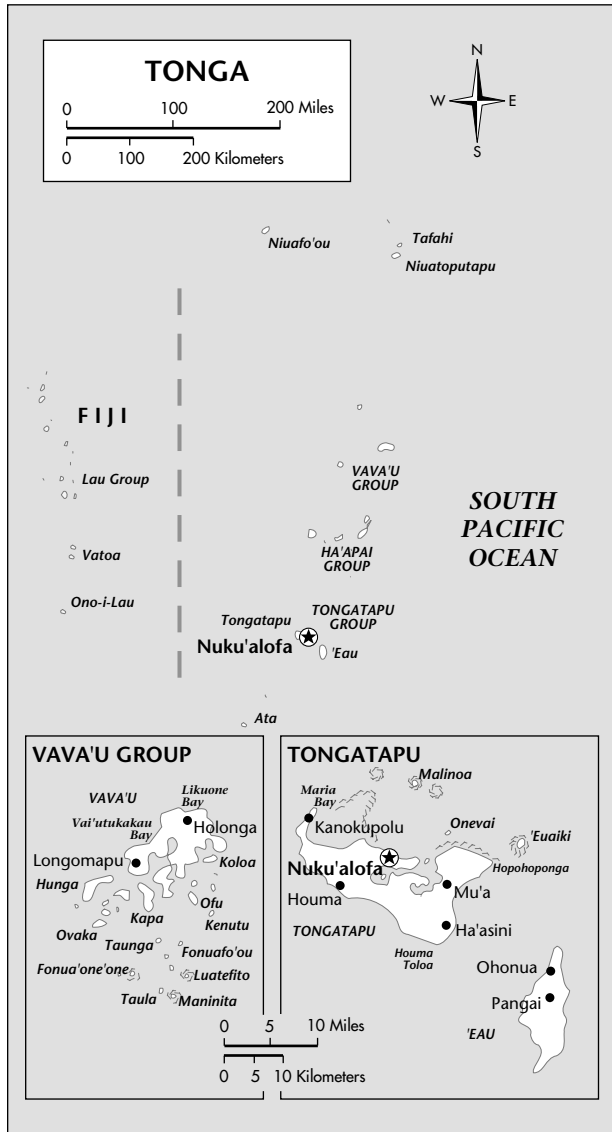
Formerly known as the "Friendly Islands," the Kingdom of Tonga is an archipelago of 171 islands organized into three island groups (Ha'apai, Tongatapu, and Vava'u); its capital is Nuku'alofa. Tonga's total land area is 718 square kilometers (277 square miles); as of July 2003 its population was estimated at 108,141. The climate is tropical. The majority of Tonga's islands were formed through the geologic uplift of coral reefs, although some lie atop volcanic bases.

The earliest verified date of a human presence in Tonga is about 1100 B.C.E., but many believe that Polynesians have lived there for some 5,000 years. Before European contact Tongan chiefs had extended their rule to include parts of Fiji and the Cook Islands, the Samoas, Tokelau, and Niue, among other islands. Originally a group of separate island domains, the Kingdom of Tonga was united in 1845 by Taufa'ahau (1797–1893), who, having converted to Christianity, ruled under the name King George Tupou I. Tonga became a constitutional monarchy in 1875. Although the first European contacts came with the arrival of Dutch mariners in 1616, it was the British who forced Tonga to accept protectorate status in 1900. Tonga gained independence from Great Britain on June 4, 1970, and is a member of the Commonwealth. Since 1965 Tonga has been ruled by King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (b. 1918).

Tonga's economy is primarily agricultural. The kingdom imports much of its food and is dependent on aid from foreign governments and remittances from Tongans living abroad. After remittances, tourism is Tonga's largest economic

aristocracy: a ruling financial, social, or political elite

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

sector. The government has made a significant investment in health and education, and the country has fairly well-developed social services.

The reigning monarch—a hereditary position—is head of state. There is a Privy Council consisting of the monarch, the cabinet, and the governors of Ha’apai and Vava’u. The prime minister and the deputy prime minister are appointed for life by the monarch; the cabinet is made up of twelve nobles and also is appointed by the monarch.

The unicameral Legislative Assembly (the *Fale Alea*) has thirty seats: Twelve are reserved for cabinet ministers sitting ex officio, nine for nobles selected by the country’s noble families, and nine are elected by popular vote in multiseat constituencies (members serve three-year terms). The speaker of the Legislative Assembly is appointed by the monarch; all other officers are appointed by the Assembly.

Tonga’s judiciary consists of a Supreme Court and a Court of Appeal, all of whose members are appointed by the monarch. There are also a Magistrate’s Court and the Land Court. The legal system is based on English common law. Officially, no political parties exist, but a number of political groups exercise influence. Most significant has been the Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement, which has attempted to limit the power of the aristocracy and some of whose leaders have been harassed and/or imprisoned. In the early twenty-first century the king grew increasingly authoritarian, and in 2003 the constitution was amended to restrict freedom of the press and limit the right of courts to review royal decisions.

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Andrew Herod

Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism was the term employed by the Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), who took power in 1922, to describe the new type of regime he hoped to, and by 1927 partially did, establish in Italy. Although Mussolini did not invent the term, he brought it into common usage, and generations of political leaders, intellectuals, and scholars have continued to employ it, not in the positive sense that Mussolini intended, but as a description of a political system fundamentally at odds with basic human values.

Paradoxically, Italian fascism never did become truly totalitarian in the sense that the term itself indicates. That is, it was never able to establish total control

over the entire range of social, economic, and political institutions that regulate society. Indeed, it is questionable that any totalitarian system has ever completely succeeded in this regard, and one must turn to such totalitarian novels as George Orwell's *1984* (1949) to find something approaching such total forms of control. Two regimes, however, did come very close to an "Orwellian" perfection: Germany between 1933 and 1945 under Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the Soviet Union between 1924 and 1953 under Joseph Stalin (1879–1953). Both have remained the primary examples of totalitarian rule in practice and provided the key source of inspiration for not only novelistic treatments of totalitarianism, but also its scholarly treatment.

What initially was so striking about these regimes was the genuine horror they created. In Hitler's Germany, six million Jews were annihilated in death camps, as well as gypsies (Roma), homosexuals, and others deemed unfit by a regime intent on initiating rule by the "racially pure Aryan type" (a mythical racial category of non-Jewish Caucasians). Under Stalin, millions of *kulaks* or rich peasants and others were killed—the estimates vary widely—in an effort to collectivize agriculture (to turn private farm plots into collectively run enterprises) as a first step toward full **communism**. Clearly, something completely irrational and terrifying had occurred that, were it to be prevented in the future, needed to be understood.

Such understanding was particularly important to the Western European and Anglo-American countries. They had evolved not only democratic forms of government, but also a panoply of constitutionally protected rights that supposedly precluded such totalitarian forms of control. These liberal democracies (democracies with constitutionally protected rights) were products of the Enlightenment (the eighteenth-century emphasis on science and rationality), and the expectation was that liberty and democracy would be the wave of the future. The rise of the Hitlerian and Stalinist totalitarian systems challenged in the profoundest way this optimistic belief in political progress.

Shortly after World War II (1939–1945), therefore, increasing numbers of scholars began to analyze these two systems in an attempt to explain and understand the nature of totalitarianism. Although their excessive violence was obvious to everyone, their inner workings were not. Most important was the issue of their uniqueness as forms of government. Were they simply extreme examples of tyranny or some equivalent category such as despotism, **autocracy**, or dictatorship, or were they something entirely new? While there never was complete agreement on these issues, it was generally conceded that totalitarian regimes could not be compared to simple forms of tyranny, and that at least some of their key elements could be specified.

CHARACTERISTICS OF REGIMES

Perhaps the most well-known analysis of totalitarian regimes, at least by political scientists, is that of Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski who in their *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (1956) listed six components of totalitarian systems that make them unique. Others, both before and after publication of this work, suggested other factors that should be considered. Although complete agreement on the defining characteristics of totalitarianism has never existed, the following would receive general if not universal consensus.

An official and all-embracing ideology. An ideology in the simplest terms is simply a more or less coherent set of social, economic, and political beliefs. In this sense, all peoples may be said to possess an ideology. Totalitarian ideologies, however, are official belief systems **promulgated** by the ruling elite and requiring

communism: an economic and social system characterized by the absence of class structure and by common ownership of the means of production and subsistence

autocracy: a political system in which one individual has absolute power

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

promulgation: an official declaration, especially that a law can start being enforced

■ ■ ■

GEORGE ORWELL'S *1984*

English novelist and essayist George Orwell (pseudonym of Eric Blair, 1903–1950) created a stir in 1949 when he published his satirical novel *1984*, which explored the dangers of mass control of individual's lives through state-enforced political conformity. The book describes a future world dominated by totalitarian states that were perpetually at war.

The book's protagonist is an Englishman named Winston Smith who lives under the rule of a totalitarian government that stays in power by maintaining a permanent state of war, misrepresenting the truth and rewriting history to suit its current interests. Smith acts against the government and is arrested by the "Thought Police." Once in prison he is tortured for his transgressions against the party leader, "Big Brother," and is forced to take part in a

re-education program aimed at wiping out his will to think independently.

Many scholars wonder whether the book was intended as a warning based on the recent European past or was expressing Orwell's pessimism about the consequences of the Cold War, then in its early stages. Orwell, a democratic socialist, had witnessed the rise of totalitarian dictatorships in Italy, Germany and the Soviet Union, and as a volunteer fighter for the Republic in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) had personally experienced the Communist takeover and undermining of the anti-Fascist resistance in that conflict.

Many of the terms and phrases Orwell used in the book have become common terminology in modern politics, such as "newspeak," "doublethink," and "Big Brother is watching you."

absolute: complete, pure, free from restriction or limitation

public adherence by their subjects. Moreover, they are "utopian" worldviews specifying some final goal or end for all humankind that legitimizes the **absolute** authority of the regime. In Hitler's Germany the goal was the creation of a "master race"; in Stalin's Soviet Union it was the creation of a communist society.

A one-party system. Liberal democracies of the Western European and Anglo-American type are premised on the idea of political competition between two or more political parties. Citizens in these systems, therefore, have a choice in electing those who will govern them. Totalitarian systems, however, are characterized by the existence of one-party rule legitimized by appeal to the official ideology. In Germany the National Socialist German Workers Party—the Nazis—asserted its sole right to rule as the only party capable of creating a world Aryan order. In the Soviet Union the Communist Party asserted an equivalent right on the basis of its capacity to create a world communist system. In reality, one-party rule in these systems became the rule of one man, Hitler or Stalin, and it appears that totalitarian systems seem inevitably to become the rule of one or a small elite within the party.

The imposition of terror. For many, although not all analysts of totalitarianism, terror is perhaps its most notable, unquestionably its most frightening, characteristic. Certainly, it was fundamental to the existence of the two model regimes just presented; in both Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union terror was pervasive. Although the use of threats, coercion, and violence against opponents of a regime is unfortunately not uncommon in many types of political systems, this alone does not constitute terror. Terror is the pervasive threat of violence against the entire population including the ruling group itself. This is accomplished by the creation of a secret police and a corresponding network of informers that permeates the entire society. Since no one can be certain that they are not being watched, and since even innocent statements might be construed as antiregime, fear is pervasive. Terror thus insures that any opposition to the official ideology and one-party rule is precluded.

Mass mobilization of the population. All nondemocratic or authoritarian regimes attempt to suppress political opposition, but they do not require for their existence positive support. In totalitarian systems, however, such support is crucial, so much so that without it they could not exist. For this reason, all are expected to affirm the official ideology that legitimizes one-party rule or, more accurately, the authority of the ruling elite. Hence, in a variety of ways—through control of schools, cultural groups, labor unions and other such organizations, and a pervasive system of propaganda—the entire population is mobilized to this end.

Lack of genuine pluralism. Liberal democracies are based on a pluralistic society, that is, one composed of a variety of social, economic, political, and cultural groups. These provide that diversity of opinions and interests without which the franchise and constitutional protection of rights would be meaningless. Totalitarian systems, by contrast, are mass (socially undifferentiated) societies. Groups and organizations do exist, but they are not independent of state and party control. Labor unions, for example, do not articulate the interests of the workers, but are expected to encourage the workers to sacrifice for the good of society as determined by the party elite. Such a socially undifferentiated society is created by, and crucial to, the imposition of ideology through terror and mass mobilization.

It should be added that the one certain factor in the existence of totalitarian systems is modern technology, particularly the technology of modern mass communications. Without this, the kinds of totalistic control they impose would be impossible. For this reason, totalitarianism must be understood as a twentieth-century phenomenon, as a product of modern industrial society. To equate totalitarian systems with earlier forms of autocracy such as the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore, is to engage in a fundamental misreading of history. Apart from the fact that the political **infrastructure** of these earlier systems was entirely different than that which has supported totalitarian regimes (e.g., mass-based political parties did not yet exist), the technology required for total forms of control was entirely absent.

Whether or not a regime can be characterized as totalitarian depends on the extent to which these key characteristics exist and interact. Scholars of totalitarianism differ on this issue. Perhaps the most famous—and controversial—view is that of Hannah Arendt who in her *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) stressed the link between ideology and terror as the defining characteristic of totalitarianism, at least as it applied to the Hitlerian and Stalinist regimes. For Arendt, terror is the means to carry out the “logic of the idea” inherent in the ideology, thus confirming the truth of the logic in practice. Under Hitler, for example, the truth of the racist premise that the Jews are a dying race is confirmed by killing them. Under Stalin, the truth of the triumph of communism is confirmed by the liquidation of all those supposedly opposed to that end, in reality of all those opposed to Stalin.

Others have stressed the conjunction of other factors as the essence of totalitarianism. Friedrich and Brzezinski, for example, emphasize the technological basis of mass control characteristic of totalitarian societies. Juan Linz, in his *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (2000), considers the link between ideology, party, and mass mobilization to be the fundamental basis of totalitarianism. Yet others have variously stressed the unique role of party leader, or mass society, or some combination of these as key to the existence of totalitarian systems. What is generally conceded, however, is that whatever factors are stressed, they must form an interconnected whole. One or two of them in isolation does not constitute a totalitarian system. Many regimes are based on one-party rule, for example, but that alone does not make them totalitarian.

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

infrastructure: the base on which a system or organization is built

AUTHORITARIAN CONTROL

Political systems that possess only some of the characteristics of totalitarianism such as one-party rule, or possess them only in a limited way—an undeveloped pluralism, for example—are best described as authoritarian rather than totalitarian. These types of systems are particularly common, although not exclusively so, in undeveloped or developing countries where the historical and cultural basis of liberal democracy is lacking. They are of various types, depending on the particular circumstances, and may involve rule by the military, landed oligarchies, newly formed **bureaucratic** and **technocratic** elites, or some combination of these. Typically, the kind of positive support for the regime required in totalitarian systems is lacking or more limited in authoritarian systems. Scholars who have studied these types of systems have proposed various classifications schemes to describe them, but all agree that, however conceptualized, they must clearly be distinguished from totalitarian systems.

Making these distinctions in practice is not always that easy, however. What some scholars deem totalitarian based on the particular characteristics they consider important, other scholars might view as authoritarian. Certainly, the regimes of Hitler and Stalin were totalitarian, but others are not always so clearly defined. Moreover, some regimes are best described as partially or quasi-totalitarian, falling somewhere between the “ideal type” of authoritarian or totalitarian system. Some of the Eastern European communist states, created by the Soviet Union after World War II, were transformed into totalitarian systems of the Stalinist type. Communist Yugoslavia, however, which remained independent of Soviet control, would best be described as authoritarian.

Subsequently, communist China under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung (1893–1976) beginning in 1949 established a totalitarian regime, but with Mao’s death in 1976 China has become increasingly less totalitarian if not authoritarian. Cuba is perhaps best described as falling somewhere between totalitarian and authoritarian, while North Korea belongs on the totalitarian end of the spectrum. Cambodia under the rule of Pol Pot (1925–1998) and the Khmer Rouge or Cambodian communists (1975–1979) clearly was totalitarian. Among fascist regimes, only Hitler’s Germany was truly totalitarian. Mussolini’s Italy is probably best described as authoritarian, as is General Francisco Franco’s (1892–1975) Spain between 1939 and 1975. Most nondemocratic regimes in the contemporary

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

technocracy: government by technicians using scientific expertise and analysis to optimize conditions for the public



BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883–1945)

Born in Predappio, Italy, Benito Mussolini rose to power and headed the Italian government from 1922 to 1943, becoming the first fascist dictator of twentieth-century Europe. Mussolini dreamed of building an empire and launched several invasions. After his troops suffered heavy losses in World War II (1939–1945), however, he was deposed and executed.

Highly intelligent, Mussolini studied philosophers such as Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), formulated his own political ideology, and gained a reputation as a gifted journalist. In 1919 he founded the *Fasci di Combattimento* (a fascist political organization) and in 1921 won a seat in parliament.

Highly charismatic, Mussolini gained a following, positioning himself as a revolutionary nationalist and the man who could solve Italy’s economic and political crises. In 1922 he became the Italian premier, and by the mid-1920s he had installed himself as a dictator.

During Mussolini’s time in power secret police forces roamed the streets to weed out opposition. He also took control of the press and schools and promoted fascism as a more stable ideology than democracy.

Mussolini joined the fray in World War II as an ally of Nazi Germany but suffered losses and was removed from power in 1943. Two years later he was captured and swiftly executed.



DICTATORS BENITO MUSSOLINI AND ADOLF HITLER IN MUNICH, GERMANY, IN 1937. Although Mussolini and Hitler's regimes are considered to contain many aspects of totalitarianism, there is doubt that any such system has ever been completely instituted. (Source: © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.)

world, whether in posttotalitarian societies such as China or in Third World developing societies, are more likely to be authoritarian than totalitarian.

CAUSES OF TOTALITARIANISM

If the precise characteristics of totalitarianism have remained somewhat controversial, so too has the issue of its origins. What precisely are the causes of totalitarianism? Some have pointed to personal psychological factors, asserting that it is the charismatic personality of the totalitarian leader who sways the masses into granting him total power. Hitler is the most notable model for this view, but it is not a view shared by contemporary scholars of totalitarianism. No one person could create the structure of a totalitarian system without other factors being

present. Some have argued that intellectual factors are the cause, blaming thinkers such as Georg W. F. Hegel, Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, and even Plato for the rise of totalitarianism, a view also not shared by most scholars. Apart from the fact that it places too much emphasis on the power of ideas to shape social and political reality, it is a view that involves a fundamental misreading of these thinkers. Marx (1818–1883), to take the most obvious example, was not a totalitarian thinker anymore than these other thinkers. His concept of communism was that of a stateless society ruled locally and communally, the precise opposite of a totalitarian system. The totalitarian party was the creation of the Russian communist leader Vladimir Ilich Lenin (1870–1924) in 1917, and more particularly Stalin, long after Marx was dead. That Marx was used ideologically to justify the totalitarian rule of the Communist Party and Stalin is certainly true, but Marx could hardly be said to have been the cause of Soviet totalitarianism.

For most scholars, the sources of totalitarianism are rooted in profound social, economic, and political factors that transcend mere personality or the intellectual influence of some particular thinker. This certainly was the case for both Nazi Germany and communist Russia. Both arose out of the wreckage of World War I (1914–1918), which in Russia led to the Bolshevik (communist) Revolution of 1917 and in Germany to the eventual collapse of the postwar liberal democratic Weimar Republic and the seizure of power by the Nazis in 1933. Russia, which was ruled by czarist (monarchical) autocracies until the 1917 revolution, had almost no experience with liberal democracy. Germany's experience was also quite limited, and the Weimar constitution was never fully accepted by significant elements of the population. In addition, postwar economic hardships put enormous economic burdens on both countries, and the great worldwide depression beginning in 1929 exacerbated these problems. Totalitarianism was a response to these multiple economic and political crises. Paradoxically, both regimes derived part of their legitimacy by claiming to be a bulwark against the other's ideological pretensions, but the conflict between bolshevism and fascism reflected much deeper economic and political problems and was merely the ideological cover for two totalitarian regimes that were in fact politically alike.

The lessons of totalitarianism are clear. Totalitarian regimes have emerged during periods of political and economic crisis in countries where liberal democratic institutions are weak or nonexistent. It is for this reason that developing countries without a culture of a liberal democracy are most susceptible to totalitarian solutions, of shifting from typical authoritarian patterns into totalitarianism. Where liberal democratic institutions are strong—where basic rights, party competition, competing ideologies, and pluralism are protected and encouraged—totalitarianism is not a likely solution to crisis situations. This should not lead citizens in liberal democracies such as the United States to be complacent, however. The increasing lack of political participation, the rise of mass consumer culture, the growing technological control of personal information, and other such trends have led more than one critic to point to the potential dangers of totalitarianism even in those liberal democracies that are its very antithesis.

See also: Germany; Hitler, Adolf; Italy; Political Party Systems; Russia; Stalin, Joseph.

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Brian Nelson

Transitional Political Systems

A transition is an interval between two regimes. Many political systems enter into a transition because their old regime, that is, their rules, procedures, and institutions, has become untenable, and they remain in the transition because no new regime succeeds in becoming consolidated. In the early twenty-first century political scientists became especially interested in the different patterns, forms, and outcomes of transitions from **totalitarian** and **authoritarian** regimes to democratic regimes. However, the various transitions do not always result in democratic regimes. Quite often a transition proceeds from one type of authoritarian regime to a different type of authoritarianism. When a transition is heading toward the inauguration of a democratic regime, the overall process is defined as **democratization**. It should be made clear, though, that not all democratizations give birth to democratic consolidation, that is, to regimes that can be considered both democratic and stable. Only democratic regimes in which the overall political and institutional rules of the game are not challenged except by a tiny minority should be considered consolidated. Finally, transitions from authoritarianism end in consolidated democratic regimes exclusively when democracy appears to most political actors to be “the only game in town.” It then will not be the democratic framework as such that becomes the object to be challenged, but the performance of the democratic authorities.

THE WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

Not only is democracy a concept born in Western political thought, for a long time it has also been a Western practice confined to Western political systems. In a broad and convincing **comparative-historical perspective** Samuel P. Huntington (1991) has argued that the world of political systems has gone through three specific waves of democratization and two reverse waves. The first long wave of democratization (1828–1926) appeared on both sides of the Atlantic and involved thirty-three countries. It was fundamentally the product of three factors: (1) the recognition of religious and political dissent; (2) the gradual expansion of suffrage and the organization of associations; (3) the promotion and protection of civil and political rights. It was enhanced by the possibility of absorbing all these changes over a rather long period of time and by a significant degree of socioeconomic growth. The first reverse wave (1922–1942) reduced the number of democracies to eleven. It affected democratic regimes that had not succeeded in consolidating

totalitarianism: a form of absolute government that demands complete subjugation by its citizens

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

comparative-historical perspective: a way of studying events or situations by comparing them to similar events or situations throughout history

and had remained fragile and illegitimate in the eyes of many political actors. It was largely the consequence of the disruption produced by World War I (1914–1918), the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917), and the fascist and Nazi movements in Europe (starting in the 1930s). In those twenty turbulent years between two world wars all democracies encountered many difficulties and had to struggle in a very dangerous world in which authoritarian and totalitarian regimes seemed to expand and thrive and few democracies, essentially the oldest ones, survived.

The second wave of democratization (1943–1962) was for the most part a consequence of the Allied victory in World War II (1939–1945). Some democratic regimes were reinstalled, as in Italy, Austria, Germany, and several Latin American countries; others were newly created, as in Japan. The second wave increased the number of democratic regimes to fifty-one. However, in the second postwar period not only did the entire area of Central and Eastern Europe fall under the control of Soviet **communism**, but major communist expansion took place in Asia, with communist regimes assuming power in China, North Korea, and, later, Vietnam. The second reverse wave occurred between 1958 and 1975, and it affected practically all Latin American democratic regimes, with the exception of Colombia and Venezuela, reducing the number of surviving democracies to twenty-nine. The Cold War and the real or manipulated fear of communism played a significant role in most cases of military intervention and military rule. The third wave of democratization started in Southern Europe in 1974. It was responsible, first, for the return of Portugal, Greece, and Spain to democracy, and then, after the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, for the inauguration of democratic regimes in most Central and Eastern European communist countries. The third wave traveled well beyond Western boundaries; it affected such distant countries as South Korea, the Republic of South Africa, and Taiwan and attained the highest recorded number of democratic regimes: sixty-two.

According to Huntington, five factors accounted for the third wave of democratization:

1. The deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian systems
2. The unprecedented global socioeconomic growth of the 1960s
3. The striking changes in the doctrine and activities of the Catholic Church
4. Changes in the policies of external actors, namely, European Community support for Southern European democratic reformers and the disengagement of Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) from Central and Eastern European communist regimes
5. The impact of public dissent and its aftereffects in society. In the early twenty-first century it was hazardous to try to forecast whether a third reverse wave was in the making. In general, an overall reverse wave seems unlikely, although many countries—among them, for instance, Nigeria—continue to slip in and out of democracy. However, one also wonders whether the expansion of democracy may have reached, at least for the time being, its outer limits.

More precisely, there are three geographic areas where democracy faces extremely serious difficulties of penetration: sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and several areas of Asia, especially China. Most of Africa cannot even be defined as having regimes that are on the verge of a transition. In fact, a host of more or less bland authoritarian regimes dominates all African political systems, with a few exceptions. Such political systems do not have the socioeconomic conditions necessary to create the preconditions for a transition to democracy. That is, the level of education is neither good nor diffused enough to guarantee the existence of politically knowledgeable and active citizens, and the lack of economic

communism: an economic and social system characterized by the absence of class structure and by common ownership of the means of production and subsistence

“... there are three geographic areas where democracy faces extremely serious difficulties of penetration: sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and several areas of Asia, especially China.”

growth prevents the development of social groups willing to promote and sustain any transition to democracy. Moreover, in too many cases the various political communities are not defined precisely and continue to be challenged by a plurality of ethnic allegiances that are not conducive to any politics of compromise. Although unstable and often repressive and predatory, some African authoritarian rulers appear to constitute a temporary solution to the problem of political order. The only democracy, a besieged one, in the Middle East is Israel. All the other countries in that region are traditional monarchies, **sultanates**, authoritarian regimes, or even, as in Iran, theocracies. Most of them share with the rest of the Muslim world a very important, if not decisive, role attributed to the Muslim clergy, the *ulamas*, Muslim religious schools, the *madrassas*, and their interpretation of the Qur'an.

In some cases nondemocratic actors, a single party, or a military organization provides the only barrier against religious **fundamentalism**. The regimes these groups create and buttress are almost inevitably authoritarian. Unless a clear dividing line is drawn between the sphere of religion and the sphere of politics, democratization of the Muslim world is bound to remain practically impossible. Most transitions will open up more political opportunities for the fundamentalists and not for the modernizers, and even less for democratic reformers. The Asian version of communism is the only nonreligious political obstacle to the democratization of several countries on that continent. Some believe that socioeconomic growth inevitably will lead Asian countries, more specifically China, to a transition to democratic regimes. Once the Asian population has obtained a decent level of education, acquired a significant **per capita** income, moved into urban areas, and been exposed to mass communication, the pressures for democratization will have to be accommodated. However, although affluent and with a highly educated population, Singapore remains an example of a stable authoritarian situation.

There are also those who believe that the democratic process is essentially the product of an agreement and a compromise among elites who have learned the cost of confrontation, both to them and to the political system in general. This means that even in a country having successfully undergone socioeconomic development, if the elites remain cohesive and nondemocratic, no transition will take place. So far this seems to be the case in communist China. On the opposite side of the spectrum cohesive, although electorally competitive, elites may succeed in maintaining a democratic framework and democratic institutions against all socioeconomic odds, as in contemporary India. Huntington has summarized the essence of the controversy on the origins and survival of democratic regimes: "Economic development makes democracy possible; political leadership makes it real" (Huntington 1991, p. 316). Adam Przeworski and colleagues have offered a different perspective, according to which democracy may emerge at any stage but "poor" democracies die more frequently.

PATTERNS OF TRANSITION AND CONSOLIDATION

A full understanding of transitional processes must be based on knowledge of the regime challenged by liberalizers. Traditional monarchies are destined to lose political power if and when their attempts to modernize are resisted within the royal circle and are not considered sufficiently far-reaching by the mobilized sectors of society that favor **modernization**. Indeed, traditional monarchies do not seem capable of surviving a political and democratic transition, much less leading one. Totalitarian regimes, especially those founded on the **absolute** rule and total power of a single party, are bound to collapse if they lose the ability to control their society and to manage their economic system. The collapse of a totalitarian regime opens the way to a complex transition characterized by political disorder because

sultanate: a country governed by the sovereign of an Islamic state, called a sultan

fundamentalism: a philosophy marked by an extreme and literal interpretation of religious texts and an inability to compromise on doctrine or policy

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

modernization: the act of incorporating new ideas or technology

absolute: complete, pure, free from restriction or limitation

pluralism: a system of government in which all groups participate in the decision-making process

homogeneous: simple; consisting of components that are identical or similar

consociational: belonging to an association, especially a church or a religious association

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

globalization: the process of expanding regional concerns to a worldwide viewpoint, especially politics, economics, or culture

no other organization exists that is capable of obtaining legitimacy and legitimately acquiring and exercising political power. Authoritarian regimes seem better placed when entering into a transition because, by definition, they have retained and been characterized by, as Juan Linz has put it, limited **pluralism**. The revival of pluralism, transformed into the competitive and responsible variety, allows transitions to democracy that have been, as in the very different cases of Spain (1975–1982) and Poland (1988–1990), easier and more conducive to viable democratic outcomes.

It appears that the decisive variable in all cases of successful transitions is the existence of a plurality of social, economic, and political groups competing in a substantially **homogeneous** society. Strong and fragmented ethnic, communitarian, and religious identities constitute the most important obstacle not so much for the transition itself but for the very consolidation of the successor regime. Indeed, both in the West and on all the other continents, conflicts based on ethnic, communitarian, and religious affiliations often have proved to be intractable. Hence, they usually lead to bloody wars and to the creation of smaller, more homogeneous, but also somewhat conformist and repressive communities. Whenever those conflicts cannot be solved through interelite, **consociational** agreements or splits and secessions, the political system will not achieve any consolidation and will remain in a state of tormented transition.

Repeated transitions may, in fact, characterize several political systems in which the conditions for democratization do not materialize. A regime may experience a transition away from authoritarianism but at the same time be unable to institutionalize a democratic outcome, only to find itself in a renewed authoritarian situation. The transition may take place from a bland authoritarian civilian dictatorship to a military regime or from a sultanate to a single-party regime or theocratic arrangement. Most nondemocratic political systems often are unable to sustain their old and authoritarian configuration and find themselves obliged, at least temporarily, to move into a democratic situation. However, in the absence of the **rule of law** and a sufficient number of committed proponents of democracy, the new, potentially democratic situation becomes untenable as well. Characterized by political disorder and random repression, transitions to and from democracy follow each other frequently, if not periodically. **Globalization** has created a world environment in which information about the conditions of most political systems is widely available.

Different and competing interpretations of the alternation between authoritarian regimes and democratic experiments exist. Although it may be true that the authoritarians become more skilled in their attempts to overthrow fragile democratic regimes and tighten their rule, it is also true that democracy may be learned through experimentation and adaptation. Democrats will learn from their past mistakes and come to constructive compromises. The population at large will begin to appreciate the benefits of a democratic environment. The comparative lesson seems to be that to become and remain democratic, all political systems in transition must find the necessary resources within themselves.

INTERIM ASSESSMENT

After almost two centuries of democratic development there are not only more nondemocratic than democratic regimes but also far more individuals living in nondemocratic than democratic countries, although this situation largely results from the extraordinary size of the population in the nondemocratic Republic of China. What is difficult to predict in the early twenty-first century is not the next reverse wave but whether in the short run there will be another

wave of transitions to democracy in several other political systems. On the one hand, most existing democracies appear to be sufficiently consolidated not to fear the emergence of a third reverse wave; on the other hand, the expansion of democracy appears to have reached an upper limit. New democracies may make their appearance randomly if and when socioeconomic conditions and the ability of political leaders reinforce each other. Hence, most scholars have become more interested in the quality of existing democracies than the transition to additional democracies. For instance, an important distinction has been drawn between “electoral” democracies and “liberal” democracies.

Elections constitute an indispensable step in the transition to a democratic regime. They must be free, fair, competitive, periodic, and consequential; that is, they must produce political consequences such as the possibility of defeating the **incumbents**. However, there is a clear distinction between political systems in

incumbent: one who currently holds a political office, or, holding a political office



VENEZUELAN PEOPLE PASS ELECTION POSTERS AS THE COUNTRY PREPARES TO VOTE IN 1998'S ELECTIONS. As Venezuela's economic crisis peaked in 1998, the Movement for the Fifth Republic Party, led by Hugo Chavez, gained power. Chavez commissioned a new constitution and other reforms that augmented the rights of the people, increased the presidential term to six years, and established a 165-member unicameral legislature. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

which elections are held but electoral campaigns are not free and electoral results are manipulated and regimes in which the rule of law is fully implemented. The latter regimes must be called liberal democracies. In more precise terms liberal democracies require, grant, and protect:

1. Freedom of belief, expression, organization, protest, and other civil liberties
2. Equal treatment of all citizens before the law and due process
3. The political independence and **neutrality** of the judiciary
4. An open, pluralistic civil society, including a free mass media
5. Civilian control over the military

neutrality: the quality of not taking sides, as in a conflict

In too many countries the rulers and institutions of government remain unable or unwilling to protect and promote the rights of their citizens, to maintain the rule of law and abide by it. In these situations free and competitive elections are inherently impossible, and such countries will always be susceptible to crossing the border back to a nondemocratic government. Successful transitions to democratic regimes must be supported through the promotion and protection of individual rights. Much more so than often premature electoral contexts, these rights constitute the solid foundation on which to start a transition and build a lasting democratic regime.

See also: Democracy.

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Gianfranco Pasquino

Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago is a twin-island Caribbean state spanning 5,128 square kilometers (1,980 square miles). Its population numbers approximately 1.1 million people, among whom 40.3 percent are of East Indian descent; 39.5 percent are

of African descent; 18.4 percent are of mixed ancestry; 1.2 percent are Chinese, Syrian-Lebanese, and other nationalities; and 0.6 percent are of European descent. The official language is English, and the twin island's residents are principally Roman Catholic (29.4%), Hindu (23.8%), Anglican (10.9%), Muslim (5.8%), and Presbyterian (3.4%). A viable oil and natural gas industry and tourism make the country one of the richest in the Caribbean area: In 2003 the per capita income was estimated at \$9,600.

Trinidad and Tobago were merged as a single British colony on January 1, 1889, and became independent on August 31, 1962. The system of government is a parliamentary democracy. Eric Williams (1911–1981) was the nation's first prime minister.

The government of Trinidad and Tobago has five main features:

1. The inclusion of a bill of rights in the constitution (based on the 1960 Canadian bill of rights)
2. A bicameral system, with one house selected through plurality elections (the "first past the post" system) and the other nominated
3. A separation of powers with some overlap and by which government ministers must be chosen from the sitting parliament
4. The **codification** of many unwritten constitutional conventions common to the United Kingdom
5. The entrenchment of many constitutional provisions that can be amended only by special parliamentary majorities.

This system of government was adopted in 1962 after the British Parliament enacted the Trinidad and Tobago Independence Act, and an Order in Council (S.I. 1962/No. 1875) created an independence constitution. In August 1976 the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago repealed that independence constitution, replacing it with a new one. A Tobago House of Assembly established in 1980 and reformed in 1996 provides for policy formulation and implementation in areas **devolved** by the central government. There are also a chief secretary and an Executive Council; however, only the Assembly can enact bylaws.

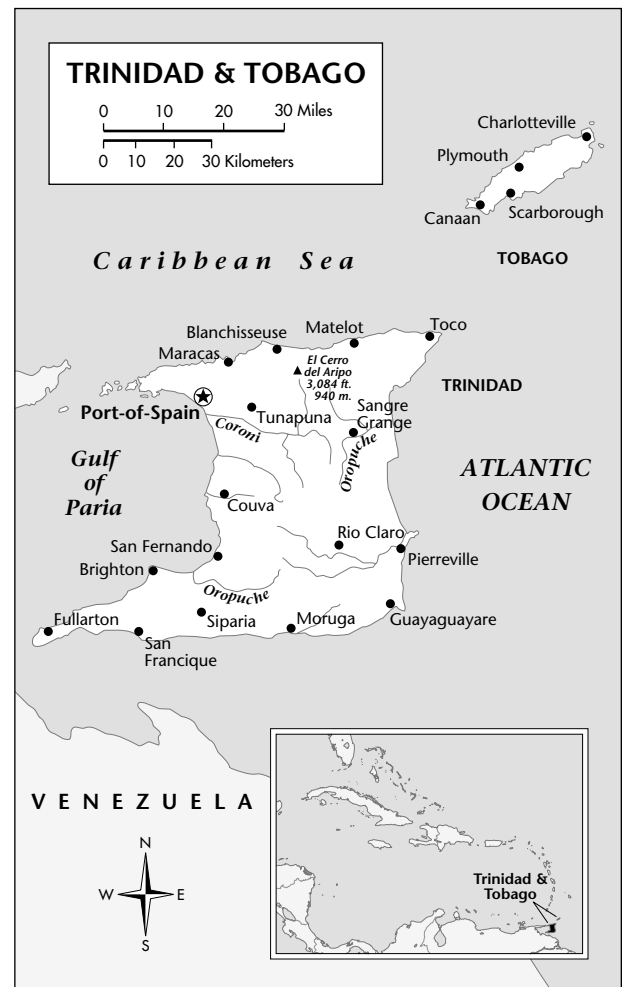
The main political parties are the People's National Movement (PNM), the United National Congress (UNC), and the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR). The political dominance of the PNM has created a bureaucracy with an administrative culture established slowly on PNM terms and conditions.

The judiciary consists of the Supreme Court of Judicature, which in turn is composed of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeals, with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England having the final appellate jurisdiction. The judicial process is free from political interference. Defending rights and freedoms through litigation is a matter of right. The death penalty may be applied after convictions for murder and treason. Citizens participate in the democratic process through a range of special interest groups. Friction between the government and the press, reports of police abuses, and the persistent abuse of women led Freedom House to classify Trinidad and Tobago as only partly free in its 2003 annual report.

See also: Caribbean Region.

codification: the making of official law

devolve: to move power or property from one individual or institution to another, especially from a central authority



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

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Hamid Gbany

Tunisia

Tunisia is located in North Africa, bordering the Mediterranean Sea, between Algeria and Libya. It is slightly larger than the state of Georgia. The population consists of 9.9 million inhabitants.

Arab, Berber, African, and European influences have helped shape the unique Tunisian cultural identity. Most of the population is Muslim, and the official religion is Sunni Islam. Christian and Jewish communities practice their faith freely and contribute to Tunisia's rich cultural diversity. Its population is over 62 percent urban, and Tunis, the capital, has a population of about 1 million and is one of the principal cosmopolitan urban centers of the Mediterranean. The official language is Arab, but many Tunisians speak French and English, and some speak Italian.

Tunisia became a **protectorate** of France in 1881. An expeditionary force of 30,000 soldiers invaded Tunisia from Algeria, officially to stabilize the borderlands. The French column met only sporadic resistance and in less than two weeks reached the outskirts of Tunis. Prior to this action by the French, Muhammad al-Sadiq Bey had formally promulgated a constitution in 1859. It established a constitutional monarchy with the bey's ministers responsible to a Grand Council, composed of sixty members, chosen by him. Tunisia remained under al-Sadiq's rule from 1859 until 1882.

However, in 1873, the bey named Khair al-Din as prime minister; al-Din was impressed with Western ideology and was anxious to apply it in Tunisia. During his term in office, al-Din made a valiant effort to avert a European takeover. He attempted to balance and hold at bay competing foreign interests while introducing domestic reforms aimed at achieving the order and stability conducive to prosperity. al-Din believed that in order to increase public faith, the government must staff its administration with officials of high integrity and competence. Many reforms were thus initiated, but in his second round of such changes, al-Din moved away from merely imitating European ideas, giving his programs a more indigenous, Islamic flavor. He was eventually ousted by the French.

Tunisia remained a protectorate throughout World War II (1939–1945) and finally won its independence in 1956. Habib Bourguiba (1903–2000) became president and established a one-party state. He dominated the country for thirty-one years, repressing Islamic **fundamentalism** and establishing rights for women

protectorate: a territory or country under the protection of another sovereign country's military

fundamentalism: a philosophy marked by an extreme and literal interpretation of religious texts and an inability to compromise on doctrine or policy

unmatched by any other Arab nation. His successor was Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (b. 1936), who became president on November 7, 1987. His regime ushered Tunisia into a new era, known as the "Change." It involved democratic reform. Ben Ali initiated several major reforms to firmly anchor democracy and expand political participation. Tunisia became a constitutional government. In 1994 presidential and legislative elections were held; Ben Ali was elected for a second term, and in 1999 voters elected him to a third term.

Executive power is divided between the president of the republic and the government (ministers and prime ministers) appointed by the president. In addition, there is a Constitutional Council whose function is to review laws for constitutional compliance prior to promulgation. Both the president and the unicameral legislature are elected through direct, free, and secret elections with universal suffrage. The Court of Cassation (Supreme Court) sits atop a hierarchical judiciary whose judges are appointed by the president. The Human Rights Watch has complained that the harassment of dissidents has increased since the 1990s, including the imprisonment of individuals critical of the regime's human rights abuses.

See also: Reproductive Rights; Shari'a.

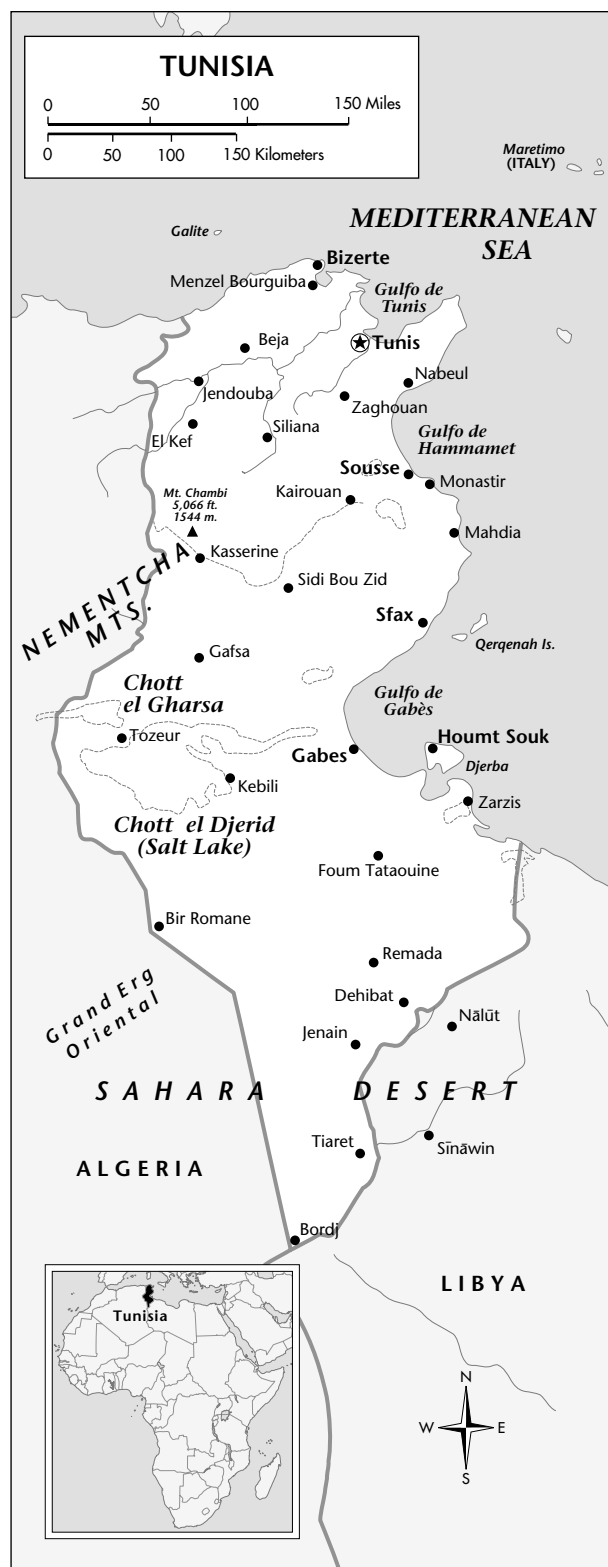
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Ernest A. Dover Jr.

Turkey

Turkey is a relatively new country even though it has a long history. Turks who had been living in Anatolia for a millennium intermingled with peoples belonging to different religions and ethnic groups. From the end of the eighteenth century onward that rich cultural experience became even more variegated by the process of Westernization. Turks opted for this new cultural transformation by their own volition; it was not imposed on them. To their way of thinking "civilization" meant European civilization, and it had to be imported with both its roses and its thorns. Unlike other countries in the Middle East, Turkey developed amicable relations with Western countries. Consequently, although Turkey may be described as both



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

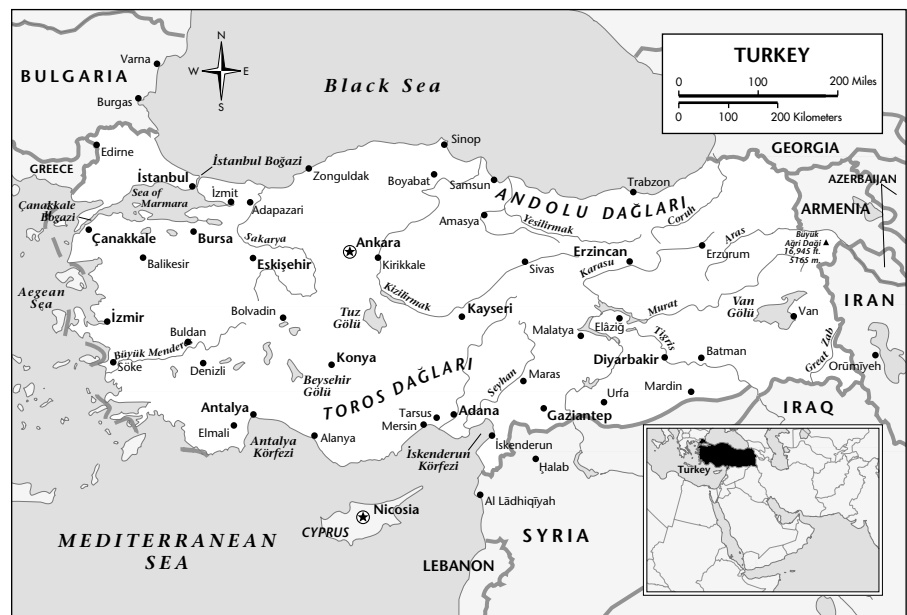
Eastern and Western, its Western characteristics are more marked. Turkey entered the twenty-first century as one of two Muslim countries with a democratic system of government, the other country being Indonesia, a far less advanced democracy. Turkey became a member of the Organization for Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1970 but joined the Council of Europe (CoE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) at their inception after World War II (post-1945). In 2004 it belonged to the Customs Union with the European Union (EU), which protects European external borders and minimizes tax obstacles to competitiveness and sustainable development; the country had also obtained a date for the start of negotiations for full membership in the EU. Travelers from the East have often remarked that the borders of Europe appear to start in Turkey.

COUNTRY PROFILE

In geographic terms Turkey constitutes a bridge between Europe and the Middle East. The greatest landmass of the country (Anatolia) lies in Asia. Turkey has a territory of 779,452 square kilometers (301,358 square miles), making it slightly larger than Texas. To the south of the country lies the Mediterranean, and to the north the Black Sea. In Europe, Turkey's neighbors are Bulgaria and Greece. In Asia, Turkey shares its borders with Armenia, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

In 2003 the population of Turkey was estimated at 68,893,918. Sixty-one percent of the population lived in urban areas, and 39 percent in rural areas. Turkey's major cities are Istanbul (with 10 million inhabitants), Ankara (4 million), Izmir (3.3 million), Bursa (2.1 million), and Adana (1.8 million). The population is 99.8 percent Muslim (mostly Sunnis); the remainder are mostly Christians as well as Jews. In ethnic terms, about 80 percent of the people are Turks and about 20 percent are Kurds. Turkish is the official language. Other primary languages are Kurdish, Arabic, Armenian, and Greek, spoken in that order of frequency.

In the early decades of the republic agriculture played a major role in the economy. However, by 2004 its share had dropped to 15 percent, with industry



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

and the services sector accounting for 30 and 50 percent of the economy, respectively. Turkey's per capita income in 2003 was estimated at \$6,700.

BRIEF HISTORY

Around the second millennium B.C.E. Turks belonged to a group of Altaic peoples in outer Mongolia in Central Asia. They became Muslims by the tenth century. They migrated to their modern-day land in the following century and founded the Ottoman Empire (1299–1922) in 1299. The empire reached its zenith in the second part of the sixteenth century, stretching from Hungary in the north to the Arabian Peninsula in the south and from Algiers in the west to modern-day western Iran in the east. Around that time the Turks also found themselves immersed in European politics, and the nation's sultan began to use the title of caliph, which denoted his role as the supreme head of all Muslim realms. The Ottoman Empire began to decline toward the end of the sixteenth century; that period of decline continued for close to three centuries. It was followed by a period of reform (1839–1876) during which the law, the civil **bureaucracy**, diplomacy, and education were modernized somewhat in a **secular** direction.

In 1876 the Ottomans' first short-lived constitutional period commenced, with the country's new constitution stipulating, among other things, the equality of all Ottoman subjects. Sultan Abdül-Hamid II (1842–1918) shelved the constitution in 1878 and began his personal rule of Turkey. On the one hand, his **regime** to a certain extent re-Islamized the country (to hold together the Muslim realms of the empire); on the other hand, the sultan established modern institutions of higher learning that educated the late Ottoman and early republican elite. Those new cadres were instrumental in bringing about the second constitutional period (1909–1918). That era was characterized by further efforts at Westernization with regard to political parties, government, the press, finance, the bureaucracy, the military, and the law. The period also was characterized by the clash of three trends of thought: (1) Ottomanism, the equality of all Ottoman subjects without regard to religion and language; (2) Islamism, opposition to rapid Westernization and a belief in pan-Islamism as the salvation of the empire; and (3) Turkism, an emphasis on Turkish culture and language. The Ottomans entered World War I (1914–1918) on the side of Germany and faced disastrous consequences as a result. The country was partitioned by the victors—the British, French, and Italians. That situation led to the Turkish War of Independence led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938). The war ended with a Turkish victory; the **sultanate** and caliphate were abolished; and on October 29, 1923, the Turkish Republic was officially proclaimed.

Under the authoritative rule of the charismatic Atatürk, head of the Republican People's Party and Turkey's president from 1923 to 1938, the new regime opted for a policy of total Westernization. It aimed to substitute a secular nation for the religious community that the republic had inherited from the Ottoman Empire. This called for significant cultural changes, including the replacement of the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet. The 1924 provision in the constitution that named Islam the official state religion was **abrogated**; Islam's sway over public policies also was eliminated. Official Islamic law, Shari'a, was replaced with the civil, penal, and commercial codes of Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, respectively, which were adopted intact.

From 1938 to 1950 Turkey was led by Ismet İnönü (1884–1973), Atatürk's right-hand man and prime minister. İnönü acted as the guardian of Republican reforms but also began to open up the political system gradually to other interests. Turkey made a transition to multiparty politics in 1945. In the wake of the

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

secularism: a refutation of, apathy toward, or exclusion of all religion

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

sultanate: a country governed by the sovereign of an Islamic state, called a sultan

abrogate: to abolish or undo, usually a law

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

cultural revolution: a radical change in a culture usually caused by new ideas, events, or technology

separatism: a belief that two regions should be separated politically

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

1950 national elections, after twenty-seven years in power, the Republican People's Party handed over control to the *Demokrat Parti* (Democratic Party or DP). Adnan Menders (1899–1961), one of the founders of the DP and Turkey's prime minister during the 1950s, was instrumental in shifting the country, in part, to a **market economy**. His clash with intellectual, bureaucratic, and military elites, particularly on the issue of secularism, led to a military intervention in the government from 1960 to 1961 and the subsequent 1961 constitution that expanded the scope of basic rights and liberties for Turkish citizens but also circumscribed the authority of Parliament by creating such institutions as the Constitutional Court and the National Security Council.

During the 1960s and 1970s the conflict surrounding secularism was complemented by ideological and ethnic struggles. The two major leaders of the time, Bülent Ecevit (b. 1925), representing the center-left, and Süleyman Demirel (b. 1924), representing the center-right, could not reach compromise solutions to the growing problems Turkey faced. The consequence of that stalemate was two further military interventions: from 1971 to 1973 and from 1980 to 1983. However, in each case, as in the earlier military action of 1960 and 1961, the military intervened to save democracy from itself and then quickly vacated center stage.

Under Atatürk, Turkey had undergone a **cultural revolution**, and under İnönü, a democratic revolution. In the 1980s under Turgut Özal (1927–1993), the leader of the Motherland Party, prime minister between 1983 and 1989, and president from 1989 to 1993, Turkey experienced an economic revolution, realizing a transition from an import-substituted economy to an export-oriented one.

The most significant problem Turkey had to address during the 1980s and 1990s was the Kurdish **separatist** movement led by the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). It posed the twin dangers of engendering a radical form of Turkish **nationalism** and the militarization of the political regime. In fact, neither of these two dangers materialized; the separatist movement petered out at the end of the 1990s.

In the November 2002 national elections *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP, the Justice and Development Party), one of the two successors to the four previously formed and later disbanded religiously oriented political parties, captured the majority of seats in Parliament and took control of the government. That development gave rise to consternation on the part of the secularist camp in Turkey, including the military. However, the AKP government, led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (b. 1954), has pronounced itself to be a conservative-democratic, rather than a religiously oriented, government and has acted accordingly. It has continued to pursue economic policies promoted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by bringing to government initiatives a human face, not wavered in its efforts to press the EU on Turkey's admission, and managed to develop an accommodation with the military, if not with the majority of the secular establishment.

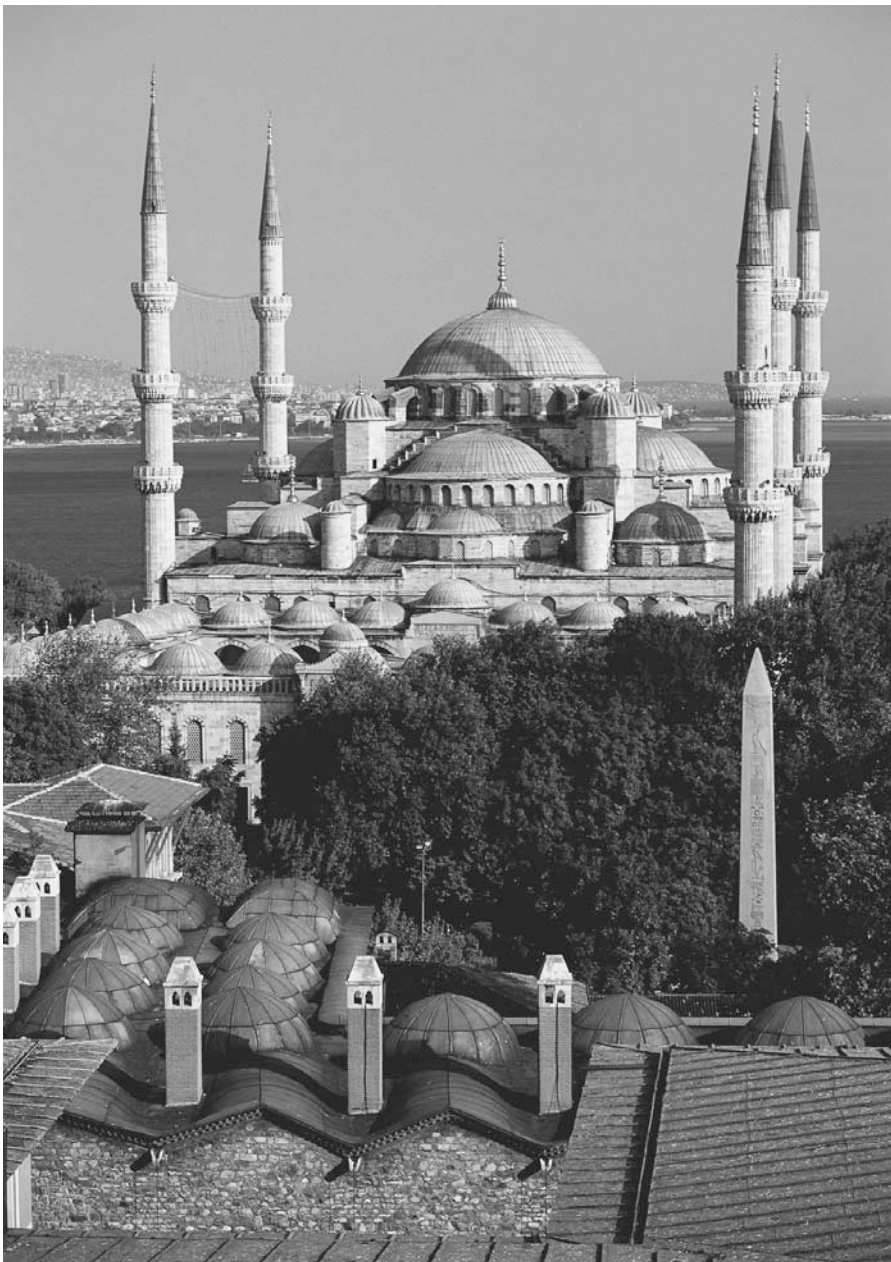
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

At the inception of the Turkish republic the founders attempted to transfer **sovereignty**, which in the Ottoman Empire had belonged exclusively to the dynasty, to the people and thus establish a true republic. According to the 1982 constitution, the republic would function as a "democratic, secular, and social state governed by the **rule of law**, bearing in mind the concept of public peace, national solidarity, and justice, and respecting human rights." Turkey has a parliamentary system of government. The Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) is a 450-member **unicameral** body. Its members are elected for a five-year term through universal **suffrage**. In addition to its legislative powers, the TGNA elects the president and has the authority to declare war, proclaim martial law, and

ratify international treaties. The president of the republic is the head of state; he or she must ensure the implementation of the constitution and the steady and harmonious functioning of state organs. The president selects a prime minister from the TGNA. Once the president appoints a Council of Ministers, a government program is submitted to the TGNA for a vote of confidence.

Turkey has both ordinary law courts and special administrative tribunals; the latter are based on the French model. Turkey also has a Constitutional Court that, not unlike its counterpart in Germany, considers the constitutional validity of

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction



BLUE MOSQUE IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY. Built by the Sultan Ahmet Khan I from 1609–1616, the Blue Mosque is still used by hundreds of Muslims for daily prayer and worship.

However, Turkey is no longer governed by Shari'a, or Islamic law. (SOURCE: © DANNY LEHMAN/CORBIS)

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

compulsory: mandatory, required, or unable to be avoided

plurality: more votes than any other candidate, but less than half of the total number of votes

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

socioeconomic: relating to the traits of income, class, and education

laws enacted by the TGNA. This court also has the authority to shut down political parties if they become a focal point of political Islam and/or ethnic separatism. On several occasions the Constitutional Court has used these powers.

Turkey ratified the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1954, recognized the **jurisdiction** of the European Commission of Human Rights in 1987, approved the **compulsory** jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights in 1990, and signed the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in April 2004. Turkey abolished the death penalty by signing Protocol No. 6 to the European Convention on Human Rights in 2003. The European Court of Human Rights has emphasized that the Turkish legal system is sufficiently in line with the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights and that it is in the application of domestic law that the Turkish system faces problems. Indeed, in 2003 Turkey's Human Rights Association reported, among other cases, the deaths of 2 suspects while in custody, 6 suspicious deaths, 11 suicides in prisons, 15 types of "executions" not mandated by a court decision, 66 assaults on journalists, 99 assaults on students, and 113 cases of torture in prisons. To remedy the climate responsible for those violations the government has established special training programs to educate the police and other functionaries of law and order.

Since 1946 Turkey has held fifteen national elections. Between 1946 and 1961 the electoral system was **plurality**-based, with multimember constituencies. Except for the 1946 election there have been no major complaints about the fairness and honesty of Turkish elections. In 1999 voter turnout was approximately 80.4 percent, whereas in 2000 it was 46.6 percent in the United States; in 2001, 57.6 percent in the United Kingdom; in 1997, 59.9 percent in France; in 2001, 84.9 percent in Germany; and in 2000, 89.0 percent in Greece. Since 1961 Turkey has implemented several different versions of **proportional representation**. Since the 1970s attempts have been made to limit the number of political parties in the TGNA by adopting versions of proportional representation that favor political parties with the most votes and also a 10 percent electoral threshold. This has facilitated the formation of **coalition** governments when necessary and thus contributed to political stability.

Political parties have a long history in Turkey, harking back to the New Ottoman Society formed in 1865. At times, however, party activity has been completely halted, largely because political parties tended to become representative of various world views and ideologies rather than **socioeconomic** interests, turning in the process into hostile, rather than friendly, adversaries. Party politics also has been affected negatively by personal animosities among political leaders. The fact that until the 1990s interest groups in particular and civil society in general lacked political efficacy did not help the situation. The instabilities of the party system have been an important factor in the recurring political crises that Turkey has experienced. This state of affairs started to change in the 1980s; first Özal and later Ecevit as well as Erdogan tended to pursue politically responsive as well as responsible policies.

A similar change has started to take place vis-à-vis the military. Since 1983 the military has become more and more reluctant to take power into its own hands. In 1997 it acted, along with several civil groups, to topple a coalition government that was believed to be encouraging political Islam. Since 1997, thanks to the development of a more moderate form of Islam as well as nationalism in Turkey, more responsible behavior on the part of civilian politicians, the military's growing awareness that interventions do not serve a useful purpose, and the pressure exerted by the EU, Turkey has evolved into a liberal-democratic model, with the military subordinate by law to the civilian government. Nevertheless, the Turkish military continues to exercise more influence in politics than do its counterparts in advanced democracies.

See also: European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; Parliamentary Systems; Political Parties.

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Metin Heper

Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan, situated in Central Asia, is bordered by Kazakhstan to the north, Uzbekistan to the northeast, Afghanistan to the southeast, and Iran to the south. Turkmenistan is landlocked but borders the Caspian Sea. Its area is 488,100 square kilometers (188,400 square miles).

As of 2004 Turkmenistan's population was estimated at 4.9 million. The prominent ethnicities are Turkmen (85%) and Uzbek (5%). The prominent religions are Islam (89%) and the Russian Orthodox church (9%).

Turkmenistan was conquered by the Mongols in the thirteenth century and annexed by Russia in the late nineteenth century. It gained independence in 1916 after a rebellion that lasted until 1919. In 1924 the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic was formed as a component of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Turkmenistan declared full independence in October 1991.

Turkmenistan moved from a communist Soviet republic to an **authoritarian** regime centered on President Saparmurat Niyazov (b. 1940). Niyazov first came to power in 1985 as first secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan. He was appointed president in October 1990 and elected president in June 1991 after an uncontested direct election.

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

constitutional republic: a system of government marked by both a supreme written constitution and elected officials who administer the powers of government

delegate: to assign power to another, or, one who represents another

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction

Officially, Turkmenistan is a **constitutional republic**; in fact, President Niyazov has complete power over all branches of government. The president is the chief of state, the head of government, and the commander in chief. He is responsible for naming the government and appointing the Supreme Court justices. Originally, the president was to have been elected directly for a five-year term, but in December 1999 the parliament unanimously changed the term of the president to life. The president may issue edicts and initiate legislation and dissolve parliament.

Turkmenistan's legislative branch is dominated by the *Halk Maslabaty* (People's Council), which consists of up to 2,500 **delegates** who serve indefinitely. Its members are both appointed by the president and directly elected. The legislative branch also includes the *Majlis* (Assembly), which consists of fifty members who are directly elected and serve five-year terms.

The parliament passes criminal legislation and approves amendments to the constitution. The parliament also **ratifies** legislation introduced by the president, the Council of Ministers, and individual members of the parliament. The president's overwhelming executive and legislative authority allows the legislature little independence.

The judiciary is headed by a Supreme Court of twenty-one justices. All judges are appointed by the president for five-year terms. The judiciary does not have the power to review legislation for constitutionality. It lacks any independence, and judicial appointments are not subject to legislative review.

Political parties in Turkmenistan have been outlawed, and the country is dominated by a Soviet-style single party, the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan, led by Niyazov. The government, which controls all media outlets, enforces strict censorship, and political dissent is not permitted. Freedom of religion also is restricted, and only Sunni Muslims and Russian Orthodox Christians are allowed to register with the government. All other religious groups face prosecution.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Freedom of speech or association is virtually nonexistent as citizens are monitored regularly. Freedom of movement is restricted severely, and in a practice reminiscent of USSR policy, citizens are required to carry internal passports. In 2005 Turkmenistan was a one-man, one-party dictatorship.

See also: Dictatorship; Ukraine.

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Cara Richards

Tuvalu

Tuvalu is a small Pacific Islands nation that consists of nine atolls, with a total landmass of only 26 square kilometers (10 square miles). There are about 10,000 people living in the country. Tuvalu is a full member of the Commonwealth of the United Kingdom and joined the United Nations in 2000.

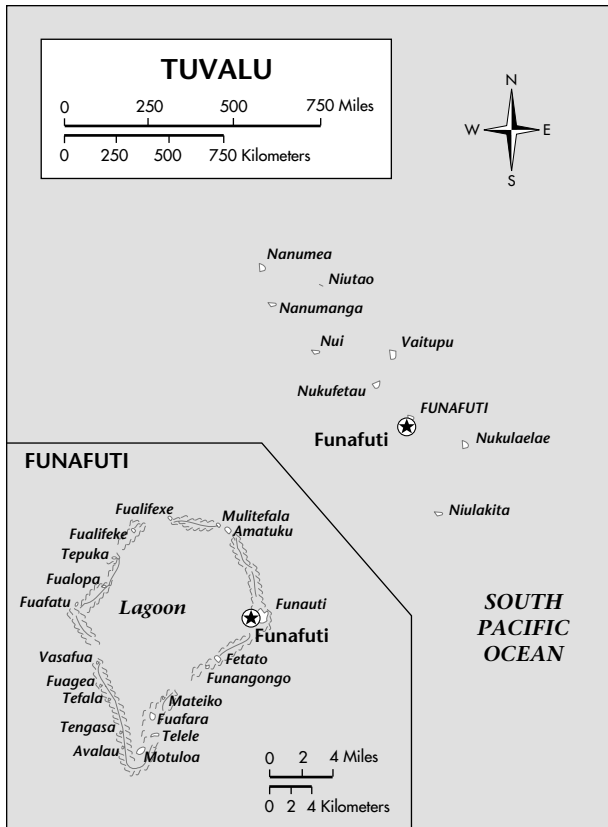
Tuvalu's long-term prospects are threatened by global climate change and an accompanying rise in the sea level. Tuvalu's atolls are low-lying and already have suffered adverse consequences, including degradation of water supplies and damage to housing and agriculture. The government has sought support from Australia and New Zealand for the eventual resettlement of the people of Tuvalu in case a further rise in the sea level renders the islands uninhabitable.

THE GOVERNMENT

Tuvalu is a parliamentary democracy organized along the lines of the British system of government. The executive consists of a prime minister and cabinet that are accountable to the fifteen-member parliament. The head of state is the reigning British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II (b. 1926). Parliamentary elections are held every four years. In 1982 Tuvalu's parliament established a committee to review the independence constitution. After four years of consultations a new constitution was adopted in 1986, leaving the basic structure of the system of government intact but incorporating new statements about the importance of Tuvaluan culture and customs as foundations of the state and its laws.

Tuvalu had been a British **protectorate** since 1892 and, as the Ellice Islands, became part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1916. As the British prepared the colony for independence, the Tuvaluans, who were in the minority in the colony, decided to seek separation. In mid-1974 a referendum was held that produced a 92 percent vote in favor of secession. On October 1, 1975, the Gilbert

protectorate: a territory or country under the protection of another sovereign country's military



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

and Ellice Islands Colony was dissolved, and a separate Tuvalu Colony was established. A draft constitution was approved in 1977, and after the adoption of the final draft of the constitution in 1978 Tuvalu gained its independence on October 1, 1978.

Tuvalu was led to self-government and independence by Toaripi Lauti (b. 1928), who became its first prime minister and later became governor-general. A successor, Bikenibeu Paeniu (b. 1956), who served two nonconsecutive terms, played a major role in placing the issues of global warming and a rise in the sea level, with their implications for low-lying island states, on the international agenda.

POLITICAL LIFE UNDER THE REGIME

There are no formal political parties in Tuvalu. Temporary alliances in the parliament are formed around personalities and specific issues that prove particularly important after parliamentary elections, when the parliament convenes to elect a prime minister.

Tuvalu can be regarded as a stable democracy, as several peaceful transitions of office have occurred since independence. Frequent leadership changes since 2000 have led to proposals for the direct election by citizens of their prime minister. There also have been calls for Tuvalu to move to become a republic, severing its formal ties with the British Crown.

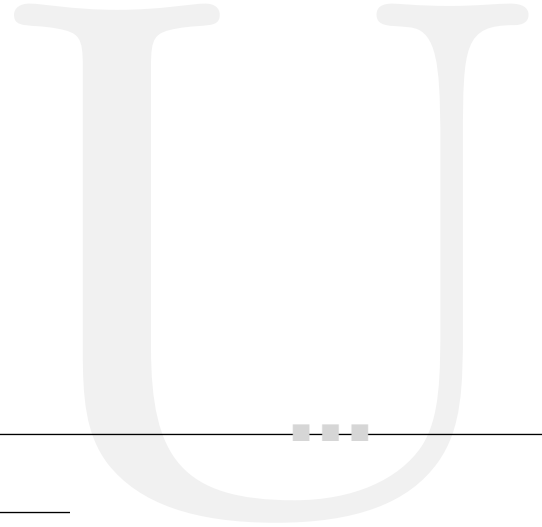
Tuvalu has an independent judiciary, and its elections have been regarded as both free and fair. The U.S. State Department's global human rights report has always assessed Tuvalu's human rights record very favorably. The country's small size and traditional character have an influence on social behavior, with customs and traditions regarded as being as important as the law and enforceable by village elders and informal village norms.

See also: Parliamentary Systems.

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Stephen Levine



Uganda

Uganda, once described as the “Pearl of Africa” by Sir Winston Churchill (1874–1965), underwent major transformations in the first four decades of its independence. At independence in 1962 Uganda’s economy was flourishing. Indeed, it was one of the strongest in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa. Uganda was thus one of the most agriculturally fertile, economically prosperous, and literate countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Nevertheless, like many other newly independent African states, the former British protectorate was plagued at the same time by a lack of unifying nationalism. This served to exacerbate the existing ethnic, religious, and regional divisions within the country, leading to almost two decades of civil war in the 1970s and 1980s. Uganda in the early twenty-first century was at a crossroads: Although some democratic inroads had been made under the “Movement” regime of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (b. 1944), there were troubling signs of authoritarianism lurking in the background.

BASIC COUNTRY INFORMATION

Slightly smaller than Oregon, Uganda is a landlocked country in eastern Africa that is bordered by Kenya in the east, Sudan in the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west, Rwanda in the southwest, and Tanzania and Lake Victoria in the south. It has a total area of 241,139 square kilometers (93,104 square miles).

According to a July 2004 CIA estimate, Uganda’s population numbered some 26,404,543 people. Over forty-nine ethnic groups exist in Uganda, the largest of which is the Baganda, representing 17 percent of the population, followed by the Ankole (8%), Iteso, (8%), Bakiga (7%), Langi (6%), Rwanda (6%), Bagisu (5%), Acholi (4%), Lugbara (4%), and other smaller ethnic groups.

The official national language is English, with other major languages including Ganda (the language of the Baganda) and Swahili. The main religious groups are Roman Catholic and Protestant, each accounting for 33 percent of the population, with Muslims and those following indigenous beliefs making up the remaining 16 and 18 percent, respectively.

Uganda straddles the equator, with more than 80 percent of its land forming a plateau at 900 to 1,500 meters (2,952 to 4,921 feet) above sea level. Blessed with a tropical climate, plentiful rains, and fertile land, Uganda also has many lakes and rivers, including Lakes Victoria, Edward, and Albert. As in many other African countries, the Ugandan economy is dependent on agriculture and is therefore susceptible to climatic changes.

BRIEF HISTORY

Uganda became a British protectorate in 1894. Before British rule there were four major, often rival, **centralized** states that controlled most of the area in southern Uganda: the kingdoms of Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro, and Toro. The British, operating an indirect-rule colonial administration, used the Baganda chiefs as their colonial middlemen and bureaucrats. The new role of the Baganda chiefs aroused the animosity and resentment of less privileged ethnic groups in Uganda and set the stage for future political instability.

Uganda gained independence from the British on October 9, 1962. Unlike the situation in neighboring Kenya, Uganda's independence came without significant struggle and nationalistic development. Consequently, when the British granted Uganda self-government, there were little political unity and common vision as to the goals of Uganda's future political development. In fact, a great divide existed between those who favored increased Bagandan autonomy in a **federal** state and those who called for the development of a unitary state. This lack of unifying nationalism helped undermine the creation of a viable **nation-state** and laid the groundwork for future political instability.

Although five main political parties emerged in the 1950s and 1960s before independence, the most important were the Democratic Party (DP), the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), and the *Kabaka Yekka*, or King Alone Party (KY). The DP had a predominantly Catholic base and the UPC had a predominantly Protestant base, and the KY was composed of Bagandans who favored special constitutional status for Buganda. The creation of the DP raised the ire of Baganda royalists, who believed that a commoner should not be in a position of power higher than the *Kabaka* (the Bagandan king). When the DP ignored the *Kabaka's* call for a boycott of the March 1961 elections to press its claim for special constitutional status for Buganda and actually won the election, the Baganda hierarchy was infuriated. The KY Party was created in 1961 to remove the DP from power.

The KY embarked on a marriage of convenience with the UPC—to keep the DP out of power. The subsequent KY-UPC alliance formed the independent government of Uganda in 1962. Apolo Milton Obote (b. 1925) became the prime minister, and the *Kabaka* of Buganda became the ceremonial head of state under a federal constitution. In 1963 Uganda became a republic with Kabaka Mutesa II (1924–1969) as president and Obote as prime minister.

This political marriage of convenience, however, was shortlived. Obote deposed Mutesa in 1966 through a civil constitutional **coup** and declared a state of emergency in Buganda. Mutesa fled into exile, and Obote consolidated power as the new president, abolished the federal system, and withdrew Bagandan special privileges. Obote in turn was overthrown by his own general, Idi Amin Dada (c. 1925–2003), who oversaw a military coup d'état against Obote in 1971.

Amin's regime lasted from 1971 to 1979. It was characterized by brutality and repression of unknowable proportions. Some estimates suggest that anywhere from 300,000 to 500,000 Ugandans were murdered brutally under the Amin regime. Some 49,000 Asians (Indo-Pakistani) living in Uganda were expelled

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

federalism: a system of political organization, in which separate states or groups are ruled by a dominant central authority on some matters, but are otherwise permitted to govern themselves independently

nation-state: a relatively homogeneous state with only one or few nationalities within its political borders

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

forcibly from Uganda in 1972. Many Ugandans welcomed that move, believing that Asian merchants and factory owners had acquired too much power and wealth in Uganda. But it was not until Amin's forces invaded Tanzania that a ragtag army of Ugandan nationals, forming the United National Liberation Army (UNLA), and the Tanzanian army were able to overthrow Amin's regime in 1979.

After a short transitional regime that lasted from 1979 to 1980, national elections were held, and Obote as head of the UPC became president in what is referred to commonly as the Obote II regime (1980–1985). There were soon loud cries of rigged elections, and a small guerilla group calling itself the National Resistance Army (NRA), led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, went into the countryside to fight Obote.

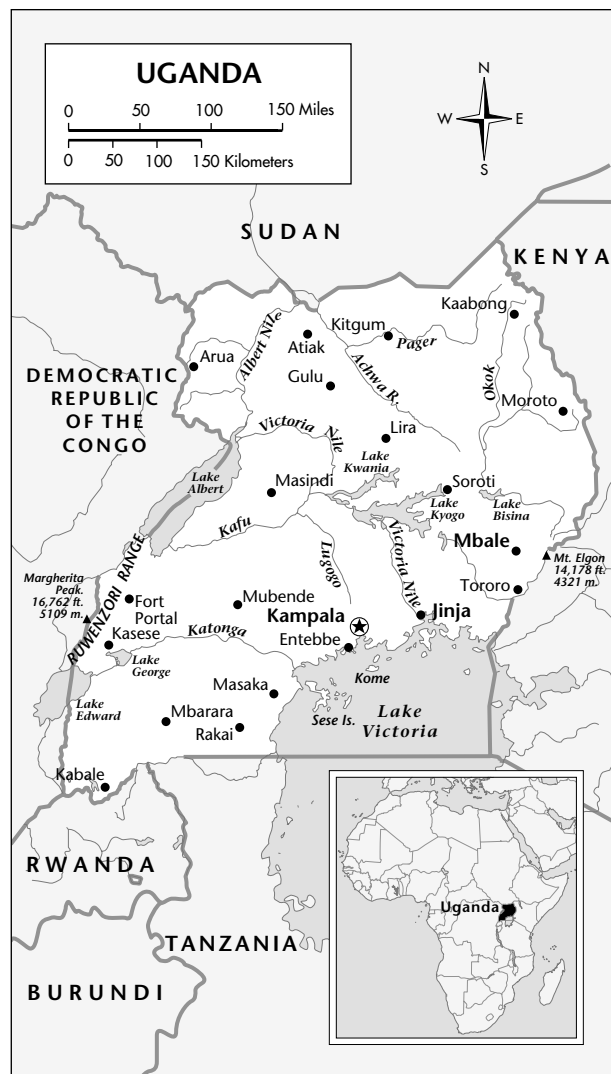
The Obote II regime was as brutal as if not more brutal than Amin's, resulting in substantial human loss, especially in the Luwero Triangle, where the National Resistance Movement (NRM), the political wing of the NRA, had its greatest support. But the NRM did not overthrow Obote—it was another military coup headed by General Tito Okello Lutwa (1914–1996) and Lieutenant General Bazilio Olara Okello (1929–1990) (no relation) that pushed Obote out of power and back into exile in 1985. The Okello military regime lasted only six months, when it was toppled by a victorious Museveni and his NRA, who marched into Kampala on January 26, 1986.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND QUALITY OF LIFE

Once the NRA seized power, the NRM, renamed the "Movement," focused on economic recovery and nation-building. However, by the time the Movement regime marched into Kampala, Uganda was in economic shambles. The Movement regime pursued aggressive neo-liberal reforms, including privatization of the economy (the selling of government-owned corporations to private owners), currency devaluations, and encouragement of foreign investment in the economy. This resulted in impressive economic growth rates, with real gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates averaging 6.7 percent since 1995 and projected to be 6.2 percent in 2005 (according to the World Bank in 2004). The Movement regime has been heralded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and international donors as an economic success story with impressive growth rates, particularly in the 1990s.

In 1992 Uganda had the misfortune of becoming known as the "AIDS capital of the world." In response the Ugandan government launched an aggressive AIDS awareness campaign to lower the overall prevalence of HIV/AIDS from a national average of 30 percent in 1992 to about 6 percent in 2004.

In spite of these accomplishments Uganda remains among the world's poorest countries, with a **per capita** income of \$250 (as estimated by the World Bank in 2004). Its human development index (HDI) ranking (which measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living) is 146 out of 177 countries, placing Uganda at the lower end of the scale for human development. Although the government of Uganda seems



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

committed to a poverty reduction strategy, important indicators have dropped; for example, life expectancy at birth decreased from forty-seven years in 1990 to forty-three years in 2002.

Uganda continues to be heavily dependent on foreign aid; it was one of the first sub-Saharan African countries to be a recipient of debt relief under the IMF's Highly-Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. Its total external debt was over \$4.5 billion in 2004, according to a World Bank estimate.

High levels of corruption continue to eat away at Uganda's economic growth and development. Ranked 117 out of 133 countries in terms of its perceived level of corruption by Transparency International in 2003, Uganda suffers from **endemic corruption**. It is one of the twenty most corrupt countries in the world.

Economic recovery has been uneven in Uganda. Most of the economic growth and recovery has occurred in the southern and the western parts of the country. Many analysts suggest that this may reflect the ethnic and regional bias of the Movement system, whose leaders come predominantly from the same regions of Uganda. The north continues to suffer from an ongoing **insurrection** (since 1986) led by the Lord's Resistance Army.

endemic corruption: longstanding and pervasive lawlessness of government officials

insurrection: an uprising; an act of rebellion against an existing authority

guerrilla: a soldier engaged in nontraditional methods of warfare, often separate from any structured military group

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

grassroots: at the lowest level, often referring to support from members of the public rather than from political elites

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Uganda is a republic with a presidential head of state and a prime minister, appointed by the president, who acts as head of the government. Lieutenant General Yoweri Kaguta Museveni became president through **guerrilla** warfare on January 26, 1986, and was popularly elected in 1991 and 1996. The president serves for a five-year term (with the constitution proclaiming a maximum of two terms); he also appoints a vice president and a cabinet, made up of legislators from the National Assembly. The **unicameral** National Assembly is made up of 303 members, with 214 of those individuals directly elected by popular vote and 89 nominated by legally established special interest groups, including women (56), the army (10), the disabled (5), youth (5), labor (5), and ex officio members (8). All legislators serve five-year terms.

Uganda is considered a "no-party democracy." In other words, individuals are allowed to run for office on the basis of personal merit rather than political party affiliation. Political parties are allowed to exist, but they are restricted heavily by the regime and not allowed to hold rallies or elections.

The Movement regime has instituted a hierarchical system of Local Councils (LCs), formerly called Resistance Councils. It is a five-tiered system: government at the LCI (village level), LCII (parish level), LCIII (subcounty level), LCIV (county level), and LCV (district level). Parliament and the National Executive Committee (NEC, the executive branch of the Movement organization) are at the apex of the system. The Movement system consists of a combination of direct participation (at the LCI) and electoral colleges (LCII through LCV). Each LC committee has nine executive members, with a chairperson as its head. Every Ugandan citizen is a member of a village-level LC.

The no-party system was intended to promote **grassroots** democratic participation and avoid the politicization of ethnicity that haunted Uganda in the past. In practice it has "significantly curtailed civil and political rights of those who are in political opposition" (Human Rights Watch 2003). The Movement regime has moved from its broad-based, inclusive past to a more narrow system that is intolerant of internal dissent. Many formerly loyal Movement members, such as Kiiza Besigye, who was Museveni's personal doctor, have severed their ties with the organization because of this.

ROLE OF JUDICIARY AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

The Ugandan legal system is based on a combination of English common law and **customary law**. The hierarchical system includes a Supreme Court at the top, a Court of Appeal (which also functions as a Constitutional Court for cases involving constitutional matters), and a High Court. The Chief Magistrate's Court and the lesser Magistrate's Court **adjudicate** most of the normal civil and criminal cases. Local civil issues are addressed within lower-level local councils (LCI through LCIII).

In October 1995 a new constitution was devised by a popularly elected **interim** 284-member Constituent Assembly that was charged with debating the draft constitution previously proposed in May 1993. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved when the new constitution was officially adopted. A June 2000 **referendum** resulted in the adoption of a no-party democracy (a continuation of the de facto single-party system).

customary law: a law created by the traditions of a community but never officially declared in force

adjudicate: to settle a case by judicial procedure

interim: for a limited time, during a period of transition

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

ELECTIONS: VOTING AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The first national election since 1980 was held in February 1989. The NRC was transformed from a council nominated solely by the president to include 210 elected representatives. In October 1989 the NRC approved draft legislation to extend the government's term of office, which was due to expire in 1990, an additional five years. In March 1996 the first presidential elections were held, with Museveni and Paul Ssemogerere (the unofficial representative of an electoral alliance between the DP and UPC) as the two principal candidates. Although some electoral inconsistencies did occur, the elections were declared free and fair by international observers. Museveni won an overwhelming majority of the vote, 74.2 percent, with Ssemogerere securing only 23.7 percent. Legislative elections took place in June of that year.

Presidential elections were held again in March 2001; this time Museveni won 69.3 percent of the vote and his main opponent, Dr. Colonel (retired) Kiiza Besigye, received 27.8 percent. Although evidence of some electoral tampering did exist, international observers confirmed that the election was overall free and fair. Before the next elections two important issues to be addressed were whether the existing two-term limit for presidents would be changed for Museveni and whether the elections would be open to multiparty competition.

FREEDOM FROM TORTURE, IMPRISONMENT, DISAPPEARANCE, OR DEATH

Although the human rights situation in Uganda has improved vastly from the dark days of Idi Amin Dada and Milton Obote under the Movement regime, the country has committed and sanctioned some significant human rights abuses and has not been able to protect its citizens from violent rebel movements such as the Allied Democratic Front (ADF) and the Lord's Resistance Movement (LRA) in the west and north, respectively.

According to Human Rights Watch in 2004, torture committed by security forces remained a problem in Uganda. Government safe houses that are "unacknowledged and illegal places of detention" were used to hold citizens suspected of supporting opposition politicians or rebels. According to a 2004 U.S. Department of State report on Uganda, the human rights situation in that country continued to be poor.

In 2005 the situation seemed far from improving. In 2001 the government introduced a bill on the suppression of terrorism in reaction to the September 11,

2001, World Trade Center bombings and a wave of terrorism that swept through Kampala from 1997 to 1999, resulting in the injury of 160 people and the death of more than 50. The ensuing Anti-Terrorism Act, enacted in 2002, defines any act of violence or threat of violence for political, religious, economic, or cultural ends as a terrorist act. This act imposes harsh penalties on suspected terrorists and has raised concerns among international human rights organizations that the Ugandan government will use it against political opponents. Uganda is far from being a human-right-protective regime.

See also: Congo, Democratic Republic of; Political Corruption; Rwanda.

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Susan Dicklitch

Ukraine

Ukraine, formerly a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), has a land area of 603,700 square kilometers (233,090 square miles) and is the second largest country in Europe, similar in size to France or Texas. It is situated between Belarus to the north and the Black Sea to the south, with Russia to the northeast and east. Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Moldova, and Romania border its west and southwest. Most of Ukraine is made up of steppes and plateaus, with higher elevations in the Carpathian Mountains to the west. The Dnieper River runs through the center of Ukraine. The land is fertile and contains many minerals, characteristics that have earned Ukraine the nickname "the breadbasket of Europe."

According to the 2003 *CIA World Factbook*, Ukraine's estimated 48 million residents were 78 percent ethnic Ukrainians. The largest minority group was ethnic Russians, representing less than 20 percent of the population. Other



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

ethnic minority groups in Ukraine include Belarusians and Moldovans, as well as people of Jewish and Polish descent.

The economy in Ukraine is largely industrial, but the country also produces a wide variety of agricultural products from its fertile lands. Russia is still Ukraine's largest trading partner in terms of both imports and exports. Ukraine lacks energy and depends heavily on other nations for natural gas energy supplies. The privatization of the economy has been slow, with many aspects of the economy remaining unstable.

BRIEF HISTORY

The capital city of Ukraine, Kiev, was once the center of a vibrant and powerful Slavic state, which reached its peak in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But starting in the thirteenth century, Ukraine was often conquered and absorbed by other powerful neighbors and empires. During the next few centuries Ukraine was in almost constant turmoil, and it was eventually enveloped by the Russian Empire.

From 1917 to 1921 many Ukrainians fought unsuccessfully for their independence. The Bolsheviks seized Ukraine during their revolution, and by 1921 Ukraine had become part of the USSR as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Ukrainian people experienced extreme hardships under the control of the Soviet communists. They suffered two excruciating famines, and many peasants were killed while attempting to resist collectivization under Joseph Stalin's (1879–1953) rule. Leaders focused on “russifying” the Ukrainian population during Soviet rule in terms of both language and cultural identity. Russification refers to the policy the central Soviet **regime** imposed on its satellite republics to create **nationalistic** ties with Russia, such as forcing schools to teach only in the Russian language, thereby strengthening the importance of the USSR as a whole.

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

During World War II (1939–1945) Ukraine became a battleground when German forces invaded the republic and the Soviet Red Army subsequently sought to remain in control of the region. Ukrainians fought on both sides of the war, with citizens involved in guerilla warfare against both the Soviets and the Germans. Millions of Ukrainians died in the conflict, including many Jews who were victims of the Holocaust. By the war's end much of the country had been decimated.

Ukrainian leaders during Soviet rule generally followed orders from Moscow, carrying out communist policies and procedures. The Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) was known for maintaining a republic, out of all the member republics of the USSR, which was most closely aligned with Moscow. Nevertheless, nationalist sentiments and unrest developed following World War II, and in the 1960s and 1970s a movement for a free, independent, and democratic Ukraine took hold. Leaders in Moscow responded by replacing the Ukraine head of state with Vladimir Shcherbitsky, a heavy-handed Communist Party loyalist, in order to regain control. Although Shcherbitsky fought to quell the mounting unrest, the Ukrainian people were moving toward significant social and political change.

The explosion of the nuclear power plant at Chernobyl in 1986 further fueled political unrest and the nationalist movement. The Soviet reaction to the disaster was slow; leaders in Moscow failed to evacuate the areas surrounding the plant for days and refused to allow details about the event to reach the Soviet people and the rest of the world. Many citizens of both Ukraine and surrounding countries suffered severe radioactive poisoning, and the environmental, physical, and health effects of the disaster still lingered almost two decades later.

INDEPENDENCE AND THE EMERGENCE OF DEMOCRACY

By the late 1980s Ukrainians were calling for **sovereignty**. A major development in the road to independence emerged with the birth of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring (Rukh). The Rukh at first advocated an autonomous Ukraine within the USSR, but eventually the Rukh's agenda helped to ignite nationalist feelings across Ukraine. Rukh was a major player in achieving independence, encouraging a variety of political and social groups to demand political change, including local control. During this period, the leader of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931), instituted reforms that restructured the Soviet economy and allowed its member republics greater autonomy and freedom of expression. These reforms did not satisfy many Ukrainians, however, who sought more drastic political change.

By 1990 non-Communist Party leaders were emerging as a serious political force in Ukraine, and the country declared that local control superseded that of the USSR. An unsuccessful **coup** against Gorbachev served as the final catalyst for Ukraine's political transformation. The country declared its independence from the communist USSR in the wake of the failed coup on August 24, 1991.

Following a parliamentary declaration of independence, Ukrainian voters overwhelmingly chose to uphold their independence in December 1991. Leonid Kravchuk (b. 1934) was elected as the independent Ukraine's first president. Subsequent to independence the country faced many difficulties—economic, environmental, and political—with many former communist elitists resisting true democratic changes. For example, President Kravchuk, formerly a member of the CPU, failed to create policies to establish a free market economy. The country was also very slow in adopting a new constitution.

Upon independence Ukraine was one of three founding members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), along with Russia and Belarus. The CIS, which immediately expanded its membership to include eleven countries,

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

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COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS)

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is a political and economic alliance of twelve of the fifteen former Soviet Republics. As of 2005 the CIS included Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania chose to remain outside the CIS.

The CIS was formed in 1991 during the collapse of the former Soviet Union. On December 8, 1991, a treaty establishing the CIS was signed by the leaders of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. Other former Soviet republics signed the agreement on December 21. Georgia, the last to join, entered the CIS in 1993. A collective security treaty was

drawn up in 1992 and signed by nine of the twelve member countries by the close of 1993.

Although the members of the CIS regard themselves as independent states, the alliance is based on military and political cooperation. An economic union among the member states was scheduled for 2005. The CIS, which is headquartered in Minsk, Belarus, has its own flag, executive secretary, and Olympic team.

By 2005, however, it seemed possible that the CIS might face dissolution. The replacement of the leaders of Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan with pro-Western politicians between 2003 and 2005 might be a sign that the alliance was no longer useful to some of its members.

allowed many of the former Soviet republics to work together in the aftermath of the USSR while each country established independence. Ukraine is also a member of the United Nations (UN), retaining the seat it had been granted while still part of the USSR.

The slowness of post-independence economic reform led to the country's 1999 economic output being 40 percent lower than it was in 1991. In fact, Ukraine was in near crisis by the mid-1990s with a devastated economy. Life post-independence left many people very poor and without the basic **infrastructure** and goods to easily build wealth.

Another major problem that Ukraine faced at independence was ethnic friction between the Crimean Peninsula region and the rest of the nation. The Crimea is largely populated by ethnic Russians, who desired a split from Ukraine in order to rejoin Russia. Ukraine resisted Crimean attempts at **secession**; in 2004 the area remained part of the country but an autonomous republic.

GOVERNMENT

In June 1996 a new constitution came into force in Ukraine; the country was the last of the former Soviet republics to establish a constitution. The government constitutes a republic. All citizens eighteen and older have the right to vote. In addition to the autonomous Republic of Crimea, the country is divided into twenty-four *oblasts*, which are similar to states, and two **municipalities**. The constitution officially named Ukrainian the formal language, although the use of the Russian language remains widespread.

The President, Prime Minister, and Cabinet. The president of Ukraine is the head of state, elected for a five-year term. The president until 2004, Leonid Kuchma (b. 1938), was first elected in 1994. His prime minister, Viktor Yanukovich (b. 1950), was installed in 2002. Many accused this administration of being resistant to true democratic reforms and implicated it in corrupt political activities, resulting in a loss of the election in late 2004. President Kuchma played a central role in the final drafting and adoption of the constitution, and one of his requirements for the document was that it provide for a strong executive branch.

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infrastructure: the base on which a system or organization is built

secede: to break away from, especially politically

municipality: local governmental units, usually cities or towns

Although he was largely elected because of his promise to support close ties with Russia, Kuchma later admitted his intention to steer the country toward a more European model of governance and policy.

The president's powers are sizable, in large part because the constitution grants the position a great deal of authority. It also reflects the governance style associated with the country's communist past. In effect, the president retains ultimate control over the government, despite its three branches.

The prime minister is the head of the government. This post is appointed by the elected president and approved by the country's legislative branch, the Supreme Council. The president retains the right to dismiss the prime minister or to suspend the political authority of the position.

The president also appoints a Cabinet of Ministers, which carries out the day-to-day operations of the government bureaucracies and oversees the public administration system. These ministers are responsible to both the president and the legislature.

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

The Supreme Council and the Courts. The Supreme Council, the lawmaking body of the Ukrainian government, is a **unicameral** elected body. Known as the *Verkhovna Rada*, the Council has 450 members, each elected for a four-year term. The election system combines a majority and a proportional component. Half of the seats are awarded proportionately to political parties that receive 4 or more percent of the vote in national elections. The other 225 seats are awarded to individuals based on a majority vote. This system serves to strike a balance between the power of the major political parties and that of individual elected officials. Leaders elected to the Rada are known as people's deputies.

The legal system of Ukraine is based on civil law. The country has a Constitutional Court, as well as a system of general courts, over which the Supreme Court has authority.

The role of the Constitutional Court is to uphold and define constitutional order and the rights and freedoms granted by the constitution, ensuring that the government complies with the responsibilities of a democratic society. It is not possible to use the Constitutional Court as an **appellate** body for challenging decisions made in the general court system.

appellate: a court having jurisdiction to review the findings of lower courts

In a notable decision, the Constitutional Court ruled in 2003 that President Kuchma could run for a third term in October 2004, despite the constitutional limit of two presidential terms. The ruling allowed the third election because Kuchma was originally elected in 1994, prior to the constitution's adoption. The court ruled that the limit should not apply retroactively.

The general courts deal with other legal proceedings that are nonconstitutional in nature: civil, criminal, and administrative matters. The Supreme Court is the highest authority within the system for appeals and decisions.

According to the U.S. Department of State, as of 2004 the court system in Ukraine remained subject to political manipulation, as it was funded by the Ministry of Justice. Inadequate funding has often been cited as a problem that prevents the courts from running smoothly. The ability of the court system to function in an efficient manner and provide fair trials has thus been called into question.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A variety of political parties are active in Ukraine, ranging from communist to democratic in their ideals and principles. Elected members of parliament come from a wide range of these political parties. Overall, Ukrainian citizens are

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LEONID KUCHMA'S THREAT TO FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The disappearances of several well-known Ukrainian journalists in 2000 and 2001 served to focus opposition to President Leonid Kuchma (b. 1938). Georgiy Gongadze, the editor of the Internet newspaper *Ukrains'ka Pravda*, disappeared on September 16, 2000; his headless body was found in a forest outside Kiev in November of the same year. Although Gongadze's widow sent an open letter of protest to Kuchma on the first anniversary of her husband's disappearance, the official investigation of the murder continues as of 2005. Other suspicious deaths include those of Ihor Aleksandrov, director of a television station, who was beaten to death on July 3, 2001; and Myhailo Kolomiets, head of a news agency, found hanged in Belarus on November 20, 2002. Kolomiets's death is thought to have been a murder staged to look like a suicide.

As a result of these incidents, Kuchma's political opponents as well as human rights advocates called for greater

transparency in government. The cassette or "Tapegate" scandal of 2001, in which audiotapes recorded in Kuchma's office revealed his involvement in various illegal activities, intensified demands for greater freedom of the Ukrainian press. Thousands of demonstrators marched in Kiev to demand Kuchma's resignation in 2003.

Kuchma remained in office in spite of the protests, but his presumed rigging of the presidential runoff election of November 21, 2004 set off a wave of tremendous public protest, including strikes all over the country and the continuous occupation of the streets of the capital by crowds of hundreds of thousands. The Ukrainian Supreme Court annulled the election and a new runoff was held on December 26, which was won by Viktor Yushchenko, the leader of the opposition party, who promised, among other things, to investigate seriously the Gongadze and similar cases. Yushchenko took office in January 2005.

able to organize politically without government interference, with some exceptions. For example, many outsiders have accused the government of actively discouraging the unionization of workers.

Human rights in Ukraine in the early twenty-first century had still not reached the level expected of a democratic society. Both Human Rights Watch and the U.S. Department of State noted extensive human rights problems associated with government corruption and coercion.

In particular, the Human Rights Watch reported that the vast majority of election commission chairpersons have been pro-presidential supporters. Reports of intimidation and political pressure during elections cloud Ukraine's democratic processes. In addition, because many media outlets are state-owned, they have frequently been unable to broadcast fair and impartial coverage of political events. Journalists have also complained of government pressure and censorship.

Three investigative journalists disappeared in Ukraine in 2000 and 2001. The 2000 disappearance of a journalist, Georgiy Gongadze, who had criticized President Kuchma, led some observers to implicate the president and his officials in the incident. President Kuchma publicly denied any involvement in the disappearance. Protests were organized to speak out against the disappearance and the president's alleged connection to it; riot police used physical force to subdue and arrest many of the protesters. These arrests reflected the lingering communist-style governance techniques in Ukraine, and the instability or absence of typical democratic rights such as the freedom to protest against the government. The 2001 disappearance of two additional journalists also remained unsolved as of 2004.

Under President Kuchma the country experienced other human rights restrictions, such as religious **persecution**, election irregularities, and intrusions on personal privacy. Furthermore, many government officials have avoided prosecution for crime or corruption, another remnant of the country's political past.

persecute: to belittle, harass, injure, or otherwise intimidate, especially those of a different background or group

The widespread abuse of prisoners is another acknowledged human rights violation that has continued to surface in Ukraine post-independence. Reports of abuse and torture, sometimes until prisoners waive their constitutional right to an attorney, have been duly noted by the U.S. Department of State. Democratic change has been slow in Ukraine, as with other former Soviet nations with no history of democratic practice.

See also: Freedom of the Press; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Political Corruption; Russia.

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Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

See Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

United Arab Emirates

Located in the Arabian Gulf, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) has an area of 82,880 square kilometers (31,877 square miles) and, as of 2004, a population of 2,513,915. Abu Dhabi is its capital. The country is bordered by Saudi Arabia, Oman, and the Arabian Gulf. The UAE is mainly desert, and its hot and dry climate reflects this terrain. It was formed in 1971 after the merger of six states: Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Al Furayjah, Al Shariqah, Dubai, and Umm el Quiwan. In 1972 Ras el Khaymah joined these member states. From 1971, the year Great Britain granted the UAE its independence, to 2004, Sheikh Zayid bin Sultan al-Nahyan (1918–2004), the ruler of Abu Dhabi, served as president of the federation, along with Maktum bin Rashid al-Maktum (b. 1946), ruler of Dubai,

as vice president. At Sheikh Zayid bin Sultan al-Nahyan's death in 2004, his eldest son, Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed al-Nahyan (b. 1948), was chosen as president of the UAE.

The UAE is considered a wealthy country, with a per capita income of \$22,100. Life expectancy is seventy-five years, reflecting good health-care services and a high standard of living.

Governmental powers in the UAE are divided between the states and a central federal government. The government is based upon an agreement among the seven member states. The actual authority of the federal regime is limited, given the enormous power possessed by the individual heads of state. Each sheikh (or head of state) is the supreme ruler in his state. The seven state rulers constitute a Federal Supreme Council. The council, the nation's highest authority, elects the president of the federation for a five-year term.

The UAE has a unicameral consultative legislative branch, the *Majlis el Ittibad el Watani*, or Federal National Council. It is composed of forty members appointed by the head of the seven states for a term of two years. This council, in fact, has no real power; its main functions are to review legislation and to advise rulers on the substance and details of this legislation. The bureaucracy merely reflects the will of the state's ruler; it does not play an important role in the political life of the country. Citizens' participation is nonexistent in terms of elections because none of the members of government institutions are elected. Citizens elect neither their president nor their sheikhs. Instead, citizens must use direct contact, in *Majlis* (or councils), to voice their concerns to their sheiks and the president.

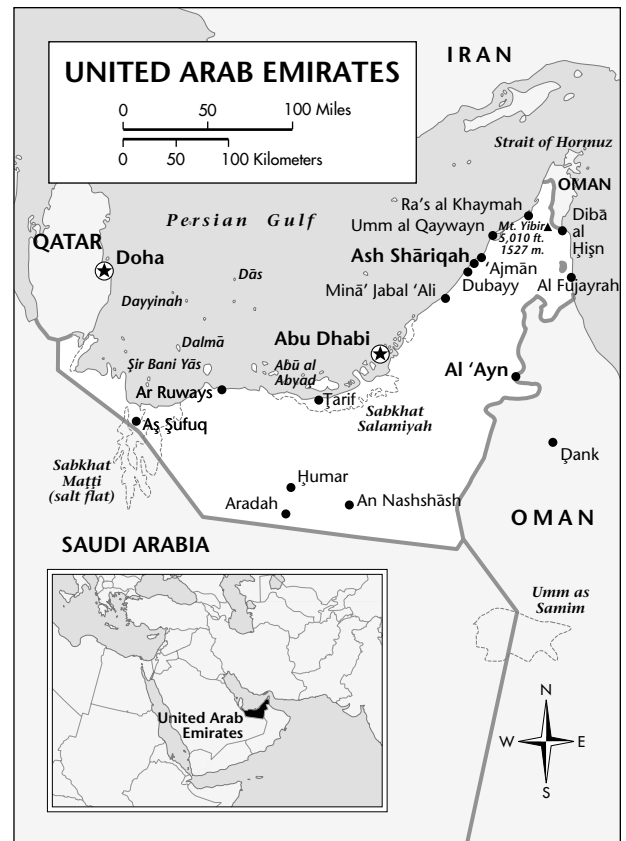
The judiciary mainly addresses issues related to the day-to-day life of citizens. Although it does not affect the political life of the UAE, political intervention may influence courts' decisions.

The citizens of the UAE enjoy basic liberties, good security, and freedom from torture, unlawful imprisonment, or forced disappearance. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the country's human rights record has improved, although concerns remained about the treatment of women and allegations of human trafficking. The government's prohibition of political parties prevents the citizens from expressing their political points of view or ideologies. Religious freedom does exist, however, and tolerance for different forms of religion is safeguarded.

See also: Federalism.

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(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Mounab Abdel Samad

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is located in Western Europe, and consists of the island of Great Britain (which includes England, Scotland, and Wales) and the six northern counties of the island of Ireland, which are officially known as Northern Ireland and are commonly called Ulster. The United Kingdom also consists of several smaller islands, from the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea between England and Ireland to the Channel Islands such as Sark, Guernsey, and Jersey, which are located in the English Channel very close to France. The Shetland, Orkney, and Hebrides island chains are located in the North Sea off the coast of Scotland.

The United Kingdom is geographically diverse. It consists of approximately 244,820 square kilometers (95,000 square miles), and is about the size of the state of Oregon in the United States. Major mountain chains are located in Scotland and Wales. Britain's climate is moderate, with very few extreme temperatures. It has a wealth of natural resources in coal, petroleum, natural gas, tin, and other minerals. Britain holds significant oil and gas reserves in the North Sea, and has been actively drilling and exploiting those resources since the early 1970s. Approximately 25 percent of Britain is considered **arable land**, and agriculture focuses on a wide variety of crops and animals.

The estimated population of the United Kingdom in 2003 was 60,094,648. About 50 million people lived in England, 5.1 million in Scotland, 3 million in Wales, and 1.7 million in Northern Ireland. England is one of the most densely populated regions in the United Kingdom and Europe, with much of its population living in urban and suburban areas such as London, Birmingham, Manchester, and Newcastle. Scotland and Wales have urban areas also. Glasgow and Edinburgh are the two largest Scottish cities, and Cardiff is the largest Welsh city. Belfast is the largest city in Northern Ireland. However, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland still have largely rural areas as well; thus, the populations in those regions are not as dense and urbanized as in England.

In terms of ethnic identities, Britain is a homogenous nation. The English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish are generally Caucasian. Approximately 80 percent of Britons claim English ancestry. Scots account for almost 10 percent of the population, Irish 2.5 percent, Welsh 2 percent, Northern Irish (Ulster) about 2 percent, and the remaining 3.5 percent claim West Indian (such as Jamaican), Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, or Asian background. In terms of nationalities, the United Kingdom is often referred to as a multination state since it consists of four distinct nations: England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. The United Kingdom is a sovereign state in the international community, and its citizens have a common British citizenship. However, the four nations still retain distinct social traits. For example, the Welsh language is still spoken in parts of Wales, and variations of Gaelic are still spoken in Scotland and Northern Ireland.

POLITICAL HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

The political history of the United Kingdom is very long and drawn out. The Norman Conquest of England in 1066 started the **centralization** of various groups, villages, and towns in England, and by the twelfth century the Norman rulers had created a **monarchical** government that ruled over England. That government was premised on the Norman monarchy, with the king as the source of all power. A Parliament was also created in which nobles were represented. The Normans consolidated their rule over England between 1066 and approximately 1200, and by the late 1200s they began to expand their power to Wales and Scotland.

arable land: land suitable for the growing of crops

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

monarchical: of or relating to a monarchy



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

By 1282 English monarchs were beginning to militarily and politically dominate some of the Welsh princes, and in 1536 Wales was unified with England through the Act of Union passed by the English Parliament. Wales was represented in Parliament, and the English administrative legal systems were imposed on it as well. Unlike Wales, Scotland maintained its political independence from England until 1707. Although England applied military and political pressure against Scotland between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, Scotland retained its own monarchy until the English and Scottish crowns were united in 1603, when King James VI (1566–1625) of Scotland became King James I of England due to his inheritance of the English throne as the great-grandson of Henry VII (1457–1509). In 1707 the Scottish and English Parliaments approved the Treaty of Union that united the two kingdoms into Great Britain. The Act of Union created the British Parliament in which the English, Welsh, and Scottish were all to be represented, and all three regions were to hold allegiance to one common monarch.

Starting in the twelfth century the English extended their rule to Ireland. By the 1500s Ireland was incorporated into the English political system. However, by the nineteenth century the “Irish question,” which concerned rising Irish demands for independence from Great Britain, figured prominently in British political debate. The 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin was a violent rebellion against British rule, and in 1920 the British government negotiated a settlement in which the counties of southern Ireland would be independent, and the six

devolve: to move power or property from one individual or institution to another, especially from a central authority

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

northern counties of Ireland—also called Ulster—were to remain part of Great Britain. Ulster was predominantly comprised of Protestant settlers from England, Wales, and Scotland, and was thus distinct from the southern Irish counties, which were mainly Catholic. The southern Irish counties are now the Republic of Ireland, and Northern Ireland remains a distinct political entity and region within the United Kingdom.

The unitary nature of the British political system has changed slightly. Beginning in the 1970s, Scottish and Welsh nationalists agitated for **devolution**, or the return of some political power back to those regions. In 1997, after two national **referendums**, the British Parliament passed two laws creating Welsh and Scottish Parliaments with limited powers over social and economic policy. Although national political issues are still addressed by the national government and Parliament in London, the Scottish and Welsh Parliaments have been granted some power to address public policy issues that are perhaps unique to those two regions.

Northern Ireland has had a distinct political history, too. Northern Ireland was given its own Parliament at the partition of Ireland in 1920; it thus gained limited power to make laws for that region. Major public policy issues were still decided by the national British government in London, however. Protestants have always comprised a majority of citizens in Northern Ireland and have historically dominated the politics of the region. Indeed, Protestant politicians often used their political power to actively discriminate against Catholics. In 1968 Catholics in the region started a civil rights movement against Protestant control of Northern Irish politics, and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) also started its violent campaign of terrorism to forcefully reunite Ulster with the Irish Republic. The IRA's terrorism prompted terrorist acts by Unionist groups that wanted to maintain the union between Northern Ireland and Britain, and the cycle of IRA and Unionist violence is often termed "the troubles." The Northern Irish police force was incapable of controlling the violence, so the British government committed military troops to Northern Ireland to restore and maintain the peace, and in 1972 the Northern Ireland Parliament (commonly called Stormont) was abolished and the province was directly governed from London.

In 1985 Britain and the Republic of Ireland signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement that recognized a joint role to be played by both countries to bring peace to Northern Ireland. In 1998, under the Good Friday Accords approved by voters in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, a power-sharing government was created in which political power would be shared between the Unionists and Republicans in Northern Ireland—between those who sought to maintain the union with Britain, and those who sought to join the Republic of Ireland. The Accords also mandated that Republican and Unionist terrorist groups give up their weapons and work toward a peaceful solution to Northern Ireland's problems. The power-sharing government has not worked as planned, unfortunately. Unionist and Republican terrorist groups have not decommissioned their weapons, and in 2000 the British government suspended the power-sharing government in Northern Ireland and continued to govern the province directly from London.

One other issue concerning the structure of the United Kingdom is Britain's membership in the European Union. The European Economic Community (EEC) was created in 1957 by France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands, with the primary goal of unifying European states into one economic entity. Britain joined the EEC in 1973; the EEC is now officially known as the European Union (EU). By joining the EU, Britain agreed to abide by economic rules and regulations established by the EU government located in Brussels, Belgium. Thus, the British government has gradually lost significant

political power and sovereignty over its own economic and social issues, and must now accept EU laws and rules on such diverse issues as immigration, minimum wages, retirement benefits, and government **subsidies** to industries. The EU now has its own legal system and policy-making institutions that affect all EU member states, including the United Kingdom.

subsidy: a government grant used to encourage some action

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

The United Kingdom is a unitary state, meaning that most laws and policies are made by the national government located in London. Although there are four distinct nations in the United Kingdom, it is not a federal system in which power is divided and shared between the national government and regional governments such as states or provinces. Scotland and Wales now have some political power to make laws affecting their specific regions, but the bulk of power still resides with the national government in London. The British government consists of three branches: the legislature, executive, and judiciary. Britain is a democracy, and all people over the age of eighteen who are British citizens are eligible to vote in national elections. The United Kingdom is also a constitutional



BUCKINGHAM PALACE IN LONDON, ENGLAND. Constructed in 1703 by the Duke of Buckingham, London's Buckingham Palace became the official royal residence of the British monarchy in 1837 when Queen Victoria ascended the throne. (SOURCE: MIRA BOSSOWSKA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.)

figurehead: an individual with a title of leadership, but no real authority or power

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

monarchy in which the monarch, in 2005 Queen Elizabeth II (b. 1926), serves as a head of state for the political system. The monarch is hereditary, passed down through the Windsor family. The monarch is expected to be politically impartial, so that she “reigns but does not rule,” and in practice and reality the monarch is simply a **figurehead** who retains no political or lawmaking power. The powers to make laws and administer the government are located in the democratically elected Parliament and the executive branch.

The United Kingdom has no written constitution. The British Constitution consists of statutes (laws) passed by Parliament, the common law, and rules of political behavior and practice called constitutional conventions. The British Constitution can slowly change over time, as laws and political practices change. Indeed, the change in British politics from a monarchy, in which the monarch holds all political and legal power, to a representative democracy, in which the people and Parliament hold political power, is a prime example of the slow, evolutionary change of the British Constitution. Britain’s **democratization** occurred during the course of several centuries without a revolution, unlike in the United States or France.

The legislative branch is Parliament, commonly referred to as Westminster, and it has two houses: the lower House of Commons and the upper House of Lords. Parliament can trace its heritage to De Montfort’s Parliament under the Normans in 1265, although the functions and democratic nature of the modern Parliament are certainly unlike those of the ancient Norman assembly. The Commons consists of 646 individual members of Parliament (MPs), each of whom represents a specific electoral district in the United Kingdom and is elected for a five-year term by popular vote. MPs are elected from throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland; thus, the House of Commons is a national body that represents all districts and regions within the United Kingdom. Elections for the House of Commons must be held at least every five years, although unlike in the United States national elections are not regularly scheduled. The government can call for new elections at any time within a five-year period from the most recent national elections. MPs are generally affiliated with a political party, and there are two main political parties in Britain: the Conservative (Tory) Party and the Labour Party. In the 2005 election, the Labour Party MPs won 356 seats, the Conservative Party 197. The only other party with more than 10 MPs was the Liberal Democrats with 62.

The House of Lords historically consisted of members (called peers) who were either hereditary members, and thus inherited their legislative seat, or peers who were appointed to the Lords by the monarch on the advice of the government. Historically, there have been over 1,000 hereditary peers and a few hundred appointed peers, although rarely do all members of the Lords attend legislative sessions in Parliament. The House of Lords traditionally could veto any law passed by the Commons, but in 1911 its power was strictly limited so that the Lords could only delay, by one year, any law passed by the House of Commons. In 1999 the House of Lords was limited by law to appointed peers (about 600 as of 2004) and 92 hereditary peers, elected by their peers to represent specific office holders or political groupings.

The House of Commons holds almost all lawmaking power. That is, it has the power to make and change laws. Indeed, the British Constitution is based in part on the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, which holds that Parliament can make any law that it wants and change the law at any time. Importantly, parliamentary sovereignty has been limited by Britain’s membership in the EU. Since Britain must now follow EU laws and regulations, the British Parliament is essentially limited in its lawmaking power.

The executive branch of government consists of the prime minister, top government ministers, and the national bureaucracy or civil service. As in other parliamentary systems, the prime minister is usually the leader of the largest political party in Parliament, and prime ministers serve a dual role as MPs elected from a specific electoral district and as head of the executive branch. It is a constitutional convention that the monarch appoints the leader of the largest party in the House of Commons as prime minister. In 2003 Tony Blair (b. 1953) from the Labour Party was named prime minister. Some of the more prominent Conservative prime ministers since World War II (1939–1945) have included Winston Churchill (1874–1965) during World War II, Edward Heath (1916–2005) in the 1970s, Margaret Thatcher (b. 1925) in the 1980s, and John Major (b. 1943) in the 1990s. Prominent Labour prime ministers have included Clement Attlee (1884–1967) in the late 1940s, Harold Wilson (1916–1995) in the 1970s, and Tony Blair from the late 1990s.

Political parties are very important to the British political system. The party with the majority in the House of Commons is invited to form the so-called Government of the Day. The next largest political party in the Commons is considered “Her Majesty’s loyal opposition,” and opposes the government by acting as a potential alternative government. That is, the opposition debates the Government of the Day in Parliament and proposes different public policy alternatives to the British public. In general, political parties are very disciplined, and party members will almost always cast their vote in Parliament according to their party’s policies. Thus, party discipline ensures that when the Government of the Day has an absolute majority of seats in Parliament, the government’s policies are almost always supported and enacted. Indeed, disciplined and cohesive parties in Parliament increase the power of the prime minister and executive branch, since the government can always rely on its majority of support in Parliament to enact new laws and policies.

The prime minister makes policy decisions with his or her cabinet, which consists of the MPs appointed as heads of the most important political departments, such as the treasury, foreign office, home affairs, and the Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Irish offices. In general, the prime minister names members of the cabinet, and almost all cabinet ministers will, like the prime minister, also be MPs in the House of Commons. Rarely will a cabinet member come from the House of Lords. The constitutional convention of ministerial responsibility holds that government ministers must be accountable to Parliament, and may be forced to resign by Parliament if they make an egregious political mistake.

The British bureaucracy or civil service is professional, and most bureaucrats are career workers, not political appointees. Civil servants must pass competitive exams in order to join the bureaucracy, and the professionalism of the British civil service is often envied and emulated by other political systems. The civil service is overseen by the Government of the Day and professional administrators, and its primary role is to administer policies under laws passed by Parliament.

The third branch of government, the judiciary, is essentially independent of Parliament and the executive branch, although some overlap exists. For example, the lord chancellor is appointed by the prime minister and is a sitting judge, member of the House of Lords, and can also serve in the prime minister’s cabinet. However, the Lord Chancellor’s Office is the exception, and the judiciary is considered separate from the other two branches. Judges are appointed by the monarch on the advice of the prime minister and the government. In reality, the prime minister has almost unlimited discretion to appoint judges to the bench in Great Britain, although judicial appointments mainly go to experienced

FAST FACTS

Video surveillance is a feature of everyday urban life in the United Kingdom.

adjudicate: to settle a case by judicial procedure

lawyers, some of whom may be active in Conservative or Labour Party politics. Judges serve until the age of seventy-five and are not lifetime appointees as in the United States. Although British judges cannot declare a law unconstitutional, they can ensure that the government does follow the law. Thus, government agencies must follow the common law, statutes passed by Parliament, and also EU laws and regulations made in Brussels. In 1998, however, Parliament passed the Human Rights Act that made the European Convention on Human Rights legally enforceable in Britain. The Human Rights Act does allow British judges to protect the human rights of individuals through **adjudication**.

The rights and liberties of British citizens are well protected by courts and Parliament. Britons enjoy the freedoms of religion, speech, and press, and the British criminal justice system operates under strict rules of due process that ensure a fair trial for criminal defendants. Citizens, judges, and politicians jealously guard civil rights and liberties in Britain.

See also: Constitutional Monarchy; European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; European Union; Magna Carta; Northern Ireland; Parliamentary Systems.

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United Nations

The United Nations (UN) was established toward the end of World War II in 1945 as the successor intergovernmental organization to the League of Nations. The UN's primary purpose is to maintain or restore international peace and security, and to this end the founding members established a potentially powerful executive organ, the Security Council, that consists of fifteen members, five of which are permanent (China, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States, and France). The idea was that the Security Council would take collective security measures to deal with threats to or breaches of international peace, for example, through the imposition of economic sanctions against member states violating or threatening peace or through the use of armed forces put at the Council's disposal by member states.

One of the effects of the Cold War (1945–1989) between the United States and the former Soviet Union was that the Security Council achieved little because those two permanent member states exercised their right to veto proposed action. The principal exception to this stalemate was the Korean conflict (1950–1953), in which the Security Council mandated a U.S.-led army to repel the invasion of South Korea by North Korea. This was made possible by the absence of the Soviet Union from

the Security Council when the initial attack occurred. The return of the Soviet Union to the Council chamber led to the UN General Assembly developing its **subsidiary** collective security powers by supporting the forceful reunification of Korea and by claiming to be able to recommend enforcement actions in the future. The General Assembly also went on in 1956 to **mandate** the first full peacekeeping or “blue-helmeted force” as a mechanism for ending the Suez crisis.

Such forces were not mandated or equipped to fight wars but to help the parties to a conflict implement agreed-on measures to stop the fighting and restore peace. However, as a **plenary** organ consisting of the vast majority of countries in the world—191 by the end of 2003—meeting regularly in annual sessions, the General Assembly is suited to recommend action in emergencies only when the Security Council is deadlocked. It has the advantage, though, of not being subject to the veto decisions made by a majority, normally two-thirds of those states present and voting. Both political organs also are mandated by the founding treaty—the UN Charter—to facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputes between states, much of which power is delegated to the UN secretary-general.

The Charter also established an International Court of Justice (ICJ) based in The Hague as the principal judicial organ of the UN, with the function of deciding disputes between states and rendering legal advice upon request by recognized UN organs and organizations. The weakness of the Court is that in hearing disputes between states it must establish that both parties have consented to its **jurisdiction**.

THE UN SYSTEM

The UN system does not consist only of a single organization based in New York City made up of the sometimes headline-grabbing organs discussed above. The UN system also includes a number of specialized agencies that are intergovernmental organizations in their own right, having separate councils and assemblies as well as secretariats and budgets and headquarters around the globe. Many of these agencies predate the UN Charter or came about in the immediate post-World War II era. These agencies deal with matters of common concern—for example, diseases, financial crises, the safety of civil aviation and merchant shipping, international postal services, and international telecommunications. Many are well known—for example, the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labour Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Maritime Organization, the International Telecommunications Union, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank (formally known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development); others are less so—for example, the World Meteorological Organization, the UN Industrial Development Organization, the World Intellectual Property Organization, and the Universal Postal Union. In addition, there are other organizations that, although not specialized agencies of the UN, have a relationship with the UN that is either formal, for example, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Criminal Court (ICC), or practical, for example, the World Trade Organization.

TRADE AND FINANCE

The World Bank, IMF, and World Trade Organization (which was constituted in 1995 as the successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) together form the three pillars of the global system for trade and finance, and

subsidiary: a small component of a larger entity

mandate: to command, order, or require; or, a command, order, or requirement

plenary: complete or absolute; attended by all members or delegates to a convention

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

free trade: exchange of goods without tariffs charged on importing or exporting

there are significant levels of cooperation among the three organizations. The World Trade Organization promotes **free trade**, the IMF helps countries with balance of payment difficulties, and the World Bank concentrates on loans for less developed states. These three organizations promote a global economic system based on exchange rate stability and the free flow of trade and capital. Although all three groups generally make decisions on the basis of consensus, the executive boards of the IMF and the World Bank are dominated by the United States, Japan, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom. These countries have a higher percentage of votes because of their greater financial contributions. In contrast to this system of weighted voting, the World Trade Organization is based on the UN voting principle of “one state, one vote.”

SUBSIDIARY ORGANS

The organizations in the UN system have created numerous subsidiary bodies. The UN General Assembly, for instance, has created bodies that deal with matters such as children’s welfare, trade and development, the environment, refugees, and human rights. Examples of well-known subsidiary bodies include the UN Children’s Fund and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR). The UN Economic and Social Council, another political organ of the UN office based in New York City, also has established significant subsidiary bodies, for instance, the Human Rights Commission created in 1946. In addition, the Security Council has formed subsidiary bodies. Examples include fact-finding bodies, peacekeeping forces, and in the 1990s international criminal **tribunals** to try those suspected of war crimes or other international crimes in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. It has created bodies that have responsibility for the **interim** government of territories or countries pending the outcome of a peace process. The UN interim administrations in Kosovo and East Timor established in 1999 are some contemporary examples.

tribunal: a type of court of law, usually military in nature

interim: for a limited time, during a period of transition

COORDINATION

Coordination of this unwieldy global network of organizations, organs, and individuals is problematic, although some evidence exists of systems developing that cut across bodies and institutions governing areas such as human rights, collective security, environmental matters, and labor conditions. Several of these issues may be addressed within one of the UN entities identified above, such as the International Labor Organization in regard to labor conditions. Others are more likely to be dealt with across bodies—for instance, human rights issues are addressed by the Security Council, General Assembly, and ICJ, several of the specialized agencies (e.g., UNESCO), many of the subsidiary organs (e.g., the UN Children’s Fund), and related bodies (e.g., the ICC). Sufficient evidence of the coordination of these bodies exists that it can be said there are at least weak systems within the UN. Perhaps more important, the UN bodies with some authority on human rights matters view themselves as being part of a UN human rights system and are viewed by outside agencies as such.

Mechanisms for coordination and direction of the system are present, although they have proved largely ineffective for much of the UN’s tenure. Some evidence suggests that under the direction of Secretary-General Kofi Annan, appointed in 1997, mechanisms such as the Chief Executives Board have started to provide a focal point for drawing on the resources of the entire system to address jointly, in various combinations of agencies and programs, global problems such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The Chief Executives Board

consists of the heads of the specialized agencies under the chair of the UN secretary-general and the leaders of other UN funds and programs, plus the directors of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the World Trade Organization. Furthermore, there is increasing evidence that the system has received more policy direction from the Economic and Social Council and General Assembly, the UN organs that have ultimate responsibility for managing the UN specialized agencies, funds, and programs.

VALUES

The values of the UN system may be found in the preambles and opening articles of the organization's principal treaties. However, these core values have been elaborated on by the practice of the various bodies in the UN system. Many of these values—the promotion and protection of peace, human rights, and **self-determination**—were significant developments for the international community in 1945. These values provide both the goals to which the system aspires and the benchmarks against which the success or failure of the system can be measured. Other values have been added to the core established in the immediate post-World War II period. One new value reflects the emergence of an extremely serious and common problem facing the international community. The protection of the environment made its way onto the list of UN values at the organization's 1972 Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. In addition, the promotion of democracy has emerged as a core value since the end of the Cold War, deriving from the principle of self-determination.

Other established UN values are peace and security, justice and law, and economic and social well-being. Whereas peace and security are largely the concern of the principal organs established by the UN Charter, many of the other values are pursued by the specialized agencies and subsidiary bodies and programs under the general direction of the General Assembly and Economic and Social Council. This has, in part, led to a perceived hierarchy of values, with peace and security seen as the primary value, whereas the others are of a secondary nature.

This debate on the hierarchy of UN values perhaps is misunderstood. Peace is no longer simply the absence of war but the establishment of an all-encompassing peace promoting justice, human rights, democracy, and economic and social well-being. In other words, peace in this wider sense may be viewed as an overarching value, including all others. This is reflected in the constitutions of most of the specialized UN agencies, which make an explicit link between their purposes—for example, to develop a system of civil aviation, to prevent epidemics, to improve the conditions of workers—and the promotion of peace.

Although peace has this overarching character, the UN system is underwritten by another value: the law. All UN values and mechanisms are based on the legal foundation of the UN Charter and the constitutions of its specialized agencies. However, it does appear that the Security Council, the most powerful UN organ, is not always limited by international law in the area of protecting peace. Clearly, the Security Council has a great deal of latitude to take coercive action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, but this does not mean that it can ignore basic principles of international or Charter law.

Law is at the heart of the UN system, not only the law that frames the system and embeds its values but also the law produced by the system, the purpose of which is to uphold, implement, and enforce those basic values. Despite the inherent weaknesses of organs, bodies, and agencies whose main form of decision making is a recommendation, the UN system does generate

self-determination: the ability of a people to determine their own destiny or political system

seminal: original; at the basis of

vast amounts of law. The legislative capacity of the UN has increased since its inception. The **seminal** resolutions of the General Assembly, for example, those on decolonization, are not the only examples. Many of the resolutions of the WHO, International Telecommunications Union, International Civil Aviation Authority, and International Atomic Energy Agency, for example, although not always technically binding in the sense of a treaty, are accepted and acted on as pieces of legislation for the world community. Rules governing safety in civil aviation and nuclear plants, rules aimed at the prevention of diseases, and rules governing the use of orbital slots for the placement of telecommunications satellites are just some examples of the regulatory frameworks being created at the global level but applied at varying levels, from a surgical procedure to the realms of outer space. This reflects the UN's multilateralist approach to issues and problems, an approach that promotes the establishment of general principles which then are applied to specific problems and disputes, in contrast to a unilateralist approach that favors the application of power by individual states.

COMPLIANCE

Historically, the UN has been content to produce large amount of law with little regard to the issues of compliance and enforcement. As with general international law, the UN has relied for the most part on voluntary compliance by member states. Although relying on the goodwill of member states does in fact work for much of the legislation produced by the technical agencies, for more political matters the UN has found the need to develop enforcement mechanisms.

Common procedures are reporting and supervision, which are used widely in the human rights field and in many of the technical areas governed by the specialized agencies. States are obligated to report on their compliance efforts, and very often these reports are subject to critical scrutiny by a UN body. This sometimes is supplemented in the human rights field with individual complaint procedures, by which under an optional protocol states may consent to allow individuals from within their jurisdictions to take alleged cases of abuse at the hands of the state before a UN body. However, these methods can prove to be too limited to deal with persistent offenders. To this end more intrusive procedures are being developed within the UN—for example, in attempts to reduce the number of cases of torture or of the involuntary disappearances that have plagued many countries. These methods include having an inspection **regime** for places of detention in addition to the inspection regimes utilized by some of the agencies, for instance, the International Civil Aviation Organization and IMF as well as the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Armed peacekeeping forces help ensure compliance with UN law. They may be used in the case of a cease-fire or in the pursuit of a more ambitious peace. UN peacekeeping has become multifunctional and includes human rights and development components in addition to the traditional blue-helmeted force. Clearly, the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the failure of so-called safe areas in Bosnia in 1995 show that UN peacekeeping is in need of reform. The Brahimi report of August 2000 confirmed this, but this should not detract from the successes of UN peacekeeping operations in Namibia, Nicaragua, and Mozambique, for instance.

Other coercive techniques employed by the UN include making development aid and loans conditional and the penalization of a lawbreaking state by expulsion or suspension from the UN or, more commonly, through the denial of credentials

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

to a government. Nonmilitary enforcement actions by the Security Council, normally in the form of economic sanctions imposed on the delinquent state, have increased in their use in the post-Cold War era. Since the September 11, 2001, terrorists attacks on the United States this authority has expanded with general legislation requiring all states to take measures to prevent support for terrorists. The Security Council's ultimate power is that of authorizing military enforcement action by willing member states to reverse an aggression or address a threat to peace. It has authorized the use of armed force on numerous occasions since 1989—for example, in the Persian Gulf (1990), Somalia (1992), Albania (1997), Bosnia (1994), Haiti (1994 and 2003), East Timor (1999), and the Congo (2003).

Again, as with many aspects of UN law, the major weakness of enforcement mechanisms lies in the judicial sphere. Judicial enforcement by the ICJ remains weak, although once states have consented to its jurisdiction, its decisions are binding on the parties to the case. The formation of the ICC in 2002 represented a major step forward in establishing the legal responsibility of individuals for breaches of fundamental norms prohibiting genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity and for punishing those individuals.

REFORM

Despite these positive developments, improvements and reform are required in virtually all UN organs and organizations. Membership in the Security Council must be expanded; also needed are substantive legal limitations on the



MEMBER COUNTRIES MEET WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IN ITS NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS IN 2003. One of six agencies of the United Nations, the Security Council's fifteen members are charged with preserving peace and security within the international community.

(SOURCE: © MIKE SEGAR/REUTERS/CORBIS)

use of the veto, the most significant flaw in the UN Charter. Other needed reforms include greater access of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other segments of civil society to UN organs; a proper judicial system armed with the power to review the decisions of the political organs of the UN; greater separation of powers; and the realignment and better coordination of bodies with overlapping responsibilities. As well as institutional reform (a process that has remained stalled since the early 1990s), there must be further efforts to close the gap between the dictates of UN law and the practice of member states.

See also: European Court of Justice; Human Rights; International Court of Justice; International Criminal Court; International Human Rights Law; International Humanitarian Law; Peacekeeping Forces; United Nations Commission on Human Rights; Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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United Nations Commission on Human Rights

The United Nations (UN) Commission on Human Rights (CHR) is a subsidiary organ of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). ECOSOC created the CHR in compliance with Article 68 of the UN Charter mandating that the ECOSOC “set up [a] commission in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights.” As of 2005, the CHR was composed of fifty-three UN member states elected by the ECOSOC, although proposals for massive reform of the Commission’s structure had been proposed.

The CHR's annual six-week meeting occurs in March and April in Geneva. The primary purpose of the CHR is to investigate, examine, and promote human rights, both in specific circumstances and along broad themes. It is responsible for setting human rights standards and facilitating the implementation of those standards. Among the areas of concern for the CHR are the right to development, the right to **self-determination**, freedom from racial discrimination, prevention of torture, promotion of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, illegal disappearances and summary executions, the rights of women and children, as well as the general promotion of human rights.

self-determination: the ability of a people to determine their own destiny or political system

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The first major task that faced the CHR was the **enumeration** of an international bill of rights. In its first meeting in January 1947, the CHR created a Drafting Committee to create such a bill of rights. Early debate on the document centered on whether it should be a declaration of rights, a legally binding treaty or covenant, or some combination of the two. Because of some hesitance on the part of many UN member states (including the United States and the former Soviet Union) to sign a legally binding document, the CHR decided to focus its early efforts on a declaration of rights in order to gain more consensus. After several meetings of the CHR and the Drafting Committee, the CHR forwarded a draft document to the UN General Assembly Third Committee, which contains representatives from all member states. The revised document, known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), was adopted by a vote of forty-eight to zero, with eight abstentions, on December 10, 1948.

enumerate: to expressly name, as in a list

This early work was groundbreaking in many respects. First, the UDHR represented the first truly international document endorsed by governments around the world that listed rights that were, by their nature, intended to apply to every person in the world. Second, it reflected a shift in international law and the role of international organizations from regulating the interaction of states with one another to regulating the treatment of individuals within states. The CHR, by its action, had commented on rights that individuals should be able to claim and exercise within their respective states. Third, the UDHR included a number of economic, social, and cultural rights in addition to traditionally recognized civil and political rights. By endorsing these rights, the CHR was signaling that the range of guarantees states make to their citizens should go far beyond the granting of basic civil and political rights. Much of the work carried out by the CHR and its subsidiary organs in the early twenty-first century is related to economic and cultural concerns.

Although many within the UN believed that the CHR should take an active role in implementing and enforcing human rights, in 1947 the ECOSOC passed Resolution E/RES/75(V). It declared that the CHR had “no power to take any action in regard to complaints concerning human rights.” This decision allowed the CHR to continue to work on the enumeration of human rights while avoiding potential conflicts arising out of the emerging Cold War. Because the Commission could not take action in regard to human rights complaints, countries were not able to take advantage of the CHR politically by initiating investigations against their enemies. However, this lack of enforcement power meant that the one UN body with human rights as its exclusive domain could take no steps to address the actual abuse of human rights by UN member states.

Faced with these circumstances, the CHR focused its efforts on the creation of legally binding instruments to implement the principles outlined in the UDHR. Cold War politics soon intervened in this process, however. Many Western nations, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, were primarily concerned with

the enforcement of civil and political rights, whereas numerous communist and developing nations were more interested in economic, social, and cultural rights. Eventually, two draft covenants emerged from the work of the CHR and were presented for signature in 1966: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR), both of which entered into force in 1976. Collectively, the UDHR, CCPR, and CESCR are known as the International Bill of Rights.

Despite other accomplishments by the CHR related to human rights standards, in the mid-1960s the UN and the CHR faced increasing pressure from member states and individuals to respond to human rights violations. Up to this point, the CHR had abided by the 1947 ECOSOC resolution and avoided investigating abuses by a particular nation. The world had significantly changed in the twenty years since the creation of the CHR, however. Decolonization had rapidly expanded the number of states in the world and led to several human rights situations that attracted international attention. The CHR instigated its first action in this regard in 1967, when it established an **ad hoc** working group composed of individual experts to investigate the question of racism in Southern Africa, with a focus on **apartheid** in South Africa. Importantly, the individual experts chosen to investigate the situation were acting independently, not as representatives of their home countries. Although it cannot entirely avoid criticism, the CHR is able to deflect accusations of political motivation or bias by using individual experts rather than country representatives to investigate human rights abuses.

After this initial 1967 investigation into a particular set of human rights abuses, ECOSOC passed Resolution 1503(XLVIII) in 1970. It created a procedure whereby communications regarding human rights abuses could be brought before the CHR. Despite this endorsement, the CHR would not open another country-specific investigation until 1975, when it authorized an **ad hoc** working group to investigate human rights in Chile following the 1973 **coup** by General Augusto Pinochet (b. 1915). A special **rappporteur** and two experts replaced this working group in 1979 with a **mandate** to study the practice employed by the Chilean **regime** of “disappearing” political opponents (i.e., killing a person and disposing of the body without informing family or friends of the death). Recognizing that Chile was not alone among Latin American regimes in causing its political opponents to disappear, the CHR took the next step in its evolution in 1980, appointing the Working Group on Disappearances to examine the use of the practice globally. The formation of this group marked the first time the CHR had created a mandate to investigate a specific type of human rights abuse that could occur in many different countries.

Since the 1980s the CHR has exhibited a greater willingness to establish so-called Special Procedures, in the form of working groups and individual experts, to examine human rights violations in particular countries and to address particular areas or themes of human rights that may be of concern to a specific region or to the world. Special Procedures have been created to study individual countries, including Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, and Rwanda. They have examined issues such as **arbitrary** executions, torture, religious intolerance, the sale of children, the concerns of internally displaced persons, violence against women, and the impact of foreign debt and structural economic adjustment policies on human rights.

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMISSION

At the first session of its annual meeting, the CHR elects a chair, vice-chair(s), and other officers as needed. The CHR receives reports and information from the various working groups and individual experts it has appointed to study

ad hoc: created for a specific purpose or to address a certain problem

apartheid: an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

rappporteur: one that reports on a committee's work

mandate: to command, order, or require; or, a command, order, or requirement

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

arbitrary: capricious, random, or changing without notice

a particular country or issue. It also receives the reports of a subcommission. Based on the work done by its subsidiary organs, suggestions by state representatives, and information from other relevant sources, the CHR debates and passes resolutions on areas of concern. All its work is compiled in an annual report that is presented to the ECOSOC.

The CHR created its one standing committee, or subcommission, in 1947 in order to assist it in its human rights work. Originally called the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the ECOSOC changed its name, in 1999, to the Subcommission on the Promotion and Protection of Rights. The CHR elects twenty-six individual experts to serve on the Subcommission. While due attention is paid to achieving diversity based on geographical origin, the experts are not representatives of any state. Rather, they are selected to provide expert advice and opinions on issues of discrimination, the protection of minority groups, the preservation of fundamental freedoms, and any other task assigned to them by the CHR. The Subcommission is not intended to investigate human rights abuses in particular countries or along particular themes. Its function is more like that of a human-rights think-tank that researches and reports on human rights standards and ideas for implementation. To assist in its work, the Subcommission can employ special rapporteurs and working groups to report on a particular issue. It discusses this work during its three-week annual meeting each August. Some of the issues that have been investigated by the Subcommission include the effects of **globalization** on human rights, affirmative action, the rights of noncitizens, and the relationship between terrorism and human rights. The reports of the Subcommission concern general questions and are not intended to be an investigation into a particular set of abuses; rather, they guide future practice and inform the CHR of areas of human rights that may need special attention.

globalization: the process of expanding regional concerns to a worldwide viewpoint, especially politics, economics, or culture

Much of the CHR's investigative work is carried out by mechanisms collectively known as Special Procedures (or Procedures). Normally, a Procedure involves an individual expert assigned to investigate human rights concerns in a particular country or along a specific theme, but the CHR can also create working groups or other structures to address larger thematic questions. Individuals who are appointed under the Procedure mechanism can have a range of titles, including special rapporteurs, independent experts, representatives of the UN secretary-general, or representatives of the commission. The title is not especially important and is usually the result of negotiations regarding the mandate of the Procedure. The mandate is the most important part of the CHR's work in creating a Procedure; it sets the guidelines for what the Special Procedure can and cannot investigate.

Once a mandate has been created, the chair of the CHR appoints an individual to fulfill that role. The individual appointed is generally an expert in the field of human rights, with in-depth knowledge of the issue at hand. The CHR reviews the mandate of country-specific Procedures each year and reviews thematic Procedures every three years. For a Procedure to continue its work, the CHR must pass a resolution renewing and, when necessary, revising the mandate of the Procedure when it comes up for review. Once a Procedure has been established, it can, depending on its mandate, request information from member states' governments, nonstate actors that may be committing human rights abuses, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Some Procedures are also authorized to hear complaints from individuals against their governments or other groups. Finally, a Procedure can intervene directly with a government, reporting its findings of human rights abuses and requesting that

the government address its concerns. As of 2004, there were twelve active country-specific mandates and twenty-six active thematic mandates.

Although members of the CHR can raise topics of concern at Commission meetings, other member states, NGOs, and individuals also have the opportunity to submit communications to the UN regarding human rights abuses and concerns. Based on ECOSOC Resolutions 1503(XLVIII) (1970) and 2000/3 (2000), the



THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER ON HUMAN RIGHTS, CANADIAN LOUISE ARBOUR, IN 2004. Created in 1993, the position of UN High Commissioner on Human Rights offers support to various UN entities, such as the Commission on Human Rights (CHR), while also working with governments throughout the world to foster cooperation and understanding. (SOURCE: PHILIPPE MERLE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES)

Subcommission appoints a Working Group on Situations to address all such communications. The office of the secretary-general initially screens these communications to eliminate any that are clearly without merit, those that do not concern recognized human rights, or those that do not comply with the UN Charter. The Working Group on Situations then decides whether or not to forward an issue to the CHR for its consideration. If the Working Group does decide to forward an issue, it sends a confidential report to the CHR, often accompanied by a draft resolution. Through this mechanism, the CHR is able to provide those individuals whose rights are being violated, or their representatives, with a confidential way to report abuses to the UN.

CRITICISMS OF THE COMMISSION

Although the work of the CHR has been criticized for many different reasons, it draws the most criticism for the actions it does not take. The Special Procedures and Subcommission are composed of individual experts who are expected to act without regard to the interests of their home states. The CHR, on the other hand, is composed of member state representatives who are concerned with national policies. These members are, in turn, elected by the member states that are represented on the ECOSOC. The intrusion of politics into these two forums cannot be avoided, and it leads to both the election of member states to the CHR that have been accused of massive human rights violations themselves, and the failure of the CHR to pass resolutions or appoint Special Procedures regarding the human rights abuses of states that have political support among its members. Some of the states with questionable human rights records that have been elected to the CHR are Cuba, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Syrian Arab Republic, and, according to some, the United States. A related criticism of the CHR is that it is unable to take truly effective action to prevent human rights abuses. Although it may investigate the abuses of human rights around the world and establish human rights standards, the CHR does not have a true enforcement mechanism whereby its member states are required to abide by its recommendations.

CONCLUSION

Despite these criticisms, the CHR does serve a valuable role in the United Nations system. It has helped to create new human rights standards that apply to all countries and to legitimize the concept that all individuals have rights that their governments should not abuse. Its investigations into specific countries and broad themes have also shed light on the abuse of human rights around the world. Even though it cannot require member states to abide by its recommendations, its reports do serve the political function of pressuring states to improve their human rights performance, a pressure that causes some states to change their behavior to avoid international condemnation. Perhaps more importantly, the CHR often breaks new ground in the interpretation and implementation of human rights practices. As evidenced by its efforts in creating the UDHR and studying issues such as the right to development and the impact of globalization on human rights, the CHR serves as a forum that fosters progress in the realization of rights for all global citizens.

See also: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights; United Nations; Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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United States

The United States of America is situated on the continent of North America; it spans a geographic area of more than 9.1 million square kilometers (3.5 million square miles). It has widely varied geographic characteristics, from the Great Lakes region of the northern parts of the nation to the Rocky Mountains in the West. The central Great Plains states serve as the agricultural “breadbasket” of the nation. The East Coast borders on the Atlantic Ocean, whereas the West Coast borders on the Pacific Ocean and the South borders on the Gulf of Mexico. Canada is located across the northern border of the nation, and Mexico abuts the nation to the Southwest. The nation also includes the states of Alaska, which lies in the extreme Northwest of the continent, and Hawaii, a set of islands in the Pacific.

The population of the United States in 2004 was estimated to be in excess of 290,000,000 people. It is a nation of immigrants, with nearly all of the population descending from families that moved to the so-called New World beginning in the 1600s. Roughly 70 percent of the population is of European descent, 12 percent of African descent, and 12 percent of Latin American or South American descent, with smaller populations coming from Asia or descending from the Native American population.

The United States is an advanced industrial society with a large and diverse economy and great wealth. Although the overall standard of living is high, there is a great disparity between citizens in the highest income categories and those who are poor. Generally, the standard of living in the United States is quite high in comparison to other nations. The economic culture within the United States favors capitalism, with government regulation of the economy kept to a relatively low level. Still, there is significant governmental regulation of business and the economy.

THE REVOLUTION AND CONSTITUTION

The United States became a nation after the Revolutionary War (1776–1781), when it won its independence from England. In 1776 the nation declared its independence and wrote its first constitution, known as the Articles of Confederation. The Articles allotted most political powers to state governments and was judged by many political leaders to be ineffective. Yet the articles

reflected a fear of **centralized** government on the part of the nation's founders, and those fears had to be reconciled with the development of a stronger government in the new Constitution. In response to the shortcomings of the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution that still serves the United States was written in 1787 and **ratified** soon afterward. The Constitution established a representative democracy. It attempted to balance the fear of strong government with an integrated national government in three ways: by separating the powers of the national government into three separate branches, each with a check over the powers of the other two; establishing a **federal** form of government that divides governmental powers between the national government and the states; and limiting the powers of the government regarding the individual liberties of citizens.

Since its adoption the U.S. Constitution has been amended twenty-seven times. Its first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, outline the individual rights of citizens, providing for the freedom of expression, the freedom of religion, and the rights of citizens accused of crimes. Three other notable amendments adopted after the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865) were passed to give civil rights to Americans of African descent, although the **vestiges** of slavery continued to be enforced by law well into the 1960s. These and other amendments have expanded the right of citizens to vote, most notably extending the right to vote to African Americans, women, and citizens over the age of eighteen.

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction

federalism: a system of political organization, in which a separate states or groups are ruled by a dominant central authority on some matters, but are otherwise permitted to govern themselves independently

vestige: a remnant of a lost or vanished entity, as in a nation or an institution



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Under the U.S. Constitution political power is separated into three political branches: a legislative branch consisting of two congressional chambers, the House of Representatives and the Senate; an executive branch headed by the president; and a judicial branch headed by the Supreme Court. The two congressional chambers have different types of constituencies. The House of Representatives allocates membership proportionately to the various states on the basis of population, and each state is divided into single-member districts. The Senate has two members from each state. Each branch has constitutional authority over a major function of government and “checks and balances” the other two branches to assure that no single branch becomes too powerful.

The congressional branch has the legislative power to draw up laws and appropriate monies for the implementation of public policy. The specific grants of power to Congress are outlined in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution. Most significantly, the powers granted to the Congress are financial, including the authority to levy taxes and appropriate monies; to coin and print money; to prosecute counterfeiting; to grant patents on inventions and copyrights on written work; to write the federal criminal law; and to exercise military powers such as raising an army and a navy and declaring war. As a **republic** the United States has a system by which elected representatives staff the legislative branch of government. Members of both chambers are elected by the people, with members of the House serving two-year terms of office and members of the Senate serving six-year terms. Members of each chamber may serve an unlimited number of terms.

The executive power of government is given to a president, who serves according to five constitutional roles. The president acts as ceremonial head of state, commander in chief of the military, chief diplomat of the country, head of the administrative branch of government, and chief legislator. As chief legislator the president may propose bills to Congress and has the power to veto legislation. Congress may override the president’s veto only by a two-thirds vote in each chamber. The president’s primary job is to carry out the laws of Congress, largely through the fifteen major administrative agencies known as the cabinet departments. The heads of those departments are appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate. The president is selected through a complicated process known as the **electoral college** system. Under that system the candidate who wins a **plurality** of the vote in each state receives electoral votes equal to the size of each state’s congressional delegation (members of the House plus members of the Senate). The successful candidate wins a majority of the 538 electoral votes. Presidential terms are four years in duration, and presidents are limited by the Constitution to serving no more than two terms.

The federal judiciary has the authority to interpret the meaning of the Constitution. Under the judicial department’s power of **judicial review**, first established in the Supreme Court case of *Marbury v. Madison* in 1803, the courts can declare actions of the Congress or the president unconstitutional and therefore invalid if it is determined that such actions violate principles of the Constitution. The final arbiter in the court system is the U.S. Supreme Court. Members of the federal judiciary, consisting of district judges who hold trials, the Circuit Courts of Appeal, and the U.S. Supreme Court, are appointed to life terms by the president, with the Senate holding the power to confirm those appointments.

Often the written powers of the Constitution have been changed through custom and usage. For example, although the Constitution stipulates that Congress must declare war, military conflicts in recent years have been largely presidential initiatives with Congress acting in a supportive role. Also, although the Constitution calls for treaties to be ratified by the Senate, presidents have entered into so-called executive agreements that require no Senate approval.

republic: a form of democratic government in which decisions are made by elected representatives of the people

electoral college: the system for selection of the president in the United States, in which states or localities elect individuals pledged to support a specific candidate who then officially elect the president

plurality: more votes than any other candidate, but less than half of the total number of votes

judicial review: the ability of the judicial branch to review and invalidate a law that contradicts the constitution

Starting in the late twentieth century, a debate emerged between those who argue that the Supreme Court should be limited to an interpretation of the original meaning of the Constitution (termed “strict constructionists”) and those who believe the Court should attempt to apply the meaning of the Constitution in a meaningful way to contemporary times. In other words, the constitutional provisions often do not tell the whole story of governmental power. Still, the checks and balances of powers given to the three institutions act over the long run to prevent one branch from becoming dominant.

Another basic characteristic of government is federalism, by which political power resides in two levels of government: the national and the state. Each state also has its own executive, legislative, and judicial branches, exercising authority over many policy arenas within its boundaries. The Constitution contains a Supremacy Clause under which state laws may vary from one another, but all must conform to the dictates of the national constitution. The governments, at both the national and state levels, are republican in nature, with elected representatives making governmental policy. In the history of the nation the relative powers of the two levels of government have changed. Under the original document the states and national governments were seen as coequal in powers, with well-defined lines of authority for each, a system known as “dual federalism.” Over the history of the nation the balance of power between the two levels has changed, with the national government developing a much stronger financial base after the institution of a federal tax on individual income in the early twentieth century. Since that time, the power of the national government has been enhanced greatly and the responsibilities of the two levels of government have become more overlapping and cooperative in nature. Since the 1980s a movement to **devolve** power from the national government to the states has gained momentum.

devolve: to move power or property from one individual or institution to another, especially from a central authority

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The rights of U.S. citizens are outlined in the first ten amendments of the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights. Citizens are assured of freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and certain rights if they are accused of a crime. Freedom of religion consists of two distinct principles. First, no religion can be established as the official national faith in the United States; second, citizens are free to practice religious beliefs according to their individual beliefs. With very few exceptions, citizens are guaranteed the right to express their beliefs through the spoken and written word and even through “symbolic speech.” Another right in the Bill of Rights is the Second Amendment provision that “a well regulated **militia**, being necessary for the security of a free state, the right to keep and bear arms shall not be **infringed**.” This amendment has led to governmental balancing of the right of individuals to own firearms and the need to regulate increasingly destructive weapons. Citizens are assured due process of the law, including the following provisions. The Fourth Amendment requires that to search a person’s home law enforcement officers first must obtain a warrant, signed by a judge, after showing probable cause. The Fifth Amendment guarantees citizens accused of crimes the procedural requirement of indictment by a grand jury and contains provisions against someone being tried twice for the same crime or being forced to testify against oneself in a court of law. The Sixth Amendment assures that certain courtroom procedures are available to an accused person, including a speedy and public trial, the right to hear witnesses against oneself and to call witnesses in one’s favor, and the right to be represented by an attorney. Among the assurances of the Eighth Amendment is the antitorture provision that denies the government the power to use cruel and unusual punishment.

militia: a group of citizens prepared for military service in emergency situations

infringe: to exceed the limits of; to violate

In spite of these constitutional guarantees the record of the United States in the area of human rights is not unblemished. For example, although the Eighth Amendment bans torture, the Supreme Court has never interpreted the death penalty for conviction of certain heinous crimes to be a violation of its provisions, and both the national government and many states have capital punishment provisions. The international organization Human Rights Watch has documented more than occasional instances of police brutality and inhumane treatment of prisoners who are incarcerated in the nation's penal institutions. The United States has more than 2.1 million citizens incarcerated, with more than 43 percent being African Americans, greater than three times their percentage in the population. The total number of prisoners in the United States is the highest in the world. The Bill of Rights expresses a commitment to human rights that remains a standard for the world, yet progress remains to be made.

MAJOR LEADERS SINCE 1945

Since the end of the World War II (1945) the United States has had a number of major leaders. Presidents who have served at least one full four-year term of office since that time include Harry S Truman (1884–1972), Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969), Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973), Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994), Jimmy Carter (b. 1924), Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), George H. W. Bush (b. 1924), Bill Clinton (b. 1946), and George W. Bush (b. 1946). Major congressional leaders have included Speakers of the U.S. House Sam Rayburn (1882–1961), who served in that post for all but four years of the period between 1940 and 1960, and John William McCormack (1891–1980), who was speaker during the passage of Great Society and civil rights initiatives, and Senate Majority Leaders Mike Mansfield (1903–2001), who held the position from 1961 to 1977, and Howard H. Baker (b. 1925), the first Republican to serve in that position since the 1950s. The Supreme Court has been headed by Chief



THIRD PARTIES

Every president of the United States since 1856 has belonged to one of the two major parties. There is, however, a long tradition of third parties—sometimes called minor parties or alternate parties—in American politics. As of 2005 there were at least thirty-seven minor parties registered in the United States, ranging from the Communist Party USA and the Green Party to such little-known groups as the Marijuana Party and the Southern Independence Party.

It is difficult for candidates from minor parties to win nationwide elections because of ballot-access rules, campaign finance laws, and media focus on the major parties' candidates. In spite of the fact that no third party has ever won more than 27 percent of the popular vote in a presidential election (Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party in

1912), these groups are still important factors in American politics for the following reasons:

- They provide nonviolent outlets for political discontent.
- They educate voters about specific issues.
- They help to make changes in government policy by challenging the major parties (e.g., third parties contributed to the abolition of slavery in the 1860s and to suffrage for women in 1920).

Some important third parties in U.S. history are:

- Anti-Masonic Party (late 1820s)
- Free Soil and Liberty Parties (1840s and 1850s)
- Progressive and "Bull Moose" Parties (1912)
- American Labor Party (1930s)
- The "Dixiecrats" (1948)
- Libertarian Party (founded 1971).



THE U.S. CAPITOL BUILDING, LOCATED ON CAPITOL HILL. Designed by architect Benjamin Latrobe, the Capitol Building in Washington D.C. had its inaugural session on November 17, 1800, after the Senate's wing was completed. The House of Representative's wing was finished in 1811; however, damage from the War of 1812 required reconstruction that concluded in 1830. (SOURCE: THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.)

Justices Frederick Moore Vinson (1890–1953), Earl Warren (1891–1974), Warren E. Burger (1907–1995), and William H. Rehnquist (1924–2005).

CITIZENSHIP AND PARTICIPATION

Each of the fifty states sets rules for citizen voting. It is quite easy to attain voting status. With very few exceptions citizens may register to vote after reaching the age of eighteen. Nonetheless, voter participation in the United States is quite low compared with that in other advanced societies, with turnout in presidential elections often barely exceeding 50 percent of the adult population. Turnout in state and local elections is normally even lower than it is in presidential elections.

Two major sets of organizations that bring their influence to government decision making are interest groups and political parties. Various organized interests establish offices in the nation's capital and hire **lobbyists** who attempt to inform and influence governmental decision making. In addition, these interest groups form political action committees that make contributions to the campaigns of candidates for Congress and the presidency. Interest groups are of several types, representing business, labor, social, gender, and ethnic groups, and sometimes attempting to represent the public interest or influence decisions on a single issue. The nation has a number of independent organizations involved in assessing national problems and proposing solutions to those problems, such as the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute. These organizations have great influence in the lawmaking process and often are funded by well-heeled interest groups.

lobby: to advocate for a specific political decision by attempting to persuade decision makers

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

polarize: to separate individuals into adversarial groups

Two major political parties exist in the United States: the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Each of these parties nominates and campaigns for candidates for major governmental positions, and they serve as the primary recruiting agencies for candidates for public offices from the local to the national level. The Democratic Party traces its origins to the time of President Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) in the 1820s, whereas the Republican Party was founded as an organization committed to the abolishment of slavery in the late 1850s. Political parties in the United States traditionally have not been highly **ideological**, but have become increasingly **polarized** in their ideologies since 1980. However, the parties do not have well-integrated policy agendas, and the ideologies of members may vary widely across regions of the country and even from person to person.

See also: Bill of Rights; Constitutions and Constitutionalism; Democracy; Federalism; Human Rights; Judicial Review; Political Parties.

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Universal Criminal Jurisdiction

Universal criminal jurisdiction is the authority of state courts, or international tribunals with criminal jurisdiction, to prosecute certain crimes recognized under international law, regardless of where the offense occurred or the nationality of either the victim or perpetrator.

Many scholars argue that piracy was the first subject of universal criminal jurisdiction, to be exercised by any state that would enforce a prohibition against such acts. In its Article 105 the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea provides that every state has the right to seize a pirate ship, or aircraft or ship taken by piracy. The courts authorizing the seizure have the jurisdiction to prosecute and punish pirates who are seized. Engaging in the slave trade is usually cited as the second universal crime, but transporting slaves is now also covered by United Nations (UN) conventions. It was the nature of crimes committed on the high seas that first gave these actions universal status.

At the end of both World Wars I (1914–1918) and II (1939–1945) the victorious Allied leaders decided to create tribunals for the prosecution of war criminals, the most notable being the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg. The tribunal’s charter gave it jurisdiction to try former high-ranking Nazi officials for the following crimes:

- (a) crimes against peace, namely planning, preparation, initiation, or waging of a war of aggression . . .
- (b) war crimes, namely violations of the customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity;
- (c) crimes against humanity, namely murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population; or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds in execution of, or in connection with, any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated. (Article 6)

The war crimes listed in Article 6(b) of the Nuremberg Charter were based on the precedents of international law as established in the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions and the 1929 Geneva Convention Related to the Treatment

precedent: an established ruling, understanding, or practice of the law



PIRATES IN BATAM, INDONESIA, ABOARD A SPEEDBOAT IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DURING THE 1990S. The countries of Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia continue to confront the issue of violent pirates capturing merchant ships and other vessels in the South China Sea, one of the busiest sea lanes in the world. (SOURCE: © MICHAEL S. YAMASHITA/CORBIS)

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction

of Prisoners of War. All the provisions enforced through the Nuremberg precedent were **ratified** by the UN General Assembly in 1946.

The 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defined genocide as an act committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group and made it subject to universal jurisdiction.

The 1949 Geneva Conventions, especially Convention IV on the protection of civilians during time of war, advance the ideal of universal jurisdiction over crimes against humanity.

The 1984 UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment works in concert with customary international law to make torture subject to universal jurisdiction.

It should be noted that in addition to the conventions cited in this article, the principle of *jus cogens* (peremptory norm) holds that customary international norms against most of the crimes described in formal treaties or conventions are binding on all states in the world at all times. No suspension (or derogation) of these norms is permissible, and any state may thus exercise universal jurisdiction in prosecuting related crimes.

See also: Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; Crimes Against Humanity; Genocide; International Criminal Court; Universal Declaration of Human Rights; War Crimes.

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights

enumerate: to expressly name, as in a list

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), together with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR, 1976) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR, 1976), forms what has come to be known as the International Bill of Rights. In large part a response to the atrocities committed during World War II (1939–1945), the UDHR is the first major international document to **enumerate** a list of rights applicable to all people regardless of race, gender, or religion, in a broad range of categories, including political, civil, economic, and social rights. The creation of such a document was especially significant in that it represented a shift in international law from an almost complete focus on the relationship between states to the relationship between states and their citizens.

Although several states had pushed for the inclusion of a bill of rights in the United Nations (UN) Charter, consensus could not be reached on which rights to include or whether such rights should be included at all. As a result, the UN Charter approved at San Francisco in 1945 contained general references to the protection of human rights in several of its articles, but did not contain a specific listing of rights. Article 68 of the Charter did, however, require the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to “set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights.” That the drafting of an international bill of rights would be one of the first tasks of the UN was implicit in the negotiations that led to the signing of the Charter. U.S. President Harry S Truman (1884–1972) made specific reference to the creation of an international bill of rights in his closing speech at the San Francisco Conference.

To fulfill its Charter obligation, ECOSOC established the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (CHR) in 1946 and charged it with creating a recommendation regarding an international bill of rights. At its first session in January 1947, the CHR created a Drafting Committee that would be responsible for preparing a preliminary bill of human rights. Originally composed of three members, the committee was quickly expanded to eight in order to represent more geographic and political perspectives. Former U.S. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) was chosen to chair the Drafting Committee. The Drafting Committee worked closely with John P. Humphrey (1905–1995), the Director of the Secretariat’s Division on Human Rights. He produced a working draft for the committee based on numerous texts that had been prepared by individuals, organizations, and states from around the world. The Drafting Committee began work with this draft during its first session in June 1947. The draft was subsequently revised during two additional sessions of the CHR and a second session of the Drafting Committee. All member states of the UN had the opportunity to comment on the document at some point during the drafting stages; members of the Drafting Committee itself included representatives from countries representing numerous different political, economic, and religious traditions.

The CHR sent the final draft of its declaration to the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly. The Third Committee, composed of representatives from all UN member states, discussed and revised the document from September to December 1948. On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly adopted the document entitled the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by a vote of 48 to 0 with 8 abstentions. All the states that abstained would come to endorse the document in subsequent years, and all states that have subsequently joined the UN have recognized the UDHR.

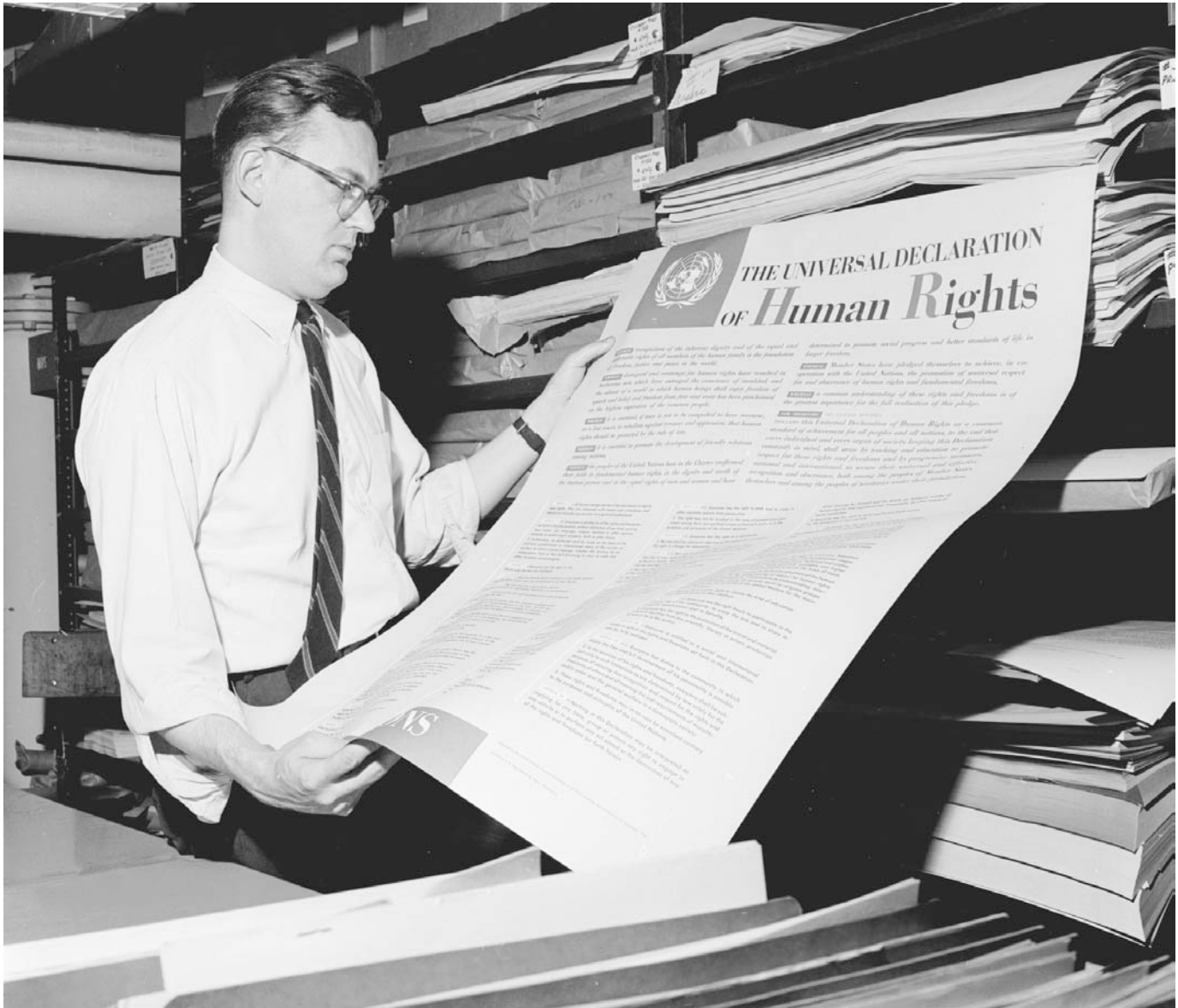
Among the political and civil rights enumerated in the UDHR are the right to life, liberty, and security of person (Article 3); freedom from slavery (Article 4); equality before the law (Article 7); freedom from arbitrary arrest (Article 9); freedom from ex post facto laws, or laws that punish a person for an act that was not a crime at the time it was committed (Article 11); right to a nationality (Article 15); equal marriage rights for women and men (Article 16); and freedom of thought and religion, including the right to change religions (Article 18). The UDHR broke new ground by including a number of social and cultural rights such as the rights to social security and to work (Articles 22 and 23); “the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care. . .” (Article 25); the right to education (Article 26); and the “right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community. . .” (Article 27).

Much of the early debate on the UDHR was on whether or not the document would be in the form of a legally binding convention or simply a declaration by the

nonbinding declaration: a statement of a government or government body that has no legal standing or force of law

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity

UN. The Drafting Committee had three options to choose from: submit a draft declaration and a draft convention; submit a draft convention; or submit a draft declaration and leave the drafting a convention to later date. The eventual decision to create a **nonbinding declaration** allowed for greater unanimity at the time and the inclusion of several rights that may not have been endorsed by all states if they had been legally binding. Once the UN began moving forward on drafting a convention to legally implement the UDHR, the unanimity surrounding its adoption quickly dissipated into Cold War struggles and conflicts over state **sovereignty**. The United States, in particular, was hesitant to endorse the formalization of many of the economic rights it outlined, arguing that while they represented laudable goals,



A POSTER OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, PRODUCED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. The 30 articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights cover a wide array of an individual's rights such as the right to liberty, a fair trial, freedom of opinion, property ownership, family, and activity within the government. (SOURCE: HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES)

guaranteeing those rights to all would be impossible for many nations to accomplish. Many other nations objected to allowing international oversight of the treatment of their citizens. Nonetheless, the rights contained within the UDHR would eventually be given formal legal status in the CCPR and the CESC, as well as several other treaties addressing specific issues or categories of protected persons.

Despite the debates over its implementation and, to a lesser extent, its content, the UDHR paved the way for recognizing human rights at the international level. In the early twenty-first century many of the norms contained within the UDHR, such as the freedom from arbitrary detention and death, are widely recognized as peremptory, meaning that no state may **derogate** from them whether or not it has signed a treaty or convention containing those norms.

See also: Human Rights; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; International Human Rights Law.

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Eric W. Cox

Upper Volta

See Burkina Faso.

Uruguay

Uruguay, a small country of 176,221 square kilometers (68,039 square miles), and the second smallest country in South America, is home to 3.4 million people, roughly half of whom live in the capital city of Montevideo. It is a heavily urbanized country, with some 80 percent of the population residing in towns or cities. Sandwiched between the Latin American giants Brazil and Argentina, Uruguay borders the South Atlantic Ocean. Along with Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay, the country makes up what is commonly referred to as the Southern Cone.

By the early twenty-first century, Uruguay was home to a relatively homogeneous population, about 90 percent of which was of European descent. However, there were also a few thousand indigenous people living in the area when the Western world discovered it in the eighteenth century. The two largest native groups were the *Guaraní* and the *Charrúa*. As was the case in many parts of the New World, these indigenous people of Uruguay were decimated by diseases carried by the Europeans, as well as by genocide and race-mixing, such that by 1850 the indigenous population numbered less than 3 percent of the total.

derogate: to remove or deny, as a right; to disparage or belittle

URUGUAY'S HISTORY

In 1811 the Uruguayan general José Gervasio Artigas (1764–1850) led an independence movement to wrest control of the Río de la Plata region (Argentina and Uruguay) from the Spanish. After protracted struggles with Argentina, Brazil, and the British, all of whom wanted to gain control of the port of Montevideo, Uruguay managed to defeat its opponents and declare its independence on August 25, 1825. Three years later Britain mediated the Treaty of Montevideo, which granted Uruguay the status of a completely independent state. In 1830 Uruguay adopted its first constitution and elected its first president, José Fructuoso Rivera (1788–1854).

From its inception, Uruguay has suffered from a heavy urban/rural divide, and internal conflicts in the country have mirrored this. Two major **factions** emerged from the fighting: the *Blancos*, who wore white hatbands, and the *Colorados*, who wore red hatbands. As a result of the *Blancos'* (also known as the National Party) and the *Colorados'* constant bids for power throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they became the two major Uruguayan political parties and the core of the Uruguayan political system.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Uruguay began the twentieth century with president Jose Batlle y Ordóñez (1856–1929) who served from 1903 to 1904 and then returned to the presidency in 1911. He became one of the nation's most influential presidents. A **populist**, he presided over a number of social democratic reforms and introduced many others, including adult **suffrage**, labor reforms, the introduction of a **welfare state**, and a **decentralized** executive body known as the *colegiado*, a nine-member advisory group to be modeled after the Swiss federal council. Although not all of these reforms were passed under his government, many of them, such as the eight-hour workday, unemployment compensation, pensions, free secondary education, divorce laws, and various other changes, came about in successive administrations. Batlle's ideas were so influential that his legacy of populism and state-led social welfare programs are often referred to by the umbrella term, *Batllismo*, and were central to many of the moderate *Colorado* presidents who followed him.

By 1917 Uruguay adopted a new constitution that extended suffrage to all qualified males. It also implemented the first version of Batlle's *colegiado*, with executive power divided between the president and the National Council of Administration (the *colegiado*), which included representatives from the minority party.

By 1934 frustration with the difficulties of governing under the new structure resulted in president Gabriel Terra's (1873–1942) **promulgation** of a new constitution that **eradicated** the *colegiado*. After a short authoritarian period interrupted the democratic regime, new elections were held in 1942, and yet another new constitution—reintroducing the General Assembly and **proportional representation** in the Senate—was put forth.

Under *Colorados'* Juan José Amézcaga, who served from 1943 to 1947, and Luis Batlle Berres (1897–1964), who served from 1947 to 1951, politics returned to normal and Uruguay experienced a golden period characterized by a very popular slogan: “*Como el Uruguay, no hay*” (There is no place like Uruguay), earning it the nickname “the Switzerland of South America.”

New elections were held in 1950. *Colorado* presidential candidate and winner Andrés Martínez Trueba, who served from 1951 to 1955, presided over a new constitution that provided for a return to the *colegiado*. It required that nine

factionalism: a separation of people into competing, adversarial, and self-serving groups, usually in government

populist: someone who advocates policies for the advancement of the common man

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

welfare state: a political state that assumes liability for the wellbeing of its people through government-run social programs

decentralize: to move power from a central authority to multiple periphery government branches or agencies

promulgation: an official declaration, especially that a law can start being enforced

eradicate: to destroy or eliminate a population of items, people, or other living things

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

members be seated on the National Council of Government, with six seats slotted to the winning party and the remaining three to the losers. For each year that the *colegiado* was in effect, the designation of president rotated among the six members from the majority party/majority faction. As before, however, the country began to experience economic decline not long after introducing the new *colegiado*, resulting in disillusionment with the shared system of governance.

THE AUTHORITARIAN PERIOD

Due to economic decline, political unrest in the country began to increase. One of the first signs of significant change was the decision of the National Party to vote as a **bloc** for the first time since the 1930s. This was nothing short of a miracle, given that the *Colorados* had held the executive position since 1864. However, barely concealed internal splits within the *Blanco* party resulted in eight governments in eight years, with smaller and smaller victory margins each time. The *colegiado* was dissolved for good in the 1967 constitution.

Meanwhile, the *Tupamaros* (National Liberation Movement), a guerilla group with a Robin Hood image, appeared on the national scene and advocated the use of violent methods. At the same time, a third-party player, the Broad Front party (*Frente Amplio*) emerged in 1966 and by 1971, it had captured 18 percent of the vote. These upsets, along with the severe economic crisis, left the political system deeply divided. In response to some of the same problems, the armed forces of some of Uruguay's neighbors (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) had taken power in *coups d'etat*; in 1973 the Uruguayan military chose to do the same.

The military government ruled from 1973 to 1985. By 1977 the military had announced the *cronograma*, a plan for a new constitution and new national elections, which were to take place in a series of reforms ending in 1986.

At the same time, it presided over a 1980s debt crisis that racked all of Latin America. In 1982 the military held elections in which only the *Blancos*, *Colorados*, and a small Christian Democrat party known as the Civic Union were allowed to participate. The *Colorado* and *Blanco* opposition factions won well over 70 percent of the vote and signaled the military regime's demise.

Colorado Julio María Sanguinetti (b. 1936), who served from 1985 to 1990, was voted into office and the period of authoritarian rule ended. In a series of parliamentary votes and public referendums, it was decided that amnesty would be granted to all military officials for all human rights violations committed during its tenure. In 1989 the presidency shifted to *Blanco* leader Luis Alberto Lacalle (b. 1941), whose term ran from 1990 to 1995, and then back to Sanguinetti from 1995 to 2000.

Sanguinetti's second tenure was complicated by the fact that each party had won nearly one-third of the votes. President Jorge Batlle (b. 1927), a *Colorado* and grandson of Jorge Batlle y Ordóñez, served from 2000 to 2005. For the first time in Uruguayan history, in 2005 a third-party candidate, Tabaré Vazquez (b. 1940), the Broad Front leader and the former mayor of Montevideo, succeeded to the presidency, joining Brazil's Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva (b. 1946) as a South American socialist president.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

bloc: a group of countries or individuals working toward a common goal, usually within a convention or other political body

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

constitutional republic: a system of government marked by both a supreme written constitution and elected officials who administer the powers of government

bicameral: comprised of two chambers, usually a legislative body

THE THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT

Uruguay is a **constitutional republic** composed of an executive, a legislative, and a judicial branch. The executive functions as both the chief of state and head of government and serves for five years. Presidents may be reelected, but only after sitting out for one term. The president and vice president are elected on the same ticket and election rules require that a candidate receive a majority (50% plus one vote) to take office. If no candidate receives a majority in the first round, then a runoff is required. Elections are always held on October 31 and runoffs, if necessary, are conducted in late November of the election year. Elections are concurrent, meaning that members of parliament are reelected at the same time as the president and vice president.

Because elections are concurrent, legislators are also elected to five-year terms. There are no term limits and members of parliament are elected by proportional representation. The legislature is **bicameral** and is commonly referred to as the General Assembly. It includes a Chamber of Deputies (the lower house), which currently has 99 seats, and a Chamber of Senators (the upper house), which currently has 30 directly elected seats, plus one reserved seat for the acting vice president.

Uruguay is divided into nineteen administrative departments. Senators are elected to serve the entire nation, while deputies run in, and are elected from, one specific department. Like much of Latin America, Uruguay has a mixed political system, meaning that it is a combined presidential and parliamentary system. Thus, the president is elected by a majority vote and senators and deputies are elected by closed-list proportional representation. In Uruguay candidates try to increase their chances for election by splitting off and forming their own factions. This increases an individual candidate's chance of winning because it allows him or her to be higher on a list.

For many years, the president and vice president were also elected from these faction lists. That is, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates would occupy spaces numbered one and two on a given faction list. Once all of the faction lists were counted and a particular list was declared to have received the most votes, whoever occupied the top two spots on that list would become the president and vice president, respectively. Thus, in theory everyone one who occupied the number-one spot on a faction list had a chance to become the president of Uruguay, and the number-two candidate could be vice president. Though this sounds quite complicated, it worked fairly well as long as Uruguay remained essentially a two-party system. In the 1990s, however, the Broad Front party began to take more and more of the votes away from the *Blancos* and *Colorados*, with the latter two parties combined capturing just 30 percent of the vote as opposed to the winner, Sanguinetti's, who received 31 percent. This increasingly tenuous situation led members of parliament to approve a reform that had been in demand for some time.

In 1996 a constitutional amendment was adopted that required, among other things, that each party hold a primary election in April of the election year to choose a presidential candidate. It also required the presidential candidate in the general election to receive a majority of the popular vote in order to be declared the winner. This amendment was implemented beginning in 1999, and to meet this requirement, every election held between 1999 and 2004 had to be decided by a runoff.

The judiciary makes up the third branch of government. Supreme Court judges are nominated by the president and then must be elected by the General Assembly. Once elected, Supreme Court judges serve ten-year terms and are eligible for re-election after sitting out for five years. The five-member Supreme Court manages the entire judicial system, including appointment of lower-court



URUGUAY'S PRESIDENT TABARÉ VAZQUEZ GREETES SUPPORTERS IN MARCH 2005. Since the 1830s, the Colorado Party and National Party had ruled the government of Uruguay. In November 2004, former Montevideo mayor Tabaré Vazquez, of the left-wing Broad Front party, ended the stronghold of the two parties by defeating the incumbent Colorado Party's Guillermo Stirling and Jorge Larranaga of the National Party. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

judges and preparation of the judicial budget. Two additional military justices sit on the Supreme Court, but they participate only in cases that involve the military.

Lower courts include **appellate** courts, **courts of first instance** (which make decisions on lower-court appeals), and justice of the peace courts (small-claims courts). Uruguayan law recognizes only one type of lawyer; however, in some rural departments a notary also is permitted to practice law in the justice of the peace courts.

CITIZENS' RIGHTS

Uruguayan citizens enjoy the full and free practice of all rights considered essential under a democratic system, including the right to a fair public trial conducted by an independent judiciary. There is no law against self-incrimination, but as of 1980 there were public defenders in all of the courts. Capital punishment is illegal.

The constitution also provides for freedoms of speech, the press, and assembly. Citizens and the media are allowed to express their views as long as

appellate: a court having jurisdiction to review the findings of lower courts

court of first instance: the first or lowest court in which a case or suit can be decided

compulsory: mandatory, required, or unable to be avoided

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

those views are not considered to be inciting violence or “insulting the nation.” Rights to free speech and the press are exercised regularly, as can be seen by the variety and quality of daily and weekly newspapers. The constitution explicitly grants workers the right to strike, and freedom of association is well respected.

The constitution also provides for freedom of religion, and there is a strict separation between church and state, both in writing and in practice. No religious education of any kind is allowed in public schools. Education is free and compulsory for nine years, and free up to the baccalaureate level of university. Although the University of the Republic is free and open to all citizens who have completed high school, it can be difficult for poor and working-class students to attend university due to the need to work and earn income, as well as the burden of fees for books and other school expenses. Afro-Uruguayans are an especially underrepresented group at the university level, with only sixty individuals earning a bachelor’s degree in the University’s history.

As in the rest of Latin America, voting is mandatory for all citizens eighteen years of age and older. Voting is traditionally held on a Sunday to guarantee the highest possible turnout. Uruguay was among the first Latin American countries to grant suffrage to women, doing so in 1932.

Uruguay has often been credited as being one of the most stable democracies in Latin America. Even after short undemocratic interruptions, such as the coup of 1973, the country has managed to return very quickly to a stable democratic regime, making reforms where necessary to aid democratic consolidation. This high degree of democratic stability is generally credited to the long existence of a stable party system (the *Colorado* and *Blanco* parties have been in existence longer than many of those in the industrialized world), respect for the rule of law and citizens’ rights, an expansive welfare state, and a strong sense of patriotism. Although there are some citizens (especially minorities), who have not enjoyed the exercise of their rights as much as others, it can be unequivocally stated that Uruguay is one of the most advanced democracies in the region.

See also: Constitutions and Constitutionalism; Democracy; Dictatorship; Political Parties; Presidential Systems.

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Erica E. Townsend-Bell

Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan is located in Central Asia. It is bordered by Kazakhstan to the north, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to the east, Turkmenistan to the southwest, and Afghanistan to the south. Slightly larger than California at 447,400 square kilometers (172,742 square miles), it has long hot summers and mild winters, and is semiarid.

As of July 2003 Uzbekistan's population was estimated at 26 million. The prominent ethnicities are 74.3 percent Uzbek, 5.5 percent Russian, 5 percent Tajik, and 3 percent Kazakh. The prominent religions are Sunni Muslim at 85 percent followed by 9 percent Eastern Orthodox.

The region that became Uzbekistan was annexed by Russia in the late nineteenth century. There was resistance to Russian rule, and in 1917 the region was taken over by the Bolsheviks. In 1924 the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic was formed. Uzbeks were very supportive of the former Soviet Union. Nevertheless, in June 1990 Uzbekistan was the first Soviet republic in Central Asia to declare its sovereignty; it became fully independent on August 31, 1991.

Uzbekistan's constitution was approved on December 8, 1992. The country is officially a constitutional republic, but in fact the government is dominated, as of 2004, by an **authoritarian** president, Islam Karimov (b. 1938). Karimov took office in March 1990, was directly elected in 1991 with 88 percent of the vote (in an election that foreign observers did not rate as free or fair), had his term extended for two years in 1998, and was reelected in 2000 for a seven-year term. The president names the prime minister and the provincial governors. He may dissolve parliament with the concurrence of the Constitutional Court and declare states of emergency, with the approval of parliament. He also holds the position of commander in chief.

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

The constitution provides for a unicameral parliament, the Supreme Assembly. It has 250 members who serve five-year terms. A 2002 constitutional amendment provided for a second chamber to begin operation in December 2004.

The legislature has little power to shape laws. It can only enact legislation that is initiated by the president, the high courts, the procurator general, or by the government of the autonomous province of Karakalpakstan. The second chamber is responsible for formulating legislation.

The judicial branch consists of the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court, and the High Economic Court. Judges at all levels are appointed by the president and approved by the parliament. The judicial branch lacks independence and remains under the complete control of the executive branch.

Political parties have played little role in local politics, although some parties have been established, but only with government approval. The international community has deemed elections in Uzbekistan as not meeting even basic standards.

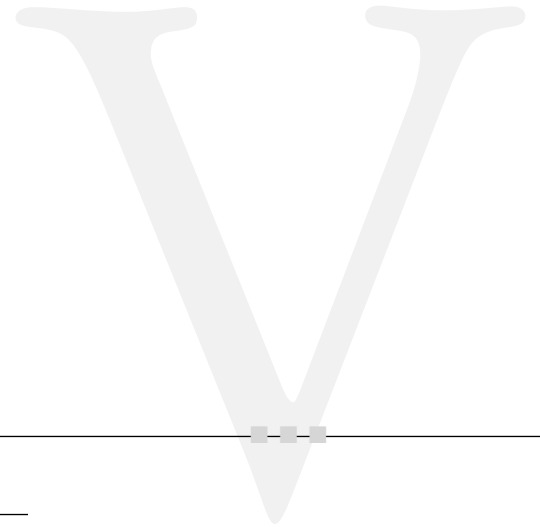
Uzbekistan was classified in 2003 as not free by Freedom House, an independent advocacy foundation, in its annual review of the world's nations. The country received the worst possible Freedom House rating of 7 on political rights and a not much better rating of 6 on civil rights and liberties. The 2003 U.S. State Department's Human Rights report on Uzbekistan noted a litany of government limitations on freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion, as well as numerous other human rights violations.

See also: Ukraine.

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Cara Richards



Vanuatu

Vanuatu comprises a Y-shaped archipelago of sixty-five inhabited tropical islands located in the Western Pacific. Formerly known as the New Hebrides, the country obtained independence on July 30, 1980. The population, estimated at around 200,000 in 2005, is highly ethno-linguistically diverse, with around 110 indigenous languages spoken in addition to French, British and a Pigin lingua franca called *Bislama*.

The New Hebrides was originally settled around 3,000 years ago, during the Austronesian migrations from East Asia across the Pacific. From the 1860s onward, “blackbirding” vessels recruited indentured laborers among the islands to work on plantations in Queensland or Fiji, or in a variety of occupations in neighboring New Caledonia (which had become a French colony in 1853). Competition between British and French settlers led to the establishment of a joint Anglo-French Naval Commission in 1887. As part of the *Entente Cordiale* agreement between Britain and France, in 1906 the country became a jointly run Anglo-French condominium, with separate British and French administrations.

Leading up to independence in 1980, divisions emerged between islanders identifying with the British and French administrations (Anglophones and Francophones), with active intervention from the French Residency in the capital, Port Vila, and neighboring New Caledonia. Victory for the Anglophone Vanua’aku Parti at the polls in 1979 triggered a secessionist rebellion on Santo in the northern part of the group and Tanna toward the south, which was ultimately crushed by the deployment of British, French, and, crucially, Papua New Guinea troops.

Led by the Anglican minister Walter Hayde Lini (1971–1999), the Vanua’aku Parti government proved able to secure victory at all elections held until 1991. Ever since, the country has witnessed greater instability under successive fragile **coalition** governments. Large numbers of independents

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

and candidates representing small political parties contest elections, with the consequence that victors often secure only a small share of the vote.

Vanuatu is one of the poorer of the Pacific countries. Around 80 percent of the population live in rural areas, mainly reliant on subsistence cultivation. Overseas aid accounts for around a fourth of gross national product, and most formal employment is in the tourism and government sectors. The country's main exports are copra, kava, beef, cocoa, timber, and coffee.

The 1980 constitution, which was agreed on by the French and British governments, provides for a unicameral parliament and an independent judiciary. To allay the fears of the Francophone minority, the semiproportional, single nontransferable voting system was adopted. Since 1980, the number of parliamentary seats has risen from thirty-nine to fifty-two, with members elected on the basis of universal suffrage for those over eighteen years of age. The president is the head of state, and is elected by members of parliament and presidents of the provincial governments every five years. Vanuatu has six provinces, each with its own provincial government, with further powers are devolved to area councils.

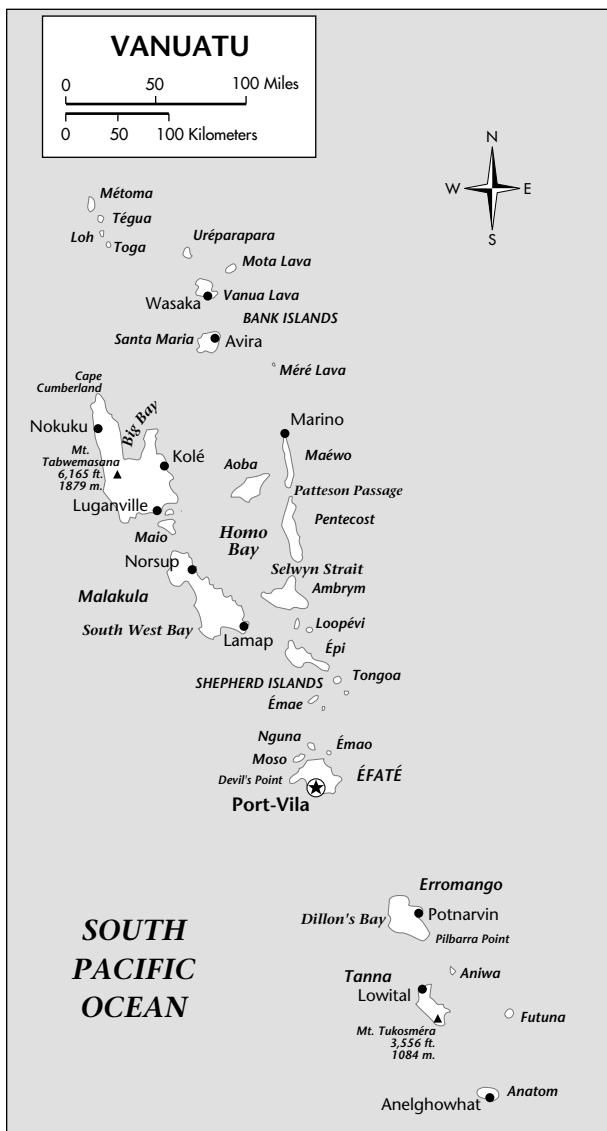
The constitution entitles citizens to fundamental rights, freedoms, and protections. According to the U.S. State Department, there are no recent reports of arbitrary arrest or detention, torture, or politically motivated execution.

See also: Parliamentary Systems.

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Jeanette Bolenga, Jon Fraenkel



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

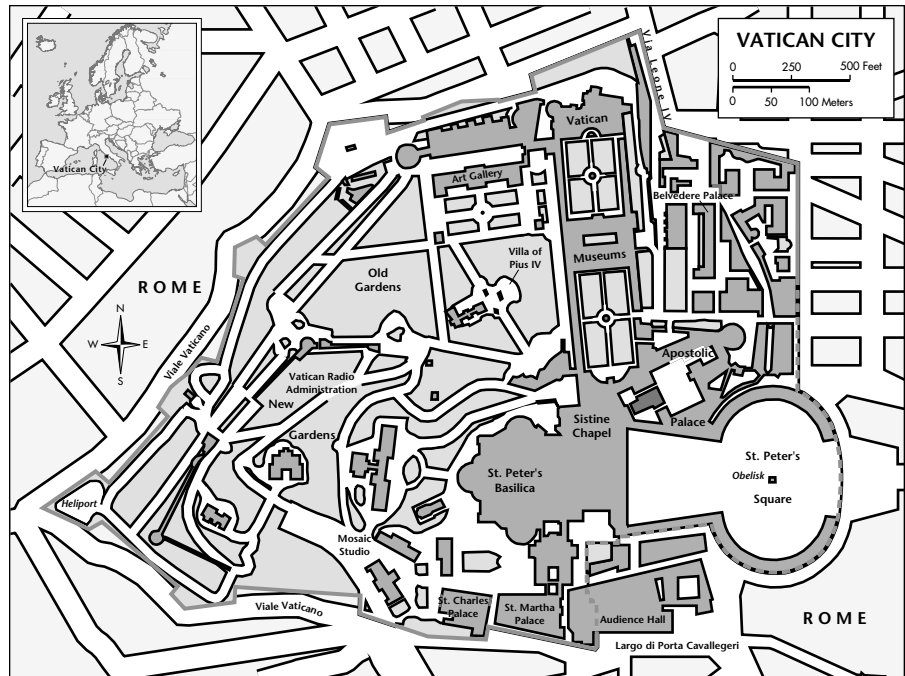
Vatican

The Vatican is the smallest nation-state in the world with an area of 108.7 acres. It is located in the heart of Rome, on the west bank of the Tiber River. According to 2004 estimates, its population numbers some 1,000 people of various nationalities; most are the families of Vatican City employees and cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church. The Vatican maintains full sovereignty over its territory and population. Its citizens hold dual citizenship: that of Italy and that of the Vatican. Latin is the official state language, whereas Italian is the commonly spoken tongue. Like all nation-states, it issues stamps and mints currency; it funds refuse collection; it maintains a fire department, a police force, and a small army. The Vatican's revenue derives from public contributions and investments in real estate, bonds, and securities. Its secretary of state oversees foreign policy matters and its diplomats enjoy full immunity. As of 2000, the Holy See had established diplomatic relations with 174 countries.

The Vatican's present infrastructure dates to the 1929 Lateran Accords signed between Italy's prime minister Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) and Pope Pius XI (1857–1939) of the Vatican. The agreement put an end to the sixty-year-old dispute—known as the Roman Question—over the Italian occupation of the papal state. Since then, the Vatican has maintained its own rail and telephone systems. It publishes a daily newspaper in seven languages and broadcasts daily radio programs in thirty-five languages. It has an official website, though no television station.



VATICAN CITY'S SAINT PETER'S SQUARE AND BASILICA. Completed in 1626, Saint Peter's Basilica is the central church for Roman Catholics, with room for more than 60,000 worshippers. (SOURCE: © VITTORIANO RASTELLI/CORBIS)



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

The pope is a monarch elected by the College of Cardinals rather than the citizens of the state. As a monarch, the pope may issue laws and codes (*Motu Proprio*) without the approval of the cardinals, to whom he has delegated part of the responsibilities of government. Such was the Fundamental Law that became effective in 1929. It proclaimed the pope head of state and ascribed full powers to him: executive, legislative, and judicial.

On January 1, 2001, Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) issued a *Motu Proprio* on the structure of government. According to Pope John Paul II's edict, the pope may entrust legislative powers to the governor of the state (who is appointed by, and may be removed by, the pope to whom he is solely responsible). The pope may assign part or all of his executive power to an ad hoc committee of five cardinals he appoints for a five-year term; it is the committee's responsibility to oversee the Curia (the Vatican bureaucracy) and everyday activities of the state.

Judicial power is exercised by a court system modelled on the Italian four-tier system. Only the judge at the lowest level must be a citizen of Vatican City. In 1987 Pope John Paul II issued a *Motu Proprio* abolishing the separation between canon and civil law courts.

See also: Italy.

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canon: a law governing the administration of the church

Venezuela

Venezuela is a South American country with a long coast on the Caribbean Sea, and shares borders with Colombia to the west and Brazil to the south. Its territory covers 912,050 square kilometers (352,143 square miles), comprised of the central plains; the northwest lowlands, the Andes and coastal mountain ranges, and the tropical areas of the eastern and southern parts of the country. The population is 24.3 million, about 68 percent of whom are a mixture of European and African ancestry. About 20 percent are white, 10 percent are black, and just 1 percent are indigenous. In terms of religion, the majority is Catholic although Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism are growing in popularity. Venezuela is separated into 23 states and a Federal District (which contains both Caracas, the capital city, and 5 million residents).

HISTORY

Venezuela was founded in 1830, when the nation of Gran Colombia—ruled by revolutionary leader Simon Bolívar (1783–1830) after the 1810–1821 war of independence against Spain—was divided into three regions: Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. Venezuela did not easily adjust to its newfound status and was wrought with conflict among the *caudillos* (provincial strongmen) and factions of both Liberal and Conservative parties for much of its first century as an established country. The discovery of oil in the 1920s fueled state expansion, as well as citizen organization that led to antigovernment protests and formation of the *Acción Democrática* (AD) political party. AD led the way to gradual economic and political **liberalization** after the death of long-time ruler Juan Vicente Gómez (1864–1935). Universal suffrage, welfare and labor rights, and a redesigned supreme court with **judicial review** were all included in Venezuela's 1947 constitution. However, opposition by the Catholic Church, landowners, and the armed forces led to a coup in 1948 and a ten-year military rule under Marcos Pérez Jimenez (1914–2001).

When military rule ended in 1958, the three major political parties—AD, the Christian Democratic Party (COPEI), and the *Unión Republicana Democrática* (URD)—adopted the 1958 Pact of Punto Fijo and a 1961 constitution that granted the national government, and more specifically, the president, control over all laws. Alternating in power, AD and COPEI divided up jobs and resources and used oil revenues to dominate civil society. AD's Carlos Andrés Pérez (b. 1922) presided over an oil boom as president between 1974 and 1979. However, in the 1980s Venezuela's stability began to disintegrate with a sharp drop in the price of oil, which had been subsidizing extensive patronage spending and a state structure far larger than the country could afford. Despite drops in revenue, spending multiplied 17 times between 1972 and 1989, state debt expanded to 33 times its 1970s levels, rising from 8.76 percent of GNP in 1970 to 50.46 percent in 1988. By the 1990s, the state had 1.3 million employees for a population of just 21 million (a higher number of employees than in Japan, with a population of 120 million). In February 1989, newly elected President Pérez unexpectedly imposed neoliberal **austerity** measures, such as an increase in gasoline prices. As a result, the country erupted in violent, widespread riots referred to as the *Caracazo*. There were two coup attempts in 1992—the first led by Lieutenant-Colonel Hugo Chavez (b. 1954)—and in May 1993 Pérez was **impeached** and later found guilty of embezzlement. In the 1993 election former President Rafael Caldera was elected again, this time as head of the *Convergencia* coalition.

Caldera's ineffective rule failed to halt the continuing slide in Venezuela's living standards and social services. As political tensions continued to mount

liberalization: the process of lowering trade barriers and tariffs and reducing government economic regulations

judicial review: the ability of the judicial branch to review and invalidate a law that contradicts the constitution

austere: extremely stern; simple and undecorated

impeach: to accuse of a crime or misconduct, especially a high official; to remove from a position, especially as a result of criminal activity

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

throughout the 1990s—marked by violent street demonstrations—basic constitutional guarantees were suspended, first in 1993 to stop protests against alleged electoral fraud and then in 1994–1995 after the collapse of a few leading banks. The country also experienced an increase in criminal violence, which resulted in police being granted greater arrest powers. As the economy and social order continued to deteriorate, both the government and the two main political parties lost popular support. Released from prison in 1994, Hugo Chavez filled this political vacuum by establishing, along with a group of his army comrades, the Fifth Republic Movement (MVR). The MVR soon became the center of a widening political coalition that included several political parties and an array of societal organizations.

After this coalition brought him to the presidency in 1998, Chavez immediately began undoing the policies of the previous 40 years. In addition to writing a new constitution, which introduced many new rights and state agencies, Chavez was determined to alter Venezuela's social structure. In January 2001, for example, he announced the National Educational Project (PEN) to improve the dismal state of education and promote the Bolivarian revolution through flexible curriculums, revamped teacher training, “debureaucratization,” and new school buildings. Three months later, the president launched an ambitious land reform initiative to break up the 1 percent of estates that controlled more than 46 percent of the country's **arable land**. Strong opposition prevented the implementation of these and other reforms, however, undercutting the president's agenda.

A precipitous deterioration in **socioeconomic** conditions and quality of life since the early 1980s has been the primary cause of Venezuela's ongoing political strife. Acute poverty jumped from 22.5 percent to 54 percent of the

arable land: land suitable for the growing of crops

socioeconomic: relating to the traits of income, class, and education

population between 1981 and 1987, and hunger increased four-fold between 1979 and 1999. Only a third of Venezuelans earned less than \$2 a day in 1975, but by 1997 a full 67 percent did, while in the corresponding period those earning less than \$1 grew from 13 percent to 36 percent between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s. Official unemployment has hovered around 20 percent, and underemployment at well over 40 percent. Gross domestic product (GDP) **per capita** fell by 27 percent between 1998 and 2003. About one child in ten does not complete primary school, and nearly two in ten do not finish high school.

The sharp fluctuations in Venezuela's economy are due to its dependence on petroleum, which accounts for about 80 percent of export revenue and more than 25 percent of GDP. Venezuelan social and economic policy has long been based on "sowing the oil" into a massive **welfare state**, but belief in oil's perpetual salvation has impeded adjustments in fiscal and monetary policy to salvage a largely protectionist, inflationary, and uncompetitive economy.

THE GOVERNMENT

Venezuela's entire government was overhauled when the 1961 constitution was replaced in 1999. However, in practice the executive continues its historic domination through political patronage, state funds, and the control of national law. The 1999 constitution further strengthens the executive by giving it the power to dissolve Congress in certain situations and allowing the president to remain in office for six years with the option of re-election. The executive directs foreign affairs, appoints and removes ministers, heads the public administration, controls most finances, declare states of emergency, and suspends constitutional provisions.

The legislature is made up of the unicameral, 165-member National Assembly, which replaced a bicameral congress. The assembly has the power to make law, enact policy on all national issues, and regulate the public administration. However, in practice the legislative branch remains weak and divided. The 1989 **decentralization** law transferred many administrative and law-making powers to the states and **municipalities**. When the government coalition acquired a three-fifths majority in the 2000 elections, the assembly granted the president "enabling" laws, empowering him to legislate by decree on issues like crime, the economy, and the "organization of the state."

The 1999 constitution also restructured the judiciary. It replaced the Supreme Court with the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, which is divided into the following chambers: constitutional, political-administrative, electoral, civil appeals, penal appeals, and social appeals for **agrarian**, labor, and juvenile law. In April 2004, Congress approved a law that added 12 new justices to the 20-member high court. The rest of the judiciary is divided into ordinary courts—comprised of criminal, civil, and commercial courts—and special courts such as agrarian, labor, juvenile, and tax courts. Parish courts, district or department courts, first instance courts, and superior courts comprise almost every court **jurisdiction**. Military laws and courts have gradually expanded through laws such as the 1976 Security and Defense Law and the 1984 Drug Law, but the 1999 constitution limits military courts to crimes of a military nature.

Judicial officials complain of interference by the executive and the parties, a lack of cooperation by the police and prosecutors, the need for administrative **modernization**, neglect of the Judicial Career Law, and low salaries. Venezuela's judiciary long has been inefficient, biased, and inaccessible. But several important reforms have helped. The 1999 constitution guarantees the judiciary two percent of the budget, and the 1998 penal process code replaced cumbersome written criminal procedures with oral, accusatorial trials; shifted

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

welfare state: a political state that assumes liability for the wellbeing of its people through government-run social programs

decentralize: to move power from a central authority to multiple periphery government branches or agencies

municipality: local governmental units, usually cities or towns

agrarian: having to do with farming or farming communities and their interests; one involved in such a movement

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

modernization: the act of incorporating new ideas or technology

investigation from the police to prosecutors; created new levels of judges; and added in “citizen judges” to preside over most criminal trials along with regular judges.

There also are several specialized judicial bodies and processes. The Executive Judicial Office of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice manages the judiciary’s budget and disciplines judges. A more innovative judicial body is the Justice of the Peace, a network of popularly elected neighborhood judges created in 1993 that settles thousands of local disputes annually, most of which involve violence.

The 1999 constitution also created a fourth citizens’ branch of government comprised of the public ministry, the controller general, and the *Defensoría del Pueblo* (an independent **ombudsman**). The public ministry represents the state in legal issues and helps enforce officials’ responsibilities, while most oversight of the public administration has been given to the *Defensoría del Pueblo*, whose role is to receive citizen complaints, oversee rights protections in the judiciary, and help ensure respect for the law by state agencies.

Venezuela is a federal state, with 23 autonomous state governments. However, in practice it remains highly **centralized** with 16 ministries and a large public administration that has had up to two million employees. The Ministry of Interior and Justice runs most of the federal bureaucracy and the Ministry of Mines and Energy helps to set oil policy. Chavez’s conflict with organized labor and the main media outlets have given more visible roles to the Labor Ministry and the Ministry of Communication and Information, while his controversial land reform and education proposals have strengthened the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

The military has significantly expanded its power under Chavez, heading several ministries and running many new economic development and anti-poverty programs. However, the military remains split between the higher officers and the more pro-Chavez middle- and working-class lower ranks. Divisions in the security forces have also arisen over the growth of the Bolivarian circles—pro-Chavez militias that have attacked opposition demonstrators but also carry out social work in poor urban neighborhoods. To take control over the top ranks, in 2003 Chavez used a clause in the new constitution giving him control over all senior military promotions to create a squad of extra colonels and generals.

With more than 70 percent of this oil-exporting country’s population living in poverty and the divisions between rich and poor becoming starker, class has become the defining issue in Venezuelan politics and society. When the middle class all but disappeared in the 1980s, Chavez styled his government as a “revolution”; of the poor majority against the rich “oligarchy” that ran Venezuela and squandered its considerable wealth. Chavez considers nearly every major institution as part of this corrupt **oligarchy**—including the Catholic Church, the media, organized labor, and the state oil company—and has battled each of them since coming to office.

The main newspapers and television stations are adamantly anti-Chavez, and their coverage has spurred harsh criticisms by Chavez and acts of violence, including bombings of newspaper offices. The president managed to get rid of many bosses within the country’s main labor union, the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV). However, in alliance with the main business association, *Fedecámaras*, CTV has led several strikes against his administration. Opposition to Chavez’s social policies, such as the ones on education and land discussed above, are also seen as part of Venezuela’s class conflict and an attempt by the wealthy to prevent economic equality.

ombudsman: a government official that researches the validity of complaints and reports his findings to an authority

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

oligarchy: government by a few or an elite ruling class, whose policies are often not in the public interest

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, RESPONSIBILITIES, FREEDOMS, RIGHTS, AND LIBERTIES

The once formidable AD and COPEI parties were reduced to shadows of their former selves after the 1998 election. By 2004, there were 33 registered political parties, most of them small. The ruling party is the *Movimiento Quinta Republica* (MVR), created in 1994 as the electoral branch of the Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement, which was formed in the 1980s by a group of junior army officers, including Chavez. The opposition has coalesced under the umbrella group Democratic Coordinator (CD), made up of AD, COPEI, and over 40 smaller parties and civic groups.

State and party dominance since 1958 deprived Venezuela of a vigorous civil society with many large independent organizations. The failure of the traditional parties to gain strength from Chavez's troubles has increased the prominence of CTV and *Fedecámaras*. These two groups joined to initiate a general strike from December 2002 to February 2003. Along with a shutdown in oil production by PDVSA, the strike represented an unsuccessful attempt to drive Chavez from office. A coup against Chavez on April 11, 2002, briefly installed *Fedecámaras* chief Pedro Carmona (b. 1941) as Venezuela's president, but popular protest reinstated Chavez on April 14.



HUGO CHAVEZ, CAMPAIGNING IN 1998 FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN VENEZUELA. The leftist leader Hugo Chavez swept the 1998 Venezuelan presidential election (56.2%) after a military career that included a failed attempt in 1992 to overthrow the government. (SOURCE: © KEITH DANNEMILLER/CORBIS)

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

Including its allies, the MVR has a three-fifths majority, giving it the power to pass enabling laws, which allow the president to legislate by decree without consulting the opposition. Although the next scheduled election was not until 2006, as soon as it was legal to do so Chavez's opposition organized to call a **referendum** on whether he should continue in office. This was possible under a provision of the 1999 constitution that allows such a referendum after the midpoint of any elected official's term. Following intense procedural and political wrangling and protest, the National Electoral Council (CNE) set August 15, 2004, for Chavez's recall, which the president won with 58 percent of the vote.

In addition to the civil and political rights granted by the 1961 constitution, the 1999 constitution mandates a "just distribution of wealth," (Article 299), regulates retiree pensions, and promises "dignified, secure, comfortable" housing (Article 82). It also guarantees the rights to accurate information and a "private life" (Article 60) and prohibits the "use of firearms and toxic substances" during peaceful protests (Article 55). Union rights, access to loans, and protection against unjustified dismissal comprise the constitution's new labor rights. In addition, the constitution requires state promotion of cultural expression, rights of the indigenous peoples, children's access to education, and environmental protection.

Crime, however, has become society's primary concern. A 150 percent increase in violent crime between 2001 and 2002 has made Venezuela one of the world's most dangerous countries. A **proliferation** of police forces has had little impact on the crime surge.

proliferate: to grow in number; to multiply at a high rate

The combination of judicial inefficiency and increasing incarceration made Venezuela's penitentiary system overcrowded, violent, and inhumane. Due process is systematically violated; approximately 60 percent of inmates are unsentenced, about two-thirds of detainees do not meet their defenders until trial, and most criminal trials last more than four years. Public defenders' case-loads have skyrocketed, and conditional release and alternative sentencing programs have been underfunded and inconsistently applied.

Mounting crime and ineffective policing have generated a rise in neighborhood vigilantism and anticrime death squads. Many of these groups, which have been documented in seven states and the Federal District, are supported by powerful political and economic sectors, and have close ties to the police. Like the police, they enjoy wide legal **impunity**, with legal action stymied by judicial weaknesses like poor witness protection.

impunity: an exemption from punishment

See also: Dictatorship; Equality Before the Law; Equal Protection of the Law; Oligarchy; Political Corruption; Political Parties; Presidential Systems.

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Vietnam

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is located in central Southeast Asia. It is bordered on the west by Cambodia and Laos and on the north by China. On the east, it is bordered by the South China Sea (which the Vietnamese, sensitive to Chinese maritime claims, refer to as the East Sea), together with the Gulf of Tonkin in the north and the Gulf of Thailand in the south. Vietnam has a total land area of only 329,560 square kilometers (127,210 square miles), but due to its elongated shape, its land boundaries total 4,639 kilometers (2,883 miles) and its coastline (excluding islands), 3,444 kilometers (2,140 miles). The topography of Vietnam is widely varied with the Red and Mekong Rivers forming low, flat deltas in the north and south of the country. The central highlands, together with the far north and northwest of Vietnam, are high, mountainous regions.

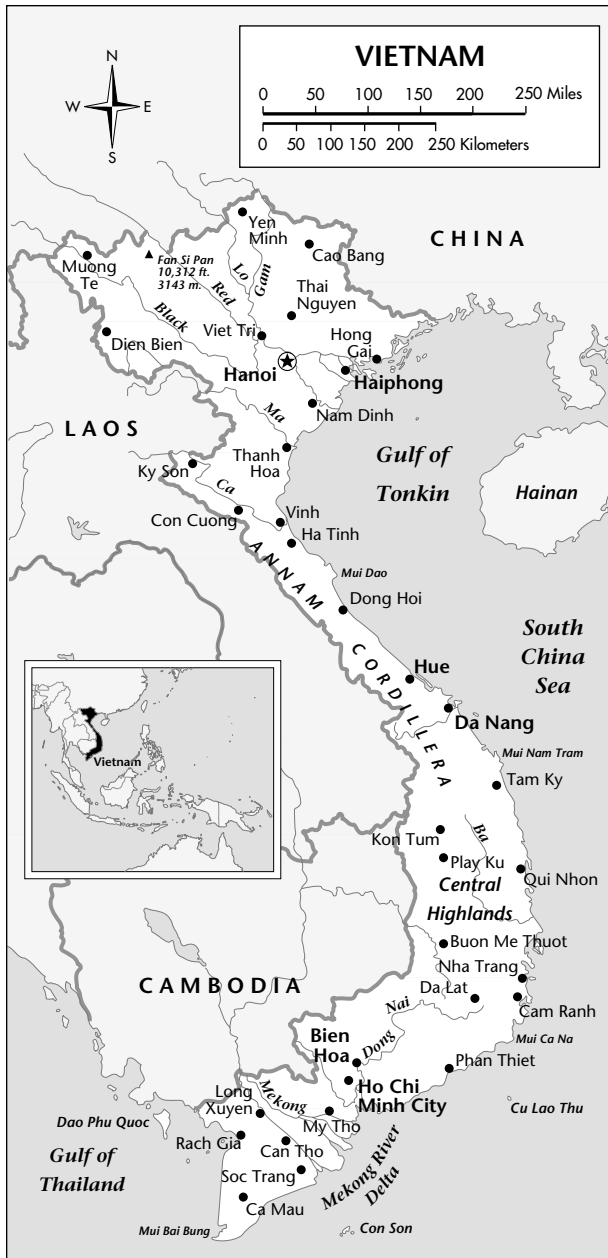
With a population exceeding 80 million people, Vietnam is a relatively poor, densely populated country. Its economy has yet to recover fully from the thirty-year war for independence (1945–1975), the loss of financial support from the former Soviet Union, and the rigidities of a centrally planned economy. Although it can point to substantial economic progress, the economic reforms implemented by the Vietnamese government after 1986 started from an extremely low economic base. The Asian financial crisis in 1997–1998 highlighted many of the problems in the Vietnamese economy, prompting the Vietnamese government in 2001 to reaffirm its commitment to a policy of **economic liberalization**.

Ethnically, approximately 90 percent of the population is Vietnamese, with the remainder comprised of Cambodian, Cham, Chinese, Thai, and mountainous hill tribe minorities. The overwhelming majority of Vietnamese are Buddhists, but there are also significant numbers of Cao Dai, Christians, Hoa Hao, Muslims, and animists.

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

One thousand years of Chinese rule (111 B.C.E.–C.E. 939) were followed by nine hundred years of independence (939–1884), during which time the regions of Vietnam existed mostly as separate and rival political societies. In 1862 France

economic liberalization: the reduction or elimination of trade barriers and government regulations in an economy



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

occupied Cochinchina, the southern third of the country, designating it a colony. It later established **protectorates** over Annam and Tonkin, the central and northern parts of the country, in 1884. The French ruled Vietnam until World War II (1939–1945) when Japanese forces occupied the country. In August 1945, a popular revolution swept the Japanese-inspired puppet government from power, paving the way for independence.

Nationalist forces led by the communist Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) declared independence on September 2, 1945, holding general elections in January 1946. The first National Assembly met in March 1946, electing an official government with Ho Chi Minh as the first president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The National Assembly later **promulgated** Vietnam's first constitution in November 1946. The French government refused to recognize an independent Vietnam and moved to reassert its control, precipitating the First Indochina War (1946–1954), an eight-year conflict that effectively ended with the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. From the 1954 Geneva Conference to the 1975 communist victory in the south, Vietnam was divided at the seventeenth parallel with the communist-controlled Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north and the Republic of Vietnam in the south. Since reunification of the country in April 1975, Vietnam has celebrated its independence day as September 2, 1945. Nationwide polls in April 1976 elected a National Assembly, which in June 1976 approved a communist government for the newly unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

BASIS OF GOVERNMENT

Since the proclamation of independence in September 1945, the communist party-controlled government of Vietnam has adopted four constitutions. The initial constitution, which provided the communist regime with a democratic appearance, was promulgated in 1946 and replaced in 1959 by a charter explicitly communist in character. Following the reunification of North and South Vietnam, a new constitution was adopted in December 1980 that defined Vietnam as a proletarian dictatorship and vested the highest executive and administrative authority in a newly created Council of Ministers. This document was later revised and a new constitution promulgated in April 1992.

The 1992 constitution aimed to strengthen state management of society through establishing the **rule of law**, building a socialist democracy, and enhancing socialist law. With the Communist Party as the principal force leading the state and society, the 1992 constitution attempted to create the superstructure necessary for Vietnam to accelerate its socioeconomic development. According to Article 15, the “State promotes a multi-component commodity economy functioning in accordance with market mechanisms under the management of the State and following a socialist orientation” (Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 1993).

Under the 1992 constitution, the executive branch of government consists of the prime minister, deputy prime ministers, and cabinet ministers. The

protectorate: a territory or country under the protection of another sovereign country's military

promulgation: an official declaration, especially that a law can start being enforced

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

prime minister is elected by the National Assembly and is accountable to it for a five-year term, the same tenure as the Assembly. The executive branch drafts legislation for submission to the National Assembly, oversees routine administration, manages foreign affairs, and is generally responsible for the duties normally performed by ministries subordinate to a premier. The executive branch also oversees regional and local governments with constitutional responsibility to guide and control the peoples' councils in their implementation of central government directives.

With direct command over the state's bureaucratic resources, the office of the prime minister is the most powerful one in the state structure and a significant source of influence for the **incumbent**. In contrast, the president of Vietnam, also elected by the National Assembly, holds a largely ceremonial office with little real power. The duties of the president, as the head of state, include the promulgation of laws and decrees, appointment of Vietnamese ambassadors, negotiation of international agreements, and granting of pardons.

Delegates to the **unicameral** National Assembly are directly elected in a popular vote to serve five-year terms. Election is by secret ballot on the basis of universal **suffrage** by all citizens eighteen years or older. In theory, all citizens twenty-one years or older are eligible to stand for election to the Assembly. In practice, the nomination process is tightly controlled with at least two-thirds of the candidates typically guaranteed election. Normally, approximately 90 percent of those elected to the National Assembly are members of the Vietnam Communist Party. A revised candidate selection process adopted in 2002 placed a premium on formal qualifications and ethical **probity**, with prospective Assembly candidates required for the first time to declare their assets. After three candidates were disqualified on the eve of the 2002 elections, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly took the unprecedented step of reducing the number of deputies to be elected from 500 to 498 to comply with a 1992 election law, which required all seats to be contested. Despite the election mechanism, the National Assembly is tightly controlled by the Communist Party.

Vietnam is a unitary state consisting of fifty-eight provinces and three **municipalities** (Hanoi, Haiphong, and Ho Chi Minh City). These administrative divisions are further subdivided into districts, provincial cities, and towns. Below district level, units of government are present at the village and township level in rural areas and at the precinct and ward level in urban areas. The people's council, a popularly elected body, is the primary administrative unit at the local level. Elections for people's council members proceed in much the same way as for the National Assembly. Members of the people's council vest executive authority in a peoples' committee elected by the council's membership. Elected by local people, the peoples' councils theoretically represent the will of the people and enjoy some latitude in policy implementation. However, the principle of democratic centralism, a basic Marxist-Leninist organizational concept prescribing a hierarchical framework of party structures purportedly established through democratic elections, ensures peoples' councils and peoples' committees act as instruments of central government policy.

Under the 1992 constitution, the Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ in Vietnam. It supervises and directs the work of special tribunals, local peoples' courts, and military tribunals. The president of the Supreme People's Court, whose tenure is the same as Assembly members, is chosen by the National Assembly.

incumbent: one who currently holds a political office, or, holding a political office

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

probity: honesty

municipality: local governmental units, usually cities or towns

cadre: a close group of skilled individuals

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction

echelon: from the French for "rung," one level of a hierarchical society or other institution

VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY

The Vietnam Communist Party was founded by Ho Chi Minh in February 1930. It is a tightly organized, highly disciplined, and ideologically uniform **cadre** party based on the Leninist model. Party membership has varied considerably over the years with the 2004 level of approximately 2.3 million people, some 3 percent of the total population, a representative number. Senior members who participated in the party's founding or joined in the 1930s led the party well into the 1980s. Their shared experience formed a tight bond of fellowship among these early party members who always exhibited a high degree of unity. Solidarity and regime stability remain hallmarks of senior party leadership in Vietnam.

The Vietnam Communist Party places ultimate authority in a National Congress, which has met regularly since reunification in 1975 to **ratify** broad policy decisions. In addition, the National Congress elects a Central Committee, which constitutes the executive authority of the party between congresses. The size of the Central Committee has varied since reunification from as few as 133 members to as many as 170. The Central Committee elects a secretary-general, a secretariat, and a Politburo responsible for executing committee resolutions. The Politburo, composed of the most senior members of the party, has considerable latitude to rule as it sees fit. The size of the Politburo has varied since reunification from eleven to nineteen members.

From the national level, party authority passes downward through party committees in each province, municipality, township, district, and urban precinct or ward. Local congresses elect these committees every two years, with the committees, in turn, electing their own secretaries who are subject to the approval of higher **echelon** authorities. At even lower levels, such as cooperatives, industrial enterprises, military units, and villages, the party organization consists of basic-level



HO CHI MINH (1890–1969)

Born Nguyen That Thanh on May 19, 1890, in Kim Lien, French Indochina (contemporary Vietnam), Ho Chi Minh was the son of a scholar, patriot, and minor officer in the employ of the Nguyen dynasty who left his family when Ho was still young. His sister worked for the French army but secretly stole weapons for the underground independence movement. She was arrested, tried, and sent to jail for life. Ho attended a French school in Hue, became an elementary school teacher, then later became a cook on a ship that took him to Europe, first to Marseilles, and then on to London. He remained in London until 1917, when he moved to France.

In Paris, Ho joined the French Socialist Party. When it splintered, he joined the newly formed French Communist Party. After being trained in the U.S.S.R., Ho was sent to China to organize a communist cell among Vietnamese exiles. Until 1941, Ho traveled from the Soviet Union to Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Siam, and

Hong Kong, organizing communist groups and drumming up support for his beloved Vietnam. His group of exiles would become the Vietminh revolutionaries that seized power in the northern city of Hanoi in 1945, proclaiming an independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam. France did not want to give Indochina its independence, so war broke out. Vietnam nationalists supported Ho's government despite its communist agenda. The guerilla warfare employed by the rebels proved to be effective and the French withdrew in 1954. Indochina was divided into two nations; the north was renamed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Ho developed a communist economic and social structure in the DRV, while war resumed, with U.S. troops now supporting the Saigon forces from the south. Vietnam never became completely communist, however, and fighting went on within the country throughout the next two decades. Ho died on September 3, 1969.

committees or chapters, composed of three to thirty members, depending on the type of unit. The party utilizes overlapping memberships between party committees and other organizations to help ensure its policies are implemented throughout Vietnamese society. Finally, front organizations, like the Vietnam Fatherland Front and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth League, are employed to mobilize and recruit for the party as well as to educate the masses and implement party policies.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

Vietnam is governed by a highly **centralized** political system dominated by the Vietnam Communist Party. In complete control, the party exercises leadership at all levels in all matters—economic, political, and social. The government manages the state apparatus through a structure paralleling the **party apparatus**, but the former is incapable of action without party direction. All key positions in the government are filled by party members, and a network of party cadres ensures the party's presence throughout Vietnamese society.

In attempting to reconcile competing political interests with deepening economic reforms, the Vietnam Communist Party remains in a state of transition and experimentation. At the Ninth Party Congress in late April 2001, Nong Duc Manh (b. 1940), former chairman of the National Assembly, replaced Le Kha Phieu (b. 1931) as general secretary. The congress also reduced the size of the Central Committee from 170 to 150 members, and the Politburo was downsized from nineteen to fifteen members. The new Central Committee was largely composed of incumbent officials holding posts in either the central government or provincial administrations.

The congress also abolished the Politburo Standing Board, replacing it with a secretariat. With the former body appointed by the Politburo and the latter elected by the Central Committee, this change represented a concession to supporters of internal party democracy. Finally, the congress dropped the position of advisor to the Central Committee, effectively eliminating the behind-the-scenes influence of retired senior officials.

Immediately after the Ninth Congress, General Secretary Manh instituted several leadership changes, including new appointments to the Central Committee's departments of **ideology** and culture, organization, and internal security. He also initiated a series of new policies, ranging from leadership to party-building to constitutional reform, and emphasized that policy implementation would be strengthened through a more proactive Politburo and the use of party committees within the state apparatus.

Continuing the fight against corruption, Manh pressed for implementation of a Politburo directive that required all state and party officials, as well as National Assembly candidates, to disclose their assets. He also pushed to give legal status to the changes to political renovation and economic development adopted by the Ninth Party Congress. The Central Committee responded in early November 2001, approving alterations to the 1992 electoral law and amendments to the 1992 constitution. Most of the constitutional changes reflected the realities of Vietnam's socialist-oriented **market economy**.

Following National Assembly elections in May 2002, the government reorganized into twenty-six ministries and thirteen agencies. The revised structure included four new ministries and fifteen new ministers, including five deputy ministers who were promoted. In an unusual step, the National Assembly challenged the creation of the four new ministries, arguing they overlapped existing bodies at a time when the government should be reducing and not expanding

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

party apparatus: the process used by a political party to make decisions, nominate candidates, choose leaders, or win elections; the manpower, expertise, or money needed to accomplish those goals

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets



THE VIETNAM WAR (1957–1975)

The conflict between pro-Soviet Vietnamese nationalist and communist forces in the north of Vietnam and the pro-Western forces in the south initially began as an independence movement by the Vietnamese against their colonial occupiers, the French. The Vietnam War—or the War Against the Americans to Save the Nation, as it is known in Vietnam—reached its fullest and most horrific expression in the years between 1957 and 1975. Although war was never officially declared, more than 58,000 American soldiers and more than three million Vietnamese were killed during the

conflict, which pitted South Vietnamese and American troops against the forces of Communist North Vietnam.

In 1968 and 1969, at the peak of its involvement, the United States had more than half a million troops on the ground. Eventually, facing increasing opposition to the war among its citizens, the United States withdrew all of its forces from the conflict in late 1974. Just a few months later, in April 1975, Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, fell to invading forces, and the country was unified under a government controlled by the Communist Party of Vietnam.

the size of the bureaucracy. The restructure eventually proceeded, but the prime minister was directed to report back to the National Assembly how the government would prevent overlap between existing and new ministries.

As the party wrestled with economic, bureaucratic, and corruption issues, it continued to harass regime critics, especially a new breed of political activist—the **cyber-dissident**. The government in 2003 announced plans to tighten Internet controls, including reinforcement of firewalls to block material threatening national security, and in June 2004, it directed Internet cafe operators to monitor and record the Web sites visited by customers. International human rights organizations also reported in 2003 and 2004 a deterioration in the government's treatment of other Vietnamese dissidents, including Buddhist activists, political dissidents, and ethnic minority Christians.

Assuming office after a period of drift and discontent, General Secretary Manh championed the fight against so-called negative phenomena, like red tape, corruption, and wastage in state agencies. He also improved the capacity of the party and state to establish and implement public policy under the rubric of party building and the creation of a law-governed state. As part of this effort, he worked to make party officials more accountable, introducing new regulations for key party organs in an effort to institutionalize what was morally acceptable behavior for top party members. The Central Committee—not the Politburo—formulated the new rules, signaling a recognition that authority must come from the larger Central Committee as opposed to the smaller body of elderly men in the Politburo. Another reform in governance involved the rotation of senior officials within the bureaucracy to broaden their experience.

At the same time, it must be recognized that Manh's efforts to create a law-governed state were not necessarily steps in the direction of political **liberalization** as the ongoing **persecution** of dissidents amply demonstrated. In Vietnam under Manh, the objective remained one of preempting domestic opposition and keeping the party in power, not bringing about its demise. The party continued to execute a carefully paced program of political reform in which the Vietnamese people increasingly enjoyed a limited array of personal freedoms, but questioning party rule or assembling to challenge party authority remained prohibited. On the contrary, the Vietnam Communist Party continued to rule the country through the traditional structure of party committees and party cells with little real change in the political system inherited from the past.

dissident: one who disagrees with the actions or political philosophy of his or her government or religion

liberalization: the process of lowering trade barriers and tariffs and reducing government economic regulations

persecute: to belittle, harass, injure, or otherwise intimidate, especially those of a different background or group

See also: Cambodia; Dictatorship.

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Ronald Bruce St John

Voting Rights

One of the necessary elements of democratic government is universal suffrage, essentially providing the right to vote to every citizen of the nation. Even if a nation-state has regular, fair elections to determine its political leaders and accords its citizens the right to free expression, if it restricts the right of certain individuals to participate in the political process by not allowing them to vote, it can not be considered a democracy in the modern sense. In fact, many nations, including the United States, have adopted other elements of democratic rule, such as competitive elections, before ensuring that the entire population had access to the ballot.

Because voting rights are intrinsically tied to the concept of democracy, much of the theoretical basis for explaining the expansion of voting rights is tied

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

to the work on the development of democracy in general. A popular theory is that the development of democracy, and subsequent expansion of voting rights, is a result of the liberalizing of markets and increasing standards of living, essentially a byproduct of the capitalist economic system. Although this theory is compelling and has many defenders, an alternative theory has been advanced in recent years. This theory explains why not all capitalist countries develop democratic government. Proponents of this theory argue that democracy is only established over the objections of large landholders, who rely on state power to dominate agricultural labor and therefore is only established if the prodemocratic coalition of manufacturers, small farmers and laborers is strong enough to overcome the political might of the large landholders.

A HISTORY OF VOTING RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

When writing the U.S. Constitution, the framers had extensive debates on who should be allowed the right to vote. The framers feared that if everyone were given the right to vote, the impoverished would elect legislators who would take the property of the wealthy and give it to the poor. Based on these concerns, the framers argued that voting rights should be restricted to citizens who owned property. Even this restriction was not enough to end the debate, as the framers further argued whether the property necessary to vote would be real estate (land) or capital (money). The founders eventually compromised, leaving voting rights to the individual states. This resulted in inconsistent levels of suffrage, with individual states imposing property, race, gender, and even religious restrictions on the right to vote.

Restrictions on religious affiliation and property had mostly disappeared by the time of the U.S. Civil War (1861–1965). This expansion of voting rights was largely limited to white men, however—free blacks could only vote in a few northern states, and women had limited voting rights in the few states where they had any voting rights. In the two decades before the Civil War, a more comprehensive movement to give women the right to vote began. The Civil War interrupted this women's suffrage movement, postponing national voting rights for women until the early twentieth century.

In the Reconstruction period after the Civil War, the United States made a number of important advances in expanding suffrage to all citizens. First, the Fifteenth Amendment gave blacks the legal right to vote throughout the nation. In 1889, Wyoming became the first state admitted to the Union to allow women the right to vote. Despite the advances made in the quarter-century after the Civil War, a number of voting rights reverses would come in the next 30 years.

After Reconstruction, southern states were allowed to dictate voting requirements once again, as long as these new requirements did not violate the Fifteenth Amendment. By establishing theoretically race-neutral policies, such as literacy tests and poll taxes, southern states were able to prevent blacks (and large numbers of poor whites) from voting in elections. Poll workers administered the literacy tests at their own discretion, which allowed those poll workers to single out blacks and other undesirables for testing. At the same time, some of these laws had clauses that exempted individuals whose grandfathers had the right to vote (essentially families that could vote before the Civil War) from these tests. Poll taxes could either be expensive or have onerous requirements (such as having had to be paid for the previous three years)—either method led to the exclusion of blacks and poor whites. In addition to these legal mechanisms, some white southerners used violence and intimidation to frighten blacks and those thought to be undesirable from voting.

The years following World War I (1914–1918) led to significant advances in voting rights in the United States. Due to a renewal in the women's suffrage movement in the early twentieth century, the Twentieth Amendment, ratified in 1920, gave women the right to vote throughout the United States. However, breaking the racial barriers to voting did not come until after World War II (1939–1945).



IN 1966 CITIZENS IN AN ALABAMA TOWN WAIT IN LINE TO CAST BALLOTS AT A CITY HALL. Until the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, most African Americans were unable to participate in elections despite the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1870. Discrimination in southern states, including the use of literacy tests and poll taxes along with voter intimidation and attacks, was given national attention by public demonstrations. (SOURCE: © FLIP SCHULKE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.)

Advances in racial policies in the period after World War II, such as the integration of the military and public school systems, encouraged blacks to push for equality in the electoral arena. During this period, poll taxes were banned by the Twenty-fourth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 eliminated the use of literacy tests. In addition, activism in the late 1960s led to the right to vote for all U.S. citizens over the age of 18, as provided by the Twenty-sixth Amendment.

The Voting Rights Act was adjusted in 1982 to ensure not only that minorities have the right to vote but also that minority votes would not be diluted. Before this law, whites had attempted to minimize the affect of minority voters by **gerrymandering** districts to making sure that minorities were not majorities in any electoral districts, thus preventing minority candidates from being elected. The Voting Right Acts led to several new districts with voting majorities of minorities, although some of these new districts used the same gerrymandering techniques previously used to dilute minority votes. The Supreme Court later stated that these gerrymandered districts were unconstitutional, and prevented race from being the primary consideration in an electoral district.

Although states still are constitutionally able to set their own voting requirements, a number of constitutional amendments and the Voting Rights Act restrict the ability of states to deny voting rights to citizens. This has led to fairly minor differences in voting rights across the United States. One of the major differences between the states is the access to voting rights that convicted felons have. In some states, individuals convicted of felony crimes have their voting rights restored immediately after serving their prison time, whereas other states have complicated processes for the reestablishment of voting rights.

VOTING RIGHTS ELSEWHERE

The gradual expansion of voting rights is not unique to the United States. Switzerland first established voting rights for all male citizens in the middle of the nineteenth century, but only guaranteed the right to vote to women in 1974. In France, an 1830 law, which based voting rights on taxes paid in the previous year, gave voting rights to less than 1 percent of the population. It was not until 1877 that the French had universal male suffrage.

Regional variations in voting rights also have been common in nations with federal political systems. Switzerland is an excellent example of this, as before 1974 the individual **cantons** determined whether women had the right to vote. In Canada, the individual provinces initially established voting rights, but a series of laws in the 1870s and 1880 provided more **centralized** control over voting rights until 1898 when the Canadian national government returned the issue of voting rights to the provinces. In 1920 Canada established universal voting rights with standard laws.

The right to vote based on a preferred ethnic identity was at one time a common practice. The South African system of **apartheid** denied the majority of the nation the right to vote by denying the right to black Africans until the early 1990s. New Zealand Maori also were denied the right to vote in New Zealand's early history.

A CAUTIONARY NOTE

In addition to voting rights, other elements of the political system must be considered before calling that system democratic. Despite expansive voting rights in Spain at end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth

gerrymandering: the artful drawing of legislative districts in order to give advantage to one political party, race, or other group

canton: a political subdivision, especially in Switzerland

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

apartheid: an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination

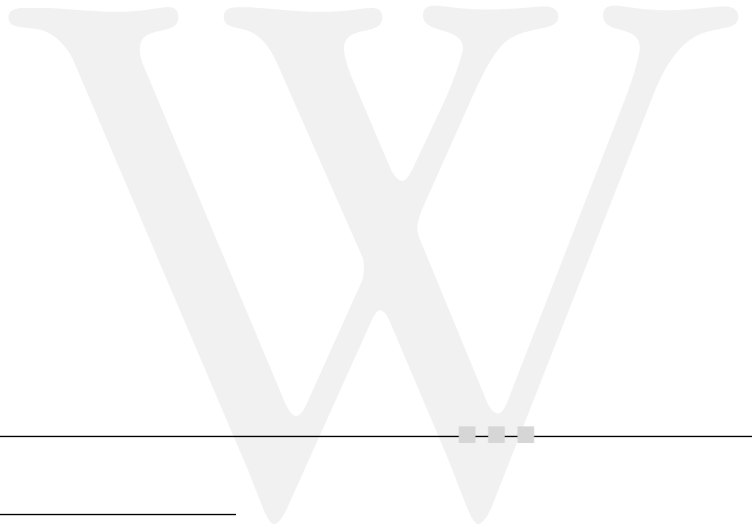
century, Spain could hardly be called a democracy during that time, because these votes were marginalized by the lack of significant political competition, a situation that was repeated in Mexico in much of the second half of the twentieth century. Indeed, if expansive voting rights marked elections in Iraq in the first few years of the twenty-first century, then the threat of violence and a lack of an opposition to the ruling regime negated the democratic legitimacy of those elections.

See also: Apartheid; Democracy; Suffrage.

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Dylan Scott Rickards



War Crimes

Roman philosopher and statesman Seneca (c. 3 B.C.E.–C.E. 65) said that law fell silent during war, but, this is far from the case. Norms regulating behavior in war were the mark of many ancient civilizations. From ancient times to the medieval laws of chivalry, limitations have been imposed in the name of humanity and commonsense on warfare. In the twenty-first century, the laws of war are voluminous and often effective.

These laws are found in treaties such as the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the two Additional Protocols of 1977, in the custom and practice of nations, and in the decisions of various international tribunals such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Military training, in the West at least, almost always includes sessions on the laws of war and the appropriate conduct of hostilities. Lawyers now play a relatively prominent role in advising combatants during war on matters such as targeting, and the treatment of prisoners of war (POWs), and the Gulf War in 1991 was described as the most legalistic war in history.

DEFINITIONS

Despite all this, of course, breaches do occur. The most serious of these breaches are characterized as war crimes or, as the Statute for the International Criminal Court (ICC) puts it, “serious violations of the laws of war.” The great landmark in this area of the law, dwarfing other developments, is the Nuremberg Trial in post-World War II (1939–1945) Germany. This trial is often referred to as a war crimes trial, but this is not an entirely accurate designation. In popular commentary on war crimes the term is used to describe any offense taking place in war time. The various crimes committed by the Nazis from the invasion of Poland to the creation of the extermination and concentration camps to the shooting of POWs all seem to belong in the generic category “war crimes.”



AT THE HAGUE ON AUGUST 31, 2004, FORMER YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC PREPARES TO DEFEND HIMSELF. Milosevic was indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, for atrocities committed in his regime between 1991 and 2000, by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Proceedings against Milosevic began in 2002 and were still open in 2005. (SOURCE: © FRED ERNST/REUTERS/CORBIS)

However, war crimes were simply one of three categories prosecuted at Nuremberg. Alongside war crimes were crimes against humanity, a category of criminality designed to encompass gross human rights violations committed against fellow nationals (e.g., the destruction of the German Jews), and crimes against peace or acts of aggression committed in violation of international treaties. Strictly speaking, neither of these categories belongs in the category of war crimes, although there has tended to be some overlap between crimes

against humanity (including the crime of genocide) and war crimes. At Nuremberg war crimes were defined in Article 6 as:

Violations of the laws and customs of warfare [including but not limited to] murder, ill-treatment, deportation . . . of civilian population of or in occupied territories, murder of ill-treatment of prisoners of war . . . plunder . . . destruction not warranted by military necessity.

The key distinguishing feature of war crimes, then, was the target or victims of such crimes: either civilians in occupied territories or POWs. In contrast, aggression was a crime aimed at whole states whereas crimes against humanity were discriminatory acts committed against any civilian population.

Not all failures to comply with the laws of war are war crimes. The photographing of prisoners or the absence of sporting facilities for detainees may be breaches of the laws of war but these do not rise to the level of war crimes. War crimes are a special category of violation giving rise to individual responsibility under international law and defined as such in treaties such as the Geneva Convention. The person who commits such acts can be prosecuted before national or international courts, and, if found guilty, jailed for his or her crimes.

The core crimes are uncontroversial. These are found in the Geneva Conventions and Protocols under the heading: Grave Breaches. For example, Article 147 of the Fourth Geneva Convention includes the following acts in the category of war crimes: killing or torture of prisoners and detainees, taking of hostages, unlawful deprivation of liberty, and unnecessary destruction of property. Importantly, states are under an obligation to seek out and prosecute those thought to be responsible for such acts regardless of their nationality.

In 1977, states convened to elaborate on the laws of war in drafting what became the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Convention. The First Additional Protocol (concerned with international armed conflict) further developed the idea of war crimes to prohibit particular methods of warfare. So, for example, since 1977 at least, attacking civilian objects has been a war crime. In addition, employing methods of warfare with indiscriminate and disproportionate effects on civilian populations is characterized by the Protocol as a war crime.

However, these developments did not significantly change the law as it applied to civil wars or noninternational armed conflict. Indeed, it was possible to argue as recently as 1998 that murder during civil wars was not a war crime. This began to change in cases heard at the ICTY. In *The Prosecutor v. Tadic*, the first case to result in a conviction, Dusko Tadic (b. 1955), a Bosnian Serb, was convicted of serious violations of the laws of war in internal armed conflict. The ICTY held that war crimes were capable of being committed in internal as well as international armed conflict.

Given the number and devastating effects of civil wars, this marked a major breakthrough in the laws of war. This advance was confirmed in the negotiations for the ICC leading to the drafting of a statute for a permanent criminal court (The Rome Statute). The statute gives the court **jurisdiction** over war crimes (Article 5) and provides a detailed list of those actions constituting war crimes. The list includes many of the breaches found in the Geneva Conventions, but, in a dramatic departure from existing treaty law, it criminalizes also serious violations of the international humanitarian law committed during civil wars. These include the deliberate targeting of civilians, **pillage**, attacks on United Nations personnel, and attacks on medical facilities. It should be noted, however, that the court investigates only those cases in which there have been large-scale commissions of war crimes. The intention is, as it always

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

pillage: to plunder; to loot or steal during an emergency or war

■ ■ ■

PROTOCOL ADDITIONAL TO THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS

The Geneva Conventions refer to a series of international agreements that established codes of conduct for the treatment of the sick, wounded, and dead during periods of war. The first convention was adopted in 1864. The agreements also spell out regulations regarding the treatment of prisoners of war.

Members of signatory nations who are accused of violating the Geneva Conventions are brought before the International Court of Justice at The Hague, Netherlands.

The Geneva Conventions were modified in 1977 when two additional protocols, or amendments, were added.

Protocol I offers protections to victims in international armed conflicts. Protocol I and Protocol II together offer protection to guerrillas in civil wars or wars of self-determination.

One interesting facet of Protocol I was the addition of an article allowing for the creation of international fact-finding commissions. As a result of a fact-finding commission, Bosnian Serb Dusko Tadic (b. 1955) was prosecuted in 1996 for his mistreatment of prisoners of war in northern Bosnia. Tadic was convicted on May 7, 1997.

has been in this area of law, that small-scale, isolated crimes be prosecuted in national courts or through military court martials.

The law of war crimes, then, is at its most advanced stage. The Rome Statute, coupled with case law from international tribunals, provide a systematic and detailed normative structure for the prosecution of serious violations of the laws of war. Gaps in this law are relatively few and the major defect, the failure to criminalize brutal conduct during civil wars, has been remedied.

WAR CRIMES TRIALS

The existence of legal rules is only half the story when it comes to building the **rule of law** in a particular area. Institutions, too, are required and, in particular, courts capable of enforcing and developing the law. In the area of war crimes, institutional development has been difficult and slow. Although individuals were tried by court martial and national courts, the first international trials were held in Tokyo and Nuremberg at the end of World War II. These trials mark a breakthrough for the prosecution and punishment of violations of international law.

At Nuremberg, after a trial lasting from November 1945 to October 1946, twenty-two high-ranking Nazi officials were tried of whom twelve were hanged, seven given long jail sentences, and three acquitted altogether. The Tokyo Trial (from May 1946 to November 1948) culminated in the death sentence for seven of the twenty-five defendants and prison sentences for the remainder. Curiously, however, the Nuremberg Trials, although they were the inspiration for human rights law, did not lead to the creation of a permanent international criminal court. It was not until the early 1990s that the international community was provoked into creating international tribunals by atrocities in the Balkans and Rwanda. The ICTY and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda have both engaged in the prosecution of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity arising out of the wars in these two areas.

The most celebrated cases have been those of former prime minister of Rwanda, Jean Kambanda (b. 1955), and former president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic (b. 1941). These two tribunals, established by security council decree and with limited territorial and temporal jurisdiction, are often referred to as **ad hoc** tribunals. The dream of a treaty-based permanent international tribunal

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

ad hoc: created for a specific purpose or to address a certain problem



PROSECUTOR V. TADIC

In 1997 an international war crimes tribunal found Bosnian Serb Dusan "Dusko" Tadic (b. 1955) guilty of eleven counts of war crimes against humanity. Tadic, a police reservist, was accused of channeling thousands of Muslims, Croats, and other civilians into Serb prison camps, and later torturing and murdering them in a wave of ethnic cleansing. He received a twenty-year prison sentence.

The trial was the first proceeding held by an international criminal court since World War II (1939–1945). In addition, before the Tadic case, no one had ever been convicted of violating the international laws of war for acts committed

during an internal conflict. The verdict was also important because it showed that the tribunal process was a fair and feasible way to deal with war-crimes suspects.

Even though Tadic was acquitted on the more serious counts of murder and rape, international observers were pleased with the conviction. They believed it sent a message to the world that individuals involved in any conflict can—and will—be held responsible for their role in any war crimes, crimes against humanity, or other violations of international human rights law.

with potentially global jurisdiction did not come to realization until 1998 in Rome when the states of the world convened to create the ICC.

The ICC prosecutes the gravest international crimes in cases in which domestic courts have proved unwilling or unable do so. It remains to be seen whether there will be the political will to make the ICC a success. (The United States is in 2005 a strong critic and opponent of the court.)

It would be inaccurate to focus entirely on judicial institutions. Courts become involved only after crimes are alleged to have taken place. In some ways, court proceedings are a symptom of failure. Courts are efforts to punish rather than devices to prevent. The institutions that count most in preventing the commission of war crimes are probably the military and the state itself. When the state takes its international humanitarian law obligations seriously and transmits that commitment to a receptive and responsible military, war crimes occur infrequently. War crimes tend to occur most often where there are poorly organized armies, so there is a natural and causal relationship between military discipline and the capacity to prevent large-scale abuses of the laws of war (a pathological state such as Nazi Germany is an obvious exception to this).

The future of war crimes law seemed fairly secure in 1998 when the ICC was finally established. Since then, however, there have been some worrying developments. In particular, there is a growing tendency to distinguish those entitled to protection under the laws of war from those categories of personnel who fall outside the scope of these laws. There is little doubt that the new wars—brutal and unconventional—pose a serious threat to the integrity and efficacy of the law of war crimes.

See also: Crimes Against Humanity; Genocide; Human Rights; International Humanitarian Law.

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Gerry Simpson

West Bank

Since 1994 the West Bank has been under the control of the Palestinian Authority, the governing body of the Palestinian Arabs of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. As of 2005 Palestine was not yet an independent sovereign state, although the Palestinian people hoped to achieve independence from Israel.

The West Bank lies to the west of Jordan. Occupying 5,860 square kilometers (2,263 square miles, slightly larger than the state of Delaware), it is surrounded to the north, west, and south by Israel. Mountains reaching elevations of 3,000 feet run north to south. Their western slopes receive moderate winter rains, whereas their eastern slopes, leading to the Jordan Valley, are arid.

The current population of the West Bank was estimated at 2.4 million in 2004. Most are Palestinian Arabs and Muslims; a small minority (approximately 10%) are Palestinian Christians. Almost 700,000 West Bank Palestinians are refugees from the areas of former Palestine that became Israel in 1948. About one-third of this group lives in nineteen refugee camps administered by the United Nations (UN). Since 1967 a Jewish settler population has grown steadily; in 2004 it numbered some 400,000 people.

The West Bank economy is primarily agricultural, with minimal industry. Remittances from migrant laborers—the vast majority working in adjacent Israel—and from the Palestinian diaspora provide a vital source of income. Since

the 1990s employment within the emergent Palestinian bureaucracy has also sustained many Palestinian families.

The West Bank was formerly part of the Palestine Mandate, administered by Great Britain from 1923 to 1948. During the war following Israel's declaration of independence, the West Bank fell under Jordanian rule. Jordan **annexed** the West Bank and gradually enacted a program of legal unification with the East Bank. The courts and administrative departments were absorbed into their Jordanian counterparts.

Israel conquered the West Bank during the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War. It did not annex the West Bank, but through a military government has issued orders regulating virtually every aspect of life. Israel also has sponsored settlement of Palestinian lands by Israeli settlers. East Jerusalem was annexed and made subject to Israeli domestic law and administration. The UN has officially characterized both the annexation of East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements on the West Bank as illegal.

Parts of the West Bank fell under a so-called Palestinian Authority (PA) that was created in the Oslo Accords, a series of agreements concluded between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993. In 1996 PLO leader Yasser Arafat (1929–2004) was elected president of the PA, and eighty-eight members of a Palestine Legislative Council were also elected.

The PA was not formed as a sovereign state under the Oslo Accords; it lacks full functional and territorial control over the region. In 2002 Israel reinvaded the West Bank, ostensibly to destroy the terrorist movement responsible for numerous deadly attacks on Israelis, but also crippling much of the PA infrastructure. Arafat's authoritarian tendencies and charges of corruption and incompetence within the PA led to reforms in 2002 and 2003. After Arafat's death in November 2004, West Bank and Gazan Palestinians elected Mahmoud Abbas (b. 1935) as president of the Palestinian Authority. Abbas, a principal architect of the Oslo Accords, declared an end to the armed *intifada* (uprising) against Israel, and promoted negotiations toward a final peace. It remains to be seen whether the democratic sovereign state that Palestinians have long sought will emerge.

See also: Gaza Strip; Israel; Palestine.

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(MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC. /THE GALE GROUP)

Women's Rights

The term “women’s rights” emerged in connection with the feminist movement to focus attention on the unequal treatment of women in the public sphere. Women demanded equal civil, political, and economic rights and have fought for the expansion of the human rights framework to claim rights of bodily integrity for women (for example, the right to decide on such issues as abortion).

The notion of individual rights stems from eighteenth-century Western political thought and helped prepare the grounds for the American and French Revolutions. New laws defined the rights of the new citizens according to their gender, race, and class. Only male, white property owners had the right to vote and run for office, and the right to own property largely was limited to white males. Personal law defined women and men as fundamentally different, and men had final decision in matters relating to family and economic maintenance.

Demands for women’s equal rights arose in the nineteenth century as part of a broader struggle to democratize Western societies in parallel with the fight against slavery and the struggle for workers’ rights. By the end of the century, the main preoccupation of this first wave of the women’s movement became the right to vote. In territories colonized by Europeans, women demanded equal rights together with independence from colonial rule. They participated in **nationalist** movements and insisted on the **modernization** of their own societies and rights of full citizenship for women.

In the second half of the twentieth century feminist activism sought to move beyond formal rights of political equality to eliminate pervasive discrimination entrenched in culture and society. Feminists fought for women’s political and economic rights around the world. The United Nations (UN) declared an International Women’s Year in 1975 and a decade for women from 1976 to 1985. It organized three world conferences (Mexico City, 1975; Copenhagen, 1980; Nairobi, 1985) that developed plans and strategies to advance the status of women globally and a follow-up conference in 1995 (Beijing) to assess progress and make concrete commitments. In 1979, the UN adopted a treaty, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which condemns discrimination and commits states to fight discrimination in political and public life, education, employment, and health care. Furthermore, states agreed to accord women equality with men before the law in civil matters, marriage, and family relations.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

The demands of the early feminist movement focused on civil and political rights, particularly on the right to vote and stand for election. In many countries (Australia, Canada, Soviet Union, the Scandinavian states, Germany) women gained **suffrage** rights by the end of World War I (1914–1918), but the biggest surge in voting rights (for both women and men) came with decolonization in the late 1950s. In the early twenty-first century, there remained few countries in which women do not have voting rights. They included Saudi Arabia and countries such as Oman, Qatar, and Brunei, which do not have parliaments and where neither men nor women vote.

Although women formally have equal political rights in most countries, their representation in parliaments and governments is far below their proportion in the population. In the vast majority of countries, women hold less than 20 percent of seats in parliaments (with a global average of 15.2% in 2003) and less than 20 percent of ministerial positions, and female heads of government

nationalism: the belief that one’s nation or culture is superior to all others

modernization: the act of incorporating new ideas or technology

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

are still a rarity. The level of women's participation is increasing slowly. Most of the increase has been in wealthier countries, but wealth is not the main predictor of women's political participation. For example, at least thirteen countries in sub-Saharan Africa, a part of the world with considerable economic problems, have higher rates of women in parliament than France, Japan, and the United States.

The most effective tool for increasing the number of women in politics is the implementation of special measures such as quotas. For example, the elimination of quotas led to a steep drop in women's representation in the parliaments of countries transitioning from communism to some type of democratic representation. In contrast, more than twenty-five countries, among them many Latin American countries, have adopted quotas to increase the proportion of women in their parliaments, and have done so with considerable success. As a result of introducing quotas, both Argentina and Costa Rica now range among the few (otherwise Northern European) countries with more than 30 percent women in parliaments. Voting systems also make a difference: Countries with systems of **proportional representation**, where candidates run on party lists, tend to elect more women than those with **majoritarian** systems (such as the United States), where candidates compete in defined districts and the winner takes all.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Women's rights in civil matters, in particular in marriage and family law, are much more contested than women's political rights. Civil rights include the rights to contract, hold property, to be treated equally in the courts, and to freely choose a residence or domicile. They also include equal rights to enter marriage and freely choose a spouse, the same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution, the same rights in matters relating to children, and the same rights in acquiring, administering, enjoying and disposing of property. In many countries (e.g., India), religious or **customary law** guides these matters and frequently denies women equal rights. Most Islamic countries (e.g. Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sudan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia) govern marriage and family relations through Shari'a, or Islamic law, which operates on the premise that men have guardianship over women and, as a result, sanctions many inequalities. For example, a man may take up to four wives and divorce any of them at will. In contrast, a woman can only be married to one man at a time and can gain a divorce only through a judicial ruling on limited grounds. A wife is required to obey her husband and, if she is judged disobedient, loses her entitlement to maintenance. Her husband can prevent her from taking employment, and if she escapes a violent home, she can be forced to return. Although some Islamic countries have **ratified** the CEDAW treaty, they have entered reservations regarding paragraphs incompatible with Shari'a.

Another significant area of concern is laws on nationality. In some countries, women who marry a foreigner are not able to pass on their nationality, whereas men can. This significantly impacts their mobility and their right to choose where to live. Furthermore, women do not always have the same right as men to pass on nationality to their children. For example, in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Egypt, the law stipulates that children from a marriage between a female national and a foreigner take on the father's nationality. This again curtails the ability of women to freely establish residence with their children.

A final area of concern is property ownership and inheritance. In many countries in Africa in particular, customary law denies women rights with regard

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

majoritarianism: the practice of rule by a majority vote

customary law: a law created by the traditions of a community but never officially declared in force

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction

to communal or clan property. In addition, property acquired by the spouses often belongs to the husband on dissolution of the marriage. In many countries women have no right to inherit or their claims are treated as subordinate to that of male kin. As a result, women rarely own land in societies heavily dominated by agriculture where lack of access to land often is a key cause of poverty.

ECONOMIC RIGHTS

Women's economic rights pertain in particular to their treatment in the labor market. Although poor rural and working-class women always have worked, the idea that women are under the guardianship, or *coverture*, of men has informed laws that have restricted women's right to work. In the early twentieth century, this took the form of "protective legislation." This type of legislation considered all women to be mothers or potential mothers and therefore vulnerable and in need of protection. Laws and international conventions prohibited women from working at night, underground, or with dangerous substances (such as phosphorus) because this was considered harmful to the female body or against public **mores**. Furthermore, women earned less than men for the same work, a practice sanctioned by governments' minimum wage scales and collective bargaining agreements between unions and employers.

Since the 1950s, the principles of equal pay and equal treatment increasingly have come to dominate international instruments and national laws. In 1951 the International Labour Organization passed an equal pay convention, and in 1981 a convention on equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers. For the most part laws limiting women's right to work have been repealed. Although CEDAW has confirmed the rights to equal pay, equal treatment, and maternity protection, these rights are far from being realized.

Women's access to nonagricultural employment is about the same as men's in developed countries, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. But there is a large employment gap in other areas of the world. Women's labor force participation rate is especially low in the Middle East and North Africa (36 women per 100 men) and in South Asia (44 women per 100 men). The wage gap between women and men has been decreasing slowly, but in all countries for which data are available women still earn less than men. In industry and services, this wage gap ranges from 53 to 97 percent. Differentials are especially marked in countries that pursue export-oriented industrialization, those that emphasize traditional complementary gender roles, and those where wages are not determined in centralized collective bargaining.

In part, wage differentials are due to occupational segregation (i.e., women tend to be concentrated in low-level and low-paying occupations). But there also are significant differences within occupations. According to an International Labour Organization review of six diverse occupations (accountant, computer programmer, teacher, construction laborer, nurse, and welder), women typically earn 90 percent of what their male coworkers earn for the same job. In male-dominated occupations, such as welding, the difference is even greater, with women earning 79 percent of men in industrialized economies and 75 percent in developing economies. Moreover, within occupations there is no overall trend toward a narrowing of the wage gap. Of the six occupations the International Labour Organization studied, the wage gap increased particularly steeply in the male-dominated occupation of welding and in the female-dominated occupation of primary education teachers.

mores: the moral values, customs, or traditions in a specific region

Problems of equal treatment often have become visible in the area of social security. In many countries social security systems were built on the presumption of a male breadwinner, giving women fewer social security benefits or benefits that were derived from the rights of their husbands. Although these practices are being remedied, the larger problem is the concentration of women in less secure jobs in the informal sector, in part-time work, and in home-based work. Much of this work entails self-employment and lacks any kind of social security. Since the 1980s, women's proportion of self-employment has increased more rapidly than men's, so that in 2000, 34 percent of women in nonagricultural employment worldwide were self-employed (as opposed to 27 percent of men).

Informal sector work has little job security and provides few benefits, but it allows women the flexibility to take care of unpaid household and caring work. Women around the world take primary responsibility for such unpaid work. Women's rights to equal treatment thus are impaired because of their segregation into atypical forms of employment that allow them to combine income earning with their disproportionate burden of household and caring work.



ADVOCATES FOR PASSAGE OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT MARCH IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON WOMEN'S EQUALITY DAY, AUGUST 16, 1977. In 1923 an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was proposed for the U.S. Constitution that was intended to ensure that no laws could exist that unfairly afford women different rights than men. In 2005 the bill had yet to become part of the Constitution. (SOURCE: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS)

RIGHT TO EDUCATION

CEDAW guarantees women equal rights with men in regards to education. This includes the same access to education, scholarships, curricula and quality programs, and the elimination of stereotyped gender roles in schooling. Women have made considerable gains in the area of education during the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. In 2001, the ratio of female primary enrollment reached a global average of 94 per 100 boys. At the secondary level, in most countries, as many or more girls as boys are enrolled in school. The largest gaps continue to exist in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

Despite a reduced gender gap in enrollments, there is a large number of girls (and boys) without access to primary education. Of 115 million school-age children worldwide who do not attend school, three-fifths are girls. In addition, in many countries, a large number of children drop out of school, and illiteracy continues to be a problem. Globally, more than half of all illiterates are women. As with school enrollment, the largest gender gaps exist in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Poverty, AIDS, warfare, and a strong preference for sons are the main obstacles to realizing women's rights to education in these regions.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS

The slogan that "women's rights are human rights" emerged in the context of the UN Human Rights Conference in 1993 and has catapulted issues of violence against women into the international arena, leading to a declaration of the UN General Assembly on the elimination of violence against women. Whereas international human rights law previously had been interpreted to regulate only conduct in the public sphere (e.g., a state's use of torture), the UN inserted the language of rights into the private sphere. This constituted a victory for feminists in their effort to combat widespread practices of violence against women. These have included domestic violence (murder, rape, and battery), gender-based violence by the police and during armed conflict, violence associated with prostitution and trafficking, sexual harassment, limits on reproductive rights (including forced pregnancy, forced abortion, or forced sterilization), and female genital mutilation.

Domestic violence is widespread around the world. Indeed, 23 to 33 percent of women in different contexts indicate that they have experienced physical abuse from a male partner. In the United States, 23 women per week were murdered by an intimate partner in 1999. In Bangladesh, 50 percent of all murders are of husbands killing their wives. Rape similarly terrorizes women all over the world and is severely underreported. It occurs in homes but also in public contexts where men exert power over women, for example, in the workplace or in jails. Highly stigmatized, there is a tendency to blame the victims.

Reproductive rights is an issue of contention in international forums, entangled in the politics of abortion. They are defined in CEDAW as "the same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights" (UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 1981, Article 16). Women's ability to decide freely about having children is often constrained because they lack negotiating power in their sexual relationships and because of a lack of reproductive health services.

According to the Safe Motherhood Initiative, about one-third of the 200 million pregnancies each year are unwanted. Yet, more than 350 million couples worldwide do not have access to a full range of contraceptive methods and information. The result is a severe curtailment of women's reproductive rights with often fatal consequences. According to the World Health Organization, there are about 20 million unsafe abortions every year leading to 70,000 maternal deaths. In addition, more than 500,000 women die each year from the effects of pregnancy and childbirth, deaths that could be prevented through adequate maternal health care programs.

Female genital mutilation, or female circumcision, entails the cutting and/or removal of women's genitals to ensure their desirability for marriage. Found in parts of Africa and the Middle East, it violates women's basic human right to bodily integrity. Women who have undergone female genital mutilation face severe health problems and lose the ability to enjoy sex. They face life-long problems with infection, are twice as likely to die during childbirth, and more likely to bear stillborn children. Governments have been reluctant to interfere with the practice and have accused critics of misunderstanding local cultures. However, there is significant mobilization against female genital mutilation on the part of feminists in the countries concerned.

Worldwide, women's movements and their organizations struggle to realize equal rights for women. The UN has become an important ally in this struggle, having made gender equality one of its "Millennium Goals." Although governments and the UN can provide legal frameworks and resources, the realization of women's equal rights will require the continued vigilance of activists committed to women's empowerment, wealth, and well-being.

See also: Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; Gender Discrimination; Human Rights; Reproductive Rights; Suffrage; United Nations.

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Elisabeth Prügl



Yeltsin, Boris

FORMER PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA
1931–

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was born on February 1, 1931, and raised in Sverdlovsk (Ekaterinburg) Oblast in the Ural Mountains. Trained as an engineer, Yeltsin rose through local construction and Communist Party posts to become first secretary of his region.

Yeltsin joined the team of young, reform-minded communists under Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931), moving to Moscow in 1985 as first secretary of the Moscow Party Committee and a candidate member of the Politburo. When he clashed with Gorbachev over the pace of reform, Gorbachev fired him in October 1987. But rather than sending him back to Siberia, Gorbachev allowed him to remain in Moscow as first deputy chair of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) Construction Committee.

Yeltsin and Gorbachev became bitter rivals for power. Yeltsin depicted himself as a **populist** who, unlike Gorbachev, wanted to place **sovereignty** with the people, not the Party. He was elected to the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies in 1989, where he was co-chair of the opposition Inter-Regional Group, and resigned from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in July 1990.

Yeltsin built a political base in Russia, the largest of the fifteen Soviet Union Republics. First, he was elected to the Russian Congress of People's Deputies in March 1990 and became chair of the Russian Supreme Soviet in May 1990. Then in June 1991, Yeltsin was popularly elected by popular vote to the new post of Russian president.

Yeltsin's finest hour came in August 1991. When hard-line communists tried to topple Gorbachev, Yeltsin jumped atop a tank and called on Russians to defend democracy. By the time the **coup** collapsed, Yeltsin had eclipsed Gorbachev as the most powerful political figure in the USSR. In December 1991, Yeltsin met with his counterparts from Belarus and Ukraine, and the three leaders declared an official end to the USSR.

populist: someone who advocates policies for the advancement of the common man

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

Yeltsin now began the simultaneous tasks of establishing a new state, a market economy, and a new political system. The parliament, still dominated by communists, repeatedly challenged Yeltsin over their relative powers. Fed up with the dispute, Yeltsin dissolved the Supreme Soviet and eventually seized the building by force. Critics accused Yeltsin of turning from democrat to dictator.

Russia's division of powers was codified in a new constitution approved in December 1993. When parliaments under the new system blocked his policies, Yeltsin cut deals with regional governors and leading businessmen. Often ill or inebriated, Yeltsin frequently allowed a coterie of advisors and relatives to run the country.

Despite dismal approval ratings and a massive heart attack concealed from the public, Yeltsin won re-election in 1996. His campaign was bankrolled by the oligarchs—men who had become millionaires thanks to insider-privatization schemes and needed to protect their interests.

Yeltsin's last years in office were marked by his failing health, a declining economy, rising corruption, and frequent turnover in the office of prime minister. On New Year's Eve 1999, Yeltsin abruptly resigned, six months before his term ended. He retired quietly to his home, largely keeping out of politics and public life.



YELTSIN LEADS AGAINST COUP. On August 22, 1991, a victorious Boris Yeltsin addresses about 100,000 supporters after a failed coup. Having resigned from the Communist Party in 1990, he was integral to the demise of the USSR in December 1991 and birth of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) after becoming Russia's first democratically elected president.

(SOURCE: ANDRE DURAND/AFP/GETTY IMAGES)

See also: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Russia.

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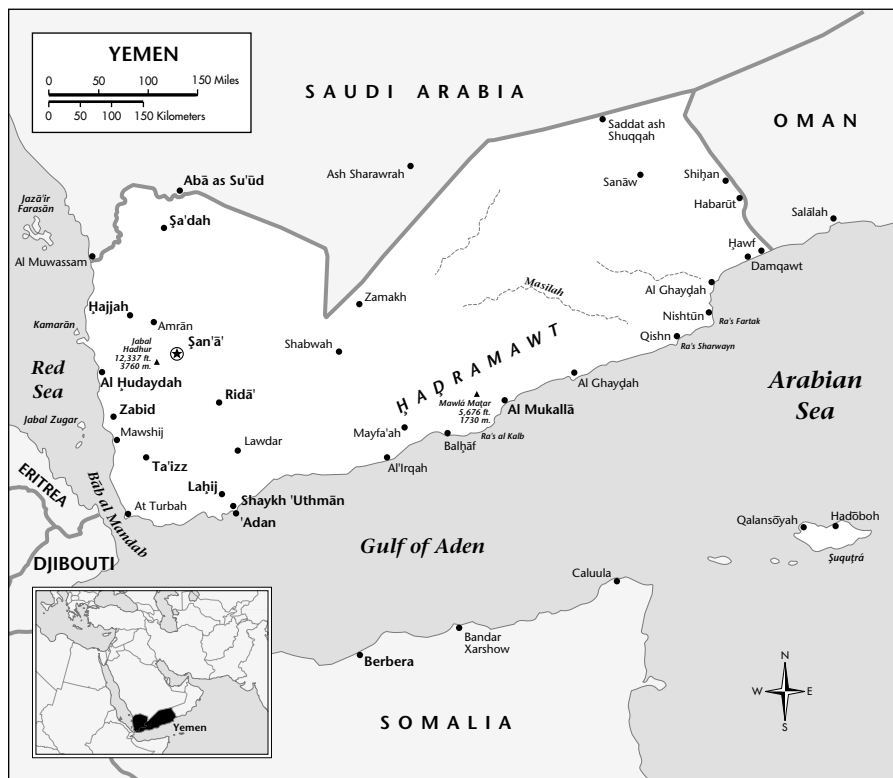
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Ann E. Robertson

Yemen

Located at the end of the Arabian Peninsula, Yemen has an area of approximately 527,970 square kilometers (203,065 square miles). Its population numbers 19,349,881 people; Sanaa is the capital. Yemen is bordered by the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, Saudi Arabia, and Oman. It is mainly composed of deserts and has some mountains. Its climate is hot and dry in the deserts and mild in the mountains.

In 1967 Yemen was divided into two states: the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen). Both countries entered into a civil war that ended with their unification in 1990. After the civil war, two major political players came to the fore and remained key players in 2004: Ali Abdullah Saleh (b. 1942), who served as the president, and Abdullah el Ahmar (b. 1933), who was the speaker of the house.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

In 2004 Yemen was a very poor country with a per capita income of only \$800. Its life expectancy remains low at sixty-five years: sixty and seventy years for men and women, respectively.

The basis of Yemen's government is the constitution that was created in 1991 and amended in 1994 and 2001. A president, prime minister, and **bicameral** parliament head the government. In 2004 the president dominated political life, with his party holding a majority in the lower house. Before the elections of 1997, a **coalition** forged by Saleh and el Ahmar remained the central force in government, especially after the defeat of South Yemen.

Powers are divided between the executive branch and the legislature. The president is elected directly by the people for a term of seven years, during which he appoints the cabinet, prime minister, and other ministers. The legislative branch has been bicameral since 2001. The upper house, *Majlis el Shoura*, is composed of 110 members appointed by the president, whereas the lower house, *Majlis el Nouwwab*, numbers 301 members elected directly by the voters for seven-year terms. The **bureaucracy** is mainly influenced by tribal relations and is directly accountable to the president. The judiciary does not play an important role in the political life of the country. It is still primitive, remaining under the influence of centuries-old tribal values and modern-day political leaders.

Citizens actively participate in the presidential and parliamentary elections; however, most political parties are dependent on tribal loyalties, but some, including Saleh's General People's Congress, do attempt to cut across those lines. Yemen does not have a good record of preserving freedom of speech and human rights. In 2003 Freedom House (a nonprofit organization tracking democracy and freedom around the world) rated Yemen as not free. The U.S. State Department's Human Rights Report the same year noted numerous instances of rights abuse, but did also acknowledge some improvement in Yemen's most recent record compared to that of preceding years.

See also: Bicameral Parliamentary Systems; Gender Discrimination.

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Yugoslavia

See Serbia and Montenegro.

bicameral: comprised of two chambers, usually a legislative body

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government



Zaire

See Congo, Democratic Republic of.

Zambia

Zambia is located in Southern Africa, east of Angola. It is slightly larger than the state of Texas. The population was estimated at 10,462,436 in 2004. Africans comprise almost 99 percent of the population, and Europeans comprise a tiny minority. Between 50 and 75 percent of Zambians are Christian, and 24 to 49 percent are Muslim and Hindu. Dependent on copper exports and a variety of agricultural products, some 85 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. English is the official language, but over 70 indigenous languages are also spoken.

Zambia became a British protectorate through various treaties with African chiefs. Initially divided into administrative territories along chiefdom boundaries, the country was united in 1911 and became known as Northern Rhodesia. By 1960 the British government acknowledged that the days of colonial rule on the continent of Africa were coming to an end, and on October 24, 1964, Northern Rhodesia became the independent state of Zambia.

Kenneth Kaunda (b. 1924), leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), became the first president of the newly independent Zambia in 1964. His 27-year reign realized some successes in its early years; however, Kaunda revised the constitution in 1973 to create a one-party state. Prolonged drought, declining prices for copper, the economy's mainstay, and increasing frustration over governmental corruption fueled opposition to Kaunda's regime in the late 1980s, and his one-party state was abolished in October 1991.

Kaunda was succeeded by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD) Frederick Chiluba (b. 1943). Chiluba's administration abolished foreign exchange controls, passed new investment laws, set up a stock exchange, and

embarked on a privatization program, which at one point was dubbed by the World Bank as the best on the continent. However, a constitution adopted in 1996 solidified the ruling party's power and led to Chiluba's highly contested re-election. Frustrated in reported efforts to change the constitution to allow himself a third term, Chiluba was succeeded by Levy Mwanawasa (b. 1948) in 2002, in another contested election. Mwanawasa launched an extensive anticorruption campaign, which led to the prosecution of former President Chiluba.

Over a dozen political parties maintain a presence in the National Assembly, but after the elections in 2001, it was dominated by the MMD, which held sixty-nine seats, and the UNIP, with forty-nine seats. Kaunda's former party, the UNIP, held thirteen seats. Controversial elections in September 2004 increased the number of seats held by the MMD to seventy-five.

Zambia's legal system is derived from African customary law, English common law, and statutory law. The judicial branch is comprised of a Supreme Court, with justices appointed by the president, and High Courts with limited jurisdiction. There is **judicial review** of legislative acts in an **ad hoc** constitutional council. The judiciary is generally regarded as independent, but "hampered by lack of resources, inefficiency, and reports of possible corruption," according to the State Department's human rights report on Zambia.

Ongoing efforts with privatization and budget reform have not sufficiently spurred economic growth. Zambia continues to work with the International Monetary Fund on programs to reduce its staggering poverty rate.

Citizens' rights and liberties in Zambia have long been subject to challenges and limitations, largely resulting from the dominance of its political system by strong presidents and their supporting political parties.

customary law: a law created by the traditions of a community but never officially declared in force

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

judicial review: the ability of the judicial branch to review and invalidate a law that contradicts the constitution

ad hoc: created for a specific purpose or to address a certain problem



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

Freedom House in 2004 rated Zambia as a “partly free” country. Transparency International’s *Corruption Perception Index* indicated that corruption continues to be a serious perceived political problem.

See also: Zimbabwe.

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Zanzibar

See Tanzania.

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is located in southern Africa. Much of the pie-shaped and landlocked country is high plateau. The Zambezi River forms Zimbabwe’s northern border with Zambia, and the Limpopo River forms the southern border with South Africa. A mountainous region runs along the eastern border with Mozambique. On Zimbabwe’s western border lies Botswana. The land is mostly tropical savannah, although average temperatures are more temperate in areas of high altitude. By land area, Zimbabwe is 386,670 square kilometers (149,250 square miles)—slightly smaller than the state of California.

COUNTRY DESCRIPTION

Zimbabwe has a population of approximately 12.5 million people. Although nineteen languages are spoken in the country, the two major Bantu ethno-linguistic groups are the Shona and the Ndebele. Shonas represent approximately 70 percent of Zimbabwe’s total population. Ndebeles comprise about 15 percent and are located primarily in the southwest of the country. The small but very influential European and Indian groups together form less than 2 percent of the population. English is the official language. About 60 percent of the country’s people live in rural areas, although there is a growing influx of rural residents into the two main urban areas. Harare (formerly Salisbury), the capital, is the largest city with about 1.5 million people. Bulawayo, in the heart of the Ndebele region of Zimbabwe, is the second largest city with about 700,000 people.



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

pandemic: affecting a large segment of the population or a large geographic area

The population growth rate has slowed dramatically, in part due to an extensive family planning program. The fertility rate (the average number of children per woman) dropped from 6.7 children per woman in 1980 to 3.6 by 2004. A second factor causing a rapid slowdown in population growth rates is the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Beginning in the late 1980s, the HIV virus spread very rapidly among Zimbabwe's population. By 2003 an estimated 1.5 million Zimbabweans had died from AIDS.

In 2004 the prevalence of HIV in the adult population (fifteen to forty-nine years old) was estimated at 24.6 percent. Most of those infected will die from the disease. The impact of the disease on life expectancy is already apparent. Life expectancy at birth dropped from fifty-eight years in 1980 to the mid-thirties by 2003, one of the lowest in the world. By 2010 the population growth rate will turn negative, and between 20 and 30 percent of children under fifteen will be orphaned. Population projections through 2020, which include assumptions on the likely future impact of HIV/AIDS, point toward a stable or declining total population.

Zimbabwe is largely Christian—with approximately 72 percent of the population identifying themselves as Christians—and religious beliefs strongly affect the society. The majority of Christians belong to independent or Protestant churches. Roman Catholics comprise 9 percent of the population, and adherents to African traditional religions account for approximately 26 percent. In practice, many believers participate in a mixture of Christian and traditional religious beliefs and practices. Less than 2 percent of the population is Muslim.

Zimbabwe is a poor country. In 2003, its gross domestic product, which measures a country's output of goods and services, was an estimated \$590 per person. This compares to \$34,940 for the United States. Tobacco, gold, and ferro-alloys are its primary exports.

HISTORY

The area now known as Zimbabwe has been the site of human settlement for centuries. The original inhabitants were likely hunting and gathering Khoisan speakers. These groups were displaced by iron-working farmers and cattle-herding Bantu speakers who arrived sometime between c.E. 600 and 1000 as part of a large migratory wave from central and eastern Africa. The Great Zimbabwe ruins of stone structures, built a millennium ago by ancestors of the Shonas, provide evidence for a vast trading region that linked interior Zimbabwe with the Indian Ocean coast of southeastern Africa. In the early 1800s a series of wars in southern Africa, collectively known as the Mfecane, eventually led to the arrival of Ndebele speakers from South Africa in the 1830s.

European **subjugation** of Zimbabwe began in 1888 when British entrepreneur Cecil Rhodes (1852–1902) received a concession for mineral rights from the leaders of various tribes. He then organized the British South Africa Company to exploit these mineral rights. Meanwhile, the British government had declared that Zambezia (present-day Zambia, Malawi, and Zimbabwe) to be within the British “sphere of influence” as per the Berlin Conference (1885) rules that governed the European subjugation of Africa. To solidify British claims, the administrative center of Salisbury was established in 1890. The territory was officially named Rhodesia in 1895, and white settlement began in the colony, particularly in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

In 1923 the British government took formal control of the southern portion of Rhodesia from the British South Africa Company. The largely English-speaking settlers subsequently rejected an offer of incorporation into the independent but white-ruled Union of South Africa in favor of inclusion in the British Empire. For the next fifty-seven years Rhodesia was a self-governing colony that received a growing number of British settlers eager to profit from the mineral resources and fertile agricultural land. The allocation of land to these settlers, while creating a vibrant and productive agricultural sector, also led to growing frustration among black Rhodesians who had been dispossessed of property and disenfranchised politically.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the major colonial powers of Britain, France, and Belgium, exhausted by World War II (1939–1945) and in response to growing demands for independence by Africans, ended their rule over the continent. In 1953 the British government created the Central African Federation—composed of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland—to create a more efficient and productive region. Although it was economically successful, the political strains of the decolonization movement doomed the federation after ten years. Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi (Nyasaland) became independent black-ruled states in 1964.

British settlers in Rhodesia, however, vigorously resisted the move toward black rule. In 1964, a growing movement toward independence from the United Kingdom as a white-led state resulted in the accession to power of Ian Smith (b. 1919) as prime minister. The next year he led his Rhodesian Front Party to easy victory on a pro-independence **platform**. For its part, the British government refused to grant full independence to Rhodesia unless there were guarantees that the political system would include black Rhodesians. But negotiations between the British and Rhodesian governments failed on this point, and in 1965 Rhodesia declared itself formally independent from the United Kingdom.

INDEPENDENCE

Although the British government refused to accept the Universal Declaration of Independence, it did not mount any military action to quell the Rhodesian rebellion. Instead it sought to pressure Rhodesia through **sanctions**

subjugate: to force into submission

platform: a statement of principles or legislative goals made by a political party

sanction: economic, political, or military reprisals, or, to ratify

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

guerrilla: a soldier engaged in nontraditional methods of warfare, often separate from any structured military group

autocracy: a political system in which one individual has absolute power

apartheid: an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

and diplomatic isolation. The United Nations also refused to recognize the government and imposed increasingly punitive sanctions. Despite international opposition, Rhodesia actually prospered economically, diversifying its productive commercial agricultural economy through the development of vibrant manufacturing and financial sectors. Trade with its major trading partners of South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique allowed Rhodesia to mitigate much of the economic pain of sanctions.

The continued failure of white Rhodesians to negotiate with black Zimbabwean **nationalism** led to the growing radicalization of blacks. Two main nationalist movements, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), united in a Patriotic Front. Using bases in adjacent Zambia and Mozambique, the Front began well-organized and effective **guerrilla** attacks against Rhodesia in the 1970s. Britain skillfully took advantage of the conflict's military, economic, and political costs to force the parties to the negotiating table. In 1979 the Lancaster House agreement paved the way for black rule in a democratic Rhodesia (soon renamed Zimbabwe).

Elections in 1980 led to the victory of Robert Mugabe (b. 1924) as prime minister. His party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), drawing on Shona support, won an overwhelming majority of parliamentary seats. His former ZAPU ally, Joshua Nkomo (1918–1999), whose base of support was Ndebele, was defeated. Mugabe promised national reconciliation, reconstruction, and redevelopment. Within a few years, however, Mugabe's policies became increasingly oriented toward consolidating his economic and political control over Zimbabwe.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Up to 1994, international opposition against Mugabe's increasingly **autocratic** and destructive rule was muted by the need to show international solidarity against **apartheid** in South Africa. After the subsequent **democratization** of both South Africa and Mozambique, the contrast sharpened between Zimbabwe and its now democratic neighbors. Further fueling the strength of the domestic and international political opposition to Mugabe's rule was the deteriorating Zimbabwean economy. The decline had become readily apparent by the late 1980s and was especially striking in that at independence Zimbabwe possessed one of the most highly developed economies in Africa. The war for independence, however, nearly bankrupted the country, and a fall in international commodity prices and lower agriculture output due to drought restricted economic growth and development.

Although these factors were beyond the control of the government, its policies worsened the economy. To boost economic short-term growth rates and reward supporters, the Mugabe-led government borrowed heavily. Using credit allowed government spending to soar, even as private investment shriveled. Worsening the investment climate, Mugabe used import and export licensing systems to reward political supporters, create a wealthy black class, and provide money for government education and health programs. These policies hurt the overall economy due to corruption and the difficulty in obtaining critical imported items needed for production.

The government also purchased companies not already state-owned. The board members of these government corporations were political supporters of the government but lacked managerial expertise. Companies failed and had to be rescued by the government or sold at a loss. This further strained the government's budget as revenue fell and expenses increased. The government



ZIMBABWEAN PRESIDENT ROBERT MUGABE (LEFT) WITH UGANDA PRESIDENT YOWERI MUSEVENI IN OCTOBER 2004. A prominent figure in the black nationalist movement during the 1970s, Mugabe has maintained control as prime minister, executive president, and president of Zimbabwe since the country's independence in 1980. (SOURCE: © HOWARD BURDITT/REUTERS/CORBIS)

borrowed additional money to meet budget needs, and interest rates jumped due to government demand for money. This, in turn, increased the cost of borrowing to private firms, and businesses failed or stagnated. Unemployment grew, and government tax revenue fell as consumers purchased less and paid fewer taxes. A vicious cycle had been created.

By 1990 the Zimbabwean government was in economic crisis. Zimbabwe gained a short economic respite due to the winding down of conflicts in Mozambique and South Africa, which boosted trade. Further easing the crisis, the government obtained badly needed credit from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These organizations attached strings to the loans, demanding Zimbabwe liberalize its economy by reducing **subsidies** to state-owned companies, abolishing import and export licensing requirements, and devaluing its currency. Zimbabwe never fully implemented these reforms. Thus, the country gained few of the long-term advantages of reform but instead experienced the short-term costs of higher inflation, unemployment, and a reduction in social services for the poor.

subsidy: a government grant used to encourage some action

POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND PUBLIC RESPONSE

In this environment corruption flourishes, despite the occasional high profile case brought to court. Effective means of ensuring accountability of public funds are lacking. Property rights are not enforced. As a result, Zimbabwe is ranked near the bottom of the list on an international index of state corruption and another on economic freedom.

By 1997 the cumulative impact of economic mismanagement and lack of access to foreign credit finally caught up with Zimbabwe. High and growing unemployment, accelerating inflation, a lack of foreign exchange to purchase imports such as fuel, and increasing labor strikes led to rioting in the streets. Mugabe's dispatching of 11,000 troops to war-torn Congo led to enormous strains on government finances. The land seizures of white-owned farms led to major disruptions in the tobacco market, which is a major source of badly needed foreign exchange. The seizures also affected production of corn, which is the major food staple for the population.

Thus, by 2005 the Mugabe government was bankrupt and lacked the ability to borrow money, the economy was contracting severely, living standards were falling precipitously, inflation rates were soaring, the educational and medical services were in crisis, food shortages were commonly reported, the infrastructure needed maintenance, and many of the most educated and skilled had migrated to South Africa or the United Kingdom in favor of better opportunities.

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

Politically, the Republic of Zimbabwe is governed by a constitution based on the 1979 Lancaster House agreement that has been amended several times since its adoption. The form of government is a parliamentary democracy. The executive president is both head of government and head of state, elected by popular majority vote to a six-year term, and appoints the cabinet. Mugabe of the ZANU-PF has led Zimbabwe since its independence.

Within the bureaucracy, senior level positions are appointed by the elected government. These positions include the civil service, military, and police. The president also appoints the governors for Zimbabwe's ten provinces.

The legislative branch is a unicameral House of Assembly with 150 seats. Most of these seats (120) are filled through election to five-year terms. Twenty seats are appointed by the president, and ten seats are filled by traditional chiefs chosen by their peers. As of early 2005, ZANU-PF held a slight majority over the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in parliament. Thus, Mugabe retained control over the legislative branch.

The High Court is technically independent of the executive. In practice the courts are increasingly politicized but nevertheless still retain some independence from the executive. But the government explicitly reserves the right to defy a court decision with which it disagrees. As seen in the seizure of commercial farm land, the **rule of law** continues to disintegrate in the country. Although the seizure was justified legally on the grounds of righting colonial era injustices by allocating land to disenfranchised Zimbabweans, investigations show that the president's political supporters, not rural farmers, obtained many of these farms.

Since independence Zimbabwe has had regular elections, but beginning with the 2000 parliamentary elections the newly formed opposition MDC—led by former trade unionist Morgan Tsvangirai (b. 1952)—has posed an increasing political threat to Mugabe. As a result of widespread allegations of election

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

fraud, voter intimidation, violence, and human right abuses in the 2002 presidential elections when Mugabe was declared winner over Tsvangirai, the European Union, the British-led Commonwealth, United Kingdom, and United States imposed limited sanctions on Zimbabwe. The government continues to impede the ability of the MDC to defeat Mugabe, in part through periodically charging Tsvangirai with treason and imprisoning him.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND PROTECTIONS

Although Zimbabwe's constitution in theory protects citizens' basic human rights, the government engages in intimidation, beatings, detention, and torture of opposition supporters, whom it calls "terrorists." The state generally protects the rights of religious believers, but the government monitors and selectively intervenes against religious groups it believes are supporting the opposition. The government also uses newly enacted restrictive legislation to suppress civil society organizations. For example, the *Daily News*, Zimbabwe's last independent, privately owned newspaper, was closed. Constitutional guarantees over freedom of association are partly respected. The government has notably not shut down trade unions, many of which support the opposition.

Thus, in 2005 eighty-one-year-old President Mugabe presided over a country with deep political fissures, a collapsing economy, international condemnation and isolation for political repression and human rights abuses, and a severe HIV/AIDS pandemic. The eventual departure of Mugabe poses major challenges for future leaders rebuilding the Zimbabwean state.

See also: Censorship; Congo, Democratic Republic of; Equatorial Guinea.

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Robert B. Lloyd

APPENDICES



**PRIMARY SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

FILMOGRAPHY

GLOSSARY

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Convention on the Rights of the Child

Source: United Nations Publications, 1989. The United Nations is the author of the original material. Available from <<http://www.ohchr.org>>. Reproduced by permission.

Introduction: The first international law to combine civil, political, economic, and cultural rights into one document, the Convention was adopted by the United Nations in 1989. It acknowledges that, separately from their parents, children have certain basic rights. The most widely ratified international document in the world, the Convention—partially reproduced below—sets forth standards for social services, health care, and education for children in all member nations.

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International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

Source: United Nations Publications, December 21, 1965. The United Nations is the author of the original material. Available from <<http://www.ohchr.org>>. Reproduced by permission.

Introduction: Considered the only international legal document to directly address racial discrimination, the Convention reproduced in part here offers protections for groups that have historically been persecuted within member nations. It offers a wide-reaching definition of racial discrimination, although many nations, even those who have ratified the Convention, dispute certain applications of that definition.

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Population Registration Act, no. 30

Introduction: Voted into South African law in 1950, the Population Registration Act, no. 30 was not repealed until 1991. All South African citizens were required to register according to racial characteristics; this classification then helped in the enforcement of other laws prohibiting mixed-race activities. The extracts reproduced here showcase the strictly apartheid nature of life in South Africa throughout much of the twentieth century.

THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT, NO. 30, OF 1950

2. There shall, as soon as practicable after the fixed date, be compiled by the Director and thereafter maintained by him, a register of the population of the Union. . . .

5. (1) Every person whose name is included in the register shall be classified by the Director as a white person, a coloured person or a native, as the case may be, and every coloured person and every native whose name is so included shall be classified by the Director according to the ethnic or other group to which he belongs.

(2) The Governor-General may by proclamation in the Gazette prescribe and define the ethnic or other groups into which coloured person and natives shall be classified in terms of sub-section (1), and may in like manner amend or withdraw any such proclamation.

(3) If at any time it appears to the Director that the classification of a person in terms of sub-section (1) is incorrect, he may, subject to the provisions of sub-section (7) of section *eleven* and after giving notice to that person, and, if he is a minor, also to his guardian, specifying in which respect the classification is incorrect, and affording such person and such guardian (if any) an opportunity of being heard, alter the classification of that person in the register.

6. The Director shall assign an identity number to every person whose name is included in the register.

7. (1) There shall, in respect of every person whose name is included in the register, other than a native, be included in the register the following particulars and no other particulars whatsoever namely:

- (a) his full name, sex and ordinary place of residence;
- (b) his classification in terms of section *five*;
- (c) the date and place of his birth;
- (d) his citizenship or nationality, and in the case of an alien, an indication of the fact that he is an alien;
- (e) his marital status;
- (f) in the case of a registered voter, the electoral division and polling district in which he is registered as a voter under the Electoral Consolidation Act, 1946 (Act No. 46 of 1946);

- (g) the date of his arrival in the Union, if not born in a part of South Africa included in the Union;
 - (h) a recent photograph of himself, except in the case of a person who has not yet attained the age of sixteen years, or who has been admitted to the Union for a temporary purpose; and
 - (i) his identity number.
- (2) There shall in respect of every native whose name is included in the register, be included in the register the following particulars and no other particulars whatsoever, namely:
- (a) his full name, sex and the district in which he is ordinarily resident;
 - (b) his citizenship or nationality, the ethnic or other group and the tribe to which he belongs;
 - (c) the date, or if the date is not known, the year or reputed year, and the place, or if the place is not known, the district of his birth;
 - (d) his marital status;
 - (e) the year of his arrival in the Union, if not born in a part of South Africa included in the Union;
 - (f) a recent photograph of himself in the case of a native who has not yet attained the age of sixteen years, and, in the case of a native who is not a South African citizen, his fingerprints; and
 - (g) his identity number.
- (3) Upon the death or permanent departure from the Union of a person whose name is included in the register, the date of his death or departure from the Union, as the case may be, shall be recorded in the register.
-

Preamble to the United Nations Charter

Source: United Nations Publications, June 26, 1945. The United Nations is the author of the original material. Available from <<http://www.ohchr.org>>. Reproduced by permission.

Introduction: The primary purpose of the United Nations is to maintain or restore international peace and security. Additional values championed by the UN include justice, law, and economic and social wellbeing. To aid in the dispersion of these ideas, the UN has become a major source of international law since its inception in 1945. The UN Charter, including the Preamble here, outlines the major goals of the institution.

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Source: United Nations Publications, December 10, 1948. The United Nations is the author of the original material. Available from <<http://www.ohchr.org>>. Reproduced by permission.

Introduction: The Declaration, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948, enumerates a list of rights applicable to all people regardless of race, gender, or religion, in a broad range of categories, including political, civil, economic, and social rights. The creation of such a document was especially significant in that it represented a shift in international law from an almost complete focus on the relationship between states to the relationship between states and their citizens.

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Voting Rights Amendments to the Constitution of the United States

Introduction: Over the course of more than one hundred years, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-Fourth, and Twenty-Sixth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States slowly expanded the right to vote to all citizens at least eighteen years of age, regardless of race, gender, or other discriminating factors.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT (1868)

Note: Article I, Section 2, of the U.S. Constitution was modified by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the

Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT (1870)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

NINETEENTH AMENDMENT (1920)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

TWENTY-FOURTH AMENDMENT (1964)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

TWENTY-SIXTH AMENDMENT (1971)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

FILMOGRAPHY

Afghanistan

Afghan Stories (2002)

d. Taran Davies

Afghan-American filmmaker Davies and producer Walied Osman traveled to the Afghanistan front line during the U.S. invasion in order to chronicle the lives of ordinary Afghans who have lived in a state of war for more than twenty years but who continue to have hope for the future.

Osama (2003)

d. Siddiq Barmak

Depicts the Taliban's oppression of women by showing a young girl who must pose as a boy to support her family and who is later forced into a local religious/military training camp where she struggles to hide her true identity. Dari with subtitles.

Albania

Albanian Journey: End of an Era (1991)

d. Paul Jay

Examines the rise and fall of socialism from Albania's 1944 establishment as a communist republic by Enver Hoxha to its emergence after Hoxha's death in 1985. Albanian with subtitles.

Algeria

The Battle of Algiers (1966)

d. Gillo Pontecorvo

Depicts the uprisings against French colonial rule in 1954 Algeria. English, French, and Arabic with subtitles.

1968 Academy Award: Best Director, Best Story and Screenplay

The Conspiracy (1973)

d. René Gainville

When Charles de Gaulle announces his intention to abandon Algeria, several French army officers stage a coup. French with subtitles.

Rachida (2002)

d. Yamina Bachir-Chouikh

A teacher at an elementary school becomes the target of terrorists when she refuses to help them during Algeria's civil conflict of the 1990s. Arabic and French with subtitles.

Apartheid

Bopha! (1993)

d. Morgan Freeman

A township police officer and his activist son clash as both township unrest and the freedom movement grow. Title is a Zulu word for arrest or detention.

Whether documentary, docudrama, or fictional narrative, film often exposes to the light what some would prefer remained hidden in darkness. The films selected for this filmography examine governments, political parties, historical tragedies, and the fight for freedom that is universal to the human spirit.

A Dry White Season (1989)

d. Eyzhan Palcy

A white Afrikaner must confront the apartheid system when his black gardener is persecuted and murdered.

Argentina

Evita (1996)

d. Alan Parker

Andrew Lloyd Webber/Tim Rice rock opera about the life and death of Eva Perón, who went from poverty to the wife of dictator Juan Perón and a would-be champion of the people.

Funny Dirty Little War (1983)

d. Hector Olivera

Rightist Peronists plot to oust the leftist mayor of their town, but he refuses to budge. Spanish with subtitles.

Spoils of War (2000)

d. David Blaustein

Blaustein spent three years interviewing the “Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo” who gathered to discover the fate of their missing family members during Argentina’s dirty war of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Spanish with subtitles.

Armenia

Ararat (2002)

d. Atom Egoyan

Modern-day Armenian Canadians struggle to deal with the legacy of the 1915 genocide of Armenians by the Turks.

The Yearning (1990)

d. Frunze Dovaltyan

Arakel Aloyan, a survivor of the 1915 genocide, has built a new life with his family in Soviet Armenia, but he longs to visit his home village, now a part of Turkey. However, the Soviet government views his journey as treasonous. Armenian with subtitles.

Australia

Dead Heart (1996)

d. Nick Parsons

A 1930s culture clash occurs in the out-back community of Wala-Wala between the aboriginals, who regard the area as sacred, and the white townspeople.

Gallipoli (1981)

d. Peter Weir

Follows the fortunes of two young Australian soldiers and their confrontation with the German-allied Turks in World War I.

Rabbit-Proof Fence (2002)

d. Philip Noyce

In 1930s Australia, racist government policies force three mixed-raced Aboriginal girls from their families and into an institution designed to train them as domestic workers. They escape and begin a 1,500 mile journey back to their home.

Austria

The Inheritors (1982)

d. Walter Bannert

A misfit teenager is drawn into a neo-Nazi youth group as Austria experiences a resurgence in fascist activity. German with subtitles.

Biko, Stephen

Cry Freedom (1987)

d. Richard Attenborough

South African journalist Donald Woods struggles to get to the truth behind the suspicious death of his friend, black activist Stephen Biko, who died while in police custody.

1987 Academy Award Nominee: Best Supporting Actor, Best Music, Best Song

Bosnia and Herzegovina

A Cry From the Grave (1999)

d. Leslie Woodhead

Depicts the 1995 massacre of more than 7,000 Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica, Bosnia, which was carried out by Serbian troops.

No Man’s Land (2001)

d. Danis Tanovic

In 1993 Bosnia, a Croatian and a Serbian soldier wind up sharing the same trench behind enemy lines that is booby-trapped by a land mine. Bosnian with subtitles.

Welcome to Sarajevo (1997)

d. Michael Winterbottom

A group of journalists find themselves caught in the 1992 siege of the city and become disillusioned when the conflict is largely ignored by the rest of the world.

Brazil

The Burning Season (1994)

d. John Frankenheimer

Chico Mendes, a socialist union leader, fights to protect the homes and land of Brazilian peasants in the western Amazon rain forest.

Four Days in September (1997)

d. Bruno Barreto

In 1969 a group of young Brazilian idealists kidnap the American ambassador in order to draw attention to their country’s military dictatorship.

1997 Academy Award Nominee: Best Foreign Language Film

The Mission (1986)

d. Roland Joffe

Eighteenth-century Jesuits in Brazil struggle against the slave trade legalized by the country’s Portuguese rulers.

1987 Academy Award: Best Cinematography

Burkina Faso

Haramuya (1995)

d. Drissa Toure

A family is caught between modern life and their traditions while living in Ouagadougou. French with subtitles.

Cambodia

The Killing Fields (1984)

d. Roland Joffe

New York Times reporter Sydney Schanberg tries to rescue his Cambodian interpreter Dith Pran when Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge begin their cleansing campaign.

1985 Academy Award: Best Supporting Actor, Best Cinematography, Best Film Editing

S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine (2003)

d. Rithy Panh

Looks at the period between 1975 and 1979 when almost two million Cambodians lost their lives to murder and famine at the hands of the Khmer Rouge; focuses primarily on the S21 detention center. Khmer with subtitles.

Canada

Black Robe (1991)

d. Bruce Beresford

In 1634 a French Jesuit priest is sent across the Canadian wilderness to bring the word of God to the Hurons, but instead he is seduced by their native culture.

Censorship

Control Room (2004)

d. Jehane Noujaim

Examines the inner workings of Al Jazeera, the Arab television network, as the network reports on the 2003 U.S. war with Iraq.

Chad

Daresalam (2000)

d. Issa Serge Coelo

Dijmi and Kkoni find their friendship strained when political turmoil causes them to join rival factions of a revolutionary movement. Arabic and French with subtitles.

Chile

Missing (1982)

d. Constantin Costa-Gavras

After a young American writer disappears in Chile during the Pinochet coup,

his father tries to discover what has happened.

1983 Academy Award: Best Adapted Screenplay

The Pinochet Case (2001)

d. Patricio Guzmán

Investigates the legal origins of the case against Chilean dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet, who was arrested in 1998 for crimes against humanity while on a trip to London.

China (PRC)

The Blue Kite (1993)

d. Tian Zhuangzhuang

During the cultural revolution, Teitou and his friends and family experience political and social upheavals. Mandarin with subtitles.

Tibet: Cry of the Snow Lion (2003)

d. Tom Piolet

Examines the struggle between Buddhist Tibet and Communist China and the contrast between the monasteries and ancient ceremonies and the graphic accounts of Chinese repression. Alternate title: *Tibet: Cry of the Snow Leopard*.

To Live (1994)

d. Yimou Zhang

Follows the life of one Chinese family from the 1940s through the cultural revolution of the 1960s. Mandarin with subtitles.

Civil Rights Movement in the United States

Boycott (2001)

d. Clark Johnson

Recreates the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott by the city's black population during 1955 and 1956.

Malcolm X (1992)

d. Spike Lee

Biography of the black activist who became a leader in the Nation of Islam and who was assassinated in 1964.

Rosewood (1997)

d. John Singleton

Based on the true story of a prosperous African-American town in Florida that was destroyed by a white mob in 1923.

Colombia

Welcome to Colombia (2003)

d. Catalina Villar

The filmmaker travels across the country during Colombia's 2002 presidential election to examine the consequences of the decades-long civil war.

Colonies and Colonialism

Indochine (1992)

d. Regis Wargnier

Follows twenty-five years in the life of a French colonist, born and raised in Indochina, from 1930 to the communist revolution. French with subtitles.

1992 Academy Award: Best Foreign Language Film

Zulu Dawn (1979)

d. Douglas Hickox

Increasing tension between the British colonial government and the Zulus lead to an epic battle at Ulandi in 1878. (The battle itself is depicted in the 1964 film *Zulu*).

Congo, Democratic Republic of (Zaire)

Lumumba (2000)

d. Raoul Peck

Biography of Patrice Lumumba, the first elected prime minister of the Congo, who was assassinated only months after the country gained its independence from Belgium.

Mobutu: King of Zaire (1999)

d. Thierry Michel

Rise and fall of Joseph Mobutu, ruler of Zaire for over thirty years until his overthrow in 1997.

Constitutional Monarchy

The Windsors: A Royal Family (2002)

d. Annie Fienburgh

Traces the British royal family from 1917—when King George V renamed his family the “House of Windsor” during World War I to distance himself from his German ancestors—to the death of Princess Diana in 1997.

Croatia

Vukovar (1994)

d. Boro Draskovic

Vukovar is a Croat town just across the Danube from Serbia, where ethnic groups coexist peacefully until nationalist demonstrations begin and the town comes under siege. Serbo-Croatian with subtitles.

Cuba

Balseros (2003)

d. Carlos Bosch and Joseph M. Domenech
Follows the plight of seven Cuban refugees who risk their lives to flee by raft to America, their detention at the Guantanamo naval base, and their first years in America.

2003 Academy Award Nominee: Best Feature Documentary

Before Night Falls (2000)

d. Julian Schnabel

Writer Reinaldo Arenas is imprisoned and tortured by the Cuban government but is eventually allowed to become a part of the 1980 Mariel boatlift to the United States.

Fidel: The Untold Story (2002)

d. Estela Bravo

Footage from Cuban State archives and interviews with historians, public figures, friends, and Castro himself provide insight into Castro’s public and private lives.

Czech Republic

Divided We Fall (2000)

d. Jan Hrebek

In German-occupied Czechoslovakia, a young couple goes to extreme measures to provide shelter to a Jewish neighbor. Czech with subtitles.

Dalai Lama

Ethics and the World Crisis: A Dialogue with the Dalai Lama (2003)

d. Steven Lawrence

The Dalai Lama attends a Town Hall meeting in New York City and discusses ethical dilemmas with various journalists, politicians, economists, and environmentalists.

Kundun (1997)

d. Martin Scorsese

Portrait of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama from 1937 through 1959, when he was forced to flee Chinese-occupied Tibet for exile in India.

El Salvador

Romero (1989)

d. John Duigan

Biography of Oscar Romero, the archbishop of San Salvador, who was assassinated in 1980 for his outspoken opposition to the Salvadoran death squads.

Roses in December (1982)

d. Ana Carrigan and Bernard Stone

Examines the life and death of lay missionary Jean Donovan, who worked with the Maryknolls in El Salvador. In 1980 Donovan and three American nuns were murdered by El Salvador’s national security forces.

Elections

Secret Ballot (2001)

d. Babak Payami

A female polling official travels through remote Iranian villages collecting votes on election day, accompanied by a surly military border guard. Farsi with subtitles.

A Very British Coup (1988)

d. Mick Jackson

A former steelworker and left-wing radical is elected as Britain’s prime minister, but his policies threaten the status quo.

The War Room (1993)

d. Chris Hegedus and D. A. Pennebaker

Behind-the-scenes look at Bill Clinton’s presidential campaign from June 1992 to election night.

Ethiopia

Harvest: 3,000 Years (1976)

d. Haile Gerima

A peasant family struggles to survive under the demands of an uncaring landowner—the legacy of a colonialist past. Amharic with subtitles.

Imperfect Journey (1994)

d. Haile Gerima

The filmmaker journeys from his hometown to the capital city of Addis Ababa after the country’s Soviet-backed junta has fallen.

France

Heart of a Nation (1943)

d. Julien Duvier

Saga of a Montmartre family through three wars—from the Franco-Prussian War through the Nazi occupation. French with subtitles.

Is Paris Burning? (1966)

d. René Clément

An account of the liberation of Paris from Nazi occupation. French with subtitles.

The Sorrow and the Pity (1969)

d. Marcel Ophuls

Ophuls mixes archival footage with interviews depicting France’s Vichy government collaboration with Nazi Germany from 1940 to 1944. English, French, and German with subtitles.

Gandhi, Mahatma

Gandhi (1982)

d. Richard Attenborough

Biography of Gandhi, from the prejudice he encountered as a young attorney in South Africa to his role as a spiritual leader and his use of passive resistance against British colonial rule in India.

1982 Academy Award: Best Picture, Best Director, Best Actor, Best Original Screenplay, Best Cinematography, Best Film Editing, Best Art/Set Decoration, Best Costume Design, Best Sound

Gaza Strip

Gaza Strip (2002)

d. James Longley

A look at the realities of Palestinian life following the election of Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon. Arabic with subtitles.

Genocide

Genocide (1981)

d. Arnold Schwartzman

Features period film and photographs concerning Adolf Hitler's "final solution."

1982 Academy Award: Best Feature Documentary

The Genocide Factor (2000)

Robert J. Emery

Historical coverage of genocide beginning with the Bible and continuing through the twentieth century in Cambodia and East Timor.

Germany

Good Bye, Lenin! (2003)

d. Wolfgang Becker

Set during the political turmoil of 1989; a young man keeps the fact that the Berlin Wall has fallen from his socialist East German mother who is recovering from a heart attack and a coma.

Heimat (1984)

d. Edgar Reitz

A sixteen-hour made-for-television drama following the fortunes of one German

family from 1919 to 1982 as a microcosm of twentieth-century history. German with subtitles.

The Nasty Girl (1990)

d. Michael Verhoeven

A young German girl plans to enter an essay contest by writing about her hometown's history during the Third Reich and finds herself harassed by members of her community who do not want the truth revealed. German with subtitles.

Greece

Z (1969)

d. Constantin Costa-Gavras

In this political thriller a magistrate investigates the assassination of a Greek nationalist and ties it to a secret organization supported by the government and the police. French with subtitles.

1969 Academy Award: Best Foreign Language Film, Best Film Editing

Guatemala

The Devil's Dream (1991)

d. Mary-Ellen Davis

Shows the socio-political realities when the majority of the population are illiterate agricultural workers exploited by landowners and repressed by the military. Spanish with subtitles.

El Norte (1983)

d. Gregory Nava

Persecuted in their homeland, a Guatemalan brother and sister struggle to journey north to America and safety. English and Spanish with subtitles.

The Silence of Neto (1994)

d. Luis Argueta

A young boy comes of age in 1950s Guatemala—a period of political upheaval and Cold War paranoia. Spanish with subtitles.

Hitler, Adolf

The Architecture of Doom (1991)

d. Peter Cohen

Captures the inner workings of the Third Reich from Nazi Party rallies to the last days inside Hitler's bunker.

Downfall (2004)

d. Oliver Hirschbiegel

Dramatization of Hitler's final days in his Berlin bunker. German with subtitles.

2004 Academy Award Nominee: Best Foreign Language Film

The Life of Adolf Hitler (1961)

d. Paul Rotha

Archival footage depicts the rise of the Nazi Party to Hitler's Berlin retreat.

Hungary

Angi Vera (1978)

d. Pal Gabor

A teenager living in 1948 Hungary is sent to a socialist reeducation school. Hungarian with subtitles.

Sunshine (1999)

d. Istvan Szabo

Four generations of a Hungarian-Jewish family struggle to prosper while seeking to avoid the anti-Semitism pervading their society, but they can neither avoid the Nazis nor the Hungary Revolution of 1956.

Immigration and Immigrants

Dirty Pretty Things (2002)

d. Stephen Frears

Depicts the plight of illegal immigrants to Great Britain and the exploitation they face because of their status.

In America (2002)

d. Jim Sheridan

An Irish family sneaks into America from Canada and tries to make a better life for themselves despite poverty and their illegal status.

Journey of Hope (1990)

d. Xavier Koller

A Kurdish family tries to immigrate legally to Switzerland but instead is forced to try to cross the Alps on foot. Turkish with subtitles.

1990 Academy Award: Best Foreign Language Film

India

Bandit Queen (1994)

d. Shekhar Kapur

Lower-caste Phoolan Devi is sold into marriage and brutalized by her husband. She eventually escapes and joins with a group of hill bandits, helping them to rob and kidnap the rich and higher castes. Hindi with subtitles.

The Jewel in the Crown (1984)

d. Christopher Morahan and Jim O'Brien

Epic made-for-television saga of the last years of British colonial rule in India from 1942 to 1947.

Indonesia

The Year of Living Dangerously (1982)

d. Peter Weir

In 1965 a naïve Australian journalist is assigned to cover the political situation in Indonesia amidst rioting in Jakarta following a coup against President Sukarno.

Iran

Blackboards (2000)

d. Samira Makhmalbaf

A group of nomadic teachers travels the mountainous Kurdistan region of Iran, searching for students while trying to avoid land mines and Iraqi soldiers. Kurdish with subtitles.

Iraq

Dreams of Sparrows (2005)

d. Hayder Mousa Daffar

Daffar leads a team of six filmmakers through pre-reconstruction Baghdad and examines both the gratitude expressed for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and the despair over the post-war situation. English and Arabic with subtitles.

Gunner Palace (2005)

d. Michael Tucker

Soldiers in a U.S. artillery company, stationed in one of Saddam Hussein's personal palaces, speak about their experiences in Iraq.

Ireland

Michael Collins (1996)

d. Neil Jordan

A revolutionary leader with the Irish Volunteers (a precursor to the Irish Republican Army), Collins is dedicated to freeing Ireland from British rule, though his part in negotiating the Anglo-Irish Treaty will divide the country in two.

Israel

Cup Final (1991)

d. Eran Riklis

An Israeli soldier being held by Palestine Liberation Organization guerrillas forms a relationship with the group's leader based on their mutual obsession with the Italian national soccer team. Hebrew with subtitles.

On the Objection Front (2004)

d. Shiri Tsur

In 2002 a group of reserve officers and soldiers in the Israel Defense Forces issues a public statement that they refuse to fight beyond the country's 1967 borders and will not help perpetuate Israel's control over the Palestinians regardless of the consequences. Hebrew with subtitles.

Italy

Amarcord (1974)

d. Federico Fellini

Fascism, family life, and religion in 1930s Italy all come together in the town of Rimini (director Fellini's birthplace). Italian with subtitles.

1974 Academy Award: Best Foreign Language Film

The Garden of the Finzi-Continis (1970)

d. Vittorio De Sica

An aristocratic Jewish family lives under increasing Fascist oppression on the eve of World War II but tries to ignore the uncertainty of their situation. Italian with subtitles.

1971 Academy Award: Best Foreign Language Film

Open City (1945)

d. Roberto Rossellini

A leader in the Italian underground resists the Nazi control of Rome. Italian with subtitles.

Japan

Hiroshima (1995)

d. Roger Spottiswoode and Koreyoshi Kurahara

Recreates the circumstances surrounding the dropping of the first atomic bomb in 1945; includes newsreel footage and contemporary interviews. English and Japanese with subtitles.

Juries

Twelve Angry Men (1957)

d. Sidney Lumet

One man sounds the voice of reason as a jury inclines toward a quick-and-dirty verdict against a boy on trial.

Kenya

Black Man's Land Trilogy (1986)

d. David Koff and Anthony Kowarth

Vol. 1: White Man's Country; Vol. 2: Mau Mau; Vol. 3: Kenyatta. The films cover colonialism, nationalism, and revolution from Kenya's transformation from British East Africa and colonial rule through a guerrilla war for independence and a biography of Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first prime minister.

King Jr., Martin Luther

Citizen King (2004)

d. Orlando Bagwell

Traces the steps of the civil rights leader from his 1963 "I have a dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial to his 1968 assassination in Memphis.

"King" (1978)

d. Abby Mann

Explores the life of Martin Luther King Jr. from 1954 through 1968.

Korea, South

Tae Guk Gi: The Brotherhood of War (2004)

d. Je-Kyu Kang

Two brothers are drafted to fight in the Korean War and follow divergent paths while serving on the front lines. Korean with subtitles.

Kosovo

Warriors (2002)

d. Daniel Calparsoro

A group of Spanish soldiers stationed as peacekeepers in Kosovo in 1999 is caught in the middle of a guerrilla war between Serbs and Albanians. Spanish with subtitles.

Lebanon

Hostages (1993)

d. David Wheatley

Docudrama about the Beirut hostage crisis of the late 1980s in which five Westerners were held by Islamic militants.

West Beirut (1998)

d. Ziad Doueiri

Three friends try to have a normal adolescence as civil war tears their city apart. Arabic and French with subtitles.

Macedonia

Before the Rain (1994)

d. Milcho Manchevski

Follows the stories of three people whose lives are affected by ethnic strife and pervasive violence in war-torn Macedonia. English, Macedonian, and Albanian with subtitles.

Malaysia

The Killing Beach (1992)

d. Stephen Wallace

An Australian photojournalist travels to Malaysia in the late 1970s to report on the plight of the Vietnamese boat people seeking refuge, and the resentment of the Malays.

Mali

Life on Earth (1998)

d. Abderrahmane Sissako

The France-based director returns to his poor village in Mali to visit his father and realizes how little has changed despite the coming of the twenty-first century. French and Bambara with subtitles.

Mandela, Nelson

Mandela (1987)

d. Philip Saville

Traces the trials of Nelson and Winnie Mandela from the couple's early opposition to apartheid to Nelson's sentence to life imprisonment in 1964.

Mandela and de Klerk (1997)

d. Joseph Sargent

Story of white Afrikaner president F. W. de Klerk, who declared an end to apartheid in 1992, and black activist Nelson Mandela, who succeeded him to the presidency in 1994.

Mexico

Mojados: Through the Night (2004)

d. Tommy Davis

Follows four men across a 120-mile journey from Mexico to the United States and the lives of illegal immigrants. Spanish with subtitles.

Viva Zapata! (1952)

d. Elia Kazan

Chronicles the life of Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata, who led a peasant revolution from 1910 to 1919.

Myanmar (Burma)

Beyond Ragoon (1995)

d. John Boorman

An American is stranded in Burma amidst political unrest when she loses her passport and tries to flee from the repressive regime with the aid of a dissident.

Netherlands, The

Soldier of Orange (1977)

d. Jan De Bont

The lives of six Dutch students are changed forever by the Nazi invasion of Holland during World War II. Based on the exploits of resistance leader Erik Hazelhoff. Dutch with subtitles.

Nicaragua

Carla's Song (1996)

d. Ken Loach

A Nicaraguan refugee raising money for the Sandinista cause in Great Britain returns home to confront her past.

Under Fire (1983)

d. Roger Spottiswoode

Three foreign correspondents witness the 1979 revolution while on assignment in Managua.

The World Stopped Watching (2003)

d. Peter Raymont

This sequel to *The World Is Watching* (1988) follows journalists who covered the U.S.-financed Contra war against the Sandinista revolutionary government when they return to the country fourteen years later.

Northern Ireland

Bloody Sunday (2002)

d. Paul Greengrass

Depicts the civil-rights march through Derry [Londonderry], Northern Ireland, on January 30, 1972, to protest the policy of British internment without trial.

The Informant (1997)

d. Jim McBride

An ex-Irish Republican Army soldier is pressured into assassinating a Belfast judge but instead is captured and interrogated by a British Army officer and a local police inspector.

War and Peace in Ireland (1998)

d. Arthur Mac Caig

A look at the conflict in Northern Ireland from 1968 to the peace process that began in the early 1990s.

Palestine

Occupied Palestine (1987)

d. David Koff

Examines the realities of what it means to live under occupation, reflecting the Palestinian experience of Zionism and Palestinian resistance to it.

Panama

Noriega: God's Favorite (2000)

d. Roger Spottiswoode

Docudrama about Panamanian strongman Gen. Manuel Noriega, who was deposed after the U.S. invasion in 1989.

The Panama Deception (1992)

d. Barbara Trent

Details the 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama amidst allegations of illegal conduct.

Peru

Fire in the Andes (1985)

d. Ilan Ziv

Investigates the disappearance of thousands of Peruvians targeted as members of the insurgent group Shining Path by the Peruvian military.

Philippines

Fires on the Plain (1959)

d. Kon Ichikawa

An unhinged Japanese soldier in the Philippines during World War II roams

the war-torn countryside encountering horror and devastation. Japanese with subtitles.

Poland

A Generation (1955)

d. Andrzej Wajda

A young man escapes the Warsaw Ghetto during World War II and joins the Polish resistance. Part 1 of Wajda's war trilogy, followed by *Kanal* (1956) and *Asbes and Diamonds* (1958). Polish with subtitles.

Man of Marble (1976)

d. Andrzej Wajda

A bricklayer is persecuted by the government for being a champion for workers' rights. Followed by *Man of Iron* (1981), dealing with the 1980s Gdansk shipyard strike. Polish with subtitles.

Political Protest

Fahrenheit 9/11 (2004)

d. Michael Moore

News clippings, interviews, and political satire encompass the director's scathing critique of George W. Bush's presidency.

Refugees

In This World (2002)

d. Michael Winterbottom

Two Afghan boys endure a harrowing journey from Pakistan to London in search of refuge. English, Pashtu, and Persian with subtitles.

Letters to Ali (2004)

d. Clara Law

Focuses on the plight of Middle Eastern refugees living in Australian detention centers and one Australian family's determination to free an orphaned Afghan boy.

Romania

Children Underground (2001)

d. Edet Belzberg

Examines the social and political conditions that led to the problems of home-

less children in Bucharest, Romania. Romanian with English subtitles.

Roosevelt, Eleanor

Eleanor: First Lady of the World (1982)

d. John Erman

Depicts the former first lady's life after the president's death as she goes to work for the United Nations.

The Eleanor Roosevelt Story (1965)

d. Richard Kaplan

Biography of Eleanor Roosevelt from her unhappy childhood to her work as a humanitarian and as the chairwoman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Russia

The Battleship Potemkin (1925)

d. Sergei Eisenstein

A 1905 mutiny aboard the Potemkin leads to an uprising against the Czar in Odessa. Silent.

Prisoner of the Mountains (1996)

d. Sergei Bodrov

Two Russian soldiers are taken hostage in a remote Muslim village high in the Caucasus mountains because the village leader wishes to trade them for his own captive son. Russian with subtitles.

1996 Academy Award Nominee: Best Foreign Language Film

October (Ten Days That Shook the World) (1927)

d. Sergei Eisenstein

Chronicles the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Silent.

Rwanda

Hotel Rwanda (2004)

d. Terry George

In 1994, Kigali hotel manager Paul Rusesabagina, a Hutu, and his Tutsi wife, Tatiana, shelter more than 1,000 Hutu refugees from the genocidal chaos that surrounds them. English and French with subtitles.

2004 Academy Award Nominee: Best Actor, Best Supporting Actress, Original Screenplay

Sometimes in April (2005)

d. Raoul Peck

Augustin Mugaza is a middle-class Hutu, married to a Tutsi, who struggles to survive the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

Senegal

Moolaadé (2004)

d. Ousmane Sembene

In a small Senegalese village, four young girls escape to the home of the wife of a village elder to avoid the purification practice of female circumcision and to pit the rights of women against tradition. Senegalese with subtitles.

Serbia and Montenegro

Pretty Village, Pretty Flame (1996)

d. Srdjan Dragojevic

In 1992 members of a Serbian patrol are trapped by Muslim militiamen in a tunnel connecting Zagreb and Belgrade with no hope for escape. Serbo-Croatian with subtitles.

South Africa

Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony (2002)

d. Lee Hirsch

A history of black South African music and its role in the fight against apartheid.

South Africa: Beyond a Miracle (2002)

d. John Michalczyk

Chronicles the evolution of South Africa from the apartheid years to the release of Nelson Mandela, the country's first free elections in 1994, and subsequent efforts to build a strong democracy.

Spain

Land and Freedom (1995)

d. Ken Loach

A British communist heads to Spain in 1937 to fight fascism and discovers infighting and betrayal within the Republican forces.

The War Is Over (1966)

d. Alain Resnais

Diego, a Spanish revolutionary now exiled in France, wonders if his twenty-five years of struggle against Franco have achieved anything. French with subtitles.

Sudan

Lost Boys of Sudan (2003)

d. Megan Mylan and Jon Shenk

Two teenage Sudanese refugees, members of the Dinka tribe, try to adjust to life in a U.S. resettlement program.

Turkey

Journey to the Sun (1999)

d. Yesim Ustaoglu

Berzan is a Kurdish rebel who befriends Mehmet while living in Istanbul. When Mehmet is mistaken for a Kurd and arrested, he begins to understand Berzan's tenuous situation. Turkish and Kurdish with subtitles.

Uganda

General Idi Amin Dada (1974)

d. Barbet Schroeder

Schroeder documents the madness of the Ugandan dictator in his own words and actions.

Ukraine

Eternal Memory: Voices from the Great Terror (1997)

d. David Pultz

Focuses on the Ukraine where Stalinist purges in the 1930s and 1940s cost the lives of millions.

United Kingdom

The Murder of Stephen Lawrence (1999)

d. Paul Greengrass

Institutional racism is explored when a Jamaican-British family seeks justice for the murder of their teenage son by neo-Nazis and encounters only police indifference.

My Son the Fanatic (1997)

d. Udayan Prasad

A Pakistani living in England for twenty-five years discovers his British-born son has turned to Islamic fundamentalism.

Vietnam

A Bright Shining Lie (1998)

d. Terry George

Chronicles the Vietnam War as seen through the eyes of Lt. Col. John Paul Vann, a U.S. advisor to the Vietnamese Army who eventually exposed falsified battle reports to newsmen.

The Quiet American (2002)

d. Philip Noyce

A British journalist working in Saigon is suspicious of a brash American who may be working for the Central Intelligence Agency. Set amidst the communist insurrection of Ho Chi Minh into French-held Indochina.

West Bank

Promises (2001)

d. Justine Shapiro, B. Z. Goldberg, and Carlos Bolado

Explores the lives of Palestinian and Israeli children living in settlements and refugee camps in the West Bank. Arabic, Hebrew, and English with subtitles.

GLOSSARY

A

- abdicate:** to renounce or give up power, usually referring to royalty
- abrogate:** to abolish or undo, usually a law
- absolute:** complete, pure, free from restriction or limitation
- absolutism:** a way of governing, usually monarchic, that reflects complete control and an unwillingness to compromise or deviate from dogma or principles
- ad hoc:** created for a specific purpose or to address a certain problem
- adjudge:** to settle a case by judicial procedure
- adjudicate:** to settle a case by judicial procedure
- adversarial system:** a legal system in which two opposing sides present arguments and a third party renders a verdict
- adversary:** an enemy, rival, or opponent
- agrarian:** having to do with farming or farming communities and their interests; one involved in such a movement
- amalgamate:** to merge together two or more things into one form; combine
- amparo:** a legal action or law that offers protection of rights
- annex:** to incorporate; to take control of politically and/or physically
- apartheid:** an official policy of racial segregation in the Republic of South Africa with a goal of promoting and maintaining white domination
- appellate:** a court having jurisdiction to review the findings of lower courts
- arable land:** land suitable for the growing of crops
- arbitrary:** capricious, random, or changing without notice
- arbitration:** a method of resolving disagreements whereby parties by agreement choose a person or group of people familiar with the issues in question to hear and settle their dispute
- archipelago:** a chain of islands in close proximity to one another
- aristocracy:** a ruling financial, social, or political elite

armistice: a cease fire or temporary end to hostilities

atheism: the belief that God does not exist

atoll: an island, usually formed from a coral reef, that has a ring shape

austere: extremely stern; simple and undecorated

autarkic: self-sufficient and independent, as in a national economy free of imports

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals

autocracy: a political system in which one individual has absolute power

B

beleaguer: to bully, harass, or attack another

bicameral: comprised of two chambers, usually a legislative body

bicephalic: possessing two heads, as in government with two heads of state

bloc: a group of countries or individuals working toward a common goal, usually within a convention or other political body

bourgeoisie: the economic middle class marked by wealth earned through business or trade

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

C

cadre: a close group of skilled individuals

canon: a law governing the administration of the church

canton: a political subdivision, especially in Switzerland

caste and class system: a stratified social system marked by an uneven distribution of political or economic power between classes regardless of population

caucus: a group of individuals with common traits or goals, or a meeting of such a group

caudillistic: dictatorial; from *caudillo*, Spanish for dictator

cede: to relinquish political control of lands to another country; surrender

centralize: to move control or power to a single point of authority

chancery: a court of equity, especially in the United States, England, or Wales

Charter law: a law that allows a government to contract out its functions to private companies or entities

city-state: a system of government common in ancient Greece, marked by a city with authority over surrounding territory

clientelism: a system of personal relations in which clients exchange services, money, or votes for protection or favors

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

codification: the making of official law

collectivity: the state of being whole or complete, as a group

commodity: an article of trade or commerce that can be transported, especially an agricultural or mining product

commonwealth: a government created to advance the common good of its citizens

communal: something owned or used by the entire community

communism: an economic and social system characterized by the absence of class structure and by common ownership of the means of production and subsistence

comparative-historical perspective: a way of studying events or situations by comparing them to similar events or situations throughout history

compulsory: mandatory, required, or unable to be avoided

conquistador: one of the leaders of the Spanish conquest of Central and South America in the sixteenth century; derived from the Spanish for “conqueror”

conscript: to draft an individual into the armed services against his will

consociational: belonging to an association, especially a church or a religious association

constituency: the people who either elect or are represented by an elected official

constitutional republic: a system of government marked by both a supreme written constitution and elected officials who administer the powers of government

conventional weapon: a weapon that uses traditional explosives, not one which is biological, chemical, or nuclear in nature

corpus: a body, as in a body of work

cosmopolitanism: a philosophy advocating a worldwide focus as opposed to a focus on the concerns of a specific country or region

countersignature: a second signature on a document confirming its validity

coup: a quick seizure of power or a sudden attack

court of first instance: the first or lowest court in which a case or suit can be decided

coverture: a state of protection under the law given to a married woman

cronyism: favoritism for one’s friends or supporters in the appointment to positions or granting of other benefits

cultural autonomy: the state in which a group’s beliefs and behavior patterns do not incorporate influences from other groups

cultural revolution: a radical change in a culture usually caused by new ideas, events, or technology

customary law: a law created by the traditions of a community but never officially declared in force

D

de facto: (Latin) actual; in effect but not officially declared

de jure: (Latin) by right

decentralize: to move power from a central authority to multiple periphery government branches or agencies

delegate: to assign power to another, or, one who represents another

deliberate: to present contradicting arguments and choose a common course of action based upon them, or, characterized by such careful discussion

delineate: to depict, portray, or outline with detail

democratization: a process by which the powers of government are moved to the people of a region or to their elected representatives

deputy: one who has been given authority by another to act in that person's absence

derogate: to remove or deny, as a right; to disparage or belittle

despot: a ruler who does not govern in the interest of those governed

devolve: to move power or property from one individual or institution to another, especially from a central authority

dissident: one who disagrees with the actions or political philosophy of his or her government or religion

docket: a list or schedule of cases to be heard by a court

duopoly: a political system dominated by two political parties, or a market dominated by two firms

E

echelon: from the French for "rung," one level of a hierarchical society or other institution

economic liberalization: the reduction or elimination of trade barriers and government regulations in an economy

electoral college: the system for selection of the president in the United States, in which states or localities elect individuals pledged to support a specific candidate who then officially elect the president

emigration: the migration of individuals out of a geographic area or country

emir: a ruler in a country with a government based on Islamic religious beliefs

endemic corruption: longstanding and pervasive lawlessness of government officials

entente cordiale: an agreement resulting in the peaceful co-existence between parties, for example, nations

enumerate: to expressly name, as in a list

envisage: to hold a picture of something in one's mind

eradicate: to destroy or eliminate a population of items, people, or other living things

ethnic cleansing: the systematic murder of an entire ethnic group

ethnocracy: a state ruled by people of one particular common background, thought to be the superior ethnicity

ethnography: the study of the origin, characteristics, or interaction of cultures or racial groups

export economy: an economy dominated by selling products internationally as opposed to domestically

expropriate: to take property from its owner and give it to another, especially oneself; usually accomplished through government decree or legal procedures

extrajudicial: outside the legal system; lacking the legitimating authority of the government

F

Fabian socialist: one committed to a gradual rather than an immediate adoption of socialist principles

factionalism: a separation of people into competing, adversarial, and self-serving groups, usually in government

federalism: a system of political organization, in which separate states or groups are ruled by a dominant central authority on some matters, but are otherwise permitted to govern themselves independently

Fertile Crescent: the land between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Iraq, where the earliest human civilizations formed

fiat: an authoritative, sometimes arbitrary, order, usually by a government

figurehead: an individual with a title of leadership, but no real authority or power

first-past-the-post system: an electoral system consisting of single-member, winner-take-all districts common in countries with a British political history

franchise: a right provided by statutory or constitutional law; to give such a right

free market economy: an economy with no or very little government regulation and ownership

free trade: exchange of goods without tariffs charged on importing or exporting

fundamentalism: a philosophy marked by an extreme and literal interpretation of religious texts and an inability to compromise on doctrine or policy

G

gendarme: a soldier used in civilian police operations, especially in France

gerrymandering: the artful drawing of legislative districts in order to give advantage to one political party, race, or other group

globalization: the process of expanding regional concerns to a worldwide

viewpoint, especially politics, economics, or culture

governorate: a political subdivision, often associated with Middle Eastern states

governor-general: a governor who rules over a large territory and employs deputy governors to oversee subdivided regions

grand duchy: a territory ruled by a grand duke or duchess

grassroots: at the lowest level, often referring to support from members of the public rather than from political elites

guerrilla: a soldier engaged in nontraditional methods of warfare, often separate from any structured military group

H

habeas corpus: a written order to determine whether one's detention or imprisonment is lawful; Latin for "you shall have the body"

hard money: money raised by a political candidate that can be spent directly on campaign activities but is subject to fund-raising limits

Hays Code: a law governing the regulation of moral content in motion picture production; it was put into force from 1930 through 1967

hegemony: the complete dominance of one group or nation over another

heresy: an opinion about religion that contradicts that of an organized church

heterogeneous: complex; consisting of parts or components that are different from one another

hierarchy: a group of people ranked according to some quality, for example, social standing

homogeneous: simple; consisting of components that are identical or similar

humanist: one who places a great deal of importance on humankind and its experiences

humanitarian assistance: aid to individuals or countries used for the basic needs of people, including food and shelter

I

idealism: the theory that ideas larger than reality guide human actions

ideology: a system of beliefs composed of ideas or values, from which political, social, or economic programs are often derived

impeach: to accuse of a crime or misconduct, especially a high official; to remove from a position, especially as a result of criminal activity

imperialism: extension of the control of one nation over another, especially through territorial, economic, and political expansion

impunity: an exemption from punishment

in extremis: at the point of death; pushed to the furthest limitations possible

inalienable right: a right that cannot be taken away

inculcate: to teach through repetition

incumbent: one who currently holds a political office, or, holding a political office

indigene: a native

infrastructure: the base on which a system or organization is built

infringe: to exceed the limits of; to violate

institutionalism: a focus on the importance and role of the organization, especially a religious organization, in public and private matters

insurgency: a rebellion against an existing authority

insurrection: an uprising; an act of rebellion against an existing authority

intercommunal: between or involving multiple communities

interdiction: a prohibitory decree, especially to halt trade between two nations

intergovernmental: between or involving multiple governments, with each government retaining full decision-making power

interim: for a limited time, during a period of transition

international socialism: a movement to expand socialism worldwide, advocating greater economic cooperation between countries for the benefit of all people

interparty: between or involving more than one party

interpellation: a formal questioning regarding public conduct or an official action of government

interregnum: the period of time between the reigns of two successive monarchs

interventionism: the policy of involving oneself in another's affairs, especially one nation to another

intransigent: an inability to compromise or to deviate from principle

J

Jacksonian: characteristic of a strong presidency; refers to the period of the U.S. presidency of Andrew Jackson in the late 1820s and 1830s

judicial review: the ability of the judicial branch to review and invalidate a law that contradicts the constitution

junta: a group of individuals holding power, especially after seizing control as a result of a coup

judicial: relating to, created by, or pertaining to the judiciary

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

jurisprudence: the body of precedents already decided in a legal system

jurist: a person learned in legal matters; most often, a judge

K

kleptocracy: a government controlled by those seeking personal gain

Kremlin: in Moscow, the seat of government in the former USSR as well as in the Russian Federation

L

landlocked: sharing no border with a body of water

legal positivism: a philosophy that laws have no moral standing, being merely man-made

legalism: strict adherence to laws

liberalism: a political philosophy advocating individual rights, positive government action, and social justice, or, an economic philosophy advocating individual freedoms and free markets

liberalization: the process of lowering trade barriers and tariffs and reducing government economic regulations

liberation theology: a hybrid of Marxism and Catholic doctrine, advocating social justice through salvation; especially posited by some Latin American clergy

lingua franca: a universal or very common language

litigate: to bring a disagreement or violation of the law before a judge for a legal decision

litmus test: a simple test in which a single quality determines the outcome

lobby: to advocate for a specific political decision by attempting to persuade decision makers

localism: a phrase or behavior specific to a certain area

logographic writing system: a system of written language in which each

word is represented not by a series of letters, but by a picture

lumpenproletariat: the lowest stratum of the working classes, consisting of those who are poor and under-educated

M

macroeconomics: a study of economics in terms of whole systems, especially with reference to general levels of output and income and to the interrelations among sectors of the economy

magistrate: an official with authority over a government, usually a judicial official with limited jurisdiction over criminal cases

majoritarianism: the practice of rule by a majority vote

malapportionment: the use of legislative boundaries to create districts that do not have approximately equal populations

Mandarin: an individual in the Chinese government, or, the official language of the Chinese government

mandate: to command, order, or require; or, a command, order, or requirement

marginalize: to move to the outer borders, or to move one to a lower position

maritime: relating to the sea or the coast

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

marriage of convenience: a marriage performed solely for economic or social benefits

martial law: rule by military forces in an occupied territory or rule by military officials declared during a national emergency

Marxist-socialism: an economic system in which government owns industry or heavily regulates the economy

Mau Mau Revolt: a failed rebellion in Kenya against British rule in the 1950s; it preceded independence by twelve years

merit plan: a method for the selection of judges, based on performance or quality of work rather than political views or affiliation

meritocracy: a system of society or government in which individuals are rewarded based on individual achievement

micro-nationalism: nationalism not for a county but for a community resembling a state on paper or in cyberspace

migrant labor: workers who relocate seasonally, following job opportunities

militarism: pertaining to the military or the culture of the military, or aggressive military preparation

militia: a group of citizens prepared for military service in emergency situations

mixed-member proportional voting: an electoral system in which some representatives are elected from first-past-the-post districts and some are appointed through proportional representation

modernism: a philosophy advocating ideas and elements specific to modern times, or the integration of those ideas into preexisting cultures or beliefs

modernization: the act of incorporating new ideas or technology

monarchical: of or relating to a monarchy

money laundering: to cause illegally obtained money to appear legitimate by moving or converting it

monopoly: the domination of a market by one firm or company

Monroe Doctrine: the statement by U.S. President James Monroe in 1823 declaring that Europe should stay out of American and Latin American affairs

monsoon: heavy rainfall usually associated with India and Southeast Asia

mores: the moral values, customs, or traditions in a specific region

mosaic: politically, the alliance of diverse people or groups

motherland: one's country or region of origin

multilateral lending: the lending of money to countries by institutions that pool funds from multiple sources, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank

multipartyism: the state of having multiple parties in a party system

municipality: local governmental units, usually cities or towns

N

Napoleonic Code: French law first established in 1804; it is the first known legal code within a civil legal system

nascent: new or recently created or brought into existence

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

nationalization: the process of giving control or ownership of an entity to the government

nation-state: a relatively homogeneous state with only one or few nationalities within its political borders

natural right: a basic privilege intrinsic to all people that cannot be denied by the government

naturalize: to grant the privileges and rights of citizenship

neo-imperialism: the belief in the building of political or cultural empires in the contemporary world

neo-liberalism: a belief in economic liberalism with a willingness to compromise on some ideological points in order to advance liberal goals

neo-patrimonialism: a system of government that outwardly delineates between the personal and the

public realm, but in which political patronage by the ruler is the reality, with personal relationships defining one's wealth or power

nepotism: favoritism for one's own family in the appointment to positions or granting of other benefits

neutrality: the quality of not taking sides, as in a conflict

no confidence (vote of): a vote in a parliament on a government's policies that, if lost, will result in dissolution of the parliament and new elections

Nonaligned Movement: an organization of countries, formed in 1961, that did not consider themselves allied with either the western or the eastern blocs

nonbinding declaration: a statement of a government or government body that has no legal standing or force of law

nonpartisan: not relating to a political party or any division associated with the party system

North Atlantic Treaty Organization: a military alliance chiefly involving the United States and Western Europe that stated that, in the event of an attack, the member countries would have a mutual defense

O

offshore banking: banking that takes place in a foreign country, usually to escape domestic taxation

oligarchy: government by a few or an elite ruling class, whose policies are often not in the public interest

ombudsman: a government official that researches the validity of complaints and reports his findings to an authority

ordinary court: a court that hears civil cases, especially in the United Kingdom

Ottoman Empire: (1299–1922) an empire centered in Turkey (and defeated in World War I) that once spanned Northern Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Southeast Europe and contemporary Russia

P

pacifism: the belief that war and violence are inferior methods of conflict resolution, to be avoided

pan-Africanist: an advocate for the unity of all African nations

pan-Arabist: an advocate for the unity of the Arab world

pandemic: affecting a large segment of the population or a large geographic area

paramilitary: modeled after a military, especially as a possible supplement to the military

parity: a state of equality, or being identical

parliamentary override: the ability of a parliament to override decisions of other government bodies

partisan: an ideologue, or a strong member of a cause, party, or movement

party apparatus: the process used by a political party to make decisions, nominate candidates, choose leaders, or win elections; the manpower, expertise, or money needed to accomplish those goals

pastoralist: supporter of a social organization whose main economic activity is raising livestock

patrimonialism: a system of government in which the ruler personally controls all aspects of life, including politics and the economy, and personal wealth or power is a function of an individual's personal relationship to the ruler

per capita: for each person, especially for each person living in an area or country

peripheral: marginal; on the outer limits

perpetrate: to commit a crime or injustice

persecute: to belittle, harass, injure, or otherwise intimidate, especially those of a different background or group

petition: a written appeal for a desired action, or, to request an action, especially of government

pillage: to plunder; to loot or steal during an emergency or war

plantation system: a system of farming in which landowners use slaves or poorly paid workers to farm large tracts of land

platform: a statement of principles or legislative goals made by a political party

plebiscite: a vote by which the people of a country make known their opinions on a proposal or regime

plenary: complete or absolute; attended by all members or delegates to a convention

plethora: a large, sometimes overwhelming, amount

pluralism: a system of government in which all groups participate in the decision-making process

plurality: more votes than any other candidate, but less than half of the total number of votes

pogrom: a planned annihilation of a specific people, especially the Jews

polarize: to separate individuals into adversarial groups

policy advocate: a lobbyist

political autonomy: the state of a country or region within a country that holds sovereignty over its own affairs

political nomadism: the movement of an official elected as a member of a specific political party away

from that party, usually to another party

polity: a form of government held by a specific country or group

polygamy: the practice of having more than one mate or spouse at one time

popular mandate: authorization granted by the electorate, derived from the support of at least the majority

populist: someone who advocates policies for the advancement of the common man

pragmatism: a belief that only that which can be practically accomplished should be advocated

precedent: an established ruling, understanding, or practice of the law

primordialism: a way of studying nationalism that advocates looking at familial and ethnic connections and their relation to underlying conflicts

probity: honesty

procedural right: a right to due process of the law when defending other liberties

proletariat: the lower class of workers and laborers in a society

proliferate: to grow in number; to multiply at a high rate

promulgation: an official declaration, especially that a law can start being enforced

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

protectorate: a territory or country under the protection of another sovereign country's military

proto state: an entity that adopts most of the characteristics of a state but does not have complete sovereignty, such as an interim government or the European Union

proxy: an authorized substitute, or, the ability to act in another's place

prurient: lewd, immature, or childlike

purchasing power parity: a way of measuring the buying power of countries' currencies based on the cost of identical goods

Q

quasi-presidential: similar to a president or presidential system, or, having the identical effect of a presidential system

R

rapporteur: one that reports on a committee's work

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction

Realpolitik: policies or actions rooted in the practical rather than the abstract

recession: a period of negative economic growth associated with high unemployment

reciprocity: mutual action or help that benefits both parties

recourse: a resource for assistance

redress: to make right, or, compensation

referendum: a popular vote on legislation, brought before the people by their elected leaders or public initiative

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

regional integration: the movement of economic or political power to a central authority from regional centers of power

relativism: a belief that ethical values are dependent on individuals or groups and are not common to all humanity

remedial: intended as a solution

remittance: a shifting of funds from one entity to another

reparation: funds or other compensation offered as a remedy for damages

repatriate: to return to the country of one's birth or citizenship

reprisal: retaliation for a negative action

republic: a form of democratic government in which decisions are made by elected representatives of the people

restitution: the transfer of an item back to an original owner, or, compensation for that item

resurgence: a return to action from a diminished state

retrocession: the act of returning, as in territory

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision making and applies equally to all people; law and order

S

sage: a wise person

sanction: economic, political, or military reprisals, or, to ratify

schism: a separation between two factions or entities, especially relating to religious bodies

secede: to break away from, especially politically

sect: a group of people with a common distinctive view of religion or doctrine

sectoral specialization: the ability of a country to organize its economy in such a way that it dominates or performs better in a specific sector

secularism: a refutation of, apathy toward, or exclusion of all religion

self-determination: the ability of a people to determine their own destiny or political system

seminal: original; at the basis of

separatism: a belief that two regions should be separated politically

serf: a peasant, or laborer under the feudal system, who worked the land of the feudal lord

shah: the ruler of Iran

sheikhdom: a geographic region ruled by a Arab chief known as a sheikh

signatory: one who signs an agreement with other parties and is then bound to that agreement

social cleavage: a division of membership in or voting for a political party, based on social class

socialism: any of various economic and political theories advocating collective or governmental ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods

socioeconomic: relating to the traits of income, class, and education

soft money: money that can be spent on a political campaign, independent of a candidate, in order to avoid fund-raising limits

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity

statist economy: an economy highly regulated by a state's central authority

statute: a law created by a legislature that is inferior to constitutional law

statutory codification: the act of making common law or tradition into official law passed by a legislature

subjugate: to force into submission

subsidiary: a small component of a larger entity

subsidy: a government grant used to encourage some action

subsistence farming: farming which does not turn a profit, providing only enough food for the farmers themselves

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

sultanate: a country governed by the sovereign of an Islamic state, called a sultan

super-majority: a legislative majority so large that the party can pass whatever legislation it wishes

supernational: composed of multiple nations and having control over those nations, which themselves are independent states

super-presidential: referring to a republic with a very strong presidency, especially Russia

supranational: between or involving multiple governments, with all governments sharing control, usually through independent representatives and majority rule

suzerain: a state that dominates the foreign affairs of a subordinate state, while allowing it autonomy in domestic affairs

syncretism: an attempt to meld disparate or opposing schools of thought

T

technocracy: government by technicians using scientific expertise and analysis to optimize conditions for the public

tenure: the right to hold land, position, or status over the long term, or the act of doing so

theocracy: a state governed by its religious leaders

tort: a civil crime for which the law provides a remedy

totalitarianism: a form of absolute government that demands complete subjugation by its citizens

transnational: extending beyond the jurisdiction of one single nation

treatise: a type of scholarly essay that outlines principles and draws conclusions from the factual discussion included

tribunal: a type of court of law, usually military in nature

tripartite: involving three parties, especially in negotiations

U

ultranationalism: an extreme belief, stemming from a fear of foreigners, that one's home country is superior to all others

umbrella organization: a corporation that controls many smaller subsidiaries

unconventional warfare: a war in which open confrontation between opposing forces is limited; tactics might include terrorism or the use of biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

unilateral: independent of any other person or entity

unitary: centralized

untouchability, practice of: segregation of the bottom caste in India, who are believed to be "untouchable"

V

vagary: a sudden, unexpected change

vendetta: a protracted, often violent dispute, especially in the name of revenge

venerate: to hold something or someone in extremely high regard

vestige: a remnant of a lost or vanished entity, as in a nation or an institution

viceroy: one who governs a territory as the representative of the monarch

W

warlord: a leader, usually over a small region, who governs by military force

welfare state: a political state that assumes liability for the wellbeing of its people through government-run social programs

Westminster: a democratic model of government comprising operational procedures for a legislative body, based on the system used in the United Kingdom

X

xenophobia: a fear of foreigners, often leading to isolationism, reduction in immigration, and racism

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